RILLiCC

Revue Internationale de Langue, Littérature, Culture et Civilisation

Actes du colloque international

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« Justice créatrice, droits humains et responsabilité au service de la paix »

"Creative Justice, Human Rights and Responsibility as Passes to Peace"

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Editorial

La *Revue Internationale de Langue, Littérature, Culture et Civilisation* (RILLiCC) est une revue à comité de lecture en phase d'indexation recommandée par le Conseil Africain et Malgache pour l'Enseignement Supérieur (CAMES). Elle est la revue du Laboratoire de Recherche en Langues, Littérature, Culture et Civilisation Anglophones (LaReLLiCCA) dont elle publie les résultats des recherches en lien avec la recherche et la pédagogie sur des orientations innovantes et stimulantes à la vie et vision améliorées de l'académie et de la société. La revue accepte les textes qui cadrent avec des enjeux épistémologiques et des problématiques actuels pour être au rendez-vous de la contribution à la résolution des problèmes contemporains.

RILLiCC met en éveil son lectorat par rapport aux défis académiques et sociaux qui se posent en Afrique et dans le monde en matière de science littéraire et des crises éthiques. Il est établi que les difficultés du vivre-ensemble sont fondées sur le radicalisme et l'extrémisme violents. En effet, ces crises et manifestations ne sont que des effets des causes cachées dans l'imaginaire qu'il faut (re)modeler au grand bonheur collectif. Comme il convient de le noter ici, un grand défi se pose aux chercheurs qui se doivent aujourd'hui d'être conscients que la science littéraire n'est pas rétribuée à sa juste valeur quand elle se voit habillée sous leurs yeux du mythe d'Albatros ou d'un cymbale sonore. L'idée qui se cache malheureusement derrière cette mythologie est que la littérature ne semble pas contribuer efficacement à la résolution des problèmes de société comme les sciences exactes. Dire que la recherche a une valeur est une chose, le prouver en est une autre. La *Revue Internationale de Langue, Littérature, Culture et Civilisation* à travers les activités du LaReLLiCCA entend faire bénéficier à son lectorat et à sa société cible, les retombées d'une recherche appliquée.

Le comité spécialisé « Lettres et Sciences Humaines » du Conseil Africain et Malgache pour l'Enseignement Supérieur (CAMES) recommande l'utilisation harmonisée des styles de rédaction et la présente revue s'inscrit dans cette logique directrice en adoptant le style APA.

L'orientation éditoriale de cette revue inscrit les résultats pragmatiques et novateurs des recherches sur fond social de médiation, d'inclusion et de réciprocité qui permettent de maîtriser les racines du mal et réaliser les objectifs du développement durable déclencheurs de paix partagée.

Lomé, le 20 octobre 2020.

Le directeur de publication,

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Ligne éditoriale

Volume : La taille du manuscrit est comprise entre 4500 et 6000 mots. Format: papier A4, Police: Times New Roman, Taille: 11,5, Interligne 1,15.

Ordre logique du texte

Un article doit être un tout cohérent. Les différents éléments de la structure doivent faire un tout cohérent avec le titre. Ainsi, tout texte soumis pour publication doit comporter:

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- un résumé en anglais-français, anglais-allemand, ou anglais-espagnol selon la langue utilisée pour rédiger l'article. Se limiter exclusiment à objectif/problématique, cadre théorique et méthodologique, et résultats. Aucun de ces résumés ne devra dépasser 150 mots ;
- des mots clés en français, en anglais, en allemand et en espagnol : entre 5 et 7 mots clés ;
- une introduction (un aperçu historique sur le sujet ou revue de la littérature en bref, une problématique, un cadre théorique et méthodologique, et une structure du travail) en 600 mots au maximum ;
- un développement dont les différents axes sont titrés. Il n'est autorisé que trois niveaux de titres. Pour le titrage, il est vivement recommandé d'utiliser les chiffres arabes ; les titres alphabétiques et alphanumériques ne sont pas acceptés ;
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- liste des références : par ordre alphabétique des noms de familles des auteurs cités.

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Il n'est fait mention dans la liste de références que des sources effectivement utilisées (citées, paraphrasées, résumées) dans le texte de l'auteur. Pour leur présentation, la norme American Psychological Association (APA) ou références intégrées est exigée de tous les auteurs qui veulent faire publier leur texte dans la revue. Il est fait exigence aux auteurs de n'utiliser que la seule norme dans leur texte. Pour en savoir

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La gestion des citations :

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Résumé :

✓ Pour Pewissi (2017), le Womanisme trenscende les cloisons du genre.
✓ Ourso (2013:12) trouve les voyelles qui débordent le cadre circonscrit comme des voyelles récalcitrantes.

Résumé ou paraphrase :

✓ Ourso (2013:12) trouve les voyelles qui débordent le cadre circonscrit comme des voyelles récalcitrantes.

Exemple de référence

➕ **Pour un livre**

Collin, H. P. (1988). *Dictionary of Government and Politics*. UK: Peter Collin Publishing.

➕ **Pour un article tiré d'un ouvrage collectif**

Gill, W. (1998/1990). "Writing and Language: Making the Silence Speak." In Sheila Ruth, *Issues in Feminism: An Introduction to Women's Studies*. London: Mayfield Publishing Company, Fourth Edition. Pp. 151-176.

➕ **Utilisation de Ibid., op. cit, sic entre autres**

Ibidem (Ibid.) intervient à partir de la deuxième note d'une référence source citée. Ibid. est suivi du numéro de page si elle est différente de

référence mère dont elle est consécutive. Exemple : ibid., ou ibidem, p. x. **Op. cit.** signifie 'la source pré-citée'. Il est utilisé quand, au lieu de deux références consécutives, une ou plusieurs sources sont intercalées. En ce moment, la deuxième des références consécutives exige l'usage de op. cit. suivi de la page si cette dernière diffère de la précédente.

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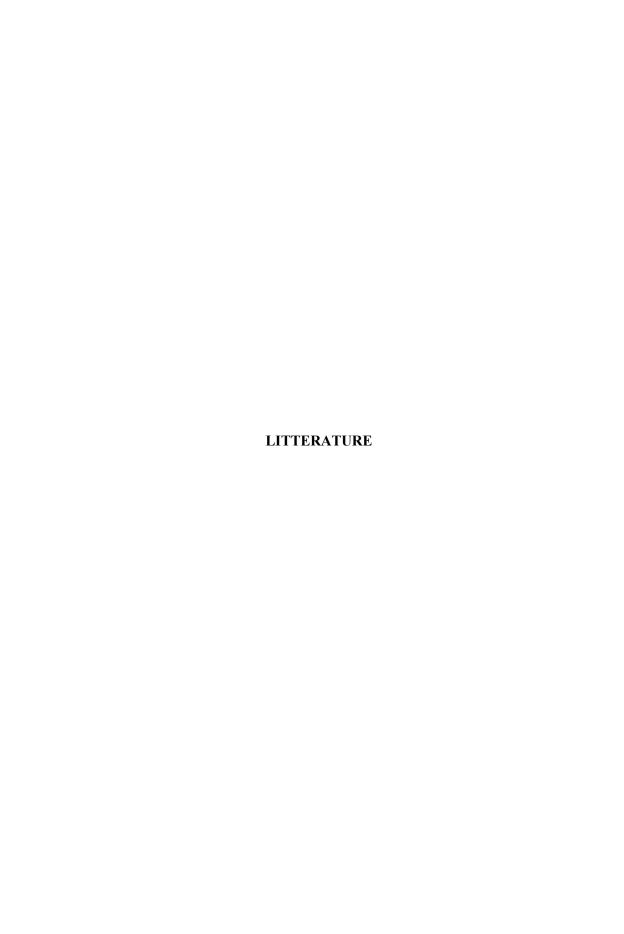
Instruction et acceptation d'article

A partir du volume 2 de la présente édition, les dates de réception et d'acceptation des textes sont marquées, au niveau de chaque article. Deux (02) à trois (03) instructions sont obligatoires pour plus d'assurance de qualité.

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LITTERATURE

Media and Peace Discourse in Philip Purser's *The Twentymen*

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Abstract:

Based on Althuser's concept of Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA), this study analyses Purser's *The Twentymen* to demonstrate how the BBC shapes and champions the dominant political ideology and discourse of Britain's coalition government in post war era. Using chiefly the BBC's investigation on political ideology, the argument is to show how the British media explore and communicate on the topic of coalition government in the search for peace and the country's reconstruction.

Keywords: Coalition-government, conflict, Ideological State Apparatus, peace-discourse, repressive state apparatus, resistance.

Résumé :

Basé sur le concept d'Althuser des appareils idéologiques d'État, cette étude propose une analyse de *Twentymen* de Purser pour démontrer comment la BBC façonne et défend l'idéologie politique dominante et le discours du gouvernement de coalition britannique de l'après-guerre. En utilisant l'enquête de la BBC sur l'idéologie politique, l'argument est de montrer comment les médias britanniques explorent et communiquent sur le thème du gouvernement de coalition dans la recherche de la paix et de la reconstruction du pays.

Mots clés : Gouvernement de Coalition, conflit, appareil idéologique de l'Etat, discours de paix appareil répressive de l'état, résistance.

Introduction

Purser's (1970: 19) writing is renowned to promote the peace discourse of British post-war governments, that is to say, the policy of coalition government. It consists in putting together all the major parties in a consensus government in order to work for the unity of the nation. Purser's narrative embodies this discourse through a fictionalized rendition of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) studio in the

work. The use of this journalistic narrative is justified by the fact that the British media have played a great role in the building of peace. But, behind the façade of the fourth power's contribution for peace, lurks an ideological connotation, the complicity between the BBC and pro-coalition candidates.

It was mandatory for the radio channel to make the British people feel and live the atmosphere of post-war coalition government. This is what William B. Haley, the former BBC Director General is referring to when he says: "It is an important continuing objective of British broadcasting that the programmes should be firmly British in character, and should, by reflecting our national environment and characteristics, have the effect of encouraging and consolidating listeners in their feeling for British speech, culture, and institutions" (William Haley, 1945: 2).

Actually, William's recommendation for the BBC to reflect the post-war political climate is salient. In fact, it suggests that the representation of the "national interest for peace" came to dominate the Twentieth Century history of the World Service as the quid pro quo of government funding. British literary works also echo this role of media in the construction of peace discourse.

In his book *Media Power, Professionals and Policies*, Howard Timber draws attention to the professionalization of political communication and change in people's behaviours toward peace. In this process, the political system controls media and uses it to define his or her peace agenda. All the same, Jane Stokes and Anna Reading's *The Media in Britain* offers a detailed description of the role of the State in controlling British media system during the Thatcher era.

In his delivery of the media peace building discourse, Purser's fiction takes into account the same preoccupations raised by Howard Timber, Jane Stokes and Anna, that is, the power of media to shape concord discourse in hostile environment. He also concurs with Howard Timber that there is the interference of politicians in media studios for a specific reconciliation agenda. But, Purser focuses on the ideological struggles among groups that lurk in any media peace discourse in *The Twentymen*.

What is at issue here is that Purser foregrounds pro-coalition government candidates' discourse in the fictional BBC's studio as productive for the nation.

In this study we intend to show how the British media give much interest to the dominant class celebration of coalition government philosophy as prerequisite to peace. What we are intent upon is that Purser's *The Twentymen* can be read as promoting British post-war leaders' coalition government principle. The theory in use is Althuser's concept of Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA). The ISA are "the family, the media, religious organizations, and most importantly the educational system which scatter ruling ideology (Althusser, 2003: 6). He also defines ideology as "a representation of the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence" (Althusser, 2003: 14).

In practice, this theory will be of help in showing how Purser's use of the BBC celebrates the dominant ideological principles of coalition government at the expense of nonconformist journalists' peace account. In the following lines we will first show how the BBC constructs the hegemonic concord discourse through a bias representation of coalition government. Then we will explore the nonconformist media agents' counter discourse.

1. Ideological State Apparatus and Peace-building Discourse
In Purser's *The Twentymen*, the relation between Ideological State Apparatus and the peace discourse is overt. It is one in which the British media fail to focus on the explosive events of post war societies. The press rather campaign for candidates who champion a policy of coalition government as a prerequisite to reconciliation. By despising and disdaining explosive events and non-consensus candidates who are seen as bad news for national harmony, the British media and BBC in particular assume their belonging to the dominant peace discourse. This preference for the prevailing ideology of coalition government gives rise to the replication or celebration of the hegemonic peace discourse and an open inconsideration of the explosive events and non- consensus candidates. This hegemonic discourse has two major declensions. In *The Twentymen*, it is first of all perceived through media support to a

candidate whose peace project is centered on a coalition government philosophy. For Purser, the media constructs concord from a hegemonic perspective. This amounts to saying that British media do not let people read peace out of the government's likings.

This hegemonic peace building discourse begins with a metanarrative[8] of British national media centered on a pro-coalition candidate. Here is the narrator's effect of language as we read:

> But Hurst, in another vulnerable sentence, promised that the coalition would be maintained (…) in general Hurst had generous Press, including the unsolicited report of the Express group, which had made a fuss of him in his early aviation days but later cooled off and – when he championed closer ties with Europe – became actively antagonistic. Evidently they had now decided the country needed a hero and Hurst was the likeliest candidate. The Mirror, as Iles had forecast, called him 'Rob' in its headlines. Only the Morning Star cried Treachery (Purser, 1970: 66).

This passage seems to point to a praise of Hurst in British media. What is labored here is the clemency of British media vis à vis the candidate who is maneuvering for a coalition government. What the British journalists are doing in this narrative is to ask the Britons to vote for Hurst. This is one thing Purser means by 'Hurst had generous Press and was the likeliest candidate (1970: 66). By showing him this special way, British media participate in a particular construction of a continuum between Hurst and the voting population. Consequently, the masses may be inclined to shut their eyes on the shortcomings of his coalition government society. And failing to recognize this will be

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[8] The term "Metanarrative" is tributary to the French postmodernist thinker, Jean-Francois Lyotard, it predicates the master discourse of the representative section in modern societies. Lyotard's work is characterised by a persistent opposition to universals, meta-narratives, and generality. He is fiercely critical of many of the 'universalist' claims of the Enlightenment, and several of his works serve to undermine the fundamental principles that generate these broad claims. My use of the term "metanarrative" is synonymous with the dominant discourse of peace. It is the peace discourse fostered by the elites in various media.

likened to being trapped in the vicious circle of media presenters who extol Hurst's peace discourse. People will be unable to resist Hurst choice, and they will remain imbued within the BBC's ideological replication of the candidate's reconciliation discourse. This is how the process of concord building discourse begins in Purser's narrative, with a special reproduction of the image of the favoured candidate in public sphere.

For Purser, since British media orchestrate a generous marketization of Hurst and his coalition policy, they subsequently assume that reconciliation and mutual agreement will pass through him. That is the reason why he is promoted as 'the likeliest candidates' (Purser, 1970: 66). What is at issue here is that the hegemonic discourse of peace is constructed through British media. In corroboration of that, Althusser, argues that "ideology functions through Ideological State Apparatuses" (2001: 12). To put it simply, one can state for Althusser, the ideology of coalition government is shaped by media from a hegemonic perspective. This Althusserian consideration takes its impetus from the fact that Purser's media professionals serve us a communication voice for a special candidate's peaceful society outlook as we read "As Hurst, certainly he was lucky. His appointment, his broadcast, the very occurrence of the centre coalition, were all interpreted favourably" (Purser, 1970: 67). In this line, Collin Panton the BBC's studio producer uses the adjective "favourably" (Purser, 1970: 67) to show the qualification BBC's journalists apportion to Hurst's policy of peace. What is here at stake is that Purser's words "Hurst was lucky, his broadcast the centre coalition" (Purser, 1970: 61) draws upon the discourse of coalition government. The narrator is seeking to enhance the hegemonic peace discourse. There is therefore a hegemonic oriented metanarrative underlying British media discourse.

Furthermore, media have often given trifling heed to post-war political turmoil in an attempt to provide strong public perception of British coalition government. Journalists were available and ready to support the government's peace building narratives. Thus, the reporting of all phases of the coalition government by British media has often been

criticized as at least inappropriate. It was creating or conveying false images. The inconsideration of the actual fact for the sake of the supremacists discourse is read by Althusser (2001: 19) as the working of ideology which he terms when: "false consciousness". Purser echoes the working of this Althusserian (2001: 19) "false consciousness" as Colin Panton, the main BBC's editor, laments over British media failure to report strike movements in favour of elites' peace initiative. The following lines illustrate the transformation of conflict into peaceful situation in the press as the narrator says:

> Hurst answered them with a single argument, too. (…) The country was recovering miraculously; why should a tiny minority of trouble-makers be allowed to hold it back? Reduced to a few terse premises his case doesn't look very convincing. Even our transcript, played back, doesn't present him in a very persuasive light, as the compilation producers have been quick to spot (..) at the time, I can only insist, he won the meeting and as extracts from it were fed into the news bulletins and current affairs shows, the country (Purser, 1970: 102).

Actually, through this passage we notice that Hurst's perception of a peaceful land is endorsed by the majority of the British press. In the above "the country was recovering miraculously" (Purser, 1970: 102), Purser contrasts this false image of a peaceful British society with the main protagonist's skepticism. In an Athusserian philosophical style the main BBC's editor belittles the overall majority of the media inclination to the hegemonic reading of the country's situation. Through this sentence "Even our transcript, played back, doesn't present him in a very persuasive light, as the compilation producers have been quick to spot" (Purser, 1970: 102), the narrator implicitly sees Hurst's report on the country as "false consciousness" in its Althusserian sense. What is at issue is the transformation of the strike that is sweeping the country into an optimistic movement for the benefit of coalition government. This peace building discourse of the hegemony is reinforced further through the journalist, Panton's words as he puts it: "And, as I said, the prevailing mood of the season was excitement and optimism. Even the mystery of the nocturnal television transmissions was for the time being

eclipsed" (Purser, 1970: 69). This line shows the use of television to perform the peace program of the hegemony.

Another thing that occurs in the hegemonic peace-building discourse in Purser's narrative is Althusser's RSA. According to Althusser, the fundamental use of RSA is to perform violently in favor of the dominant class in the society (Leitch, 2001: 7). In contrast to ISA which is plural and diverse, RSA acts as a unified whole. However, ruling ideology unites scattered ISAs ultimately. RSA acts considerably by means of repression and violence and secondarily by ideology, but ISA acts noticeably by ideology and secondarily by repression and violence. The Althusserian model of RSA is at work in Purser's narrative through the main protagonist's complaining about media licensing laws. The following statement illustrates that irritation as he says: "there was repressive legislation on the way" (Purser, 1970: 103). Here, the phrase "Repressive legislation" (Purser, 1970: 103) is akin to the State Repressive Apparatus. In the context of Purser's fiction these laws are meant to crack down on media that fail to look at mutual agreement through the lens of a coalition government. Most often in societies where media shape peace from the hegemonic perspective, tough legislations are endorsed to coerce independent journalists' access to information.

In Purser's understanding information is power and it can impact peace building discourse. This way, public perceptions of reconciliation can be changed if the opposition or independent media participate in the ideological replication of peace discourse. For instance, in *The Twentymen* it stands out that the right of the independent media to information and the representation of different opinions in a heterogeneous society are threatened. Here is the writer's effect of language that points out this repression of divergent information as Collin Panton corroborates:

> The job is to inform. To inform the public in the most graphic and lucid way you can device of certain issues which face this country. I don't need to elaborate. Through what outlet? BBC or ITV? […] I told you: it's a question of

communicating information. Of getting a few inescapable facts of life into the stubbornest heads. Such as the fact that if we're not careful we may not even survive as a nation (Purser, 1970: 159).

As far as the tone of this passage goes, we may first note among other things the serious call for information. In fact the narrator is awash with the scarcity of divergent information. To launch an urgent call for divergent information in media such as "BBC, ITV[9]" (Purser, 1970: 159) is to view opposing information as essential and indispensable for societies trying to make a transition towards peace. In other words, by pleading for information, the narrator strategically rejects the hegemonic grand narrative of reconciliation.

Besides, the tone of the lines may also express a certain weary reluctance as much as melancholy. When Collin Panton defines his duty as that of information provider, he means that he has been constrained to break off this professional duty because of repressive legislations. This is why he warns about the danger that is looming the country "if we're not careful we may not even survive as a nation (Purser, 170: 159). This line contrasts with the peace building discourse of the hegemony which is the "the country was recovering miraculously" (Purser, 1970: 102). In fact, the poise and authority of the last sentence refutes the warning of Collin as explosive news for peace. On the other hand, Collin Panton's statement "if we're not careful we may not even survive as a nation" (Purser, 1970: 159), reflects the need for free access to unbiased information. Not giving people the possibility of political participation and not allowing them to express themselves freely is a significant cause of conflict. In that sense free, independent and pluralistic media provide a platform for debate and different opinions that help build a long term peace.

Regarding the terms of ideology and ISA by Althusser, there is no subject outside ideology and ideology is made possible by the subject and its

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[9] 'ITV' refers to the group of British commercial television companies that broadcasts programmes on one channel. 'ITV' is an abbreviation for **Independent Television**. [British] ITV has set its sights on winning a younger and more upmarket audience

material practices defined by ISA. In *The Twentymen* different ISAs (BBC, ITV, newspapers) can be considered that hail the reader and characters as individuals and make them subjects including social structure, culture, and entertainment industry structure for British coalition government. The reader as well as character is constantly hailed to the hegemonic peace discourse. The main BBC's producer points at the sight of danger of media ISAs which are seen in action as he says "The BBC cast off its grey suit of neutrality and became a great militant force dedicated to the restoration of the country's confidence in herself" (Purser, 1970: 21). What is at issue is the BBC's devotion to the construction of the hegemonic peace program. The danger of this action is the loss of credibility in the eyes of the general British public.

Actually, by allowing the Ideological State Apparatus to shape peace through an optimistic world view on coalition government, Purser strategically indicates the power of the media to construct a falsified reconciliation discourse. It comes out that the mass media have been a pervasive part of post war Britain. They have not only allowed post war governments to shine a light on their ideology of peaceful coalition government, but also worked for public acceptance of this discourse. In purser's understanding this hegemonic discourse is always biased. What is shaped on surface as peace is often far from the reality on the ground. Therefore, this strong use of media to serve the hegemonic peace building perspective often results in conflicts and resistance in Purser's fiction.

2. Media between Peace-Building Discourse and Conflict

Cees (2010: 4) is of the opinion that the media are recognised as areas of consensus as well as conflict. When the press underpin privileged and elitist views of society, disagreement easily occurs among groups, classes and categories. In Purser's fiction, the prevalence of the superstructure peace epistemology in the British media discourse does not allow mutual understanding among groups. As the image of peace is created and spread by the hegemonic press, this contributes to the spread of animosity and the escalation of conflict in *The Twentymen*. The reading of this work by the British writer indicates that the ISA hegemonic peace-building

discourse is a trope that displays the discourse of revolts and revolution among disgruntled broadcasters and marginalized individuals. The discourse of revolt or conflict is that which contains explosive news such as controversial discourse to the ruling elites' discourses, boycott of government's peace project. It is also the one in which dissident journalists seek to raise public awareness on the danger of the hegemonic discourse. The strong opposition between the BBC workers and the elites shows that the post war British society was also unstable and socio-politically agitated. In the Purserian novel, this reality is perceived through inconsistencies of views among groups that are predominantly exposed. In the construction of the discourse of revolt and resistance to the hegemony media, two major discourses are prevalent.

On the one hand, nonconformist media professionals call for a counter peace discourse. This counter discourse is meant to foster a collective peace speech. In *The Twentymen* the socio- political peace process of post war Britain is dominated by the binary opposition ruling party/the opposition. It highlights the supremacist discourse of the elites over the nonconformist journalists and the masses. With the State Apparatus within hands, the ruling party takes the lead over the dissident journalists and shapes a peace discourse on coalition government principles. Thus, the nonconformist press agents organise a counter peace discourse which begins with a plea for responsible journalism. Metaphorically, they see themselves as the voice of concord, mutual agreement and justice. To redeem in the eyes of the masses, they shamefully lay the guilt on the hegemony, discharging themselves of using the media to serve politicians. To give credence to their discourse, a BBC's studio worker utters:

> We are not concerned now with the normal processes of democracy. Nor are we concerned—because we can't know any more about it than we read in the papers-with the maneuvering that goes on out of sight. We're not in league. It would be like a quartet of ants trying to change the course of a motorway or something. But what we do know something about, and can do something about, is the business we happen to be in. If broadcasting were to be used in some underhand, unconstitutional way to affect the affairs of this

country then we as broadcasters would be very much concerned (Purser, 1970: 110).

In this passage, it comes out that responsible journalism does not work with the hegemonic peace ideal. The tone of the narrator is categorical about the proposed status quo in the society. Through this negative sentence "we are not concerned with the normal processes of democracy" (Purser, 1970: 110), the broadcasters set the tone for a revolutionary discourse which the British Cultural materialist, Walter Benjamin (1968: 12) labels as "the shock". The critic uses this concept of "shock" to refer to the resilient discourse to the privileged one in a literary text. On account of that broadcasters are constantly invited to confront the dominant versions of fact with a kind of responsible journalism. A journalism that is not bias but seeking to establish the facts. The following lines illustrate this impartiality as a criterion for responsible journalism: "But as broadcasters we do not permit ourselves opinions, we don't take sides. Our traditional duty is to present the facts and report the truth impartially. […] in current affairs broadcasting the maintenance of a fair political balance has so far been a matter of simple arithmetic" (Purser, 1970: 17).

Here, what the narrators reveal about themselves makes them appear as responsible and impartial journalists. This characteristic of detached newsagents is imbued with a Walteran (1968: 12) concept of "shock" which is the opposition to the dominant peace epistemology. The reading of the quotation might suggest that the claim for press fairness aims at exposing various discourses to that of the hegemony. On this account when broadcasters say "Our traditional duty is to present the facts and report the truth "(Purser, 1970: 17), it is tantamount to call for a counter hegemonic peace discourse or a discourse of revolt. What is at issue here is that bias journalism leads to the inflammation of socio-political tensions. When nonconformist journalists are denied fairness, they can detach themselves from the political power and accelerate or magnify fearful news in the society. In this sense, the nonconformist journalists' claim for press neutrality reflects the ambivalence British people felt about peace discourse in media during post war period.

For Purser nonconformist journalists' claim for freedom is not only meant to produce a counter hegemonic discourse but also foster fundamental human rights vital for a peaceful democratic structure. In Puser's understanding, counter hegemonic discourse stands for freedom of speech, the right to information and the representation of different opinions in a heterogeneous society. In corroboration of such an idea, Harry S. Truman (2010: 24) argues that "You can never get all the facts from just one newspaper, and unless you have all the facts, you cannot make proper judgments about what is going on". What the scholar evokes here is that the control of media and information makes peace unachievable. When people are not given the possibility to express themselves about the peace process, revolt always occurs in society.

On the other hand, the discourse of revolt is also blatant in an awareness campaign. This campaign revolves around the media: around their possession, that is, the seizure of the press by state power or certain class or power bloc. In this sense, when the press is used by marginalized group to raise public awareness, there is an implicit need to stage a revolutionary discourse against the dominant power. The following lines pen this struggle for a revolutionary discourse as Colin Panton says:

> Well I only hope they leave the man alone until he's got the country on to its feet again. He looked at me, 'Colin, you've got the chance to reach people with your television, to influence. Whatever else you tell them, make it clear that this man's our last hope. I mean that. He was pompous, and a real born-to-it Tory, was Tom Smith. But he was honest. I liked him (Purser, 1970: 95).

Along this passage, Collin as a journalist, works to shape a collective mind as the narrator suggests "to reach people with your television, to influence" (Purser, 1970: 95). Actually, when a medium aims to influence people's mind, it strategically seeks to raise their awareness on a new type of discourse. The production of this new discourse falls into what Althusser (2001: 20) calls "the Ideological class struggle." According to the French theoretician, the effectivity of the political struggle depends on the ideological class struggle. On this account, as the

narrator, Panton campaigns for the opposition candidate, "Tom Smith" (Purser, 1970: 95), he is explicitly indulged in an ideological struggle. He is maneuvering to assure a strong political base to his class interest in order to weigh on the dominant peace project.

In Purser's understanding revolutionary discourse is akin to class struggle. Both of them are concerned with the possession of state power and state apparatus. Likewise the hegemony, the revolutionaries aim at seizing state power and its apparatus in order to establish their hegemonic peaceful democratic structure. This is what the journalist Collin might be suggesting as he continues: "if not the BBC, then who? […] who has the means and who the motive? Take means first. We know the signals have come from BBC transmitter" (Purser, 1970: 113). In this passage the transformative effects of the BBC is exposed in the narrator, Collin Panton's words. Given that it is the BBC and its transmitter which "have the means and motive" (Purser, 1970: 113) to transform the system, it implies that the BBC has the potential to reproduce dissent reconciliation discourse.

The Twentymen as a whole is ambivalent in its attitude to media peace-building discourse, but there is a good deal in it to make the dominant discourse feel distinctly comfortable. Collin Panton himself has worked for the Prime Minister for a year in the BBC studio, where he has participated in the representation of peace project based on the policy of British coalition government. Later, Collin denounced British coalition government policy and detested the Prime Minister, Hurst; all of which goes to suggest that there is a more complex relation of power in media peace discourse. This discourse is imbued with the replication or reproduction of existing social relations in order to serve specific interest, or to maintain particular relations to the operation of the dominant ideology.

Conclusion

In this work, our concern was to analyze the media peace discourse in the Purserian fiction, particularly in *The Twentymen*. And at the twilight of this reflection, we can assert that the media was constantly used in the post-war British society to shape a peaceful discourse in

the interest of the dominant class. This hegemonic discourse of peace gives primacy to the doctrine of coalition government. However, it can be noted that there is an obvious difference between the State Ideological Apparatus accounts of peace and the nonconformist journalists' discourse on peace. The state controlled media account of concord celebration in a coalition government is fractured in independent journalists' media as source of tensions and conflict.

Another aspect being discovered through this study is that the media harmony discourse of the dominant class is, considerably more disagreeable than the independent journalists' account of peace. This also indicates that nonconformist journalists' news is not always doomed to subordination to a larger pattern of the hegemonic media discourse. On this basis, one can conclude that today, media can be used for propaganda purposes to preserve peace, but this should not be a pretext to undermine the freedom of the media. The media as a means of information and training should not be compromised for whatever reason. The freedom of the press, Television and Radio broadcasts must be preserved according to British jurisdiction.

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