Constructing and contesting the echo chamber: A study of print media discourse on the final year of the 1976-1983 dictatorship in Argentina

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ABSTRACT

For post-dictatorship countries attempting to come to terms with and understand their past, historical media studies have a particularly important role to play. In identifying discursive strategies, objective and subjective versions of events, and key social actors, they not only contribute to the linguistic debate on how "meaning" is produced in media but can have wider implications at the societal level in the construction of "collective memory" and identity (Achugar, 2007).

The 1982-1983 period marked the end of a brutal dictatorship, Argentina’s Proceso de Reorganización Nacional (National Reorganization Process) and a difficult period of transition to democracy for the country following defeat in the 1982 Falklands/Malvinas War. Using a Critical Discourse Analysis framework, this research project analyses the role of the print media in both sustaining and challenging the dictatorship in Argentina during its period of crisis. The methodological approach of this study is mixed, combining the qualitative principles of the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009) with a quantitative corpus-assisted discourse analysis of newspapers that supported the regime. Furthermore, a Synchronic-Diachronic method developed by Argentinean linguist Pardo (2008, 2010) for specific application to her country’s media is employed for qualitative study of newspaper discourse opposing the dictatorship, while a multimodal analytical framework is applied to the political cartoons of the period.

Findings suggest that representations of social actors and events that supported the dictatorship are closely linked to discourses on nationalism and, as a result, are unstable and shifting, reflecting the country’s period of socio-political crisis. Conversely, discourses that challenged the regime are shown to maintain their oppositional stance throughout the year, incorporating complex strategies of counter-journalism and a combination of communicative elements such as text, images and colour. In analysing the form and function of these different discourses while acknowledging the ideological role of media and its influence on dictatorship and post-dictatorship social, legal and political processes, this study reinforces the work of Zelizer (2014) to propose, in the Argentine context, a tangible if difficult relationship between the fields of journalism and memory.
I hereby declare that this thesis is entirely my own work, and has not been submitted for any other award at this or any other academic institution. Where use has been made of the work of others, it has been fully acknowledged and referenced. The findings of this study have been published or are currently in press as follows:


_________________________________________

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For Elian and India
“The Argentine press is used to being used”

Bob Cox
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KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis
CADS: Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies
CL: Corpus Linguistics
DA: Discourse Analysis
DHA: The Discourse-Historical Approach
SDTA: Synchronic-Diachronic Textual Analysis
SFG: Systemic Functional Gramma
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 General Introduction

In November 2017, the so-called “Blonde Angel of Death”, former navy captain, Alfredo Astiz, was sentenced to life imprisonment for crimes against humanity. Based in part on the evidence provided by former Buenos Aires Herald journalist, Uki Goñi, whose work had recreated the sequence of his involvement in the kidnap, torture and murder of dissidents during Argentina’s most recent dictatorship (1976-1983), the extent of Astiz’s participation was fully revealed as part of Megacausa ESMA (ESMA Mega-trial) trial. The categorisation of Argentina’s dictatorship human rights abuses as “crimes against humanity,” which first occurred during the presidency of Néstor Kirchner (2003-2007), is significant in the context of the country’s current political climate as the sitting president, Mauricio Macri (2015-), has been accused of dictatorship denialism by human rights groups (Goñi, 2016). This is notable in his public dismissal of questions around the number of the disappeared (Casullo, 2016). The ongoing debate around the role and repercussions of the dictatorship in Argentina’s political, social, and legal contemporary landscape highlights the continuing significance of this period to Argentine society in

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1 ESMA (La Escuela Superior de Mecánica de la Armada or Navy School of Mechanics) located in Buenos Aires, was the largest detention centre during the dictatorship, in which approximately 5,000 people are estimated to have been detained and tortured between 1976 and 1983 with many of them eventually dropped from planes into the South Atlantic Ocean and River Plate. The Megacausa ESMA is a series of four connected trials, which began in 2007 with the latest ending in 2017, of military officers and their accomplices accused of involvement in what have been classified as these “crimes against humanity.” The third trial (Megacausa ESMA III), which concluded on November 27, 2017, is particularly significant as the largest human rights trial in Argentina to date with 54 people accused of crimes against 789 people. While Astiz was sentenced to life imprisonment for crimes against humanity in this trial he was also sentenced previously to life imprisonment for specific cases of kidnap, torture and murder in Megacausa ESMA II (from December 2009-October 2011). The work of Goñi was used as evidence against Astiz in both strands of the trial.

2 The official figure of 8,961 disappeared during the dictatorship comes from the 1984 “Nunca Más” report published by La Comisión Nacional sobre la Desaparición de Personas (CONADEP) (National Commission on the Disappearance of Persons) set up by President Raúl Alfonsin in 1983. However, the higher number of 30,000 disappeared is estimated by human rights organisations in Argentina. In an interview with Karla Zabludovsky, Latin American correspondent with US-based Internet platform, BuzzFeed, Macri (2016) said that “it made no sense” to enter into debates around whether 9,000 or 30,000 people disappeared during the dictatorship.
general and, more specifically, its enduring interest and relevance to a broad range of academic scholarship.

Furthermore, the trial of Astiz, and the centrality of journalism throughout the case, underscore two elements which are of concern to this study: firstly, the contemporary relevance of processes around memory for current generations attempting to come to terms with the difficult legacy of the regime; and secondly, the function of journalism in the social construction of such memories.

Positing a close, even direct, relationship between the academic fields of journalism and memory, which has traditionally been neglected (Zelizer and Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2014) or even side-lined due to institutional differences and intellectual biases (Olick, 2014), this study builds on the emerging body of work locating journalism as “memory’s precondition” through the records of testimonies and narratives from which memory is constructed in the context of Argentina’s last dictatorship. This is not without the challenges or contradictions which are fundamental to the theoretical departure point of this research. For example, it is inevitable that the selection or “gatekeeping” process involved at every stage of the writing, editing, and publication process involves subjective decision-making. Moreover, it is influenced by the news values of publications which determine the representations of events and social actors that ultimately appear in print. This analysis therefore approaches representation itself as a construct, a theory which has been applied to discourse by Hall (1997) and Wodak (1996) and to the field of memory studies by Huyssen (1995).

This study is informed by previous literature which approaches media as highly ideological constructors of social reality (e.g. Bednarek and Caple, 2017; Fowler, 1991; van Dijk, 1998). As such, media platforms provide subjective “versions of reality depending on the social positions, interests and objectives of those who produce them” (Fairclough, 1995: 103-104) manifest through their news values (Galtung and Ruge, 1965). These values determine both the stories which are featured and the level of coverage they receive. Donsbach (2004) highlights the complicated relationship between journalists and news values and the institutional, peer (or social) and personal (or cognitive) factors which influence the reproduction of values in their work. Furthermore, media discourses are prone to “disorders” (Wodak, 1996) in which journalists can
deliberately use unclear, inaccessible, or obfuscating language as an alienating strategy to perpetuate the dominance of elite voices and agendas (van Dijk, 1993).

As fully outlined in Chapter Three, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has been chosen as an applicable theoretical framework to encompass the three strands of this research project. As explained in Section 3.1, this is due to its understanding of media as platforms of complex power and ideological relations, employing linguistic and discursive strategies and devices (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009: 93) with an influence compounded over time through repetition (Baker et al, 2013). Scholars have suggested that a Latin American research emphasis on European subjects and/or methodologies has led to the relative neglect of crucial CDA regional academic enquiry, except for the work of Achugar in the context of Uruguay (2009, 2008, 2007). As a result, issues such as discourse on Argentina’s military dictatorship (Pardo, 2010: 185) and the media’s role in the country’s transition from dictatorship to democracy (Olukotun, 2004: 12) have been conspicuously under-researched.

In order to further probe the ideological nature of media and their role in memory construction, the case study of print media discourses on Argentina’s dictatorial regime in its final year has been chosen for analysis. Of the two main forms of media, broadcast and print, the latter is the focus of this study; primarily as it is the older and more established form of communication and one that is more intrinsically linked to nationalism as “imagined community” (Anderson, 1983). Indeed, historically print media played a vital role in influencing public opinion and agenda-setting as platforms of political communication in Argentina from the country’s struggle for independence in the early nineteenth century to the Perón administrations of the 1950s and 1970s. This was amplified following the 1976 coup d’état when mainstream media outlets largely complied with the regime to reinforce an “echo chamber” of official discourse which had the five-fold aim to “shroud in mystery its true actions and intentions, say the opposite of what it meant, inspire trust, both at home and abroad, instil guilt (especially in mothers) and to sow paralysing terror and confusion” (Feitlowitz, 2011: 22). Considerable literature across various fields, such as history (Rock, 1993), politics (Bermeo, 1992) and human rights (Jelin, 1994) examines the socio-political complexity of the dictatorship period in Argentina and the regime’s political dissidents in terms of the social movements.
involved (Brysk, 1993) and their fates (Arditti, 1999). Significant discussion had also explored the controversial “theory of the two demons,” prevalent in the immediate post-dictatorship period.

This theory has gained renewed traction during the Macri presidency as a means of justifying the period of state terrorism as a war in proposing that “there were two evils (or demons) in Argentina in 1976 and they were comparable” (Salvi, 2015: 47) when the military had the considerable advantage of trained official personnel, state resources and infrastructure at its disposal. Mindful both of the ongoing debates around this issue and the arguable inaccuracy of this term in the political reality of the time, it is nevertheless a judicious reminder of the significance of oppositional perspectives to analysis. Indeed, media discourses which supported the regime have received significantly more attention in literature overall, a trend which this study seeks to reverse by incorporating textual and graphic publications which challenged the dictatorship to accommodate the socio-political nuances of the period.

In fact, the role of the media as platforms of counter-discourses to authoritarian rule has been established in literature in various contexts outside of Argentina as Chapter Three demonstrates. Moreover, oppositional media are proposed throughout this study as platforms of remembering alternative histories and memories of the past which would otherwise have been eliminated or silenced by official discourse (Todorov, 2003). As Chapter Three further illustrates, while recently emerging in Argentina itself, studies on media which supported and challenged Argentina’s dictatorship remain relatively few in English-language literature but are nevertheless significant for this current study and constitute important points of reference. However, they are largely qualitative in their focus. Conversely, the design of this research project is influenced by the growing body of media studies combining qualitative and quantitative elements of Critical Discourse.

3 To accommodate this debate the term “Dirty War,” in reference to the dictatorship, does not appear in the thesis or in the three articles comprising the study. Human rights groups suggest that it misrepresents what was in fact a period of state terrorism rather than a war between equal forces. Reinforcing this idea, some theorists have asserted that left-wing dissidence was in fact mostly eradicated in the first two years of the dictatorship (Martín, 2012). After this point however, “the (state) killing did not stop” (Schneider, 2000) suggesting that state forces were more powerful than the opposition and had a broader socio-political agenda.

4 Again, in the 2016 interview with US internet platform, BuzzFeed, mentioned in Section 1.1, Macri explicitly refers to the dictatorship period as “Guerra Sucia” (Dirty War).
Analysis and Corpus Linguistics (e.g. Baker et al, 2008; Bednarek and Caple, 2012; Partington, 2010; Partington, Duguid and Taylor, 2013; Mautner, 2005, Morley and Bayley, 2009;) particularly Partington’s (2010) diachronic focus in discourse studies and Baker et al’s (2008) combination of the Discourse Historical Approach (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009) with corpus tools. The rationale behind a mixed-method approach, as Chapter Four examines, is predicated on the contention that a combination of approaches and analytic resources are required to address the various research questions of this project and to accommodate the diversity of its discourses on Argentina’s period of transition to democracy.

1.2 Research Problem

Given the aforementioned ideological role of the print media, specifically newspapers and magazines, in the construction of the social reality, the overarching purpose of the study is to analyse the form and function of a range of print media discourses during Argentina’s period of crisis, 1982-1983 and, moreover, to explore their roles in both sustaining and challenging the regime. Furthermore, while discourses that opposed the dictatorship have received arguably less attention in previous literature, this project aims to explore how these counter-discourses challenged the official version of events during the regime and the Junta’s attempts to construct an official social memory of the period by recording alternative events and testimonies which contribute to the construction of alternative, or counter, memories of the dictatorship in the contemporary context.

With this in mind, the project is centred on two hypotheses:

1. The 1982-1983 print media landscape in Argentina comprised a range of discourses that both supported and opposed the dictatorship and included textual (i.e. newspapers) and graphic discourses as well as English and Spanish-language media platforms.

2. The media that challenged the dictatorship not only played an important role during the period in providing alternative accounts of events but also contribute to Argentina’s contemporary social and legal post-dictatorship processes.
Four research questions help to unpack the two strands of the main objective of the study; namely, to identify discourses which a) supported and b) opposed the regime. These are formulated as follows:

- Q1: Is there evidence of support for the military regime?
- Q2: If so, where is this found? How is/are pro-dictatorship discourse(s) constructed?
- Q3: Is there evidence of opposition to the military regime?
- Q4: If so, where is this found? How is/are oppositional or counter-discourse(s) constructed?

A fifth research question aiming to examine the relationship between discourses of opposition to the dictatorship and their influence on contemporary processes of remembering the past can be articulated as follows:

- Q5: What is the relationship between counter-discourses in the media of the dictatorship and counter-memories of the period in the 21st century context?

While the more general questions of 1 and 3 were explored during the process of writing all three articles, Q1 is ultimately answered in the affirmative in the first article, where it is developed along with the follow-up Q2. Q3 is more relevant to and therefore explored along with Q4 in the second journal article on newspaper discourses during the final year of dictatorship and is probed further in the third journal article in relation to visual discourse of the period. Q5 is explored also in article 2 to which it is most pertinent. While these research questions observe a binary distinction between pro/contra regime positions, it is proposed that this division is reflective of the socio-political reality of the period and the discourses reflecting it which, although displaying interesting nuances which this study will trace, remain opposed to each other throughout the period without developing continuity between them.
1.3 Outline of Articles

1.3.1 Article One

This first article addresses Q1 and Q2. As such it analyses the print media framing of Argentina’s last dictator, Leopoldo Galtieri, in the context of broader discourses on nationalism in three newspapers widely believed to have supported the dictatorship. To unpack the complexity and range of discourses, representations of Galtieri and nationalism are traced across three key events in the dictatorship’s final year. The theoretical framework of this strand of the study is informed by Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) while a mixed methodological approach comprising the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) to CDA and corpus tools is used to examine how discourses are constructed.

1.3.2 Article Two

This second article addresses Q3 and Q4. It examines the print media which challenged the dictatorship, focusing on two newspapers which opposed the Junta’s official version of events. Again, the overarching theoretical principles applied are drawn from CDA, due to its acknowledgment of media discourses as a form of social action, which is further explored in Chapter Four. Methodologically, the study combines the qualitative tools of Synchronic-Diachronic Text Analysis (SDTA), developed by the Argentine linguist Pardo, with corpus tools as a means to analyse the composition of oppositional discourses.

1.3.3 Article Three

The third and final article of this doctoral project focuses on Q3 and Q4 from the perspective of graphic media which overtly contested the regime. Drawing on a selection of covers from the satirical magazine, *Humor Registrado* across the same three key events in the final year of the dictatorship, the form and function of visual oppositional discourse is examined by harnessing the broad framework of Multimodal Discourse Analysis (Jewitt, 2014) with elements of Social Semiotics (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996) and Semiology (Barthes, 1968).
1.4 Evolution of the Project

The original focus of the project was solely on the print media discourse of the five main newspapers during the final year of the regime, and entailed a comparative and contrastive analysis of their representations of key events and social actors of the regime. However, during a month-long research trip to La Biblioteca Nacional Mariano Moreno in Buenos Aires in August 2015, I discovered Humor Registrado magazine and consequently extended the scope of the study to include visual discourse. The rationale for this addition did not simply rest on the decision to include a broader range of and richer engagement with the discourse of the period, but was also informed by certain practical considerations. While copies of Humor Registrado from the 1982-1983 period were both readily accessible and in excellent condition in Argentina’s national library, and even online, this was not at all the case with the original five newspapers of the study. In fact, for the period in question, editions of Clarín, La Nación, La Razón and The Buenos Aires Herald had been neither digitised nor transferred to microfilm or microfiche and were therefore available only in original hard copy. This limitation was further problematised by strictly enforced library regulations which did not permit the use of scanners or any light-emitting device that could damage the newspapers. As a result, the only way to capture the articles was to take individual photos on an iPad without the use of the flash. The lengthy and painstaking process to accommodate this is fully described in Chapter Four. A further reason underlying the decision to shift the focus of the project to include visual as well as textual discourse was the poor condition of the newspapers. In at least four issues of Clarín during the period under analysis, and particularly during the coverage of the 1983 General Elections, numerous pages were missing, while other sections were discoloured and therefore difficult to read. Certain sections of La Razón were also rendered illegible by the smudging of its characteristically dark ink, although this proved less of an issue overall.

1.5 Outline of Thesis

This thesis aims to provide a context for and synthesis of three articles written for publication in academic journals on the topic of print media discourse during Argentina’s most recent dictatorship. It comprises six chapters including the present Chapter One which sets out the research questions central to the three articles as well as the aims,
objectives, and structure of the thesis. Chapter Two establishes and elaborates upon the context of the project. Chapter Three develops the theoretical approaches of the individual articles in order to illustrate how they contribute to the project’s overarching theoretical framework. In Chapter Four the separate methodological strands of each article are expanded upon to demonstrate how they contribute to each other and the thesis in its entirety. Chapter Five provides a summary of the three articles of the study and proposes their contributions to scholarship individually and when considered as a body of work. Chapter Six concludes the project with a discussion of the key findings of the project while revisiting and addressing the research questions set out in Chapter One. In this final section the limitations of the project are also acknowledged, recommendations offered, and suggestions proposed for further study in the field.
2.1 The Challenges of Remembering

Since the official end of the dictatorship in October 1983 Argentina has demonstrated a complex and shifting relationship with its challenging legacy, at times engaging with processes of remembering, while at others attempting to forget the past. During the Truth Commission (1983-1984), the trials of the Junta (1985) and the subsequent trials of military personnel and their collaborators since 2007, for example Megacausa ESMA\(^5\) detailed in Section 1.1, courtrooms became “public spaces for collective memory making” (Kaiser 2015: 193). However, with the Full Stop Law (*Ley de Punto Final*, 1986) the Law of Due Obedience (*Ley de Obediencia Debida*, 1987), and Menem’s presidential pardons (1989-1990), successive governments introduced amnesty laws for human rights crimes in a purported bid to ease tensions between civil society and the military in the country’s fledgling democracy.

The challenges for post-conflict societies like Argentina in respect of whether to remember or forget, which may be understood as the denial or justification of a difficult past, has received considerable attention in literature (e.g. Connorton, 2008; Ricoeur, 2004; Todorov 2003). In terms of refusing and/or failing to address the past, Todorov (2003) warns of the dangers of a societal “memory disorder” (p.172) due to repressed memories, and of the significance of the past being potentially misrepresented and magnified. Ricoeur (2002) adds nuance to this by suggesting that remembering the past is necessary for three main reasons: for “fighting against the erosion of traces…of events (by the official version)” (p.10); for healing society through processes around forgiveness; and, finally, to prevent it from becoming a burden for future generations. However, just as the value and complexity of memory work must be acknowledged, so should its limitations. While mindful that the legal context has the potential to offer

\(^5\) Lessa (2010) lists other trials of which took place concurrently with Megacausa ESMA. These include the cases of further detention centres including ABO, El Vesubio and Automotores Orletti. She also details the trials which have taken place outside of Buenos Aires, in Chaco, Chubut, Córdoba and Rosario.
justice, accountability, and restorative justice (Minnow, 1998) for families of victims and society more broadly, Todorov (2003) nonetheless cites historic examples of why the maxim of Never Again (Nunca Más in the Argentine context), or remembering so that similar events do not happen again, is unrealistic.

Since situations and socio-political circumstances are never absolutely analogous it cannot be guaranteed that events of the past will not be repeated in the future (p.175). He concluded that remembering the past through processes of establishing facts, interpreting them, and applying them (pp.120-128), is more useful in terms of its “contribution to the constitution of collective and individual identities and support (of) the development of values, ideals and principles” (p.176). This echoes Achugar, Fernández and Morales’ (2013) finding that discussions about the dictatorship with young Uruguayan people in the aftermath of that country’s regime assists an analysis both of how such events can be communicated to the next generation and, moreover, how (and indeed whether) young people can be inculcated into civic participation through careful “inter-generational transmission” of the dictatorship period (p. 266).

2.2 Argentina’s Last Dictatorship: El Proceso De Reorganización Nacional (1976-1983)

In the early hours of Wednesday March 24, 1976, Argentina’s regular television and radio broadcasts were interrupted by a military march which announced the country’s sixth coup d’état of the twentieth century. Military interventions in the politics of the state were therefore by no means a new occurrence in the country or indeed in Latin America. The region has a history of political instability and frequent shifts between democratic periods and authoritarian regimes with 162 coup d’états in Central and South American counties between 1900 and 2006 (Lehoucq and Perez-Liñan, 2014). Argentina’s 1976 coup d’état marked the “acceleration…of an ideological war” (Avellaneda, 1986) which proposed to eliminate all forms of “subversion”, a word which became synonymous with dissidence during the seven-year dictatorship that followed. To fully apprehend why this campaign against opposition intensified around 1976 it is first necessary to locate these events within both a local and then international context.
Argentinean military tensions with Peronism had been ongoing since the 1950s due to a perceived lack of influence and decision-making power among the Armed Forces throughout the course of his three presidential terms. This was amplified from the early 1970s onwards owing to military fear of the power and political organisation of a growing number of armed left-wing groups. The political vacuum and uncertainty following the death of Perón in 1974 (Feierstein, 2006: 149-150) provided an opportunity. Violent attempts to suppress left-wing opposition and media criticism were not introduced in the aftermath of the 1976 coup but can instead be traced to 1974 with the emergence of the paramilitary far-right AAA (Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance) led by José López Rega, advisor to Perón, and Minister for Social Welfare. It was López Rega who introduced the infamous black lists of opponents, which would later become such a menacing feature of the dictatorship.

This escalating intolerance towards left-wing opposition at home mirrored similarly increasing international distrust of left-wing ideologies in the context of the Cold War between Western and Eastern bloc countries from the 1940s onwards. Most pertinent, in the Latin American context of the Cuban Revolution of 1959 in which Fidel Castro overthrew the US-backed Fulgencio Batista (Feierstein, 2006: 149), Argentina’s dictatorship of the late 1970s and early 1980s must be located in the context of a wider, US-supported campaign or “transnational repressive program” (McSherry, 2005: xviii) against political dissidence. Such a stance favoured the establishment of a neo-liberal economic agenda in the Southern Cone countries of the period, known as Plan Cóndor (or Operación Cóndor) which also resulted in the installation of right-wing dictatorships in Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Uruguay and Paraguay. It is also useful to note, however, that there were significant nuances among these regimes. The Chilean dictatorship, for example, was significantly different to that of Argentina in two specific ways (Remmer, 1989). Firstly, its leadership was concentrated around one person (i.e. General Augusto Pinochet) rather than a rotating series of Juntas as was the case in Argentina. Secondly, Chile, unlike Argentina, did not have a long tradition of successful coup d’états due to traditionally low levels of state funding in the military and therefore the 1973 coup d’état was significant in its history and moreover proved to be more durable than its Argentine counterpart and lasted for 17 years (1973-1990). This is widely believed to have been a result of its more solid economic policies.
Argentina’s seven-year dictatorship or National Reorganization Process (*El Proceso de Reorganización Nacional*) through four successive Juntas involved a systematic and “massive wave of terror and brutal repression in which the repressive apparatus succeeded in paralyzing the legal and social frameworks” (Roniger and Sznajder, 1999: 25). During the period, kidnapping and torture were widespread. A 2007 report by *Instituto Espacio para la Memoria* lists 520 clandestine detention centres operated in police stations, military buildings, and modified civilian buildings such as appropriated schools, a radio station, the facilities of the state water company and a sugar mill, as well as in private estates and factories (Feitlowitz, 2011: 192-193). As noted in Section 1.1, between 8,961 and 30,000 dissidents are estimated to have disappeared during the regime, including trade-unionists, students, and journalists, presumed to have been killed in the detention centres, and their bodies later burned or dropped into the local river, Río de la Plata, or in the Atlantic Ocean on one of the notorious “death flights” (Verbitsky, 1995).

Thousands more dissidents and their families were forced into exile. Approximately 500 babies born to women in detention⁶ were subsequently raised by military families, many of whom remain unaware of their origins. It is hardly surprising then, that the dictatorship has been called “Argentina’s nightmare” (Graham-Yooll, 1986).

### 2.3 The Final Year of the Dictatorship and Analysis of Three Key Events

While the dictatorship stretched over a seven-year period, the current research project focuses on the final year for a number of reasons. The early years of the dictatorship when, as noted, the majority of kidnappings and disappearances occurred, (1976-1978, but often extended to 1980 for analytical purposes), have received most attention in literature across a number of academic fields, such as in relation to the ideologies underlying its particular form of state terror (Pion-Berlin and Lopez, 1991), the politicisation of the 1978 World Cup held in Argentina by the Junta (Smith, 2002), and the relationship between the United States government and the first Junta of the dictatorship (Avenburg, 2015). Media studies have also generally concentrated more on this period, for instance, as in Iturralde’s (2013) study of Clarín’s representation of the

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fact-finding mission of the Inter-American Commission of Human Rights to Argentina in 1979 and graphic discourse of the period leading up to and immediately after the coup d’état (Costa and Gené, 2013). Secondly, these early years of the dictatorship which were characterised by propaganda, strict censorship, and press blackouts, dominated the press until around 1980 (Borrelli, 2011). This further problematises the building of a corpus for lexicogrammatical and semantic analysis. Moreover, since the final year represents a fascinating period of Argentina’s transition from dictatorship to democracy which was dominated by the implosion of the regime and Argentina’s period of socio-political crisis, its receptivity to media analysis has already been identified in literature (e.g. Saborido and Borrelli, 2012; Borrelli, 2011; Mangone, 1996). The transition was marked by three key events which constitute the focal points of this study for the analysis of media discourses around them.

2.3.1 The Falklands/Malvinas War

The Falklands/Malvinas War (La Guerra del Atlántico Sur or The South Atlantic Conflict) was an armed dispute between Argentina and The United Kingdom over territories in The South Atlantic Ocean, including The Falklands (UK)/Malvinas (Argentina) Islands, South Georgia and South Sandwich Islands. The complex background to and motivations behind the war have hitherto received considerable treatment in the literature (e.g. Razoux, 2002) but broadly speaking, the war erupted after Argentine military forces, led by Admiral Jorge Anaya, invaded the islands seeking to reclaim Argentinean sovereignty over them. While a series of predominantly naval battles unfolded over the subsequent ten-week period of April 2 to June 14, 1982, the print media coverage around the end of this war is of concern to this study. This includes a spectrum of discourses for analysis on both Argentina’s expected victory and its eventual defeat and loss of the territories. Sarlo (1994) contends that the Falklands/Malvinas War was even more significant than the 1978 World Cup held in Argentina, in terms of the Junta’s deployment of the mass media for “its symbolic representation […] and manipulation” (p.2). The national fervour galvanised by the country’s belief that it could win the war was also due to the recent arrival of colour television in the country and increased access to television at the time following international trends (p.2). During the war, the Junta restricted the visits of journalists to the islands and even ordered the detention of those who dared to criticize
the war and/or the military tactics adopted (Ulanovsky, 2005: 134). Furthermore, to create an atmosphere of “triumphalism” images broadcast and published are widely believed to have been doctored by media groups to exaggerate Argentina’s military performance (Ulanovsky, 2005: 134). This resulted in a sharp increase in the sales figures of newspapers which had slumped prior to the war due to a widespread reduction in disposable income in the country’s worsening economic crisis. Argentina’s defeat on June 14, 1982 signalled the unofficial collapse of the regime. This was epitomised, and the internal divisions of the Junta amplified, by the humiliating resignation of the Junta’s leader, General Leopoldo Galtieri, immediately following the loss. In fact, the Junta’s attempt to seize the islands is commonly believed to have been a strategic bid to increase support for a struggling regime (Moneta, 1984) which by this point was being heavily criticised both at home and abroad for its human rights abuses and failing economic policies.

2.3.2 Negotiation of Social, Economic and Political Transition Pact (La Concertación)

The second event of interest is the negotiation of a proposed Transition Pact (La Concertación) between representatives of the Junta and a coalition of democratic parties (La Multipartidaria) in 1982.

This coalition, including The Radical Civic Union, The Justicialist Party, The Intransigent Party, and The Integration and Development Movement, had been formed in 1981 with the aim of exerting pressure on the Junta to end the dictatorship and to facilitate the country’s return to the democracy (Multipartidaria, 1982). Following the country’s defeat in the war against Britain, the Junta instigated a series of negotiations with representatives of this democratic coalition in an attempt to secure military participation in democratic processes, amnesty from punishment for their practices of state terrorism, and the protection of their accumulated wealth and privileged status in Argentine society. To this end, on November 12, 1982 the Junta presented a list of 15 specific demands to the coalition group. The presentation of these terms, the second key event for analysis, is considered the Junta’s “final attempt at legitimizing the dictatorship” (Baeza Belda, 2016). Indeed, the eventual rejection of these terms by the democratic coalition was “a turning point” (Tedesco, 2013) in the transition process, underscoring the Junta’s loss of political control in its inability to dominate negotiations. The activities of the coalition
party and its negotiations with the Junta received considerable media coverage at the time, frequently featuring on the front pages of publications which both upheld and opposed the dictatorship.

2.3.3 The General Elections of 1983

The third key event for analysis, the General Elections of 1983, represents the official end of the regime and the country’s resumption of democracy. It also marks Argentina’s first General Election since 1973. The four candidates for President were Raul Alfonsín (The Radical Civic Union), Italo Lúder (The Justicialist Party), Oscar Alende (The Intransigent Party) and Rogelio Frigerio (The Integration and Development Movement). Alfonsín was ultimately successful with 52% of the vote. He remained in office until July 1989. The Elections, particularly the campaign speeches, received substantial media and considerable front-page coverage in the weeks preceding them and in their immediate aftermath (Blaustein and Zubieta, 1998). Waisbord (1993) has identified both broadcast and print media as the key tools of communication. Alfonsín’s campaign included advertisements and endorsements by well-known sports personalities and actors.

Other important events of the final year which were initially considered for analysis included the largest protest of the dictatorship; a 50,000 strong, trade-union demonstration led by “Pan, Paz y Trabajo” (Bread, Peace and Work) rally in Buenos Aires on March 30, 1982, organised by the CGT (Confederación General del Trabajo de la República Argentina or General Confederation of Labour of the Argentine Republic). This national trade union had been violently repressed by the Junta of the period (Sangrilli, 2012) resulting in one death, 300 injuries and 4,500 arrests. Also considered for analysis was the coverage of the July 1982 debt crisis when, unable to repay its international debts, Argentina was forced to negotiate the terms of its loans with the International Monetary Fund (Tedesco, 2013). However, the decision was ultimately made to include the three chosen events on the grounds of the substantial media coverage they received, which produced considerable volumes of material for analysis. Furthermore, the events selected are widely considered to be highly significant since they are broadly representative of the key socio-political issues of the end of the dictatorship and the country’s return to democracy. They also cover a range of Argentina’s national and international affairs of the period. Furthermore, as noted by Sarlo (1994), the
coverage of the Falklands/Malvinas War marked a watershed in the Junta’s manipulation of the media. It therefore constitutes a useful starting point and frame of reference for analysis of the two events selected which followed in its wake, in order to gauge whether, and to what extent, this manipulation continued after Argentina’s loss of the South Atlantic war.

2.4 Print Media in Argentina: From Colonial Times to the Dictatorship

With its large communities of European immigrants, one the most developed education systems in Latin America, and a vibrant cultural sphere, Argentina has a longstanding and high per capita consumption rate of communication media (Becerra, Marino and Mastrini, 2012). While television has traditionally been generally considered to be the main source of news in the country, 1970 registered a peak in newspaper sales, reaching a total of 2 million copies sold daily (Getino, 1995: 91).

Buenos Aires city has typically constituted the largest market for newspapers produced in the capital, at around 76.8%, followed by Greater Buenos Aires province at 11.7%, with the interior of the country representing 8.5% of sales (Getino, 1995: 90).

Furthermore, studies around media consumption have found that the rate of regional newspaper sales in Argentina correlates directly with the level of socio-economic development of each province (Getino, 1995: 92). It is notable that print media sales in Argentina have benefitted from their identifiable and prolific sales channels, called kiosks or news-stands, which are found on many streets and around main landmarks and transportation hubs, such as bus, train and underground stations. Until 1999, state regulations forced publishers to choose between these kiosks and the subscription-model as their sole distribution and sales channel (Pis Diez, 2007). Approximately 92%, mostly publishers of daily and weekly titles, opted for the kiosk option as it was most popular with the public in facilitating street trade while also including a local adaptation of the

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7 A wave of European emigration to Argentina took place in the late 19th and early 20th century, mostly from Spain and Italy but also from Germany, France, Wales and Ireland (Moya, 1998). Reasons for this were diverse; some emigrants were looking for a better life in the Southern hemisphere and leaving over-populated European cities, others were fleeing wars while more were escaping persecution for their political views and the organised anti-communist purges taking place around Europe in the lead up to the Second World War (Moya, 1998).
subscription sales format called “payment under door,” which enabled readers to receive publications in their homes, delivered by cadets on bicycles, and pay in one single amount at the end of the month (Pis Diez, 2007).

In Argentina, and indeed throughout Latin America, newspapers have a long history linked to the independence movements against Spain and also Portugal in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. In their early, pamphlet-style format, print media had an important socio-political function in disseminating anti-colonial revolutionary ideals and keeping citizens apprised of the latest political developments (Alonso, 2004). In Argentina, single-paged “gazetas” dating as far back as 1764, circulated around the Buenos Aires port area delivering farming, trade, political and economic news (Ulanovsky, 2005). These openly flouted the colonial era’s strict censorship in which only Church publications and Spanish-Guaraní dictionaries were authorised (Cox, 1980). Such differences on the issue of freedom of expression were reinforced during the war of independence in 1810 when Argentina’s Junta, the country’s first national government which came to power after the May Revolution, revoked the royal decree of 1792 prohibiting the dissemination of news on the French Revolution (Cox, 1980). Also in that year, the Junta created a regular newspaper, La Gazeta de Buenos Ayres, as its official communication platform.

Indeed, the Junta’s first secretary, Mariano Moreno, supported the freedom of the press to the extent that this was established as a basic principle of Argentina’s first constitution in 1853 (Cox, 1980).

However, in keeping with the underlying themes of this research of socio-political transition, the relative “golden age” (Cox, 1980: 2) of the press in Argentina, during which it was said to enjoy the greatest freedom in Latin America, is widely believed to have come to an end with the assumption of Juan Domingo Perón as president in 1946 (Cox, 1980). In one of his first presidential speeches he castigated the press as the fourth enemy of the state, based on criticisms of his political agenda that had been published in the most widely read newspaper of the day, La Prensa. In doing so, he deliberately sought to undermine the “Fourth Estate” ideal of the press as the objective, independent, and a critical pillar of democracy generally attributed to Irish statesman and political theorist, Edmund Burke (Cane, 2011). During his first term as president, Perón revoked the tenets
of press freedom established by the Primera Junta and created the *Undersecretariat of Information and the Press*, a state department which focused exclusively on enforcing censorship by carrying out media surveillance and ensuring compliance with press restrictions (Cane, 2011: 108).

Not content to merely control media content, however, Perón also embarked on the creation of a “quasi state media empire” (Cane, 2011: 3). In 1951, he expropriated the newspaper which had initially been most vocal in criticizing him, *La Prensa*, and transformed this publication into an organ of Perónist propaganda. Moreover, he proceeded to expropriate further newspapers, seven more in the city of Buenos Aires alone. This was not just a matter of business transaction but was built on “violent confrontations, backroom deals, economic pressures and legal actions” (Cane, 2011: 3). Perón’s control of the media therefore involved not only the takeover of newspapers and censorship but also the instigation of a culture of intimidation in which dissident press workers were routinely attacked or imprisoned.

Perón’s interference with and instrumentalisation of the media over three consecutive presidential terms adversely affected the industry in three main ways: it weakened the overall field of journalism in terms of integrity and ethics in perpetuating propaganda rather than encouraging objective reporting; it destabilised media outlets by placing them under state control; and finally, in reducing coverage to one-sided state-supported versions of events, it created a gulf of distrust between the media/state and the general public, which remains problematic to this day. The devastating legacy of Perón’s media interventions was compounded in the period immediately before the dictatorship during the presidency of his widow, Isabel Martínez de Perón. She intensified the state control of the media initiated by her husband by closing further oppositional newspapers and introducing new economic measures to stifle the industry, such as reducing the amount of state advertising permitted in newspapers and increasing the attendant bureaucracy and costs of importing newsprint (Saborido and Borrelli, 2012; Borrelli, 2011).

### 2.5 The Dictatorship Media Landscape

Within hours of the *coup d’état* of March 1976, the Junta tightened the censorship already in place in Argentina with the publication of a list of 16 principles and procedures to be
adopted by media outlets which stressed the importance of protecting “Christian values” and “social integrity” (Ulanovsky, 2005: 78) in the content of articles and images. Furthermore, newspaper offices were mandated that all pages intended for publication be brought to an office in government buildings for individual authorisation, while journalists and editors were threatened with 10-year prison terms for publishing texts and/or images critical of Junta members and their activities (Ulanovsky, 2005). Numerous oppositional news outlets were closed; others were burned down or attacked. Journalists suffered intimidation and thousands were forced into exile. The most recent estimate of newsworkers among the list of disappeared sets the number at 1728.

In one of the most insidious episodes in Argentina’s media history, the Junta not only sought to dominate media content from the outset, but also its means of production. Since 1972, Argentina had produced its own newsprint in the Papel Prensa plant. One of the largest in Latin America, it was established though the initiatives of de facto president, Juan Carlos Onganía, with the aim of retaining the almost $US100 million (Getino, 1995) spent annually on importing cellulose-related products at the time within the country. At the outset of the dictatorship, local businessman and banker David Graiver, the dominant private shareholder in Papel Prensa, who had been accused of money-laundering activities for left-wing guerrilla groups, disappeared in a mysterious plane crash in Mexico. His estate was then allegedly coerced by the Junta (Borrelli, 2008: 5) into selling Graiver’s shares for approximately a third of their value (Ruiz-Nuñez, 1988: 26) to a syndicate of three newspapers, Clarín, La Nación and La Razón, together named Fapel S.A., which supported the regime. This effectively resulted in the creation of a state-controlled media monopoly (Ulanovsky, 2005: 95) which exerted a catastrophic impact on smaller news outlets, particularly in the interior of the country, by charging elevated prices for newsprint, forcing many publications into financial difficulty and closure.

2.5.1 Clarín

Of the three newspapers comprising Fapel S.A., Clarín, which was founded in 1945 by politician and publisher Roberto Noble, eclipsed the other two publications in sales by

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8 From a study entitled “Periodistas, trabajadores de prensa y gráficos desaparecidos: Una lista en construcción” conducted by El Registro Único de Víctimas del Terrorismo de Estado (RUVTE) at La Secretaría de Derechos Humanos de la Nación, Argentina http://datos.jus.gob.ar/en_GB/dataset/registro-unificado-de-victimas-del-terrorismo-de-estado-ruvte
the time the syndicate was formed in 1974. Growing from a 22% market share and a daily circulation of 425,900 in 1970 to 31% with a daily circulation of 539,800 in 1980 (Getino, 1995: 91), during this period, its classified advertisements section became the most popular in the country. It exerted significant influence over public opinion through links Noble had established with the country’s then president. Indeed, support of Arturo Frondizi (1958-1962) was sustained in the news values of Clarín at the time, in terms of the president’s favoured economic program of desarrollismo (developmentalism) with its nationalist agenda of promoting internal trade and the local economy (Borrelli, 2008). Clarín’s links with the desarrollismo movement were formalised after Noble’s death in 1969, when his wife, Ernestina Herrera de Noble, took over its directorship and gave supporters of the platform roles of influence in the running and writing of the newspaper which lasted from 1969 until 1982 (Ulanovsky, 2005). Furthermore, media commentators suggest that from this point onwards Clarín benefitted significantly from the “financial alliance” (Borrelli, 2008: 4) it formed with the MID (Movimiento de Integración y Desarrollo) the political arm of desarrollismo, and it is widely known that a US$10 million loan from one of its leading members, economist Rogelio Frigerio, saved the newspaper from potential bankruptcy in 1971. Clarín supported the 1976 coup claiming that the “political subversion” in the country which it purportedly planned to eradicate was a threat to the economic development of the country, although it would later criticize the economic policies of the Junta (Borrelli, 2012).

On the first day of the dictatorship Clarín’s leading front-page article referred to the coup as marking the end of “the prolonged crisis that affected the country” (Clarín, 24 March 1976: 1) and quoted the Junta’s first press release on assuming power to “avoid anarchy and combat immorality” (Clarín, 24 March 1976: 1).

2.5.2 La Nación

While Clarín was a relatively new newspaper when the 1976 coup occurred, La Nación was one of the country’s oldest publications, founded in 1870 by President Bartolomé Mitre. In spite of this, its daily circulation was significantly less than that of its younger rival, at 235,700 in 1970 and 248,300 in 1980 (Getino, 1995: 91). During Perón’s presidency, and under the editorship of Alberto Caprile, La Nación was one of his staunchest critics, particularly of his expropriation of La Prensa (Cox, 1980). However,
on the death of Caprile in 1951 such criticism “became a subdued rumble” (Cox, 1980: 3). Cane (2011: 222) attributes this shift in stance to a fear of repercussions among the Mitre family proprietors of the newspaper, after an arrest warrant issued for the editor of La Prensa, Alberto Gainza Paz, following criticisms of Perón, forced him into exile in Uruguay. La Nación’s new approach, however, had its intended result and it managed to maintain its independence throughout Perón’s presidency. Given the relative freedom that it enjoyed as well as its established and prestigious place in the Argentine media landscape, media commentators frequently express surprise at the “vow of silence” (Cox, 1980: 11) it adopted on the regime’s human rights abuses following the 1976 coup. This suggests that La Nación, of all the newspapers of the time, was in the strongest position to adopt a more critical stance on the dictatorship. Although such a contradiction is difficult to explain, Cox (1980) asserts that a possible reason for this was the dissatisfaction among newsworkers with the considerable space given to and favourable press coverage of left-wing politics at the start of Perón’s presidency. This anti left-wing sentiment is evident in the title of La Nación’s first editorial at the start of the dictatorship, “La Edad de la Razón” (The Age of Reason), which directly supports the Junta’s proposed ideological warfare on dissidents at that time (Blaustein and Zubieta, 1998: 36).

2.5.3 La Razón

The third newspaper of the syndicate, La Razón, had the highest daily circulation in the period preceding the dictatorship at 480,600 in 1970, although by 1980 its sales of 304,800 would be surpassed by Clarín (Getino, 1995: 91). Founded in 1905 by Argentine journalist Emilio Morales as an evening newspaper, La Razón was intended to be a “commercial newspaper independent of the nation’s political factions” (Cane, 2011: 45). It was characterised by its large broadsheet format known as the “sábana vieja” (old bedsheet). In 1911, it became the first newspaper in Argentina to be owned by a journalist when it was acquired by news editor, José Cortejarena. After his death, it suffered many changes in ownership which affected its market identity and sales until it was acquired in 1939 by the prominent Peralta Ramos family, who had many business and landowning interests and were founders of the seaside town of Mar del Plata. The paper was expropriated by Perón’s presidential decree in 1947 and over the next eight years it became the largest selling daily newspaper, not only in Argentina, but throughout Latin
America. At the end of Perón’s time in office it was one of the few publications to be sold back to its previous owners, the Peralta Ramon family. However, after the 1976 coup the state became its largest shareholder and it was a “socio menor” (minor partner) in the Papel Prensa deal (Borrelli, 2011). Its headline on the day preceding the coup commented on the climate of socio-political tension with “The end is imminent. Enough said” (Borrelli, 2011: 31).  

By 1982, La Razón had left the syndicate it had formed with Clarín and La Nación to control Papel Prensa, due to a significant drop in its circulation and revenue. Internal conflicts in the directorship of Clarín had led to the dismissal of the hard-line conservative members who had initially negotiated agreements with the Junta. In this year, La Nación also lost its director, Bartolomé Mitre, who had led the newspaper since 1950, and on his death the role was passed to his son. The year 1982 was critical for Argentina and was marked by growing disillusionment with the dictatorship, and economic and social policies. Poverty, unemployment rates, and external debt had reached their highest levels since 1976.

2.6 Oppositional Print Media during the Dictatorship

Despite the climate of fear and state surveillance of publications during the period of state terrorism, oppositional discourses in the media can be traced throughout the dictatorship. In 1976, writer and journalist Rodolfo Walsh founded Agencias de Noticias Clandestina or the ANCLA press agency. This underground network of journalists and political dissidents circulated over 200 press releases to newsrooms on topics critical of the Junta that did not appear in the mainstream press (Blaustein and Zubieta, 1998). Following Walsh’s disappearance and presumed death in March 1977, coordination of ANCLA was taken over by journalist Horacio Verbitsky, until its eventual dissolution in September of that year.

9 The “end” mentioned in the headline refers to a speech given by Videla, who would be the leader of the first junta of the dictatorship, in which he justified the imminent coup on the basis of “immorality and corruption…. political, economic and economic speculation by groups of “adventurers” to attain their goals” (Blaustein and Zubieta, 1998: 91).
Two further of examples of regular newspapers which were critical of the regime but managed to survive its seven years have been identified. The oppositional discourses of these two newspapers, *The Buenos Aires Herald* and *The Southern Cross* are the focus of the second article of this project (Prendergast, 2018). *The Buenos Aires Herald*, an English-language daily newspaper during the dictatorship\(^{10}\) which denounced the Junta’s human rights abuses and the growing number of *los desaparecidos* in articles and editorials, was founded in 1876 by Scottish businessman William Cathcart, originally as a one-page bulletin with shipping news for British expats (Cox, 2008). *The Southern Cross* was instantiated in 1875 by an Irish Catholic priest.\(^{11}\) It is another example of a small newspaper which traditionally represented the interests of the wealthy. The Irish and Irish-Argentine landowning community had maintained a longstanding self-regard among the social and political elite with its members involved in the foundation of the Argentine navy (O’Brien, 2017). Although the newspaper did not initially adopt any particular political allegiance, this changed during the dictatorship when its then editor, Fr Federico Richards, an advocate of the emerging Liberation Theology movement\(^{12}\) of the time and causes surrounding social justice (Taurozzi, 2009), used his editorials to condemn the Junta’s censorship of the press, torture, enforced disappearance of dissidents, and the Church’s passivity on these topics. Richards maintained and expressed his left-wing stance throughout the dictatorship despite considerable intimidation from security forces and disagreement with certain conservative and right-wing sectors of the Irish-Argentine community (Richards, 1982).

\(^{10}\) The average daily circulation of *The Buenos Aires Herald* was 20,000 (Cox, 2008) compared with 539,800 for Clarín in 1980 (official figures from La Unión de Trabajadores de Prensa de Buenos Aires, [http://www.utpba.org/](http://www.utpba.org/), quoted in Getino, 1995: 91) the largest mainstream daily newspaper of the period and widely considered to have supported the regime.

\(^{11}\) The Southern Cross was published on a weekly basis until 1 May 1982 when it was forced to reduce its publications to three per month as a result of financial difficulties. Its average circulation per publication was 5,000 (Richards, 1982)

\(^{12}\) An interpretation of Catholic theology focussing on social justice and reducing poverty that emerged in Latin America in the 1950s and 1960s (Gutiérrez, 1988)
A further example of counter-discourse to the dictatorship, analysed in article three (Prendergast, 2017b), can be found in graphic media in *Humor Registrado*¹³ magazine, Argentina’s first regular publication of political satire, which emerged in 1978 “by taking advantage of a more lenient period in the regime when the Junta wanted to appear more liberal to the world while the World Cup was taking place in Argentina” (Cascioli, 2005). *Humor’s* editorial team was led by Cascioli and Aquiles Fabregat, who both had well-established careers in advertising in Buenos Aires, and journalist Tomás Sanz, who was in charge of the magazine’s written content. At almost one hundred pages, *Humor* carried short stories, political commentaries, comic strips and readers’ letters, but it was the magazine’s covers featuring caricatures, mostly of the military generals who had assumed leadership of the country in the 1976 coup d’état, as well as the journalists and economists who supported them, that made the magazine most identifiable and best known. *Humor* built on the readership which Cascioli had amassed with previous collaborators on ground-breaking Argentine satirical publications, inspired by the US model of *National Lampoon* (1970-1998), like *Chaupinela* (1975) and *Satiricón* (1972-1976). These had been halted by the governmental decree of Isabel Perón in the years preceding the dictatorship for their sharp social critique (Sanz, 2013). The new magazine was printed and circulated using the infrastructure developed by Cascioli for these previous projects, most notably *La Urraca* publishing house (1974-2001).

*Humor*, as political satire, emerged initially from Cascioli’s frustration at this growing climate of censorship in Argentina. This political focus was developed by the journalists and graphic artists who collaborated on the magazine as a more open space of expression for criticisms of the regime’s devastating economic policies and human rights abuses, beyond the constraints of the mainstream, heavily state-censored and Spanish-language, press. Between 1978 and 1983, *Humor Registrado* faced over thirty costly lawsuits for defamation by individual disgruntled regime members, along with numerous death threats, vigilance by state officials, an attempt to close down its editorial’s headquarters

¹³ *Humor Registrado* initially had a monthly circulation of 20,000 copies and eventually reached an average fortnightly circulation of 70,000 (Cascioli, 2013: 12).
in late 1982, the destruction of material, and the confiscation of over 180,000 copies of the magazine’s 97th edition in January 1983 by state agents (Cascioli, 2013: 7).
CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Print Media: From “Fourth Estate” to “Ideological Brokers”

By both simultaneously disseminating information to mass audiences and being established, ritualised and reinforced through visual and lexicogrammatical repetitions (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan and Signorielli, 1986), the axiomatic role of mass media in twenty-first century society including television, print publications and the internet, has been established in literature across various academic fields including cultural studies, history, sociology, and media studies. Media discourses have been highlighted as worthy of analysis because they employ, and manipulate, language as a “tool” to transmit messages of considerable subsequent impact on the discourse used in society (Bell, 1991: 3). Whether published or broadcast regularly and later stored in libraries, repositories and archives, such media discourses have also been acknowledged as highly accessible for linguistic analysis. Conversely, conversations must be elicited, recorded and transcribed, and are further problematised by a number of ethical issues around matters of consent. Media resources are generally open-access and intended for general mass consumption (Bell, 1991: 3).

As the oldest form of media, with early versions dating back to the stone and metal bulletin boards of the Acta Diurna in Ancient Rome, newspaper discourse has traditionally enjoyed “sanctity from its relationship to civic culture” (Barnhurst and Nerone, 2002: 1). This is epitomised in Burke’s eighteenth century ideal of the “Fourth Estate” in which the press, as a supposedly objective platform of communication, was considered pivotal to democracy, debate, and challenge to oppression. In a similar vein, Anderson (1983) hailed the press as a strand of “print capitalism” fundamental to the spread of nineteenth century nationalism, which, as previously noted in section 2.4, was also the case in Argentina’s struggle against colonisation. Later theorists have noted the privileged position enjoyed by newspapers in the fields of both law, which traditionally has held greater weight than other forms of media, and popular culture, which “endorses its power to expose and enlighten” (Barnhurst and Nerone, 2001: 1).
Krzyżanowski (2009) and Triandafyllidou, Wodak and Krzyżanowski (2009) have furthermore explored the role of the media in the creation of a transnational public sphere in the European post-war context. This focus on the media as platforms for the negotiation (and re-negotiation) of European identity, with a critical role in representing key socio-political issues across an extended period of time, marks a reconceptualization of Habermas’ (1989: 185) original understanding of the newspaper as “a capitalist undertaking” (p.193) intent on advertising to citizens rather than seeking to engage them in informed political debate. This later conception of the public sphere instead approaches the media as “key carriers of the ongoing negotiations of different ideas and different actors’ standpoints” (Triandafyllidou, Wodak and Krzyżanowski, 2009: 4) which inform the development of values and identity both at a national and transnational European level. Moreover, in times of social and political crisis, such as the three periods under analysis in this study, these debates can intensify with an increase in both explicit and implicit media discourses in what these theorists liken to an acceleration of the public sphere (p.5).

This understanding of media discourses as both created by, while also stimulating debates within, the public sphere is underpinned by a “social constructivist” approach (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989). Indeed, this is also central to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), the chief theoretical framework of this study explored further in Chapter Four, has underpinned media studies for decades. However, recent research has probed further into the implications of this, and in doing so, has challenged the aforementioned traditional ideals around print media. Consequently, a considerable body of work now exists on their biased mediation of social reality (e.g. Chadwick, 2017; Eveland, 2002). Furthermore, media processes around gatekeeping, framing, and agenda-setting have also been established and analysed (e.g. McCombs, 2004) and assert that the media aims to tell us “what to think about…and how to think about it” (McCombs, 2005: 546). More contemporary studies have analysed the term “fake news” as involving satire, parody, fabrication, manipulation, advertising and propaganda (Tandoc, Lim and Ling, 2017) and examined the political motivations behind the fabrication of “fake” news stories, for example in relation to the 2016 US Presidential Elections (Peters, 2017).
In terms of the processes around the media’s construction of social reality, this current study is focused on representation “as central to the processes by which meaning is produced” (Hall, 1997: 1). For its analysis of representations of key events and social actors in the media discourse on the final year of Argentina’s dictatorship, this research follows Hall’s (1997) “constructivist” understanding of the term as “different ways of organising, clustering and classifying concepts and establishing complex relations between them” (p.3). Baker, Gabrielatos and McEnery (2013) have also analysed the partial nature of representations, which are often created through the biased selection of events and perspectives as well as limitations of time and space (p.3). Schudson (1997) maintains that representations in media discourses are influenced by the three main strands of political economy, or the financial interests behind news organizations, sociological interests which shape how the news is presented by media organisations, and culturological factors “by which news emerges from the relationship between occurrences and a culture’s symbolic system” (pp. 3-4). Van Dijk (1995) explores the social and institutional power held by elite groups (p. 12) with increased access to and presence in media discourse. In the Latin American context, van Dijk (2005) asserts that this elitism is manifested as negative representations, or ethnism and racism across various forms of public discourse towards groups who are outside of these circles of power, namely, indigenous groups and Afrolatins.

Wodak (1996) also explores strategies of exclusion and prohibition through “disorders of discourse,” delineating how the perpetuation of power imbalances in institutional contexts such as the deliberate choice of unclear media vocabulary can function as an alienating mechanism or “language barrier” (Wodak, 1996: 102) which intentionally seeks to transform consumers into passive receivers rather than active and potentially challenging engagers. Achugar (2007) revealed similar “ambivalence” (e.g. metaphors, moral and ethical terminology, impersonal, passive constructions, and so on) in the institutional media strategies employed by the Uruguayan military pertaining to justifications of human rights abuses during the country’s dictatorship. Elite groups, such as the Junta, who attempted to perpetuate an official version of reality, were explored as “ideology brokers” by Blommaert (1999) and a significant body of work has recently emerged in the field of Social Sciences in Argentina regarding the role of the country’s mainstream media in supporting the Argentinean dictatorship (e.g. Borrelli, 2008, 2010;
Borrelli and Saborido, 2012; Iturralde, 2017). Feitlowitz (2011) analysed the “lexicon of terror” deployed by the military as a means to justify their practices, spread fear, and invoke complicity. Adopting a broader approach, Blaustein and Zubieta (1998) have compiled and analysed a catalogue of 300 newspaper covers of newspapers of the period, while Ulanovsky (2005) has formulated a year-by-year analysis of media coverage the regime. These two final studies include publications which supported and, to a lesser extent, opposed the regime.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is an established framework of analysis for media studies and has been applied to media analysis by some of the field’s leading proponents (e.g. Fairclough, 1995; Fowler, 1991; Richardson, 2006; van Dijk, 1995, 1988; Wodak and Busch, 2004). Using the lens of CDA, the interactions of power relations, ideology and discourse are central to the conception of media. The understanding of discourse which is central to the current study and CDA has been defined in a number of different ways; for example, as “contextualised real-time utterances” (Chilton and Schäffner, 2002: 18), or as the “higher-level organizational properties of dialogue” (Fairclough, 1992: 3). CDA’s specific exploration of discourse in relation to power and knowledge has been strongly influenced by Foucault (Chilton and Schäffner, 2002: 18). Jäger and Maier (2009), who developed and adopted the Foucauldian strand of CDA, building on the application of this theory to the cultural sciences by Jürgen Link, contend that discourses “are not only mere expressions of social practice, but also serve particular ends, namely the exercise of power” (p.35). Such an understanding also informs the current study.

The explicit aim of CDA has been set out as “revealing structures of power and unmasking ideologies” (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 8). Fairclough’s (1992) conception of these terms is highly influenced by Marxist theory, particularly the work of Althusser and Gramsci. As such, ideological and power relations are understood to exist in “the practices of institutions” (p.87), social relations, and identities, and therefore take a “material” (p.87) form comprising the superstructure of society which is determined by the base, or the material means of production. Moreover, Fairclough (1992) explains that these processes can be “naturalised and automatized” (p.90) to the extent that people may not even be conscious that they are adopting and sustaining them. Wodak and Meyer (2009: 8) underscore the “hidden and latent” manifestations of ideology which can be
subsumed in language and text. This tactic, frequently used by media organisations and individuals attempting to dominate power relations, is of keen interest to CDA researchers. However, Wodak and Meyer (2009) propose a more general or “kaleidoscopic” (p. 8) conception of power and ideology from political science for CDA analysis, thereby broadening Fairclough’s (1992) specifically Marxist interpretation of these terms. Moreover, van Dijk, (2009) defines ideology as “the fundamental social beliefs that organise and control the social representations of groups and their members” (pp.78-79). For the purposes of CDA, power, which is open to a multitude of different definitions, can be understood as a complex, and at times, invisible force which pervades society, through media, prison and educational systems, and so on. As such, it can be both a positive and negative phenomenon (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 8-10). This understanding of power is applicable to this media study which analyses discourses of both support and challenge to Argentina’s dictatorship.

3.2 Memory Studies

Memory Studies, an area of academia which has been steadily gaining momentum since the aftermath of World War II, is rewarding for studies with a CDA framework, since both fields hold discourses to be constructed, selective, and complex. French sociologist Halbwachs, one of its founding fathers (Gensburger, 2016) who introduced and developed the concept of collective memory, which traces the development of the shared past, present and future of social groups, suggested that it is in interaction with society and others rather than individually that our social memories are formed. In his exploration of collective memory, Olick (1999) advocated approaching it more broadly as a “sensitizing term for a wide variety of mnemonic processes, practices, and outcomes, neurological, cognitive, personal, aggregated, and collective” (p.346). Underscoring further complexity, Assmann (2011) suggested that the broad concept of collective memory should be divided into two further strands, “communicative memory” by which remembrances of the past are transmitted from generation to generation in the private sphere and on a daily basis and “cultural memory”, which is wider and “preserves the store of knowledge from which a group derives an awareness of its unity and peculiarity” (p.213). Assmann (2011) underlines the importance of media in cultural memory as requiring the kind of “specialist practice” (p.214) necessary to “cultivate cultural
memory” (p.214). In fact, a cultural approach to CDA has already been applied to memory studies by Gavriely-Nuri (2014) in an analysis of the political speeches of two Israeli presidents in the 2000s.

Todorov (2003) has contributed significantly to the literature on memory studies, particularly in the exploration of the strategies used by totalitarian regimes to “achieve total control of memory” (p.131). The first of these strategies involves “wiping out the evidence” (p.113) which, in the context of Argentina’s dictatorship could be said to include the practice of throwing the bodies of the disappeared from planes into the River Plate and Atlantic Ocean. Todorov (2003) names the second strategy as “intimidation” (p.114) which article two of this present study highlights in relation to the Junta’s threats to press workers during the regime. The third strategy is identified as “euphemism” (p.115). An effective example of this is arguably offered by Lavandera (1986) in her study of the language of the Junta’s (1983) official “Final Document” on the disappeared in which the meaning of specific words is shown to be distorted in the text so that the term desaparecidos eventually refers to members of the military as well as civilians. The final strategy of memory control is underscored as “propaganda” (p.116) and has been explored by Sarlo (1994) in relation to the Junta’s manipulation of the print and broadcast media during the Malvinas/Falklands War which led to the widespread, but erroneous, belief that the country had the military strength to defeat Great Britain. While the military Junta’s attempts to control memory has therefore received considerable coverage in previous literature, this study aims to highlight the role of the oppositional media in contesting official attempts to dominate the memory field in both the newspaper articles of The Buenos Aires Herald (article two) and the political cartoons of Humor Registrado (article three).

Therefore, counter-memory (Foucault, 1977) is an additional facet of memory studies that is pivotal for the second article of this project (Prendergast, 2018). Counter-memories have been linked to counter-discourses as they share the same objective of destabilising the official version of events and memory (Zerubavel, 1995). Like counter-discourses, they “often represent those who were silenced by the collective memory and they may provide another lens through which to view the past and present” (Buffington and Waldner, 2011: 98). The current research investigates the relationship between these and
counter-memories as informed by and built upon the alternative narratives, testimonies, and reports of events to those propagated in official accounts, exemplified by the oppositional print media to Argentina’s dictatorship. Scholarship has asserted that a key difference between them and dominant memory is that there are multiple counter-memories contesting the official one, like the plurality of counter-discourses which Buffington and Waldner (2011) explore in relation to monuments and counter-monuments in Virginia on the US Civil War.

Many recent studies on memory and Argentina’s dictatorship have focused on and interrogated the concept of post-memory, introduced and first defined by Hirsch (2008) in terms of the Holocaust as “the relationship of the second generation to powerful, often traumatic, experiences that preceded their births but that were nevertheless transmitted to them so deeply as to seem to constitute memories in their own right” (p.103). Blejmar (2016), for example, examines the different forms of cultural production created by children of Argentina’s disappeared which she asserts embody an innovative and playful aesthetic frequently mixing fact and fiction. However, Sosa (2014a) contests and subverts Hirsch’s foregrounding of the “wounded family” in the post-memory narrative by drawing on theory around performance and queer studies, particularly the work of Judith Butler (1990), to propose that Argentina’s period of state terrorism affected society as a whole and not just those with direct and familial experiences of it. Such a reconceptualization of post-memory evokes the theory of German historian Koselleck (1988), later developed in the contemporary European context by Krzyżanowski (2016), that concepts, and the discourses that comprise them, can shift from their original meanings due to changing circumstances and timeframes, for example from the Holocaust to Argentina’s most recent dictatorship, as well as ongoing processes of discursive critique and conflicts between past experiences and each society’s expectations for the future.

As a historical study which is being carried out concurrently with Argentina’s processes of remembering and addressing its past, of particular relevance to article two where the connection between contemporary counter-memories of the dictatorship and counter-journalism during the regime is traced, this project falls, to a certain extent, within the scope of post-memory studies. Overall, however, the explicit focus of this project remains
on the media of the dictatorship period. Nevertheless, the post-memory work of Blejmar (2016) and Sosa (2014a) informs the third article of this study (Prendergast, 2017b) which locates, in the political cartoons of the dictatorship period, the development of a playful aesthetic (Blejmar) and humour as a way of coping with loss and form of emancipation from the status of victimhood (Sosa). While neither of these scholars specifically use the term ‘multimodal’ in their studies, in combining cultural elements such as film, theatre, food, flags, texts, and spoken material for analysis, they are implicitly proposing a multimodal form of communication, which reinforces the relevance of their work as reference points for this project.

3.3 News Values: How Events Become News

While CDA has set out its aim of uncovering relations of power and ideology in media studies, Bednarek and Caple (2014) have noted that previous works have omitted or only lightly touched upon the role of “news values” which are ideological “in the sense that they can work to reinforce other ideologies (rather than just an ideology of what is newsworthy)” (p. 137). They suggest that failures in previous CDA research to engage with news values is due to a lack of familiarity with the term compounded by the absence of an appropriate framework for analysis of news values. Stuart Hall (1973), for example, refers to “news values” as “one of the most opaque structures of meaning in modern society” (p.234), claiming that “few (journalists) can or are willing to identify and define it” (p.234). Despite these challenges, Bednarek and Caple (2014) suggest that without an acknowledgement of the role of news values, the logic underlying media analysis is overly simplistic or that “news production is circular” (p.137) with events and news solely seen to be influencing each other. For the purpose of analysis “news values,” can be broadly defined as “properties of events or stories or as criteria/principles that are applied by news workers in order to select events or stories as news or to choose the structure and order of reporting” (Bednarek and Caple, 2014: 136). Indeed, they have been foregrounded in media studies as central to the processes around news production and explored from different perspectives by scholars for more than half a century. In their seminal analysis of what they originally termed “news factors” in the Norwegian print media coverage of three international conflicts of the early 1960s, Galtung and Ruge (1965) proposed twelve factors that define “newsworthiness” as set out below. They
hypothesised that the more a story conforms to these criteria the greater likelihood it has of becoming news, and that conversely, events which fail to correspond to these criteria are less likely to be considered “newsworthy”:

1. Frequency
2. Threshold
3. Unambiguity
4. Relevance
5. Consonance
6. Meaningfulness
7. Unexpectedness
8. Continuity
9. Composition
10. Reference to elite nations
11. Reference to elite people
12. Reference to something negative

This list was later criticised by Hall (1973) on the grounds that it is presented as a formal inventory of “neutral, routine, practices” (p. 235) and therefore fails to acknowledge the ideological nature of news production. According to Hall (1973) this involves a continual reinforcement of a consensus set of beliefs about the world which functions as the platform from which news organisations construct their selection of and discourses on events and social actors (p.236). In a further and equally relevant challenge to Galtung and Ruge’s criteria of newsworthiness, Brighton and Foy (2007) assert that different time periods and socio-political contexts can render a number of these factors redundant and may even necessitate the addition of new criteria. This point is reinforced in the work of Harcup and O’Neill (2001) who devised a revised list of “news values” in the context of domestic, rather than international news stories, in the UK press of the late twentieth century. This included each newspaper’s particular agenda of which they give examples. For instance, the longstanding anti-BBC stance maintained by the British tabloid, The Sun, which has favoured the commercial interests of its owner, Rupert Murdoch (p.276).

More recent literature on news values has proposed a re-conceptualisation of news values and helpfully divided approaches to the term into three different strands: material; cognitive; and discursive (Caple and Bednarek, 2016). This study is particularly informed by the final approach which asserts that news values are “constructed through discourse” (Bednarek and Caple, 2014: 137). Moreover, discursive analysis of this kind “demonstrates how an event has been packaged and sold to audiences as news” (p.445), entails analysis of all visual and textual elements, and promotes comparativity of outputs across different news outlets.
3.4 The Specificities of Print Media Discourse

Bednarek (2017) states that “newsworthiness” is developed using two kinds of resources: linguistic and visual (p.77). The current study is concerned with both strands and is predicated on two articles which focus on the linguistic features of discourse and a third which examines visual discourse and its interrelationship with linguistic features. In keeping with the theme of flux and transition, this study again echoes Bednarek (2017) who holds that it is difficult to formulate a definitive list of lexicogrammatical features of news discourse since this depends on context and targeted audience (p. 78). However, such lists are likely to include “word forms, lemmas, phrases, whole clauses, or sentences” (p.78). Gabrielatos and Baker (2008) have explored how these devices can be employed in various combinations and with different discursive effects. For example, they have engaged with various word collocations, metaphors, and even the creation of nonsensical terms for negative representations (e.g. illegal refugee) in their study of print media discourses on asylum seekers and refugees in the UK press from 1996-2005.

At the meso-discursive level, van Dijk (1988) explores the various discursive functions of headlines in media. The first of these is practical in that headlines can operate as hooks to entice readers into continuing to read the rest of the article (p.143). However, they also have various cognitive functions (p.143-144) in introducing the overall macrostructural aims, foci, and directions of the discourses that follow. White (1997) delves further into the role of headlines in print media discourse to better analyse their contribution to the “textual nucleus” (p.111) of print discourses in combination with opening sentences (leads) which “launch the reader immediately into the heart of the social-order disruption about which the report is organised” (p.112). Furthermore, White’s (1997) analysis proposes that the combination of headline and opening sentences incorporates an interpersonal function in establishing the starting point of texts as “dramatic, highly significant and/or emotionally charged” (p.115). Based on this rationale around their discursive significance, previous media studies such as those by Caple and Bednarek (2016) and van Dijk (1988) have included the headlines of articles for analysis. The current study has determined to omit headlines from analysis and to focus solely on the body of newspaper articles for a number of reasons.
Firstly, as White (1997) emphasises, the information and focus set out in the headline is repeated within the main text and this recurrence could “promote skew” (McEnery and Baker, 2017: 125) in corpus results. Moreover, what White (1997: 115) refers to as the “satellite structure” (or the body) has five important functions in discourse (p.115): to elaborate further on the central issue introduced in the headline; to establish the “cause and effect” network around the crisis point; to justify the topic as newsworthy; to provide context; and to engage in an evaluation or assessment of the issue with reference to external sources.

At the macro-discursive level Bell (1991) proposes four categories of press news: hard news; feature articles; special topic news (e.g. sports, technology, business, etc.), and headlines (with subheadings, by-lines, photo-captions) (p.14). Moreover, he draws two further distinctions between hard news and features (p.14). Journalists generally posit a distinction between hard and soft news, though a clear delineation between them is difficult to define in academic terms (Reinemann, Stanyer, Scherr and Legnante, 2011). However, in their review of decades of scholarship on this topic, these researchers observed that the distinction between them consists of two main elements; topic, and framing (pp.224-225). Following this line of reasoning, hard news can be understood as “reports about politics, public administration, the economy… and related topics” (p.224) which are connected to discourses around “public good, to policy issues or to society at large” (p.225). Soft news, in comparison, is based on human-interest, such as coverage of sport or entertainment events (p.224).

Since the current research centres on the events and actors of Argentina’s political sphere during the early 1980s, for reasons of time and space, hard news stories form the sole focus of analysis. A further point needs to be made in respect of opinion pieces and editorials. While these have been considered worthy of analysis in their own right (van Dijk, 1998) for their particular expressions of and interrelationship with ideologies, they have also been also excluded from previous media studies on the basis that they are considered “non-news items” (Bednarek, 2017: 197). They have also been excluded from analysis in the current study as they are deemed to represent examples of explicit discourses, whereas in keeping with the stated aims of CDA, this study seeks to excavate
and analyse “what is implicit, hidden or otherwise not immediately obvious” (van Dijk, 1995: 18) and “underlying ideologies” (van Dijk, 1995: 18).

One final point pertaining to the layout of print media which is also relevant to this study is that it encompasses a series of carefully combined “semiotic modes…[that] interrelate in different ways” (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1998: 187), including, but not limited to text, headlines, and photographs. For Kress and van Leeuwen (1998) the layout of pages involves the interaction of three systems of signification (p.188): namely, information value, or the placement of the modes on the page; salience, or the features that attract the reader’s attention to particular elements on the page, such as contrasts in size or colour; and framing, which either draw together or separate the different elements which feature on the page. These three elements work to communicate meaning, both as a whole and independently, as article three explores in relation to the visual, oppositional discourse to Argentina’s dictatorship.

3.5 Inverting and Re-directing: The Form and Function of Oppositional Discourse

As noted in section 3.1, theorists such as van Dijk (1995) have drawn a firm distinction between elite groups and the “ordinary people” who are denied access to and control over discourse and instead are subjected to “symbolic and persuasive” (van Dijk, 1995: 10) elite media control.

This dichotomous reading however, fails to accommodate the nuances of the current study which acknowledges not only media which supported the regime but oppositional or counter-discourses to the official version propagated during Argentina’s dictatorship. In doing so, this approach subverts the idea of the “ideal” reader who is at the same time both produced and, in a sense, imprisoned by the text (or discourse, my addition) (Caldas-Coulthard and Coulthard, 1995: 250) as van Dijk suggests. In this vein, a relevant critique of Galtung and Ruge’s (1965) original list of news values rests on Brighton and Foy (2007)’s assertion that it incorrectly presumes that “the audience will fulfil their half of the bargain” (p.2) and accept the version of reality presented to them through the lens of news values. This, as the current study also posits, is not always the case. As Andrews (2004) underscores, although the discursive “master narrative” (p.1) provides a model to
be accepted, assumed, and even introduced, when our experience, views, and beliefs are contrary to this, “we come to question these dominant tales” (p.1).

Similarly, this current study builds on the work of Foucault (1982), later developed by Wodak and Meyer (2009), and as such is mindful that language and texts are produced at a societal rather than individual level, as platforms for diverse power relations, with each one attempting to gain dominance over the other. As such, they are “sites of struggle” (p.10) Another feature of Foucault’s theory explored by Wodak (1996) which speaks directly to this research is the transformative nature of discourse in which strategies can change and new strategies emerge to reflect shifts in the broader socio-political context.

Macgilchrist’s (2007) work on identifying strategies of counter-discourse in media which informs the current study extends the discourse theory of Laclau and Mouffe (1985) in proposing that despite attempts by official discourses to achieve total domination over and even stifle others, this can never completely occur as “there is always a gap, through which marginal discourses can break in and take over a more central position” (p.75). In her work on oppositional discourses in the English-language Western press which undermines prevalent discourse constructions of Russia, Macgilchrist (2007) identifies the five strategies of logical inversion, or presenting arguments that support contrary position or discourse construction,” (pp.76-77); parody, as the use of irony to destabilise the official version, complexification by which a more nuanced position is introduced (p.78), and partial and/or radical reframing of dominant discourses (pp.80-83). These strategies are explored in relation to the counter-discourses of The Buenos Aires Herald and The Southern Cross in article two.

Foucault (1977) proposed counter-discourses as being “capable of seizing those rules….to pervert them, invert their meaning and redirect them against those who had initially imposed them” (p.151). Significant work has also been undertaken on the role of media in defying and resisting repressive regimes. In the African context Olukotun (2002) outlines the role of Nigeria’s guerrilla journalism “best understood as the innovation of a robust civil society keen to create communication outlets in the face of authoritarian closure” (p.318) during the 1990s military regime led by General Sani Abacha. In a climate of strict censorship, kidnappings, detentions, disappearances, and exile, similar to that of Argentina’s dictatorship, journalists of two publications, Tell and News magazines,
produced publications which dared to criticise the regime by working in various secret locations around the Nigerian capital, using different Lagos publishing houses, and a network of street vendors. The said publications were confiscated and prohibited, and many street sellers arrested (p.324). Echoing the theme of this study in its analysis of counter-discourses to Argentina’s regime, Olukotun’s research (2000) also highlighted the importance of the oppositional media in Nigeria during the country’s transition from dictatorship to democracy “as a vital artery of civil society in delegitimizing autocracies, in fostering transition projects, as well as in consolidating and sustaining infant democracies” (p.31).

In the Latin American context, extant literature also addresses the role of the print media as a “revolutionary actor” (Horne, 2007) within oppressive political regimes. In respect of Nicaragua, Horne (2007) contends that Anastacio Samoza’s thwarted attempts to control the media during his dictatorship of the 1960s and 1970s combined with continual criticism of his regime in the oppositional press, eventually contributed to his eventual overthrow (p.58). In the context of Argentina, there is considerable scholarship on the work and activism of ‘the father of investigative Argentinean journalism’, Rodolfo Walsh who, as noted in 2.6, instantiated the clandestine news agency, ANCLA, during the dictatorship and became one of ‘the disappeared’ on March 25, 1977. Scholarship on Walsh is principally in the field of history (e.g. Bertranou, 2006), journalism (e.g. García Márquez, 1994; Verbitsky, 1985), literature (e.g. Piglia, 1993) and politics (McCaughan, 2002). In addition, there is a significant body of work dedicated to The Buenos Aires Herald’s oppositional role to the dictatorship, mostly produced by the journalists who worked in the newspaper during the period (e.g. Graham-Yooll, 1986, Cox, 1980). Though less prominent in the literature, Fr Federico Richards and The Southern Cross have been a similar focus of historical research by Taurozzi (2009). The role of graphic media, and more specifically Humor Registrado, as a form of “cultural resistance” to the dictatorship has also been examined by Burkart (e.g. 2005, 2013).

3.6 Journalism and Memory

The relationship between the academic fields of journalism and memory studies has been relatively underexplored in the literature of both fields (Olick, 2014). However, the current study builds on an emerging body of work which posits and explores the
fundamental relationship between them. Zelizer (2014), for example, has called journalism “one of the few institutions to encapsulate contemporary memory’s spread” (p.45) including written, place, bodily, and material memory. Noting that the importance of journalism’s work within memory studies has been, while overlooked, always implicit, Kitsch (2011) delineates five ways that its role can be understood: as a “narrative and lesson” (p.64); as “snapshot and scrapbook” (p.65) as “conscience and ceremony” (p.66) as “keepsake and historical record” (p.67); and as “conversation and community” (p.68).

This study (Prendergast, 2018) seeks to add to the literature which analyses the role of journalists as “witnesses” during times of socio-political tension, such as the work of Tait (2011) which acknowledges the complexities around this and certain definitional issues in relation to the term. The understanding of journalistic “witnessing” for this project is proximate to Ignatieff’s (1998) concept of “moral engagement,” rather than mere “eye witnessing” (Tait, 2011) reportage of events as they occur. This research is informed by Margalit’s (2004) concept of “the moral witness” as an individual who comes forward to document and denounce events and actions that run counter to the common good, such as human rights abuses. According to Margalit (2004) such “moral witnesses” are motivated by “knowledge-by-acquaintance of suffering” (p. 149) and “thick relations” (p.104) with communities which have experienced these torments. Moreover, in documenting issues which frequently contradict the official version of events, they voluntarily “face personal risk” (p.150). Margalit (2004) suggests that journalists do not automatically fulfil this role as they may simply be reporting on events because “it is interesting and makes a good story, even though it is risky” (p.151). Alternatively, he suggests that a “moral purpose” (p.151) may be required as a motivation. While much of this theory and many of the terms utilised have frequently been explored in relation to the Holocaust, the concept of the “moral journalist” has also been applied in the contemporary online media context to the work of the all-female “Machsom Watch” organisation which monitors the human rights of Palestinians at Israel military checkpoints and posts reports on their websites (Wiesslitz and Ashuri, 2011). This current research project proposes that the theory of the “moral witness” is also applicable to the oppositional print media during Argentina’s dictatorship, as article two explores. Indeed, the role of journalists as witnesses has already been applied to the Latin American context by several commentators including Randall’s (1996) engagement with the testimonial journalism of women in Central and
Southern America in the 1960s and 1970s as a means to recording harrowing experiences which would otherwise be forgotten. In the case of Argentina, Kaiser (2014) alludes to the role of journalists as “mediators in the witnessing chain” (p.245) during the post-dictatorship trials.

The current research is mindful that while memory and journalism are interrelated, perhaps even interdependent, tensions exist between the fields which “mutually support, undermine, repair and challenge each other” (Zelizer and Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2014: 1). Taking as case studies US news reportage on the 1965 Watt riots and 1968 Chicago Democratic Convention, Edy (2006) raises the issue of whether media frames can truly capture the complexity of social unrest without creating contradictions in collective memory. Again, in relation to the Holocaust, Zandberg (2010) suggests that journalism is never truly adequate to capture the intensity of actual horrors. Evoking the aforementioned (section 3.1) work of Achugar (2007) and Feitlowitz (2011) in the field of memory studies, Todorov (2003) raises the issue of the misappropriation of media outlets when “they are all controlled by the same political agenda” (p.12) and become a tool in the “blotting out” (p.5) of memories which diverge from the official account. In a similar way, Poddiakov’s (2002) study of the use of photographs to build both narratives and counter-narratives, suggests that negative narratives can be deliberately created, and that these in turn, can enter the memory field. These complex, at times contradictory, facets of journalism reinforce Zelizer’s (2017) suggestion that such is its fluidity that a minimum of twelve metaphors are required to approach an understanding of its multifaceted role in society: a sixth sense; a container; a mirror; a story; a child; a service; engagement; a profession; an institution; a text; people; and a set of practices.
CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES

4.1 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

As established in the previous chapter, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which provides the main theoretical framework for this study, approaches language and text as “socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned” (Blommaert and Bulcaen, 2000: 448). Furthermore, it is concerned with identifying often “opaque” (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 10) relations of power and ideology and exposing how these are manifested through (mis)representations, particularly in public discourses. In this regard, CDA builds on many of the tenets of its precursor, Critical Linguistics, especially its critical focus with the “locus of critique [as] the nexus of language/discourse/speech and social structure (Blommaert and Bulcaen, 2000: 449) rather than as “a linguistic unit per se” (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 2).

The aim of CDA is transformative as researchers adopt its principles for “empowering the powerless, giving voices to the voiceless, exposing power abuse and mobilizing people to remedy social wrongs” (Blommaert and Bulcaen, 2000: 449). Chapter Three of this study also emphasised that CDA has an established trajectory in its application to media studies.

While the term Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) originally emerged from a symposium organised in Amsterdam by Dutch linguist, Teun A. van Dijk, for a small group of like-minded scholars, including Ruth Wodak and Norman Fairclough, in January 1991, van Dijk (1985:1) suggests that CDA is both “a young and a new discipline” with 2000-year-old foundations in classical rhetoric and the early analysis of structures of public speeches in political and legal contexts. CDA’s chief predecessors also include the social theory focused Frankfurt School, which emerged in the interwar period in response to the socio-political and economic instability of the time.

Wodak and Meyer (2009: 5) refer to CDA as a “research programme” (p.4) and moreover, one that is interdisciplinary, influenced by many different theoretical approaches, and with a number of general principles which can be applied to a wide range of study areas.
It is not so much “a direction, school or specialization…rather it aims to offer a different “mode” or “perspective” of theorizing” (van Dijk, 2001: 352).

CDA does not propose a single or unified theoretical and/or methodological paradigm, but rather offers many different strands. The aim of such openness is to “allow for continuous debates, for changes in the aims and goals and for innovation” (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 5). Indeed, van Dijk (1993) argues that it is exactly this “multidisciplinarity” (p.253) which makes CDA such a challenge to the researcher since it necessitates the simultaneous negotiation of “text, talk, social cognition, power, society and culture” (p.253).

Despite the diversity of its theory, Fairclough and Wodak (1997, pp 271-80) highlight eight fundamental principles underlying CDA, all of which are applicable to the current study:

1. CDA addresses social problems
2. Power relations are discursive
3. Discourse constitutes society and culture
4. Discourse does ideological work
5. Discourse is historical
6. The link between text and society is mediated
7. Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory
8. Discourse is a form of social action

Blommaert and Bulcaen (2000: 48) state that Norman Fairclough engaged in the “most elaborate and ambitious attempt at theorising the CDA program” to date (p.448) along with the most explicitly delineated framework for practical application. In his seminal work, Discourse and Social Change (1992), Fairclough sets out a three-part model for discourse analysis. Firstly, *discourse-as-text* covers the study of formal features such as vocabulary, grammar, and structural choices, including the type and function of metaphors uses (pp. 73-78). Secondly, *discourse-as-discursive practice* entails analysis of the procedures around production, distribution, and circulation (pp.78-86) which he clarifies are subject to change depending on the context and type of text involved. Moreover, such texts can be either individually (e.g. a poem) or collectively (e.g. a political speech) (p.79) consumed. Thirdly and finally, *discourse-as-social-practice* locates the study of language and texts in the context of debates around ideology and
hegemony (pp.86-96). Each of these strands is relevant to, and indeed addressed by, the three articles which comprise this investigation into Argentina’s media discourses.

A further concept that is relevant to CDA is “recontextualization” (Bernstein, 1990). Initially formulated within pedagogy, Bernstein proposed that knowledge disseminated in the classroom, to which pedagogic discourse is fundamental, differs from the knowledge that is produced at a societal level. Moreover, he proposed that this shift is reflective of both “the distribution of power and the principles of social control” (Bernstein, 1971: 47) and has the aim of regulating and structuring students’ perception of the world. Van Leeuwen (2008) developed this concept beyond discourses of pedagogy to propose, in the multimodal context, that “all discourses recontextualise social practice” (p.vii). Bernstein’s theory of “recontextualisation” is also explored by Krzyżanowski (2016) in the context of the increasingly “concept-driven logic” (p.308) of neoliberal discourse which focuses on debating abstract concepts rather than on the realities of social groups, a trend which, it is argued, is evident in the media as well as in other forms of public discourses. While this theory is explored here in relation to the 21st century European political context, it is nevertheless useful to demonstrate contemporary developments of the strand of CDA informing the first article of this study, the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA).

**4.2 The Discourse Historical Approach (DHA)**

Reisigl and Wodak (2009) developed the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) with the aim of introducing a stronger historical dimension to CDA. As a result, it provides a useful and applicable toolkit of resources for the qualitative study of print media representations of Argentina’s last dictator, Leopoldo Galtieri, in article one (Prendergast, 2017a). The DHA was initially applied to constructions of anti-Semitic images in the public discourse of Kurt Waldheim, a candidate in the 1986 Austrian presidential election, who had concealed his past as a member of Hitler’s National Socialist (NAZI) party (Wodak, 2001: 94). The DHA has been further utilised in studies on constructions of national identity in political speeches (Wodak and Boukala, 2015), on the legitimisation of immigration control in Austria (van Leeuwen and Wodak, 1999), and in media studies, such as discursive constructions of refugees and asylum seekers in the British press (Baker et al., 2008) and representations of English national unity in the Daily Mail (Stoegner and Wodak, 2016).
Wodak (2001) asserts that the DHA emerged in response to such “struggles and contradictions of our modern world” (63) and that mirroring CDA, concepts of critique, ideology and “power” are fundamental to DHA’s theoretical base (87). Due to its historical dimension and, more pertinently, its application to the analysis of anti-Semitic discourse, the principles of DHA have been applied to the politics of memory. An example of this is Heer, Manoschek, Pollak and Wodak’s (2008) analysis of the hegemonic written and photographic narratives of two exhibitions on the Wehrmacht (German’s army during World War II) which were shown in Germany and Austria in the late 1990s. While these exhibitions were initially critical of the Wehrmacht’s involvement in the Holocaust, this study traces their evolution into a “sanitised narrative covering up ruptures, war crimes and conflicts” (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 19) following criticism of the original exhibitions by Wehrmacht veterans and politicians.

Understanding the macro and meso level (Wodak, 2015: 50) layer of meaning in discourse requires an engagement with context, a central preoccupation of the DHA. Indeed, “many texts cannot be fully understood without considering different layers of context” (Wodak, 2015: 51). The DHA proposes the principle of triangulation as a means of study through which “a whole range of empirical observations, theories and methods as well as background information” (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001: 88) are incorporated into studies as far as time and funding for projects allow. Furthermore, not only does the DHA incorporate historical background into studies but also acknowledges the evolution of discourse registers, genre, and content over time or “diachronic change” (van Leeuwen and Wodak, 1999: 91). This is appropriate for the present study’s analysis of discourses across three key events at different periods in the final year of Argentina’s dictatorship.

A “Four Level Model of Context” is proposed for a DHA discourse analysis (Wodak, 2001: 67):

1. the immediate, language or text internal co-text (micro level)
2. the intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between utterances, texts, genres and discourses (discourse representation and allusions or evocations);
3. the extra-linguistic social/sociological variables and institutional frames of a specific "context of situations” (mid-range theory)
4. the broader socio-political and historical context which the discursive practices are embedded in and related to, that is to say, the fields of action and the history of the discursive event as well as the history to which the discoursal topics are related (global level theory).

In relation to media studies, it is notable that the DHA adopts CDA’s analysis of media and public language as “a social practice” in a “dialectical relationship with the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s) which frame it (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 258) Researchers have employed the DHA in media studies on the basis of this “Four Level Model” which also takes into consideration the socio-political context and two further key concepts of the DHA: intertextuality and interdiscursivity. The DHA posits intertextual and interdiscursive connections between texts and discourses (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001: 88). Intertextuality assumes that “texts are linked to other texts, both in the past and present” (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001: 90) while interdiscursivity refers to “hybrid” (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001: 90) and multiple relations between discourses which can spread throughout society and when applied to different contexts, acquire new meaning in a process that can be explicit or implicit (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001: 90). The combination of these different elements provides a “framework for problem-oriented social research” (Baker et al, 2008: 279).

The topos (topoi, plural) is another key concept for the DHA and for article one, which seeks to identify topos and trace their usage and indeed evolution in a specific period of Argentina’s media discourse. The topos is one of the most widely-used concepts from classical argumentation theory, dating back to Aristotle and Cicero (Žagar, 2010: 3). Wodak and Meyer (2009:110) discuss topos in the context of classical argumentation theory as being part of the core premise(s) and defining them as “formal or content-related warrants or ‘conclusion rules’ which connect the argument(s) with the conclusion, the claim” (p.110). Moreover, these can be implicit or explicit (p.110). As an example, Wodak and Meyer (2001) offer the following provisional list of topos often used both to justify and challenge racism, ethnicism, and nationalism, particularly around immigration discourse (p.74):

1. Usefulness and advantage
2. Usefulness and disadvantage
9. Finances
10. Reality
Topoi, and attempts to illuminate and identify them, have been central to numerous media studies, including Boukala’s (2016) analysis of Greek media discourses on ‘Islamic Terrorism’ which acknowledges that the concept of topoi is “obscure” and proposes a deeper understanding of it using Aristotelian logic. Furthermore, Richardson and Wodak (2009) have explored visual topoi in the discourses of political leaflets of Austrian and British far-right parties. In an analysis of social, political and media discourses on the European Union, Krzyżanowski (2010) offers a further list of topoi around identity, nationalism and Europe.

Methodologically, elements of the DHA’s toolkit for analysing “discursive strategies” and “linguistic means…and specific context dependant linguistic realisations” (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009: 94) have been applied, specifically to changing representations of Galtieri in the first article of this study (Prendergast, 2017a). Krzyżanowski (2010) articulates the DHA’s two-step approach to analysis which involves an entry-level (thematic/semantic) approach followed by an in-depth (pragmatic/argumentative) investigation (p.81). The first step was used in this present study to identify the main “discourse topic” (p.81) for analysis as nationalism. Following Krzyżanowski’s (2010) steps for an inductive approach this involved reading and re-reading the corpus of articles and then categorising discursive themes and sub-themes before choosing the most significant one for analysis. For the second step of analysis, or the in-depth application of the DHA, the “five-question” model was employed to uncover strategies in discourse, defined as “a more or less intentional set of practices adopted to achieve a particular social, political, psychological, linguistic goal” (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009: 94). These can be found at micro and macro levels and are both implicit and explicit, simple and multi-layered, positive and negative. The “five-question” model used in this study to analyse shifting representations of Galtieri across the three key events in the final year of the dictatorship has been modified from the following template proposed by Reisigl and Wodak (2009: 95):
Table 1: The “five-question” model (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strategy</th>
<th>Objectives</th>
<th>Devices</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nomination</td>
<td>discursive construction of social actors, objects/phenomena/events and processes/actions</td>
<td>• membership categorization devices, deictics, anthroponyms, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• tropes such as metaphors, metonymies and synecdoche</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• verbs and nouns used to denote processes and actions, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predication</td>
<td>discursive qualification of social actors, objects, phenomena, events/ processes and actions (more or less positively or negatively)</td>
<td>• stereotypical, evaluative, attributions of negative or positive traits (e.g. in the form of adjectives, appositions, prepositional phrases, relative clauses, conjunctival clauses, infinitives and participle clauses or groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• explicit predicates or predicative nouns/adjectives/pronouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• collocations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• explicit comparisons, similes, metaphors and other rhetorical figures (including metonymies, hyperboles, litotes, euphemism)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• allusions, evocations and presuppositions/implicatures, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argumentation</td>
<td>justification and question of claims of truth and normative rightness</td>
<td>• topoi (formal or more content-related)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• fallacies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perspectivization, framing or discourse representation</td>
<td>positioning speaker’s or writer’s point of view and expressing involvement or distance</td>
<td>• deictics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• direct, indirect or free indirect speech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• quotation marks, discourse markers/particles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• metaphors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• animating prosody, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intensification, mitigation</td>
<td>modifying (intensifying or mitigating) the illocutionary force and the epistemic or deontic status of utterances</td>
<td>• diminutives or augmentatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• (modal) particles, tag questions, subjunctives, hesitations, vague expressions, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• hyperboles, litotes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• indirect speech acts (e.g. question instead of assertion)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• verbs of saying, feeling, thinking etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3 A Mixed-Methods Framework

This study incorporates a combination of methods on the basis that different approaches are required to address the various research questions of this project on discourses that both supported and challenged the regime, and furthermore, to unpack the discourses analysed including both textual and graphic elements. The reasoning behind the mixed-
method approach adopted by this study has been encapsulated by Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003) as form of “pragmatism” which allows greater flexibility to pick and choose methods to suit an individual project’s specific aims and objectives (p.718), and circumventing the binary qualitative/quantitative distinctions which resulted in the “paradigm wars of the 1970s” (Hall, 2013: 71) in favour of a “what works” (p.713) approach.

While the combination of different methods is not unproblematic as this chapter acknowledges and develops, this study ultimately supports the assertion by Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) that “both quantitative and qualitative research is important and useful” (p.14). Moreover, it concurs that “the goal of mixed-methods research is not to replace either of these approaches but rather to draw from the strengths and minimize the weaknesses of both in single research studies and across studies” (pp.14-15). As such, for these researchers, and for the current study, mixed-methods research may be understood as a “third paradigm” in its combination of qualitative and quantitative tools and as a “research paradigm whose time has come” (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004: 14) to more effectively address the complexity of social-political circumstances and phenomena (Greene and Caracelli, 1997), such as the multi-layered media discourses on key social actors and events during Argentina’s dictatorship.

Table 2: Outline of methods used for three articles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Methods used for analysis</th>
<th>Article 1</th>
<th>Article 2</th>
<th>Article 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Qualitative methods</td>
<td>The Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA)</td>
<td>Synchronic-Diachronic Textual Analysis (SDTA)</td>
<td>Multimodal Discourse Analysis, Social Semiotics, Semiology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quantitative methods</td>
<td>Concordance-based analysis (collocations, metaphors)</td>
<td>Concordance-based analysis (collocations)</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.4 Combining DHA with Corpus Tools

While the DHA offers useful resources for unpacking the construction and interaction of discourse strategies, as Reisigl and Wodak (2009: 96) acknowledge, it is limited by the
financial and/or personnel restraints of projects such as the current study. When combined with the labour intensiveness of the analytical steps involved, it is most feasibly applied to small-scale projects, and certain selection processes therefore occur. For this reason, of the original 547 articles identified, the DHA was applied to 11 articles in this study which specifically focused on Galtieri, as the overwhelming majority reported on broader socio-political issues rather than Galtieri *per se*.

For analysis of the articles collected, the decision was made to use tools from corpus linguistics. This involves “a computerized collection of authentic texts, amenable to automatic or semi-automatic-processing or analysis. The texts are selected according to explicit criteria to capture the regularities of a language, a language variety or a sub-language” (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001: 55). A significant body of work already exists on the history of corpus linguistics (e.g. McEnery and Wilson, 2001), its various methods (McEnery and Hardie, 2012) and application, for example, to language studies (McEnery, Xiao and Tono, 2006). The combination of the DHA with corpus tools for media analysis has a significant precedent in its application to the ESCR-funded Discourses of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in the UK Press 1996-2006 (Baker, Gabrielatos, KhosraviNik, Krzyżanowski, McEnery and Wodak, 2008). Overall, considerable advantages for combining qualitative and quantitative elements were highlighted by this study, demonstrating that each method can help to “triangulate the findings of the other” (p.295), and that corpus approaches benefit from the DHA’s analytical tools while the smaller-scale the DHA study benefits from the broader picture or “pattern map” (p. 295) provided by concordance and collocation analyses which offer added perspective and helps reduce an “over-or-under interpretation” (p.297) of results. Moreover, the Lancaster project also affirmed that corpus tools can be useful to track “diachronic developments” (p.297) across the whole corpus, which is directly relevant to the current study although its timeframe of one year of media analysis is significantly less than the ten-year range covered by the Lancaster research team.

While corpus linguistics as an academic field has been steadily growing since the late 1950s and early 1960s, the practice of using a corpus of text for analysis has actually existed for over a century (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001: 50-51). However, its combination with CDA for media analysis has gained momentum over the last decade with studies by
Bednarek and Caple (2012), Morley and Bayley (2009) and particularly Mautner (1995), who evaluated the advantages and potential pitfalls of combining both approaches.

At this juncture, it must be acknowledged that many of the challenges highlighted by Mautner were also encountered during the present project. For example, Mautner (2009) alludes to the multiple “entry points” to data afforded by working with different methods, in that researchers can start with either CDA or the corpus study and then test the initial hypothesis in terms of the findings of other approach. This point has also been raised by Partington (2003), who, while he does not self-identify as a proponent of CDA, does explore the benefits of combining qualitative and quantitative perspectives as each can serve to “reinforce, refute or revise a researcher’s intuition” (p.12). However, when faced with different “entry points” a dilemma arises around as to which starting place is the most appropriate for the project at hand. For the current study, the DHA analysis was carried out first due the yearlong transcription process of the data for the corpus study which delayed the quantitative analysis. However, once the transcription process was complete it is more accurate to say that the process of analysis became “a move constantly between different views on the data, rather than working in a ‘quantitative’ or ‘qualitative’ compartment respectively” (Mautner, 1995: 24). This is also in keeping with the idea of a “methodological synergy” (Baker et al, 2008: 274) between CDA and corpus approaches in which “neither …need be subservient to the other” (Baker et al, 2008: 274) as opposed to a “corpus-based” or “corpus-driven” approach (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001).

The importance of preserving “synergy” among the different strands of the study was particularly apparent in relation to working with one (predominantly) Spanish-language (The Southern Cross) newspaper and one English-language (The Buenos Aires Herald) newspaper in the second article of this study. These two sub-corpora are “non-parallel” (Fung and Cheung, 2004) in that they have different content and are not merely translations of the other. Nonetheless, they are regarded as “comparable” (Fung and Cheung, 2004) in that they cover similar thematic areas and are both examples of publications which challenged the dictatorship. However, in terms of the corpus analysis the two sub-corpora had to be analysed separately due to their language differences. Despite the apparent limitations of this approach, it ultimately offered the possibility to probe further into the thematic areas that emerged as salient in the initial study of each
newspaper as well as uncovering interesting nuances in the framing of oppositional discourses in both publications.

A further issue raised by Mautner (1995) involves the selection of corpus software (or web platform) for study. McEnery and Hardie (2012) deem many of the “tools” which are currently available and most commonly used, such as WordSmith Tools (Scott 1996-2012) and AntConc (Anthony 2004-2012) to be “third generation,” in their capacity to process large amounts of even multilingual data. However, for this study, the “fourth generation” concordance tool, SketchEngine (McEnery and Hardie, 2012) was chosen, firstly because it is a web platform rather than a downloadable resource and as a result can be accessed easily on different locations and on different computers. Also, as a web platform it offers “better scalability for storing the corpus in a web server database and pre-indexing the data to allow for fast searches” (Anthony, 2013: 152). While certain drawbacks of using this platform have been highlighted by Anthony (2013: 153) including the payment of a user subscription fee and an excess of number of tools for analysing smaller corpora which can arguably result in “overkill” (p.153) when a simpler search is required, the current study found that SketchEngine met the needs of this current project in generating concordances, word lists and word sketches easily and quickly from the corpus.

Possibly the most significant benefit of working with SketchEngine is that it is user-friendly in generating within the uploaded corpus automatic parts-of-speech tagging and lemmatisation\(^\text{14}\) (Taylor, 2016). For this project, the TreeTagger parts-of-speech tagset was applied to the English language, Buenos Aires Herald, dataset and the FreeLing parts-of-speech tagset was employed for the remaining four Spanish language newspapers. While issues around the precision of automatic tagsets have been identified in the literature (e.g. Baker, 2004), the TreeTagger and FreeLing pos taggers have shown accuracy rates of 96% (Schmid, 1997) and 97% (Padró et al, 2010) respectively when tested. Moreover, the advantages of automatic rather than manual parts-of-speech tagging, have also been noted by researchers. When not required to address specific

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\(^{14}\) With this process words are stripped to their base forms without inflectional endings. Crystal (2008: 263) defines a lemma as ‘an abstract representation, subsuming all the formal lexical variations which may apply: the verb walk, for example, subsumes walking, walks and walked.’
research questions, Hunston (2002) asserts that “the labour of adding tags by hand would outweigh the advantages of having them” (p.82).

Another relevant feature of SketchEngine for this current study is its similar premise that “language users never choose words randomly and language is essentially non-random” (Kilgarriff, 2005: 263). As a result, unlike WordSmith, SketchEngine does not employ statistical methods such as log-likelihood and chi-squared (e.g. Rayson, Berridge and Francis, 2004), favouring a simple maths approach. The rationale for this is that that the reliance on hypothesis testing in relation to language, where sufficient data is available for other forms of analysis, has “often led to unhelpful and misleading results” (Kilgarriff, 2005: 263).

The use of the corpus toolkit for media analysis involves the choice of which type(s) of corpus analysis to perform. A simple glance at the SketchEngine list of resources shows that there are a multitude of possible options to choose from such as generating n-grams, keywords, concordances, dispersion plots, word sketches, and so on. However, this study was careful to “avoid the computer’s tail from wagging the analyst’s dog” (Mautner, 2005: 23) in utilising too many or insufficient types of analysis. For example, although compiling lists of keywords “whose frequency (or infrequency) in a text or corpus is statistically significant, when compared to the standards set in a reference corpus,” (Bondi, 1996: 3) is a relatively common practice among corpus linguists, Baker (2004) has highlighted issues with this method. Firstly, the statistical focus on this approach overlooks the importance of societally and culturally significant words (p.346). Furthermore, a word may be statistically significant but only appear in a small number of texts (p.350). Also, this approach tends to over emphasise lexical differences and omit an analysis of lexical similarity which can also reveal interesting discourse features (p.349). Instead, “all the subtleties of word meaning…often will not be made apparent until the word is analysed via a concordance” (Baker, 2004: 355). For such reasons, a concordance-based collocation analysis rather than statistical keyword analysis was selected as the most potentially revealing approach for articles one and two of this study, with a further examination of metaphors conduced in article one. Moreover, where specific target words (or lemmas) were chosen for corpus analysis in these strands of the
study, the selection was made based on their socio-political significance (Jeffries and Walker, 2012) as identified in previous qualitative analysis.

Examining expanded concordance lines enables contextual nuances, contradictions and even non-significant usage to be identified and acknowledged. Furthermore, this method helps to more extensively incorporate the broader context around the corpus, which is fundamental to Argentina’s period of socio-political transition and media studies more generally. For its analysis of collocations, this study builds on the work of Phillips (1985) who located them in the context of word patterns and lexical networks, a concept more recently developed by Brezina, McEnery and Wattam (2015) to explore the idea of “connectivity” or interrelationship between collocates. The decision to focus on metaphors is informed by the significant body of literature on their ideological role at both conceptual and cognitive levels initially formulated by Lakoff and Johnson (2003), developed by Semino (2008) and van Dijk (1985, 1988), and by Fairclough (1989) in the later context of CDA. The relevance of metaphors in the context of Argentina’s dictatorship has also been covered extensively by Feitlowitz (2011) whose work has illuminated this study, especially in its focus on the Junta’s “two worlds: one public, one clandestine, each with its own encoded discourse” (p. xii). Therefore, in tandem with the rationale behind the choice of methods chosen for this study presented in section 4.3, the choice of SketchEngine tools was driven and remained faithful to the project’s aims and objectives and research questions, rather than any specific method or group of methods.

4.5 Criticisms of CDA and New Understandings of “Critical”

This study acknowledges the many benefits of CDA-based approaches for research in general, and for media studies in particular, including the fostering of interdisciplinary research projects (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 2010: 1) and focus on developing a critical approach to language and texts (Fairclough, 2010: viii) in their social contexts of relations of power and ideology. Nonetheless, it is also mindful of its limitations.

Blommaert and Bulcaen (2000: 460) have called the processes of deciding what and how much context to include as “arguably the biggest methodological issue faced” by
researchers engaging with CDA. Blommaert and Bulcaen (2000: 455) have also voiced concerns regarding CDA proponents’ neglect of reception analysis or alternative interpretations of texts. CDA has also faced criticism for its lack of engagement with and reflection on its philosophical underpinnings (Hammersley, 1997: 245), for accepting too many non-coherent or incompatible theories under its aegis (Breeze, 2011: 520), and for having an excessively (left-wing) socio-political agenda which overpowers not only objective linguistic analysis (Widdowson, 1995) but also alternative political points of view (Breeze, 2011: 500). This can result in researcher bias which is “projected onto discourse” (Blommaert and Bulcaen, 2000: 456). Breeze (2011) has also censured CDA for an overemphasis on being “critical” which gives rise to results that are both “overwhelmingly negative…and...propagate a deterministic vision of society” (p.521).

However, rather than making the framework unworkable, this present study holds that in sparking debate and further discussion on the role, scope, and future direction of the CDA, these criticisms have led to useful reconceptualizations and reconsiderations of many of the key terms which have been incorporated into and expanded upon in this research project. One particularly useful recent discussion, applicable to this project focusing on Argentine media during the country’s political transition of the early 1980s, centres around the importance of eschewing static notions of discourse in favour of a more fluid and shifting view in tandem with periods and processes of instability and socio-political shift. Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) explore precisely this in relation to current trends of globalisation, transnationalism and developments in the intersecting fields of media, society and technology, while this conceptual thread is also developed around changing representations of Galtieri in article one.

Just as discourses fluctuate in times of socio-political change, so too do constructions of the subject. The approach to the subject as created in and by discourses has been established by CDA (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002: 14) and may be considered an example of the Foucauldian and Marxist influence on the discipline by which the subject is constructed and represented through language and can be considered an ideological construct (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002: 15). Moreover, for Foucault, the subject is decentred rather than unified as opposed to the stable Enlightenment version of the self. This notion was later modified by Hall (1992) in his conception of the “sociological
subject”. Another key concept for this study (p.275), this locates the self at the intersection of public and private worlds and, as such, unstable and in constant transformation due to changing socio-political circumstances. While Hall (1992) did not self-identity as a proponent of CDA, this theory aligns the emphasis on shifting power relations and context, with Wodak’s (1996) theory of “disorders in discourse” as discussed in section 3:1.

A further contemporary debate within CDA of interest to this project lies around changing interpretations of what it means to be “critical.” Pietikäinen (2016) asserts that this issue has become problematic in recent decades and that earlier understandings of the term may not be sufficient for current research requirements and concerns. Like language itself, Pietikäinen (2016) proposes that the act of being “critical” is also in a state of constant transformation, depending on shifting socio-political contexts “where the understanding of centres and margins is shifting and where power bases are tending to become polycentric” (p.265). As the next two sections of this chapter explore, this “polycentric” approach to CDA informs the various strands of this research project in specific ways; firstly, in its inclusion of Latin American and not solely Western approaches to discourse analysis and secondly, in its analysis of visual and not just textual print media discourse.

4.5.1 Latin American Perspectives on Discourse Analysis

For decades now, the theoretical and philosophical predicates of Critical Discourse Analysis have been criticised for their Western academic dominance and Eurocentrism, first by Widdowson (1995), and more recently by a generation of sociolinguistic scholars from the developing world, most notably Shi-xu (2014) writing from the Asian perspective, with Pardo (2010) and Resende (2010) redressing the Latin American balance. In fact, Shi-xu (2014) contends that CDA is “constituted of Western concepts, values, ways of thinking, analytic tools and topics of interest” (p.360), and is therefore inappropriate and inadequate to address local issues on its own while Pardo (2010) links the foregrounding of imported analytic principles and the side-lining of regional topics of interest in Latin American discourse studies to the legacy of European colonisation in the region.
This line of thought is developed still further by Resende (2010), who suggests that this “colonization of knowledge” (p.193) has generated a culture of local researchers “being petrified at their own ideas as they always need to be legitimated by foreign thinkers” (p.193). As noted in 1.1, Pardo (2010) argues that due to local researchers consistently adopting research areas of European interest and influence, “vital local issues” (p. 187) have been overlooked such as discourses on military dictatorship, the Falklands/Malvinas War, and human rights organisations such as The Grandmothers of Plaza de Mayo, all of which are central to this study.

Despite this “grim but not hopeless” (Shi-xu, 2009: 31) state of affairs, a body of work exists that adopts local appropriations of CDA for discourse analysis of regional issues which informs this present research. Latin American engagement with Critical Discourse Analysis has a relatively long trajectory, notably, though not exclusively, in the work of Argentine sociolinguist Beatriz Lavandera. A student of the founder of variationist sociolinguistics William Labov at the University of Pennsylvania, who carried out pioneering work in relation to the analysis of political discourse, multimodal forms of communication and new media in the late 1970s and 1980s (Lavandera, 1978, 1984, 1985). Pardo (2013) suggests that the movement from positivism to interpretivism in Latin America in the late 70s was halted with the censorship of the dictatorships of the region, and did not resume until the mid-1980s with the widespread return to democracy in the region and the heightened interest in and awareness of political discourse, particularly regarding presidential speeches (p.474). Interest in CDA in Latin America has largely been attributed to the return of scholars to the region following periods studying its principles in European universities as well as the series of influential lectures given by Teun van Dijk at the University of Puerto Rico at Rio Piedras in the late 1970s which explored its early theoretical and methodological framework (Pardo, 2013: 475). Furthermore, Pardo (2010) acknowledges the support and role of van Dijk in encouraging local researchers to come together and form an organisation to stimulate the exchange of ideas and mutual support through regular colloquia, conferences, and publications, the result of which is La Asociación Latinoamericana de Estudios del Discurso (Latin American Discourse Analysis Association or ALED) founded in Caracas, Venezuela in 1995.
The Venezuelan researcher Bolívar (2010) has discussed the role and influence of this association in connecting academics who previously worked alone by creating “the possibility of interacting towards similar aims from a multicultural perspective” (p. 222). Moreover, she has appropriated CDA tenets for local Latin American purposes with an “interactional approach” (2010) for studying political dialogues in the Venezuelan context to explore how these are influenced by public participation in events in that country’s socio-political context (p.222). Further examples of the adaptation of the principles of CDA to address regional issues include Soich’s (2010) exploration of non-Western philosophical paradigms such as Chinese Daoism and Afro-Brazilian danza de orixás to frame regional studies and Resende and Barboza Silva’s (2016) application of CDA to debates in Brazil’s public sphere around homelessness with a view to exposing and redressing issues of inequality in its specific local context.

Building on the work of Shi-xu (2009), each of these researchers stresses the importance of dialogic relations with the Western academia underpinning CDA, rather than the creation of an exclusively Latin American school of thought. Expounding on Brazilian philosophical foundations, Bolívar asserts (2010) that it is only “through dialogue, action and reflection people can develop critical thinking and set up their own agenda” (p. 291). For Shi-xu (2009), these “new paradigms” of discourse analysis for Latin America, Asia, and Africa, should ideally include four strands. Firstly, they “should be locally grounded and globally minded, historically conscious and contemporarily helpful” (p.41); secondly, they should establish their own identities based on regional philosophical and theoretical traditions; thirdly, they should aim to provide useful solutions to real local problems around inequalities; and finally, they should aim to be in constant dialogue with Western academia and listen to critiques and suggestions with the view to developing further and moving forward.

The scope of this current study encompasses the first, second, and last of these strands, particularly by building on Achugar’s (2008) study of the role of military discourse in the ideological construction of identity and memory in Uruguay and Pardo’s (2010) requirement of combining different models to unpack the particularities of Argentine media discourse. Section 4.5.2 will examine this matter further in its exploration of multimodal discourse analysis as an appropriate framework for illuminating the
intricacies of visual discourse, specifically political cartoons, as a form of socio-political critique during Argentina’s dictatorship.

To cohere with the Latin American perspectives on CDA informing the theoretical framework of this study, while attempting to capture the nuances and context of Argentina’s dictatorship landscape, a method of analysis specifically designed by an Argentine linguist, Maria Laura Pardo (2011) for application to her country’s media was deemed most appropriate to the present study. The Synchronic-Diachronic Textual Approach (SDTA) (El método sincrónico-diacrónico de análisis lingúístico de textos) has therefore been incorporated into the research design of this project and utilised in the examination of oppositional discourses to the regime in the second article of this study.

Firstly, the emerging body of work within the field of Latin American discourse analysis encompasses not only theoretical innovations but also includes different perspectives on and combinations of methods, along with innovative methodological approaches. In this regard, Pardo (2013) highlights the work of Reyes and Pardo Abril (1991), Resende and Ramalho (2011) as well as her own SDTA method. Pardo’s approach has gained considerable momentum in the region and has been applied, for example, to the analysis of representations of “poverty, sex, delinquency and police intervention in the streets of Greater Buenos Aires” (D’Angelo, 2010) in Argentina’s docu-reality television series Policias en Acción, broadcast in 2007, and to the study of narratives of Argentinean government officials and affected individuals on the issue of housing shortages in Buenos Aires (Marchese, 2015). The idea of both synchronic and diachronic structures is something of a recurring theme in Latin American applications of CDA, particularly around its transformative potential in the public sphere (Resende and Barboza Silva, 2016). Indeed, Resende (2010: 195) asserts that “all social activity presupposes synchronic structural conditions and possesses the potential to diachronically transform these same conditions.” Pardo (2015: 281) rationalises the development of this method as fourfold:

1. To investigate relevant socio-discursive issues for (Latin American) countries
2. To (be part of a movement to) generate our own (Latin American) theories and methods
3. To base theories and methods within (our) inductive analysis and fieldwork
4. To use (and develop) a relevant bibliography that allows us to explain our own (discursive) phenomena rather than applying external notions that are useful in some contexts but not ours.\textsuperscript{15}

Pardo’s (2015: 278) SDTA is illuminated by CDA’s approach to language and texts as social constructs and more specifically by Fairclough’s (1995) three-dimensional model of textual, discursive, and sociocultural practices. As a result, it differentiates grammatical from semantic-discursive categories. It posits a fundamental distinction between them, maintaining that while grammatical “classification and order” (Pardo, 2015: 254) does not change significantly across texts (though it does change across languages), semantic category reliance on grammatical structure for their communication, is more mutable, and varies within and even across texts. Nevertheless, both grammatical and semantic-discursive categories are studied conjointly in this method as both are required for the discourse construction (Pardo and Lorenzo-Dus, 2010: 258).

For the synchronic (or horizontal) grammatical study of texts, Pardo and Lorenzo-Dus (2010: 259) broadly identify the categories set out in the table below. Here, the category of “Pragmatic Operator” is notable as obtaining a range of different functions in texts, such as, as a connector (e.g. but, and, etc.) to link different arguments or parts of the text, or to ensure the complicity of the reader (e.g. however, therefore, etc.).

\textbf{Table 3: Structure of the SDTA model for analysis (Pardo and Lorenzo-Dus, 2010)}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Actor</th>
<th>Verb1</th>
<th>Actor2</th>
<th>Verb2</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Pragmatic Operator</th>
<th>Semantic-Discursive Sub-Categories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

The application of these categories to an analysis of two corpora, one in English and the other in Spanish, was particularly challenging when working on the second article. The word order of sentences in Spanish is more flexible that in English and the verb sometimes appears before the subject. Therefore, care was required when inputting the different

\textsuperscript{15} I have translated Pardo’s (2015) fourfold rationale for the SDTA from the original Spanish text and added extra terms in parenthesis for clarification in English.
elements into the categories so that the correct meaning of the original sentence would be preserved.

Further issues in working with bilingual corpora were noted by Pardo and Lorenzo-Dus (2010) in their comparative study of constructions of heroism in the television coverage in Argentina and The United Kingdom of the 25th anniversary of the Malvinas/Falklands War. They found that the location of “space” and “time” differed between Spanish and English and that direct reference to the subject was required in English but not in Spanish (p.259) which changed the order of sentence structure between languages.

A less problematic, and perhaps most useful aspect of the SDTA for the current study, is the identification of semantic-discursive sub-category/categories or theme/themes from articles, proposed by Pardo (2010) which can then be analysed together to identify discourse patterns. For example, Pardo and Lorenzo-Dus (2010) found that when analysed together, diachronically /vertically themes such as “military life, battle, precariousness, heroism, family, everyday life” created the discursive representation around “war” in the commemorative television coverage of the battle for the South Atlantic islands.

----------------------------------------------- 4.5.2 Multimodality -----------------------------------------------

An increase in the use of multimodal frameworks of analysis has resulted from the wider recognition of the importance of visuality in discourse analysis in tandem with the acknowledgement of and desire to explore the complex relationship between text and image. A multimodal framework has been applied for the analysis of political cartoons in authoritarian climates; for example, in relation to Italian political cartoons during the country’s 1920s period of Fascism (Mascha, 2010), cartoons in the Cold War US media (Gamson and Stuart, 1992), and those on Palestinian refugee identity (Najjar, 2007). The current study builds on this previous research to explore the form and function of political cartoons as an oppositional platform to Argentina’s dictatorial regime, and moreover, to consider why such graphic critiques of the military regime were permitted to circulate during this period of strict censorship and media surveillance by the state (Prendergast, 2017b).
A multimodal framework is appropriate for this analysis in its understanding both of the complexity of communication and of representation as being about more than language, but rather as constituting the sum of various “semiotic resources” (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001: 111) or “modes.” These include, but are not limited to, “image, layout, music, gesture, speech, moving image, soundtrack and 3D objects” (Kress, 2010). These modes are interconnected and “enmeshed through the complexity of interaction, representation and communication” (Jewitt, 2014: 1). Scollon and Scollon (2014) suggest, however, that an acknowledgement of the multimodal nature of communication does not involve a backgrounding of language but instead a wider understanding of the role played by language in its combination and interaction with other modes. What might be termed a “turn to the multimodal” (Jewitt, 2014: 1) has emerged from the growing influence of visual forms of communication (El Refaie, 2009: 183), the development of new technologies in the field of linguistics, increased research interest in discourse analysis, and the current popularity of interdisciplinary research projects (O’Halloran, 2011). This has taken place against the backdrop of an increased emphasis in literature which theorises the world as a site of globalisation (Appadurai, 1990) dominated by new media (Morley and Robins, 1995), shifting cultural boundaries (Meyer and Geschiere, 1999), and socio-political transformation (Castells, 2010).

Three different strands of multimodal discourse analysis can therefore be identified (Jewitt, 2014: 32), two of which are outside the scope of this study: the Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) approach (Baldry and Thibault, 2006; O’Halloran, 2011; O’Toole, 1994) which focuses on the “metafunctional systems” of micro-level discourses (Jewitt, 2014: 34-35) rather than their interaction with socio-political factors which are central to this present study; and Multimodal Interactional Analysis (MIA) (Scollon and Scollon, 2003) which analyses the relationship between language and people’s actions such as gaze, gesture, movement, use of space, and so on, and therefore does not pertain to the stated aims of this research.

The Social Semiotic strand of multimodal discourse analysis (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001) is, however, pivotal to article three of this study due to its location of modes in their social and cultural contexts. This strand of multimodality which evolved from Halliday’s theory of social semiotics marked a departure from de Saussure’s conception of semiotics...
as an arbitrary system of signs, in theorising modes as “socially shaped and culturally given resource(s) for making meaning” (Kress, 2010: 79). This promotes a focus on socio-political background which, as the current project also contends, is central to the composition and message of political cartoons.

Furthermore, an important advantage of Social Semiotics for this research is that it is considered a “form of enquiry” which promotes investigation and analysis rather than offering “ready-made answers” (van Leeuwen, 2005: 1). As such, it is a highly flexible research tool (van Leeuwen, 2005: 16) which can be combined with other theoretical and methodological approaches to extend its reach; for example, with Barthes’ Semiology (1968) for an exploration of representation as a dual-layered model of denotation and connotation, or literal and secondary level, meaning. Van Leeuwen (2001) suggests that with its focus on the “visual lexis,” (p.92) Semiology can be usefully combined with Social Semiotics to explore “visual syntax,” (p.92). Semiology is also a particularly suitable resource for the study of political cartoons in the context of dictatorship due to its conception of “myth,” which exists at the level of connotation as an engagement with and commentary on social structures, history, and politics (Barthes, 1957: 16).

Multimodal frames of expression have developed from demands for new forms and kinds of expression, including identity formation (Jewitt, 2014: 3). The concept of the “decentred subject” in CDA and Hall’s (1992) “sociological subject,” explored in section 4.5, also emerge in literature on multimodality where “fragmentation” and “bricolage” (Lemke, 2014) are prevalent and a constant process of negotiation, construction and re-construction delineated by Lemke (2014) as a “second-wave” of identity theory may be traced. A similar notion emerges in Iedema’s (2003) proposal that in the multimodal landscape a “resemiotization” occurs in which “meaning making shifts from context to context, from practice to practice, or from one stage of a practice to the next” (p.40).

In its analysis of political cartoons, the current study therefore enlarges on previous work to establish the connection between multimodality and the construction of oppositional, counter, or “resemiotized,” discourse and identity to the official version (e.g. Springsteen, 2008), as propagated by the military regime of Argentina’s most recent dictatorship. Furthermore, in its acknowledgement of a variety of modes of communication, multimodality is deemed an appropriate analytical framework for studies involving the
theme of identity formation in discourse through its presumption of identity as multifaceted and comprising individual as well as social or collective components (Norris, 2011). Monomodal studies focusing on language as the sole means to identity production, while providing interesting models of analysis, fail to capture the layered nuances of the processes and structures behind it (Scollon and Scollon, 2014). Identity production is a complex phenomenon which relies on multiple, diverse, and often simultaneous forms of communication (Norris, 2011, xiv). Previous research exploring the multimodal elements of individual and social identities have focused on the role of video games (Gee, 2003) and novel/movie or transmedia franchises, such as Harry Potter (Lemke, 2014) while the multimodal formation of national identity has been explored in the branding of Britishness in websites (De Michelis, 2008) and in the field of memory studies in relation to composition of Holocaust memorials in Poland (Fabiszak, 2016).

With a similar emphasis on multiplicity, blending of individual and collective elements, and shifting identities, Bakhtin’s (1984) *carnivalesque* is proposed in article three as an additional theoretical strand that can be usefully combined with a multimodal approach. Inspired by the carnivals of the Middle Ages, the specific contribution of Bakhtin’s theory to this study of oppositional graphic discourse to the dictatorship is in its subversion of authority, with the suspension, and even reversal of hierarchies, and mockery of emblems and figures of power in a temporary space where the participation of all tiers of society is encouraged. A further relevant strand of the theory for this project is Bakhtin’s approach to carnival as a constructive, rather than deconstructive, or solely critical phenomenon, (Michelson, 1999). The carnival’s creation of alternative symbols and rituals is posited as comparable to the visual counter-discourse that emerged during Argentina’s regime (Prendergast, 2017b).

For an analysis of graphic discourse and the interaction among various multimodal elements, a CDA approach and/or concordance-based analysis is insufficient to capture its communicative complexity and nuances. This point is also underscored by Mautner (1995) who examines the challenges posed by the online Web environment to traditional CDA study and the necessity to incorporate new methods and new project designs to analyse this expanded “discursive repertoire” (p.820). Pardo (2013) also draws attention to the emergent field of multimodal discourse studies in Latin America, particularly
Noblia’s (2000, 2009) work relating to online discourse and need to develop this field further to accommodate the “incessant changes” (Pardo, 2013: 280) in multimodal forms of communication. For the current study’s analysis of the political cartoons of Humor Registrado, the broad framework of Multimodal Discourse Analysis (Jewitt, 2014) is harnessed for methodological purposes which incorporate analytical resources from both Semiology (Barthes, 1968) and Social Semiotics (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996).

The application of categories of denotation, connotation, and myth in Barthes’ Semiology (1968) is revealing for this study. The three concepts build on de Saussure’s (1916) approach to linguistics as a system of signs comprised of signifiers (form and sound) and signifieds (concepts) to include not only written and spoken signs but “images, gestures, musical sounds, objects, and the complex associations of all these which form the content of ritual, convention or public entertainment” (p.9).

Denotation identifies the first level or literal meaning of an image while connotation explores its second-level significance in which it is fused with socio-political, cultural, and like implications. While meaning at the level of denotation is generally straightforward, connotation is open to interpretation. Barthes’ (1957) additional conceptualization of “myth” which exists at the level of connotation as an engagement with and commentary on social structures, history and politics is presented as “natural and eternal” (p.16). Garner and Hancock (2014) point out that Barthes’ project is inherently critical of dominant discourses and ultimately concerns the “unmasking” (p.604) of political and social myths in a process of “demythologization” (p.604). Since this may be defined as “showing how behind each myth and supporting each myth is a string of political, economic and ideological interests at stake” (p.604) it is particularly relevant to the current study. Possibly the best-known application of these three categories for analysis is Barthes’ (1957) study of the 1955 Paris Match magazine cover of a young black boy, presumably of African descent, wearing a French military uniform and saluting the Tricolore, which educed a commentary on French imperialism at the level of connotation and myth.

It should be noted, however, that Barthes’ distinction between denoted and connoted levels of meaning has been criticised in the literature. Voloshinov (1973) suggests that it
is impossible to draw a clear division between these two layers of meaning and that any attempts to do so are influenced by the subjectivity of the viewer (p.102). Baker (1985) famously spoke about the “hell of connotation” in reference to the secondary level of meaning as an overly nebulous concept with an infinite number of possible interpretations. Nevertheless, in spite of this critique, Barthes’ categories have proven fruitful for analyses of media during periods of authoritarian rule. In their work on the “silent resistance” of journalists to Soviet propaganda, Lauk and Kreegipuu (2010) trace the use of connotative tools such as “metaphorical language, allegories and allusions” (p.175) as a form of rejecting and subverting the official discourse of the period.

Further applicable categories for the analysis of the form and function of political cartoons carried out by this study are Kress and van Leeuwen’s (1996) representational, interactional and compositional metafunctions (pp.56, 154, 183) which are built on similar categories established by Halliday’s model of Systemic Functional Grammar (1978). Halliday (1978), however, divided metafunctions into ideational (context), interpersonal (interaction) and textual (grammatical organization) strands.

For Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) representational processes can either be narrative, telling a visual story by means of vectors (connecting symbols), or conceptual which “represent participants in terms of their class, structure or meaning [.....] their generalised and more or less stable and timeless essence” (p.56). For this reason, the interactive features of images may be analysed according to three features (p.154): contact (demand or offer); social distance (intimate, personal or impersonal); and attitude (subjectivity, objectivity, involvement, detachment, viewer power, equality, representation power, etc.) The compositional meaning of images is communicated through the three interrelated systems of information value, salience, and framing (p.183). Another important concept for Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) is modality, which refers to “the truth value or credibility of linguistically realised statements about the world” (p.160) in which what is considered true or false, fact or fiction, is decided at an “interpersonal” level (p.160). Caricatures are singled out (p.161) as a form of communication dependent on the “modality judgements” of social groups. For example, any truth value attributed to the cartoons of Humor Registrado would depend on whether the viewer(s) in question
support or are critical of the military dictatorship in question, or whether they are adequately informed about the issues.

The analytical tools offered by Social Semiotics further dovetail the study of political cartoons as they have explicitly evolved with “still rather than moving images and two-dimensional forms of visual communication rather than three-dimensional ones” (p.247). Also, while Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) assert that their approach has been developed with “western visual communication” (p.4) in mind, this does not necessarily preclude an analysis of political cartoons in Argentina’s *Humor Registrado* which follow the general conventions of caricature “as a certain shorthand method of drawing” (Hofmann, 1957: 15). In a separate, through arguably relevant study, the comparative analysis of political bande dessinée (comic strip) humour in Argentina (by Quino) and in Malaysia (by Lat) conducted by Sosa-Abella and Reyes (2014) found that while both approaches were firmly based in their country’s social context, Argentinean humour was rooted in more generalisable and universal commentaries on politics and democracy (p.13) rather than the localised concerns of the Malaysian example.

**4.6 Data: Selection, Collection and Transcription Processes**

Data for this project were collected principally during a month-long research trip to Argentina’s national library (*Biblioteca Nacional “Mariano Moreno” de la República Argentina*) in Buenos Aires in August 2015. During this period, 757 articles from five newspapers, *Clarín, La Nación, La Razón, The Buenos Aires Herald* and *The Southern Cross*, and 12 covers of the magazine, *Humor Registrado*, were photographed onto an iPad and subsequently manually transcribed in a process which took more than a year to complete. The rationale as previously established in section 1.4 rests on the absence of digitised formats of the newspapers and the restrictions imposed by the library prohibiting any form of scanner or light emitting device. Mautner (1995) delineates the various “time-consuming preliminaries” (p. 5) which are involved in preparing a dataset for software analysis which apart from the transcription itself involves spell-checking, reading, correcting typing errata, and so on. Moreover, a further 49 articles from *The Southern Cross* were printed from microfilm at The National Library of Ireland in Dublin in January 2016 and also manually transcribed. To reiterate the discussion explored in section 3.3 the articles selected for analysis may broadly be considered “hard news”.
stories related to political and current affairs, public administration and the economy, and
the body of articles constitute the primary subject of the present analysis. The headlines,
which have also been recorded and may form the basis of a separate project in the future,
are not addressed in the current study.

As laid out in 2.3, the study focuses on three key events in the final year of the
Argentinean dictatorship. Articles for analysis were therefore gathered from the four daily
newspapers from the week leading up to and the week following the pivotal moment of
each event as coverage was most concentrated during these 15-day periods. As a weekly,
and eventually a tri-monthly publication, the data collection period for The Southern
Cross was expanded to include eight publications prior to and eight publications
following the key date of each event in order to gather a sufficiently robust corpus of
articles from which to identify discourse patterns. The collection period was similarly
expanded for the covers of Humor Registrado as a bi-monthly publication.

Table 4: Data collected for analysis - timeframes and figures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>End of Malvinas War</th>
<th>Publication of Terms of Transition Pact</th>
<th>General Elections</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Key date:</td>
<td>June 14, 1982</td>
<td>November 12, 1982</td>
<td>30 October, 1983</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-day period of data included in analysis:</td>
<td>June 7 to June 21</td>
<td>November 4 to November 18</td>
<td>October 24 to November 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data collected and analysed</td>
<td>56,175 words</td>
<td>58,800 words</td>
<td>63,871 words</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The five newspapers chosen for this study were selected to represent as broad an
ideological spectrum as possible. As noted in 2.5, while the three largest mainstream
newspapers, Clarín, La Nación and La Razón, were all widely considered to have backed
the regime, they nonetheless did so from different political perspectives. Although La
Nación was purported to occupy a centre-right position supporting economic liberalism,
Clarín opted for a centrist stance favouring developmentalism (Saborido and Borrelli,
2012), and La Razón, which had traditionally asserted an independent stance on political
affairs, had also undergone several changes of ownership and direction in the decades
preceding the 1976 coup d’état (Borelli, 2011) which arguably resulted in a shift of
ideological position. Further disparities in the newspapers at the time of the dictatorship were that Clarín and La Nación were issued in the morning while, as an evening edition, La Razón constituted an example of “new commercial journalism” (Borrelli, 2011: 29).

Conversely, The Buenos Aires Herald and The Southern Cross both opposed and challenged the regime. However, they also attracted significantly different readerships, with the Herald responding to the interests of the English-speaking, mostly British population. The South Carolina-based owner at the time, The Evening Post Publishing Company, also maintained a readership among the American, ex-patriate community. The Southern Cross, meanwhile, represented the Irish and Irish-Argentine Catholic, mostly rural farming, community. Furthermore, while The Buenos Aires Herald was produced solely in English, The Southern Cross was a bilingual, but predominantly Spanish, publication. The Buenos Aires Herald was a daily newspaper at the time while The Southern Cross was published on a weekly basis until May 1982 when it was forced to reduce its publications to three per month due to financial difficulties (Richards, 1982).

The graphic satirical magazine Humor Registrado enjoyed a broader audience, including the visual art and cultural community in Argentina but also international readers due to the wider conventions of caricature that enabled it to disseminate any form of opposition to the regime and “focus[ed] anger” (Cascioli, 2013) by highlighting the inconsistencies, inadequacies, and economic and human rights abuses committed by the Junta.

### Table 5: Summary of data analysed in three articles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Data analysed:</th>
<th>Article 1</th>
<th>Article 2</th>
<th>Article 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Qualitative analysis</td>
<td>11 articles</td>
<td>24 articles</td>
<td>6 covers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quantitative analysis</td>
<td>115,962 words (547 articles)</td>
<td>62,884 words (259 articles)</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.7 Smaller Corpora: Advantages for Analysis

Following the discussion on the methodological approaches of the study it is now worth commenting on the size of the corpora used for analysis. Koester (2010) highlights two simultaneous yet somewhat contrasting trends in the current compilation of corpora for linguistic analysis. While technological developments have led to the creation of “mega corpora” (p.67), for example the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) with 425 million words, there has also been a movement around the creation of “smaller, more specialised corpora, focusing on specific registers and genres (p.67). Of these two trends, this current study is more in line with the latter, a fact influenced by the external limitations noted above on the available data format, the time-consuming nature of manually transcribing articles, my location in Ireland which is over 10,000 kilometres away from the media repository in Buenos Aires, combined with the financial and temporal constraints on this doctoral project.

Larger corpora have been compiled for media analysis in previous decades. Examples of these include the SiBol corpus, jointly compiled by researchers in Sienna and Bologna, and comprising English-language newspapers published between 1993 and 2013 with a total of 650 million words, 1.5 million articles, and 14 newspapers.

Another example of an extensive media corpus is that of the RAS project developed at Lancaster University and comprising a 140 million-word collation of British news articles on refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants and migrants from 1996-2006. However, while corpus linguistic techniques are “shown off to their best advantage when dealing with large amounts of data” (Mautner, 2009: 37) there is significant research potential and indeed several advantages to working with smaller rather than larger corpora. In fact, Mautner (2005) contends that working with larger data can be “both a blessing and a curse” (p. 815). For example, a frequent drawback cited in working with big datasets is the impossibility of analysing it all. As such, a sampling process takes place from which some data must inevitably and necessarily be excluded, whereas with a smaller dataset this is not an issue (Koester, 2010). Also, other concerns noted in the literature (Koester, 2010, Flowerdew, 2004) pertain to ways in which context can be better integrated into analysis by including less rather than more data. Since context is axiomatic to the current study in relation to Argentina’s dictatorship, working with smaller corpora is therefore
deemed most appropriate. Finally, while larger corpora may be crucial to studies concerning lexis and phraseology, smaller corpora have been found to be satisfactory for the identification and analysis of discourse features and patterns (Koester, 2010), which is the aim of this study. Mautner (2009), for instance, revealed how a corpus of 4,000 words of email text between the then Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Tony Blair, and The Observer columnist Henry Porter was sufficient for her to identify the argumentative features of their opposing points of view on the proposed “anti-terror laws” of the period.

4.8 Reliability and Validity

The tenets of reliability and validity are fundamental to research as “ways of demonstrating and communicating the rigour of [...] methods and the trustworthiness of... findings (Roberts, Priest and Traynor, 2006: 41). In respect of quantitative analysis reliability can be understood as the degree to which “a particular test, procedure or tool… will produce similar results in different circumstances,” (Roberts, Priest and Traynor, 2006: 41), while validity can be broadly defined as “the closeness of what we believe we are measuring to what we intended to measure” (Roberts, Priest and Traynor, 2006: 41). For qualitative studies, Golafshani (2003) suggests that these two terms need to be reformulated from a positivist to a more naturalistic understanding around “credibility, transferability and trustworthiness” (p.600). Nevertheless, for both types of research, consistency has been emphasised as a crucial requisite. This has been applied to the design of the current project in terms of the coherence of the theoretical and methodological framework with research questions. Moreover, significant efforts have also been made to preserve the conceptual consistency of the project through the logical agreement of inferences and conclusions drawn with the range of knowledge already established in the field (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2003: 41).

A mixed method approach, such as that employed by this study, has been highlighted as offering numerous advantages which increase the reliability of research. As noted in 5.5, employing various methods can help to “balance the strengths and weaknesses of each approach” (Abowitz and Toole, 2010: 108). Moreover, it arguably “strengthens causal inferences by providing the opportunity to observe data convergence or divergence in hypothesis testing” (p.108). For the present study, the combination of CDA informed by
corpus methods as well as their different perspectives on and approaches to enhancing reliability and validity has been particularly beneficial. For instance, the corpus linguistics requirement of maintaining “balance and representativeness” (Meyer, 2004: 138) when building corpora determined the inclusion of discourses which both supported and challenged the regime, graphic and textual media, along with a comprehensive ideological spectrum of newspapers, to analyse as broad a range of discourses as possible in this study. In addition, a corpus of sufficient size was built to “accurately represent the distribution of linguistic features” (Biber, 2015: 4). While CDA has faced criticism for a perceived lack of “systematic rigour” (Widdowson, 2004: 144), Wodak and Meyer (2009) propose that while many different interpretations of and approaches to CDA-based research are possible, there are a number of consistent features which solidify it as a credible research field. These include the need for “linguistic expertise” (p.31) of researchers, the grounding of theory and methods in CDA’s problem-oriented focus, and an ultimately systematic approach to data collection including transparency around the steps followed. Moreover, Wodak and Meyer (2009) advise that “description and interpretation […] be kept apart thus enabling transparency and reproduction of the respective analysis” (p.32) which has also been upheld in this study. This distinction has been preserved in the three articles and in this current overview of the research project which probes further into the theoretical and methodological decisions made in the study and the rationale behind them.

Wodak and Meyer (2009) underline the centrality of triangulation to ensuring validity in CDA research which involves the interaction of texts, their interrelationship with genre and discourses, and the broader socio-political and historical contexts (p.31), all of which have been explored and developed in this study. Wodak and Meyer (2009) also underscore the benefits of the “methodical triangulation,” implemented in this research, since “permanent switching between these levels and evaluating the findings from these different perspectives should minimize the risk of being biased” (p.31). Baker (2012) problematises this contention in stressing that political bias is often the driving force motivating the theme and direction of DA research projects. Moreover, he points out that even with corpus approaches to CDA “the interpretation and evaluation of quantitative patterns are still very much likely to be subject to human bias” (p.255). As such, he warns
of the dangers of “overstating” (p.255) the capacity of corpus approaches to reduce this. However, Baker (2012) suggests that this issue can be addressed by developing nuances around how inequalities are constructed and sustained in discourse and by including greater reflexivity around the interaction of the researcher with what is being researched (p.255).

4.9 Reflections on Methodological Issues

A number of challenges arose over the course of carrying out this project. These are summarised along with responses to them below.

4.9.1. Distance from Repository of Data

As previously noted in this chapter I was based in Ireland over the course of this research, and therefore over 10,000 kilometres from the repository of data for my project in Argentina’s National Library in Buenos Aires. While this limited my time spent in the library itself and the size of the corpus for analysis, I ensured that this did not impact negatively on the research project overall and that I collated sufficient data to properly address my research questions. In order to maximise my time in the library I prepared carefully for my month-long research trip to Buenos Aires in September 2015. I forwarded all the required documentation validating my identity and researcher status to the library in advance to ensure that my library access credential was available to me on arrival and that I could begin work immediately. Following the library’s opening hours, I spent at least 12 hours there every week day and seven hours on Saturday and Sunday for the entire month. I worked with two iPads to take photographs of articles so that when I ran out of battery on one I could immediately use the other. While I was there a library staff member informed me that The Southern Cross archives were available in the National Library of Ireland in Dublin. Once I verified this, I decided to collect that data on my return to Ireland which gave me more time to focus on data collection for the other four newspapers.

During the period, I took over 2,826 photographs comprising 757 articles. As La Razón is a broadsheet newspaper each article required at least three photographs to copy it completely. I took detailed notes on a Word document during the process, logging dates.
of articles, article, and newspaper titles, along with the sequences of photographs and the
days on which they were taken. I not only collected sufficient data to meet my research
aims and objectives, but also consider this period in the library to have been the most
immersive and productive of the project.

4.9.2. Ethics and Integrity

Ethical issues did not arise in relation to the newspapers under analysis in this study which
are openly accessible to the general public in Argentina’s National Library once a reader’s
membership has been authorised. My integrity as a researcher was called upon in relation
to publishing the political cartoons in the third article of the study as the rights to these
cartoons now belong to the legal estate of the cartoonist, Andrés Cascioli, who died in
2009. However, it is generally held that in cases of academic rather than commercial
reproduction there is no legal requirement to request permission for publication.
Moreover, the cartoons are freely available to download from fan sites set up for Humor
Registrado. However, I remained uneasy about publishing the cartoons from the
photographs I had collected in the Buenos Aires Library without this permission. For this
reason, I contacted Cascioli’s widow, Nora Bonis Cascioli, who administers the Cascioli
Estate, through her Facebook account explaining who I was and why I needed to speak
to her. She kindly sent me her email address requesting that I send her a copy of the article
I intended to publish. I did so and within one day she responded with her permission to
publish the cartoons. This permission was subsequently required by Taylor & Francis in
order to publish the cartoons in the Social Semiotics journal.

4.9.3. The Outsider Looking In

Throughout the course of this project, I have remained mindful of being an Irish
researcher engaged in analysing media from Argentina. Probably the question I am asked
most frequently at conferences and by peers is why I am so interested in pursuing a topic
that, at first glance, appears so remote from my background. Moreover, I am aware that
with this study I am perceived as an outsider probing the extremely sensitive area of
Argentina’s difficult history and its current struggles around how to “remember” the past.
In a 2012 presentation on her work proposing an alternative understanding of trauma in Argentina’s dictatorship context beyond the direct familial level to the societal one, Cecilia Sosa (2014a) recalls being called an “infiltrator” (p.166) by an audience member on the basis that, although from Argentina, Sosa was speaking about trauma, mourning, and loss, without suffering the experience of losing a family member among the dictatorship’s killed or disappeared. The audience member, a daughter of disappeared parents, proceeded to compare Sosa to the character of the old lady in the Cortázar (1959) short story, Los Buenos Servicios (The Good Services), who regularly attends vigils to which she has not been invited (p.167). For Sosa (2014a), this episode touches on the “unspoken rule…that only those related by blood to the missing were entitled to ask for justice” (xi).

While I am clearly at a much further remove from the dictatorship’s disappeared than Sosa, the nine year-period I spent in Buenos Aires working in and with the media has given me an insight into its history, structure, and complexities, along with clear differences from, for example, Irish media. Over this time, I also developed fluent Spanish, which was beneficial for this current project for analysing data as well as accessing secondary reading around Argentina’s transition to democracy, its important events and social actors. To gain different perspectives on this socio-political climate of 1982-1983, I also supplemented academic reading with various texts and documentaries throughout my time working on this research. By living in Argentina for an extended period, I became familiar with the country’s cultural features, which proved to be particularly useful when analysing the political cartoons of Humor Registrado. The desire to acknowledge and represent this social, political, and cultural uniqueness at every stage of the research process has been the rationale behind the inclusion of not just the media, but the region’s theoretical and methodological frameworks for analysis wherever possible in this study’s design.
CHAPTER 5: SUMMARY OF ARTICLES

Article One: Hero, Leader, Traitor: The Print Media Deconstruction of Argentina’s Last Dictator

Article one analyses representations of Argentina’s last dictator, Leopoldo Galtieri, within the context of broader discourses on nationalism in three newspapers widely believed to have supported the dictatorship. This print media framing of Galtieri is traced across three key events in the final year of the regime, The Malvinas/Falklands War (June 1982), La Concertación or Transition Pact (October-November 1982), and The General Elections (October 1983). The overarching theoretical approach of the study adopts the principles of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) while the methodological framework is mixed and combines qualitative elements of the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) to CDA (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009) with corpus tools for a concordance-based examination of collocations and metaphors employed.

Contributions:

While the three newspapers analysed, namely, Clarín, La Nación and La Razón, are generally considered to have towed the official line during the regime, this study contends that their discourses around Galtieri and nationalism in the final year of the dictatorship became more nuanced and unstable. Findings suggest that their representations of Galtieri change over the course of the three events, reflecting shifting discourses on nationalism and Argentina’s period of socio-political crisis.

Initially, during the period of the Malvinas/Falklands War, Galtieri is depicted as Argentina’s “Valiant Leader” in tandem with wider discourses of “constructive nationalism” (Wodak et al, 1999). However, this framing of Galtieri is dismantled after the loss of the war and the increase of national and international protests around the Junta’s human rights abuses as Argentina’s self-identity weakens and discourse enters a phrase of “transformative” nationalism (Wodak et al, 1999). Finally, during the General Election period, Galtieri is eliminated from reportage as a result of his tactical failures during the war, strategies of “demontage and destruction” (Wodak et al, 1999)
predominate, dictatorship terminology is significantly reduced, and an emerging democratic discourse can be traced.

This study is informed by previous work on the fluctuating nature of discourses as a result of similarly unstable socio-political contexts, Latin American perspectives on the particularities of the region’s discourses, and, methodologically, the emerging body of work combining qualitative and quantitative resources for media analysis.

Article Two: Witnessing in the Echo Chamber: From Counter-Discourses in Print Media to Counter-Memories of Argentina’s State Terrorism

Article two focuses on print media which challenged the dictatorship. It identifies and traces the relationship between counter-discourses in newspapers which opposed the regime and the creation of counter-memories as a rejection of the Junta’s proposed official version of history and collective memory. This strand of the research project seeks to apply the theoretical framework of CDA to Memory Studies. Methodologically, it combines the qualitative tools of Synchronic-Diachronic Text Analysis (SDTA) as developed by Argentine linguist María Laura Pardo for the study of her country’s media with corpus tools. Moreover, the motivations of the editor-journalists of the two newspapers analysed in the study, The Buenos Aires Herald and The Southern Cross, to criticise the Junta, particularly for human rights abuses in the context of the period of state terrorism and media surveillance, are explored.

Contributions:

While acknowledging historic omissions and even tensions in the relationship between the academic fields of journalism and memory, this article emphasises that in recording events and testimonies as they happen through reportage which may be invoked decades later in social and legal post-dictatorship processes, journalism can be considered “memory’s precondition” (Zelizer, 2014) on present and future, active and passive, levels. In times of authoritarian rule, this relationship becomes intensified as oppositional discourses to the regime record testimonies and events which might otherwise be forgotten or eliminated.
This article identifies three clear strategies of counter-discourse (Macgilchrist, 2007) in oppositional media to the dictatorship and traces their challenges, on both literal and symbolic levels, to the version of memory propagated by the Junta. Furthermore, this research proposes that Margalit’s (2004) concept of the “moral witness” and the transformative power of first and second-hand experiences of suffering and injustice during repressive political regimes is a useful lens through which to consider the motivations of the two editor-journalists for openly and consistently criticising the regime.

On the theoretical level, this article contributes to the emerging body of work on the relationship between the academic fields of journalism and memory while also seeking to add momentum to the incipient practice of applying a CDA framework to Memory Studies. Methodologically, it builds on recent studies combining qualitative and quantitative approaches as well as on Latin American and Western academic frameworks of analysis.

**Article Three: Political Cartoons as Carnivalesque: A Multimodal Discourse Analysis of Argentina’s Humor Registrado Magazine**

Article three explores the form and function of the political cartoons of *Humor Registrado*, a bi-monthly magazine of political satire that challenged Argentina’s dictatorship. Moreover, this study considers why a magazine which was overtly critical of the regime was permitted to circulate during a period of strict state censorship in which hundreds of newswriters were among the regime’s disappeared. For its theoretical lens, this research draws on Bakhtin’s (1984) *carnivalesque*, as an inclusive but participatory space outside of official discourse but with which it maintains an ambivalent relationship. The methodological framework is comprised of Multimodal Discourse Analysis, combined with Social Semiotics (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996) and Semiology (Barthes, 1968) for the analysis of six cartoons from the covers of *Humor Registrado* which addressed three key events in the final year of the dictatorship, The Malvinas/Falklands War (June 1982), *La Concertación* or Transition Pact (October-November 1982), and The General Elections (October 1983).
Contributions:

In examining the political cartoons of *Humor Registrado* this article finds a complex oppositional discourse to the regime using the multimodal elements of text, images and colour. Moreover, features of humour theory are traced in the combination of modes such as caricature, as a form of visual satire, and visual metaphor and metonymy. While political cartoons have often been dismissed as a frivolous form of political critique, this article firmly locates them in their sociological and ideological context as a source of empowerment for societies under authoritarian rule, both as a subversive reprieve, and as a form of protest when alternative ways of expressing political discontent are prohibited and even violently suppressed. In this way, this article proposes that the political cartoons of *Humor Registrado* can be understood as an example of Bakhtin’s *carnivalesque*, an acceptable form of political critique and “safety valve” (Holquist, 1984) to avert more strenuous forms of socio-political unrest. This study builds on recent work on the ideological nature of modes of communication, the multimodal nature of political cartoons, and the small but significant body of work on graphic art in Argentina, including previous studies on *Humor Registrado* from the perspective of cultural studies (Burkart 2005, 2013).
6.1 Introduction: Contribution

This study contributes to the literature which approaches media as ideological and “highly constructive mediators of social reality” (Fowler, 1991: 1) and as motivated by the interests and institutions behind them and their shaping of key events and social actors. In focusing on print media discourses which both supported and opposed the dictatorship in Argentina across three important events throughout the country’s transition to democracy from 1982-1983, it also advances the small but significant body of work on the role of journalism in the construction of Argentina’s memory of the period. By foregrounding three publications which supported and three that opposed the regime in the research design, including both textual and graphic media, this work also builds on Foucault’s (1979) theory of discourse as “both an instrument and effect of power […] but also […] a point of resistance (p.101). This has been further elaborated in CDA through the conception of discourse itself as a “site of struggle” (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 1) and involving competing and shifting power relations. In representational terms the implication of power shifts is that not only dominant but marginal discourses can emerge as oppositional or counter-discourses (Macgilchrist, 2007: 75). While the extant literature on counter-discourses and counter-memories is largely unconnected, this study seeks to posit a link between these two concepts. To do so, it proposes that oppositional journalism has both an immediate role in contesting official versions of events, and a later function as a point of reference in social and legal post-dictatorship processes.

6.2 Research Problem Revisited

The primary aim of this research project was initially established as an analysis of the role of the print media in both sustaining and challenging the dictatorship in Argentina during the crisis period of 1982-1983.

With this in mind, two hypotheses were identified as central to the study:
1. The 1982-1983 print media landscape in Argentina comprised a range of discourses that both supported and opposed the dictatorship and included textual (i.e. newspapers) and graphic discourses as well as English and Spanish-language media platforms.

2. The media that challenged the dictatorship not only played an important role during the period in providing alternative accounts of events but also contributed to Argentina’s contemporary social and legal post-dictatorship processes.

Four research questions help to unpack the two strands of the main objective of the study; namely, to identify discourses which a) supported and b) opposed the regime. These are formulated as follows:

• Q1: Is there evidence of support for the military regime?
• Q2: If so, where is this found? How is/are pro-dictatorship discourse(s) constructed?
• Q3: Is there evidence of opposition to the military regime?
• Q4: If so, where is this found? How is/are oppositional or counter-discourse(s) constructed?

A fifth research question aiming to examine the relationship between discourses of opposition to the dictatorship and their influence on contemporary processes of remembering the past can be articulated as follows:

• Q5: What is the relationship between counter-discourses in the media of the dictatorship and counter-memories of the period in the 21st century context?

Q1 and Q2 were addressed in the first article of this project (Prendergast, 2017a) which analysed the discourses of Clarín, La Nación and La Razón, the three largest selling mainstream newspapers during the period under discussion and widely believed to have upheld the line of official discourse. This study unearthed complex framing processes around Leopoldo Galtieri, Argentina’s last dictator and a key social actor of the period, interconnected with broader discourses on Argentina’s national identity. However,
reinforcing Hall’s conception of the “sociological subject” (1992) and Wodak’s (1996) “disorders in discourse,” the investigation found that representations of Galtieri, in tandem with discourses on nationalism, shifted and changed in line with the three keys periods during the country’s period of socio-political transition.

To properly address Q2 and capture the complexity of responses to it, it is necessary to summarise the findings of the three periods under analysis (developed in Prendergast, 2017a). Firstly, during the jingoistic period of the Malvinas/Falklands War with Great Britain, positive discourses on Argentina were dominant and the three newspapers were overwhelmingly supportive of the regime. This is most evident in their ventriloquism of the Junta terminology used to justify its distorted conception of nationalism and normalise its campaign of terror against dissidents (Feitlowitz, 2011). These terms include the recurring use of the term orden as a collocate of nacional as well as the Junta’s coinage of the euphemistic terms Proceso de Reorganización Nacional and Poder Ejecutivo (Nacional). The corpus analysis initially revealed strategies of Wodak et al’s (1999) constructive nationalism, including references to formal features of Argentina as a nation state, symbols of nationalism, as well as the use of deictics such as us and ours and pronouns such as our to nurture a sense of identification and solidarity.

This was reinforced by a differentiation discourse wherein Great Britain was depicted as an aggressor not merely during the 1982 conflict, but throughout the historical age of colonialism. Once again, this was established using pronouns such as esa, and strategies of justification (Wodak et al, 1999), such as numerous verbs of agency encompassing Argentina’s decision to retaliate against the British attacks. The concordance-based analysis also revealed the recurring ideological device of night/day metaphors (Feitlowitz, 2011), with night used to symbolise British claims to the islands and the ensuing war, and day representing Argentina’s hopes for victory and reclaiming the island territories. Simultaneously, during this period, a DHA analysis revealed a positive framing of Galtieri presented as “Valiant Leader” not only in Argentina, but of Latin America as a whole. He is invariably associated with verbs of agency in his negotiations with the United Nations about the war and is even depicted as having direct communication with God through his meeting with the then Pope, John Paul II, at the height of the conflict. The topoi, or argumentational strategies around Galtieri during this
period are, therefore, predominantly around leadership, and broadly echo the newspapers’ positive stance on Argentina’s national identity of the period and the dictatorship project in general.

However, adding a degree of nuance to Q2, during the negotiations of the Transition Pact in late 1982, a mere five months following Argentina’s defeat in the war, the three newspapers are less supportive of the Junta’s plans for Argentina and of Galtieri. A corpus analysis reveals a shift from strategies of the constructive nationalism seen previously to those of transformation characterised by an emphasis on changed circumstances (Wodak et al, 1999). As a result, the focus is less on Argentine nationalism but on the German and Italian nationals among the disappeared. The emphasis is now no longer on negotiations with Britain to resolve the conflict but on the diplomatic meetings with representatives of these countries demanding answers on the fate of their citizens. While the term “los desaparecidos” peaks in newspaper coverage of this period, opposition to the practices of state terrorism appears just once in the direct quotation of a former president. Instead, strategies of mitigation and understatement are employed in relation to the disappeared, with repeated references to their disappearances and presumed deaths as merely presuntos (alleged), el tema (the issue), and el problema (the problem). These strategies are reinforced by the repeated use of vagueness and unclear expressions around the number of disappeared and their presumed locations, again used as a distancing and denial mechanism. During this period there is also changing understanding of the night and day metaphors, with night now associated with criticisms of the Junta and day linked to the information on the human rights abuses coming to light, in what could be considered a flicker of an emerging democratic discourse.

The DHA analysis of framing of Galtieri during the period reveals similar transformations. He loses the agency of the previous period, is roundly criticised in direct quotations by members of the Junta, and is now associated with a topos of menace to Argentina due to his tactical mistakes during the war and allegedly egocentric character traits, which are presented as a threat to Argentina’s national interests.

In the final period of analysis around the General Elections of 1983, discourse strategies of demontage and destruction (Wodak et al, 1999) predominate. The Junta’s preferred terminology appears less frequently in articles in favour of nouns and verbs associated
with democratic processes. However, a corpus analysis for this timeframe shows that the emphasis is now on the difficult legacy of the dictatorship, which is reflected in the overwhelming use of night metaphors and the conspicuous absence of those relating to day/light. These tactics of destruction are most evident apropos Galtieri himself, who is eliminated from coverage of the elections when most other presidents of the country, both *de facto* and democratically elected, are heavily interviewed and quoted. Such strategies suggest that as Argentina returned to democracy its three mainstream newspapers tacitly disengaged from Galtieri and the Junta’s project without being explicitly critical of the dictatorship.

Q3 was addressed in article two (Prendergast, 2018) which examined two newspapers openly critical of the regime, *The Buenos Aires Herald* and *The Southern Cross*, throughout the country’s period of terror, while Q4 revealed that both newspapers employed three clear strategies of oppositional or counter-discourse (Macgilchrist, 2007) in their attempts to discredit the dictatorship and its practices. The first of these was inversion, understood as “countering a dominant frame with logical arguments” (p. 77). Although this trend may be observed in both newspapers, it was particularly apparent in *The Herald’s* coverage of censorship and the violent repression of their own industry by state forces rather than solely reporting on the experiences of others in an objective way. Further qualitative analysis also revealed that both newspapers deployed strategies of complexification which undermined the homogeneity of official discourse. This was particularly evident in the newspapers’ challenge to the Junta’s propaganda around itself as *derecho* (upright) and *humano* (humane), which intensified in the wake of the Inter-American Commission of Human Rights 1979 fact-finding visit to Buenos Aires in 1979 which exposed numerous state practices. These included the Junta’s interference with BBC broadcasts during the war, its attacks on the offices of democratic parties, and its role in the disappearances of opponents (*The Buenos Aires Herald*), along with the growing number of unidentified bodies found in graveyards, and attacks on dissident clergy (*The Southern Cross*). Complexification was also traced in both newspapers, but particularly in *The Herald*, through the inclusion of a multitude of dissenting voices from human rights groups and activists in reportage rather than the usual binary journalistic structure of incorporating one official voice and one oppositional or critical point of view.
This resulted in the inclusion of as wide a spectrum of oppositional voices as possible to the regime.

The counter-discourse strategy of radical reframing, which is arguably more categorical than the other two and requires the complete subversion of dominant framing often at literal and symbolic levels, was also present in both newspapers. In *The Herald*, this featured in a predominantly literal way, around recurring coverage of individual and group protests against the dictatorship, while *The Southern Cross*’ reframing took place at a more symbolic level through the sustained promotion of identification discourse with Ireland’s struggle for independence from Britain. During the Malvinas/Falklands War this accelerated with frequent similarities being drawn between Ireland’s conflict with Britain over the sovereignty of Northern Ireland and Argentina’s battle with the same opponent over the South Atlantic islands.

The follow-up corpus analysis of both newspapers revealed more nuances between the two publications such as *The Herald*’s use of pragmatic features of text as a distancing mechanism from official announcements and communiqués while also elaborating additional features of *The Southern Cross*’ affinity discourse with Ireland.

In article three (Prendergast, 2017b), Q3 was also applied to the political cartoons of the satirical magazine *Humor Registrado*. Exploring Q4 in relation to six cartoons from the magazine’s covers revealed a multi-layered and multimodal oppositional discourse to the regime built around the interplay of text and image with the strategic use of colour. Tools from graphic communication, such as visual metaphor and metonymy, and caricature and satire, were integrated with various forms of humour theory to communicate political critique. This specifically targeted individual members of the Junta, including Galtieri and his ministers, along with the civilians who supported the regime in their capacities as economists and journalists. More general condemnations of the Junta’s failed economic policies and human rights abuses were also communicated in cartoons.

Resources from Semiology (Barthes, 1968), particularly the distinction between denotation and connotation, demonstrate that the cartoons communicated messages on the primary and secondary overt and implicit levels, to produce a combined “demythologization” or deconstruction of the Junta’s project. Additionally, resources for
analysis from Social Semiotics (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996) provided insight into the discursive strategies of the textual and visual “modes” deployed in the composition of the cartoons. These combined interactional features, such as the gaze of the characters which at different times transform readers into active and passive participants, with compositional elements such as framing and salience for emphasis, or otherwise, of specific features and characters. A particularly noteworthy finding of this study was that in times of sharp socio-political crisis, such as the Malvinas/Falklands War and the 1983 Elections, cartoons blended the normally separate narrative and conceptual elements in order to present more complex commentaries. Also significant was the addition of captions which mainly reinforced the content of images but on certain occasions provided supplementary commentary. This technique particularly assisted the incisive critique of the Junta’s human rights abuses and attempts to extend their time in power despite the wishes of most Argentine citizens to return to democracy.

Q5, which traces the relationship between counter-discourses in print media and counter-memories of Argentina’s dictatorship period, was explored in relation to the oppositional discourses of The Buenos Aires Herald and The Southern Cross in article two. Here, firstly, significant similarities were found between the two concepts as constructed, multiple and complex and framed by difficult socio-political contexts. Moreover, counter-discourses were shown to constitute a record of testimonies, events and even social actors that, otherwise, would have been eliminated from official memory. The example of the work of Uki Goñi was given to demonstrate the contemporary role of journalism in informing judgements in post-dictatorship human rights trials.

6.3 Discussion of Key Findings

A main point of discussion emerges from the findings of Q1 and Q2 relating to the shift in news values and gradual disengagement of the three mainstream newspapers from the dictatorship project over the 1982-1983 period which is in contrast with the supportive stance taken by the three publications in the immediate aftermath of the 1976 coup. While the literature underscores this initial support of the regime especially in relation to Clarin, it is nonetheless pertinent to all three newspapers’ appropriation of “the ideological and discursive apparatus created by the armed forces, reproducing it and in turn contributing in its pages to its development and circulation” (Iturralde, 2013: 320). Moreover, this
initial alliance with the Junta must be considered in conjunction with the complex economic benefits for all three media platforms heralded by state takeover of the country’s largest manufacturer of newsprint, Papel Prensa, (Borrelli, 2008). In short, they assumed the advantages of becoming the dominant shareholders, and as such were in a position to favour their own publications while causing significant financial problems and forcing the closure of rival, smaller, and regional media, through their strategic inflation of newsprint prices. However, what is most revealing about the role taken by these three media platforms in the takeover of Papel Prensa is that it highlights how the economic interests of the media groups were paramount, with the newspapers themselves relegated to mere bargaining tools, as in for example, legislative favours from the Junta in light of their influence over public opinion (Borrelli, 2008: 15). This echoes one of the main departure points of this project which maintains that media discourses are driven by the interests behind them (e.g. Schudson, 1997; van Dijk, 1995 etc.) Moreover, the concept of economic interests driving media discourses informs the understanding proposed for the gradual decrease of support traced in the newspapers for the dictatorship. This study proposes that these media groups withdrew their support for the floundering regime as an alliance with it was no longer advantageous to them. In fact, Ulanovsky (2005: 150) states that by 1983 the circulation of the eleven main newspapers in Buenos Aires did not surpass 1,100,000 copies per day compared with a total of 2,000,000 for the five leading dailies ten years previously. This may be attributed to a number of factors: the spiralling economic crisis from failing Junta policies; growing disillusionment with the Junta on the issue of the disappeared which was also attracting negative international attention and with the local media specifically due to its marked manipulation; and exaggeration of coverage during the war against Britain. For these and other reasons the dictatorship and the media were losing public support, which the mainstream media groups had no option but to acknowledge and reflect.

This finding was corroborated by Iturralde’s (2013) capsule study of Clarín’s coverage of the fact-finding mission of the Inter-American Human Rights Commission to Buenos Aires in 1979. After months of conspicuous silence on the visit, the newspaper emerged with an editorial that showed a “slight but notorious change of position” (p.325) from the official line as well as (its first) “discursive negotiations” (p.325) around the figures of
the disappeared in response to increased public protests for information on their whereabouts and the publication of a damning report on the Junta’s human rights record by the IAHRC.

Such a reactive shift in media discourse is best exemplified by Gabetta and Joselovsky’s (1984) football metaphor, “el cambio de camiseta” (the change of shirt) alluding to a shift of allegiance when a team is on a losing streak. As previously noted (Prendergast, 2017a) this metaphor is applied by these writers to Argentina’s mainstream media of 1982-1983 to propose that Clarín, La Nación and La Razón disengaged from the dictatorship in 1983, pragmatically reflecting the majority of their readership’s wish to replace the authoritarian regime with democracy. As such, it was simply no longer sustainable or profitable to continue supporting El Proceso.

Another point of interest and revealing contrast in the findings of Q2 and Q4 is that while mainstream media discourses which were initially supportive of the regime broke down steadily following Argentina’s defeat in the 1982 war with Britain, both textual and graphic format counter-discourses to the dictatorship remained robust throughout the periods under analysis. The three publications studied that challenged the regime maintained their oppositional news values even during the Election period, without being transformed into a new official version “supporting…new political social and economic orders” (p.12), with lexical and semantic-discursive choices instead highlighting the problematic legacy of the dictatorship. Their enduring opposition to the regime is evinced in their references to the likelihood of the continuing influence and interference of military forces in democratic processes (The Buenos Aires Herald), the litany of human rights abuses which remained unpunished (The Southern Cross), and the anger of the Argentine people with the Junta’s practices and policies represented in the footprints on the rears of the Junta on the final cover of Humor Registrado magazine before the country voted for its new president (issue 115). These three examples can be considered examples of the reframing and even “recontextualisation,” as explored in section 4.1, of the Junta’s official discourses which denied human rights abuses and internal divisions.

To consider how oppositional discourses can preserve their status without being subsumed into Zerubavel’s (1995) “master commemorative narrative,” or Todorov’s (2003) anti-memory strategies as explored in section 3.2, van Dijk’s (1998) understanding
of the creation of ideology as “clusters of basic social beliefs” (p.72), specifically in relation to ideologies of resistance, and how these are manifest in discourse, is particularly illuminating. Firstly, van Dijk (1998) proposes that counter-ideologies which underlie and motivate the creation of counter-discourses (Terdiman, 1985) have the same potential for resilience as dominant versions because they are also fortified on a number of levels. This entails the development of a “system of ideas” (p.5) operating mostly symbolically. In the current study, this idea of multi-layered communication systems for resistance is most pertinent to the cartoons of Humor Registrado which, as article three explores, used different combinations of “modes,” with levels of denotation and connotation, to communicate messages critical of the Junta (Prendergast, 2017b). Moreover, as article two discussed, *The Buenos Aires Herald* and *Southern Cross* challenged official discourse and memory on both concrete political and symbolic levels, with the *Southern Cross* in particular developing a complex (alternative) identity discourse with Ireland for Irish-Argentines as a model of successful liberation from (British) colonial oppression (Prendergast, 2018). As noted in the literature, ideologies of resistance also involve a “polarization” or “us” (in-group) versus “them” (out-group) discourse (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009; van Dijk, 1998). Such “othering” in media discourses has received considerable attention by media researchers, but generally in relation to those in elite positions of power against those who are powerless (e.g. Baker et al, 2008; Costelloe, 2014). This study, on the other hand, traced the “othering” of the ruling Junta by three relatively small publications and found it to be sustained and significant.

In *The Buenos Aires Herald* and *The Southern Cross*, this “othering” was developed through three identified strategies of counter-discourse in journalism and in *Humor Registrado* through the combination of textual and visual elements and caricature. Furthermore, counter-ideologies involve the development of a social identity of the group who adhere to them. While, once again, this was particularly prevalent in *The Southern Cross*’ discourse of association with Ireland it was also apparent in *The Buenos Aires Herald*’s creation of a sense of community among journalists through the reportage on their shared experiences of intimidation and censorship. Ultimately, van Dijk (1998: 314) suggests it is this interaction (or what Reisigl and Wodak (2009) might refer to as triangulation) “among social members, personal experiences and […] the situation […]” which imbues both ideologies and counter-ideologies alike with “coherence” (p. 314).
could therefore be inferred that the discourses of the mainstream newspapers of this study lost “ideological coherence” due to their abandonment of the dictatorship project while “coherence” was maintained by the oppositional media which, in diverse ways, upheld and even reinforced their criticisms of the practices of the regime and its key social actors throughout the year of transition.

A final point for discussion and a further question which emerged in the analysis of Q2 and Q4 lies around the motivations of the editors of the three publications to adopt an oppositional stance to the regime in the context of state terrorism wherein colleagues were literally disappearing, and rival publications being closed down. While it is impossible to definitively answer this question as two of the three editors have since died, it is proposed (Prendergast, 2018) that in the case of Robert Cox (The Buenos Aires Herald) and Fr. Federico Richards (The Southern Cross), the sharp critique of the dictatorship was inspired by their first and second-hand experiences among their communities and colleagues of disappearances and intimidations, while the initial stimulus for Humor Registrado was Andrés Cascioli’s outrage at the imposition of repressive censorship following the 1976 coup (Prendergast, 2017b). It was also acknowledged that each of the publications benefitted from important foreign links and support from The United States (Humor Registrado, The Buenos Aires Herald), The United Kingdom (The Buenos Aires Herald) and Ireland (The Southern Cross). It is not unlikely that such international support enabled these publications to survive the dictatorship, although Cox, Richards and Cascioli all reported episodes of personal and staff intimidation by state forces, with Cox eventually forced into exile.

Nevertheless, and as noted by Achugar (2009), in times of socio-political crisis when many alternative accounts of events can emerge to challenge the dominant or official version, not all can survive, and many disappear into obscurity. It is logical then, to speculate why these three publications succeeded in breaking through Huyssen’s (2003) “semiotic gap” to pose a challenge to the Junta’s discourse and inform contemporary counter-memories of the dictatorship as Q5 explores. Possible scenarios are that as an English-language publication The Herald managed to sidestep the full censure of the regime while The Southern Cross survived as a relatively small publication which mostly targeted the Irish-Argentine rural farming community. The case of Humor Registrado is
more complex. As a satirical magazine circulating in the kiosks of Buenos Aires which used humour strategies to undermine the Junta and its project, it was a well disseminated publication aimed at an informed urban readership. It was proposed (Prendergast, 2017b) that the possible reason for its survival is that it constituted a form of Bakhtin’s (1984) carnivalesque or an acceptable platform of protest and “safety value” for opposition to the regime. Following this interpretation, it might be suggested that the magazine was somehow allowed to circulate by the Junta for strategic political motives, for instance, in order to demonstrate its lenience towards dissent for foreign press and states critical of its human rights abuses. Given the binary logic of the Junta, however, around discourse which was either permitted or prohibited and its approach to citizens as either supportive or subversive (Feitlowitz, 2011), it seems unlikely that such a nuanced position was taken on Humor Registrado. This is reinforced by the fact that a “black or white,” dichotomising, discourse was central to the structure of the Junta’s justifications for and defence of its policies and practices (Feitlowitz, 2011). It is therefore improbable that Humor Registrado’s incisive critique was somehow allocated a defined role within or for official discourse. Instead, this study proposes that Humor Registrado, through a combination of visual and textual strategies, established an alternative space of protest which, according to Cascioli (2005), eventually garnered so much public support that the Junta felt it unwise to close the publication for fear of a public backlash. It must be acknowledged that it may have further benefitted from the dismissal of humour as a serious platform of political critique, an appraisal which fails to apprehend the powerful and complex communicative and critical capacity of the genre, particularly in times of socio-political turbulence and oppression.

6.4 Limitations of the Study

As noted in 1.4, 5.1 and 5.9, certain external limitations constrained this project, including the format of the newspaper articles for analysis which are as yet undigitised and therefore required time-consuming manual transcription. Although this consideration reduced the size of the overall corpus, the 178,846 words collected were deemed sufficient to address the research questions of this project. While the benefits of working with smaller corpora were also elucidated in 5.2, it is probable that a different set of research questions combined with larger dataset may have unearthed further discourse features and patterns.
The issue of researcher bias and subjectivity also emerged in 4.3 as a frequent criticism of CDA, posed by Stubbs (1997) in relation to the selection of data and by Widdowson (2004) around the (political) agenda of the researcher. Such criticisms led Baker (2012) to assert that the flexibility of CDA “with its lack of set ways for conducting analysis” (p.255), which is often advantageous for researchers, can be perceived as a weakness by its critics. Like Baker (2012) this study has combined a CDA-informed approach with corpus analysis to include a larger dataset for analysis and employ methods which are both “rigorous and grounded” (p.255) and aim to provide “a full picture of representation and not just negative examples” (p.255). However, to suggest that the combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches eliminates researcher bias is an over-estimation, as bias exists also in the selection of the larger corpus (Baker, 2012). While it is challenging to propose whether, and indeed how, this issue might be addressed, as suggested by Baker (2012), the principle of transparency has been central to this current project in relation to the decisions made and the rationale behind them at each stage of the project, from data selection and collection to analysis, as noted in 5.8. Moreover, without purporting to have resolved the seemingly unavoidable dimension of researcher subjectivity, this project was designed to prioritise balance, or “representativeness” (e.g. Tognini-Bonelli, 1996), by incorporating media which both supported and opposed the regime and by utilizing both Western and Latin American theoretical and methodological paradigms of analysis.

Another issue again relevant to this study, though by no means exclusive to it, lies around the generalisability or the potential “hypothetical projection” (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001:79) of findings beyond the corpus used for analysis to media generally, in this case, Argentina. While it may be tempting to draw wider generalisations based on the findings of this small study, it is ultimately neither the aim nor the intention to do so. In this regard, this project adopts McEnery, Xiao and Tono’s (2006) caveat that “it is important to keep in mind that the findings based on a particular corpus only tell us what is true in that corpus, though a representative corpus allows us to make reasonable generalizations about the population from which the corpus was sampled. Nevertheless, unwarranted generalizations can be misleading” (p.121).
Despite these limitations, in addressing a topic that has hitherto received relatively little attention in English-language discourse studies, this study has revealed complex discourse features and patterns in the newspaper coverage of three events in the final year of Argentina’s dictatorship in media which both supported and challenged the regime. Nonetheless, as the next section elucidates, there is scope for further studies in the various intersecting fields of this research to further probe the news values underpinning the media’s construction of Argentina’s most recent dictatorship period.

6.5 Suggestions for Further Study

Firstly, as noted in 5.1, the corpus compiled for this project has potential for further study. There is much scope for instance, for an analysis of the headlines of articles which were excluded from current analysis, and/or a contrastive examination of mainstream newspapers to identify potential nuances among their discourses.

Secondly, to reiterate the point made in 1.1 and 3.1, although a body of work on Argentina’s dictatorship media exists in the field of social sciences and history (e.g. Borrelli 2008, 2011; Saborido and Borrelli, 2012 etc.), Pardo (2010) has highlighted the opportunities for CDA analysis on a number of issues relevant to this study, such as the discourse on military dictatorship, human rights and the Grandmothers of Plaza de Mayo (p.187). In this respect, media coverage of different key events and timeframes during the dictatorship, for example as identified in 2.3, could also be analysed in Clarín, La Nación and La Razón. Furthermore, mainstream reportage on the start of the Alfonsín presidency would also be an interesting point of departure and could be contrasted with media coverage at the start of the regime. A specific analysis of Argentina’s military discourse, their communiqués, press releases, and official documents would be worth investigating, as Achugar (2008) has done in the Uruguayan context. Feitlowitz (2011) has also underlined the significance of the press conferences between Jorge Videla, the first leader of the Junta, with local and international journalists, in terms of his evasion of questions and denial of human rights abuses. These exchanges also constitute interesting material for CDA, or even conversation or interaction analysis. Based on the framework used in this study, the combination of a qualitative study with a corpus analysis would also be fruitful for such investigations for the reasons mentioned previously, but primarily for the inclusion of as large a dataset as possible for scrutiny.
While this project has analysed six publications, many more could also have been featured. These include, but are not limited to, the popular magazines of the time, which previous literature has identified as supportive of the regime, including the three publications from Editorial Atlántida, Somos and Gente (Gago and Saborido, 2011) and Para Ti (Bravo, 2003). As such prior work is mostly in the field of history, these publications are ripe for complementary multimodal analysis. For further research on oppositional discourse, analysis of Jacobo Timerman’s *La Opinión* (1971-1977) is an obvious field of enquiry and an unfortunate omission for this study since it was not in circulation for the period under analysis. It should be acknowledged also that there were numerous (mostly smaller) publications outside of Buenos Aires, in the interior of the country, which emerged at different points to either support and oppose the regime. These too provide fertile ground for critical discourse, and possibly multimodal analysis.

Rich comparative potential also exists between Argentine and international media on the dictatorship. The findings of Pardo and Lorenzo-Duz (2010) on the diverse constructions of heroism in commemorative Argentine and British television coverage of the Falklands/Malvinas War suggest that it would also be worth comparing the discourses of Argentine and British media during the conflict itself. Qualitative studies have been carried out on the British media’s coverage of the war, with emphasis on The Sun’s infamous “Gotcha” headline on the sinking of the *General Belgrano* in May 1982, by Leggett (2016) and Harris (1983).

As highlighted in 4.3, CDA has been criticised for failing to engage with reception analysis. To accommodate this, audience reactions of the media of the period could be gauged through focus groups and interviews. The key challenge of this would be to conduct this research in the contemporary context, over thirty years after the 1976 *coup d’état*. However, inspired by previous research by Achugar, Fernández and Morales (2013) on how Uruguayan teenagers “remember” the dictatorship using question prompts devised by the researchers, it may be illuminating to evaluate young Argentines’ responses to dictatorship discourses by using media coverage of the time as a prompt for discussion and debate.

To further probe the news values of the period, interviews could be conducted with journalists and newsworkers who wrote for and/or held editorial roles in print media of
the time to record and analyse their testimonies, perhaps through semi-structured interviews which usefully offer “some degree of predetermined order but still ensure flexibility in the way issues are addressed by the informant” (Dunn, 2000: 80). As previously highlighted (e.g. in section 7.3) such a study would be problematic due to the significant time which has elapsed since the end of the dictatorship 35 years ago and difficulties in locating the remaining journalists involved. Moreover, in the mainstream media of the time very few articles bore the names of the journalists who wrote them, so tracing authorship would also be an issue. Nevertheless, should such a study or studies be possible they would offer fascinating insights into news production processes during the dictatorship.

New media, which provide platforms for post-dictatorship generations to engage with the legacy of the regime, offer further interesting material for analysis. Sosa’s (2014b) work, for example, has analysed the Facebook campaign of March 24, 2010, marking the anniversary of the coup d’état, in which many Argentines removed their profile images leaving only “ghostly profiles” (p.81) as a form of commemoration for the disappeared and a protest against the ongoing lack of justice for these victims. What is particularly innovative about Sosa’s analysis is her framing of this recent social media campaign in the context of the 1983 Siluetazo (silhouette) protests in Buenos Aires in which artists and activists put life-sized figures, again representing the disappeared, on the walls of Buenos Aires during the dictatorship. This analysis reinforces an emergent theme in the recent literature of past (discourse) strategies informing present communicative events (e.g. Feitlowitz, 2011). The application of multimodal frameworks for analysis, such as those applied to the current study, could be illuminating for future projects in this vein.

The cultural production of children of the disappeared, which emerged from their attempts to come to terms with this loss, also offers rich material for various forms of discourse analysis. Mariana Eva Pérez’s blog-turned-book, Diario de una princesa montonera (2012), is an effective example of this, due to its combination of texts and images, fragmented narrative, and controversial use of humour and irony to address sensitive themes (Pifano and Paz-Mackey, 2013). The arguably irreverent narrative style of this book is particularly worthy of study due to the debates it stimulates concerning who can and/or cannot claim “ownership” of dictatorship memories (Ros, 2012) as well
as if, and to what extent, any tone other than solemn or reverential is appropriate for engaging with a period of dictatorship and its victims.

This project builds on the emerging body of literature underlining the important role played by journalism in memory construction, particularly the role of counter-discourses in the creation of counter-memories of events and practices which would otherwise be denied or forgotten. It is in this aspect that further analysis is most required. Similar studies of dictatorship media of other Latin American countries which experienced authoritarian regimes over a comparable period, such as Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay, would shed light on the extent to which they support or challenge the findings of this study. More generally, such studies would offer additional insights into the news values of media groups and roles played by journalism during these countries’ dictatorships and in their contemporary processes of remembering or forgetting.
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Article One

Hero, leader, traitor: The print media deconstruction of Argentina’s last dictator 1982-1983

Abstract

The 1982–1983 period marked the end of Argentina’s last dictatorship, one of the most brutal in history, and a difficult time of transition for the country from dictatorship to democracy following defeat in the 1982 Falklands/Malvinas War. Using the theoretical framework of critical discourse analysis, which approaches media as constructing rather than mirroring social reality and driven by the interests behind them, this article explores representations of Argentina’s last dictator, Leopoldo Galtieri, within broader discourses on nationalism in three newspapers that supported the regime. The methodological framework of the study is mixed, combining qualitative elements of the discourse-historical approach with corpus tools for an investigation into collocations and metaphors employed. Findings suggest that linguistic and discursive features used in relation to Galtieri change over the course of the year, reflecting shifting discourses on nationalism and Argentina’s period of socio-political crisis.

Keywords: Argentina, corpus-assisted discourse studies, dictatorship, discourse analysis, discourse historical approach, identity, ideology, media, nationalism

Introduction

Building on the theoretical approach to media as ‘highly constructive mediators’ of social reality (Fowler, 1991: 1) driven by the interests and institutions behind them and their shaping of socio-political context (e.g. Bednarek and Caple, 2017; Fairclough, 1995; Van Dijk, 1988), this article explores print media representations of Argentina’s last dictator, Leopoldo Galtieri (December 1981–June 1982), within wider discourses on nationalism and national identity, in the final year of Argentina’s military dictatorship, 1982–1983.
The study proposes that as an important political figure and key social actor of the period, Galtieri occupies a pivotal position in print media discourse, and an analysis of the linguistic and discursive devices used to depict him provides insight into the ideological stances of the newspapers that published them.

Argentina’s political arena of the early 1980s was one of instability and chaos, as was that of Latin America in general with many countries undergoing processes of transition from military dictatorships to democracy (Donghi, 1988). In the context of Uruguay’s dictatorship of the period, Achugar (2009) explores the changing self-representation and political identity of the country’s military through its institutional discourses using the lens of theory on legitimation (Van Leeuwen, 2008). For the current analysis of reframing in relation to Argentina and Galtieri, critical discourse analysis (CDA) is employed as a useful theoretical paradigm with its assumption that discourse and media are ‘social constructs’ and ‘ambivalent and multi-layered’ (Wodak, 1996). Frameworks for analysis provided by Hall (1992) and Wodak (1996), which view representation in constant flux and heavily influenced by changes in the political status quo, are also applied.

Again, assuming complexity, instability and change, this research draws on perspectives of nation and national identity as highly ideological (Billig, 1995) social phenomena that are developed, sustained and also dismantled through discourse (Anderson, 1983; Wodak et al., 1999). It proposes that these shifting discourses can be accelerated, even heightened, in times of political crisis such as the end of Argentina’s dictatorship.

The design of this research project is influenced by the growing body of media studies combining qualitative and quantitative elements of CDA and corpus linguistics (e.g. Bednarek and Caple, 2012; Mautner, 2000), particularly Baker et al.’s (2008) combination of the discourse-historical approach (DHA; Reisigl and Wodak, 2009) with corpus tools. This current analysis adopts the corpus-assisted discourse studies (CADS) line (Partington, 2004) to allow for greater methodological flexibility and to accommodate the rich socio-political context of the study.

This article begins with an exploration of the media’s role in representing ‘reality’ and the importance of social actors in discourse. This is followed by a discussion of key theoretical concepts surrounding nationalism and national identity. Then the
particularities of the media landscape leading up to and including Argentina’s period of dictatorship are explored, including an introduction to the three newspapers of this study: *La Nación*, *Clarín* and *La Razón*. The data analysis section, built around three key events in the final year of the dictatorship, is informed by the DHA (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009) for investigation of micro-level representations of Galtieri as well as collocation analysis (Brezina et al., 2015; Phillips, 1985) and metaphorical analysis (Feitlowitz, 2011; Lakoff and Johnson, 2003) of concordance lines (Baker et al., 2008) to analyse macro-level discourses on nationalism.

While the collocation analysis of concordance lines offers an insight into the ‘lexical patterning’ (Phillips, 1985: 15) underlying both structure and content of text, which is key to its ‘aboutness’ (p. 15), the ideological function of metaphor at both cognitive and conceptual levels has already received considerable attention in the literature (e.g. Lakoff and Johnson, 2003; Van Dijk, 1988). The challenges of using corpus approaches for identifying and understanding the function of metaphors have already been set out (Stefanowitsch and Gries, 2006). Nevertheless, this study follows Feitlowitz’s (2011) assessment that metaphors, employed as a form of ‘hiding and highlighting’ (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003) messages, are integral to the language of Argentina’s dictatorship, which created and sustained, at both a public and clandestine level, ‘its own encoded discourse’ (Feitlowitz, 2011: xii) which had various aims including ‘to shroud in mystery its true actions and intentions, to say the opposite of what it meant, to inspire trust, to instil guilt (especially in mothers) and to sow paralysing terror and confusion’ (Feitlowitz, 2011: 22).

**CDA: Media’s construction of reality, the role of social actors**

Wodak’s (1996) theory of ‘disorders in discourse’ proposes that due to power imbalances in institutional contexts such as the media, inaccessible and unclear vocabulary is used and wording is deliberately distorted as an alienating strategy to perpetuate power structures, explored by Feitlowitz (2011) and also by this study specifically in relation to Argentina’s dictatorship discourse. Wodak (1996) develops this with the ‘myth of the undisturbed, predictable process’ (p. 55), suggesting that discursive inequalities can break down, given certain institutional and socio-political shifts as this research also emphasises.
Given the historical dimension of the current media study, the most fruitful branch of CDA for analysis of the ‘disorders’ in Argentina’s print media is the DHA, applicable here in a number of ways. First, it provides a useful toolkit for investigating the form and function of argumentation with its analysis of *topoi* as ‘content-related warrants … connecting the argument or arguments with the conclusion or the central claim’ (Wodak, 2009: 48). The DHA builds on the assumption that power involves an ‘asymmetric relationship’ between social actors in positions to exert it and those who are not, a central dynamic of authoritarian regimes. Also, the ‘demystification’ (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009: 88) of ideologies in discourse is the DHA’s central aim, and as numerous commentators have asserted (e.g. Betz, 2012), the perpetuation of ideology is a feature of the establishment and consolidation of dictatorial systems. For Reisigl and Wodak (2009), ideologies sustain unequal power relations and have the transformative potential to alter power balances in institutions and society in general (p. 88).

The DHA’s five-part model for the analysis of ‘discursive strategies’, including nomination, predication, argumentation, framing and intensification/mitigation, is relevant for this study as it prompts a complex exploration of how social actors are named and the linguistic tools used to justify this. For Wodak et al. (1999), social actors play a pivotal role in discourse as they simultaneously ‘constitute objects of knowledge, situations and social roles’ (p. 8) and are central to the development of themes of identity, which can be traced through the social groups in and from which they are shown to be included and/or excluded.

Bearing in mind the central concern of CDA in general with power imbalances and the forms and implications of exclusion (Van Leeuwen, 1996), most recent CDA-based media studies on identity have centred on the ‘normalization of othering’ (Wodak, 2010) social actors in discourse, for example asylum seekers and refugees (Baker and McEnery, 2005), Muslims (Baker et al., 2013), gay men (Baker, 2005) and immigrants (Van Leeuwen and Wodak, 1999). The current study, however, marks a departure from these previous analyses in focusing on representations of a *de facto* president, a role which one might not immediately associate with exclusion or ‘suppression and backgrounding’ (Van Leeuwen, 1996: 39), in Argentina’s national print media discourse. However, as we will see, exclusionary strategies are relevant to discourses on Galtieri as socio-political
conditions change and he moves from an in-group to an out-group member. This research proposes that the analysis of authoritarian social actors such as Galtieri is illuminating for studies of discourses on nation and identity. As we have noted, the analysis of ideologies is a central focus of CDA, and the ‘systematic, formal and self-conscious’ (March, 2002: 371) creation and manipulation of ‘national ideologies’ is a frequent tactic of legitimation employed by leaders of repressive regimes. Furthermore, following Anderson (1983), this research proposes that leaders constitute insightful loci of analysis due to the conflation of national and individual characteristics of identity that they represent.

Theoretical perspectives: Nation, national identity and the ‘sociological subject’

Since Anderson’s (1983) concept of the ‘imagined community’ emerged, nation has been widely explored by theorists as a discursive construct. Hall (1992) encapsulates this idea with his commentary that nation is a ‘system of cultural representation’ built through a series of narratives (p. 292). Billig (1995) explores nationalism as an ideology, central to which is discourse (p. 18). Media, due to their ‘focal position … in contemporary social systems’ (Fairclough, 1995: 3), have been highlighted as playing a fundamental role in formulating, circulating and sustaining discourses on nationhood. While the 21st century has seen new media emerge to play fundamental roles in these processes (Khondker, 2011) historically, print media were the main, at times only, platforms for such discourses as forms of ‘print capitalism’ (Anderson, 1983: 35). Frosh and Wolfsfeld (2007: 106) propose that this earlier theory needs to be re-considered in relation to non-Western countries and those undergoing periods of socio-political crisis and military intervention, where conceptions and representations of nationalism are intensified and complicated and differ according to each unique set of circumstances.

These different perspectives on nationalism are unified by the assumption that the ‘nation’ is a social phenomenon, shaped by the communities and institutions that frame it. Hall (1992) and Wodak et al. (1999) approach national identity as the ‘interaction’ between the self and society (p. 276) in which we adopt shared values and beliefs at an individual level while seeking to embed ourselves within a broader socio-cultural framework in a process that Hall (1992) likens to ‘suturing …’ (p. 276). A useful concept here is Hall’s (1992) ‘sociological subject’ (p. 275), which locates the self on the cusp of private and public worlds (p. 276), as unstable and fluctuating and the antithesis of the Enlightenment
conception of a unified and stable identity. The theory of the ‘sociological subject’ is relevant for this study as it considers the self in constant flux, even ‘contradictory and unresolved’ (p. 277) due to changing socio-political and institutional circumstances like those experienced by Argentina during its period of transition.

Referring to nation and national identity as social and discursive ‘constructs’ is a misnomer. As Wodak et al. (1999) assert, these concepts are not only ‘constructed’ but also ‘transformed’ and ‘dismantled’ through macro-level strategies of representation (p. 33). Moreover, these macro-level strategies operate in tandem with the five micro-level discursive strategies mentioned earlier, and ‘though analytically distinguishable from one other … occur more or less simultaneously and are interwoven in concrete discursive acts’ (p. 33). As we will see, this combination of shifting strategies in relation to representations of nation and identity in Argentina’s period of crisis is also fundamental to discourses on Galtieri.

**Contextualisation: Argentina’s dictatorship media landscape**

By the time of the *coup d’état* on 26 March 1976, which initiated the 7-year dictatorship, Argentina’s print media was already weakened by more than a century of socio-political turbulence, evinced in a constant shift between dictatorship and democracy and a culture of state intervention in the media that included censorship and intimidation of journalists and editors (Cox, 1980). With his assumption of presidency in 1946, Juan Domingo Perón named the press, previously critical of his policies, as the ‘fourth enemy’ of the state and subsequently embarked on a process of expropriating almost all of Argentina’s leading newspapers to create a platform for Perónist propaganda and a ‘quasi state media empire’ (Cane, 2011: 3). Many commentators on Argentina’s media agree that Perón’s tactics for taking and maintaining control of the press (p. 3) took a disastrous toll not only on media outlets themselves, but on the media’s relationship with the state and general public, from which they have never recovered.

Following the 1976 coup, the media endured another period of state intervention and censorship, but this time state control was ‘accelerated’ as media outlets became a critical tool in the junta’s ideological warfare on dissidents (Avellaneda, 1986). During the dictatorship numerous publications were closed, newspaper offices were burned down,
and thousands of journalists were fired, threatened, imprisoned and forced into exile (Ulanovsky, 2005: 153). UTPBA\textsuperscript{1} figures suggest that 129 press workers were among the dictatorship’s desaparecidos.

The three newspapers in this study, which also had the highest circulations of the time, openly supported the regime during its early years. \textit{Clarín}, founded in 1945 by the conservative, nationalist industrialist Roberto Noble, emerged in the context of the state-controlled Perónist media climate, while \textit{La Razón}, a newspaper expropriated by Perón in 1947 which – although returned to its previous owners, the Peralta Ramos family, in 1955 – remained a platform of state-controlled communication during the dictatorship (Cox, 1980). As one of Argentina’s oldest and most prestigious newspapers that had retained its independence during the Perónist era, \textit{La Nación’s} ‘vow of silence’ (Cox, 1980: 11) on the dictatorship’s human rights atrocities is more difficult to explain, but Cox (p. 11) suggests that this resulted from the widespread feeling among staff that there had been too much space devoted to favourable coverage of left wing politics in the newspaper during the early years of Perónism. In 1977, the owners of these three newspapers formed a syndicate and a pact with the junta by which they would acquire Papel Prensa, Argentina’s largest producer of newsprint. This led to a state-controlled media monopoly which resulted in high-priced newsprint forcing the closure of many smaller newspapers, particularly in the interior of the country (Ulanovsky, 2005: 95).

Central to this study is the notion of change and changing representations due to a shifting socio-political context, including the media landscape itself. By 1982, La Razón had left the syndicate due to a significant drop in its circulation and revenue. Internal conflicts in the directorship of \textit{Clarín} led to the dismissal of its most hard-line, conservative members who had initially negotiated agreements with the junta. \textit{La Nación} lost its director, Bartolomé Mitre, who had led the newspaper since 1950, and on his death the role was passed to his son. A critical year for Argentina was 1982, marked by growing disillusionment with dictatorship economic and social policies. Poverty, unemployment rates and external debt reached their highest levels since 1976. Furthermore, Argentina’s defeat by the United Kingdom in the Falklands/Malvinas War in June 1982 is widely considered to have marked the unofficial end point of the dictatorship and a humiliation from which the regime, led by Galtieri, never recovered.
This study shows that from this point onwards until the official end of the dictatorship in October 1983, representations of Galtieri himself and Argentina’s sense of nation and identity changed in the country’s three main newspapers. Various reasons for this can be proposed. Gabetta and Joselovsky (1984) suggest ‘el cambio de camiseta’ (the change of shirt), an Argentine football metaphor alluding to switching allegiances when a team is on a losing streak. This idea, they propose, can also be applied to Argentina’s journalists, editors and publishers who became less supportive of the regime once they realised it was collapsing. Ulanovsky (2005) asserts that media outlets had no option but to abandon their pro-dictatorship discourse due to poor sales figures, first because of the country’s dire economic crisis, but also because of their ‘lack of credibility’ (p. 158) among the public due to misleading coverage of the regime itself and particularly the Malvinas/Falklands War. Another critical factor to consider was Argentina’s poor international image at the time following defeat in the war, but also due to its human rights abuses, particularly in relation to disappearances of foreign nationals, from France, Germany and Italy, which, in 1982, began organising high-profile diplomatic visits to Buenos Aires for information. The shift in media support for the last dictator and the concept of nation and identity which he represented can be seen therefore in the context of the widespread realisation that for a multitude of reasons, economic and socio-political, internal and external to Argentina, the regime was no longer sustainable.

**Building the corpus: Data and design**

The data for this study comprise a corpus of 115,962 words and 547 articles built around the coverage of three key events in the final year of the dictatorship in the three most influential newspapers of the time, Clarín, La Nación and La Razón. Data, collected in the Biblioteca Nacional de Buenos Aires in August 2015, cover the week leading up to, the day of and the week after the end of the Malvinas/Falklands War (14 June 1982), widely considered to mark the unofficial end of the regime; the publication of the junta’s terms for la concertación – a proposed social, economic and political pact with representatives of democratic political parties (12 November 1982); and the general elections (30 October 1983), the official end of the dictatorship marking Argentina’s return to democracy.
Table 1: Corpus for analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>(End of) The Falklands/Malvinas War</th>
<th>Negotiations of the Concertación (Social, Political and Economic Pact)</th>
<th>The General Elections</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>For corpus analysis</td>
<td>34,571 words</td>
<td>36,611 words</td>
<td>44,780 words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For DHA analysis of Galtieri</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

DHA: Discourse Historical Approach

Each of the three newspapers combines articles of different journalistic types: hard news, opinion pieces, soft news, features (e.g. interviews), international news, sports and editorials. This study focuses solely on hard news stories, following Bell (1991), who asserts that it is in these that ‘a distinctive news style will be found, if anywhere’ (p. 14) and that they best demonstrate Galtung and Ruge’s (1965) values of newsworthiness summarised as ‘the (often unconscious) criteria by which news workers make their professional judgements as they process stories’ (p. 155). While previous media studies on what could be broadly defined as hard news have included headlines in analysis (e.g. Bednarek, 2016; Van Dijk, 1988), this feature is omitted in the current study which has a sole focus on the body of articles. The two reasons for this are that the headline repeats the message already contained in the first sentence of the article (White, 1997) and to avoid ‘possible issues of skew’ (McEnery and Baker, 2016: 19), as the headlines of *La Razón* are longer than those of the other two newspapers and this study aims to compare ‘like with like’ (Bednarek, 2016: 234).

As Table 1 shows, the data analysis section of this article is divided into three sections, built around the three key events in the final year of the dictatorship. For each section, the corpus analysis of concordance lines and then metaphors in macro-level discourses of nationalism will be presented first followed by the qualitative DHA study of micro-level representations of Galtieri. As we will see in the next section, the division of analysis into three specific timeframes is relevant as each one corresponds to different discourse strategies on nationalism (Wodak et al., 1999): construction, transformation and deconstruction/discontinuation.
Data analysis

Malvinas/Falklands War – The period of constructive nationalism

Figure 2: right and left hand collocates of nacio* (103 concordance lines)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Instances</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Instances</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nouns</strong></td>
<td>presidente</td>
<td>22</td>
<td><strong>Dictatorship terms</strong></td>
<td>Poder Ejecutivo</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Las (Naciones)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td>autoridades</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unidas</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>agencia</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gobierno</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>orden</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cadena</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fondo Patriótico</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>soberanía</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>Voluntad</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dignidad</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>Proceso de</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>territorio</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>Reorganización</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>prensa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Nacional)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bandera</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>organismos</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>constitución</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Comisión</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>patrimonio</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Secretario</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>radio</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Gendarmería</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>identidad</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>emergencia</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>empresa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>objetivos</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gabinete</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>causa</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>actualidad</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>créditos</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>intereses</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>artesania</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>consejo</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>congreso</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Adjectives</strong></td>
<td>pacifica</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>unida</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Verbs</strong></td>
<td>defender</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sostener</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>agregar</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>realizar</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>intervenir</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dirigir</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>discutir</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>escuchar</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>acceder</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fomentar</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>expresar</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pronouns</strong></td>
<td>nuestro/a</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td>Other</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>esa</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lo (nacional)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aquellas</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2, summarising collocates of the lemma$^2$ nacio* from the period of the end of the Malvinas/Falklands War, shows many features of Wodak et al.’s (1999) macro strategies of constructive nationalism. In the list of nouns, we see formal features of Argentina as a nation state (constitución, gobierno and gabinete) and symbols of nationalism (bandera and artesanía). Central to strategies of constructive nationalism is a focus on ‘unification, identification and solidarity’ (p. 33), and this can be found in allusions to more abstract concepts associated with nationalism (dignidad and patrimonio) and the use of the pronoun nuestra (our) as a frequent collocate with nación to create a sense of identification with this. Frosh and Wolfsfeld (2007) suggest that in times of national crisis socially inclusive deictics such as ‘us’, ‘our’ and ‘ours’ have a particular function in that they ‘turn the everyday resilience of social life itself into a demonstrative national value, and ultimately into a myth of national character’ (p. 107), promoting a sense of nationhood developed from the ‘grassroots’ level (p. 107).

Differentiation discourse is also fundamental to building a sense of national identity (Wodak et al., 1999), and this can be traced in the use of the pronoun esa in relation to (soldiers of) British nationality which sets it apart from the Argentine identity under construction. Underlying this particular discourse are strategies of justification (Wodak et al., 1999), evident in the use of numerous verbs of agency (defender, realizar, intervener, etc.) as collocates of nación to rationalise Argentina’s response to British attacks. This can also be seen in the adjectives pacífica and unida as collocates of nación in relation to Argentina and in contrast to Britain consistently depicted, through direct quotation of members of the junta, as warmongering and divisive – not just during the war of the period, but historically during the era of colonialisation. Feitlowitz (2011: xiii) explores how the official media in Argentina were influenced by the authoritarian code of language established by the junta with the aim of promoting and justifying its activities involving exaggeration and incongruous wordplay, and resulting in ‘a coercive discourse’ that could turn ‘normal’ language into something ‘bizarre and disorienting, theatrical’. In Table 2 we find unusual collocations with nation and nationalism that were prominent during Argentina’s dictatorship (e.g. Poder Ejecutivo (Nacional) and Proceso de Reorganización (Nacional)), terms created by the junta to refer to its inner circle of power and plans for the regime. The recurrence of orden as a collocate of nacional highlights the avowed aim of the junta – to establish order in Argentine society as justification for...
its war on dissidents, while the repetition of _lo nacional_ (the national), an informal phrase appearing in direct quotation of Galtieri, is an example of the regime’s unclear, inflated language that can be considered an attempt to establish and normalise its distorted conception of nationalism.

**Table 3: List of metaphors**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noche/night</th>
<th>Día/day</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>La <em>noche</em> avanzaba (en la trinchera)</td>
<td>Una flora abundante donde no llega la <em>luz</em> del sol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avanzada la <em>noche</em>….me arrastré a una trinchera</td>
<td>…al tener que relegarse bajo el fuego del enemigo y <em>luz</em> diurna hacia colina Charlie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Una cama <em>negra</em> (rociada de sangre)</td>
<td>Confesó a su marido sus deseos de que el quinto vástago viera la <em>luz</em> de Puerto Argentino</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As previously noted, Feitlowitz (2011) underlines the ideological importance of metaphor to dictatorship discourse and the relevance of the night and fog image from Nazi Germany for Argentina’s dictatorship. A variation of this can be traced in the Malvinas/ Falklands War articles (Table 3), where contrasting night and day (or light) metaphors are salient. Osborn (1967) explores the rhetorical function of light and darkness metaphors as not only having a dramatic effect, but evoking the ‘fundamental struggle for survival and development’ (p. 3). This is exemplified here where night is associated with the war. Darkness is attributed a human quality and is seen to be advancing (e.g. _la noche avanzaba_ and _avanzada la noche_), alluding to the arrival of the British troops. Reference to the black bed covered in blood (_una cama negra rociada de sangre_) evokes Argentine artist Marta Minujín’s protest exhibition against the conflict. However, day and light metaphors evoke hopes of an Argentine victory (_la luz del sol, luz diurna_ and _la luz de Puerto Argentino_). Here, the combination of _luz_ (light) with the verb _llegar_ (to arrive) is a further example of personification, which Wodak et al. (1999) highlight as another constructive strategy which ‘demands identification with an anthropomorphised nation’ (p. 43).
Turning now to a micro-level qualitative analysis of representations of Galtieri during the period (Table 4), we find that these are constructive and positive in keeping with the macro-level strategies on nationalism identified in the previous section. Applying tools from the DHA, a topos of leadership clearly emerges where he is framed as an influential statesman in negotiations with the United Nations, a diplomat and creator of ties between Argentina and Latin America while staying true to the Argentine people (el pueblo). In his meeting with Pope Paul II in Buenos Aires, whom he calls ‘el vicario de Cristo’ at the height of the war, Galtieri is depicted as having direct communication with God during his meetings with the Pontiff, which Galtieri is quoted as saying left him spiritually happy (espiritualmente feliz). Each of these exemplifies Hall’s (1992) conception of the ‘sociological subject’ ‘shaped in relation to significant others, who mediate to the subject the values, meaning and symbols … of the world he inhabits’ (p. 275).
As Table 4 shows, just as differentiation discourse underlines constructive nationalism, the formation of sociological identity is underpinned by ‘dialogue’ (Hall, 1992: 276). This is established by creating a counterpoint between Galtieri and the values and characteristics attributed to him by those threatening to destroy them: the British government for continuing the war and the United Nations Security Council which ruled in favour of Britain’s claim to self-defence. Galtieri’s actions are justified by placing them in the context of the extreme climate of war (e.g. situación de guerra). This evokes Edelman’s (1964) ‘Valiant Leader myth’, in which Galtieri is shown to be ‘effective in saving people from danger by displaying qualities of courage, aggression and the ability to overcome difficulties’ (Geis, 1987: 54) Underlying this representation is the positioning of Galtieri ‘overwhelmingly in an agent role in transitivity’ (Fowler, 1991: 144) achieved through the use of verbs and direct objects: dirigir un mensaje (to address a message), reunir el gabinete (to gather together the junta’s cabinet) and efectuar un breve comentario (to make a brief comment). Following Fowler’s (1991) analysis, this dominant pattern of agency suggests a legitimation of Galtieri’s position of power (p. 144). Moreover, his motivations are shown to be firmly rooted in Argentina and its national interests, reinforced by the repetition of the deictic nuestro (pueblo and espíritu) corresponding to Wodak et al.’s (1999) notion of a metonymic ‘we’ (p. 47) in allusion to Argentina’s national territory as a whole, which Galtieri, repeatedly quoted directly, purports to represent during the period.
Table 5: Right and left hand collocates of nacio* (124 concordance lines)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Instances</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Instances</th>
</tr>
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<td>Nouns</td>
<td>Las Naciones Unidas</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>constitución</td>
<td>8</td>
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<td>contrición</td>
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<td>Italiana</td>
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<td>doble (nacionalidad)</td>
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<td>Verbs</td>
<td>modals:</td>
<td>5/13</td>
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<td></td>
<td>deber/poder</td>
<td>3/13</td>
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<td>sostener</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>apelar</td>
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<td>ratificar</td>
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<td>aclarar</td>
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<td></td>
<td>dirigir (a)</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronouns</td>
<td>nuestro/a</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>un lugar cercano a</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>alrededor de</td>
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<td></td>
<td>en torno de</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cerca de</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>en los alrededores</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cercano a los</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
La Concertación: The period of transformation

Wodak et al. (1999) assert that an emphasis on changed circumstances is a feature of periods of discursive transformation, and this emerges clearly in the period of the negotiation of the pact. As Table 5 shows, 5 months after the conclusion of the war, the focus is less on hostility with Britain and more on debates in the United Nations around the outcome of the conflict. Diplomatic tension arises now with Italy and Germany, whose governments demand answers on the fate of their ‘disappeared’ citizens during the dictatorship, evident in the adjective collocates of nacionalidad (e.g. alemán, italiana and doble nacionalidad) where German, Italian and dual Argentine-Italian nationality are salient, rather than Argentine nationality as was the case in the period of constructive nationalism.

In this period, the issue of los desaparecidos peaks around foreign diplomatic pressure on the junta for information, with the word appearing in 63 concordance lines (from 5 in the previous section) with salient collocates depicting this as a ‘problem’ (Table 6).

**Table 6: collocates of los desaparecidos**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Collocates</th>
<th>Instances</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>el tema de</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>del/el problema de</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la cuestión de</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presuntos</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mitigation is used to downplay the plight of the missing through the adjective presunto(s) (desaparecidos: allegedly disappeared). In contrast, condemnation of the junta for the increasing numbers of disappeared dissidents appears just once, in a quotation from former president Frondizi (1958–1962), who calls for ‘un acto de contrición nacional’ for their suffering (Table 5).

Vagueness is explored by Wodak et al. (1999: 40) as a feature of strategies of transformation in discourse. It has been defined as ‘imprecise information’ (Dubois, 2012: 321) employed as ‘a rhetorical defence that provides a barrier to easy challenges and to the initiation of rebuttals’ (Gill, 2000: 184). Vagueness permeates the corpus here (Table 5) around the location of the bodies of los desaparecidos (e.g. un lugar cercano a,
cerca de and en los alrededores de) and Argentina’s national debt (alrededor de). This can be interpreted as ‘a tool of reticence and deception’ (D’Errico et al., 2013: 2) used to evade specificities and details that could incite both the anger of readers and protest against the regime.

Here we find a change in the function of day and night metaphors, no longer connected with war but with Argentina’s period of socio-political transition. As Table 7 shows, the darkness of night has lost its menacing quality and is now said to be ‘peaceful’ (noche apacible) by presidential candidate Raul Alfonsin in his campaign speech for democratic election. Light is associated with the emerging information on the dictatorship’s human rights abuses (a la luz de and salió a la luz) and is used in relation to Italy’s requests for information on its disappeared and to a book, which is critical of the dictatorship, by journalist Jacobo Timerman. The junta’s attempts to avoid punishment for abuses by attracting attention elsewhere are associated with the creation of a cloud of smoke (nube de humo), for example trials of military for corruption rather than torture.

Table 7: list of metaphors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noche/night</th>
<th>Dia/day</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Quería decirles a los militares, en esta noche apacible, que manden pero no gobiernan (Alfonsin)</td>
<td>….a la luz de reclamo por los desaparecidos….(de Italia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Denuncias de corrupción) Una nube de humo para tapar otras cosas…</td>
<td>El libro, en que (Timerman) formula graves acusaciones contra el régimen argentino, salió a la luz inicialmente en Los Estados Unidos…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>…el cardenal Aramburu quisiera tapar el infierno con un harnero negando verdades y hechos condenados por la conciencia del mundo (Madres de Plaza de Mayo)</td>
<td>….se destapó la olla, y en consecuencia el Gobierno debe dar alguna explicación coherente (sobre los desaparecidos)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Also, in this period of transformation, common household cooking items such as a saucepan (la olla) and sieve (un harnero) have important metaphorical functions (Table 7). Now, the increasing details circulating on disappeared people are compared to ‘removing the lid from a saucepan’ (se destapó la olla), while the denial of these events by Archbishop of Buenos Aires, Aramburu, is likened to trying to ‘cover the fire of hell with a sieve’ (tapar en infierno con un harnero), by human rights group Madres de Plaza de Mayo. Davis (1999) explores kitchen metaphors as a form of cultural resistance to
institutional dominance and a strategy of empowering the nurturing private sphere over an oppressive public one. Here, they might also be read as emblematic of a nascent democratic discourse emerging in the newspapers.

Table 8: Labelling of Galtieri – Discursive Strategies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strategies</th>
<th>Objectives</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nomination</td>
<td>Out group /Galtieri</td>
<td>• actuó contra intereses nacionales (LR, 9 Nov, p.11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• no respetó los protocolos de la junta (LN, 5 Nov, p.14)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• acató resoluciones internacionales no favorables (LN, 5 Nov, p.14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In group</td>
<td>• La Junta/La Comisión (LN, 5 Nov, p.14, CL, 16 Nov, p.4)</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• el pueblo: “estaba mentalizada para la victoria” (LN, 5 Nov 1982, p.14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predication</td>
<td>Negative labelling of Galtieri/agency</td>
<td>• “tuvo un exagerado personalismo” (LN, 14 Nov, p.7) (LN, 5 Nov, p.14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• “retirar” (las tropas) (LN, 5 Nov, p.14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• la Junta se opuso (LN, 5 Nov, p.14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• “reprimir disidencia” (LR, 17 June, p.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argumentation</td>
<td>Justification of the above</td>
<td>• “la aplicación de una norma interna” (CL, 6 Nov, p.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perspectivization,</td>
<td>Speakers point of view/readers involvement</td>
<td>• indirect speech of Galtieri versus direct quotation of critical junta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>framing, discourse</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>representation</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intensification,</td>
<td>Modifying the epistemic status of a proposition</td>
<td>• “responsable máximo de guerra” (LN, 5 Nov, p.14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mitigation</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In keeping with the complexity, even ‘instability and ambiguity’ (Soudien, 2001: 325) of discourses during periods of transition, this study acknowledges that these metaphors exist within a predominant framework of ‘right wing political discourse’ (Wodak, 2015). As a DHA analysis shows (Table 8), this is evident in representations of Galtieri which undergo significant transformations in this period, and from the *topos* of leadership associated with him during the conflict with Britain a new *topos* of crisis emerges in which he is constructed as ‘scapegoat’ for the loss of the war, the junta’s humiliation and the implosion of the regime. This is another example of Hall’s ‘sociological subject’ as Galtieri’s identity changes now in line with Argentina’s socio-political shift. He is no
longer the mouthpiece of the junta; instead various members of the armed forces are cited as critical of him for tactical errors, disappointing the Argentine people and following international protocol that favoured Britain rather than Argentina. Now, he is linked to a *topos* of threat not just for the dictatorship but for Argentina. He is criticised, in direct quotations by members of the junta for his egocentric personality (*un exagerado personalismo*). Differentiation discourse is now used against him, highlighting that in right wing discourse ‘anybody can potentially be constructed as a dangerous “other” should it become expedient for specific and manipulative purposes’ (Wodak, 2015: 4). Just as vagueness can be considered a strategy of transformation in discourses of nationalism, it is also evident in representations of Galtieri. In articles suggesting he gave information to the authors of a book that criticised the junta, the speculative structure ‘*podría ser el ex-presidente Galtieri*’ (it could be ex-presidente Galtieri) is used. This is in sharp contrast to the agency in transitive structures attributed to him previously. Instead, this vague, indirect discourse involving ‘the organization of the text’s rhetorical and sentence level structures …with the aim of minimizing imposition on the reader’ (Hinkel, 1997: 362) undermines Edelman’s ‘Valiant Leader myth’ pervading depictions of Galtieri in the previous section.
1983 elections – The period of discontinuation

Table 9: Right and left hand collocates of nacio* (150 concordance lines)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Instances</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Instances</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nouns</td>
<td>unidad</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gobierno</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td></td>
<td>diputados nacionales</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ley de Pacificación (Nacional)</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unión</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Elecciones/elección orden</td>
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<td>Cámara Nacional de Apelaciones</td>
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<td>Junta Nacional Electoral territorio comité camino</td>
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<td>Movimiento (Nacional) Justicialista comunidad conciencia partidos políticos</td>
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<td>Adjectives</td>
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</tr>
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<td>reclamar</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>acudir</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
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<td>conformar</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Applying a collocation analysis to the articles of the election period (Table 9), we can trace strategies of ‘demontage’ and ‘destruction’ (Wodak et al., 1999: 42) of the version of nationalism espoused earlier with the reduction of discourse associated with this.

Now, we find most vocabulary associated with democratic systems and processes (gobierno and partidos políticos). Verbs related to the electoral processes are also salient (e.g. elegir and colaborar). The word ‘Junta’ previously associated with the inner circle of the military is now also used for the general election organising committee (Junta...
Nacional Electoral), while national order is associated here with voting protocol rather than with the military’s suppression of dissidence.

However, the corpus of this period highlights that this transition from dictatorship to democracy is fraught with tensions. References to Ley de Pacificación Nacional, an amnesty law introduced in September 1983 to protect military from going to trial for human rights abuses, revolve around legal conflicts between military officials appealing for amnesty and families of the disappeared seeking to have this law revoked. The Court of Appeals (Cámara Nacional de Apelaciones) appears in relation to a legal appeal by the syndicate of Clarín and La Nación against attempts by the Federal Broadcasting Committee (COMFER) to block the expansion of the syndicate into television and radio.

**Table 10: list of metaphors**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noche/night</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>El 30 de octubre se cerró la etapa tal vez más triste y <strong>negra</strong> de la historia argentina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Una <strong>sombra negra</strong> sobre las elecciones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Una <strong>sombra negra</strong> sobre el futuro del próximo gobierno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Si podemos <strong>sepultar</strong> una etapa de crisis e inmoralidad (Alfonsín)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>…de <strong>sepultar</strong> en el pasado como una pesadilla a la Argentina del peculado, la inmoralidad y la injusticia (Alfonsín)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El pacto secreto entre generales y peronistas ha sido <strong>sepultado</strong> en las urnas bajo la marea de los votos radicales</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this period, the predominant metaphors (Table 10) are related to darkness rather than light. Osborn (1967) suggests that light and dark imagery involves ‘judgements upon the actions and conditions of men’ (p. 121), and using this reading we can interpret references to Argentina’s ‘saddest and blackest period in history’ (la etapa tal vez más triste y negra de la historia argentina) and the ‘black shadow’ (sombra negra) over the elections and the country’s future government as criticisms of the dictatorships human rights abuses. Osborn (1967) furthermore asserts that light–dark imagery evokes the ‘birth–death cycle’,
and this is also pertinent as Alfonsín’s election campaign speeches employ the funereal image of ‘burying’ (sepultar) the ‘nightmare’ (pesadilla) of the dictatorship.

Figure 1: Concordance of ex-presidente

Strategies of demontage and destruction are most evident in relation to Galtieri, who is eliminated from the discourse of the election period. This is significant as references continue to the Malvinas/Falklands War (25) and Margaret Thatcher (10), with whom he was once closely associated in discourse. Furthermore, with a search for ‘ex-presidente’ (Figure 1), we find references to almost all living former Argentina presidents, both democratically elected and de facto: María Estela de Perón, Jorge Videla, José Miguel Vanni and Arturo Frondizi, mentioned in relation to the country’s return to democracy.

To explain the elimination of Galtieri from the discourse of the period, and what we could call a topos of absence, we can again refer to Hall’s conception of the ‘sociological subject’ and consider that following the loss of his troops in the war, Galtieri’s association with Argentina’s defeat led him to be disconnected from discourses on nationalism as Argentina moved from dictatorship to democracy, a period of transition that, as we have seen, was overshadowed by societal and political divisions. This corroborates, as an example from the mainstream media and on an individual level, Achugar’s (2009) finding that in dictatorship military discourse passivisation was used as a form of ‘deletion of responsibility of (their) negative acts through impersonal constructions’ (p. 291). Achugar (2009) suggests that agent deletion is ‘somewhat typical’ (p. 291) in historical and
political discourses on ‘traumatic events’ (p. 291) as a way to ‘punish (il)legitimate actions’ (p. 292) and ‘maintain a positive group identity’ (p. 292). Using Wodak’s (1996) theory of ‘disorders of discourse’, this ‘disruption’ (p. 56) can even be considered part of a ‘normal process’ (p. 56). Since discourse is ‘a form of social practice’ (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 258), it is inevitably mutable.

**Conclusion: Towards new frameworks for analysis**

Mindful of the ideological nature of media and Hall’s conception of ‘the sociological subject’, this study traced the reframing of Argentina’s last dictator, Leopoldo Galtieri, as a pivotal social actor of the period, in print media discourse during Argentina’s time of socio-political crisis in the early 1980s. Beginning with the period of the Falklands/Malvinas War where strategies of constructive nationalism are predominant, we saw an emphasis on the formal features of Argentina’s nation state in tandem with a strong differentiation discourse from ‘warmongering’ Britain developed through lexico-grammatical features such as deictics and pronouns. At this point, Galtieri is central to discourse as ‘Valiant Leader’ faithfully representing his people and Latin America, established through differentiation from his enemies, and grammatically, by the use of transitivity, to show his agency. During the second period of analysis, 5 months later, as protests against the regime intensified, discursive strategies of transformation are predominant as Argentina’s self-identity falters and a new national discourse emerges in relation to European countries demanding information on the whereabouts of their citizens. Here, vagueness permeates the corpus in discourses on Argentina and also on Galtieri, who loses his agency, dismantling conceptions of him as ‘Valiant Leader’. Finally, during the General Elections of 1983 signalling the end of the dictatorship, strategies of demontage and destruction predominate, as dictatorship terminology lessens, a nascent democratic discourse emerges and Galtieri is eliminated from discourse, most likely as a result of his tactical failures in the war against Britain, the humiliation this brought to Argentina, and the newspapers’ desire to meet the demands of their (flagging) readership who now considered the dictatorship untenable.

Adopting also an ideological conception of metaphors, specifically during Argentina’s dictatorship when the junta misappropriated language to justify and sustain its campaign of state terrorism, this research found fluctuating rather than homogeneous night and
darkness imagery. From the anthropomorphised night of the war and the light associated with Argentina’s hopes for victory against Britain, this colour dichotomy is later used to represent the battle between the junta’s denial of human rights abuses as ‘clouds of smoke’ and the ‘coming to light’ of the growing numbers of los desaparecidos. Finally, the light imagery disappears as Argentina returns to democracy, but with a legacy of human rights abuse casting a dark shadow over it. These shifts add nuances to Feitlowitz’s conception of dictatorship discourses as monolithic and coercive, instead suggesting that they are much more unstable.

Like metaphors, this research found that argumentation tools or *topoi* around Galtieri are similarly fluid, shifting from leadership, to crisis – even threat, and finally absence. This suggests that in times of political crisis a linear line of discourse can break down and new categories and *topoi* can be found that reflect the complexities, even chaos, of each socio-political context. However, while such ‘disorders of discourse’ reflect broader national circumstances, the findings of this study reinforce Pardo’s (2010) assertion that such is the particularity of Latin America and its history, local issues and media industries, that for future studies, innovative combinations of existing frameworks for analysis – even new ‘models and methods’ – are required ‘for a real understanding of Latin American discursive phenomena’ (p. 188).

**Notes**

1Unión de Trabajadores de Prensa de Buenos Aires.

2This study adopts Crystal’s (2008: 263) definition of a lemma as ‘an abstract representation, subsuming all the formal lexical variations which may apply: the verb walk, for example, subsumes walking, walks and walked’. Here, the lemma nacio* was chosen to capture instances of noun variants such as nación/es, nacionalidad and nacionalismo, and adjectives, for example nacional, nacionales and so on.

**References**


Article Two

Witnessing in the echo chamber: from counter-discourses in print media to counter-memories of Argentina’s state terrorism

Abstract

While the importance of journalism in memory studies has often been overlooked in academic scholarship, media discourses can be considered “memory’s precondition” (Zelizer, 2014) on both active and passive levels. Firstly, journalists record events as they happen building on narratives and testimonies and secondly, sometimes decades later, these can be invoked in legal and social post-dictatorship processes. Applying the theoretical framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to memory studies, this research explores the relationship between counter-journalism and counter-memories as a response to and rejection of the “echo chamber” (Feitlowitz, 2011) of authoritarian discourse which dominated the mainstream media and promoted official memory during Argentina’s last dictatorship. The methodological approach of the study is mixed, combining qualitative Synchronic-Diachronic Text Analysis (SDTA) (Pardo 2008, 2010) with a corpus analysis of concordance lines to trace strategies of counter-discourse in two newspapers which opposed the dictatorship. The motivations of their editor-journalists for challenging official discourse and institutional memory in the climate of state terrorism are framed in the context of Margalit’s (2004) “moral witnessing.”

Keywords: counter-discourse, counter-memory, media, CDA, Argentina, dictatorship
Introduction

The fields of scholarship on journalism and memory have traditionally had a distant, at times uneasy, relationship due to vocational differences (Zelizer and Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2014), intellectual biases and institutional politics (Olick, 2014). Previous literature on media framing of the Holocaust and its commemorations have highlighted challenges for journalism, including the difficulty of finding language to fully capture its horrors (Friedlander, 1992) and dangers of “diluting its intensity” (Zandberg, 2010: 8-9). Despite such issues, this study builds on the growing body of literature (e.g. Robinson, 2006, Edy, 2006, Schudson, 1992) attempting to redress the relative side-lining (Olick, 2014) of the role of journalism in memory studies. In memory terms, journalism has contemporary and future implications in providing both “snapshot and scrapbook” (Kitsch, 2011: 65) for immediate consumption by current audiences and reflection by future generations. Though Halbwachs (1992), a founding father of memory studies, failed to acknowledge journalists’ contribution to the field of memory explicitly, this permeates three aspects of his conceptualization of memory – that it is expressed in language, formulated through narratives and is socially framed (Zelizer, 2014: 40).

Nevertheless, this current research develops previous work highlighting that the processes of journalism in social framing and transmission of memory discourses are more complex than Halbwachs (1992) acknowledged. This involves not only transmitting narratives within specific socio-political and cultural contexts (Meyers, 2007) but mediating information that circulates in the public sphere through strategies of gatekeeping, framing and agenda-setting (Hayes, Singer, Ceppos, 2007). Huyssen (1995) explores as problematic the processes involved in the representation of the past (p. 3) due to “the constitutive gap” between representations and reality (2003, p.19). For Huyssen (2003) this “semiotic gap” has consequences as it leads to “many different possibilities of representing the real and its memories” (p.19). In the context of media discourses on Argentina’s last dictatorship, this article explores the oppositional discourses that challenged the governing junta’s messages and their interrelationship with the counter-memories that subverted the official version of memory propagated by the regime through both active and passive processes.
For Todorov (2001) repressive regimes like Argentina’s have historically engaged in the “blotting out” and “takeover” (Todorov, 2001: 11) of memory. Media have played a fundamental role in this, through their misappropriation but also by complicity with them (Cox, 1980). A small but significant body of work explores the role of print media in the construction of Argentina’s institutional memory during its period of terror. Feitlowitz (2011) approaches the junta’s abuse of mainstream media, for the purpose of disseminating messages through a torrent of military interviews, as an “echo chamber” (p.22) dominated by “encoded discourse” providing vague justifications for its project of national reorganization while spreading confusion and terror (p. xii). Avellaneda (1986) focuses on censorship and cultural repression, while the manipulation of discourse for the construction of institutional memory is investigated by Achugar (2009) in Uruguay’s official media of the same period.

This study focuses, however, on counter, or resistance discourses, also called emancipatory or discourses of dissent (Macgilchrist, 2011), which initially emerged as testimonio (testimonial narratives), autobiographical accounts of violence, war and/or human rights abuses etc. The genre of testimonial journalism is said to have been inaugurated in Argentina by Rodolfo Walsh (Evangelista, 1998). There is considerable scholarship on Walsh’s work in the fields of history (e.g. Bertranou, 2006), journalism (e.g. Verbitsky, 1985) and politics (McCaughan, 2002). A more recent analysis of Argentina’s journalists’ relationship with testimony has been offered by Kaiser (2014) around the media’s responsibility as “mediators” between witnesses giving evidence and the public during the trials of dictatorship human rights abusers in Argentina in 2010 in a process of bringing “private” memories into the public domain.

Previous literature has broadly encompassed the full seven-year dictatorship or focused on 1976-1979 when most kidnappings and disappearances occurred. The role of the media at the start of the regime has therefore already received considerable scholarly attention e.g. Iturralde’s (2013) study of Clarín’s representation of the 1979 fact-finding mission of the Inter-American Commission of Human Rights to Argentina, Clarín’s coverage of disappearances from 1975 to 1978 (Schindel, 2012), the 1976 takeover of newsprint
manufacturer Papel Prensa (Borrelli, 2011a) etc. However, this study concentrates on the final year of the regime in which the dictatorship was weakening from internal divisions and increasing local and international criticism due to its litany of human rights abuses. Though less studied, this phase of transition back to democracy has been highlighted by previous authors (e.g. Mangone, 1996) as marking a sea-change in the regime, with its steady process of decomposition. The 1982 to 1983 period is also noteworthy because it marked a shift in mainstream media framing of the dictatorship, which from initially being supportive became increasingly lacklustre and disengaged, if not explicitly critical of its practices (Borrelli, 2011b:39; Prendergast, 2017).

The theoretical approach of this study is informed by Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), an interdisciplinary approach to studying discourse seeking to uncover relations of power, inequality and ideology and locating languages and texts as forms of “social practice” (Fairclough, 1989). The principles of CDA have been applied to the politics of memory in the European Union (Kovacs and Wodak, 2003), collective memory as metaphor in speeches of Israeli Prime Ministers (Gavriely-Nuri, 2014) and constructions of memory in the public sphere (Resende and Silva, 2016) and media (Pardo and Lorenzo-Dus, 2010) in the Latin American context. CDA promotes flexibility in research design and is regularly combined with complementary theoretical lenses for analysis. Here, strategies of counter-discourse (Macgilchrist, 2007) inform the analysis of lexical and discursive features of two newspapers of the period, widely considered to have challenged the regime, The Buenos Aires Herald and The Southern Cross. Secondly, the motivations of the editor-journalists of these two publications for defying censorship and the fear inculcated by the regime will be explored through Margalit’s (2004) model of the agent of counter-memory, the “moral witness.”

Methodologically, this research involves a combination of qualitative and quantitative research tools from CDA and corpus linguistics (e.g. Baker et al, 2008; Partington, Duguid and Taylor, 2013) which, though increasingly applied to media studies, remains a relatively underdeveloped methodological approach within memory studies (except for Gavriely-Nuri, 2014). Again, in adopting the Synchronic-Diachronic Textual Analysis (SDTA) interpretation of CDA for qualitative analysis, specifically developed by Argentinian linguist
Pardo for application to her country’s media (2008, 2010), this project seeks to capture the nuances of Argentina’s media discourses that criticised the regime and trace their connection with non-official memory of the period.

To do so, this article will first consider journalism as a site of counter-discourse from the perspective of CDA and recognised oppositional media strategies and then develop the proposed relationship between counter-discourses and counter-memories. Following that, the specific context of the media landscape in Argentina during state terrorism will be explored as well as the rationale for considering the editor-journalists of the two newspapers as “moral witnesses.” After an outline of corpus data and project design, data analysis is presented in three sections reflecting the three main oppositional strategies identified in the qualitative study which are revisited through the framework of a corpus analysis.

**Breaking through the semiotic gap: CDA and counter-discourse strategies in journalism**

CDA approaches media as highly ideological and driven by the social, economic and political interests behind them (Fowler, 1991). Fundamental to this is the conception of discourse as a “site of struggle” (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 1) with shifting and competing power relations among different interest groups and attempts to create a dominant version of events challenged through reframing and “recontextualization” (Fairclough, 2010: 79). Macgilchrist (2007) asserts that while official positions aspire towards “closure (or complete dominance)” (p.75) of discourse this is impossible “as marginal discourses can break through” (p.75) in an idea evocative of Huyssen’s “semiotic gap.”

Oppositional discourses are crystallised through lexicogrammatical and discursive devices which produce “inversion” as “saying no” and contest the mainstream or official view with clear arguments questioning its validity (Macgilchrist, 2007: 76). A second strategy of “complexification” (p.78) develops more nuanced accounts of key events and social actors to challenge the institutional one-dimensional account of events. Finally, “radical reframing,” is a more extreme strategy than the previous two in taking place at both literal and symbolic levels, to “break into the consensus and entirely turn around the reporting of an issue” (p.81).
These three categories will be explored in the data analysis section in relation to the two newspapers used for this study.

**A necessary “precondition:” connecting counter-discourses in journalism and counter-memories**

To explore the link between counter-discourses in journalism and the creation of counter-memories, first similarities between the two concepts must be acknowledged. Both are constructed, selective, multiple and complex (Halbwachs, 1992) and framed by contentious socio-political contexts. Also, counter-memories have the same destabilising aim as counter-discourses, in “directly opposing the master commemorative narrative, operating under and against its hegemony…in hostile and subversive relation (to it)” (Zerubavel, 1995). Buffington and Waldner (2011) propose that counter-memory differs from official memory because the former “is nuanced and relies on the involvement of multiple voices telling multiple stories” (p.97), also a frequent strategy of counter-discourses. Finally, some commentators suggest that since the field of memory, like discourse, is characterised by conflicting power relations, a counter-memory can “gain momentum...as it increases in popularity and lose oppositional status” (Zerubavel, 1995: 12). This process is comparable to oppositional discourses becoming subsumed into official or mainstream media (Bamberg and Andrews, 2004; Macgilchrist, 2007), a theory that is not applicable to the current study because the oppositional stance to the dictatorship is sustained throughout the corpora of both newspapers. Moreover, contemporary debates around Argentina’s dictatorship remain characterised by tensions surrounding which political and legal approaches to human rights abuses to adopt (Robben, 2012), as well as what should be remembered and where this remembering should take place (da Silva Catela, 2014). As a result, Gamson and Wolfsfeld’s (1993) “fundamental ambivalence” between official and counter-discourse and memory is more reflective of the socio-political reality of the context under analysis.

When considering journalism “memory’s precondition” Zelizer (2014) proposes, as does this study, a direct relationship between media discourses and memories, with the latter built upon the former and “journalism constituting a central site for the social construction of narratives
that span from past to future through the nexus of the present.” (2014: 7) Memory is built on and from discourses and without narratives and testimonies discourses cannot take shape. Print media discourses are significant due to their capacity to sway public opinion (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989). For Olick (2014) media provide not only “the knowledge that shapes action (through framing and agenda-setting) but materials (like archives) and frameworks (for structuring and laying out content) that shape memories” (p.28).

Although seeking to establish a link between them, this study does not deny the tensions and conflicts of interest within and between the fields of discourse and memory. For Achugar (2009), tensions and conflicts emerge during political crisis when many alternative versions emerge together and because oppositional discourses are multiple, told from different perspectives, and might contradict each other, promoting inconsistent readings of the past. Given this multiplicity of alternative readings, they cannot all be preserved, and a filtering process occurs where some are chosen, and others disappear into obscurity. This selection is often made on a subjective basis, particularly in the media, which, as we have seen, are framed by the interests behind them. In the case of oppositional newspapers, such as those analysed here, small and limited in terms of space, financial resources and staff, the need for selecting stories is often intensified by necessity.

The relationship between counter-discourses and counter-memories play an important role in Argentina’s dictatorship context in distinct but interconnected ways, highlighting the duality of memory processes as both current and future (Zandberg, 2010:7), but also active and passive. Firstly, in documenting and preserving accounts of and narratives on abuses by the regime as they happened, media discourses played an active role in subverting Todorov’s (2001) “blotting out” of non-institutional memories, where “every act of remembering however small, is useful in resisting” attempts to deny, silence, even eliminate them. (p.11). Secondly, where journalists played a comparatively passive role, these oppositional media discourses were invoked, decades later, in social, political and legal strands of counter-memory processes. An example of this was the decision made by judges to include the work of former Buenos Aires Herald journalist, Uki Goñi, as evidence in Argentina’s most significant trial against dictatorship military repressors, the Megacausa ESMA, which began
in 2007. Goñi’s reportage, reconstructing the role of former navy commander Alfredo Astiz in the kidnapping and murder of 12 human rights activists, was used to sentence Astiz to life imprisonment for crimes against humanity in October 2011.

**Contextualization: memory and journalism in Argentina**

Since the official end of the dictatorship in October 1983 Argentina has, at different times, engaged with processes of remembering and forgetting its past. During the truth commission (1983-1984), trials of the juntas (1985) and later trials of military personnel and their collaborators in Megacausa ESMA since 2007, courtrooms became “public spaces for collective memory making, political arenas for competing memory battles” (Kaiser 2014: 193). However, in the intervening years with the (1986) Full Stop Law, the (1987) Law of Due Obedience and Menem’s presidential pardons (1989-1990), successive governments introduced amnesty laws, justified as “the duty to forget” (Ricoeur, 2000) for crimes committed during the regime, purportedly to ease tensions between civil society and the military and calm military discontent in Argentina’s nascent democracy.

The media’s active role in the domain of memory construction in Argentina has been similarly complex. During the dictatorship, mainstream newspapers *Clarín, La Nación* and *La Razón* are widely considered to have supported the regime and its version of social memory. Undermined by decades of state intervention particularly during Perón’s presidency (Cane, 2011) these media submitted to “self-censorship and automatic compliance” (1980: 4) with the junta, playing a fundamental part in its “ideological warfare” on dissidents (Avellaneda, 1986). The complicity of other outlets was forced through intimidation, detention, disappearances of journalists and an overall deterioration of the working conditions of newsworkers (Ulanovsky: 2005: 153). At the same time, oppositional voices disputed the official version of events. A small English-language daily, *The Buenos Aires Herald* founded in 1876 by Scottish businessman William Cathcart (Cox, 2008), owned during the dictatorship by US-based Evening Post Publishing Company, openly denounced the junta’s human rights abuses and growing number of *los desaparecidos* in articles and editorials. During the dictatorship it had an average daily circulation of 20,000 (Cox, 2008),
compared with UTPBA\(^1\) figures of 539,000 for *Clarín*, the most popular daily newspaper at the time. There are suggestions that the newspaper, under the editorship of Robert Cox (1968-1979), later James Neilson (1979-1986), assumed and sustained this oppositional stance because it had “immunity” from punishment as a foreign-language publication and enjoyed support from the US embassy and British businesses (Cox, 2008: 13). Cox (2008) asserts however that the paper’s ideological stance reflected his own anger at the regime’s abuses and this was supported by the *Herald’s* owner, Peter Manigault, who encouraged staff “to do our job and report the truth” (p.13).

The second platform of oppositional discourse analysed here is *The Southern Cross*, a non-profit community newspaper founded in 1875 by an Irish Catholic priest. Irish clerics have historically played a significant role in challenging political oppression and social injustice in Argentina (Geraghty, 2007). This intensified during the dictatorship through their pastoral work with families of the disappeared, for which they suffered a violent attack by state forces on “the spiritual anvil” (O’Brien, 2017, 157) of the Irish-Argentine community in Buenos Aires, St Patrick’s church, in July 1976 with the murder of five members of the Pallottine order. This was followed by a paramilitary-style raid on Holy Cross church in December 1977 leading to the disappearance of 12 human rights activists. The left-wing activities of members of the Irish clergy have traditionally caused tension among the Irish community, which has generally affiliated itself with a right-wing, conservative political stance resulting from its self-perception as a landowning elite (O’Brien, 2017: 157). *The Southern Cross* represented this conservative sector of the community. In the late 1970s, it was published on a weekly basis, with an average circulation of 5,000, until May 1982 when it was forced to reduce its publications to three per month due to financial difficulties (Richards, 1982). Although initially apolitical in its stance, this changed during the dictatorship when its then editor, Fr Federico Richards, an advocate of the emerging left-wing Liberation Theology movement and causes surrounding social justice (Taurozzi, 2009), condemned in his editorials the junta’s censorship of the press and torture, enforced disappearance and murder of dissidents, including priests, and church passivity on these issues. Richards maintained this critical position despite intimidation from security forces, disagreement from sectors of
his readership which supported the regime and loss of advertising revenue as a result (Richards, 1982).

**Robert Cox and Federico Richards: moral witnesses**

Witnessing is a concept of interest to both memory studies and journalism. However, the vibrant debate in literature around the role of journalists as witnesses is challenging to address given difficulties in defining “witness,” the range of “moral, political, epistemological and aesthetic questions posed” (Tait, 2011: 1220) and the subjectivity and fallibility of communicators and the communicative process (Peters, 2009: 26). Previous studies have approached the role of journalists on different levels of the witnessing spectrum, with Ingatief’s (2000) “moral engagement” more involved than Tait’s (2011) “eye-witnessing” or merely seeing and reporting. Tait (2011) differentiates this disengaged form of witnessing from “bearing witness” requiring taking responsibility for information gathered and reporting in an approach that “conceptually organizes what journalism does, and names a subject position for audiences other than voyeurism” (p.1220). This engagement is amplified in the work of Cox (later Neilson) and Richards as “editor as newsworkers” (Nerone and Barnhurst, 2003) involving not only writing articles but also assuming “responsibility for selecting …the matter in the paper” (p.441), which extended their influence over publication processes.

The “moral journalist” in digital media has been explored by Wiesslitz and Ashuri (2011) in relation to an Israeli human rights group, non-professional online journalists, “who go beyond factual reporting and present their personal views and experiences about a reality they wish to change through journalistic activity” (p.1048). This reinforces Margalit’s (2004) proposal that in challenging socio-political times “moral witnesses” emerge created by difficult circumstances including “knowledge by acquaintance of suffering” (p.149) and face “personal risk” (p.150). In journalism during conflict a “moral purpose” behind reporting is therefore required and not simply “reporting on evil because it makes a good story” (Margalit, 2004: 151). Also relevant are “thick relations” (Margalit, 2004) between moral witnesses and victims “anchored in a shared past or moored in shared memory” (p.7) as motive for moral
witnesses to come forward and, in doing so, challenge official discourse and memory. Developed in relation to victims of the Holocaust, this is also relevant for victims of Argentina’s period of state terrorism. Robert Cox (2008), eventually forced into exile in 1979, stated that the enforced disappearance and exile of friends and colleagues was a driving factor for speaking out against the junta. Richards (1982) also stated that events such as the 1976 San Patrick’s church massacre prompted him to criticise the regime. The effect of Richards’ pastoral work with families of the disappeared on his “moral witnessing” as a journalist-editor is also significant. Kaiser (2014) proposes that Liberation theology’s maxim of “see, judge, act”, an interpretation of Catholic theology focusing on social justice popular in Latin America in the 1950s and 1960s (Gutiérrez, 1988), is applicable to “witnessing as a process” (p.245), involving first passive then active elements. Furthermore, in combining roles of writer and editor, Cox and Richards acted not only as “moral witnesses” themselves but inculcated a culture of “moral witnessing” which sustained the newspapers’ oppositional stance throughout the dictatorship. Today, as part of media repositories in public libraries and universities around the world, these newspapers provide records of events and testimonies of social actors eliminated from Argentina’s official memory propagated by successive juntas during the regime.

**Project design: data and methodology**

Data for this study comprise a corpus of 62,884 words and 259 articles, including two sub-corpora, the English-language *Buenos Aires Herald* (32,307 words, 186 articles) and the bilingual, mostly Spanish, *Southern Cross* (30,577 words, 73 articles) gathered in Argentina’s National Library in September 2015 with additional *Southern Cross* articles collected at the National Library of Ireland in January 2016. The corpus is built around three key events in the final year of the dictatorship: the end of the Malvinas/Falklands War (June 14, 1982), publication of the junta’s terms for *la concertación*, a proposed transition pact between the junta and representatives of democratic political parties (November 12, 1982) and the country’s first general elections following the seven-year dictatorship (October 30, 1983). These three events were selected for analysis on the basis that they are representative of the main socio-political issues during the country’s period of transition and encompass a
range of Argentina’s national and international affairs at the time. Moreover, all three events are noteworthy due to the volume of coverage they garnered and the striking media framing of them. As a starting point for analysis the period of the Malvinas/Falklands War is particularly significant as it marks a watershed in Argentina’s media history as the first important event whose “symbolic projection…and manipulation” (Sarlo, 1994: 5) took place through the lens of the mass media.

For the Herald, a daily newspaper, articles were collected from a week before, a week after the day of the event, or a total of 15 days per event and 45 days of material. For The Southern Cross, a tri-monthly publication during the period of analysis, articles were collected from eight weeks before and eight weeks after each key event.

The combination of CDA with corpus linguistics for media analysis has gathered momentum recently. For example, the RAS project, Discourses of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in the UK Press from 1996-2006 informs the current project with its emphasis on “methodological synergy” (Baker et al, 2008: 274) between CDA and corpus approaches where “neither …need be subservient to the other (Baker et al, 2008: 274). Techniques from corpus linguistics help to identify both recurring patterns as well as atypical language use by means of various techniques including the analysis of collocations, word frequency lists, extracted keywords etc. The benefits of combining both CDA and corpus linguistics converge around the idea that each approach offers an extra perspective on and reduces the limitations of the other (Baker et al, 2008). Mautner (2009) foregrounds the flexibility of working with these two approaches with different “entry points” to analysis. Researchers can begin with the smaller-scale qualitative study and then test to what extent their initial findings are repeated or not in the larger corpus analysis by, for example, doing a targeted search for a keyword or phrase and analysing the resultant concordance lines, where a list of instances of the keyword or phrase is shown in the context of the words on either side of it. Conversely, a researcher can begin with a search of the larger corpus and then analyse initial hypotheses in the follow-up smaller-scale analysis. While this current study adopted the former approach due to the time-consuming nature of transcribing the data for corpus analysis, it follows Hardt-Mautner’s (1995) iterative and interactive model involving “a move constantly between
different views on the data, rather than working in a ‘quantitative’ or ‘qualitative’ compartment respectively” (p.24).

The first, qualitative, strand of this study follows Pardo’s Synchronic Diachronic Textual Analysis (SDTA) building on CDA’s conception of language and text as social constructs and Fairclough’s (1989) tripartite model of textual, discursive and sociocultural practices. This aims to identify the main categories of discourse and unpack their construction. SDTA involves extracting the grammatical structure of articles, or actors, verbs and transitional and connecting words called “pragmatic operators” (Pardo and Lorenzo-Dus, 2010: 259) (all requiring a horizontal or synchronic reading of tables) and semantic discursive categories (read vertically or diachronically) identified through lexical repetition (Pardo, 2013). For this qualitative study, twenty-four articles were selected for analysis, chosen as representative of the theme and style of each newspaper’s critique of the regime.

These findings of the smaller, qualitative, study were then probed further in the larger corpora to test initial hypotheses. Prominent terms with significant thematic development and socio-political relevance to the periods under analysis (Jeffries and Walker, 2012) were identified in the qualitative analysis. Consequently, “freedom,” “human rights” and “Argentina” were analysed in the English-language Herald corpus and “libertad,” “derechos humanos” and “Argentina” in The Southern Cross corpus. Separate corpus searches of both newspapers were carried out to accommodate the different languages of the newspapers. While the corpus was also searched using lemmatizations, or stems of words (e.g. free*, human* argent*) for a broader analysis, the extra results did not make a significant difference to findings relevant to this study. Therefore, these wider searches are not included here. Moreover, as the next section develops further, the division of analysis into three sections is appropriate as each strand uses one of Macgilchrist’s (2007) strategies of counter-discourse: inversion, complexification and radical reframing.
Data Analysis

1. Strategies of inversion: media as witnesses during state terrorism

The SDTA study of the eight articles of this section shows that one of the strongest themes of oppositional discourse to emerge, particularly in the *Herald*, is a focus on the negative experiences of newsworkers themselves during the period of state terrorism, creating a sense of immediacy rather than objectivity when reporting the testimonies of others. This can be considered an example of Macgilchrist’s strategy of inversion, or reversal of the traditional role of journalists, in which “media witnessing” becomes Frosh and Pinchevski (2009) active “witnessing performed *in, by and through* the media” (p.1) rather than “imaginative engagement with others within an impersonal framework of indifferent social relations” (Frosh, 2006: 265). A diachronic reading of Table 1 reveals that reporting in the *Herald* focuses on the junta’s closure of publications and intimidation and imprisonment of journalists. *The Southern Cross* analyses the repercussions of the economic crisis on its own publication, as highlighted in Table 2. However, this newspaper also comments more generally on the negative impact of the suppression of media on civil liberties. Furthermore, writing from Rome, Richards explores the negative image of Argentina in the international press due to curbs on these civil liberties by the dictatorial regime.

Table 1: Synchronic-diachronic analysis, strategies of inversion (BAH)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actor 1</th>
<th>Verb 1</th>
<th>Actor 2</th>
<th>Verb 2</th>
<th>Pragmatic Operator</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Semantic-Discursive Sub-Categories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8 June 1982 p.11</td>
<td>Government Junta</td>
<td>lifted (the decree) closed down news agency: (Noticias Argentinas) newspaper: El Patagónico journalists</td>
<td>alleged violation (of government’s guidelines for information)</td>
<td>although</td>
<td>day of the Journalist</td>
<td>war lack of press freedom</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2: Synchronic-diachronic analysis, strategies of inversion (TSC)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Actor 1</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Actor 2</th>
<th>Verb 2</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Pragmatic Operator</th>
<th>Semantic-Discursive Sub-Categories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30 April 1982, p.1</td>
<td>El diario (TSC)</td>
<td>responder (a un pedido)</td>
<td>a nuestros estimados suscriptores y lectores</td>
<td>informamos la gran depresión económica del país</td>
<td>la gran depresión económica del país</td>
<td>como así también</td>
<td>la crisis económica (Gran Bretaña)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Nov 1982, p.1</td>
<td>(Newsweek) correspondent (writing on kidnappings and disappearances)</td>
<td>notified (government)</td>
<td>Ford Falcon unknown persons</td>
<td>attempted to break (into apartment)</td>
<td>night</td>
<td>fear</td>
<td>lack of press freedom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>filed (complaint)</td>
<td>woman making (strange telephone calls)</td>
<td>“attempted to jimmy (my door)”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>was followed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 June 1982, p.9</td>
<td>Freelance journalist</td>
<td>ordered (freed from prison)</td>
<td>judge</td>
<td>denied (constitutional right of option to leave the country five times)</td>
<td>(the past) 7 years</td>
<td>unlawful detention</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(was) arrested</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(was) detained</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 Oct 1983, p.9</td>
<td>Vice-president of commission for freedom of speech (SIP)</td>
<td>(freedom of speech) has made (no advances)</td>
<td>Argentine newspapers</td>
<td>suffer (tough and growing heavy criticism)</td>
<td>and</td>
<td>yesterday</td>
<td>state censorship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>closing down</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>facing (high tax on imported paper)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Prompted by the dominance of a freedom discourse in the qualitative analysis, a search for “freedom” in the Herald corpus (32,307 words) and “libertad” in The Southern Cross (30,577 words) corpus reveals 15 and 19 results respectively. However, The Cross’ focus is on Irish freedom from Britain (11) and Latin American freedom from dictatorships (5) with just one direct reference to the Argentine junta’s curb on press freedoms. The Herald however explicitly calls for increased press freedoms in Argentina through prepositional phrases “freedom of expression” (4) and “freedom of the press” (2). The corpus analysis also shows the newspaper’s more general commentaries on the “right to freedom” (2) which the government has “flouted” (1) and is “crushing” (1). The five modifiers of freedom: maximum, fundamental, professional, complete, press, reflect the Herald’s concerns with freedom’s different forms, all underlined as essential to Argentina’s “crucial moments” in its transition from dictatorship to democracy.

Quotation patterns have been highlighted as a “powerful ideological tool to manipulate readers’ perception and interpretation of people and events in news reports” (Teo, 2000: 20). Direct quotation, generally used as a “gatekeeping device” (Teo, 2000: 20) to favour those in power and exclude the powerless, has the opposite effect here however. The comments of the junta, featuring predominantly in direct quotation, jar frequently with the rest of the text. For example, there is a juxtapositioning of coverage of closure of news outlets with the
junta’s claims that there is “a complete freedom of the press in the country.” Direct quotation is therefore employed as a “distancing” (Capone, 2016) mechanism to differentiate the newspaper’s position from junta discourses. It is an interesting example of inversion, in this case a reversal, of the traditional use of pragmatic features revealed by the corpus study.

2. Strategies of complexification: undermining the dictatorship

Qualitative tools from Pardo’s SDTA show that both newspapers engaged in a systematic deconstruction of the junta’s promotion of itself as derecho (upright) and humano (humane), which intensified following the fact-finding mission of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights to Argentina in 1979 (Borrelli, 2011b).

Reading Tables 3 and 4 diachronically illustrates strategies of “complexification” in both newspapers through the introduction of third actors and verbs on all issues raised, rather than relying on the typical structure of the official version and a second dissenting voice. The third voice either reinforces the criticism expressed by the second voice or articulates a further point of concern about the junta’s practices, intensifying oppositional discourse while introducing a sense of multiplicity (Macgilchrist: 79). This is representative of the Foucauldian (1980: 63) idea that “power is everywhere,” not just held by powerful elites as the junta purported.

A diachronic view of the semantic-discursive categories of Table 3 reveals the Herald’s coverage of the junta’s illegal “jamming,” or interference, with BBC broadcasts during the 1982 war and of a raid by its agents on the regional headquarters of the democratic Radical Party. The regime’s culture of widespread human rights abuses is denounced through reporting on significant numbers of unidentified bodies. Table 4 shows that The Southern Cross also reports on 30 unnamed bodies found in Buenos Aires. It places the antidictatorship protest by Argentine activist Pérez Esquivel in the context of similar protests in Chile against the Pinochet regime. The Southern Cross discusses the suspicious deaths of various priests to condemn not only state terrorism but church silence on these issues, so its
critique is once again broader than the *Herald’s*. Moreover, it also criticises the junta’s internal divisions and contradictions.

**Table 3**: Synchronic-diachronic analysis, coverage of human rights abuses (BAH)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Actor 1</th>
<th>Verb 1</th>
<th>Actor 2</th>
<th>Verb 2</th>
<th>Actor 3</th>
<th>Verb 3</th>
<th>PO</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Semantic Discursive Sub-Categories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17 June 1982</td>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>(began/has stopped) jamming</td>
<td>BBC</td>
<td>broadcasts (in many languages on short wave)</td>
<td>(BBC) engineers</td>
<td>saying</td>
<td>(ended) Tuesday night</td>
<td>(began) soon after the start of major hostilities yesterday</td>
<td>war junta’s interference in BBC transmissions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>los desaparecidos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Nov 1982</td>
<td>Penal Judge</td>
<td>has discovered</td>
<td>140 unidentifi ed bodies</td>
<td>died in military confrontations</td>
<td>human rights campaigner</td>
<td>said</td>
<td>mean while during so-called “dirty war” against terrorists</td>
<td>regime’s human rights abuses</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(presumably) killed (by security forces)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>los desaparecidos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Nov 1982</td>
<td>Intelligence division of the provincial police</td>
<td>was (responsible for unauthorised raid)</td>
<td>Tucumán HQ of the Radical Party</td>
<td>sparked furore</td>
<td>sources</td>
<td>said</td>
<td>last week</td>
<td>junta’s attempts to suppress political freedoms</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 Oct 1983</td>
<td>Air force Commander-in-chief, brigadier</td>
<td>will (not resign)</td>
<td>a high-ranking source</td>
<td>denying reports (of disagreement)</td>
<td>Buenos Aires</td>
<td>had reported</td>
<td>thus</td>
<td>yesterday</td>
<td>junta’s internal divisions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Motivated by prominent criticisms of the junta’s human rights abuses in both newspapers, a search was conducted for “human rights” in the Herald corpus and “derechos humanos” in The Southern Cross. The former search yielded 24 results compared with 6 in the latter. Probing the Herald results further, initial qualitative findings are reinforced. Here again, a multiplicity of voices feature including the perspectives of human rights groups (9), campaigner(s) (3), activists (2), lawyers (1). The dominant theme is los desaparecidos with the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo demanding answers on the growing number of “NN” bodies in public cemeteries. The oppositional tone is reinforced through vocabulary of protest, noticeable in verbs used e.g. “denounce (violation),” “accuse,” “march” and legal discourse around bringing perpetuators of abuses to justice e.g. “probes,” “court proceedings” and
“judicial enquiries.” The corpus study adds further nuance in revealing the junta’s attempts to discredit human rights organisations with the assertion that they are “financing statements and trips by the mothers of terrorists.”

The strategy of radical reframing: alternatives to official memory

To challenge the “hegemony” (Zerubavel, 1995) of attempts to establish an official memory, the presentation of alternatives to the status quo is a fundamental destabilising strategy. This is equivalent to “radical reframing” (Macgilchrist, 2007) which “breaks into” and “turns around” (p.81) the (dominant) claim that there can be just one permissible narrative construction of social reality. This form of critique which invokes alternative versions of events is particularly extreme since Argentina’s dictatorship rhetoric was built on a singular “absolute truth” and “objective reality” (Feitlowitz, 2011: 22).

Strategies of “radical reframing” feature in the SDTA analysis of both the Herald and Southern Cross albeit through different lenses. A diachronic reading of actor and verb categories (Table 5) reveals concrete examples of individual and group challenges in The Buenos Aires Herald to the junta’s accounts of events. The newspaper reports on a man “identifying himself only as an Argentine citizen” offering to accompany President Galtieri to The Malvinas/Falklands islands and assist him in reaching a solution to the conflict. This piece undermines the image of Galtieri, sustained in the mainstream media, of a leader capable of resolving the war on his own. Furthermore, presented as a short amusing anecdote, it reinforces Sheftel’s (2012) finding that dark humour is an “especially subversive form of counter-memory.” A diachronic reading of Figure 5 also reveals the Herald’s reportage on the resistance of groups to the regime with the Grandmothers of Plaza de Mayo asking for international support to investigate 110 cases of grandchildren missing from detention centres. Also, presidential candidate Raul Alfonsin “urges” a crowd of 50,000 to be aware of threats to democratic processes in Argentina’s new political landscape. This reinforces Zerubavel’s (1995) finding that when “denying the validity of the (official) narrative and presenting a claim for a more accurate representation of history” (p.241) counter-memories often have actual political implications.
However, *The Southern Cross* challenges official memory at a symbolic rather than concrete level. As Table 6 shows, comparison is drawn between Argentina’s battle for the South Atlantic islands with Ireland’s dispute for Rockall Island in 1982, also against the United Kingdom. This link drawn between Argentina and Ireland, united by a “common enemy: England,” is also present in reportage on a group of Irish-Argentines supporting the Argentine cause in a New York protest outside the United Nations. The direct quotation of Father Mullins, born in Argentina but who visited Ireland once to see his ancestral home, evokes Rosenzweig and Thelen’s (2011) assertion that counter-memories can arise when groups put “distinctive spins on the process of making connections beyond the intimate past,” (p.269). These “spins” are highly personalised, often involving family and community connections compared to “a bridge people construct(ed) between their personal pasts and larger historical narratives” (p.269).

**Table 5:** Synchronic-diachronic analysis, challenges to official memory (BAH)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Actor 1</th>
<th>Verb 1</th>
<th>Actor 2</th>
<th>Verb 2</th>
<th>PO</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Semantic Discursive Sub-Categories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7 June 1982</td>
<td>A man identifying himself as an</td>
<td>announced (he would present himself at</td>
<td>President Leopoldo Galtieri</td>
<td>(until a ceasefire) is reached</td>
<td>today</td>
<td>emergent</td>
<td>democratic discourse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p.7</td>
<td>Argentine citizen</td>
<td>Government House)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>democratic</td>
<td>discourse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>reminded (Galtieri that “no one is</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>indispensable”)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 Nov 1982</td>
<td>Grandmothers of Plaza de Mayo</td>
<td>Asked</td>
<td>United States government</td>
<td>to investigate (the whereabouts of 110</td>
<td>meanwhile</td>
<td>human rights organisations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p.11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Organization of American</td>
<td>children who disappeared)</td>
<td>yesterday</td>
<td>los desaparecidos</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>States (OAS)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 Oct 1983</td>
<td>Radical presidential candidate</td>
<td>drew (50,000 people)</td>
<td>young military</td>
<td>“to break (tacit alliance between coup</td>
<td>last night</td>
<td>country’s return to democracy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>prone military)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Event</td>
<td>Details</td>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Sub-Category</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 Oct 1983 p.11</td>
<td>Presidential candidates from the Multiparty’s five-member parties</td>
<td>began to sign (“the “Democratic Charter”) Christian Democrats leaders of non-multiparty political movements, trade unions and business groupings proposed signed</td>
<td>yesterday</td>
<td>country’s return to democracy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 6: Synchronic-diachronic analysis, challenges to official memory (TSC)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actor 1</th>
<th>Verb 1</th>
<th>Actor 2</th>
<th>Verb 2</th>
<th>PO</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Sub-Category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>May 21, 1982, p.2</td>
<td>un ex ministro</td>
<td>ha reclamado</td>
<td>la roca</td>
<td>entre</td>
<td>en estos días pasados</td>
<td>La Guerra de Malvinas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 11, 1982, p.1</td>
<td>150 argentinos</td>
<td>blandiendo (banderas)</td>
<td>20 representantes de instituciones irlandeses</td>
<td>hizo que</td>
<td>el viernes 21 de mayo</td>
<td>El vínculo entre Argentina y Irlanda por su enemigo en común – Gran Bretaña</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Padre Mullins</th>
<th>nació en Buenos Aires y su padre provenía de Ballycastle, condado de Mayo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
Concerns with nationalism and identity were stronger in the qualitative study of *The Southern Cross*. A follow-up search for “Argentina” in the newspaper’s corpus reveals 82 results, reinforcing the link between the construction of counter-memories and the political arena traced in qualitative findings. Here we see an identification discourse between contemporary Argentina and Ireland’s past, as an alternative reading of Argentina’s identity to that propagated by the junta. During the Malvinas/Falklands War, the role of Irish-born admiral, Guillermo Brown in founding the Argentine navy is highlighted. Both countries are said to be joined by “sangre” (blood) and “simpatía” (affection/friendliness) due to similar experiences of citizens “killed by the same colonizer” (Britain).

Ireland’s struggle for independence from Britain and key figures involved in the political and cultural movements around this are also salient in corpus findings (Table 7). This frames Ireland as a model for Argentina in gaining autonomy from Britain but more symbolically for its charismatic leadership during the fight for independence as Argentina faces the process of electing its first democratic president since before the dictatorship. Ireland’s 19th century agrarian campaigner, Michael Davitt, features prominently along with his Land League which advocated tenant ownership of land. One of the key figures of the Gaelic Revival movement, opposing British dominance of Irish language and culture, Patrick Pearse, is also mentioned as is the Gaelic Athletic Association promoting Irish national sports. The aim of these figures and movements was “to recover (Ireland’s) historical memory” after colonialism (Hutchinson, 1987: 101) and The Southern Cross presents them as an inspiration to readers as Argentina seeks to reclaim its own memory field which the regime sought “to
control even in its most hidden recesses” (Todorov, 2001:11) during the seven-year dictatorship.

Table 7: Key figures and associations of Irish nationalism in TSC corpus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Michael Davitt</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land League</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Stewart Parnell</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaelic Athletic Association</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patrick Pearce</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish Revolution Brotherhood</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Conclusion**

Focusing on its final year, which marked the country’s transition back to democracy, this study identified two examples of newspapers that challenged Argentina’s dictatorship through various strategies of counter-discourse. Qualitative analysis of coverage around three key events as the regime weakened showed that *The Buenos Aires Herald* and *The Southern Cross* employed three identifiable strategies to discredit the junta’s official version of key events and social actors. Using inversion, the traditional role of journalists as objective witnesses was modified to focus on the experiences of newsworkers themselves of state terrorism. Immediate experiences of detentions, kidnappings and intimidation were reported, accounts that were omitted from the mainstream media. Secondly, complexification undermined the junta’s positive and unified self-representation through the inclusion of a multitude of dissenting voices from human rights groups and nascent democratic parties denouncing abuses, suspicions deaths and tension within the junta itself. Also, radical reframing focused on alternative versions of events at individual and group levels to challenge the homogeneity of official discourse and memory construction. This was also present in the *Herald* in the dark humour which undermined the junta’s leadership and purported diplomatic competence. Furthermore, corpus analysis revealed further nuances between the newspapers, such as *The Herald’s* use of pragmatic textual features like quotation marks as a distancing mechanism from the junta’s official messages and reinforced
The Southern Cross’ symbolic identification with Ireland’s independence movement and leadership.

This research proposes that these counter-discourses in the media do not exist in a vacuum but instead, play active and passive roles in the construction of counter-memories which subvert the official and dominant version of memory. Counter-discourses involve recording narratives and testimonials that might otherwise be forgotten and/or silenced and are later a reference point in post-dictatorship processes where a new generation continues to gather information on and punish the junta’s abuses of state institutions, human rights and the media itself. As with fields of memory and journalism in general, inherent tensions and conflicts between counter-discourses and counter-memories were acknowledged throughout due to competing versions of events, potential contradictions etc. yet nevertheless the relationship between them was highlighted as important and present in Argentina’s past and present socio-political context. These promising findings on the complex and prolonged relationship between counter-discourses and counter-memories reveal the need for further study in several areas. In the case of Argentina, these could include analysis of larger and different corpora of oppositional media to the dictatorship, for example, other print media incorporating graphic discourse and even broadcast media. Furthermore, similar media studies of different regimes and at different timeframes would also be fruitful to observe to what extent the findings of this small study can be generalised to contexts beyond Argentina.

An interesting question that arose during the study surrounds the motivations of the editor-journalists of these newspapers to act as “agents” (Margalit, 2004) of counter-memory, by defying fear and censorship to openly condemn the regime through print media, so closely monitored by the junta. While a definitive answer to this question is impossible to conclude (Federico Richards died in 1999), it was proposed that the concept of “moral witness” (Margalit, 2004) is useful in emphasising the profoundly transformative impact of first and second-hand experiences of suffering and loss and the engagement with social justice that can result from this. Similar findings by Wiesslitz and Ashuri (2011) on an Israeli human rights group in the contemporary online media environment highlight that the factors driving
newsworkers to disrupt official discourses and memory are also worthy of further investigation both in historical and 21st century media studies.

Notes

1 La Unión de Trabajadores de Prensa de Buenos Aires

Bibliography


**Text 1: Significativa nota**

*Clarín, 14 June 1982*

El gobierno argentino instruyó a su embajador en la Santa Sede para que entregue al papa Juan Pablo II “una significativa nota del presidente de la Nación”, teniente general Leopoldo F. Galtieri, con referencia a la reciente visita del Santo Padre a la Argentina y a su mensaje de paz, según se supo hoy en el Palacio San Martín.

El mensaje será entregado probablemente hoy en el Vaticano por el representante diplomático argentino, José María Álvarez de Toledo.

**Text 2: Galtieri, feliz**

*Clarín, 13 June 1982*

En las últimas horas de la tarde de ayer, el presidente de la Nación, teniente general Leopoldo Fortunato Galtieri, efectuó un breve comentario sobre su impresión personal acerca de la visita pontificia.

“Me siento espiritualmente feliz – dijo- e interpreto que así lo está nuestro pueblo.

“Hemos compartido pocas pero intensas horas de nuestras vidas con el sucesor de Pedro que, como Vicario de Cristo, reconfortó sin dudas nuestro espíritu con la fe y la esperanza del pueblo argentino, acompañado de otros de América latina participantes, también, de estas inolvidables jornadas.”
**Text 3: Situación de Galtieri**

*Clarín, 6 November 1982*

Los arrestos de prominentes militares retirados ocurridos en los últimos días fueron consecuencia de la aplicación de una norma interna que prohíbe a quienes revisten en esa condición, efectuar declaraciones críticas hacia la conducción de la Fuerza a la que pertenecen como a las restantes instituciones armadas, se indicó en medios castrenses.

En esa misma situación podría encontrarse ahora el ex presidente Leopoldo Galtieri, involucrado en la confección de un publicitado libro sobre la guerra de las Malvinas, de próxima aparición.

Galtieri negó públicamente toda participación en la gestación de la publicación y dijo que solo se limitó a conversar con uno de sus autores, el periodista Néstor Montenegro, de la misma manera informal como lo hizo, después de su destitución y en su domicilio, con otros reporteros que lo visitaron.

**Text 4: Investigaciones sobre Malvinas**

*Clarín, 16 November 1982*

En una reunión de la Junta Militar, que se realizará probablemente la semana próxima, serán designados los integrantes de la comisión investigadora que se pronunciará sobre los aspectos estratégico-políticos del conflicto de las Malvinas, la cual estará compuesta por tres ex comandantes en jefe y otros tres oficiales superiores retirados, indicaron ayer fuentes castrenses.

La Junta Militar decidió, el miércoles pasado, la formación de esta comisión para dilucidar las responsabilidades políticas y estratégicas de la conducción de la guerra, luego que en cada fuerza se efectuaran investigaciones separadas que llegaron a conclusiones “tácticas.”

Según las versiones, la comisión estaría integrada por un teniente general, un almirante y un brigadier general – ex comandantes en jefe – y un general de división, un vicealmirante y un brigadier mayor.
De acuerdo con lo dispuesto por la Junta, ninguno de los seis integrantes de la comisión debe tener actuación en el proceso militar actual, es decir, que deben haber pasado a retiro antes del 24 de marzo de 1976.

Las conclusiones de esta comisión que demandaran un lapso de unos tres meses podrían dar lugar a sanciones políticas de la junta actual a los integrantes de organismo que condujo la guerra, el general Leopoldo Galtieri, el almirante Jorge Anaya y el brigadier general Basilio Lami Dozo.

**Text 5: Nota de Galtieri a P. de Cuéllar**

*La Nación, 7 June 1982*

NUEVA YORK (Esp.) - A última hora, en medios cercanos a las Naciones Unidas, se supo que el secretario general, Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, había recibido una carta remitida por el presidente Leopoldo Galtieri. Aunque no hubo ningún indicio sobre el contenido de esa comunicación, se generó una considerable expectativa por saber que nuevas circunstancias podrían abrirse para la gestión de paz del secretario general de la UN. Al respecto, cabe señalar que, no obstante, el último fracaso del Consejo de Seguridad para obtener el cese del fuego, subsiste básicamente la autorización que se había dado a Pérez de Cuéllar en virtud de la Resolución 505, así como también la reiterada disposición del secretario general para continuar prestando sus buenos oficios.

**Text 6: Diversas versiones y la convocatoria a la Plaza**

*La Nación, 16 June 1982*

Alrededor de las 14, mientras seguía reuniéndose gente frente a la Casa de Gobierno, trascendía en Balcarce 50 que, por la noche, el ministro del Interior iba a informar a los jefes de los partidos políticos reconocidos en el orden nacional, en una reunión por desarrollarse en el despacho del general de división Alfredo Oscar Saint Jean.
También, en las primeras horas de la tarde, quedaba disigada una duda, planteadade anteayer, cuando se había dejado trascender que por la tarde del lunes se redactaba un mensaje para que dirigiera al país el Presidente.

Los movimientos de Galtieri

Exactamente a las 16.30, el secretario de Información Pública confirmó una versión deslizada en las primeras horas de la tarde: “a las 18.30 se va a reunir – señaló el señor Rodolfo Baltiérrez – el gabinete nacional; a las 21, el Presidente dirigirá un mensaje por la cadena nacional de radiofonía y televisión, pero a las 19, si hay gente en la Plaza de Mayo, el teniente general Galtieri se va a asomar a uno de los balcones.”

Este anuncio determinó la inmediata llegada de los camarógrafos de los canales de televisión, para cubrir estas instancias, mientras se renovaba la presencia de gente frente a Balcarce 50, con los carteles que ya portaban desde la mañana, los corrillos y los cánticos ya consignados.

La convocatoria a Plaza de Mayo

Paralelamente, las radios oficiales y los canales de televisión, mientras emitían el partido de Hungría y El Salvador por el campeonato mundial de fútbol, sobreimprimían esta leyenda: “Se invita a la población a concurrir a las 19 a la Plaza de Mayo, para observar al señor Presidente, quien se asomará a uno de los balcones en un momento transcendente para el país.

Hacia las 17.30 se calculaba en cerca de 5 miles las personas congregadas en la Plaza de Mayo. Ya estaba estacionado un camión de exteriores de Argentina Televisora Color y permanecían algunos representantes de la prensa extranjera.

Media hora después, los cánticos desfavorables a las actuales autoridades crecían mientras aumentaba la presencia popular en la Plaza de Mayo. A esa hora, comenzaban a sumarse los empleados de la administración pública que se retiraban de sus habituales tareas.

Text 7: *Polémica repercusión del anticipo de un libro*

*La Nacion, 5 November 1982*
El análisis efectuado ayer por la Junta Militar – del que se informa separadamente – acerca de publicaciones testimoniales sobre la guerra por las Malvinas, se habría debido, entre otras cosas, al libro de los periodistas Néstor J. Montenegro y Eduardo Aliverti, cuyos párrafos principales fueron adelantados por la revista Gente en su última edición.

El libro está estructurado en forma de reportaje a “un responsable máximo de la guerra” que en opinión de los observadores bien podría ser el ex presidente Galtieri.

Entre otras cosas, el libro recoge – según la revista – declaraciones de ese “responsable máximo” en el sentido de que Galtieri sugirió acatar la Resolución 502 de las Naciones Unidas y retirar las tropas argentinas del archipiélago, pero los ex comandantes en jefe almirante Jorge Anaya y brigadier Basilio Lami Dozo y el ex canciller Nicanor Costa Méndez se opusieron, alegando que “el frente interno no asimilaría jamás esa decisión” pues el pueblo estaba “mentalizado” para la victoria.

**Galtieri**

LA NACIÓN consultó al ex presidente de la Nación sobre los dichos que se le atribuyen y su participación en el libro. Respondió que no podía ser considerado responsable de la publicación, pues “converso con mucha gente.” Dijo que no estaba en condiciones de decir que todo lo que se comenta luego sea transcripto fielmente.

Pero el ex presidente se negó rotundamente que algún pasaje de la publicación que se anticipa haya resultado de conversaciones con los autores del libro.

**Costa Méndez**

El ex canciller, por su parte, dijo a LA NACIÓN, respecto del pensamiento que se le atribuye al ex presidente sobre la Resolución 502, que “la Cancillería aceptó y presentó las notas correspondientes ante el Consejo de Seguridad de las Naciones Unidas, con conocimiento y aprobación escrita de la Junta Militar.” De estas manifestaciones de Costa Méndez se infiere que la actitud que le adjudica el libro de Montenegro y Aliverti no es la que este ex canciller considera como reflejo fiel de su posición en cuanto a la Resolución 502 de la UN.
Por otro lado, LA NACIÓN puede anticipar que algunos protagonistas del conflicto con Gran Bretaña están trabajando activamente en la preparación de un amplio documento.

Entre otros según se supo, se encuentran precisamente Costa Méndez, los almirantes Busser y Moya, junto con el almirante Anaya, mientras que el brigadier general Lami Dozo habría prometido también su cooperación, además del general Héctor Iglesias que lo haría en representación del general Galtieri.

Sera una especie de “libro blanco” sobre la base de todos los documentos reunidos; entre ellos, las grabaciones en poder del almirante Moya, que era entonces jefe de la Casa Militar. En el libro se evocará la historia de lo ocurrido, aunque algunos detalles no podrían ser incluidos, como la frase que el ex secretario de Estado norteamericano, Alexander Haig dijo una ocasión de acuerdo con lo que está grabado: “Necesito al menos tres hojas de parra para cubrir a Margaret Thatcher.”

Una especial labor de coordinación del trabajo que ya ha avanzado sobre lo ocurrido en marzo y abril, le fue encomendada a Virginia Gamba, especialista en temas de estrategia que ganó nombradía a través de sus colaboraciones en LA NACIÓN durante la guerra.

**Text 8: El Gral. Anaya sostiene que el terrorismo prepara otro embate** (relevant extract)

**La Nación, 14 November 1982**

Los hombres

Con respecto al general Videla negó que le hubiese gustado el poder. “Fue tan solo un hombre muy retraído.” Tampoco cree que el “tándem” Videla-Viola hubiese actuado con criterio personalista. Ambos fueron sus subalternos y cree conocerlos bien. Sobre Galtieri, su opinión es que tuvo un exagerado personalismo, que lo habría llevado a dar el golpe de Estado que lo encumbro en la primera magistratura.”

Democracia y Malvinas
Anaya aseguró ser un amante de la democracia, sistema del que no pueden apartarse los distintos sectores de la comunidad, incluidas las Fuerzas Armadas “que tienen un papel fijado por la Constitución.”

Aludiendo al tema de la guerra por las Malvinas dijo: “Como argentino me siento muy feliz por lo sucedido, pues ha significado una reafirmación de nuestros derechos, a ahora la comunidad internacional sabe lo que pretendemos.” Pero afirmó que “no creo que yo hubiera tomado la decisión que se tomó.”

Por última, al preguntársele por qué enviaron a la guerra a jóvenes de 18 años, inexpertos con apenas uno o dos meses de instrucción, respondió: “Yo invertiría la pregunta. ¿Por qué se licenció 15 días antes a la clase que tenía un año de instrucción?”

**Text 9: El Presidente Se Informó Sobre La Situación Sureña**

*La Razón, June 13 1982*

El presidente de la República estuvo esta mañana en su despacho oficial de la Casa de Gobierno, tras haber pernoctado en su residencia de Campo de Mayo. Se lo vio ingresar a la sede gubernamental poco antes de las 9.30 y permaneció allí hasta el momento de dirigirse a Palermo para asistir a la misa concelebrada presidida por el Papa Juan Pablo II. El teniente general Leopoldo Fortunato Galtieri estuvo trabajando en su despacho y mantuvo comunicaciones con sus inmediatos colaboradores, quienes le informaron sobre la situación en el área del Teatro de Operaciones del Atlántico Sur.

**Text 10: Replica de Alfonsín, Respondió al Mensaje Presidencial**

*La Razón, 17 June 1982*

LA PLATA – El dirigente radical Raúl Alfonsín, replicó implícitamente al presidente Galtieri al señalar que “luego de los duros momentos que nos ha tocado vivir, nadie tiene derecho a utilizar la unidad de los argentinos para apuntalar gobiernos.” En una directa alusión al discurso presidencial, Alfonsín dijo en el curso de una mesa redonda organizada por la Universidad Católica de La Plata que “hace seis años que venimos reclamando que el
gobierno se vaya y hace seis años que, como ayer, se nos habla de unidad, de rescatar la República, de reconstruir las instituciones y restablecer la democracia.” Alfonsín destacó asimismo que se habló de democracia a la misma hora en que se reprimía la disidencia en las calles de Buenos Aires. “Nosotros no solo hablamos de democracia: la hicimos y sin represión y, por la Patria, combatimos a este gobierno durante seis años, superando el miedo, la amenaza e el conformismo. Por encima de este discurso insólito, amenazante e incomprensiblemente triunfalista, reitero que la única manera de honrar a los hombres que lucharon y cayeron por la Patria es devolver a los argentinos el prestigio de su país, la libertad, la justicia y la moral,” añadió Alfonsín. “Resultaría intolerable – continuó el dirigente radical – que se haya perdido la vida de los argentinos para que, en definitiva, se pretenda que han muerto por el Proceso.” Finalmente, en aparente referencia a la conducción de su partido, de la que es el principal opositor, Alfonsín señaló que “nadie puede invocar la prudencia para ocultar la falta de fortaleza necesaria para afrontar las obligaciones políticas inexcusables de la hora que nada tienen que ver con la complacencia o la resignación.”

**Text 11: Galtieri Hablará Cuando Sea Necesario, Según lo Declaró**

*La Razón, 9 November 1982*

El ex presidente Leopoldo Galtieri negó hoy rotundamente la presunta participación o autoría que se le atribuye en un libro de próxima aparición sobre la guerra de las Malvinas y sostuvo que se encuentra abocado a la recopilación de antecedentes sobre ese conflicto junto a los ex comandantes de las otras Fuerzas Armadas y que pondrá a disposición de las autoridades un informe cuando concluya esa tarea. Galtieri envió una carta a los medios de comunicación metropolitanos en la que sostuvo que no ha tenido participación en el libro: “Los nombres de la derrota” escrito por los periodistas Eduardo Aliverti y Néstor Montenegro y que se basó en un supuesto reportaje al ex presidente. Galtieri agregó que “junto a los señores ex comandantes y funcionarios del gobierno que me acompañaron en mi gestión presidencial se encuentran abocados a la redacción de un informe que elevará a las autoridades para que éstas determinen cuando y como se publicará. El texto de la carta de Galtieri es el siguiente. Ante versiones que circulan asignándome la presunta autoría o fuente de una publicación
referida a los hechos acaecidos durante el conflicto del Atlántico Sur, niego rotundamente
toda posible participación activa en la misma, ratificando de esta forma mi posición asumida
desde el 18 de junio próximo pasado, de no emitir juicios públicos sobre dichos
acontecimientos trascendentales de nuestra vida nacional. Esta posición la he asumido en
virtud de no contribuir a confundir más a la opinión pública ante la profusión de declaraciones
parciales de diferente nivel y credibilidad, que afectan los intereses superiores de la Nación
en el marco internacional, los cuales, más allá de los problemas de orden interno- deben
encuadrar la actitud de prudencia de sus habitantes, para evidenciar ante el mundo la cohesión
y coherencia de la Nación en defensa de sus intereses permanentes. Deseo aclarar también,
que en la actualidad me encuentro abocado a la tarea de recopilar la información y
documentación sobre el caso, con la valiosa colaboración de los señores ex comandantes y
funcionarios del gobierno que me acompañaron en mi gestión presidencial. Tarea que realizó
debido a la responsabilidad que me cabe por los cargos que desempeñé y estará a disposición
de las autoridades competentes a su finalización, que analizarán la conveniencia, en virtud
del carácter de secreto de Estado de parte de su contenido, de la forma y oportunidad de su
difusión. Por mi parte, si las circunstancias así lo exigen, anteponiendo siempre intereses de
la Nación, y en virtud de mi responsabilidad como ex presidente, cumpliré con el deber de
informar lo que corresponda a la opinión pública.

**Text 12: NA closure over**

* Buenos Aires Herald, 8 June 1982

THE GOVERNMENT yesterday lifted the decree ordering a 72-hour close-down of the
Noticias Argentinas (NA) newsagency and Comodoro Rivadavia’s El Patagónico Newspaper
12 hours early, to mark the national Day of the Journalist.

NA and El Patagónico were closed down on Friday night after an alleged violation of the
government’s guidelines for information on the armed conflict between Argentina and
Britain over the Malvinas islands.
Although the decree did not mention the actual reason, the staff members said the government’s move sprang from a story filed on May 31 on the airlift between the islands and the mainland.

In a nation-wide message broadcast at noon yesterday to mark the national Day of the Journalist, the military junta said that Argentine journalists are making use of their “professional freedom in a fully objective way.”

The junta thanked journalists for the part they are playing in the defence of the “territory’s integrity and the nation’s honour, (which are being) jeopardized by an aggression unprecedented in Argentine history.”

The junta said that now, when a “colonialist attempt prompts us into battle, Argentine journalists are together with the advanced troops and the rearguard, encouraging the troops, praising heroic deeds, guiding governors and inspiring national unity.”

Argentine journalism is taking “the message of this blockade to all the peoples of the world with a highly professional level,” the junta added.

The Day of the Journalist coincides with the 172nd anniversary of the first issue of La Gaceta de Buenos Aires, founded by Mariano Moreno.

Public Information Secretary Rodolfo Baltiérrez, on his day, congratulated journalists in a statement saying yesterday was a day of “professional pride,” since this generation of journalists has experienced war, “which we hadn’t looked for,” at its worse. (NA-DYN)

**Text 13: US journalist is threatened**

*Buenos Aires Herald, 10 November 1982*

NEWSWEEK magazine’s Martin Andersen, yesterday notified the government and the US embassy that he has been followed by a Ford Falcon and has received threatening telephone calls.
In a brief telephone interview yesterday, Anderson also said unknown persons apparently had attempted to break into his apartment on Sunday night.

“I remember hearing some noise at night…and when I got ready to leave for work yesterday (Monday) morning, I found someone had tried to jimmy my door,” he said.

Andersen, who has written articles on the kidnapping and murder of advertising executive Marcelo Dupont and on the discovery of unmarked graves recently, said he was tailed by a Ford yesterday as he rode in a taxi from a friend’s house in Barrio Norte.

He said the event followed a number of strange telephone calls on Sunday to his apartment in which a woman claiming to be a Newsweek photographer insisted she come meet him to talk about a possible cover story.

Andersen said he contacted his superiors at Newsweek, who said they knew nothing of the woman.

“She spoke excellent English,” Andersen remembered of the woman, adding that she knew about earlier telephone conversations between him and his editors.

Andersen, who also writes for Associated Press, the Miami Herald, and the Washington Post, said he filed a complaint with the US embassy and talked the matter over with General Carlos Cerdá, undersecretary for institutional affairs at the Interior Ministry (DYN-Herald)

Text 14: Argentina in brief

Buenos Aires Herald, 15 June 1982

JOURNALIST Alberto Angel Correa was ordered freed from prison yesterday by a federal judge after seven years of detention under state of siege legislation. Judge Pedro Carlos Narvaiz ruled that interior ministry evidence against the journalist was “insufficient to justify his prolonged detention.” Correa worked as a freelance journalist for several magazines until his arrest on April 22, 1975, during the rule of democratically-elected President María Estela Martínez de Perón. According to a writ of Habeas Corpus filed on his behalf, the executive branch had denied Correa his constitutional right of option to leave the country five times.
Text 15: SIP: No freedom of the press improvements

*Buenos Aires Herald, 25 October 1983*

Lima, Peru

THE VICE-PRESIDENT of the commission for freedom of the press of the Inter-American Press Society (SIP) Carlos Ovidio Lagos said yesterday “the freedom of the press has made no positive advances whatsoever,” during the last year and outlined that some newspapers “suffer the tough and growing persistence of heavy criticism.”

“Argentine newspapers are facing serious economic problems, which – as has happened in many cases – has resulted in the closing down of newspapers,” Lagos said speaking at the 39th meeting of the SIP.

Lagos, editor of the newspaper La Capital, of Rosario, Argentina, referring to economic obstacles said that “the unconstitutional 38 percent (tax on the import of paper) is still enforced.”

Text 16: Jamming halted

*Buenos Aires Herald, 7 June 1982*

London

ARGENTINA has stopped jamming British radio broadcasts to South America, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) said yesterday,

The BBC, which broadcasts in many languages on short wave, quoted its own engineers as saying the jamming ended on Tuesday night.

Argentina began jamming the British frequencies on May 3, soon after the start of major hostilities around the Malvinas islands. (Reuters)

Text 17: ’70 buried in Lomas died fighting Army’

*Buenos Aires Herald, 5 November 1982*
PENAL Judge Ernesto Devoto has discovered that 70 out of 140 unidentified bodies buried at the Lomas de Zamora cemetery belong to people who died in military confrontations, according to footnotes in the cemetery’s “NN” list, human rights campaigner Emilio Mignone said yesterday.

Lomas de Zamora is the second of six Buenos Aires cemeteries where the bodies of people presumably killed by security forces during the so-called “dirty war” against terrorists, have been found in unmarked graves. The Lomas de Zamora cemetery came under investigation when relatives of missing persons demanded a court probe into what they believe is a case similar to that of the Grand Bourg, La Plata and San Justo cemeteries.

Mignone, who heads the Centre for Legal and Social Studies, said Judge Devoto’s investigation of the burial records was continuing and more unmarked graves may still be found there. Regarding other cemeteries currently under judicial investigation, he added that “next week there will be important news.”

Meanwhile, Municipal Judge Pedro Soria, who is investigating the existence of 300 unmarked graves at La Plata’s municipal cemetery, yesterday confiscated records of all the burials performed there. Reliable sources said some of the unidentified cadavers in La Plata may already have been transferred to the city’s mass graves.

According to the sources unidentified bodies are usually transferred to mass graves five years after their burial if no relatives turn up in the meantime to identify the remains and order their transfer to another grave. Unidentified bodies of people who died in medical centres are among bodies buried in the La Plata municipal cemetery’s “NN” sector, the sources added.

In a separate development, Magdalena Mayor Enrique Boess spoke about his town’s cemetery, after relatives of disappeared people said they will denounce the existence of unmarked graves there next week. (Reuters-DY-NA)
Text 18: Police raided HQ of Radical Party

Buenos Aires Herald, 15 November 1982

San Miguel de Tucumán

THE INTELLIGENCE division of the provincial police apparently was responsible for an unauthorized raid last week on the Tucumán headquarters of the Radical Party, police sources revealed yesterday.

The sources said an internal police investigation into the illegal raid, which sparked a political furore here and in Buenos Aires, has found that official forces “acted beyond the limits of their functions” in carrying out the operation.

Police spokesmen said that the local police chief would submit a full report on the incident to acting Governor Carlos Salmoiraghi. The report is expected to acknowledge unofficial police participation in the spectacular raid which took place last Wednesday night during a meeting of local Radical Party members.

The raid occurred at the party headquarters in this city, located only 100 metres from the central police station.

The police personnel who carried out the raid reportedly belong to the intelligence section of the provincial police, designated “D2,” and it is considered likely that the names of those involved will be released. (DYN-NA)

Text 19: ‘Hughes will not resign’

Buenos Aires Herald, 28 October 1983

AIR Force Commander-in-Chief, brigadier General Augusto Hughes will not resign, a high-ranking source withing the force pointed out yesterday, thus denying reports that disagreement with other members of the ruling military junts concerning the renegotiation of the Argentine foreign debt could push Hughes to leave his high command.
The source also denied that Major General José Maria Insua would be appointed to replace Hughes, such as the Buenos Aires daily La Epoca had reported yesterday.

“There is no such a thing as that newspaper says there is,” the Air Force source said.

La Epoca said that Hughes would be leaving his post in the force a few days after the October 30 elections. (NA)

**Text 20: Argentina in Brief**

*Buenos Aires Herald, 7 June 1982*

A MAN identifying himself only as an “Argentine citizen” and giving the number of his identity document announced he would present himself at Government House at 3pm today to “immediately accompany” President Leopoldo Galtieri “to our Malvinas, until a ceasefire is reached.” The announcement appeared in a small advertisement in yesterday’s edition of La Prensa, and the author said his offer was based on his “conviction that this gesture would provoke a favourable international reaction which would prevent further deaths and achieve a just and honourable peace.” The man, who identified himself by I.D. number 1,290,805 reminded Galtieri that “no one is indispensable, and there are men well-qualified to continue governing the country.”

“To sacrifice ourselves is out moral, generational and personal duty because of our past errors,” the announcement continued. The mysterious author concluded by saying that “you offered to give the last drop of your blood. Let’s accompany our young soldiers and suffer cold, hunger and fear with them.

**Text 21: ‘Grandmothers’ seeking US. OAS assistance**

*Buenos Aires Herald, 18 November 1982*

Washington
TWO LEADERS of the association of Grandmothers of Plaza de Mayo yesterday asked that the United States government and the Organization of American States (OAS) investigate the whereabouts of 110 children who disappeared in Argentina during the war against subversion.

María Isabel de Mariani and Estela de Carlotto, president and vice president of the group, said at a press conference they had been given assurances by the State Department and the OAS that diplomatic action would be taken. The women said 30 children disappeared with their mothers and 80 were born in captivity.

Meanwhile, in Buenos Aires, the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo reported that over 30 unsigned posters had been pasted on walls near the home of their treasurer, Juana Heller de Pargament. The posters said Mrs Pargaments’s son, reported missing during the anti-subversion struggle, was a physician who gave assistance to the Montoneros terrorist group and participated in the kidnapping of the Born brothers which netted the terrorists a ransom of 60 million dollars (DYN)

Text 22: Alfonsín draws 50,000 in Moron

Buenos Aires Herald, 24 October 1983

RADICAL presidential candidate Raul Alfonsín last night drew 50,000 people to a stadium in the Buenos Aires province town of Morón, where he once again called on young military to “break the tacit alliance between coup-prone military leaderships and minorities.”

Despite his extremely sore throat, the candidate roaringly urged fellow Argentines to put an end to “antagonisms between civilians and the military, because we cannot continue wasting energy and efforts in protesting, nor in demanding freedoms which have existed for years in other countries of the world.”

Earlier in the day, the candidate promised before a crowd of about 25,000 drum-beating and banner-waving supporters gathered at the main square of Campana to “erradicate coups from national reality,” and said he would adapt the Armed Forces to the defence of democracy
Alfonsín, who arrived late at this rally, was hailed by mayoral candidate Calixto Dellepiane as “the future president of Argentina,” and welcomed by the crowd with a five minute ovation and the release of white doves. (NA-DYN)

Text 23: Signing of Democratic Charter under way

Buenos Aires Herald, 28 October 1983

THE PRESIDENTIAL candidates from the Multiparty’s five member parties yesterday began to sign the “Democratic Charter” proposed by the Christian Democrats to ensure respect for each other and the constitution in the future.

The charter is comprised by 12 articles, the first two of which stress the need to guarantee democratic continuity and the enforcement of the constitution within the framework of respect between the government and minorities.

Christian Democrat candidate Francisco Cerro said as he signed the charter that it “implies saying no to subversion and to sedition,” and described the document as “a summary of Argentines’ historical heritage.”

Justicialist Ítalo Luder signed the charter yesterday afternoon, and Radical Raúl Alfonsín is expected to do the same this morning.

Other signers, besides the remaining Multiparty presidential candidates, will include leaders of non Multiparty political movements, trade unions, and business groupings. (DYN)

Text 24: A nuestros suscriptores y lectores

The Southern Cross, 30 April 1982, p.1

A efectos de responder a un pedido de nuestros impresores, de reducción del arrendamiento de nuestro galpón y taller de imprenta acorde con la gran depresión económica que soporta el país, acrecentada por el costo de la operación de recuperación de nuestras Islas Malvinas que todos deberemos afrontar, informamos a nuestros estimados suscriptores y lectores que nos vemos constreñidos a reducir nuestras ediciones semanales a solamente tres (3) por mes,
como así también a suprimir, por el tiempo que ello son necesario, el Suplemento Literario que emitimos periódicamente. Por consiguiente, a partir del mes de mayo de 1982, inclusivo, The Southern Cross, aparecerá solamente en la 2º, 3º y 4º semana de cada mes.

Esta medida de emergencia, que mantendremos solamente mientras sea estrictamente necesario, será debidamente considerada cuando establezcamos nuestras tarifas de suscripción y avisos a partir del 2º Semestre de 1982 y el 1º de mayo, respectivamente.

Asimismo, y con idéntico motivo, hemos realizado una depuración de nuestro fichero de suscriptores para separar para su eventual cancelación las fichas que corresponden a suscripciones impagas y morosas en exceso, sea por domicilios cambiados o no tener interés en recibir The Southern Cross, sin haberlo notificado debidamente. No obstante, si algunos de nuestros antiguos suscriptores hubieran dejado de abonar sus suscripción por motivos económicos, rogámosles encarecidamente nos lo hagan saber a efectos en tal caso, de seguir enviándoles, regularmente, The Southern Cross.

**Text 25: Lo que paso en Escocia**

*The Southern Cross, 28 May 1982*

The Irish Weekly, por 114 años, la biblia de los irlandeses residentes en Escocia ha muerto por efectos de los que los publicistas han calificado como “costos prohibitivos de producción en un clima económico durísimo.”

Es el segundo periódico irlandés en Gran Bretaña que cierra sus puertas en los últimos seis meses. El otro fue The Cork Weekly Examiner, que llevaba 40 años de vida.

The Irish Weekly fue fundado por el obispo Patrick Dorrian en 1868 para reflejar el pensamiento católico en Ulster. Ya en 1882 tuvo una hermana The Irish News, también de Belfast. Ambos fueron leídos intensamente por los católicos de Gran Bretaña, pero para Escocia fue siempre The Irish Weekly. Roger Casement supo escribir poemas en sus columnas como también Padraic Colum.
Como The Cork Examiner, The Irish Weekly merece ser recordado con cariño por los irlandeses en Gran Bretaña. Siempre buscó servir a los exiliados de la patria.

Incluyendo revistas, ahora suman cinco las publicaciones irlandesas que servían a la comunidad irlandesa en Gran Bretaña que han bajado las cortinas en los últimos tres años.

Y pensamos en The Southern Cross. Como ya hemos informado a nuestros lectores, nos hemos visto obligados a reducir nuestro tiraje a tres números por mes – segundo, tercer y cuarto viernes – dada la crítica situación por la que está pasando el gremio gráfico en esta hora oscurísima de la economía argentina.

Esperamos que sea pasajero. Pero nunca como ahora esta única voz de acentos irlandeses en la Argentina necesita el apoyo de todos sus buenos amigos. No podemos asumir la responsabilidad de dejar escapar de nuestras manos esta centenaria institución, como ya lo hemos hecho con otras dignísimas entidades.

Coopere: pagando su tiempo sus cuotas, consiguiendo nuevos suscriptores, obteniendo nuevos avisadores, enviándonos noticias del quehacer de los hiberno-argentinos. Gracias.

**Text 26: Carta de Roma (III)**

*The Southern Cross, 29 October 1982*

Quien no sabe que cuando fuera y lejos de las cosas de la Patria adquieran otra dimensión, se agigantan y nos duelen o nos alegran sobremanera.

Pues hasta aquí nos ha seguido la angustia y el dolor de la Argentina contemporánea, la que nosotros hemos sentido, día a día en nuestra carne, en nuestro espíritu cuando la veíamos ir dando pasos para abajo y perdiendo altura.

Todos son muy amables cuando nos preguntan sobre la guerra de Argentina vs Gran Bretaña; toda su simpatía es nuestra. Pero con un dejo de compasión, que nos taladra. “Don’t cry for me Argentina!”.
Y para colmo de desgracia al abrir en estos días las páginas del Daily American, romano, nos topamos, bajo el título “The boys of War and their suffering”, con un síntesis y comentario del título que parece haber tomado por asalto a Buenos Aires (cuatro ediciones en tres semanas) “Los chicos de la Guerra” de Daniel Kon.

Leer estas columnas con lo que cuentan nuestros muchachos de lo sucedido en las Islas Malvinas durante la guerra, es para morirse.

¿Podrá ser cierta tanta incompetencia? ¿Es posible que se haya lanzado a la muerte así, en el mayor desorden e incompetencia a la flor de la juventud argentina? En una guerra que se sabía de antemano perdida.

Y pensar que todo el mundo está leyendo ahora esta historia que nos avergüenza y nos denigra.

¿Se acuerdan Uds. de la preocupación constante de este llamado “Proceso” por la imagen del país en el exterior? ¿De esa imagen que iban destruyendo, día a día con cada secuestro, con cada fusilamiento, con cada atropello y amenaza a los periodistas, con cada estallido de podredumbre moral en el campo económico?

Pues todo eso no era suficiente. Ahora hay que agregar al currículum de este inolvidable “Proceso” la vergüenza de esta guerra, de esta inmolación de nuestra juventud, de nuestros soldaditos, marinos y atrevidos aviadores.

Lo único capaz de cubrir todo este barro, es el heroísmo, estoicismo y la fidelidad de su bandera de todas esas víctimas llevadas a las Malvinas para ser sacrificadas a la incapacidad de sus Jefes.

¡Con cuánta humildad, con cuánta modestia genuina tendrán que tomar su lugar, el señalado por la Constitución, nuestras fuerzas armadas, en la hora de la Democracia que se acerca! Ya no hay título ni base para ese orgullo sabelotodo que las llevaron a creer poder solucionarlo todo por el mero hecho de poseer la fuerza. Todos los discursos “sanmartinianos” parecen ahora una burla.
Solo les queda a estos hombres encarar sin trampa ni doblez, sin un atisbo de ambición propia, la organización necesaria para que volvamos al régimen que establece nuestra Constitución. Y luego, en sus cuarteles, entregarse a una preparación seria para lo único que la Patria les exige: estar dispuestos a jugar y perder la vida en defensa de nuestra Soberanía.

F.J Richards

Text 27: *Carta de Roma (IV)*

*The Southern Cross, 12 November 1982*

Como una bomba ha caído por estas latitudes la noticia - muy sintética por cierto- de que el Gobierno argentino ha prohibido a los medios de comunicación bajo su dirección y control que traten los problemas de la actuación de nuestras fuerzas armadas en las Islas Malvinas, y además, el tratar el problema de los “desaparecidos”.

A esta altura de la descomposición del régimen instaurado en marzo de 1976 creíamos que este tipo de actuación ya era cosa del pasado, que todas las tragedias, tropiezos y errores de los pasados seis años habían servido para que las fuerzas armadas recogieran toneladas de experiencia sobre el difícil arte de gobernar.

Es triste comprobar que nada se ha aprendido, que todo ha sido en vano, y que el Gobierno vuelve a las andadas. Es increíble que se pueda todavía creer que es posible crear “silencio” sobre problemas que son de profundo interés de la ciudadanía. Más aún que la ciudadanía exige saber por qué es su derecho. ¿O es que los padres, esposos e hijos no tienen derecho de enterarse de qué ha sucedido con los seres queridos que un día fueron secuestrados y de los cuales nunca más supieron? ¿O acaso no es un derecho innegable e inextinguible de los familiares de los soldados que fueron y no regresaron - o regresaron mutilados - saber qué es lo que pasó allá en las islas en los días de guerra? Sobre todo cuando los responsable comienzan a hablar y revelar sucesos de altísima gravedad.

Toda dictadura necesita del silencio. Cree en el silencio. Porque la ciudadanía no tiene derechos sino las obligaciones que ella le crea. Creado el silencio, no existen testigos y profetas que señalan el despojo o la arbitrariedad. De allí que le es necesario amordazar a ese
gran enemigo de la dictadura que es el periodismo libre, el que no acepta censuras, ni se autocensura. El que destapa todos los tachos y ventila todas las oficinas y ministerios. Para que el pueblo sepa lo que tiene derecho a saber.

¿O que quiere decir aquello de que si no cumplen con la Constitución, que “Dios y la Patria se los demanden”? A Dios, aparentemente se lo puede descartar porque - engañados, creen que no participa, ni juzga, y si lo hace es en la eternidad, que está –creen- muy lejos. Pero la Patria, quién es, sino del Pueblo.

Y el Pueblo quiere tomar al pie de la letra lo dicho por sus dirigentes. Quiere demandar las cuentas y el balance de lo hecho con la Patria, sobre todo con sus hijos.

Por ello, es necesario taponar las bocas, y si ser posible los ojos y los oídos de la ciudadanía, para que el desastre no se haga manifiesto.

Ojalá que esta nueva enbestida del gobierno de las fuerzas armadas contra la libertad de expresión e información, encuentre la resistencia y el rechazo de los mil periodistas argentinos que aunque sintiendo miedo, sabrán vencerlo, para servir ante todo y sobre todo a la Verdad y al Pueblo con el cual están comprometidos.

F.J.R

Text 28: Monseñor Angelelli

Kevin O’Neill

The Southern Cross, 20 September 1983

En la vertiginosa aceleración de los hechos ya no queda lugar para el asombro, entra la estupefacción y la consternación. El hecho es que, en una catedral de nuestro país, la de Neuquén, cuatro obispos, juntamente con numerosos sacerdotes especificaron acusaciones bien concretas de que la sospechosa muerte del obispo de La Rioja no se debió a un accidente sino a un atentado criminal, resultado del cual fue víctima dicho obispo.
En Neuquén hubo dos actos distintos, uno fue la Santa Misa concelebrada por cuatro obispos y numerosos sacerdotes con motivo del 1º aniversario de la muerte del obispo. El otro acto fue un debate público en la misma catedral y la entrega de un documento a la prensa con detalles de la acusación.

La consternación no es tanto por el contenido del documento, porque hubo muchas sospechas sobre la muerte del obispo que nunca fueron despejadas, sino por el hecho de que se pueda hacer tremenda acusación y tratarla, aparentemente, como un episodio intrascendente. Si la muerte de un obispo en esas condiciones hubiese ocurrido en cualquier país comunista hubiera habido un bramido mundial, pero aquí como si tal cosa.

Por supuesta que para los responsables de la investigación y los perpetuados de la acción conviene no resolver el asunto. Estamos acostumbrados a estas tácticas porque las hemos padecido personalmente y porque vemos a diario que, a pesar de la dedicación de algunos jueces, sin embargo, las cosas se confunden más y más. Allí tenemos los casos Hidalgo Solá, Holmberg, Dupont al que se agrega el más reciente y curioso episodio de Guillermo P. Kelly. De esos sectores nada o poco se espera. Lo que consterna es la reacción o falta de reacción dentro de la Iglesia. No podemos admitir que esos cuatro obispos estuvieron delirando, sino que hombres que saben qué es lo que dicen y que no tienen intereses subalternos.

Por eso, a nuestro modo de ver tendría que haber una amplia investigación por parte de la Iglesia misma realizada por la Conferencia Episcopal o, si esta no entra en su ámbito, debería pasar a la potestad suprema de la Iglesia que es la Santa Sede. En los hechos anteriores y posteriores intervinieron altos prelados, sacerdotes, religiosos, cuyo testimonio debería tomarse y publicarse para conocer la verdad y toda la verdad. El documento que comentamos contiene también una implícita acusación contra aquellos que en su momento deberían haber hablado y no lo hicieron, haciéndose así cómplices según la doctrina tradicional. El que calle encubre y el que encubre es también culpable. Personalmente ese 4 de agosto de 1976 al conocer la noticia de la muerte del obispo en tan extrañas circunstancias, me sentí profundamente afectado. El hecho se producía exactamente a un mes del crimen del 4 de julio de la comunidad palotina de San Patricio, Buenos Aires y ese mismo día celebrábamos
la misa del 30° día de esas muertes en la Iglesia de Santa Cruz, B.A. con la comunidad pasionista. Pocos días después de ese 4 de julio llegó a mis manos un mensaje del obispo y presbítero de La Rioja asociándose al duelo palatino. Luego sucede el crimen de Chamical donde son asesinados dos sacerdotes de la Rioja y tuve que recíprocar en nombre de nuestra comunidad al presbítero y al obispo nuestra congoja y dolor ante un nuevo crimen y encima de eso la muerte trágica del obispo mismo.

Profundamente afectado por estos crímenes que se sucedían en cadena me apernoné al obispo en cuya diócesis entonces trabajaba, la de San Nicolás, cuyo obispo era Mons. Carlos H. Ponce de León, él mismo también muerto en un accidente un tiempo después. Él me dijo que a través del Cardenal Primatesa y el nuncio apostólico había recibido seguridades de que todo parecía indicar un genuino accidente. Siempre, con todo causo extrañeza la virtual desaparición del único testigo que era el sacerdote acompañante del obispo muerto.

Frente a la denuncia de Neuquén queda en claro de que los eminentes prelados nombrados, uno el representante de la Conferencia Episcopal Argentina y el otro de la Santa Sede, fueron engañados o simplemente erraron. Una cuestión de esta naturaleza no puede quedar en el aire, se debe despejar. No es una cuestión opinable” (la palabra de moda) como algunos adjudican a la inminente ley de amnistía, pero que ciertamente bajo ningún concepto nadie puede endilgar a este hecho.

Text 29: Desde el mangrullo, ¡América Despierta!

The Southern Cross, 10 October 1983

Nuestra pequeña, pero muy entusiasta adhesión al pueblo chileno y a su Iglesia en las luchas que, tras las huellas del inolvidable Cardenal Henríquez, llevan unidos por la reconquista de su libertad, desafiando a la ensoberbecida dictadura de Pinochet.

No menos cerca nos sentimos de nuestros hermanos allende de Plata, también ellos reclamando pacíficamente por levantar de sobre sus vidas el peso de la opresión militar. Allí, la hasta ahora silenciosa Jerarquía, ha entrado a cooperar ofreciéndose como puente entre los
dirigentes demócratas y la comandancia militar. Toda una novedad para el tan laicista Uruguay.

Igualmente sentimos juntos a los 50,000 brasileños de San Pablo, reunidos en la Misa campal, organizada por los líderes religiosos en protesta por la economía impuesta por el régimen militar. La multitud, nos dicen los periódicos, vitorearon a sus obispos cuando estos reclamaron empleos y mejores salarios. Denunciando los intentos del gobierno de limitar el aumento salarial, el Arzobispo de San Pablo, Mons. Paulo Evaristo Arms, llamó a la unidad “en la hora de crisis para rechazar los decretos que buscan reducir los salarios y obstaculizar el trabajo de los ciudadanos.” Dicen los economistas que el porcentaje de los desocupados o semi desocupados alcanza el 22% de la población.

Lucha de América Latina por librarse de la dependencia y cumplimiento del compromiso que asumió la Iglesia en Puebla: “la opción por los más pobres.”

**Text 30: Desde el mangrullo, Flores del Pantano**

*The Southern Cross, 10 October 1983*

El matutino “La Nación” señala que los policías que vigilaban la marcha realizada el 21 de septiembre ppdo, en repudio de la Ley de Amnistía, se quitaron la chapa que llevan sobre su pecho con un número que sirve para identificarlos. Preguntamos a nuestros lectores ¿no es esta una actitud ilegítima y subversiva que demuestra que se les garantizaba a los policías toda inmunidad por si acaso obrasen brutalmente?

Se exhuman en Derqui tres cadáveres N.N (28-9-83). La administración del Cementerio manifiesta a “La Nación que “en este lugar se hallan los restos de 30 personas que fueron halladas en Fátima, localidad cercana, el 21 de agosto de 1976 acribilladas a balazos y que además fueron luego destrozadas por una explosión de dinamita.” En los libros del Cementerio figura como “arrendatario” de las tumbas “orden policial.” En aquella ocasión el gobierno del Gral. Videla calificó el acto como vandálico” pero llevado a cabo “para crear una imagen negativa del país en el exterior.”
El Intendente de Quilmes, A Valenzuela, admitió la existencia de “irregularidades” en el cementerio de Ezpeleta donde la semana pasada la U.C.R denunció haber descubierto 110 tumbas sin identificar que podrían corresponder a “desaparecidos entre 1976 y 1978, “e invitó a la ciudadanía a que aporte elementos conducentes al debido esclarecimiento de los hechos.”

Septiembre 25, 1983: el Juez Federal, Luis Ángel Córdoba descubre una cárcel “secreta”, o campo de concentración en los edificios policiales de Ramón Falcón y Olivera, cuya existencia habían ya denunciado organizaciones de derechos humanos, y conocido en la jerga de los torturados como “Olimpo.” La cárcel estuvo bajo el directo control del Gral. Carlos Suárez Mason. Allí estuvo detenido el técnico del INTI, Antonio Gorgi, que “desapareciera en 1978 y del cual las autoridades militares dijeron a su tiempo “no saber nada.”

**Text 31: Desde el mangrullo, Temblores en el campo católico**

*The Southern Cross, 30 October 1983*

El presidente de la Junta de Capital de la Democracia Cristiana, Néstor Vicente se adhirió a las críticas de Pérez Esquivel de la “dirigencia política y religiosa que no tuvo, en conjunto, una respuesta enérgica para enfrentar las violaciones de los derechos humanos cometidas desde el 24 de marzo de 1976”. Aclaró el dirigente democristiano que desde las denuncias de Pérez Esquivel “no son discriminadas” y que “los insistentes y firmes reclamos tanto pacifista como de los obispos Hesayene, de Nevares y Novak, tienen por finalidad consolidar un proceso democrático del que se destierre la miseria, la injusticia y la violencia” advirtió Vicente: “¿Si la dirigencia política y religiosa no reacciona con prontitud y con vehemencia ante la más mínima afrenta a la dignidad de la persona, por argentinos no tenemos futuro”. ¿Serio no?

**Text 32: Irlanda también tiene su “Malvinas”**

*The Southern Cross, 21 May 1982*

Un árido peñón rocoso en el tormentoso Mar del Norte es desde hace un tiempo un motivo de disputa “tipo malvinero” entre la República de Irlanda y Gran Bretaña.
En estos días pasados un ex ministro ha reclamado la roca, conocida como Rockall, como parte de su circunscripción electoral de Donegal. Ahora, el Sr Paddy Harte exige que el Primer Ministro declare que Rockall es parte de la nación irlandesa. El reclamo es apoyado por el Movimiento de Soberanía.

Mr. Harte que reclama representar al Rockall en las Cámaras ha solicitado que se lance una expedición para izar allí la bandera republicana.

“La isla en sí no tiene valor, pero es rica en pesquería y en minerales,” dijo el ex ministro de Comunicaciones. Rockall ha sido un punto de disidencia entre las dos naciones. Está a 265 millas de la costa irlandesa, cinco millas más cerca de Donegal que de la costa escocesa.

Pero un grupo de marineros ingleses ha izado allí la bandera británica y cuando las Islas Malvinas fueron recuperados por los argentinos, un miembro del Parlamento Británico dijo: “es como si hubiesen invadido la Gran Bretaña, como el Rockall.”

Ahora Mr. Haughey será requerido a que declare la roca como posesión de la República.

Mr. Harte ha rechazado la sospecha de que su preocupación nace de aquel viejo dicho “que la dificultad de Inglaterra es la oportunidad de Irlanda.” “Yo tenía ya la preocupación ante de lo de Las Malvinas. Pero ciertamente esto lo hace más interesante.”

Text 33: Los irlandeses se unen a una manifestación argentina

The Southern Cross, 11 June 1982

Crónica de Nueva York por Kevin McCormack

El viernes 21 de mayo el problema de Las Malvinas hizo que argentinos e irlandeses estrecharan sus vínculos.

Una manifestación realizada el viernes 21 en la Plaza neoyorquina de Dag Hammarskjold congregó unos 150 argentinos blandiendo banderas nacionales acompañados de unos 20 representantes de instituciones irlandesas. La manifestación tuvo el apoyo del Latin American Unity Malvinas, o ULMA.
El propósito – de acuerdo al sacerdote, argentino de ascendencia irlandesa, Carlos Mullins – fue apoyar los esfuerzos de Javier Pérez de Cuellar, el Secretario General de las Naciones Unidas, por un cese del fuego en la crisis Anglo-Argentina.

“Nuestra tesis es que las Malvinas pertenecen a la Argentina, Estamos convencidos de poder probarlo geográfica e históricamente,” dijo el P. Mullins. “Queremos paz con justicia,” reafirmó agregando que las Malvinas, el nombre argentino para las Falkland, deben permanecer bajo dominio argentino.

Los sentimientos de los Irish – Americans en la manifestación eran muy evidentes. Uno de los cartelones lo decía elocuentemente: “Los Pueblos de Argentina e Irlanda son asesinados por el mismo Colonizador,” “Mrs. Thatcher Pirata”.

El Padre Mullins nació en Buenos Aires y su padre provenía de Ballycastle, condado de Mayo. Nos informó que había estado una vez en Irlanda para visitar el hogar de sus antecesores. El P. Mullins dio la bienvenida a los Irish-Americans presentes: Personalmente les doy la bienvenida porque tengo sangre irlandesa, pero también porque Argentina e Irlanda siempre han tenido excelentes relaciones.” Añadió el P. Mullins que el fundador de la Armada Argentina era el irlandés Guillermo Brown, nativo del condado de Mayo.

Los Irish-Americans que hablaron en la demostración fueron “Martin Lyons y Harry Dunleavy, ambos del Irish National Caucus. Desde una plataforma engalanada por las banderas argentina e irlandesa Lyons dijo: “El pueblo irlandés tiene un enemigo en común con los argentinos: Inglaterra. El colonialismo británico está en mi patria en el Norte y en la Argentina en las Malvinas,” entre aplauso frenético de la concurrencia.

Preguntado si en el futuro el Caucus irlandés y los grupos argentinos trabajarían en común, Lyons dijo: “Esperemos que esto lleve a una mayor cooperación. Ha habido una serie de signos positivos de parte de ambos grupos”.

Quizá esta nueva coalición en Nueva York no sea inusual, dados los últimos acontecimientos en la vida diplomática. (The Irish Echo, 22-5-82)

Sigue siendo un signo elocuente del gravísimo deterioro de la justicia que es la razón de ser de la sociedad civil. Quizá por eso mismo y por hechos similares ocurridos en lo que va más de una década han sobrevenido al país toda clase de infortunios desde los económicos, políticos y sociales hasta los militares con la derrota en las Islas Malvinas.

Si este deterioro no se detiene seguirá desarrollándose hasta adquirir dimensiones aún más monstruosas. Estas son lecciones de la historia que no se pueden ignorar o despreciar sin correr gravísimo riesgo.

Conservamos la memoria fresca de nuestros mártires por dos razones principales, una es para que nunca pueda crearse un caos social de tal magnitud que puedan ocurrir como este y similares con entera impunidad.

La otra razón es porque sus queridas memorias no se han extinguido de la mente y del corazón de sus hermanos y amigos, siempre agradecidos por lo que ellos fueron y por lo que hicieron en el curso de sus vidas y sobre todo por haber dado su vida misma, el don máximo. Ojalá podamos seguir interpretando este signo porque a través del mismo Dios nos habla.

Habrá una misa concelebrada en memoria de los cinco mártires PP. Alfredo Leaden, Pedro Dufau, y Alfredo Kelly y los estudiantes Salvador Barbeito y Emilio Barletti el domingo 4 de julio a las 20 hs en la parroquia de San Patricio Echeverría y Estomba, Buenos Aires.

Ese mismo día habrá otra misa a las 11hs, en la Iglesia Parroquial de San Patricio, San Antonio de Areco.
Text 35: Inaugúrase la Plaza Irlanda en Mercedes

The Southern Cross, 2 September 1983

En el programa de Festejos Patronales de la Ciudad de Mercedes (B) a desarrollarse entre el 17 y el 24 de septiembre próximo, se anuncia para el día 23 a las 19 horas, la inauguración de una Plaza con el nombre de Irlanda, motivo por el que se han cursado invitaciones especiales a S.E. el señor Embajador de Irlanda, señor Patrick A. Walshe y Señora, y a los señores Secretarios y Funcionarios de la misma.

Las autoridades de la Comuna, al disponer este homenaje, han tenido en cuenta no solo el gran número de miembros de la Colectividad Hiberno-Argentina residente en la Ciudad y Partido desde largos años atrás.

Los descendientes de irlandeses y los muchos amigos argentinos que han sabido conquistar, se aprestan pues a celebrar la imposición de un nombre tan querido, a la Plaza que rodea la Estación Terminal de Ómnibus sobre la Ruta Nacional No 5, luego del acto se trasladarán hasta la iglesia de San Patricio en donde a las 20 horas será celebrada la Santa Misa y luego en el Salón “Tomas O’ Grady” del Colegio Anexo, agasajarán con una cena a los ilustres visitantes que esperan recibir.

Mercedes, a la que alguna vez el South Cross llamara la Capital de Irlanda en la Argentina, compromete una vez más la adhesión y gratitud de todos los irlandeses.
Corpus search for “freedom” (Buenos Aires Herald)

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Query freedom 15 (407.50 per million)

file#0 the crucial moments the nation in going though, freedom of expression must be maintained with even more
file#0 are making use of their professional freedom in a fully objective way." The junta thanked
file#0, and after six months they "will recover their freedom almost automatically." Trade union sources
file#0 as anti-constitutional and flouted press freedom. Producer Gerardo Scofield and Jorge Alberto
file#0 national press and stated "there is a complete freedom of the press in the country and I fully respect it
file#0 of crushing the constitutional right to freedom of expression. JOURNALIST Jacobo Timerman's
file#0 branch, which will be allowed "maximum freedom of action." The junta also issues a terse list of
file#0 La Semana "refreshed the political system with freedom ... because it lends weight to the
file#0 of the publisher's constitutional right to freedom of expression. La Semana's lawyer, former
file#0 the government of crushing that right to freedom of expression after the military closed the
file#0 out their duties with "strength, stability and freedom of action." "Concertation is to strengthen the
file#0 violations of human rights and fundamental freedom." Some 400 Europeans are believed to be among
file#0 and efforts in protesting, nor in demanding freedoms in other countries of the world." Earlier in the
file#0 1976. THE VICE-PRESIDENT of the commission for freedom of the press of the Inter-American Press
file#0 (SIP) Carlos Ovidio Lagos said yesterday "the freedom of the press has made no positive advances
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Corpus search for “libertad” (The Southern Cross)

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Query libertad 19 ($47.20 per million)

doc#0 realidad, que no desean aplicar el concepto de libertad, que sin embargo aplican en el orden interno y
doc#0 , llevan unidos por la reconquista de su libertad, desafiando a la ensombrecida dictadura de
doc#0 comenzamos a surcar el ancho y profundo mar de la Libertad. Dace la coincidencia que el hombre que
doc#0 escrito brillantes páginas en las gestas de la libertad, la celta. En el coinciden raíces gallegas,
doc#0 del momento y se fijaron un gran ideal: La Libertad de América. Esto iba más allá de los problemas de
doc#0 del gobierno de las fuerzas armadas contra la libertad de expresión e información, encuentra la
doc#0 al 8 de Infantería en Derry fueron puestos en libertad bajo una fianza de 70 dólares cada uno y deberán
doc#0 victoria de la Verdad sobre la mentira, de la libertad de espíritu sobre la esclavitud sobre el Estado
doc#0 enterarse de su deceso que su contribución a la libertad de Irlanda no tenía paralelo en la historia del
doc#0 en su santidad. "Su contribución a la libertad de Irlanda no tiene rival en la historia de
doc#0 ..." Ayer por la tarde visite un santuario de la Libertad. Sonara extraño, pero era una cárcel. Lo cual,
doc#0.) Hombres libres todos, que lucharon por la libertad y contra la opresión y la tiranía, cada uno a su
doc#0 , en el campo de la dignidad humana, de la libertad y de la autodeterminación. Y en este momento a
doc#0 , hijos y novios estaban luchando por la libertad Mary conocía esas historias de primera mano.
doc#0 con las familias de los luchadores de la libertad " durante uno de esos alianamientos uno de
doc#0 trabajaron incesantemente por su libertad y muchas veces asumieron los compromisos de
doc#0 junto a sus hombres en la larga lucha por la libertad de Irlanda. Faltando llenar todavía seis
doc#0 y sobre todo conductas concienzudas a la libertad de conciencia de sus miembros, alenos al
doc#0 su diócesis que tenían como fin salvaguardar la libertad de los individuos que se acercaban al Opus, que
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Corpus search for “human rights” (Buenos Aires Herald)

Query human, rights 24 (552.00 per million) 

Page 1 of 2  Go Next | Last

file#0 to footnotes in the cemetery’s ‘NN’ list, human rights campaigner Emilio Mignone said yesterday.
file#0 government respect international accords on human rights . Twenty Christian Democratic senators have
file#0 such as the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo “human rights groups, and others. ‘Mention of security
file#0 in probes and court proceedings started by human rights groups and relatives of missing people. Asked
file#0 judicial inquiries into more unmarked graves, human rights activists said yesterday. A spokesman for the
file#0 is expected to denounce the violation of human rights in this province, and the existence of unmarked
file#0 country,” he added. THE PERMANENT ASSEMBLY for Human Rights (APDH) accused Public Information Secretary
file#0 radio and television) regarding the topic of human rights . “A memorandum issued from the Public
file#0 , forbids the treatment of topics related to human rights in news broadcasts. It also forbade the mention
file#0 “against leftwing terrorism. Judge Pierini, human rights campaigners said, decided to subpoena the
file#0 on a case brought against the crowd mortgage by human rights groups believing a number of the unidentified
file#0 judge being notified as required by law. Human rights groups filed their complaint after the
file#0 since 1976. The Permanent Assembly for Human Rights (APDH) La Plata delegation was also received
file#0 , General Edgardo Calvi, yesterday accused human rights groups of financing “statements and trips by
file#0 regime for the “inadmissible violations of human rights and fundamental freedom.” Some 400 Europeans
file#0 the facts” of the case. A group of lawyers and human rights lawyers and human rights activists filed a
file#0 . A group of lawyers and human rights lawyers and human rights activists filed a complaint two weeks ago,
file#0 notifying the acting judge of its actions, and human rights campaigners have said that mortgage records were
file#0 . THE MOTHERS of Plaza de Mayo as well as other human rights groups will march on Tuesday to the

file#0 follows recent evidence presented by human rights groups showing the names of missing people on
file#0 special committee will be aided in its probe by human rights groups, Conte pointed out at a press conference
file#0 that a Peronist government would overlook human rights abuses and corruption committed by the military
file#0 to the “dirty war” against terrorism and warned human rights groups will “fill the Plaza del Congreso and all

Corpus search for “derechos humanos” (The Buenos Aires Herald)

Query derechos, humanos 6 (172.80 per million) 

doc#0 lamentable que se vivía con respecto a los derechos humanos y la vigencia de la democracia? Es probable, y
doc#0 habían ya denunciado organizaciones de derechos humanos , y conocido en la jerga de los torturados como “
doc#0 enérgica para enfrentar las violaciones de los derechos humanos cometidas desde el 24 de marzo de 1976”, Aclaro
doc#0 , Ambos vienen de países donde los básicos derechos humanos son negados y donde la injusticia es la fuente
doc#0 presentes veteranos en la lucha por los derechos humanos como el irlandés Premio Nobel, Sean Mc Bride y el
doc#0 a llevar su caso ante la Corte Europea de Derechos Humanos . La emigración de ciudadanos irlandeses a Gran
**Corpus search for “Argentina” (The Buenos Aires Herald)**

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1. **doc#0**
   - Him for his calls for peace during his visit to **Argentina**, foreign ministry sources said yesterday. The
   - **Argentina**, envoy to the Vatican, José María Toledos. **APART**
   - having ruled out magnanimity in her approach to **Argentina** over the Malvinas. Healey said in a radio
   - to have ruled that out. **She** is behaving towards **Argentina** rather as (Israel's) Prime Minister (Menachem)
   - framework within the **UN**ited **Nations** under which **Argentina** could withdraw without humiliation or loss of
   - inappropriate for her to say she would support **Argentina** when the Congress and the president has said we
   - between communist Cuba and right-wing **Argentina**, diplomats said here. The latest sign of
   - dollars granted to Cuba by the Central bank of **Argentina** in 1973., Argentine sales to Cuba reached 150
   - was ordered in 1979. **THE WORKERS** of the Noticias **Argentina**s news agency yesterday issues a statement in
   - "no doubt whatsoever about the final success of **Argentina**'s rights in the Malvinas war. Meanwhile, foreign
   - of Staff Gustavo Figueroa said last night that **Argentina** is planning a "vigorous new diplomatic
   - "He did not elaborate or comment on reports that **Argentina** might request a meeting of the United Nations
   - and besides, it is not going to happen because if **Argentina** lost the Malvinas battle, the problem would in
   - that the request came on Saturday, one day after **Argentina** officially asked Brazil not to release the
   - Economic Community's trade sanctions against **Argentina**, said nothing can be done about a Malvinas peace
   - possibility of serving as a future link between **Argentina** and Britain once military activity ceases.
   - of campaign to wrest the Malvinas islands from **Argentina**. "National honour can rarely be redeemed on the
   - ordering a 72-hour close-down of the Noticias **Argentina** (NA) news agency and Comodoro Rivadavia's El
   - for information on the armed conflict between **Argentina** and Britain over the Malvinas islands.
   - no alternative. If we really want to build a new **Argentina**, go and check," Binotti said. PUBLIC

2. **doc#0**
   - "adherence to the Holy Father's visit" to **Argentina** next Friday and Saturday, Interior Minister
   - move was due not only to the Pope's visit to **Argentina**, but also to the government's intention to **Argentina**.
   - 239 foreign citizens were expelled from **Argentina**, and two people are under house arrest, Saint
   - PRIME MINISTER Margaret yesterday offered **Argentina**'s 7,000 troops in the besieged Malvinas capital
   - her government had made clear publicly that if **Argentina** said it was prepared to withdraw its troops from
   - said preparations for an attack on Puerto **Argentina** were now virtually complete. A British defence
   - Carlos Castro Madero, yesterday said **Argentina** "reserves its right to use nuclear energy for"
   - Atomic Energy (IEEA), being held in Vienna. **Argentina** "faithfully" abides by the conditions banning
   - by the Herald last night explained that **Argentina** presently does not possess a nuclear bomb and
   - sounded, the vice admiral still did not reserve **Argentina**'s right to build nuclear weapons. "By saying
   - right to build nuclear weapons. 'By saying **Argentina** 'reserved the right' to make
   - , but she ruled out granting sovereignty to **Argentina**. Mrs Thatcher spoke in three separate
   - network. She said one way Britain and **Argentina** might cooperate was through commercial links
   - , there would be a complete armistice. But if **Argentina** continued to wage war, Britain would have to go
   - that its planes have been used to ferry arms to **Argentina**. Luxembourg Foreign Minister Colette Fiesch
   - Economic Community (EEC) ban on arms trade with **Argentina** imposed because of the Malvians conflict. A
   - carrying rockets that flown from South Africa to **Argentina** early last month while under lease to Aero
   - request regarding the disappearance in **Argentina** of a Swedish national. The document filed on
   - of an American-made serial. SUPPORTERS of **Argentina** whistled and jeered at British and US delegates
   - and asked for the ILO's "understanding" for **Argentina**'s decision to take the islands. British
that non-aligned nations generally supported Argentina’s historical claim to the South Atlantic islands covering the Malvinas islands dispute between Argentina and Britain. "The conflict over the Malvinas a 10-minute stoppage yesterday in support of Argentina’s claim to sovereignty over the Malvinas. Venezuelan government has strongly supported Argentina’s position in the conflict with Britain over the decision." FOUR FORMER presidents of Argentina and the three members of the military Junta were Argentine) troops are well commanded. He said Argentina had "proved during 150 years its wish for peace concerning the South Atlantic islands." Argentina has always followed the road of negotiation and Latin American nations," said the minister. "Argentina has provided the West with an example," he added of trade missions is being organized and that Argentina is increasing its participation in regional American," the secretary said adding that Argentina will grant trade concessions to nations which have been supportive. He also said Argentina wants to extend and enrich our commercial ties Leopoldo Galtieri said last night that Argentina’s battle for the Malvinas capital of Puerto way to resolve the conflict between Britain and Argentina over the South Atlantic islands. In a statement Spanish extremists have given vocal support to Argentina over the Malvinas conflict. Another tons of beef, oil seed and vegetable oils from Argentina, it was learned, yesterday. A Czechoslovakian with a number of proposals, in a sign that Argentina is finding new customers for its exports. The vice minister of agriculture will visit Argentina. Speaking to the Argentine Chamber of Commerce trade with countries which have supported Argentina’s position in the Malvinas affair." He said "the as well as Socialist, Asian and Arab countries. Argentina’s search for alternative markets comes admit a that they may be returned, ENCOtel said. ARGENTINA has stopped jamming British radio broadcasts as saying the jamming ended on Tuesday night. Argentina began jamming the British frequencies on May 3, economic and foreign trade policies in Argentina were predicted by well-placed sources, fixed interest rates. A new policy of directing Argentina’s foreign trade towards Latin American Community lifts its ban on imports from Argentina. Economists generally expect living costs to estimates of how much the Malvinas war cost Argentina, but most economists believe the bulk of the States will play a balancing role to prevent Argentina from pushing the country into default on its was the third general to become president of Argentina in five years. Galtieri, 56, isolated by is three-man ruling Junta when he refused to admit Argentina’s defeat in the Malvinas Islands war against trying to get civilians back into government." Argentina and the United States will march together in the attack while his government struggled to lead Argentina out of a major economic crisis, marked by in its disputes with the Soviet Union, now Argentina’s chief trading partner. Government sources had indicated that relations between Argentina and the United States would remain good as long Air-Force source yesterday told the Noticias Argentina’s news agency that a Herald report concerning the report concerning the possible purchase by Argentina of Soviet-made MIG jets was "totally stemmed from some sector "unable to understand" Argentina’s Malvinas defeat. But the Herald’s source, States’ and Britain’s attitudes towards Argentina can be assessed. "But," said the source, "capital sometime next week. Uruguay supports Argentina’s claim to sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands
said he is "absolutely convinced" a democratic Argentina "is not at all far away." Asked whether
Malvinas which British forces recaptured from Argentina last week. The British defence ministry in
consequences." He added that "I would say Argentina has matured all of a sudden because of the
includes opposition and dissidence," he said. ARGENTINA's two largest political parties, the Radicals
that the ten Argentines were taken prisoner. Argentina's Joint Chiefs of Staff issued a statement
no fighting took place," the statement said. Argentina's military command had charged that two British
them to stay was signed between Britain and Argentina the following year. A SEVEN-man British SAS
Red Cross has been told, the US officials said. Argentina has confirmed holding only one British
exploits, the SAS commandos apparently reached Argentina via Chile where they landed aboard task force
discuss operations of our special services." ARGENTINA's flag day, marking the 162nd anniversary of the
said it will not return these prisoners until Argentina promises not to renew hostilities in the South
"by the United States' decision to support Argentina's position in the United Nations debate over
for the Malvinas islands. "Already Argentina has achieved a new victory in this issue of the
to the journalists put most of the blame for Argentina's military defeat on commanders in the field. He
warfare. The person questioned also said Argentina had been prepared to approach the Soviet Union
accord with civilians. The junta also studied Argentina's position prior to yesterday's United Nations
of four successive constitutional periods" Argentina would take its rightful place in the world. The
he is being attacked because he did not leave Argentina after resigning from his post and is now
foreign ministry official said yesterday that Argentina is holding 128 political prisoners who are
300 people of Italian origin disappeared in Argentina. Commenting on the political prisoners
dossier is said to contain data on the missing in Argentina, where the Propaganda-2 lodge "grand master"
Italy, which lifted sanctions against Argentina during the South Atlantic war, may now call on
spending on the 1978 World Cup held in Argentina. Last September, he suggested that his
and people of German origin disappeared in Argentina during the military's "dirty war" against
clear up the fate of the disappeared Germans in Argentina but refused to state whether any concrete steps
German nationals. FRANCE's ambassador to Argentina yesterday praised current court probes of
tried on several occasions to obtain from Argentina concerning the fate of 15 French nationals who
than 300 Italians who were reported missing in Argentina by their families since 1976. ARGENTINE
to tip international opinion against Argentina when the Malvinas issue was being discussed at
, political dissidents have disappeared in Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Chile, Guatemala, El
about "their true desire" that this be Argentina's last de-facto government are "very welcome;"
saying that the former President, who ordered Argentina's occupation of the Malvinas on April 2, was
Forced over who should take responsibility for Argentina's decision to invade the Malvinas and its failure
photographer who, she said, is due to arrive in Argentina in the next few days. Irene Sandler denied
Fund will complete arrangements to grant Argentina a credit, but added that the programme drawn up
gave, and when he added that what happened in Argentina happened because there was terrorist violence
, and not now." Helbling also last week said that Argentina should realize that it is Western and resume
told reporters yesterday on his return to Argentina from the United States, where he was taking part
relations, that the issue of missing people in Argentina is a constantly recurring theme in
that there was nothing new about embassies in Argentina being concerned over their missing
diplomatic corps, Camilón said that Argentina had "not come through the war (for the Malvinas)
Had been a topic for discussion in the cabinet of
the names of those involved will be released. ARGENTINA will obtain a 1.1 billion dollar bridging loan
will carry out quarterly controls to make sure is sticking to the economic reactivation it has
Diplomatic sources say relations between Argentina and Italy are at their lowest ever over the issue
are no mass graves for disappeared people in Argentina yesterday. In a telephone interview with the
whereabouts of 110 children who disappeared in Argentina during the war against subversion. Maria
by Italian lawmakers to gather information in Argentina about 300 people of Italian origin who
of Deputies in Rome is sending a delegation to Argentina to review the situation of Italian immigrants
of the Italian community in that country (Argentina)," the communiqué said. "The mission had
of the conditions of our co-nationals in Argentina. A committee spokesman said the visit
the disappearance of thousands of people in Argentina since the military take-over in 1976. The
investigation of the tragic events in Argentina. The request approved by Parliament harshly
the thousands of "disappeared" persons in Argentina: debate stemmed from the recent discovery of
authorities to free all political prisoners, ARGENTINA denied yesterday that President Reynaldo
between Reagan and Bignone on the border of Argentina and Brazil. The Times and Argentina turned down
border of Argentina and Brazil. The Times and Argentina turned down the offer saying the time was not
removed by officers of the First Army Corps. ARGENTINA beat out Bolivia and El Salvador to head a list of
in its Political Risk Newsletter, stated that Argentina does not run the risk of violent political
, Cardinal Juan Carlos Aramburu, primate of Argentina and head of the local episcopate, is already in
problem and Argentine problems are solved in Argentina. "With regard to the discovery of mass graves
editor of the newspaper La Capital, of Rosario, Argentina, referring to economic obstacles said that
inauguration of a new UN information centre for Argentina, which forms part of a cultural complex at Junin
of American States (OAS) branch for Argentina and Uruguay has offices there too. The
crimes occurred between 1976 and 1979. ARGENTINA is "on the verge of a moral disaster where the
He added that if any of these are successful, Argentina would be suffering from hyperinflation within
the company's manager, on his recent return to Argentina after seven months' exile. The journalists
us jobless, despite our families and needs." ARGENTINA's military government is to free 153 political
in December or January, the sources said. Argentina's jails held 745 political prisoners when the
economic and commercial relations between Argentina and Britain following the Argentine election.
British colony in the South Atlantic claimed by Argentina, she said: "The Falkland islands are of British
its contents had a "destabilizing" effect upon Argentina's return to democracy. He said that from his seat
to set up direct talks between Great Britain and Argentina on the Malvinas issue, Lanari will seek support
hoping that the recent democratic elections in Argentina will lead abstainers to now vote in favour of the
into the CGT-Zapardo and the CGT-Republica Argentina, has not been able to decide on representatives
development," adding that the USSR "supports Argentina's stand on the Malvinas issue and advocates the
country's "mutually advantageous" links with Argentina. He pointed out that the USSR nevertheless
maritime ports, and railway material in Argentina, as well as in mineral prospecting, and
that has been traditionally favourable to Argentina. FOREIGN Minister Juan Aguirre Lanari said
Corpus search for “Argentina” (The Southern Cross)

Query Argentina 82 (2,361.62 per million)
en este país. Además, ha demostrado a la Argentina que su opinión es soberana e independiente en

Con el enfrentamiento de Gran Bretaña y Argentina por las Islas Malvinas todas las embajadas del

para el Primer Secretario de la Embajada Argentina, Sr. Juan Pena que públicamente cruzo espadas

fuere la realidad diplomática, la Embajada Argentina está sumamente satisfecha por la reacción que

pueblo de Irlanda. Las cartas apoyando la tesis argentina han llorado sobre la Embajada y numerosas

manifestaban descontento con la posición argentina. El Sr. Pena dijo que cualquiera podría

ascendencia irlandesa nada tenían que temer en Argentina y ya se habían expresado solícidamente tras su

soldados) a favor, 1,800 en contra. La actitud argentina con respecto a las islas se basaba en un hecho

cual Gran Bretaña reconocería la soberanía de Argentina, pero las alquilaría por 25 años. Esta última

favorecía el reconocimiento de la soberanía Argentina. Uno podría entonces preguntarse porque la

entonces preguntarse porque la soberanía argentina es ahora una barrera insuperable en las

esa solución. La colonia olvidada es la Argentina y los colonos abandonados los británicos - o

entender las intricadas relaciones entre la Argentina y las islas Británicas. La Argentina fue, claro

entre la Argentina y las islas Británicas. La Argentina fue, claro está, una colonia española, pero al

y 1807 no hubieron fracasado, hoy bien podría Argentina ser una colonia británica. Pero la realidad es,

puede oír hablar el galés. En el siglo XIX, dice, Argentina tenía la colonia de habla inglesa más numerosa

presidente de las sociedades irlandeses en la Argentina, John Scalan, dijo con respecto a la decisión

de la Comunidad Económica Europea contra la Argentina que “tuve la suerte de estar en Irlanda cuando

, pude defender la posición real y legal de la Argentina sobre las islas Malvinas,” El señor Scalan,

. Agrego que “la colectividad irlandesa en la Argentina asciende a 300.000 personas existiendo entre

Brown. Expresó finalmente que, tanto, en la Argentina como en los Estados Unidos, la colectividad

irlandesa aizo su voz en solidaridad con la Argentina: creo - dijo - que los resultados están a la vista

gráfico en este hora escurridiza de la económica argentina. Esperamos que sea pasajero. Pero nunca como

ahora esta única voz de acento irlandeses en la Argentina necesita el apoyo de todos sus buenos amigos. No

patrocinio y la simpatía de los buenos y la Marina Argentina quedo huérfano del viejo padre que la rechizó a

Estados Unidos - que se abstiene en el veto sobre Argentina - hace uso de su derecho al veto para salvar a los

den el ambiente americano exigencia que la Argentina cumplió hasta el exceso. ¿Cuál es la razón de

destaca estas píginas los peces detractores de la Argentina no eran los refugiados políticos sino las

el actual conflicto de Gran Bretaña con Argentina, como “la guerra de la cara de la Sra. de Thatcher

South Cross llamara la Capital de Irlanda en la Argentina, compromete una vez más la adhesión y gratitud

Federación, que expresó el deseo que una vez más Argentina, volviese a ser una meta de la creciente

das Naciones Unidas cuando se propusiese que la Argentina y Gran Bretaña reanudaran sus conversaciones

cambio de actitud que perjudica la posición argentina y pareciera contradecir la posición adoptada

da Gran Bretaña en el boicot a la Argentina. En aquel momento gobernaba el Sr. Charles

Thatcher y el Dr. FitzGerald discutieron la Argentina y el problema de las Malvinas, además del Libano

la UN sobre reanudación de negociaciones entre Argentinay Gran Bretaña, en torno al problema de las Islas

de las Islas Malvinas. Como la propuesta de Argentina es parte de la búsqueda de una solución pacífica

, francas, serenas y justas entre Chile y Argentina. Rotary Internacional ha tenido así un gesto

de un amplio tratado de paz y colaboración entre Argentina y Chile como una contribución fecunda a la

crespecto a su actuar político - en esta Argentina en que se olvidaran tantas cosas _ no hay duda que
el representante de la Conferencia Episcopal Argentina y el otro de la Santa Sede, fueron engañados o
Las instalaciones que posee la Sociedad Rural Argentina en Palermo - escenario de tantas magníficas
el Directorio de la Asociación Católica Argentina eligió este escenario para cerrar los festejos
los Colegios Santa Brígida, St. Ethne y Celtic Argentina. Culminó el show con los cantos que brindó a la
y el Centenario de la Asociación Católica Argentina concluyó así, mientras los concurrentes
de los EE. UU y la prohibición de vender armas a la Argentina, esa guerra probablemente no hubiese sido
Militar de Chile es mil veces peor que la de la Argentina, pero créaseme que lo es. Lo importante es que
principio de justicia que había que mantener: Argentina, la mala, traviesa y grandota que invadia a un
que fuera gobernador de las islas antes de la toma argentina y que ahora reaparece como comisionado civil,
por su ayuda a las Malvinas y como desplazo a Argentina de importantes mercados para su carne. En el
políticos y económicos entre la Comisión y la Argentina. Ha trascendido que el Sr. Pym, ministro de RR.
Gran Bretaña presentara negando la soberanía argentina en las Malvinas. Pero al haber desechado ya toda
ya toda sanción económica y política contra la argentina, algunos países es probable que rechacen el
voluntad de la Comunidad Europea para con la Argentina", y les aseguro que las autoridades del MCE
aqui nos ha seguido la angustia y el dolor de la Argentina contemporánea, la que nosotros hemos sentido,
amables cuando nos preguntan sobre la guerra de Argentina vs Gran Bretaña; toda su simpatía es nuestra.
de compasión, que nos taladra. “Don’t cry for me Argentina!”. Y para colmo de desgracia al abrir en estos
i e incompetencia a la flor de la juventud argentina? En una guerra que se sabía de antemano perdida.
con la participación de los conjuntos de Celtic Argentina, St. Brigid’s y St. Ethneas, todos ellos
fecha será entronizada, por primera vez en la Argentina, una imagen de la Virgen de Knock, Irlanda. En
las razones de nuestra posición. Cuando la Argentina tomó por la fuerza las islas en abril ppo, con
resolución apoyados entre otros por la Argentina. Pide que ambos gobiernos retomen