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THE COVERAGE OF LATIN AMERICA BY THE BRITISH PRESS

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Esta tésis está dedicada
a Tita, Rodrigo y Sebastián,
con quienes fue creciendo
y madurando en el exilio,
y a Chiqui, quien la fue
inquiriendo desde lejos.

LATIN AMERICA



CONTENTS

		Page No.
	CONTENTS	i
	LIST OF TABLES	iv
	FIGURES	iv
	ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	v
	ABSTRACT	vi
	INTRODUCTION	1
1.	PART ONE	
1.1	CONTENT ANALYSIS: MEASURES AND STATISTICS ARE NOT ENOUGH	11
1.1.1	Quantitative and Qualitative Methods	15
1.1.2	A Theoretical Frame for the Qualitative Analysis	18
1.1.3	Structural Analysis: a Critical View	22
1.1.4	Ideological Reading of the Message: Beyond Semiology	27
1.2	IDEOLOGY	32
1.2.1	Basic Problems	32
1.2.2	Marx, Young and Old	36
1.2.3	Gramsci and Althusser	44
1.2.4	Ideology and Social Practice: an Active Unity	57
1.2.5	Ideology and Media Messages	63
1.2.6	Conceptual Framework and Empirical Investigation	65
1.3	THE READING OF THE TEXTS	70
1.4	THE GENERAL (METHOD) PROCEDURE	76
1.4.1	The Context	76
1.4.2	The Subjects	77
1.4.3	The Object	78

2.	PART TWO	83
2.1	A GENERAL CONCEPTUALISATION OF THE MEDIA	83
2.2	AN HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE BRITISH INVOLVEMENT IN LATIN AMERICA DURING THE 19th AND 20th CENTURIES	114
2.2.1	Current Economic and Political links	129
2.3	FOREIGN NEWS AND THE BRITISH PRESS	136
2.3.1	News Agencies	147
2.4	FOREIGN EDITORS AND CORRESPONDENTS: DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVES	155
2.4.1	First Questionnaire	156
2.4.2	Three Years Later	164
2.4.3	Correspondents and Stringers	168
3.	PART THREE	176
3.1	THE 19th CENTURY	177
3.1.1	José Manuel Balmaceda and the Civil War of 1891	186
3.1.2	The 1891 Sample	189
3.1.3	The Content	207
3.2	THE 20th CENTURY	213
3.2.1	Case Study: The Military Coup in Chile. Qualitative Analysis	213
3.2.2	The Last Days of Allende	214
3.2.3	The Military Coup	232
3.2.4	The British Press	240
3.3	A NORMAL YEAR IN LATIN AMERICA	253
3.3.1	1971: Qualitative Analysis	267

3.4 THE COVERAGE OF LATIN AMERICA DURING THE FALKLANDS WAR AND ONE YEAR AFTER 290

3.4.1 Latin America in the British Press During the Falklands War 292

3.4.2 The Coverage of the Falklands War itself 296

3.4.3 Chronology of Events Covered by the British Press 298

3.4.4 In Argentina 318

3.5 THE LATIN AMERICAN SERVICE OF THE BBC AND THE FALKLANDS CRISIS 320

3.6 ONE YEAR AFTER 325

4. CONCLUSIONS OR FINAL ANALYSIS 331

4.1 CONCLUSIONS 332

4.2 GENERAL PERSPECTIVES 333

4.2.1 Reporting the Area: A Social Practice 336

4.2.2 The Context and the Professionals 340

4.2.3 Contradicting Views: Editors and Correspondents 348

4.3 A BRIEF POST-RESEARCH COMMENT ON THE METHODOLOGY USED 353

APPENDICES 356

REFERENCES 409

LIST OF TABLES

		Page No.
I	Process of Production	94
II	Media Interrelations	109
III	1879: Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper	180
IV	1879: The Daily Chronicle	181
V	1879: Manchester Guardian	182
VI	19th Century Sample	183
VII	20th Century: The Guardian	255
VIII	20th Century: The Financial Times	256
IX	20th Century: The Times	257
X	Breakdown by Country	258
XI	Final Figures British Press	259
XII	Total (by country)	260
XIII	Le Monde Diplomatique	260
XIV	Falklands War period	293
XV	Final Figures 1983	326
XVI	Breakdown by Country	326
XVII	Total of 1983 Sample	327

FIGURES

Fig.	1	Latin America in the 19th Century	184
	2	Latin America in the 1970s	261
	3	Latin America during the South Atlantic Conflict	294
	4	Latin America in 1983	328

British press cartoons in Appendix F (page 395) and in pages 302 and 305.

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ABSTRACT

An analysis was made of the overall character of the British press coverage of Latin America. This analysis was broadly divided into quantitative and qualitative. The aim of the research was to examine the relationship between the reporting on the region and the historical, political and economic links with the Latin American continent, as well as between the professional practices of journalists in London (foreign editors) and those based on the area (correspondents). Information was obtained from content analyses made on different historical periods, from questionnaires and interviews, and from related bibliography. A theoretical framework was established, together with an historical, economic and organisational context. A relevant methodology was also established and conforms an important aspect of this study. The analyses were carried out over samples taken from the end of the 19th Century, the 1970s and the 1980s. The data obtained from the questionnaires and interviews with journalists were analysed in connection with the rest of the findings, linking the empirical and the theoretical spheres of this work in an interrelating whole. The research presents a picture of the way Latin America has been covered by the British press over the years, shows the deficiencies and suggests ways of improvement through changes in cultural attitudes.

INTRODUCTION

How does the British press cover Latin America? How similar or different is the coverage amongst newspapers? What is the attitude of British journalists towards the area? Has the Fleet Street approach to the coverage of the region changed in different historical periods? To what extent does the coverage of Latin America neglect political, economic or cultural attitudes towards the region? These are some of the basic questions addressed in this study, which also considers some basic methological problems arising from analysing the object of study itself.

Apart from the obvious fact that throughout the years there has been little information on Latin America in the British press, one of the aspects soon realised at the start of this research, was that there are no previous studies in this particular field. While, for instance, the American reporting on Latin America has been, through a variety of studies, widely and deeply examined by US academics and journalists interested in Latin American affairs,[1] this researcher could not find any investigation related to the way Latin America has been portrayed in the British media, apart from a few isolated articles or comments in newspapers or journals. Hence, it was promptly realised, also, that this was to be one of the main contributions of this work: to fill a gap in an area of interest that, at the start of this research in 1977, was already increasingly calling

the attention of academics, long before the Falklands War, to the Central American crisis and the Latin American high foreign debt which finally aroused the interest of foreign editors too. The academic interest in Latin America started in the early 1960s with the emergence of institutes or departments of Latin American studies in several universities. Since then, many studies have been carried out in Britain on international relations concerned with the region: Latin American politics, financial and economic problems, trade and commercial links with the UK, cultural and anthropological aspects and even on the media in Latin America - all this at an academic level. But no study has been carried out on the coverage of the area by the British media. Dramatic events during the 1970s (military coups in countries with longstanding democratic traditions, based on the British parliamentary pattern of political life, like Chile and Uruguay; unprecedented violations of human rights etc), began to increase the interest of the British media. While this incipient development was taking place in Britain, Third World attention was turning increasingly to attacks against existing international communication and information orders, and serious critiques were being expressed, in 1976, about the capacity of the industrialised countries' news organisations to report accurately and fairly on events in the Third World. These questions and complaints were raised mainly in UNESCO conferences in Sri Lanka, Costa Rica and Kenya that year. The central critique was that western

industrial nations generate stereotypes which diminish the value, ignore significant events in developing countries and lower them in dignity. Overall, the charges of the developing nations - chiefly expressed through UNESCO - include cultural imperialism and systematic neglect and distortion by industrialised countries' media. In recent years, and according to most of the journalists interviewed in this research, many British press representatives have been aware of the existence of this kind of problem and know that there are views on the matter that are miles apart. But for some time, this awareness was not translated into a different reporting practice. More recently, the Central American crisis, the Falklands War and the Latin American debt problem seem to have demonstrated that the region is indeed newsworthy, and some professional practices have begun to change.

This research constitutes an effort to provide a method for the evaluation of the British press performance as far as the Latin American coverage is concerned, and to find out what is the character of that performance. In order to do this, a method and a theoretical framework had to be elaborated, according to the aims and needs of the research. While developing this methodological stage of the investigation it was immediately evident that this theoretical aspect of the study, in its relation to the empirical phase, was to be another important aspect of the research, parallel to the object of study itself. This theoretical framework and the

general method are described in Part I.

In accordance with these methodological premises, economic, historical, organisational and professional frameworks were also established, and these are described in Part II. The attention paid to Latin America by the British press at the end of the 19th century (when Britain had much stronger links with the area) and during the last ten years (up to 1983) conform to the overall object of study of this research. Its analysis is carried out in Part III of this work, which is followed by some general conclusions.

By focussing on particular historical periods, like political crises, moments of deep British involvement in the region, 'tranquil' periods in the Latin American continent, military conflicts and so on, it was expected to obtain a wide range of circumstantial choices for the British press (and consequent approaches or perspectives) to be comparatively analysed. Bearing this in mind, two different periods were chosen from the second half of the 19th century: the war between Chile and Peru/Bolivia, in 1879, when Britain had strong interests in the area (and even took indirect part in the conflict), and the so-called 'Revolution of Balmaceda', in 1891, in Chile, when British economic interests (mainly in nitrate mining in the north of the country) were at stake. The military and political conflict chosen for the 20th centry was the coup d'etat in Chile in 1973 when General Pinochet overthrew the Allende goverment, democratically elected three years previously,

events which had a very strong impact on the whole of the international media. By contrast, and for comparative reasons, 1977 was chosen as an example of a 'tranquil' year in Latin America, without major crises. When most of this research had been completed, the South Atlantic conflict between Argentina and Great Britain broke out in 1982; it was thought therefore that an extra analysis on the coverage of Latin America during the Falklands War should be carried out, but not on the coverage of the war itself, because

a) the conflict was treated by the British media as a British affair (which was not the object of this study)

b) it was a conflict with only one out of eighteen Latin American countries, and

c) the characteristics of the coverage of the war by the British press potentially constituted a single object of analysis for a complete and separate thesis which does not have anything to do with a 'normal' coverage of the whole of Latin America.

Nevertheless, the period of the Falklands War was taken as an extra sample of the coverage of Latin America and divided into two analyses: one on the reporting of the whole of Latin America during the crisis, and a brief one (taking into account the previous considerations) on the overall coverage of the war itself. This was comparatively complemented with a personal account of the way the war was covered by the Latin American Service of the BBC, where this researcher was working at the time as a broadcaster and journalist.

In addition - and in order to discover to what extent the South Atlantic crisis had increased the interest of Fleet Street in Latin America - a final quantative analysis was done one year after the Flaklands War, which proved to be most illuminating.

It was thought that this study would not only be of interest from a strictly British point of view, but from a Latin American perspective too. It is the impression of this researcher that the Latin American press not only enjoys a richer voverage of international news, but also presents a deeper interest in British affairs, than the interest shown by Britain in Latin American ones.

Methodologically, this study searched for a method comprising integrated empirical and theoretical work, framed by an economic, historical, organisational and professional background. According to the epistemological premises described in Part I of this work, the overall analysis and assessment of the coverage could only be carried out with the support of

a) empirical data obtained via quantative content analysis, interviews, questionnaires, etc.,
b) the historical background the the social framework where the texts are produced,
c) the object of analysis itself (newspapers)
d) an historical and social conceptualisation of ideologies and of a method for examining them,

It was assumed also that the fact that this researcher worked as an academic at the School of Journalism, University

of Chile; as a newspaper journalist and broadcaster in Chile; as a London correspondent for a Latin American newspaper and is currently a current affairs producer in the Latin American Service of the BBC, should provide a personal comparative approach to the problem of the coverage of Latin America and his own participant's observations, supplying one more dimensional element to the analysis. This was particularly the case when analysing the coverage of the coup d'etat in Chile and in the chapter on the coverage of the Falklands War, where the small section describing the way this conflict was covered by the Latin American Service of the BBC, is included.

The general aims of this research can be summarised as follows:

a) To examine if the amount of information on Latin America has any relation to the actual content of the coverage,

b) To see how and why the interest in the region has changed over the years and shifted from certain countries or areas to others,

c) To establish any particular ideological approach(es) towards the region, and examine the political and economic factors involved,

d) To see if any of these ideological approaches legitimise or delegitimise specific situations in Latin America, and why,

e) To find out what are the main topics and themes that attract the attention of the British press, and why,

f) To see what are the difficulties for covering Latin America,

g) To find out what are the contradictions between foreign editors and correspondents as far as the interests and assessments are concerned,

h) Methodologically, to test the viability of integrating quantitative and qualitative methods of content analysis, and,

i) To research on the overall historical background and on the social and ideological frameworks of the coverage.

The general methodological approach in this research can be summarised in the following epistemological premises:

The two spheres of this work, empirical and theoretical are closely related. The theoretical formulations arising from the needs of the investigation support the empirical testing, and vice versa. Both are framed and given a certain unity by a general method through which the two spheres are interrelated. The basic methodological aim is to achieve a continuous interplay between theory and research; to try to overcome that long lasting division between isolated theoretical work and pure empirical research, which, as many social scientists are aware, has so often been criticised from within and outside the boundaries of sociology, not to mention the mutual criticism between theorists and empiricists. It should be stressed that the different stages of this research (chapters) - some entirely theoretical, some totally empirical - should be considered as parts of an integral whole seeking the interaction between, and merging of, the

activities of theoretical construction and empirical study.

In this thesis, the coverage of Latin America by the British press (object of study) is examined on the basis of these methodological premises. The samples of the British press taken from the second half of the 19th century and from the 1970s and early 1980s (Falklands War) have been chosen in order to compare the coverage in an historical way. A quantative content analysis has been used for both periods, but the 1970-80s period has also been analysed through the method of 'ideological reading' which are described in the following pages. Both types of analyses have been carried out within the framework of an investigation of the historical background of the links between Britain and Latin America, a study of a general conceptualisation of the Media, the particular coverage of foreign news, and of a theory of ideology, which has been included in the section on methodology because it is fundamental for the method of 'ideological reading'.

The following pages on the methodology used in this work, describe the empirical and theoretical stages of the research, and how they interrelate, merging into each other within an historical framework, separated into chapters, but conforming an interrelated whole.

(1) POLLOCK, John C (1978) 'The US Press and Political Change in Latin America', in LATIN AMERICAN RESEARCH REVEIW No.13, Vol 1, Spring 1978 (pp 158-172)

1. PART ONE

CONTENT ANALYSIS

IDEOLOGICAL READING

ON IDEOLOGY

THE READING OF TEXTS

GENERAL PROCEDURE (METHOD)

The following pages discuss the overall theoretical and practical problems inherent in the two main methods of analysis for this research: the quantitative (content analysis) and the qualitative one (the 'reading' of the texts, or 'ideological reading'). This leads, towards the end of Part I, to a description of the general procedure (or method) used in all three parts of this work.

1.1
CONTENT ANALYSIS: MEASURES AND STATISTICS ARE NOT ENOUGH

Mass communication research emerged as a discipline in America and from the very beginning it basically appeared as a response to the interests of commercial publicity. The market pressures and advertising needs demanded a deep knowledge of the public tastes, wishes, aspirations, etc., as well as effective persuasive techniques in order to develop the most efficient methods to reach the audience by means of the media. The starting perspective considered mass communication research from the point of view of market studies. Political parties and pressure groups soon got interested in the matter. Researchers' principle aims were to determine the effects of mass media on specific audiences and evaluate their reactions as well as the established interactions between these audiences and the producers. To these 'demands', the interest of the military and the government was added later, during the war: they wanted to measure the accuracy of their propaganda.

Methods and techniques of mass communication research were, thus, conditioned by the objectives of the research itself, and pointed mainly towards the 'whom' and the 'effects' of the 'classic' Lasswellian communication flow: WHO says WHAT by which CHANNEL to WHOM with what EFFECTS

This contrasts today with some European research trends that focus their interest particularly on the concept of culture (British sociological approaches to this notion,

French and Italian concern for semiology and ideology, etc.). Through all its historical development, American semiology - in general - has stressed studies of communication, from the perspective of psychological and sociological conditions under which attitudes are changed, formed or reinforced, behaviour stabilised or redirected. Specific forms of culture - art, ritual, journalism - enter the analysis insofar as they contribute to such sociological conditions or constitute such psychological forces.(1)

Traditionally content analysis has given the researcher elements that help him to drive his approach towards the audience: in most cases, this technique has become the instrument for what has been considered as the "objective systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication", as Bernard Berelson defined it in 1952.(2) The words "quantitative", "description" and "manifest" are crucially significant and important in this definition.

One can easily recognise that the method for quantitative analysis is indeed systematic and has a coherent methodological logic. In fact, after Berelson, the approach has progressively shifted and has had a certain evolution, although keeping the original roots and foundations. It is also evident that manifest content analysis can exist independently of the confrontation with the audience and independently of other components of communcation. But, in the third place, despite its recent developments, it is clear for me that traditional

content analysis, although useful, is insufficient to obtain the most accurate results, broadest and deepest findings, especially in view of the existence of a series of some rather 'newer' methodologies. I shall compare them critically in the next pages.

My first methodological premise, then, is that quantitative analysis, although important, is not sufficient

> "Many content studies - writes Professor J. Tunstall - produce impressively precise quantitative findings - that more references to certain kinds of political symbol appeared in one newspaper rather than another, the precise numbers of deaths, beatings and shootings seen on TV during the peak hours of children's viewing. But some such studies also invite the comment that 'the methodology is impressive - but so what?' Other studies, however, do demonstrate that content analysis techniques can be used to produce findings of broader public or theoretical interest." (3)

Criticism made on content analysis as a mere quantificaiton has increasingly been coming from places outside Britain and America (the nation from where this method was exported). The first important academic quarrel with traditional content analysis has mainly come from France and some other European countries, with the redevelopments of Marxism and after the arrival of structuralism, semiology and the studies of culture and ideology. And in recent years it has also had a strong development in Britain. Today, there seems to be a certain consensus about the limitations of content analysis. Since the mid sixties, many Latin American researchers have been questioning this technique, not only from the point of view of structuralism of semiology, but also from a Latin American Marxist perspective (A. Mattelart,

L.F. Ribeiro, E. Veron, J.M. Martinez, P. Biedma, A. Dorfman, L.R. Beltran, etc.). Luis Ramiro Beltran, for instance, summarises this general point of view:

> "Content analysis, the other eminent tool of communication research methodology, was apparently no less conditioned by the philosophy behind it (...) A technique typical of this method has been to classify newspaper texts into format and topic categories, to measure their frequency and to relate these with knowledge of the audience (...) The described method has shown efficacy in many communication studies with goals resembling those of marketing studies. However, since it seems to produce juxtapositions of percentages often of purely descriptive nature of the manifest content alone, it fails to provide deeper insights into the communication implications latent in the immediate and overt form of the message" (4)

The point is to use these us to now 'isolated' methods (including content analysis) as TOOLS of a more comprehensive method (historical and dialectical), in the context of an active unity between theory and practice. The empirical data of the content analysis should be dialectically related to the theory of the ideological reading.

'Content analysis' as a wider concept should be 'broadened' by using new methods and techniques capable of reaching a deeper and more objective exploration of the analysed material (as has occurred in recent researches and case studies).

Media analyses, as a whole, should tend to be objective, exhaustive, methodological and systematic in both quantitative and qualitative phases. For this purpose I have tried to develop methodological ways for the 'ideological reading'

of messages, beyond quantification. I assume that communications both affect and reflect social and cultural phenomena, and that mass media and messages are active parts of the dialectical interrelations between history and the ideological superstructure.

1.1.1
QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE METHODS

"Who are we neutral against?" (Mark Twain)

For the particular case of the coverage of Latin America by the British Press, and from my own perspective, these two types of methods, often opposed and with different characteristics, do not exclude each other. On the contrary, they interrelate as part of an integral methodology.

In my research 'quantitative analysis' refers to the commonly known 'manifest content', while 'qualitative analysis' deals with social, historical and ideological (cultural) aspects. The first stage is shaped by the traditional method and will establish some useful quantifications and statistics as well as some expected denotative categories (i.e. classification of units analysed). The second stage applies two types of analyses: the structural analysis and the ideological reading. The former refers to the study of the message as a structured whole. As Marina de Camargo points out:

> "...in this case the interest is not centered on the explicit content of the signs, but rather on the relation they maintain with each other and how they are articulated to form the message, with various levels of signification" (5)

In connection with this, Edgar Morin states:

> "...structural analysis, proceeding by linguistic logic, seeks the irreductible basic unit which will enter into combinations that will have a meaning" (6)

The ideological analysis ('reading') of the message which is the main methodological tool for the 'qualitative' phase of my analysis, goes beyond semiology and linguistics, although it is related to them. This is one reason why it is very important (and difficult) to establish some specific categories in order to analyse ideology in different texts. Nevertheless I shall try to develop some ideas on this subject.

In Latin America - my own theoretical background - methods for reading ideologies are still in their first stages of development and the same could be said of Europe. But from a methodological perspective, as Veron says:

> "...with their developments it might become possible to overcome the impasse in which scientists interested in studying products of social communication find themselves: to trust their intuition or to resign themselves to content analysis..." (7)

I believe that if one does not dare to adventure into the search of ways and methods for studying fields which are beyond the boundaries of well established current methodologies, communication research may stay fossilised in front of a wide open horizon. Moreover, I think that many times the cult of 'objectivity' becomes subjective.

The lack of a mature methodology for approaching the areas for which content analysis is limited should not stop

us, by considering that we may act within 'subjectivity', from looking for new methodological tools. Sciences have always been operating with and within certain systems of values and we will go on dealing with old and new values, no matter what epistemological foundation we are based on. As Beltran writes:

> "The point here is that to argue that one is objective (thanks to mastering a sophisticated measurement apparatus) may suggest precisely that one is subjective enough to blind oneself to the fact that one's own values are permeating the conduct of one's enquiry. This in itself may contribute to secluding communication research within the realm of conservatism" (8)

The factual and empirical realisation, at practical levels, of the limitations of content analysis in its original conceptions, shows us, by means of its exclusions, that to be satisfied only with manifest contents is in itself an act of partiality.

> "In any case, as far as so called 'neutral' work, it wasn't so much that values were not present or had disappeared, but that the researchers had become so identified with the values of the establishment that it looked as though they had disappeared (...) It seems fairly clear that, on the whole, these 'neutral' enquiries have served to maintain the status quo. If it is inevitable that built into our whole research exercise are components which work in this conservative way, then at least let us face up to it and not feign a neutrality which is impossible" (9)

We do have the obligation to struggle against subjectivity in our observations, but, as Beltran writes, we must start by recognising the natural presence of subjectivity.

Since the Frankfurt School critical approach to mass communication research, a large amount of other critical examinations (from all sorts of perspectives) have filled up thousands of pages of theorisations. I believe that this 'critique' should be broughtdown to earth and put into practice (assuming we agree with the principle of criticism), testing the new methods we have at hand and looking for new ones, confronting systematically theory and practice.

Therefore, I have chosen to follow Eliseo Veron's proposition in order to overcome this scientific 'impasse' at a qualitative stage. And beyond pure intuition I am proposing, consquently, some methodological points in order to try to systematise, to some degree, the 'ideological reading'.

1.1.2
A THEORETICAL FRAME FOR THE QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

As previously pointed out, researchers on effects and functions have traditionally displaced their object of analysis from the mass media to the subject. In those studies aiming to detect the effects of a medium over a specific audience, the object (that is to say the mass media) is considered according to its relation with the effects that it has on the subject. The object usually has not been analysed in depth.

It is true that content analysis centres its attention on the object; but this kind of examination is to be

considered fundamentally, as a methodological tool, capable of producing traces in any research, traces that must be examined later in connection with the analysis on the interrelations among the other elements of the communication flow.

Content analysis must be placed within the ideological level ('instance') and focussed through the perspective of the theory of the social formations, in other words, taking into account all the dynamic relations and inter-determinations among the different instances and levels of society as a whole (this is discussed in detail in my chapter on ideology).

Consequently, this research is considering the characteristics of the other 'communication-flow' elements, their placement and role in society, and their interactions and connections with the message (the "what" component), which is 'the' object of our reserach. Two decades ago Osgood already attempted this:

> "In dealing with human communications systems, we usually refer to signals sets as messages: and these are, most often, though not necessarily, language messages. It is the job of the linguistic to describe the structure or code according to which these messages are organised. Also, in dealing with human communication, it is necessary to further analyse both source and receiver into integrated sub-systems." (10)

Quantification - as I have said before - does not retain 'latent contents' or 'between the lines' messages, as they are commonly named, which are systematically eliminated for not being quantifiable. Despite the

developments of traditional content analysis, it has been observed that its results are frequently very weak:

> "One finds oneself in front of percentage juxtapositions that only have a descriptive value. Its merits (of content analysis) take root in the data quantitative expression that it renders (...) One does not get the feeling of having reached more hidden structures or a deeper analysis on the meaning of the message" (11)

But when shifting into the next path, some methodological problems arise.

At the qualitative stage, when there is no quantification, researchers' skills become more important, 'flowing' more freely. This absence of constraint is unavoidable in certain structural and semiological analysis (beyond logic-semantics) and must be compensated by another method. I have chosen structural analysis and ideological reading, within the framework of a theory of idoelogy, an historical background, an economic conceptualisation of the media and a study of the specific coverage of foreign news, plus my own observation as a researcher and a journalist.

Why have I said that quantification and qualitative stages do not exclude each other? Because I have practically found out, in previous investigations, that qualitative analysis also takes over after quantification, when one reaches the limits of the quantitative methods and yet finds oneself in front of a large 'untouched' feild to be analysed, which seems to be able to tell us more than the simple figures (and perhaps something different).

Also, during qualitative analysis, (ideological reading), the risk of subjectivity is such that the open perspectives take stronger support on the methodological and empirical proofs and on the quantitative results (content analysis, interveiws, questionnaires, bibliographical research, etc.).

In conclusion, part of the method is based on those methodological tools commonly used in social sciences - and particularly in content analysis - and part of the method is based on the intellectual effort for applying structural and linguistic categories based on the theory of ideology, the economic conceptualisation of the media, the study of the British press and the coverage of foreign news, the historical background of the links between Latin America and Britain, etc..

If the findings at both stages "make sense" to each other, they will indeed by complemented. If they are contradictory, it won't necessarily mean that the findings are not accurate. We should then need to confront them, in practice, in order to find the contradictions and extract some significant conclusions from a systematic comparison. This is why they are not mutually exclusive. To reject one of them would be like ignoring part of our object or like applying dialectical methods in a positivist manner. The confrontation must be dialectical and should lead us - methodologically - towards richer conclusions than those of only one isolated stage or method.

1.1.3
THE STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS: A CRITICAL VIEW

I have chosen to start this section quoting an illustrative paragraph from James Curran's "Content and Structuralist Analysis of Mass Communication":

> "If the quantitative approach is eclectic, this is even more true of structuralism. For the structuralist movement is, in the words of one commentator, 'a loose, amorphous, many-faceted phenomenon with no clear lines of demarcation, no tightly knit group spearheading it, no specific set of doctrines held by all those whom one usually thinks of being associated with it' (de George and de George, 1972). If there is a common link - and leading structuralists have been the first to deny the existence of such a link (for example Foucault 1970) - it is a very loose and ill-defined one. There is a general tendency to seek to distinguish between surface events and phenomena below the surface - between base and superstructure in Marxist theory, between the unconscious and conscious in psychoanalytic theory, between surface structure and deep structure in Chomskian thoery, between classification and solidarity in Durkheim, between 'langue' and 'parole' in Saussure, synchronic and dis-synchronic in Levi-Strauss, and so on. To seek to identify a more specific link between the different structuralist approaches may seem to dignify the academic journalism that has lumped them together under a single label. But it does violence to the important theoretical differences that separate people as Althusser and Foucault, Lacan and Levi-Strauss." (12)

The fact that I am going to apply an ideological reading does not mean the theoretical practice of Levi-Strauss theories or the particular and isolated application of any of these scientists' methodologies in specific terms (except for some general points, when indicated). I have tried to determine the shape and the character of the theoretical frame for my research and I will now try to

define and specify that of my ideological analysis.

I am aware that in some ways it looks as if there were a sort of eclecticism in the positive sense of choosing the best (and applicable) or more adequate parts of different 'structuralist' tendencies (and Marxism, which I do not classify under the label of structuralism) for applying them to my particular and specific objective.

I do not think this is the case. The performance of finding out, through a practical research and its theorisation, which is the most efficient way of studying our object, from the elements offered to us by the different trends and approaches as structuralism - and other 'isms' - is an act of search, research, selection, confrontations, eliminations, applicability and systematisation within a dialectic practice, not in a mechanical way, and without isolating different areas or stages which are interrelated. This does not mean a violence of 'important theoretical differences', since if these differences appear to be scientifically objective, the possibilities of establishing rigid links tend to disappear. On the other hand we must not forget that some of the different approaches of this 'many-faceted phenomenon', despite being non-similar and in spite of having different categories (synchronic-diachronic; base-superstructure; langue; parole; unconscious-conscious; etc.), do have some common epistemologic premises. The problem here is defining the object and the method for its study. It is obvious that we cannot apply the same categories to different objects.

We cannot use one specific method for studying the media, the communicator, the audience, the message, language, historical background, economic structure or social relations of production. Even in one of these spheres, like 'the message' for instance, several different methods would be adequate, depending on the character of the message: written text, radio broadcasting, television, cinema or a simple face-to-face converstaion, as well as noise, signs, advertising, music, theatre, etc. Nevertheless, we may, and should, of course, have a single epistemological foundation.

Structural analysis provides researchers with instrumental tools to discover hidden structures and to establish a subtle game of internal combinations. But reserachers usually stop at this point. They do not link their demystification job with the social administrator of that demystification. As I have said before, structural analysis cannot be considered as the formula to resolve everything, but from its findings it is possible to expose dominance mechanisms, and this implies a 'jump' - for the researcher - in order to link contents with the social practice which handles idoelogy.

Significant structures must be significant in relation to reality: ideology is tightly attached to specific social practices. Messages are not abstractions of realtiy. They are not amorphous or non-historical entities. Therefore the analysis of the structures of a text cannot lack a social identification of its sender, of the media and of

the historical conditions in which it is produced.

In this research, methods and categories are being searched and shaped in accordance with the content analysis of the British press and, specifically, with the ideological reading. I shall describe some principles for this qualitative study.

Ideological analysis is restricted to cultural products since it deals with the message itself, as well as content analysis; but unlike content analysis, it is mainly concerned with the significations or the cultural meaning of its texts.

While traditional content analysis is basically quantitative and proceeds to the statistics of items, ideological reading hardly makes any sort of quantification. Content analysis' chief empirical support to my research is given by those elements that reappear frequently and are highly accounted; or by those elements which do not reappear frequently and have a high significance for my research.

On the other hand, as far as the text is concerned, some principles of 'structural analyses' are quite useful indeed. For instance, the notion that the text is structurally whole - has an 'internal totality' - where the place and meaning of each element are more important than their number, and that a small quantity of information under the same classification can carry larger and deeper ideological messages than a large amount under another classification.

Eliseo Veron points out that:

> "The sender has in each concrete situation, a number of alternatives open in order to construct the message, and these options are not decidable in terms of the syntactic-semantical rules of the system. A sender within a system of communication (code) with a certain degree of freedom performs two basic operations.... among the repertoire of units composing the code of the system he selects those that will compound the message, and he combines the selected units in a certain way within the message. The connotative meaning of the message...depends on the selective and combinatory options at the disposal of communicators." (13)

And this applies not only to a specific text, but to the whole of a sample's results as well. For instance, the fact that a certain newspaper has a larger quantity of news on Latin America than others does not mean that its contents are more objective, valid or accurate. A different newspaper with much less news on the same subject can carry more significant, important, crucial or objective information.

The ways of reaching deep latent contents are not completely developed, though linguistics and semiology[14] have given many important analytic methods which will be applied in this work. Nevertheless, semiology and recent methods for ideological reading also claim to be in a 'development stage', not yet fully mature. Still, structural analysis of messages for instance, has laid some theoretical bases. For example, it proposes a framework common to the levels of form and content; it attempts to show that significations within the message

are determined by a certain 'cultural code' (system of communication conventions, as language, for example); that the use of the code permits the selection and combination of the signs that build the message; that the code is basic in both production and reception levels; and personally I place this cultural code within the Marxist theory of social formations.

Structural analysis distinguishes two types of approach: the analysis of empirical appearance and the analysis on latent structures. One deals with the 'surface world' or manifestations, and the other with non-visible relations.

From this perspective, when trying to link the systems of signs in a particular society, structural analysis does not become contradictory with dialectical analysis, which, precisely aims to discover, by means of studying hidden structures, the relations between the parts and the whole.

1.1.4 IDEOLOGICAL READING OF THE MESSAGE: BEYOND SEMIOLOGY

It is difficult to determine a rigid frontier between structural analysis and the ideological reading. Some researchers perhaps would classify both under the former. I have chosen to separate the concept of ideological reading due to methodological considerations (if we can talk about a defined methodology at this stage) developed in the following pages, which, in my view, differ considerably

from those of proper structural analysis.

Beyond the pure empirical point of view, what really concerns us is the 'latent' content of the messages and its implications in terms of social relations. Here the mass media are considered as the scaffold or platform of connected implicit and structurated messages, which are the conscious or unconscious expression of a specific social practice. This is extensively examined in my next chapter on Ideology.

My aim is to investigate to which interests or cultural aspects these messages are linked, which are their ideological characteristics and how these manifest themselves through the latent content of the messages (to which structural analysis itself would be limited).

In order to discover the ideological level of human discourse materialised in newspapers, magazines, books, broadcasting, cinema, etc.. Barthes, for instance, speaks of language 'connotations', secondary language opposed to 'denotations' or primary (common) language.[15] My ideological reading tries to collect and comprehend the 'secondary meanings' system, but also, and related to this, to discover the ideological approach to the coverage of Latin America.

The greatest difficulty within the analysis of latent contents (for structural research) consists of identifying the structures that give the message its coherence. In these terms the ideological reading lets us decode the meaning of messages, which, at a first reading may appear

not to be far reaching (stories about the way people live in Latin American countries, about fashion, literature, food, etc.); or more 'classic' messages - sometimes more explicit - like leaders, editorial comments, main stories on diplomatic politics or economic affairs, industrial relations, international relations and trade, etc.. Every language anlysed through the ideological filter appears full of ideological meaning and the implicit contents emerge from the 'sub-consciousness of the message'.

Ideological reading involves discovering the 'non-manifest' cultural meanings of the message. Here lies the important of the researcher's skills for analytic observation, and of his/her empathy capacity and efforts for scientific intuition. There is 'something' beyond semiology, beyond the universe of codes and subcodes, which is almost impossible to put under the microscope: that is ideology.

According to my theoretical premises, in order to put into practice an ideological reading, first we should establish some theorestical framework for our own concepturalisation of the term 'ideology'; then we should establish the social and historical frameworks where the messages take place. Only then can we examine the contents of communication in quantitative and qualitative ways. And this research is carried out under the awareness

underlying Denis McQuail's remarks, as far as the 'relative character of most analysis of content, in that there has invariably to be some outside points of reference or purpose according to which one chooses one form of classification rather than another'. (16)

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1.2
IDEOLOGY

In order to study the phenomena of mass communication, and according to the epistemological perspective described previously, the object of analysis should be placed within the social context and, in the present case, one has to relate it particularly (not only) to the sphere of ideologies, especially when the specific element of the communication process being analysed is the message. But it appears to me that to insert the object in the 'field' of ideologies is difficult, complex and, sometimes misleading: as a methodological premise - epistemologically speaking - I am convinced that this is correct; but 'in practice' one may easily get lost, or be 'diverted' - depending on which sort of practice is applied - through the different sociological approaches and interpretations that the study of ideology has had up to date, unless this conceptualisation is, firstly, defined and clarified. This is what I intend to do in the following pages. The aim of this chapter is to try and extract and shape a theoretical conception of 'ideology' from the Marxist tradition to later developments, which further on is related to a general economic conceptualisation of the media to form part of the framework for the empirical case-study.

1.2.1
BASIC PROBLEMS

The first problem one finds when approaching the study of ideology within the 'established' sociology, is the evidence of some kind of ideological crisis in sociology

itself. Many of the current sociological tendencies carry the same system of values that they wish to analyse or, in some cases, criticise. Methodologically, they also have deep epistemological roots embedded in the contradictory nature of Western societies (from which even some self-labelled 'Marxist' tendencies do not escape), as I.S.Kon points out:

> "When studied from within, the crisis of sociology, I believe, appears as a crisis of the illusions of a positivist science, empiricism and functionalism"(1)

Crisis of illusions because through the years - for more than a century now - and through enormous and innumerable uncountable efforts (practical and theoretical), Western sociology has not been able to construct a solid theoretical foundation and has served to reproduce the existing status-quo, in general terms. Consequently, at the same times, it rejects Marxism on the basis of ideological arguments, principally in terms of survival, as Franco Ferraroti says:

> "...this has happened (this rejection or 'reaction') not on the basis of scientific premises or of technical developments of the theoretical framework, but rather under the pressure of the real practical conflicts, both economic and political, which would radically question the institutional fabric underlying the legitimation of their theory."(2)

Very systematically, this is the context where Marxism is developed within Western social sciences, and particularly within the Anglo-American tradition. I will go into other characteristics, in more detail, later on in this section. Other considerations have been exposed in the section on Method.

Nevertheless I would like to add one more: another critical situation one finds when studying ideology on the basis of Marxist foundations relates to problems of 'communication' with 'receivers' who might not have the same epistemological view (different 'reference framework'). Therefore, aprt from rejections and/or reactions, I should add the problem of 'misleading reception' or wrong interpretations. Obviously this is not a determinant problem. But since it appears at the 'stage' of communication (exposition and discussion) - which comes after 'investigation' and 'systematisation' - I want to point it out because no scientific work is complete without succeeding in all three stages. I try to overcome this problem at the practical level, where theory is confronted with reality, in accordance with one of the fundamental principles of Marxism.

One within the Marxist field, the main problem is the complexity of the object itself. Although Marx left us the method (at least clear directions and unsystematised elements of a method) for analysing the so-called 'superstructural' instances of society, he did not clarify completely the ideological question (he did not finish the task of re-defining the relations between infra and super-structure, which he planned to do in his unwritten volume on the State),

This has carried out different interpretations about this relation: some approaches see an 'economic

determinism' in this relationship; social formations are viewed by others as 'functional wholes', without movement, antagonisms or contradictions. On the other hand, there are those who describe the multiple interaction of all the levels on one another, but without defining clear determinations or dominance at any specific circumstance. There is also a notorious tendency today towards theoreticism and idealism, which constitute in Marx's terms 'violent abstractions' or 'metaphysical speculations'. These tendencies can only be combatted, as Michele Barrett et al point out '...by rigorous, historically informed analysis of cultural and ideological relations and practices'. (3)

The problem, in the first place, seems to rest on the conceptualisation of the relations between superstructures and base, and on the notion of determination (I shall come back to the question of 'practice' related to ideology). Secondly, I believe that, once these concepts are more or less clarified within Marx's texts, this is still not sufficient: we cannot apply them as 'recipes' to every single situation. One of the central dialectical premises of Marxism is that the capitalist mode of production is constantly developing, therefore, this demands a continuous work of theoretical development and clarification (this point is developed later on in this section).

1.2.2
MARX, YOUNG AND OLD

The structural metaphor infrastructure-superstructure, used to describe the various levels of instances of societies, is indeed rearely found in the major texts of Marx. Although Marx himself used it in only one text (The Introduction to a Contribution to a Critique of Political Economy of 1857), the first Marxist formulations on this question appear in the period of The German Ideology. Stuart Hall, in his article 'Rethinking the Base-and-Superstructure Metaphor', makes a very clear analysis of the germination and development of this relationship in the writings of Marx and Engels. He says that this period (of the German Ideology) 'registers a break with the problematic of Feuerbachian sensuous-materialism', constituting a 'settling of accounts' by Marx and Engels with the German 'critical-criticism' - 'the speculative philosophy of the Left Hegelians'.(4)

The Young Hegelians, in fact, were the direct target of The German Ideology. Derek Sayer, who considers this early work as 'in many ways the best'(5) in terms of an exposition of the principles of the materialist conception of history, points out that the Young Hegelians were repeatedly

> "castigated for attributing to the products of human consciousness "an independent existence"... For Marx and Engels, by contrast, if the aim is to depart from "the real individuals themselves", then consciousness must be considered "solely as their consciousness..." (6)

The important implication here is not the actual 'inversion' (turning the idealists upside down), but the fact that Marx and Engels centre their attack on the separation of consciousness from 'the individuals who are its basis and from their actual conditions'(6), separation which up to our day makes idealism possible (the absolute 'autonomy' of ideology, for instance, is one of the current idealistic formulations, similar to that of the Young Hegelians, which Marx and Engels spent so much pain, time and effort in attacking).

As Sayer puts it

> "If consciousness is shown to be one facet of human activity, human activity is itself thereby shown irreducibly to involve consciousness. The point is important because it is just this activity which forms the premise of that science that Marx describes as materialist, so we should be clear what we are talking about. If this reading is legitimate, such a statement as 'life is not determined by consciousness, but consciousness by life' must be understood as pointing to an internal relation of entailment rather than an external one of cause' (7) (*)

Indeed Marx and Engels were writing in opposition to idealist and religious interpretations of the world. Paradoxically, their approach is 'read' by many as reproducing the traditional ('ancient') division between reality, down here, and ideas, up there. It is at this stage when the concept of determinism appears more systematically. But again, it appears in the context of only reversing

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(*) More about 'internal relations of entailment' and and other principles and categories of dialectical materialism is found in the section on Method.

philosophical propositions (although this effort is pointed at overcoming the separation between consciousness and life), as in their later statement:

> 'It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being but rather their social being that determines their consciousness' (8)

What really has an enormous importance, in this early stage of Marxism, and particularly of The German Ideology (which their authors did not wish to publish and, in fact, as they wrote, was "left to the gnawing criticism of the mice" - not even Lenin, nor the 'ideologists' of the Second International had access to this work that was only published in 1932), is their proposition that ideologies and social consciousness are grounded in 'social being', that they have a historical nature and a class basis:

> "The ideas of the ruling class are, in every age, the ruling ideas, that is to say, the class which is the dominant material force in society is, at the same time its dominant intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control, at the same time over the means of mental production, so that in consequence the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are, in general, subject to it... ...as they rule as a class and determine the whole extent of an epoch, it is self-evident that they do this in their whole range and thus, among other things, rule also as thinkers, as producers of ideas, and regulate the production and distribution of the ideas of their age' (9)

From this point, what can later be seen, is the developments and maturity of these concepts in Marx's later works.

It must be stressed that this early work is in part highly philosophical, therefore can be regretably misleading. But since it lays down the basis for a materialistic philosophy, something particularly important in this period, as I have stated, is the emergence of historicism and the material fundaments of life. Both thinkers say that history cannot be understood only in terms of ideas and consciousness; they emphasise the fact that culture, knowledge and even language find their foundations in material and social life (see section on Method). At the same time they argue that it is necessary to put into practice specific historical analyses and also to understand capitalist society as a dynamic developing totality in order to grasp its relations.

But it was Marx's work during the late 1850s, and after, which mostly contributed - although unsystematically - to the question of ideology. This was precisely in so far as his notion of ideology was that as something <u>within</u> and <u>part</u> of reality. In this sense, ideology is not the 'super-structural' which is above the infrastructure, but is situated at its own level, not withstanding that, by this time, he is still referring to the problematic 'spacial' metaphor in a much more elaborate way: he wrote in the 'Preface of 1859':

> 'In the social production...they enter into definite relations...these relations of production correspond to a definite stage of development of their material powers of production. The totality

of these relations of production constitute the economic structure of society, the real foundation on which legal and political superstructure arise and to which definite forms of social consciousness correspond. The mode of production of material life determines the general character of social political and spiritual processes of life' (10)

Here we have for the first time all the elements of the infrastructure-superstructure question. But we find them at this stage, as formulated by Marx in what is considered to be his 'transistional period' between the 'young Marx' and the first writings for Capital. Here, the material basis, the mode and relations of production, constitute the economic structure, the 'real foundation', and from this basis arise (again the 'spacial' metaphor) the legal and political structures; 'and to this - as Stuart Hall puts it - correspond theoretical productions and definite forms of social consciousness' (11). I find it necessary to point out that if words like 'foundation', 'arise' and 'determines', in the above quotation, are 'read' from a positivist and/or idealist perspective, the interpretation we would obtain would be far different from that of a Marxist dialectical reading, but I will not insist on this aspect here, because this matter has been treated in the previous section and other stages of this work.

It is then, in this 'transistional period' when the crucial formulations, developed from the early writings, on the relations between infra and superstructure are firstly put forward.

Nevertheless, something had been suggested two years before, in the Grundrisse (in the 1857 Introduction) as far as another important conception is concerned: the concept of dominance - which is later on developed in Capital Vol. 1 -, dominance within the relations of a social formation: Marx poses that although the mode of production plays a determining role in all epochs, this role can 'assign' some sort of 'predominance' to other levels (like politics or ideology for instance), which is designated as the dominant role. This concept is later going to be developed by Althusser, as we shall see further on.

According to Hall "this is a new way of formulating the problem of determination by the economic - and which, incidentally, gives far greater effectivity to the super-structures (which can now, in some epochs, be dominant)" (11).

Summing it up, we have that the so-called 'super-structures' at this stage can be dominant, therefore they have a 'relative authonomy', therefore they are embodied of a greater 'effectivity', but always bearing in mind (in a dialectical mind, that is), that the infrastructure is determinant 'in the last instance'.

However, the precise structural mechanism linking base and superstructure (in the metaphorical sense) is not yet clarified completely by Marx. This fact also helps to originate the misunderstandings and wrong interpretations mentioned before, which can only be solved by extracting the

Capital and 'the Method' in The Grudrisse give us a foundation in order to develop a Marxist theory of the superstructures - always on the basis of the determination 'in the last instance', but more dialectical, more historical, more mature than that of the German Ideology. Now, even the superstructures are dialectically 'determined', they can be 'dominant'; they are, at the same time, 'relatively autonomous', 'effective', absolutely necessary and required, and they are no longer simple illusions without consistence. I am not posing a 'determinism' or an 'economism' when I refer to the determination by the base. The notion of 'in the last instance' must be understood in its dialectical sense, therefore, as will be seen later on, some ideologies may find their origins within political and/or ideological pracices, rather than only in economic practices; but even an ideological practice (where a specific ideology may be originated) cannot be considered as an 'ultimate' instance: cultural practices are rooted in history, somewhere, sometime, under some historical circumstances, under cetain material conditions.

An important advance in this late period in terms of method (which will provide a number of categories to dialectical materialism - and dialectical logic - as systematic methodologies) is the insistance that the relations between the different elements of production and conditions of production, exchange and its conditions, are necessary, but not identical. They complement each other,

but they are different; they are articulated with each other, but keeping their own conditions. In other words, there is a unity, not of identity, but of the 'diverse', a 'concentration of many determinations, unity within diversity, synthesis of multiple determinations'.

In the mid-1840s Marx had laid down the first embryos of this question, when developing his materialistic conception of history. He wrote in The Poverty of Philosophy:

> 'Economists express the relation of bourgeois production, the division of labour, credit, money, etc., as fixed, immutable, eternal categories...Economists explain how production takes place in the above-metnioned relations, but what they do not explain is how these relations themselves are produced, that is, the historical movement which gave them birth' (13)

But in this attempt to establish the foundations of his materialist conception of history, by - once more - attacking the Hegelian positions of Proudhon and other economists, Marx does not clarify completely his own method. He only argues that the proletariat 'no longer need to seek science in their minds', all they have to do is take not of what is happening before their eyes.

The revolutionary events of 1848 (failing to reproduce their 'corresponding' political solutions) and the complexities of the advancing capitalism discovered by Marx in his 'transitional' period were conducive to writing his lucid 'method' in the 1857 Introduction to the Grundrisse, perhaps the most central of Marx's works.

> 'The concrete is concrete, because it is a combination of many determinations, i.e. a unity of diverse elements. In our thoughts it therefore

> appears as a process of synthesis, as a result, and not as a starting point and, therefore, also the starting point of observation and conception ...The simplest economic category, say, exchange value, implies the existence of population, population that is engaged in production under certain conditions; it also implies the existence of certain types of family, clan or state, etc. It can have no other existence except as an abstract one-sided relation of an already given concrete and living aggregate' (14)

The consequent task is, therefore, to apply Marx's historical and dialectical conceptions to the study of the relations between infra and superstructures, and particularly - in our case - to the study of ideology. Otherwise we could end (like some) posing that 'reality does not exist: it is all concepts'. This would not only take us back to Hegelian idealism, but to Plato himself.

1.2.3
GRAMSCI AND ALTHUSSER

After Marx's death this problem has had an impressive theoretical development: Engels, Lenin, Luxemburg, Mao, Lukacs, old and new, Western and Eastern Marxisms, Frankfurt School, Structuralism, and so on. But only a few authors seem to have come close to Marx's own conceptions (about the specific question of ideologies). According to Hall 'since Lenin and Gramsci - until Poulantzas and Althusser placed the problem once more squarely on the agenda - the superstructures in the true Marxian sense... have been woefully neglected' (15). When referring to Gramsci's contribution, Hall points out:

> 'It was through the State, through its work in and with the family, the law, education, the multiplicity of private associations, the cultural apparatus, the church, the formation of new strata of the intelligentsia, the formation of political parties and the development of public opinion - in short, in the complex sphere of the superstructures - that capitalism ceased to be simply a system of production and became a whole form of social life, conforming everything else to its own movement. This expansion of the conception of what it is the superstructures 'do' for capital, is Gramsci's first contribution' (16)

What is particularly important, as far as ideology is concerned, is Gramsci's conception of the ideological consent generated by the State in order to secure class power. Gramsci sees this role of the State operating from the sphere of 'complex superstructures'. He goes on, departing from Marx's conception that the dominant ideas in every epoch are the ideas of the dominant class, to stress the fact that the ruling classes shift their influence from coercion in their interests to gaining consent within the dominant classes. It is under these circumstances when definitions of reality (which some authors like Mattelart call (bourgeois Mythology'), in favour of the conceptions and interests of the dominant class, become the 'lived' reality of the subordinate class (an issue developed later on by Althusser, as I will show in the following pages).

Gramsci's simplified approach to his conception of hegemony is something like

> 'the exercise of a power to frame all definitions of reality within its range. This involves both winning and shaping consent so that the power of the dominant classes appears both legitimate and natural' (17)

Hegemony operates here through force and through ideology at the same time. It is not only ideology. Both coercion and ideology, combined together, win consensus and consent, immobilising the subordinate classes and groups both in material and in ideological terms.

This conception of 'hegemony' gives a better approach to the study of ideologies because it places it without the sense of marginality and imposition with which sometimes ideology is understood. Ideology does not merely 'reflect' (in a dialectical sense) the interests of a specific class - as part of hegemon y -, it also carries <u>contradictions</u> within it, it is highly complex, developing,and therefore must be continuously renewed, re-created and defended.

Raymond Williams has also looked at the concept of 'hegemony' in his article 'Base and Superstructure':

> (Hegemony is) '...a set of meanings and values which, as they are experienced as <u>practices</u>, appear as reciprocally conforming. It thus constitutes a sense of reality for most people in the society, a sense of absolute being, experienced reality, beyond which it is very difficult for most members of a society to move in most areas of their lives' (18)

Although William's definition stresses the ideological aspect of hegemony, I found it extremely relevant because ideology is conceptualised here as a <u>practice</u> of a set of meanings and values which are 'experienced' under a 'sense of reality', which is obviously a key formulation for any analysis of media messages.

Gramsci is without doubt a 'historicist'. With Lenin, to use Stuart Hall's words, they 'lead the way' in so far as their analyses embrace the superstructures in specific historical conjunctures, in terms of 'concrete analyses of concrete situations', which is a basic premise of historical materialism. In their works we find two good examples of what I consider to be the correct interpretation and theoretical practice of Marx's method. The problem with regard to ideology is that neither of them developed an actual theory of ideology, as Althusser did. And the problem with Althusser is that he seems to establish a separation from historicism which could mislead (and has) to some sort of 'theoreticism', as we shall see. Althusser argues that even Lenin in his work Materialism and Empiriocriticism does not situate his ideas within the theoretical framework of Capital, because, the same as with some of Engel's writings (Antidüring, for instance), Lenin wrote 'Empiricism' as an urgent exposition, reacting to serious ideological attacks or deviations, having to 'follow' their opponents into their field, into their ideologies. 'Partly ideological - Althusser argues - these texts cannot pretend to reach the level of theoretical elaboration and systematicity - therefore, of scientificity - of such a work as Capital' (19)

He makes a similar critique of Gramsci's 'historicism' in terms that Gramsci - according to Althusser - considers Marxist philosophy as the simple 'methodology' of 'historical

Materialism' (the science of history), reducing dialectical materialism to the latter (20).

But Gramsci was indeed writing against reductionist conceptions, particularly against the 'mechanicist economism' (a strong tendency within Marxism in those days). Society for Gramsci, is a complex, dynamic and developing 'object' and ideology, therefore, in Gramscian terms, cannot be considered as a simple 'product' or as passive epiphenomenon without major relevance.

> 'Ideology, then, for Gramsci, has, like the social formation of which it is a necessary part, a complex and contradictory identity. Unlike Althusser, for example, Gramsci does not offer an epistemological definition in addition to an explanation of ideology's material social role. Ideologies qua ideologies, for Gramsci, are neither true nor false, though they can certainly be coherent to a greater or lesser degree. Ideology is principally regarded as the "cement" which holds together the structure (in which economic class struggle takes place) and the realm of the complex superstructures.' (20)

Structuralists like Althusser and Poulantzas are - as Hall points out - 'massively indebted to Gramsci', and their work is hardly conceivable without the theoretical production of the Italian revolutionary thinker.

ALTHUSSER AND THE 'ISAs'

Althusser argues that ideology has a material existence embodied in various apparatus. On an unmistakeable Gramscian basis, he portrays the power of the ruling class shaped in both the repressive and the ideological apparatus of the State.

Althusser's point of departure is the reproduction of the conditions of production, which constitute a 'must' for every social formation in order to survive. I will follow here his arguments in his essay on the 'Ideological Apparatusses of the State' (22).

In essence, every social formation must reproduce not only the production forces, but the existing relations of production as well. For Althusser, the reproduction of the first sort (means of production, labour power) is impossible without the 'forms of ideological subjection'. In this case the 'effective' presence of ideology is quite clear. The problem emerges when approaching the question of the reproduction of the relations of production. In order to discuss it, Althusser makes a wide historical detour. He begins by insisting on the Marxist conception of the 'social whole' - as opposed to the Hegelian 'totality'.

> 'I said (and this thesis represents only famous propositions of historical materialism) that Marx conceived the structure of every society as constituted by 'levels' of 'instances' articulated by a specific determination: the infrastructure, or economic base (the 'unity' of the productive forces and the relations of production) and the superstructure, which itself containes two levels or 'instances': the politico-legal (law and the State) and ideology (the different ideologies, religious, ethical, legal, political, etc.)' (23)

He then goes on to insist on the concept of 'effectivity', which I have revised already, and points out the fact that the representation of the social structure (base-superstructure) is a metaphor, a 'spacial' metaphor: the metaphor of a topography, represented in this way in order to suggest

something, to make something visible. In this case, that the 'upper floors could not "stay up" (in the air) alone, if they did not precisely rest on their base', insisting, once more, on the determination 'in the last instance', and making clear, at the same time, that the index of 'effectivity' at the level of superstructures is nevertheless 'determined' in these terms (not in a mechanical way but rather a dialectical one).

Recovering the Marxist tradition, Althusser posits that the effectivity of the superstructure levels are 'thought' in two ways: '(1) there is a "relative autonomy" of the superstructures with respect to the base; (2) there is a reciprocal action of the superstructures on the base' (24).

Althusser sees a great theoretical advantage in this metaphor in the sense that it does not only reveal to us what appears topographically and functionally obvious, but that there is an <u>active unity</u> between the relative autonomy of the superstructure and its reciprocal action with the base. The disadvantage is that, being a metaphor, it remains descriptive, and, in some cases (according to the specific epistemological 'reading'), misleading.

It is in this context that Althusser places the problem of ideology and the 'Ideological State apparatusses', making a distinction between these (ISAs) and the '(repressive) State apparatusses (RSAs), attempting to make a list of them, without 'particular significance': the religious ISAs, the educational ISAs, the family ISA, the legal ISAs (which also beong - he says - to the RSAs), the political

ISAs, the trade-union ISAs, the communications ISAs, the cultural ISAs.

Once the distinction is made, he comes back to the question of the reproduction of the relations of production. This reproduction is secured by the exercise of State power in both RSAs and ISAs. The RSAs function massively and predominantly by repression, whereas the ISAs do so massively and predominantly, too, by ideology. While the RSA constitutes an organised whole centralised under a commanding unity, the ISAs are multiple, distinct, relatively autonomous and capable of providing an objective field of contradictions. Whereas the unity of the RSAs is secured, usually in contradictory forms ('actively', 'dialectically'), by the ruling ideology. The contribution to the reproduction of the relations of production by the ISAs is seen by Althusser in the following way:

> 'The political apparatuses by subjecting individuals to the political State ideology... the communication apparatuses by cramming every citizen with daily doses of nationalism, chauvinism, liberalism, moralism, etc., by means of the press, readio, television. The same goes for cultural apparatuses, etc.' (25)

This 'functioning' of the ISAs is dominated, according to Althusser, by ideology, occasionally disturbed by contradictions. Amongst the different ISAs, one of them can have a dominant role (like the School, in the case of France, according to Althusser).

This conceptualisation of ideology obviously comes from the indications towards a theory of ideology in Capital

and the 1857 Introduction, passing through Gramsci's formulations. Nevertheless, what Althusser does in these 'notes towards an investigation' (my emphasis) is, in his own words, 'to venture a first and very schematic outline of a theory of ideologies' (26).

Although Althusser thinks that it is possible that ideologies have a history of their own, he posits that ideology, in general, has no history (in fact he relates this idea, in order to illustrate it, to Freud's argument that the unconscious is eternal, i.e. that it has no history). Ideology, for Althusser, is omnipresent throughout history: 'ideology is eternal'.

I believe that the only way to grasp this concept is in terms of 'universality', according to the set of categories of dialectical materialism, that is to say, his theory points to the universal aspect of ideology, leaving aside particular and single aspects of it. In this sense, a differentiation must be made, I feel, between the concept of ideology 'in general' (universal), eternal, without history, and 'ideologies' in plural (each one with singularities, particularities), with a history of their own and with specific conditions of existence. Even in these terms I find it difficult to accept his 'general' conceptualisation of ideology, especially within the dialectics of the Marxist method (because the category of the universal has an active - dialectical - co-relation with those of the particular and the single, and in these terms it must have some articulation with history; even the non-dialectical

or 'vulgar' materialism poses that matter can exist without ideas, but ideas cannot exist without matter). It seems to me - and perhaps Althusser has indeed clarified this somewhere else, as I shall discuss further on - that his conceptualisation of ideology through this particular essay ('notes for a very schematic outline') wishes to avoid a different and more concrete approach and discussion about 'specific' (therefore 'historical') ideologies, precisely because of the character of the essay.

Having put forward this theoretical difficulty (which will be discussed at the end of this section), I will now describe Althusser's central theses on ideology. These are: a) 'Ideology represents the imaginary relationship of individuals to their conditions of existence', b) 'Ideology has material existence', and c) 'Ideology interpolates individuals as objects' (it is interesting to note the apparent 'contradiction' between his 'general' conception of ideology and his thesis in 'b').

The first characterisation - the imaginary relationship of individuals to their conditions of existence - argues that it is not these real conditions, not their real world that they represent to themselves as (in) ideology, but their relations to these conditions. Ideology does not refer to distorted ideas about reality, but to real 'relationships' to reality; 'among other things, this implies that the reality of ideology is not of the same terrain as that of science. Ideology...is a specific instance of a social formation' (27).

The second thesis - that of the 'material existence of ideologies - posits that the ideas of any human subject exist in his <u>actions</u>, inserted into <u>practices</u> ('a small mass in a small church, a funeral, a minor match at a sports club, a school day, a political party meeting, etc.') These practices are - according to Althusser - governed by <u>rituals</u>, within the material existence of an ideological apparatus. Ideology always exists within an apparatus and its practices. This thesis is directly concerned with analysis of media messages, 'discourse analysis', and with the object of my own reserach (I shall come back to it at the end of this section).

It is somewhat difficult to grasp Althusser's last thesis on the interpolation of individuals as subjects by ideology, which, at some points is extremely vague. But, on the whole, Althusser explains it through the notion of the 'subject': he says that there is no practice except by and in ideology; there is no idoelogy except by the subject and for the subject;

> '...he who is writing these lines - he says - and the reader who reads them are themselves subjects, and therefore, ideological subjects, i.e. that the author and the reader of these lines both live "spontaneously" or "naturally" in ideology' (28)

Ideology is addressed to individuals; it function is - in Althusser's terms - to transform concrete individuals into subjects. It is by its actual daily functioning in the material <u>rituals</u> of everyday life (masses, matches, meetings, at work, writing letter, watching news on television,

reading the newspapers, going to school, shopping) that the individual recognises him or herself as a subject, 'with such characteristics as uniqueness, freedom, etc.'. This recognisition of what appears to be an obvious and natural fact, is, in fact, an ideological recognition of an obviousness imposed by ideology (29).

In order to round up - skėtchily - Althusser's concept of ideology, I will use one of his own 'definitions' from Politics and History, which, although compact and complex, comprises some precise elements and includes class struggle, which is absent in the essay on the ISAs:

> 'Ideologies are bodies of representations existing in institutions and practices: they feature in the superstructure and are based in the class struggle' (30)

In spite of some obscure passages and apparent contradictions with some of his other writings, Althusser's essay on the ISAs makes a considerable theoretical contribution to the study of both the relations between infra and superstructures (or rather the 'unity'), and the specific ideological instance, but only in so far as the concepts of 'structure' and 'levels' or 'instances' are understood from a dialectical perspective and within the epistemological framework of this section. His notion of ideology, particularly, seems to be more precise and expanded than thsoe of previous writings (Reading Capital and For Marx, mainly): he develops new notions of 'materiality', 'aparatuses', constitution of 'subjects',

etc. In this essay he establishes the relations between the ideological level with the social formation from which it is an active part: not only, therefore, with the economic base (reproduction of the relations of production) - which are the only relations 'read' by some -, but also with the State and other 'instances' of the 'superstructure'. This more complete configuration, I believe, permits a better approach to an improved analysis of ideologies, especially because of their 'material' condition (embodied in discourses and texts, for instnace, apart from apparatuses) and their specific 'effectivity' in and by the class struggle (considering his other writings, in this case). As far as the problem of 'a-historicism' is concerned, the most common criticism against Althusser (in this particular essay) is made on his separation between science and ideology, but mainly on the permanency of ideology in general: 'ideology is eternal, it has no history'. Under these premises Althusser seems to be assigning ideology a conservative role (which in specific historical circumstances can be perfectly true), since this condition of 'generality' (ideology in the singular) prevents a 'concrete analysis of a concrete situation' (universal categories cannot be indiscriminatingly applied to particular and singular circumstances), and, what is more, does not allow the possibility of change in ideology, for instance towards, in, and/or after social change (in any of its forms). This is one more argument for understanding this notion of ideology (in the singular) as a 'universal'

category in terms of dialectical materialism. Even so, this notion does not satisfy the specific requirements of my research, therefore, in accepting another of Althusser's contributions on the question of ideologies, I reject and will not use the conceptualisation of ideology as an a-historical 'level'. I shall discuss this inthe following pages.

1.2.4
IDEOLOGY AND SOCIAL PRACTICE: AN ACTIVE UNITY

I believe one should develop a positive critique of Althusser's writings (of which the essay on the ISAs is only one), without dismissing all his formulations as useless. I shall try to do this under two basic considerations: a) having in view the specific nature of the object of my research, and b) this is done in the light of the arguments contained in the previous pages. Therefore a general and detailed critique of every single aspect of his essay should not be expected.

As I said before (page 42) whilst the infrastructure does originate elements of social consciousness, acting as a main determination of dominant ideologies, some elements of social consciousness may arise from other kinds of social practices. But they emerge only out of social practices. Social consciousness finds its determination in social relations, no matter at what 'level': it is neither 'natural', nor 'divine'. In my view, to look for determinations outside social practices is inconceivable. In this sense, the dialectices of ideology is well defined

by Colin Sumner:

> 'Ideology is thus both mental and concrete, a creation and creator of social practice and produce' (31)

Unfortunately orthodox Marxism has helped spread a 'positivist-materialist' notion by which ideology is conceptualised as an 'effect' of the social formation. Ideology, however, being an <u>active</u> part of social practice is an integral element of the social formation at any of its 'levels'. We should then, get rid of the positivist conception about the relationship between 'cause' and 'effect', based on the principles of <u>formal</u> logic, and keep our analyses within the boundaries of <u>dialectical</u> logic. The concept of 'reflection', as well as other 'spacial' metaphors used by Marx with a view to describe the <u>dialectical reflection</u>, must be understood, precisely, in its dialectical sense. It is therefore misleading to read Marx through the optics of formal logic. Some Marxists 'brought-up' in a positivist tradition and not very 'well-off' theoretically speaking, have often used the concept of 'reflection' as a one-sided notion, without being able to grasp the two-sided and sometimes multi-sided nature of social relations in continuous change and development. On the other 'extreme', idealist 'Marxists' have given ideology an almost (if not complete) autonomy in order to avoid any sort of uncomfortable 'determinism'. But these determinisms they want to avoid are those of 'vulgar' materialism, which they erroneously 'read' in

Marx's and Marxian writings, due to their disregard or ignorance ('poverty of theory'?) of dialectical materialism.

In this context, Althusser's essay on the ISAs has had contradictory 'appropriations', especially amongst the Anglo-American body of academics, sociologists and intellectuals in general. As Michele Barrett et al put it:

> '...the ISAs essay has been very partially taken-up, and has frequently been combined with other analyses which dilute, if not actually defeat, what Althusser was attempting in his overall project' (32)

In the same way Stalinist exonomism was indeed a reductionist deviation - which has damaged Marxism up to our days -, humanism has, to a large extent, reduced social formations to an expression of a fundamental essence: the capital-labour relationship. It is against these two deviations that Althusser has been struggling theoretically, attempting to

> 'maintain and clarify Marx's dialectical use of structural determination whilst recognising and developing the relevance of idoelogy to the moment and nature of capitalist social formations' (33)

Previous Marxist analyses had often seen ideology outside social practice or, as I have pointed out before, as a separated superstructure, external to the base, and/or as a reflection in a mirror.

> 'When this mechanical and economistic notion of reflection is replaced by the notion of ideology as a reflection of social relations,

> it is immediately obvious that ideologies can originate within superstructural as well as economic practices and can exist, in principle, within any social practice (whether the practice of origin or not)' (34)

Althusser's concept of ideology, as an element of practice (formulated previously to the ISAs essay in Reading Capital) contains, therefore, a key development for the theory of ideology: ideologies, then, exist in all practices (journalism being one of them), and practices operate through ideology. In other words, one of Althusser's main contributions has been his proposition that 'there is no practice except by and in ideology' (35). Another important proposition is that 'there is no ideology except by the subject and for the subject' (36).

Althusser's main argument is centred, though, on the reproduction of the relations of production. In this sense ideology is also an aspect of the reproduction process. This argument has also misled to 'reductionist' readings of his text by means of isolating this formulation (the positivist approach, again) from the rest of his theoretical discourse, 'reading' it from a non-Marxist perspective.

As far as class struggle is concerned, after correcting himself in the postscript, Althusser concludes that the reproduction on the economic struggle must be a matter of class struggle. I also place this argument within the general context of Althusser's works, otherwise it could also be misleading - as it has been somewhere

else - and conducive to 'class-reductionism', as pointed out before in this section.

> 'Rebuking himself for not locating ideology within the class struggle in For Marx and Capital, he emphasises that within the different regions of ideology there are "antagonistic class tendencies which run through them, divide them, regroup them and bring them into opposition". Class struggle, therefore, is the central theoretical site for the analysis of ideologies.' (37)

Not only the Essays in Self-Criticism (38) - where Sumner's quotation is taken from - posit this argument, but other more political ones as well, as for instance in his addressing to the 22nd Congress of the French Communist Party (39). Althusser has therefore emphasised the importance of ideology as a social phenomenon, linking ideology to the 'social relations within which men live'. The somewhat obscure debate about the alleged 'a-historicism' or 'historicism' of his work on the ISAs can be solved by reading beyond his unfortunate sentence 'ideology has no history' (only in this particular essay on the ISAs), which has been taken ideoalistically by some authors like Paul Hirst (40), who, by developing a 'critique' on this essay, arrive at a 'total, rather than relative, autonomisation of all social realm' (41).

On the contrary, Althusser has produced the concepts and the kind of arguments which allow us to break with the ancient conception of idoelogy as a system of ideas. For Althusser ideology is a system of social practices. His

historicism is pointed out by Barrett et al:

> 'Althusser celebrates as Marx's great scientific revolution the opening up of "the third great continent: the continent of history". After distancing himself from dabbling in structuralism Althusser continues: "The continent (of history) was opened up a hundred years ago. The only people who have ventured into it are the militants of the revolutionary class struggle. To our shame, intellectuals do not even suspect the existence of this continent, except to annex it as a common colony"...' (42)

Based on this kind of approach is how - in my view - we should solve the contradictions and/or vaguenesses in Althusser's work. Overall, it is undisputable that he has made an important contribution to the study of ideologies. But I would like to add one last argument for this 'understanding' of his work: in his 1970s 'postscript' to the ISAs essary, Althusser wishes to clarify questions of generalities, abstractions and class struggle related to those arguments written a year before in his essay. He says that the 'mechanism' of ideology in general is indeed abstract as far as 'real ideological formations' is concerned, and that the ISAs only achieve their significance as such within the perspective of the class struggle, 'this is why the ISAs do not constitute the realisation of ideology in general' (43). But, he adds, this point of view concerning class struggle in the ISAs is 'still abstract'; it is only one aspect of the class struggle, 'sometimes important and symptomatic':

> '...class struggle in the ISAs is nothing but one aspect of the class struggle, which surpasses the ISAs...',

but,

'...only from a class perspective, that is to say, a perspective of class struggle, it is possible to account for those ideologies existing within a social formation... ideologies are not 'born' from within the ISAs, but from within those social classes devoted to the class struggle: from their conditions of existence, from their practices, from their experiences in the struggle, etc.' (44)

1.2.5
IDEOLOGY AND MEDIA MESSAGES

Considering the central object of my research, Althusser's discussion on what he calls the ISAs and his 'notes' towards a theory of ideology, provide some sort of framework for the study of the mass media and their products: their messages. It points out the necessity for understanding both the organisations of the mass media and their interconnections with the organisations of the State, with economic and commercial interests, representatives of specific social classes, etc., and the ideology inherent in media content and its interrelations with that of other ISAs; the notion of social practice and its active (dialectical) co-relation with ideology is, perhaps, one of the most relevant formulations in order to study the 'nature' of media messages. Broadly speaking, what is important here is the general theoretical framework, his overall conceptualisation of ideology, which helps define in a better way, the object of analysis. In these terms, as far as the press is concerned, the study of ideology is not only the analysis of systems of ideas, thoughts and representations, but rather a study of the material operation of ideological

apparatusses, the material and historical conditions of ideological production - to which correspond a certain number of specific practices - as well as the ideological practices in this area, trying to discover the articulations between all these elements (hence the chapters in this thesis on the historical background and on the general economic conceptualisation of the media, and their corresponding sections). Ideology, now, can be located, through social practices, at any of the social levels and one must discover the nature of its relations with the other 'instances', in order to properly analyse it in its movement and complexity; but since it is 'located' at any specific level, and, therefore, embodied with a relative autonomy (following Althusser's description of historical materialism) (45), each 'level' may become the object of a 'relatively independent' scientific treatment, but always within the dynamic context of the dialectical co-relations with the others.

In view of my object, a crucial problem would still seem to remain untreated in this section: once we are confronted with the theory of ideologies, how do we link it methodologically to the analyses of media messages? What is the method? Which are the methodological tools? Do we approach the message through linguistics? Semiology? Content analysis? Structural analysis? Ideological reading? This is discussed, and the method described, in Chapter No.4

Section Once. This theoretical question, anyway, is resolved at the level of the practice itself, empirically (case study: texts and ideological reading, after content analysis), testing some of the current and traditional methods, relating them to the theoretical framework of the theory of idoelogy, therefore expanding them into an ideological reading.

1.2.6
CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND EMPIRICAL INVESTIGATION

There are only a few case studies analysing media messages under the conception of idoelogy extracted from Marxism, and some of them have not yet constructed a systematic method (46). This methodological gap becomes more evident every day, and, consequently, the necessity of developing one. It seems to me that this is rather urgent. We must not only 'think' about the specific nature of economic and ideological or political practices, but we must also look for their interrelations and contradictions, between and within them. If we go back to the early Marx of the German Ideology, he seems not to be so far away in time and history when he wrote: 'the class which has the means of production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of production...and regulates the production and distribution of the ideas of their age'. This could have been written today, when, with the development of electronics (to name only one of the new technologies), the 'consciousness industry' has acquired an impressive level

of development: communication satellites, silicon chips, remote controlled cameras, the most powerful and versatile optics designed by computers, portable colour TV cameras broadcasting 'from the spot', cable television, audio and video cassettes, video-recorders, laser technique, electrostatic reproduction, electronic systems of quick impression, electronic microfilms, radio-printing, time-sharing computers, databanks, etc. all of them interconnected with each other and with the 'old' traditional media (the press, radio, television, etc.), aiding them, establishing complex interconnections in order to reproduce ideologies and distribute, in a massive and efficient way, the 'ideas of our age'.

It is in these circumstances that this section on ideology must serve as part of the conceptual framework for the rest of the research (mainly for the empirical part), because as Barret et al point out:

> 'The ways in which cultural production operates specifically are a matter for empirical and historical investigation' (47)

This is indeed an encouragement to testing some available methods, within and integrated to the framework of the theory of idoelogy and historical materialism, using, in this case, content analysis, structural analysis and ideological reading in this context. On the one hand it is not sufficient to 'interpret' Marx's Capital and develop a theory of idoelogies; on the other, it is not

sufficient either to 'describe' or to 'interpret' social phenomena. Research must take an active place in history, confronting theory with life, integrating conceptual frameworks with empirical investigation, without falling either on empiricism or on pure theoreticism.

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46. I am thinking of 'Bad News' and other similar works which have attempted to break the boundaries of structuralist semiotics into a more historical-materialist method, without completely succeeding in my opinion.

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1.3
THE READING OF THE TEXTS

The only way this proposed 'ideological reading' can be a viable tool for empirical analysis is by having the support of a) the empirical data of quantative content analysis, interviews, questionnaires, etc., b) the historical background and the social framework where the texts are produced, c) the texts themselves, and d) an historical-materialist conceptualisation of ideology and of a method for examining it.

This, to some extent, should supplement the limitations of media theory and methods of analysis which are often imprecise and unsystematic, as Denis McQuail writes:

> '...(Media theory) is subject to great variability and qualification according to the ideological views of its proponents. The same theoretical problem can often appear in variant, seemingly inconsistent, or even contradictory, formulations. For some, the cardinal failing of media theory is that it connects so poorly with the actual practice of mass communication and a knowledge of it is not widely regarded as part of the necessary equipment of a successful communicator. For that purpose a very little knowledge of media systems and audiences goes a long way in supplementing intuition, skill, creativity and personal flair.' (1)

This inconsistency of media theory is reflected in methods of analysis, too, as seen in the first chapter of this work. And in this particular case, the overall theoretical and epistemological framework is connected with the researcher's own experience as a

communicator, in order to give some coherence to the relationship, in this study, of the theoretical and the empirical, the ideological and the historical.

This method is aimed at 'reading' the presence and form of any ideology within the encoded texts of the selected stories on Latin America (in different specific historical periods). A reading which proceeds via the establishment of the practical and social basis of ideology in the coverage of Latin America by the British press, seeking for the precise nature of its signification. Hence the study of the Historical Background of the relations between Britain and Latin America, the economics of the media, the analysis of foreign news in the British press and the investigation on the view of both the Foreign Editors and the Latin American correspondents.

I do not wish to implicitly 'assume' the social meaning of the texts in order to discover their constitutuent ideologies; this method, instead, tries to make that assumption explicit and to examine its validity. This is done through historical comparison, the analysis of the social framework where the coverage of Latin America takes place, and the examination of the support or the contradictions with the empirical data (chiefly, the quantative content analysis and interviews). This provides a means of reading ideology which is more than a series of subjective impressions isolated from their historical-social context and without empirical basis. Although I

have used only one method of reading ideologies (there can be others), I have divided its methodolgical practice into several 'approximations', which, in practice, are carried out at the same time as one single method. The first approximation for the ideological reading is that of personal impressions (2), based on the establishment that any specific discourse has some socio-historical basis for its existence. This involves not only the examination of the social historical and professional context, but, also interviews with editors and journalists, and a comparison of periods and of methods of journalistic work. It also involves checking that any specific ideology is not just a one-off occurrence by reference to recent news reports (hence the examination of different crises in Latin America, different coups d'etat, the comparison of items which exclude Britain and items like the Falklands War, etc.), and checking the extent of any specific ideology across the range of national newspapers, having some point of comparison, like the US and French press coverage of Latin America, for instance.

The readings of texts need no special esoteric techniques like those used by semiology, for instance, but they are done on the basis of the techniques used by the existing methods described in the previous chapters of this work. Texts are examined by reference to the repetition of signifiers (as in content analysis), but guided by the theory of ideology, by the awareness of the

socio-historical context, and by the other methodological premises described in this chapter; in other words, readings are carried out through reference to social structures, ideological connotations, historical and contemporary contexts, the structure of repetitions of the coded discourse, possible alternative encodings, and recent similar texts from a different origin (American or French press).

The second approximation is a theoretical one. As Colin Sumner poses for his own method of reading ideologies:

> 'If there is good evidence to suggest an historical and logical link between structure context and ideology, the research must now deepen the theoretical understanding of their connections. Here, the main job is to understand the necessity of the ideology to the social relations involved and thus to distinguish its essential substance from its contingent features which, perhaps, reflect other structures and other contexts.' (3)

I therefore question in my reading whether specific attitudes or focuses on Latin America are results of personalising journalism or genuine elements of the ideology 'necessitated' by the social relations (Britain-Latin America). Particularly important here are the study of the historical relations between the two areas, the political conditions of the coverage, the analysis of the view of the foreign editors and correspondents, as well as the economic conceptualisation of the media. The coverage of political and economic crises in Latin America

compared to the coverage of the Falklands crisis, for example, should give us elements of the ideology which reflect structures of domination in general, in terms of the division into 'North and South', or 'Industrial countries and Third World', or 'Top-dog' and 'Under-dog' relations.

The third approximation is historical. Having selected a period from the past (the end of the 19th century) I compare the focus of the coverage or both epochs trying to discover whether the ideology is operating within the same type of discourse (crises, revolutions, wars between countries like Peru, Bolivia and Chile in 1879). Such a reading provides the research with an historical perspective, as well, beyond this particular methodological need. The reading of the coverage of Latin America during the 19th Century, though, lacks the possibility of interviews with journalists; this is why the chapter on historical background and the quantative analysis of that period are particularly relevant.

The fourth approximation is the overall analysis centred in the 'present' coverage of Latin America (in the case of this research, the 1970s and early 1980s), comprising all the different stages and aspects of this research (chapters) which 'support' the ideological reading in a contextual, theoretical and methodological way.

I have chosen a reading which is fully evidenced by the empirical examination of both content analysis and

interviews, which is historically informed, whose object I personally know both as a Latin American and as a journalist covering Latin American news for a British medium, a reading which recognises the role of inherited ideologies and contemporary significance, which takes into account the persuasive reality of appearances to be reported (like stereotypes of Latin American people and countries), and which grants language its fully social character.
It is a reading that enables us to look at the interpretation of Latin American affairs in an historical and social perspective, which necessarily involves ideology. And this is the task of this reasearch, since I believe that without a good knowledge of ideologies, as fully fledged forces of social development, the study of the media is much diminished.

REFERENCES

1. MCQUAIL, Denis, (1983) 'Mass Communication Theory', Sago Publications, London (p.215)

2. SUMNER, Colin, op.cit.

3. Bearing in mind that this researcher is Latin American, has lived there for thirty years, has been a journalist in Chile and now works as a current affairs producer for the Latin American Service of the BBC.

1.4
THE GENERAL (METHOD) PROCEDURE

Having established the basic methodological premises and the epistemological relationships between traditional content analysis, structural analysis and ideological reading, I shall describe now the general method used by this study of the coverage of Latin America by the British press.

1.4.1
THE CONTEXT

Bearing in mind a) the intention of achieving a continuous interplay between theory and research, and b) the principle that every journalistic practice is carried out in a given historical and social context, I set out to examine the historical backgroun of the relations between Britain and Latin America, and some basic characteristics of the British press and of the structure of foreign news within it. At the same time I developed a general economic conceptualisation of the media. These spheres - for which the method of research was chiefly bibliographical - became the chapters of the second part of this work which provide the overall context where the object of the general research takes place. Parallel to the development of both the content analyses and the chapters on the context, I gradually gave form to the theoretical background for this section on Methodology, through bibliographical research, discussions, seminars and interviews, but mainly through my previous epistemological view towards

mass media studies, and the methodological problems arising from the research itself throughout the years that the investigation lasted.

1.4.2
THE SUBJECTS

The studies of Foreign News and of the British press partly describe some of the organisational characteristics of the work involving foreign correspondents. But specifically on the subject of the coverage of Latin America, I held interviews with the foreign news editors of The times and The Guardian (Margaret Allen and Richard Gott) and with the following Latin American correspondents: Tony Jenkins (The Guardian), Tim Coone (Financial Times, The Economist), Hugh O'Shaughnessy (The Observer, F.T.), Colin Harding (The Times), John Rettie (The Guardian), Andrew Thompson (The Times) and Harold Briley (BBC).
(I also held some more 'informal' interviews about the same subject with British journalists of the Latin American Newsletter, The Latin American Bureau (LAB), The Head of the Latin American Section of the External Services of the BBC, stringers in six Latin American countries during a duty tour to Central America and Mexico, and Latin American journalists in London). In addition, I sent two sets of questionnaires in two different periods - before and after the Falklands War - to all the Foreign Editors of Fleet Street, which were answered by 72% of them the first time, and by 64% the second time. The findings of all these

enquiries are described in the corresponding chapters of this work.

1.4.3 THE OBJECT

As explained in the previous pages, the research on the press coverage of Latin America was divided into a quantitative analysis and a qualitative one, or 'ideological reading', over samples chosen from two periods: the end of the 19th Century and 1973-83.

I have already described the characteristics of content analysis and how and why it was used in this research as an empirical support for the ideological reading. Part Three and the chapters dealing with the analyses themselves explain the detailed stages and methodological procedures for each specific analysis. Hence, in this section of the overall methodology I only describe the general method and the sampling of the investigation.

For the sample of the 19th Century the years 1879 and 1891 were chosen for specific reasons: in 1879 the so called 'Pacific War' broke out between an alliance formed by Perud and Bolivia against Chile. At the time, many British economic interests were then at stake, mainly the nitrate mines in the Atacama Desert, owned by Sir Thomas North as well as railway and shipping companies. Some British naval officers took active part in this conflict on the side of the Chilean navy, following the tradition

of Lord Cochrane, who commanded battle ships in the Chilean War of Independence, at the beginning of that century, becoming one of Chile's national heroes.

Parallel to this, the coverage of other Latin American events in that year are analysed, liek 'revolts' in Mexico and Paraguay, the revolution in Venezuela, the 'crisis in Panama', the Cuban Insurrection', the 'rising' in Santo Domingo, and econimic news on Brazil.

The other year analysed was 1891 when there was a right-wing rebellion against President Balmaceda in Chile, resulting in a short civil war that ended with the suicide of Balmaceda, a strongly nationalist political leader who wanted to nationalise some of the largest foreign companies, including British mining companies. The parallel with President Allende in the 1970s is obvious.

The newspapers examined for both periods were 'The Daily Chronicle', 'The Manchester Guardian', and 'Lloyds Weekly Newspaper'. The specific methodological procedure is described in each relevant chapter.

For the coverage of the 20th Century several samples were taken. Firstly, the year 1977 was chosen for the main quantative analysis because in that particular year there were no dramatic events in Latin America (like coups d'etats, Central American crises or wars), therefore it was considered to be a good sample of a 'normal year'. The main bulk of quantative data for this research was provided, then, by 1977. The sample included The Financial Times, The Times, The Guardian and The Daily Telegraph.

'Le Monde Diplomatique' was also measured for comparison. Together with the content analysis, an ideological reading of the coverage of this period by the four British newspapers was also done.

Secondly, and in order to include a typical sample of the coverage of some Latin American crises, the 1973 coup d'etat in Chile was chosen for a qualitative analysis, bearing in mind that this kind of contingency - of deep international repercussions - would normally be expected to have a good coverage and that this particular event happened in the country of origin of this researcher who was there, working as a lecturer and as a journalist at the time of the coup. In this case, and due to the complexity of the analysis (selection of texts and their 'reading') the sample only comprised The Guardian, The Times and The Financial Times. But, in order to have some elements for comparison, some texts from Le Monde Diplomatique were also selected, analysed and compared.

Thirdly, and in order to have both a more 'up-to-date' analysis (1980s) and one on some important event involving British interest, the coverage of The Falklands War was selected for both a quantitative content analysis and an ideological examination. This period was analysed in the following way:

a) a bibliographical investigation of the events themselves,

b) an ideological reading of the coverage of Argentina before the crisis,

c) a quantitative content analysis of the coverage of Latin America as a whole during the crisis (April 15th to July 14th).

d) an ideological reading of the coverage of the conflict,

e) a comparative account of the way this researcher and his Latin American colleagues covered the Falklands War for the External Services of the BBC, and,

f) with a view to comparing the coverage before and after the South Atlantic crisis, a quantitative content analysis on a period one year after the war, using newspaper samples which include The Financial Times, The Times, The Guardian, and - for comparison - The International Herald Tribune.

Finally, when drawing out general conclusions, an overall re-examination of the date obtained was carried out as well.

SUMMARY

THE SAMPLING

1879	War between Perú/Bolivia and Chile Quantitative and Qualitative analyses (all of Latin America)	
1891	Civil War in Chile (British economic interests at stake) Qualitative analysis on the coverage of Chile	
Newspapers:	Daily Chronicle, Manchester Guardian & Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper	
1973	Latin American Crisis: Military Coup in Chile Qualitative analysis	
1977	'Normal Year in Latin America' Main quantitative analysis and qualitative one	

1982	Falklands War: Conflict involving Great Britain Quantitative and qualitative analyses
Newspapers:	1983 (one year after the war): Quantitative analysis: The Guardian, The Times, The Financial Times, The Daily Telegraph, Le Monde Diplomatique, The International Herald Tribune.

THE METHOD

- Methodological lay-out
- Quantitative analysis (Content Analysis)
- Qualitative analysis (Ideological Reading)
- Establishment of a social, historical and economic context
- Interviews
- Questionnaires
- Comparison of British newspapers with foreign ones
- Comparison of data between periods
- Personal impressions

2. PART TWO

A GENERAL CONCEPTUALISATION OF THE MEDIA

FOREIGN NEWS AND THE BRITISH PRESS

FOREIGN EDITORS AND CORRESPONDENTS:
DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVES

2.1
A GENERAL ECONOMIC CONCEPTUALISATION OF THE MEDIA

In accordance with the methodological premises described before, any ideological analysis of the press contents should pay some attention to the economic determinants forming the production of news. A considerable amount of research has been devoted to the analysis of press ownership, economic links and financial dependence of the press, but little attention has been paid to the role of the media within the general process of production in any given society. I believe that if one is to conceptualise the media as ideological agencies (as I do in this particular research) one has to look, therefore, into the economic framework where these agencies play their part. For this purpose, in the following pages I look into a general economic conceptualisation of the media in terms of their role as agents within the process of production. I am not, therefore, investigating aspects such as ownership, 'news as commodities', or financial links. But I am trying to establish a general economic conceptualisation as an integral part of the theoretical and of the methodological framwork for this research.

Mass media, in advanced capitalist societies, are active and necessary agents of the general process of production. Their development - or eventual change - will correspond to the general laws of particular developments or changes in the mode of production. In any case, they

play an essential role in the process of circulation of capital within the capitalist process of production. This role is to promote consuption in order to shorten the time of circulation and, at the same time, expand the market of commodities.

I shall develop this schematic formulation in the following pages. I will begin by quoting a most important sentence from Marx's Capital:

> 'The chief means of reducing the time of circulation is improved communications.' (1)

Although Marx is here mainly referring to 'railways, steamboats, Suez Canael', etc., he also mentions 'telegraph wires' (2), which has enormous significance, since at the time Capital was written there were no radio and television broadcasting, or any of the new technological media; and commercial advertising, on the other hand, only had a significant development in the press some years after Marx's death (although the most important newspapers were born as 'trade-papers', as will be seen further on)*. Therefore, his including here of 'telegraph wires' is clearly involving fast means of circulating messages (ideas), in other words, the embryos of the new mass media that were to come later and which are so familiar to us today.

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*'From the 1880s the new kinds of display advertising began to break into the press, at a time when changes in marketing and the development of the retail trade were altering the whole basis of advertising.' (R. Williams, op.cit. p.18)

So, is it really the media's principle role to keep us informed about what goes on in the world? Or to create 'public opinion'? Or to re-inforce a specific ideology? Or to conform part of class 'hegemony'? If so, specifically, what for? And at this point I do not think one should be satisfied by answering the common clise (though, in universal terms, true): 'in order to maintain the status-quo', or the 'dominance of a specific class', which, even though are indeed valid statements, they also constitute general assumptions, without concrete, particular or specific definition (in terms of a 'massive practice' produced by the media). The question, then, is to define first the specificity of the role of the mass media in the process of production within a given mode of production, and, from there, see how ideology - for instance - manifests in media messages, framing this second analytic stage within the theory of ideology developed previously.

Nor is it enough to verify the handling of the media as business and/or establish their financial links or sources of revenue, because the media - business or not - produce a very special sort of commodity: messages, which are not necessarily news only.

I accept the fact that news information is an important role of the media (it appears to be the main one), but if we conceptualise the mass media as agents of circulation, news does not seem to be the best starting point for a general analysis of the media (framework in which to place

the coverage of Latin America by the British press for this thesis). We can agree that the media reproduce ideology; we can conceptualise ideology in any given theory of ideology (which I have done in my previous chapter); we can study their cultural implications; we can accept that they are part of the ideological 'state apparatuses', and that they try to create 'consensus', in the sense of the concept of 'hegemony' developed by Gramsci; that they help disguise social contradictions, etc., but so does the school or any of the other ISAs. The mass media have their own concrete, specific and clear participation in the process of production, <u>different</u> from that of the school, the family, political parties, trade-unions, etc., because the media have their own practices, their own characteristics and immediate aims, their own history, their own functioning and specificity within the social process, again, different from those of the other ISAs.

In these terms - and basing these arguments upon the general laws of dialectical logic - we must look, as I said before, for the <u>specificity</u> of the ideological role of the media. 'Hegemony' and, within it, 'ideology' have a <u>general</u> role in society ('general' concepts); but it would be a mistake to apply this general ('universal') conceptualisation to particular or singular spheres of society, which, in fact, can have their own specificity, their own history, which can indeed be changing according

to the different epochs and due to a variety of determinations, in other words to the different changes or characteristics of the modes of production on which they are based. Therefore, the specificity ('singularity' and 'particularity' to use two dialectical categories) of the media's ideological role will be determined to a large extent by the place the media occupy within any given process of production.

The shape, the forms or the ways in which ideologies manifest in the family, or at school, or in a political party, have different characteristics from those manifested in media messages. It is not enough to say that it is 'the ideology of the dominant class', in general, the one which is behind the ISAs - though in universal terms this could be true - but we must try to find out how it operates in practice, why and what it is there fore, and how it is specifically determined in the media.

Ideology - as seen in my previous section - is a complex concept. Ideology is an abstraction, though it is, at the same time in the 'plural' sense, 'real' (embodied in practices, having material existence, etc.) and can exist at any one of the levels of the social superstructure. Therefore (one last argument), to start with ideology in a dialectical study of the communication process - to use Marx's terms (3) - it is only apparently correct (although the ideological message is the product of the communication process), especially taking into account that despite the fact that ideologies have a certain 'autonomy' and can,

in some periods, be 'dominant', they are always determined by social relations finding their origins in history. The media are not only producers of culture, they also play a role in the economy. Therefore, I believe, we must look for this role in the mode of production.

In order to do this, first we have to insert the process of communication within the social context, and secondly, we must understand the social formation as a process, as a moving dynamic whole, with all its levels interconnected in a continuous development, therefore placing the ideolgoical forms in their concrete relations with the mode of production in a given historical moment.

We must, then, look for the concrete participation of the media in the process of production (others, under these premises, will have to look at the specific participation of the school, for instance, in this process, in terms of the formation of professionals or skilled labour that production demands, perhaps, along with 'socialisation' for the prevailing mode of production; or that of the family, or trade-unions, and so on).

It is at this point - the process of production - where the media have to be understood as necessary and active agents of the process of circulation. This should be a general premise for the study of the media in current capitalist societies. Although there are, of course, exceptions and differences between countries, the general principle remains unmoved.

I will draw some basic economic considerations on this subject.

The process of production is not complete without consumption. The surplus-value added to the product is realised within the act of consuming. Bearing in mind that surplus-value is vital for the capitalist mode of production, we must remember how it appears in this process: in production, human labour (which is internalised in commodities) is redistributed in two ways: a) in order to reproduce the working capacity of the labour-person, he/she gets a salary (wages) as part of the produced value, and b) the other part is recovered by the industrialist through the realisation of commodities. The latter part is what we call 'surplus-value' (see Table I).

Secondly we have to consider that every capitalist system must reach the stage of industrialisation in which production processes are massified along with consuming needs. As Marx puts it:

> 'The capitalist mode of production presupposes not only a large scale production but also, and necessarily so, sales on a large scale' (4)

At the same time, the consequent multiplicity of wages becomes an important means of implementing the realisation of production (although any increase in wages means an automatic decrease in surplus-value).

Thirdly, at this level, a conflict between producers and consumers can be observed: one of the problems for the industrialist is how to orientate wages towards the

realisation of production. The mass of variable capital - an important complement of this realisation - can be destined towards other uses rather than consumption. The ways to get wages invested in the realisation of production vary according to the epoch. Here, too, the media play their necessary role.

The Panamanain sociologist Marcos Gandasegui established the links between production and the mass media in the following way: 'Once consumption patterns are defined, the media take charge to keep consumers well oriented' (5). Gandasegui had previously stated that:

> 'The necessity for convincing the public about what it good or bad, beautiful or ugly, necessary or unnecessary, is a consequence of the need to promptly and effectively realise production. In the end it is probably that the system throws into confusion good and bad, beautiful and ugly, and also what is necessary and unnecessary, in order to realise production' (6)

The process of production can be divided into two spheres: the actual production of commodities and their consumption. The media, in this process, have the task of speeding it, that is to say, of shortening the time separating these two spheres by promoting consumption (in a way no other massive means can). In other words, their role is inserted within the circulation period of capital. The role of the media in this process today is absolutely necessary: we cannot conceive of Western consumption socieities without the existence of the media; there is no other means for promoting consumption, massively, quickly

and with the efficacy of the mass media.

> 'During its time of ciruclation, capital does not perform the functions of productive capital and therefore produces neither commodities nor surplus-value' (7)

Capital must be moved, money and commodities have to circulate. In order to survive, capitalism has no choice: it must produce, consumer, reproduce and expend. To help shorten the period of ciruclation of commodities, to help moving capital and enlarge the market are not, therefore, 'significant' economic tasks of the media, but essential ones, summed up in thier conceptualisation as 'agents' of the process of circulation. (See Table I)

> 'It becomes palpably evident that the process of production and therefore also the self-expansion of capital-value are interrupted so long as its time of ciruclation lasts, and that the renewal of the process of production will proceed at a faster or a slower pace depending on the length of the circulation time.....The more the time of circulation is equal to zero, or approaches zero, the more does capital function, the more does its productivity and the self-expansion of its value increase.....In the production of commodities, circulation is as necessary as production itself, so that circulation agents are just as much needed as production agents' (8)

Today, the 'public' must be given an incentive to buy and consumer, as much and as quickly as they can - either necessary or unnecessary commodities - activating the circuit of capital. Face-to-face communication, used to offer and sell products belongs to the early periods of exhange (though it is still used in an insignificant proprotion). Today, when production, distribution, circulation and consumption are complex and massive, the

loud voices of retailers in the town market, and the shouts of the salesman in the street have been replaced by the mass media which have become the sales-voice of a complex whole of small industry and large industry, small producers and big monopolies, individual interests and large-scale commerce, national and transnational conglomerates. Mass communication and the media - for which new technological developments provide faster and better means everyday: transistors, satellites, silicon chips, computers and so on - are strongly related to the levels of development reached by the process of production. Both become more complex and more dependent on each other. Consumption cannot exist with its current charactersistics without the media, and the media cannot survive without the realisation of production (I shall come back to this later on). Mass communication - as well as transport, stock, credit, etc. - constitute the 'necessary cost' of circulation in order to transfer the commodity form into money form, 'so that circulation agents are just as much needed as production agents...' (See Table I)

Candasegui focuses on this relationship between economic growth and media growth:

> 'The economic growth that is implicit in every process of production constantly demands the investment of more capital. This results in a growing production of goods. That is to say, the market finds itself permanently stuffed with commodities.....it is, then, necessary to increase the population and/or producers' capacity of consumption. The circle of buyers must grow..... mechanisms to ensure this sort of consumption and

the directions to be assumed by it must properly get prepared. Each time larger production cannot permit excessive accumulations, neither its no-realisation.....those mechanisms to ensure the realisation of production must grow. The media - used to quicken this realisation - grow in the same proportion as capitalist production' (9)

From the moment production assumes massive forms and becomes larger and more complex - therefore, from the moment there is a massification in the structures of circulation, distribution and stock of commodities - and from the moment the market becomes progressively enlarging (along with population), a necessary and growing generation of mass media can be observed. A new sort of need emerges: the need of not only informing about what there is in the market, but mainly actively promoting (practice) its consumption. (See Table I)

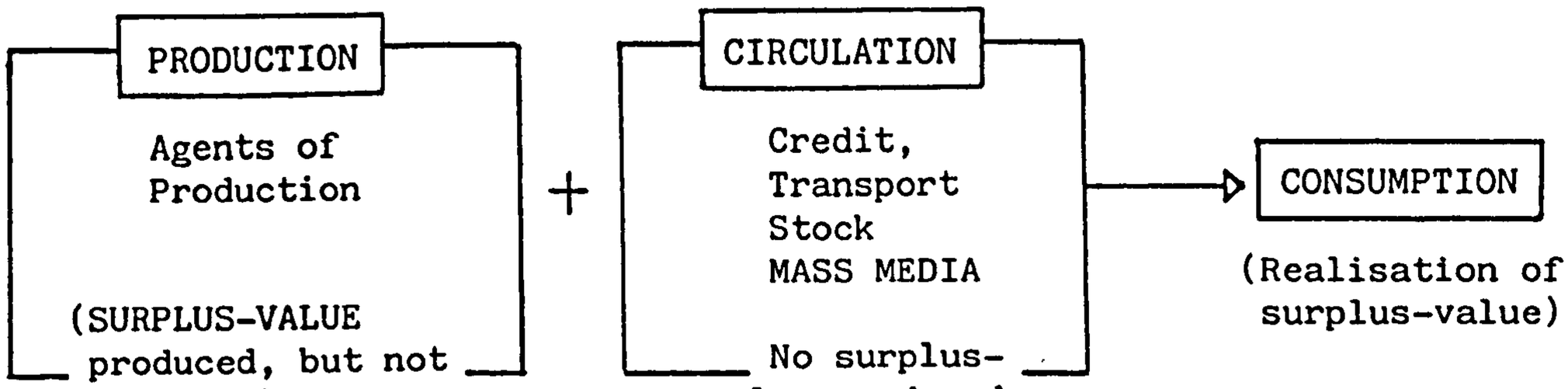
Therefore, the production of news, which appears to be the principle object of the media, is - for the general interest of the economy (*) - subsidiary: news is always changing, it comes and goes, it is 'novelty', it feeds the interest and attention of the population, and although it carries messages, that is to say, ideology, and it implies some sorts of 'effects', in fact, what remains concrete and unchangeable is the performance of the media when activating the realisation of production. News messages vary widely, they belong to the most diverse order and nature, covering

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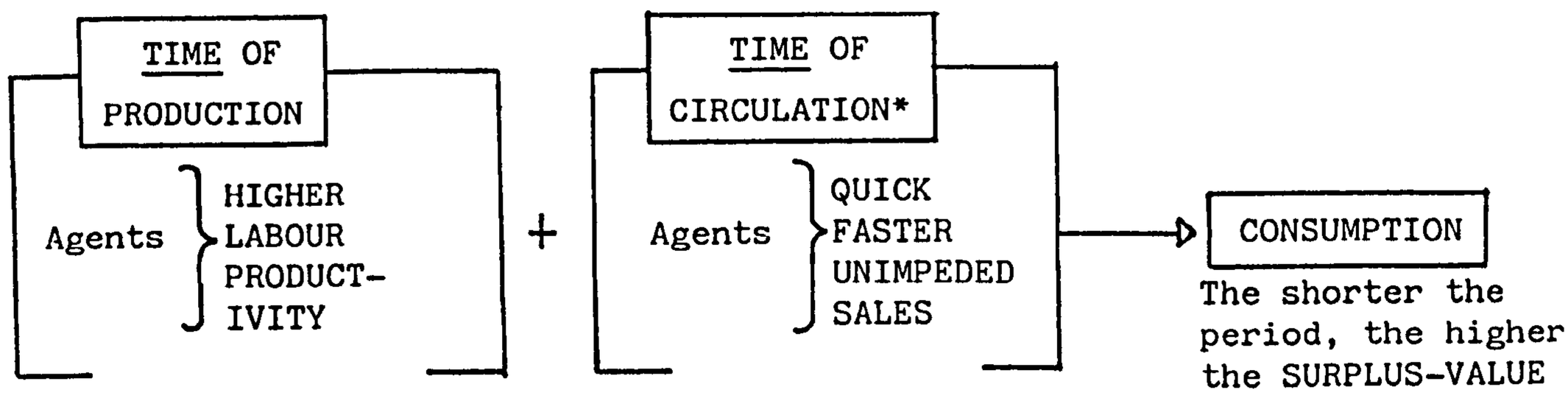
(*) There are a few singular and unique exceptions, like the BBC, as I shall cover further on.

TABLE I

• PROCESS OF PRODUCTION

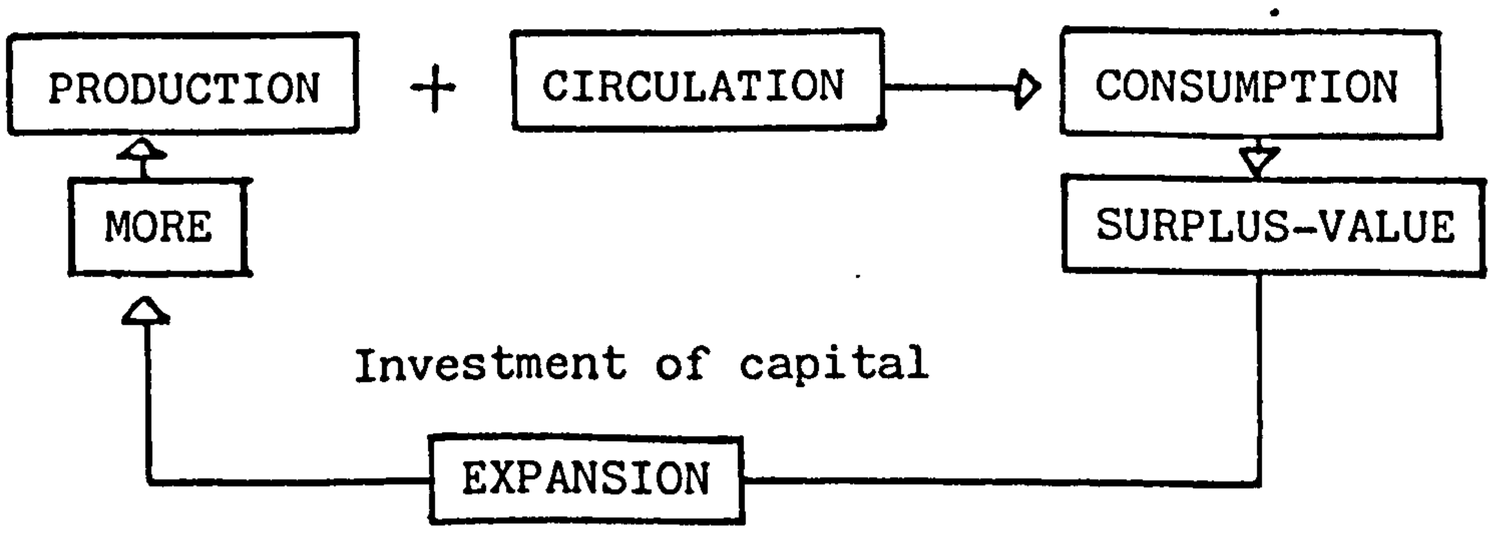


• PERIOD OF TURNOVER: (How to shorten it)

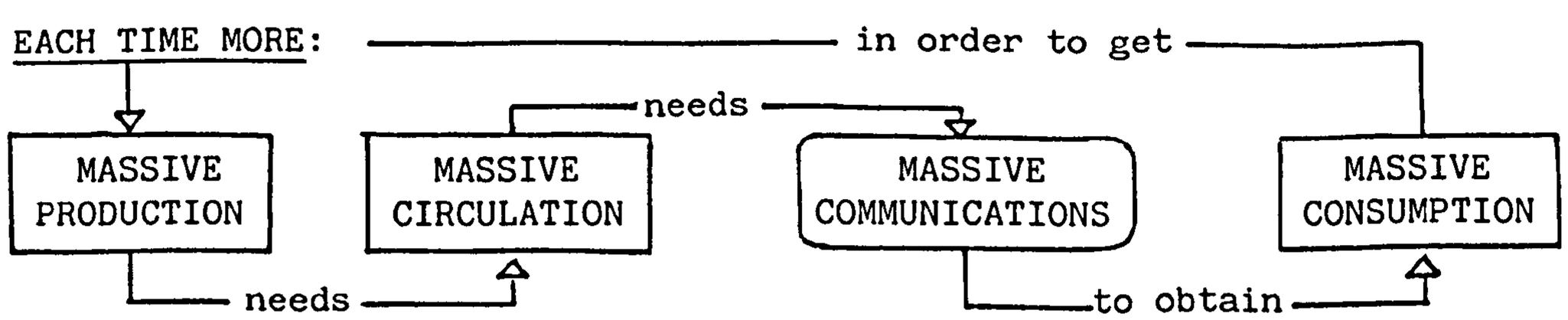


(see quotation on page 91)

• PROCESS OF REPRODUCTION: (Growth of production)



• EACH TIME MORE: in order to get



the whole range of social life, therefore news can manifest itself ideologically contradictory within the media, and even within one single medium. The only practical aim and concrete 'effect' of the media that is not contradictory and has one singular and specific nature is consumption.

But news is a commodity: it helps to fill the medium. Although in Britain there are a number of local newspapers that carry a very reduced amount of news (some do not carry any at all, like the local 'Advertisers' which are eminently commercial), this general conceptualisation of the media is much clearer in America, Latin America and other parts of the world where literally hundreds of radio-stations, for instance, do not have news-services, or educational or 'cultural' programmes, developing their existence on the basis of commercial advertising.

The media have a diversified and contradictory effect on voters, for example, or on any kind of attitude towards social life, except as far as production is concerned: votes are <u>important</u> for the economic system, but the circulation and reproduction of capital is <u>vital</u>. An event in Iran, a national political issue or a robbery in the high street has an ephemeral existence in the media. The economy could survive (in fact, survives) without covering all international, national or local news, or covering in a diversity of ways; but the advertiser is always there, so is the need of the economy for the media and vice-versa. Only in quantative terms, commercial advertising occupies more space in the British press than news stories (see content analysis on

page 259). A large circulation and specialised weekly journal like The Economist, for instance, carried 55.6% of commercial advertising, little less than the colour magazine of The Observer, which carries 66.1% (both samples measured in April 1979).

It is interesting to see the relation between the amount of news left aside (not published) for space reasons (economic reasons, and selected according to news values), and the amount of advertising (if any) left aside for the same reasons. It is even more interesting to see the criteria used for the selection of news to be published, or the little accessibility (if any, again) to the media for those who do not share a stake in them. (10)

It is obvious that everything that the advertiser wishes to tell us is promptly and clearly communicated to us, but we are not informed completely and properly about everything that the rest of the world would like to tell us (as is the particular case of Latin America).

Before looking at the general relationships between the media and the economy, I will try to illustrate this characterisation with some elucidating examples from different periods and countries of the Western world, which, although do not constitute 100 per cent evident, I believe support and serve to illustrate the point I wish to make.

At the end of the 18th century and in the first half of the 19th century, when international trade and industrialism were expanding rapidly, many of the 'newspapers' were created as 'advertisers' or commercial papers, in contrast to two

centuries before when all those existing at that time were created and established under political motivations. This does not mean that during the 19th century newspapers were not politically motivated, on the contrary, I believe they always have been. What is important in this period is the emergence of those commercial papers ('advertisers') which were to become, later on, some of the most influential newspapers not only in Europe or the United States, but also in the brand new republics of South America.

El Mercurio, created in 1819 in Valparaiso, Chile, is - for instance - one of the oldest and most influential newspapers in Latin America. It was established as a 'periódico mercantil', or 'trade-paper' and carried almost solely advertisement in its first editions. Today, being the most powerful newspaper-chain and part of the largest publishing monopolies in Chile, it is still legally called 'Empresa Comercial y Periodística El Mercurio' (Commercial and journalistic enterprise).

In the United States, America's first daily paper, created in September 1784, was The Pensylvannia Packet and Daily Advertiser, carrying only advertising in its front and back of its four-page-folio, following 'the London custom'.

In England, the forerunner of The Times, John Walter's Daily Universal Register, was created in January 1785. It also carried advertising on its front page, but in its first issue half of this page was occupied by

a sort of 'open letter' written by the editor under the headline 'To the Public'. This letter has a tremendous significance for the point I want to make because it constitutes an historical statement evidencing that, already at that time, newspapers were considered 'agents of the process of circulation'.

The following is the relevant part of the text:

'it (the paper) deals almost solely in advertisements and consequently though very useful, it is by no means an entertaining paper'

(Although further on it points out):

'...debates should be reported for the amusement or information of those who may be particularly fond of them...'

(but then it states again):

'...a due attention should be paid to the interest of the trade, which are so greatly promoted by advertisements.....Such, it is intended, shall be the Universal Register, the great objects of which will be to facilitate the commercial intercourse between the different parts of the community through the channel of advertisements' (11)

And, is not 'to facilitate the commercial intercourse' the same as 'facilitate circulation'? Is he not talking here about the realisation of production when he refers in these terms to the 'different parts of the community'?

John Walter was openly saying that his paper -which three years later would only change its name to The Times - had as its 'great object' to be an active agent of this

'commercial intercourse'. Actually, in 1785, Walter understood the role of newspapers within the general economy of those days much more clearly than many people today.

According to Hutt, at the end of the 18th century and at the beginning of the 19th century,

> 'As dailies developed many of them - witness the "advertiser" in their titles - put advertising first, and, initially at least regarded news as filler; advertising therefore had the front page preference' (12)

Other British newspapers of those days like The World Fashionable Advertiser (1787), The Oracle (1789), the Morning Chronicle (1770), the Morning Herald (1780), and later ones like the Leeds Mercury (1807) or the Manchester Guardian (1821) (see appendix) and many others, kept up this practice of advertisements in their front pages.

In fact, The Times carried commercial advertising on the whole of the front page until May 1966, when commercial television and radio were starting their new life in the history of British media.

Bearing in mind that the BBC is considered here, perhaps, one of the few - if not the only - unique exception in this general economic conceptualisation of the media in capitalist modes of production, I would like to illustrate the modus-operandis of television in America.

In the United States - the most representative nation of the capitalist world (*) - the importance of the media

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(*) Jeremy Tunstall, in his book The Media are American (13) suggests that the media in the whole world has been - or is - influenced in some way or other by those of America. Since the US needs the world market for their products this makes an absolutely consequent economic sense.

in the economic process of reproduction is indeed vital. This has been recognised even at high official levels: Frank Stanton, vice-president of the NBC (National Broadcasting Company) testified before a US Congressional Sub-committee in 1963 the following:

> 'Television is not only a program service but an advertising medium which operates in a framework of intense competition. The principle value television has to offer an advertiser is audience, and the rating services furnish us and our advertisers with the measurement of the audience generated by our programmes. This is a business requirement of broadcasting, essential in soliciting and justifying the advertising expenditures.' (14)

This crude testimony clearly shows how programmes (including news) are considered to be 'audience-gainers' with the aim of reaching the largest possible amount of viewers in order to sell in better conditions, (higher rates-per-second) advertising time to advertisers ('business requirements'). But at the same time Stanton implies that more than a business, television is, as he puts it 'an advertising medium'. The audience are the consumers, consumers must be mobilised in order to shorten circulation time of commodities, producers must advertise to achieve this, so, as Stanton says, 'the principle value that television has to offer an advertiser is audience'. In other words, its main object (denoted in the word medium rather than the wrod service) is to advertise, that is to say, to realise the same role as that of the early Times of London: to facilitate 'commercial intercourse'.

Things do not seem to have changed much in two hundred years. Nevertheless capitalism and, consequently the media, have developed enormously. But the process of production, although larger and much more complex, still operates under the same general laws, therefore the role of communications still has the same importance in it as pointed out by Marx in my first quotation: 'the chief means of reducing the time of circulation is improved communciations'. (It is even more important today!)

Television networds (in the era of conglomerates and advanced industrialism) are, as Edward Jay Epstein states:

> 'essentially in the business of selling a national audience to advertisers, which they create through the simple device of paying selected stations across the country rebates to show network programs' (15)

Not surprisingly, after 'hundreds of interviews' with television people and at the end of a long and impressively well-documented chapter on 'the economic logic' of television news, Epstein concludes that:

> 'In fine, despite the highly unpredictable and contingent nature of news itself, network news is a much more economically national and systematic operation than it is generally assumed to be by knowledgeable persons, including even a number of newsmen involved in it.....it is primarily the economic logic that determines when the news will be scheduled, and thus, to a large extent, what type of audience will see it.' (16)

Epstein observes that this logic also defines the amount of money and resources available to researching, covering and producing news stories. Always from the point of view

of news, he goes on further:

> 'Where political and economic objectives coincide - as, for example, in the selection of noncontroversial subjects for news documentaries - the news strategy is clearly defined for executives. However, in cases in which the political and economic values conflict, an intermediary strategy must be found which at least minimally meets the political ground rule with the least possible economic loss.....In one way or another, then, political and economic ground rules (and the logic proceeding from them) shape, structure and confine the process in which newsmen gather and report the news.' (17)

Indeed this scheme can be applied, in general to the whole of American broadcasting (radio and television) and, thus, to the majority of Western broadcasting. Tim Robinson, when writing on the media in California says:

> 'It is the business of America that has created the media in its own image; the media may, like Frankenstein, develop a will of his own: in the end though, it returns to the master' (18)

This has proved to be true for the British media as well, according to consecutive reports of Royal Commissions on the press and the future of broadcsating in this country. And the fact that this pattern has been exported is clearly shown by Jeremy Tunstall:

> 'There have been two outstanding influential examples of prestige newspaper: first The Times of London.....secondly the New York Times... ...The leading newspapers of most other countries in the world have been closely modelled upon one or both of these Time newspapers' (19)

> 'The American pattern of local media leads to a national pattern of a few strong organisations which are geared to supplying far-flung outlets - and then go on to do the same thing in the world' (20)

In only one big city of the United States, Los Angeles, there are 82 radio-stations operating as business. The same city has 15 television channels, 12 of which are commercial (21); additionally, the population of Los Angeles may 'switch' to cable television or tune into other powerful radio-stations in the area. This pattern is found, for instance, in any Latin American country (with the exception of Cuba). Chile, to take just one of them, with a population of less than ten million, has more than 150 commercial radio-stations, and a very low proportion of these have news-services. All its newspapers, too, are shaped in the American-British style. Its main television network operates like the American ones, the same as its five local TV channels.

We can observe, at this stage, how not only the press in Western world responds to American-British patterns, but also broadcasting, sound and video news, as Jeremy Tunstall (22) points out. Industrial public relations feed national and international media, directly or indirectly influencing news through subtle and scientific means. Moreover, 'media imperialism', not only involves news, but, predominantly, international advertising companies and conglomerates, film industry, record industry, communications enterprises, media technology industry, and all those direct and indirect economic interests attached.

In international communications, once more, the same as the press two hundred years ago, the historical embryos of international news agencies were in the 19th century,

specifically economic:

> 'Havas and Reuters both supplied financial news to businessmen before they began supplying news to newspapers. Both the British and French agencies operated in the world from an imperial base.' (23)

Very schematically, this is the general context in which I place my conceptualisation of the media as agents of the process of circulation in production. So far, I have only formulated the general principle, trying to illustrate it with a variety of disparate and unsystematised examples. Now I will go into the concrete economic character of the media.

There are many studies which have analysed in depth the national and international financial and economic links between the media and industry, monopolies, conglomerates and transnational companies ('cultural imperialism and economic foundations' - some of them by Armand Mattelart (24) in which he looks at the economic and cultural implications of even satellites, computers, etc.). Ownership of the British press has been widely analysed by different Royal Commissions on the press and other academic studies, so I will not insist on these links further more, in order to come back to the basic question of this general phenomena:

What are the relations, in general, between the media and the modes of production in advanced industrialised countries?

Authors like Peter Golding, when looking at 'media economics' have focussed on this problem in terms of their revenue, explicitly implying that media are run as businesses:

> 'Most of the cultural products supplied by the media are market commodities; they have to be sold and they have to be sufficiently profitable to persuade the organisations that provide them it is worth continuing to do so. Two exceptions of this mundane but crucial observation characterise the British media. First, the major broadcasting organisation, the BBC, makes no profit.....Secondly, many national newspapers, probably the majority, are not profitable, though they all belong to industrial groups that are.' (25)

Since Golding (among others) conceptualises the media as business - which indeed is part of the economic character of the media - he obviously conceptualises media products as 'market commodities'. I agree with this. But, since I believe that the media are not only business entities, but essential and necessary agents of the process of circulation, within production, in a given capitalist society, Golding's analysis - in these terms - looks into one aspect only. He makes a distinction and points out two 'exceptions' to his 'business conception': the BBC (in principle, I agree with this); and those newspapers which do not make any profit. From my conceptualisation, I do not agree with this because as Golding himself points out, 'they all belong to industrial groups that are' (profitable), therefore, they are part of a larger profitable business. This is a key point. Some of the media analysts who have focussed on the economic links, do not place their findings within the dynamics of the whole process of production in our socieities; they accept the existence of non-profitable business which is explained by the fact that they are owned by economic groups which at the same time

own or control other profitable industries; but this situation still seems to be nonsense: what sort of business mentality would want to keep for years, or even invest, in an industry without a profitable future? This is a contradiction that must be solved, and the only way to do so is by accepting the fact that the media are essentially necessary not only in ideological terms, but also for the circulation of commodities and they are both ideological and economic agents. As such, they can perfectly not produce value: the economic role of the media appears as a continuation of the process of production, the same as transport, within the process of circulation and for the process of circulation (26). On the other hand, as Marx states in Capital Vol. III:

> 'The process of circulation is a phase of the total process of reproduction. But no value is produced in the process of circulation, and, therefore, no surplus-value.' (27)

This means that non-profitable media (a tiny minority, anyway) form part of this economic logic of the process of circulation, if we understand them as agents of this phase of the period of turnover.

If today the majority of the media - run as business, like transport - is indeed profitable due to the 'cunning' and 'craft' of commercial enterprise, the basic fact - that they largely promote the necessary consumption - still remains, perhaps even more clearly (although I have not looked into the area of transport, it would not be

surprising to find some proportion of it operating with with losses, when looked at in isolation).

The formulation

a) The media are business (exceptions: BBC and non-profitable newspapers) with economic links,

is included in my own, (b) and (c):

b) Media: agents of circulation (massive and prompt consumption cannot survive without them), and

c) The media can survive without news, but cannot survive without the realisation of production.

The only exception in Britain seems to be the BBC.

The non-profitable newspapers - though not 'good business' - become part of the 'investment' in (b) and (c), costs that the process of production must pay in order to facilitate circulation. This second sphere of the period of turnover has then a specific investment; therefore, on the whole, we must consider that no value is necessarily produced within circulation of goods. This is one of the logical economic explanations for running non-profitable enterprises. Also there are some other 'cultural' and ideological explanations. In order to increase surplus-value it is necessary to shorten the time of circulation and expand the market, so, the media are, too, necessary (and if, in so doing, some become profitable, this is in terms of their own commodities, but it does not mean that they have achieved the aim of moving the rest of the products in the market - as could be the case of books, films, records, comic-strips, etc.).

There is still another economic point: the market.

'Although the excess value of a commodity over its cost-price is shaped in the immediate process of production, it is realised only in the process of circulation, since, in reality, under competition, in the actual market, it depends on market conditions whether or not and to what extent this surplus is realised.' (28)

It is in terms of circulation and market where economic interests 'invest' in the media. Transport, credit and stock precede the role of the media in this process, in other words, the media form part of a complex structure of ciruclation. That is why, when focussed on in isolation, they appear to be in some cases non-pofitable businesses.

Peter Golding points out that there are four main sources of revenue for the media (as part of what he calls 'cultures-producing organisations'): the sales of the product, advertising, subscriptions (or license fees), and financial support from the government. Again, although this is true, I believe that the relationship between the media and the economic system is not only characterised by their sources of revenue (which are indeed important), but rather they take place through a series of economic inter-relations in the following way:

The media are directly attached to the economic infra-structure through three major spheres:

a) their ownership
b) commercial advertising
c) consumers

This, by means of a series of inter-relations which I have systematised in the following scheme:

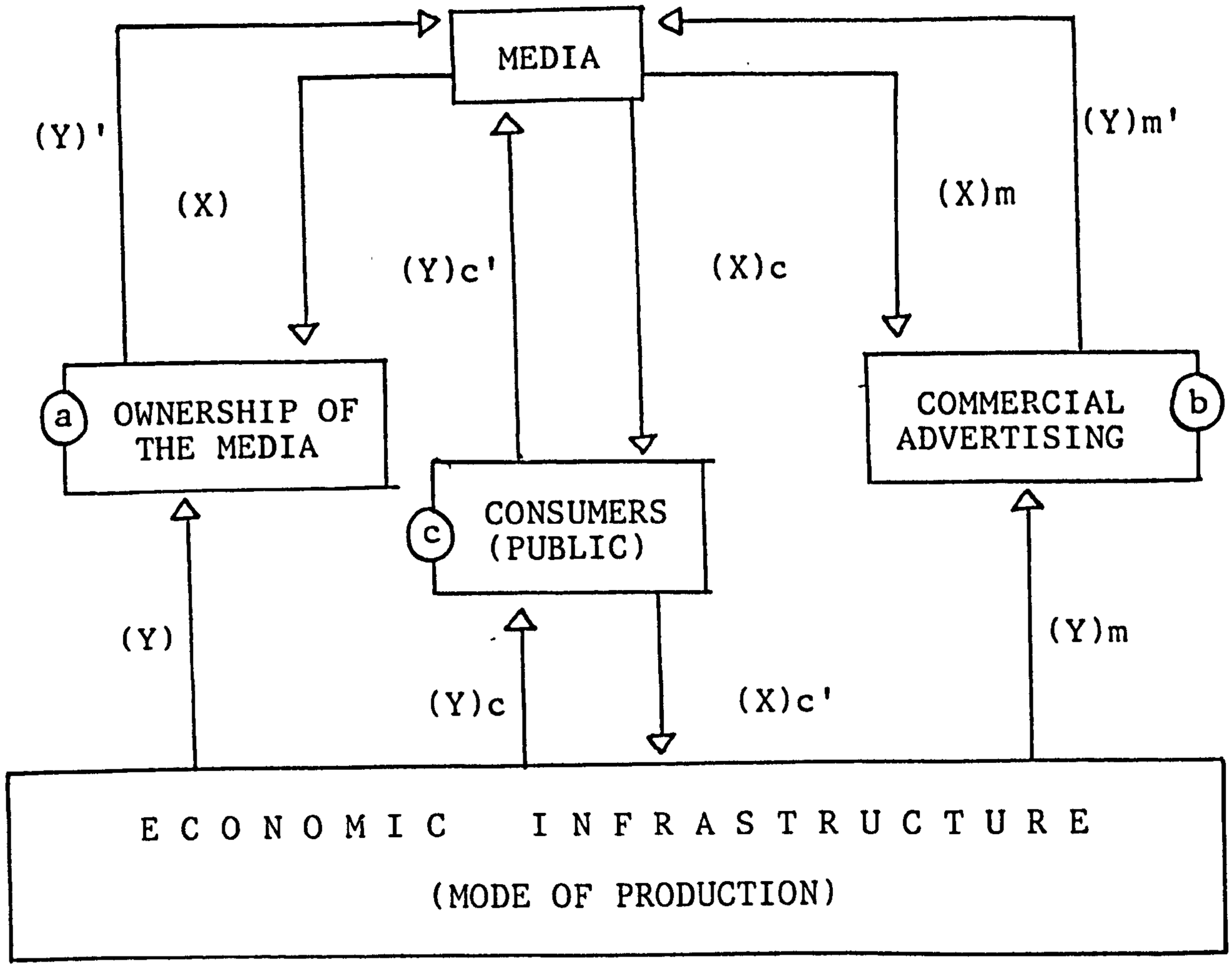


TABLE II

The economic groups which own the media have financial links with other economic interests within the infrastructure (Y) as it has - in the case of the British press - been reported by several Royal Commissions and others (*). The relationship between owners and the media (Y)' is, for the former, in some cases, not profitable, these facts are explained in the previous pages. But, on the other hand, it is vital that the media have links with the owners (X), otherwise they could barely survive. In the sphere of commercial advertising, the economic infra-

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(*) J. Cunan, (Ed.) The British Press: A Manifesto, etc.

structure, as a totality, in a non-organic way (apparently), i.e. in a disperse and 'fragmented' manner (n), needs to promote consumption through advertising (Y)n, and since, at this stage, the production is massive, it has to be done by means of the media (Y)n'. The economy needs the media to dynamise circulation. This relationship is also reciprocal because the media need advertising for their own financing (X)n, a fact which is widely accepted. Both (Y)' and (Y)n' relations reach consumers by means of the media (X)c, mainly through commercial advertising, in order to promote the consumption of the advertised commodities (X)c, thus producing an economic practice. At the same time, the media need the 'public' (sales revenue), therefore they must attract consumers in order to make them buy (Y)c' newspapers, or get the largest possible audience, because the larger the audience the more they can charge for their advertising time or space: 'advertisers generally make their purchases on a cost-per-thousand-homes-reached basis' (29). Consumers, on the other hand, establish an economic link with the mode of production not only as labour-force or subjects of production, but also by getting the goods advertised in the market (Y)c. This way the circuit of production is realised and surplus-value obtained. The relation (Y)c is linked at the same time with (X)c' within the circuit of capital, that is to say, they are part of the actual process of production. The media operate here through (X)c as an agent of circulation, activated by many determinations:

$$\left[\ (Y)+(Y)'+(Y)c'+(Y)n+(Y)n'\ \right]n\ ,$$

some of which take ideological forms (at different stages of the communication flow), however, all of them, 'in the last instance' find their origin (do not 'read' "determination") in the economic base, which, in the end has as its central object, the social practice (X)c'.

We can also observe some obvious articulations between relations, for instance, between (Y) and (Y)n (sometimes (Y) must reach consumers indirectly, through

$$\left[\ (Y)n \text{ --- } (Y)n' \text{ --- } (X)c\ \right];$$

or (X) and (X)n; or (X)c and (Y)n which has been developed in pages 15 and 16 (E.J. Epstein); or one which is of basic importance for the media: (Y)' --- (Y)c' --- (Y)n' which does not contradict, but rather involves Peter Golding's 'sources of revenue', with the exception of governmental financial support.

This is my general economic conceptualisation of the media which should be understood as an integral part of the theoretical framework together with (and related to) the ideological conceptualisation and the historical background. it is not my aim to point out any of these spheres as exercising a determinant influence over the others. They interact continuously and it is in this way they are methodologically considered for my ideological reading of the British press. As an integral framework in which to place the reading of texts, which, no matter how well conceived and executed, will suffer (as quantitative

content analysis does) from the intractable problem of inference. As Golding and Murdock write:

> '...the sociology of culture and communications has been seriously incapacitated by the tendency to over-privilege texts as objects of analysis .....if sociology is to make an important contribution to contemporary cultural analysis, then it is primarily in the analysis of social relations and social structures that its strongest claim to significance can and should be stated.' (30)

Hence this economic conceptualisation of the media.

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2.2
AN HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE BRITISH INVOLVEMENT IN LATIN AMERICA DURING THE 19th AND 20th CENTURY

The embryos of British involvement in Latin America may be found, perhaps, during the second half of the 16th century, when it was apparent that neither Spain now Portugal would be allowed to stay in undisturbed possession of the 'new world'. Three hundred years later, the peak of British bonds with this continent was undoubtedly reached by the end of the 19th century. These links almost disappear after 1920.

During the late 1500s some European nations - especially England, France and the Netherlands - were eager for both trade and territory in America, despite the presence and political control therein by Spain and Portugal. Adventurous "sea-dogs" such as John Hawkins and Sir Francis Drake became more than 'well known' to the Spanish crown and as such have a conspicuous place in the history of Latin America.

In Great Britain, Oliver Cromwell thought he could achieve hazardous conquests in Latin America, specially in the Caribbean, where his expeditionary forces only had to content themselves with the capture of Jamaica, in 1655 (but this country, as no one expected, became a wealthy colony and one of the main centres of buccaneering activities from then on and for almost a century).

Throughout the 1700s, Latin America felt the consequences of the distant European wars. The peace treaties which ended

the war of the Spanish succession awarded England a legal entry into the commerce of Spanish America by means of the 'asiento', an official contract to ship slaves to the Spanish colonies from Africa. In fact, Great Britain, for many years, was the main European country involved in slave shipping from Africa to Central America and the north of South America (later on Great Britain was the first country to abolish slavery and to fight against this kind of commerce).

By this time Spain - rather lately - became involved in the most important of the Anglo-French struggles, known as the "Seven Years War" (1756 - 1763), on the side of the French. The British then occupied Havana,the capital of Cuba in a rapid naval movement (August 1762). The city was returned under the treaty of Paris at the end of the war, but Spain was obliged to give Florida to England. (France ceded Louisana to Spain, by way of·compensation).

Later on, again, in 1776, due to the Treaty of San Ildefonso, Spain once more aligned herself to France against Great Britain. Both the French and the Spanish were defeated in naval battles at Cape St. Vincent, losing the island of Trinidad in 1797.

Perhaps the most significant event for the relations between Latin America and Britain took place on October 21st 1805, when the combined French and Spanish fleets fought the naval power of Lord Nelson just outside Cape Trafalgar, the former being largely defeated. The historic implication of this battle for Latin America was that the British victory

deprived Spain of the means to enforce her influence on the American colonies. By this time independent feelings amongst Latin Americans were rapidly spreading and gaining more and more strength. By that time there was a strong body of liberal opinion in England which became a great aid for the anti-Spanish forces, listening and helping revolutionary figures such as Simón Bolivar, Francisco de Miranda, Bernardo O'Higgins and Andrés Bello.

Even though the British occupied Buenos Aires and Montevideo for a short time after the Battle of Trafalgar, England indirectly supported the independence movements in Latin America for obvious political reasons, especially through the Venezuelan revolutionary Francisco de Miranda, who lived in England for long periods, preparing the independence movements of several American nations. Most of these began to succeed in the early 1800s, giving birth to the new Republics in this continent. But as usually happens with brand new nations, they could not avoid maintaining some links with the European powers:

> 'The independence of the new nations proved almost at once to be nominal, since the ruling elites remained spiritually linked to Iberia, culturally dependent upon France, and economically subservient to Great Britain.' (1)

Of all the foreign powers willing to enter the vacuum left by Spain, none was in better shape and condition than Great Britain. Her maritime supremacy was established, without doubt, throughout the long Napoleonic wars, and her Navy - at the time, the most powerful in the world - was

able to protect the vast and efficient merchant fleet. A special South American squadron was created by the Royal Navy in 1808, operating from 1812 in both the Pacific and Atlantic oceans. In addition, British manufacturers, highly stimulated by the increasing industrial revolution, were looking for new markets, and during the Napoleonic blockade of the British Isles, most of the potential markets were outside the European continent. Brazil was the first American nation to confer enormously favourable trade priviledges on Engalnd, in 1810, two years after the visit of the Royal Family.

What is more, British intersts clearly co-incided with those of the Creole elite who not only thought in terms of political independence, but also in terms of free trade. Many British traders, therefore, lent financial and moral support to the independence movements in Latin America. This led to the fact that in 1820, it has been estimated, there were about one hundred British trading concerns established in the area, apart from those set up in Brazil. Of course, other European countries sent their merchants as well.

> 'There were, however, two or three places where the foreign presence was especially noticeable. Of these, Buenos Aires was perhpas the outstanding example: by the end of the 1800s, four million pesos' worth of exports passed through the port; the British community there was three thousand strong by this time. Valparaiso, in Chile, grew at an astonishing pace from a somewhat miserable village into a flourishing and bustling commerical centre; from that day to this its business district has laways retained a faintly British air.' (2)

By that time local money was very scarce, but British citizens had enough pounds sterling to spare for investments abroad.

In a short time, then, England replaced Spain and Portugal as the dominant power in the former Iberian colonies. That primacy was held throughout the nineteenth century. The British provided a model for change which the Iberians could never have furnished. This is an interesting contradiction of British involvement in Latin America during the last century: that is to say, its economic dominance within a frame of supporting republican independences. Great Britain sold more to the new Republics than anyone else (Bradford Burns, 1977) and almost monopolised the imports into some nations.

> 'British firms handled the lion's share of Latin America's foreign trade, and British bottoms carried much of it to distant ports. The English government maintained men-of-war in Latin American waters to protect British commerce.' ·(3)

For almost three centuries, the mineral wealth of America had been legendary, and the writings of Alexander Von Humbolt, published by that time, confirmed the general feeling of its continuing potential. In 1825 there were about twenty-six Latin American ventures established in London with an authorised capital of £24m pounds sterling. But by this time almost all of them were failures. Therefore it took some three decades before mining was revived in Latin America, once more awakening British interests in investments. The first two nations to begin exploiting

uninterruptedly their minerals were Peru and Mexico. but if in some traditionally important mining areas production went into decline, in other parts mining exploitation emerged strongly, as in Chile, for example, where, in 1832, the new vein of silver struck at Chanarcillo gave rise to rapid prosperity in the mining investments. On the other hand, copper - which did not have much importance among world trade in colonial years - was now extracted and exported on an unprecedented scale.

But mining was not the only issue on which Latin America turned her view towards Great Britain. According to Simon Collier, government after government felt obliged to turn to the London money for loans, without very good results for either Latin America or for England:

> 'In 1882 there were four issues of Latin American governments boards in London: in 1824-25 there were ten more (...) the Creole governments rapidly found themselves unable to service the loans; by the end of 1927, all payments of interests had ceased. This experience, coupled with the failures of the mining ventures, made the British investor understandably chary of putting money into Latin America - a chariness that lasted several decades.' (4)

Nevertheless, despite these financial failures and the resulting gap in British interest for a considerable amount of years, the economic links between England and Spanish America started to form another net of trade and commerce which survived the gap and was to be firmly settled until the beginning of this century. No matter how unbalanced the share of benefits between both parts, it obviously held advantages for both sides. British political

action also helped to bring areas of the new continent out of colonial and often semi-feudal conditions. For some authors like O'Shaughnessy & Rada,

> 'The economic result of British activity in Latin America in the early 19th century was to bring Latin America into the world market, albeit as a provider of raw materials for the "workshop of the world".' (5)

Within some years after the collapse of the Spanish Empire, British textiles, among other products, were selling everywhere in Latin America, dramatically putting out of business large numbers of the local weavers.

Some time after 1840, a complex web of economic forces had developed not only in Europe, but in the whole of America. Between 1815 and 1820 only two or three ships a year had handled trade between Chile and England. In 1847 more than 300 carried Chilean exports to Great Britain. In Latin America England, being the prime industrial nation, stood once more at the centre of this activity. London, which assumed the role of financial capital of the world, became again, for Latin America, the main bistover of capital, shipping services, insurance and commercial 'intelligentsia':

> 'It became easier for Chile to pay a bill in Perus by means of a draft in London, than to pay direct.' (6)

or:

> 'Rio de Janeiro could import flour and wheat more economically from England than from Argentina' (7)

In spite of this, there seem to be no traces of important British political interference in Latin American

affairs, during the first half of the 19th century. Great Britain had no diplomatic representations in Spanish America before 1825 and the British trading communities were only concerned with their businesses. According to historians, the only British diplomatic interference of any important consequence during the independence period was the mediation between Argentina and Brazil, which resulted in the creation of the republic of Uruguay.

The early governments of Latin America were characterised by constant political tensions, insecurity, internal challenges, danger of conflicts with their neighbours and the possibility of Spanish and Portuguese reconquest with the help of other European nations. By that time the Holy Alliance was formed between the conservative monarchies of Russia, Austria and Prussia, interfering in some of the European states to put out the fires of liberalism. There were fears that the Holy Alliance might help Spain recover her lost colonies in Latin America. This was one of the reasons why American president James Monroe issued his "Monroe Doctrine" in 1823, stating that the Americans were no longer open to European colonisation and that the United States would consider any intervention of a European nation in the Americas as an unfriendly act against the United States.

England, anxious to keep the lucrative markets in Latin America, agreed with the American declaration, which was considered as "defiant" in the rest of Europe.

During the second half of the 19th century, British ownership of railways, printing-press enterprises and other

public services was considerable, and a number of foreign concerns - *like* the British-run Peruvian Corporation - did come to exercise what might be considered to be an "improper degree of influence in specific republics". The largest proportion of Latin America's world trade was carried in foreign vessels, where the British took the lead, especially south of the Caribbean, where US ships were increasing their influence.

As far as railways is concerned, British capital dominated rail construction, also supplying technicians and engineers. Moreover, England sold coal to the railway companies to run the steam engines. Cuba installed the first line in Latin America, in 1838. Chile did the same in 1852 and ten years later had 543 miles of track. Argentina and Brazil followed, expanding their railway networks rapidly. On the whole, South America's railway lines grew from 2,000 miles in 1870 to 59,000 in 1900..

In this period, British influence was not only confined to economic spheres, but also took on some other subtle characteristics:

> "The British political system was widely admired in Latin America: Disraeli and Gladstone were revered by many Latin American politicians; aspiring liberal or conservative statesmen followed the debates in the House of Commons with interest. In matters of business and sport the British reigned supreme. The punctiliousness and honesty of British traders and businessmen - not to mention their punctuality - won applause, even if the creole environment proved impenetrable to other social conventions imported by the "gringo". Expressions such as "palabra de Ingles" ("an Englishman's word") and "hora inglesa" ("on the dot") became part of

the Spanish language. Aristocratic gentlemen's clubs comparable to those of Pall Mall sprang up in most Latin American capital cities. We should not forget, either, that one of the most deeply rooted modern manias in Latin American life was introduced originally from Great Britain. I refer, of course, to football." (8)

This seems particularly true of Argentina, Chile and Uruguay, where these kinds of clubs and words, incorporated into everyday life and language, still exist today. Moreover, current British communities in these nations are now considerably numerous, being the largest among foreign communities in South America. Some of the most traditional, famous and expensive British Public Schools in Latin America are located today, precisely, in Chile and Argentina, with names such as "St.Paul's", "The Grange", "St.George's", "St.Margaret's", "St.Peter's" or "Mackay School" (the latter founded by the British in Valparaiso, Chile, in 1857).

By 1890, doctrines of economic capitalism, based on high protectionism tarifs were tried to put into practice by some politicians - like Chilean president Balmaceda -, but with little or no success at that time.

At this stage British involvement in Latin America had shown its political side too: Paraguay had been building its own modern steamship navy, railway and telegraph network - without the direct help of Great Britain. Paraguay also constructed the first iron foundary in the continent. According to Bradford Burns, alarmed by these and other rapid developments which threatened the balance of power in the Rio de la Plata,

'Brazil, Argentina and their puppet-state Uruguay,' says Burns, 'joined forces in the war of the Triple Alliance against Paraguay (1864-70). Financed by English loans, the allies waged a war of genocide, killing more than 90 per cent of the nation's male population. During the five years of occupation following the war, the popular institutions of Paraguay's autonomous revolution were dismantled. It was opened to foreign capital and reshaped in the standard mould of the 19th century Latin American institutions'. (9)

The English were also involved in colonisation of southern territories and agriculture. British capital played a big part in the opening of the southern province of Magallanes, in Chile, including Tierra del Fuego, to sheep-raising:

> 'In the 1890s the two largest enterprises concerned (one of which was 66 per cent British owned, the other just over 50 per cent) successfully evaded the Chilean government's requirements that 80 per cent of the operating capital should be Chilean. The growth of the province entailed the brutal elimination of some of the primitive local Indian tribes (e.g. the Tehuelches and Onas) by agents of the companies, sometimes with the connivance of the governor of the territory.' (10).

By this time, in the north and centre of Chile, the country's economic fortunes rested on the solid foundations (by now) of mining and agriculture. Silver and copper predominated in mining until 1879, when silver production declined. Nitrates were at the top of the export lists in teh 1880s. Nitrates "oficinas" rapidly spread all over the northern deserts, so recently won from Peru and Bolivia by Chilean armed forces, during the Pacific War.

'Chile enjoyed a well-balanced program of exports

> divided between various minerals and agricultural products. That diversification ended after 1878 when the new nitrate exports grew increasingly important until, within a frew years, they dominated the export sector'. (11)

For the first time there was a substantial foreign stake in one of the nation's richest natural resources (nitrates are the best natural fertilisers for agriculture). British interests - mainly those of John Thomas North - owned nearly half of the nitrate lands in exploitation, and accounted for more or less 60 per cent of the output in 1890. Naturally, some of the Chilean politicians were worried about this; others were not. The nitrate mining companies paid tremendous export taxes, boosting public revenues throughout the 1880s. President Santa Maria used to say 'Let the "gringos" work away in the nitrate fields: I shall be waiting for them at the door'. His successor, Jose M. Balmaceda, was much more preoccupied by what he saw as a potential "industrial dictatorship" on the part of the British nitrate interest in the province of Tarapaca. His attitude has been compared with that of Salvador Allende in our days, looking rowards a national economic independence. Balmaceda proposed prohibiting any further British acquisitions in the north and ended the British monopoly of railways in the nitrate zones. He was not proposing the expropriation of British nitrate interests, but he was extremely concerned by the extent to which North's enterprises were beginning to constitute a "state within the state". In June 1889, he

addressed the Congress: 'We cannot shut the door on free competition in nitrate production in Tarapaca, nor can we consent to that vast and wealthy region becoming a simple foreign factory'.

Balmaceda's nationalist ideas led to a short Civil War, in 1891, in which he was defeated by the conservative forces. He then committed suicide and the "presidential" era was brought to an end in Chile, when a "parliamentary" period, in which presidents had less power than congress, was established until 1925.

By 1890 British trade increased by 27.2 per cent, Chile, Brazil, Argentina, Cuba and Mexico being the principal countries engaged in foreign commerce. Some countries saw their exports increased by six or seven times, between 1853 and 1893.

In the 1920s, the Chilean writer Joaquin Edwards Bello (who came from a wealthy immigrant English family), interpreted the situation of his country at the end of the century and beginnings of the 1900s:

> 'The trans-Andean railway, the most expensive in the world, is English. By boarding a tramcar, talking on the telephone, eating breakfast, buying in a shop, turning on the light, the Chilean is contributing to the admirable life of an English capitalist who takes his tea or plays his polo in the British Isles...Harrods, the best shop in Santiago, is English. The sheep ranches in Magallanes are in the hands of Englishmen, which means they pay miserable export duties, because naturally they pay lawyers who are influential in government.' (12)

It has been estimated that by 1913 foreign investments in Latin America amounted to about US$ 8,500m. Some US$ 5,000m

of this was British in origin; the rest was divided into French, German and American investments, plus some small countries such as Italy, Belgium, Spain and Switzerland. The commanding position of Great Britain can be easily appreciated in these figures. By the time of the beginning of World War I, 25 per cent of all her overseas investments rested in Latin America.

The first challenge to British dominance in the area came from the United States of America. North American expansion started after the conquest of its western frontiers, and after the beginning of its rapid industrial growth. In 1889 the US took over Spanish dominance on the Phillipines, Cuba and Puerto Rico. North America was initiating her world power and extra-continental expansion, in which Latin America was to become what is called by some "Uncle Sam's back yard". Between 1898 and 1934, Cuba, Guatemala, Mexico, Panama, Nicaragua, Honduras, Colombia, Haiti and the Dominican Republic experienced intervention by the US military forces, in some cases periodically. Intervention in the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua and Haiti, lasted for many years, as in the case of Haiti where US naval forces landed in 1915 and departed nineteen years later in 1934. The 'Monroe Doctrine' had undoubtedly been thrown into the waste basket.

During World War I, capitals coming into Latin America from the US increased notably by more or less 50 per cent, while English capital remained the same. After the war, British investments rose slightly, but the North American

investments doubled. Between 1897 and 1914, US investments had quintupled in the area. By 1930 the United States had, in fact, supplanted Great Britain as the chief supplier of foreign capital to Latin America, and as the dominant foreign power in almost every sense. Since the Second World War the US developed commercial links and investments in Latin America in such a way that it has been difficult for the region to diversify its economy towards Europe.

At the outbreak of the Second World War, Latin America, with most of her intellectuals and some of her politicians distrustingly protesting over the US presence in her territories, had almost forgotten that the United Kingdom had once been the main investor in the area.

But British trade with Latin America had been declining steadily from the very beginning of this century:

> 'In 1913 approximately 10 per cent of British exports went to Latin America, a proportion which had declined to 5 per cent by 1958 and 3 per cent by 1977. Imports from Latin America have also fallen as a proportion of Britain's total imports and now represent only about 2.1 per cent.' (13)

According to Colin Harding, this has been helped during the last years by a combination of EEC restrictions on imports of agricultural products and special concessions to the former colonies of Britain, France and Italy, meaning that a great many products from Latin America have come to have only a limited access to the British market. Latin America, therefore, has perhaps little chance of recovering her lost ground as a supplier of foodstuffs and raw material.

In this field Britain's continuing commitment to the former colonies is too strong (although there are other fields which might be open for Latin America as will be seen further on).

However, invisible British exports to the area are still considerable, especially in the sphere of insurance. British companies have won exclusive contracts to handle reinsurance business - like in Peru, a few years ago; and subsidiaries of British insurance companies have been operating in most Latin American countries for decades (some since the 19th century) and still operate successfully. Colin Harding points out that Lloyds is also 'still important in the field of shipping insurance', and that:

> 'British banking is not what it was in latin America, but the Bank of London and South America (Lloyds Bank International) is still there. In fact, Lloyds Bank International has declared that 55 per cent of its £43.1million before tax profit for 1976/77 came from activities in Latin America.' (14)

2.2.1

CURRENT ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL LINKS

The resumption of British economic links in the region followed the post-World War II economic recovery, together with some other European countries. Latin America now became more attractive for manufacturing investments and the exports of capital goods.

More recently, British official strategy has put increased emphasis on government-to-government deals with what the Foreign Office officials have labelled the 'dominant

state-capitalist economic structures' (15) of the region, and British state enterprises are felt to give Britain a special advantage. Brazil, Venezuela and Mexico are the prime targets set for increasing these links (and therefore the potential market).

> 'Brazil is important in its own right, with the largest population (and therefore potential market) and highest level of industrialisation in Latin America; Venezuela has its oil riches and is a prominent member of the Andean Group; and Mexico, in addition to its own potential, has an economically powerful position in Central America and the Caribbean. Politically, these three countries play key roles in the north-south dialogue.' (16)

Some financial relations have also been re-established, especially in the form of loans, offshore financial centres and insurance. There is also a British aid programme, which is aimed at the promotion of UK trade and other economic interests; an important recent move in this field was the British membership in the Inter-American Development Bank from July 1976, opening important new export possibilities.

A decade before, a 'rush of enthusiasm' for Latin America as a growth area for British trade and investment took place under a government inspiration. One of the first products of this attitude was the establishment of six different centres of Latin American studies in British universities funded with government money.

> 'However, academic interest in Latin America apparently did not spill over into concrete achievements in the field of exports as the government had intended. British industrialists could still lament a decade later that Britain had missed the boat in Latin America but would make ammends in the future.' (17)

Nevertheless, Latin America still plays a relatively minor role in British trade, accounting in 1977 for only three per cent of Britain's total exports and 2.1 per cent of imports:

REGION	EXPORTS (£,000)	IMPORTS (£,000)
World Total	32,951,476	36,493,152
latin America & Caribbean	1,353,763	1,071,108
(South America)	(767,046)	(700,633)
(Central America & Mexico)	(165,830)	(64,987)
(Caribbean)	(420,887)	(305,488)

Half of this trade was with four countries: Brazil, Venezuela, Mexico and Argentina. Other significant links have been established with the three former countries.

But how does this manifest itself in the relationship between the two areas? O'Shaughnessy and Rada wrote before The Falklands Crisis:

> 'Politically and economically Britain and Latin America are not very important to each other. The principal topics of Latin American political interest which preoccupied the Foreign and Commonwealth Office during 1977 were Belize and the Falkland Islands and the claims of their respective Latin American neighbours, Guatemala and Argentina, over them. Both territories are seen in Britain as the troublesome remnants of an empire whose populations, 130,000 souls in the case of Belize and less than 1,900 in the case of the Falkland Islands, are the responsibility of Parliament.' (18)

This was confimed by another 'specialist' in Latin America, Richard Gott, who wrote:

'Traditionally Britain in general and the Labour Party in particular have taken little interest in the affairs of Latin America. For years after the Second World War the continent was strictly terra incognita. Analysis based on ignorance was often faulty. General Peron, for example, who "stole" Britain's railways and increased the price of "British" beef, was regarded as the reincarnation of Mussolini.' (19)

In 1977 an economic agreement was signed with Venezuela on co-operation in the areas of petrochemicals, energy, iron and steel, transport, agriculture and fisheries, and ship-building. Also in the same year an Anglo-Mexican trust fund, known as "Brinmex" was established 'to encourage joint ventures and promote British exports to Mexico'. As far as Brazil is concerned, apart from a series of visits paid by British businessmen to that country, companies of the Davy International Group were awarded contracts worth £235 million for the supply of plant and equipment for the Acominas steel complex in Minas Geras, Brazil. This country, by the way, accounts for about 30% of Britain's trade with Latin America and both Labour and Conservative governments have been most anzious in the past few years to develop lasting commercial ties.

On the other hand Latin America is today a large potential area for the field of energy. Britain has acquired plenty of expertise in this matter and the North Sea has given British firms a fair amount of experience in different skills and techniques relating to energy. These 'have become highly marketable commodities in the "key" Latin American countries' (20). Nevertheless, this 'potential'

relationship within the field of energy has not been developed to significant degree yet.

Due to the existence of many military regimes and nationalistic feelings in Latin America, most of the 'saleable' advanced technology is, precisely, military and Latin America has recently become one of Britain's best markets for military hardware.

> 'Ships have been supplied to Argentina (Type 21, guided missile frigates, built mainly in Argentina under license), Peru, Brazil and Chile; Jaguar aircraft to Ecuador; military computers to Brazil and so on.' (21)

In conclusion, although there are still significant economic links between Great Brtain and Latin America, these have become gradually weaker since the beginning of the century. Trade has conspicuously fallen and only very recently has there been a renovated interest in the area without important achievements so far, in terms of strengthening commercial relations.

It is not surprising, then, that the 'potential' importance of the region was reflected in a special Times supplement on banking and finance in Latin America (The Times, December 13th, 1977), which carried headlines such as "Too big to ignore" and "Time to wake up".

Three years later, Lord Carrington - then Secretary of Foreign Affairs - headed two important commercial missions to Latin America, one to Mexico and the other to Brazil. This was a few months before the Falklands War.

It is evident that the South Atlantic crisis, in which

Argentina invaded the Falkland Islands and then was defeated by the British forces, not only deteriorated relations with Buenos Aires, but also, to a lesser extent, with the rest of Latin America, and efforts are now being made to restore good relations with the area, especially when the diplomatic dispute over the Falklands is not over. Meanwhile, it would seem that because of the war in the South Atlantic, the Central American crisis and the Latin American debt problem, the British media are paying more attention to Latin America than they used to before the invasion of the islands.

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2.2
FOREIGN NEWS AND THE BRITISH PRESS

In Britain, there seems to be a general consensus that the reporting of Third World affairs by international news agencies is often distorted and inadequate; that it tends to concentrate on crises and disasters, largely ignoring other important events, including the steps Third World countries take to develop their economies and societies. It has also been said that the four biggest international news agencies (AP, UPI, Reuter and France Press) enjoy a virtual global monopoly over the flow of information about world events, and that since these agencies and their main audiences are western, the image they put forward of the Third World is western-directed. On the other hand, different (and some times contrasting) academic debates on 'cultural imperialism through the media' are on the increase in Great Britain and in Third World countries and still have a long way to go with a growing concern in the matter.

Since my research is on the coverage by the British press of Latin America, I took a look at the general aspects of the way this country's newspapers cover foreign news, basing this specific study on the available bibliography, interviews, official reports on the subject and my own sample material.

Even though according to the method used in this research the context of foreign news coverage is fundamental for my work (to place the Latin American news study within it), I did not make my own content analysis on foreign news, bearing

in mind that a complete and up to day reserach had just been published by the Royal Commission on the Press, including a foreign affairs content analysis by Denis McQuail, and because foreign news - as a whole - is not my central object of study.

Has the concept of 'news' changed in the last fifty years? Most journalists I talked to do not think so and they seem to keep using the same news value used at the beginning of the century. The Head of Reuters in London, for instance, stated in 1976:

> '...you don't report everything is fine today in Pakistan. You report that there has been an aircrash. You report the things that are unusual.' (1)

But reporting the 'unusual' has other characteristics which we shall see later on in this work. Meanwhile, let us start with some of the findings of the 1977 Royal Commission on the Press.

According to Denis McQuail (2), the amount of information on foreign events in the British press ranges from 9% (in the case of 'The Sun'), to 27% (in 'The Guardian'). The difference between the amount of space given to this kind of news in the 'quality papers' and in the 'popular' papers is very evident. If we consider an average of 18% dedicated to foreign news, this amount is comparatively much smaller than that provided by the American press (with national circulation). Chilean newspapers (until 1973) had a considerably larger amount of foreign sotries based on international news agencies coverage (a common pattern in Latin America). On the other hand,

British press seems to rely more on its own correspondent abroad, rather than on the news agencies, despite the 'current decline' of the foreign correspondent in this country.

Considering editorial comment as a sample of the British journalistic interest for certain topics, both extremes tend to wide apart: The Guardian with 30% of foreign editorial content, and The Sun with 6%. The range is as follows:

Times	Guardian	Daily Telegraph	Financial Times	Morning Star	Daily Express	Daily Mail	Daily Mirror	Sun	TOTAL AVERAGE
24%	30%	17%	15%	18%	11%	11%	5%	6%	15.22%

According to Professor McQuail's figures, 40% of the stories concern European affairs, 18% North American news, 12% Africa, 11% Asia, 10% Middle East, 3% Australasia and 3% Latin America. In a previous pre-pilot study made for this research, it was found that Latin America as a whole, gets only 0.94 of the total amount of printed pages. 'The predominance of Europe and North America is very noticeable, as is the low position of South America', concludes Denis McQuail. He adds that foreign news on political affairs (21%), international diplomatic affairs (20%) are the most usual topics. But then, an important qualitative aspect appears: 'in all, 25% of foreign news stories involved either Britain or the USA in some direct way'. At this point it is interesting to note that among news involving Britain, the main locations of the items are Europe, 38%, East, Central and South Africa, 14%, the United States, 11%, and all Asia 10%. This clearly shows the interest of the British press

for areas with economic, political or cultural links: no figures on Latin American amount of editorial content of this sort were given.

But then, in terms of the detachment of negative issues among foreign news, Latin America is the area of interest that occupies second place, after Australasia, while Europe, at the other extreme, is the region with the greatest amount of positive news. On average, summing up the good (positive) and bad (negative) news of each area, Latin America gets the first place among all areas with a negative sign: -44%.

	Good News (+)	Bad News (-)	Balance
All Europe (ex. Britain)	+35	-44	-9
Middle East	+25	-51	-26
Africa	+29	-49	-20
South America	+19	-63	-44
North America	+21	-52	-28
Australasia	+10	-48	-38

On the other hand, the main subjects of interest for the coverage vary among newspapers: the quality papers offer a much wider coverage of foreign news than the popular ones, and give more attention to diplomatic matters, economic news, non-crisis foreign political news and news of welfare, as well as culture and the arts. The tabloids have more information on show business, personalities and human interest, sports and more crime news; also their stories are more likely to be 'action oriented', less 'predictable' than those of quality papers, more 'dramatic' and less 'positive'.

Within foreign news, the majority of the stories (60%) deal with news about one single foreign country, rather than having an 'international' character.

Europe, the most extensive area covered, is the most 'balanced', in the sense of the different interests of the press. In South America, in the 1970s (before the Central American crisis and the financial crisis of Brazil and Mexico) Chile and Argentina were the two countries with the most negative coverage (this coincides with my own content analysis). In this period the distribution for North America only differs from the European in the lower attention give to diplomatic news. Almost 60% of Middle East news is concerned with diplomatic and military items, and the interest in Africa is centred mainly on international and domestic policies.

In general terms, the coverage of socialist countries pays much attention to diplomatic news and little attention to economic aspects. There is also more coverage of political than ordinary crime. The absence, here, of crisis or conflict related political news is notable, as is the great amount of stories about defence matters.

As a whole, the content analysis for the Royal Commission on the Press shows that foreign domestic economic and political problems are the most frequently recurring among foreign coverage, followed by 'oil', 'international left-wing or communist activity', 'detente', and 'racial problems' ('crises' are included in 'political problems').

> 'It has been argued that people rely on the media for their impression or images of foreign countries and that the press can give a misleading or unfavourable picture of these countries, either

because of the influence of news values which favour bad news or because of an editorial attitude of approval or disapproval, usually the latter. The same standard of objective reporting may be expected in respect of foreign news, but in practice, the sanctions against partiality are much weaker than is the case with domestic news.' (3)

Foreign correspondents - as we shall see in the next pages - have more freedom to write whatever they wish and are less under the control of news sources (although specifically correspondents in Latin America have been replaced by stringers).

There seems to be some consciousness about the need of having good and accurate information on foreign affairs, of having good correspondents, with a good knowledge of particular situations in countries abroad. This issue came up quite clearly in the interviews held with journalists of some 'quality' papers and in the questionnaires I sent to Fleet St. Nevertheless, since ten or more years ago, there is also an awareness about a progressive 'decline' of the foreign correspondent. In 1965, Robert Hornby wrote:

> 'It is significant that already the British press is outnumbered in many world capitals by the resident American correspondents, many of them working for what we would rate as the provincial press in terms of circulation.' (4)

In those days, according to the Economist Intelligence Unit, there were 111 British foreign correspondents working for the national dailies. That figure dropped to 73 in 1976, a fall of 34%. Only the 'Financial Times' and 'The Guardian'

have increased their staff correspondents based overseas, since 1965 by 8 and 2 respectively (although both papers have reduced their numbers after 1974). Other newspapers, such as 'The Daily Telegraph' and 'The Daily Mail' have cut their staff by half and even more than half.

The contradictory aspect of this decline is that in the last ten years, the world trade recession, the birth of the OPEC, the balance of forces between powers, the numerous crisis and rapid political changes in the Third World, etc., would more likely call for an increasing of foreign correspondents, specially after the incorporation of Great Britain to the EEC. Oliver Boyd-Barret attributes this, in part, to the fall of the British Pound, since foreign news costs considerably more per 100 words printed, than domestic news.

> 'Readership interest in foreign news is limited - he writes - and the cost of sustaining overseas bureaux in the past has in part been a matter of prestige - of being able to flatter the reader that his or her newspaper was truly comprehensive in its coverage, regardless of how much actual attention foreign news ordinarily received.
>
> Which is not to say that newspapers did not concentrate on those parts of the world they thought more likely to capture readership interest. In the spring of 1974 some 75 per cent of all national daily foreign correspondents were based in North America and Western Europe, territories most familiar to the British reader. On the remainder, there were eight in the Middle East, 7 in the Far East, four in Africa, three in Russia and Eastern Europe, and two in South America and Australasia.' (5)

Most of the journalists interviewed said that it was very expensive to maintain correspondents in Latin America

(see findings and comments of the questionnaires sent to Fleet Street, on page 156).

Some of the 'quality' newspapers, like The Times and The Daily Telegraph have dispensed with staff correspondents in Latin America, Moscow and other important places, which are now mainly covered by stringers. By 1976 there were no correspondents at all in Latin America (in 1974 Fleet Street had only two). Accroding to Oliver Boyd-Barrett, in 1976, out of a total of 155 stringers for The times, The Guardian and The Daily Telegraph, '47 were based in Western Europe, 34 in the Far East, 26 in Africa, 18 in the Near East, 11 in Australasia, 8 in South America and 4 in Eastern Europe.' (6)

> 'In addition to staff correspondents and stringers abroad, the Fleet Street dailies may also use reporters normally based in the UK for overseas coverage...Features writers may also be sent out on foreign stories, at the initiative of the features desk...Foreign desk experience may also be a useful training for later foreign coverage...The London-based foreign news spacialists are mainly employed by the 'quality' papers, although some of the 'populars' have one or two general reporters who are especially experienced as 'fire-fighters'. (7)

Taking into account the percentage figures of the coverage of Europe and the USA (40 and 18 per cent, respectively), the two most covered areas, it is not surprising to find out that the proportion of all correspondents based in North America and Western Europe increased, (in 1977), to 82 per cent in relation to the figures of 1974, while that of the rest of the world decreased, the only exception being Africa, where it remained constant. According to Boyd-Barrett in 1977 there were no correspondents at all in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, South America or Australasia (this

concerns the press only and according to our own investigation, The Financial Times had one correspondent in South America at the time). Moscow is said to be a 'must', but has become the most expensive city of them all, especially in terms of the amount of 'copies' sent and published.

The tabloids have concentrated all their remaining correspondents in Western Europe and the USA (areas where the media, the news organisations and services and the international news agencies are highly developed, well-established and very efficient).

It is interesting to discover that there is strong competition to become foreign correspondent among journalists, especially among young reporters. According to Jeremy Tunstall this would reflect the prestige of this kind of job, due to the cost for the news organisation which in most cases are higher than what can be justified in revenue terms. (8)

In these days it is possible to reach almost any major city in the world within 24 hours, and since the air fare costs less than a month's expenses, it seems that the current policy of some newspapers is 'why not keep our journalists in London ready to fly to where the news stories are breaking?'. But then, is this kind of professional still really a correspondent or is he or she becoming, in this way, a sort of 'international reporter'?

This policy has led to the reliance on agencies and on the ability to get someone to a crisis spot very quickly, except to those few places where correspondents are still

being kept. During the last few years most of the Far East has been 'covered' from Hong Kong. Beirut and New Delhi are the other 'bases' from where the whole of the Middle East and Far Eastern areas are covered. In Latin America, Buenos Aires and Mexico City are supposed to cover the whole 'south of the border'.

Two decades ago a worrying aspect of this whole affair was clearly put forward:

> 'At the moment (1965), many of the foreign correspondents who have been brought home and 'cover' foreign news stories, as the news breaks, by flying straight from London, previously have lived abroad themselves, possess background knowledge of the countries they cover and, all-important, contacts which have been made over the years. It will not be so easy to replace these correspondents if the younger men of this sort of callibre drift to television and other media. Alan Whicker, of 'Tonight' fame was an experienced foreign correspondent for the 'Exchange Telegraph' until they decided to close down their foreign coverage. James Mossman, formerly of 'Panorama' was a young foreign correspondent for the Australian 'Sydney Morning' in Singapore in 1958, and one of the great foreign correspondents, James Cameron, now owrks for television as well as 'The Sun'.....One might well ask, where are today's subalterns?' (9)

Boyd-Barrett indicates that in the spring of 1974 there was a total number of 22 reporters from London on foreign assignments, much cheaper than the old-style correspondent, mainly covering crises, but lacking continuity of experience in any one place, or carefully cultivated contacts and fluency of languages.

To some degree it is understandable why competitive newspapers would rather not use the services of the international news agencies, despite the current problem

concerning the foreign correspondents. They still want to keep a truly individual interpretation of world news. But on the other hand a great amount of foreign news printed in Britain originates in news agencies, which sometimes, also undertake special commissions.

> 'The least debatable conclusion is that - despite the importance of travel in the image and self-image of journalists - specialists (both domestic and foreign) stay tethered primarily to the capital. These specialist journalists are constrained not by their laziness or by excessive loyalty to the capital, but by definitions of news values which stress elite individuals - more of whom are in the capital. Travel cuts specialists off from 'hot' events in London.....as a search procedure, travel often adds little to the notebook and the telephone.' (10)

but I think that economic reasons prevail over the rest, specially from the perspective of the news organisations. This seems to be very well illustrated in the following table taken from Tunstall's book quoted above. This is the active commercial interest in specialist fields as seen by other specialists. In this case, as seen by specialists from circulation departments and advertising departments of different newspapers:

By Circulation Departments		By Advertising Departments	
	%		%
Football	60	Motoring	59
Crime	49	Finance	49
Motoring	37	Aviation	29
Finance	35	Football	22
Labour	32	Labour	15
Political	28	Education	13
Aviation	14	Political	12
Diplomatic	13	Crime	8
Education	12	*FOREIGN	5
*FOREIGN	11	Diplomatic	4

In other words, for both circulation and advertising departments of newspapers, foreign news as a whole, does not have a relevant 'active commercial interest'. They are for the benefit of the business. In this context news from Latin America is even less 'interesting'.

But the decline of the foreign correspondent, the use of international 'reporters' and news agencies services, though very important, is not determinant, and is not the only one shaping the qualitative characteristics of the final communication product: the contents of the printed story. Boyd-Barrett points out that,

> '...It is clear...that for many papers, and especially for the popular papers, foreign news expenditure is considered a very heavy investment for relatively little return in useable news material, which is not to say that foreign news is considered unimportant, but simply reflects the belief that there is a limited market for foreign news.' (11)

2.2.1 NEWS AGENCIES

As I mentioned before, Reuters is the main news agency used by the British press for the coverage of Latin America. According to Boyd-Barrett,

> 'All the national daily papers subscribe to the overseas news services of Reuters of which they are part owners through their membership of the NPA.....All dailies take the service of the American news agency, Associated Press (AP), save the Financial Times and The Guardian..... All dailies take the service of the second American agency, United Press International (UPI) save The Times.....(which) has an exclusive Fleet Street arrangement with a fourth international agency, Agence France Press (AFP) ...The Guardian has access to the service of the Washington Post and Los Angeles Times.' (12)

The flow of news coming from abroad usually go through quite a number of problems, filters and distortions on its way along an extended chain before reaching the reader. Events taking place, for instance, in a Third World country, sometimes must first avoid censorship problems (many times the 'official' or governmental sources are the only ones available); they are usually covered by local media and news agencies, and, eventually, correspondents sometimes 'quote' or rely on local coverage. But from the moment of the event itsefl, many 'filters' are to be found along the chain, from the individual who talks to the journalist, to the criteria of the editor in London in changing, cutting, selecting or rejecting stories.

> '...the local press agency bureau, the district bureau, the central bureau of the press agency, the district bureau on the receiving end, the local bureau in the news receiving country, the news editor in the receiving newspaper, the layout man, and what not - to indicate a chain with some seven or eight steps in it. The chain may of course by much shorter if the newspaper has a correspondent.' (13)

It is highly significant that in both cases (agencies and correspondents) the amount of news printed is always smaller than the amount of stories reaching the editor's desk.

In the case of foreign news the selection and distortion also takes place very evidently amongst the audiences, within the interpersonal communication, after the mass media flow. This occurs because usually there are not many strong elements for the accurate understanding, interpretation and discussion of foreign events, due to the wider and deeper attention

given to national and local events by the media and the public. In the particular case of Latin America, there is seldom a good background given to the British readers as a context for news struggling to be printed.

> 'The journalist scans the phenomena (in practice to a large extent by scanning other newspapers) and selects and distorts, and so does the reader when he gets the final product, the news pages, and so do all the middle men.....partly because they are conditioned by their psychology and their culture, partly because this is reinforced by the newspapers.' (14)

If a foreign event is considered 'not important' by any of the individuals who take part in the chain, that particular event will not be recorded, either by the printed paper, or by the readers. There are some factors, of course, that relate to these decisions, as, for example, the meaning of the event itself, its implications, its unambiguity (clarity), its degree of expectation, or its degree of surprise (within a constant framework), its 'familiarity' and continuity in time and knowledge (e.g. Amin and Uganda), and the attention given by the rest of the media.

For the British newspapers, foreign news seems to have to be interpretable within the cultural and ideological framework of the readers and to have some degree of ethnocentrism to be able to get printed without problems (see finding of questionnaires on page 156). Cultural proximity manifests itself basically through the coverage of the USA, Western Europe, the former colonies and the Commonwealth. As a product of this cultural framework, editors must take

into account the cognitive aspects of the audience and the demanding factor of what the readers 'want to read'. It is a characteristic of the western media to avoid distorting ideological perceptions and to try to provide 'consonant' images about what the public wants (see table on page 146).

Other characteristics also help some foreign events becoming news: for instance when they refer to elite nations and elite people, when they can be seen in personal terms and, especially, when the characteristics and consequences of the event are negative. That is why, on the one hand, there is a poor 'human interest' in the coverage of the Third World: there is no 'identification'; while, on the other, 'human interest' is extensively present in Western Europe and USA coverage. Also, in connection with this, 'bad news' is more likely to be sought out among countries that do hot have a 'cultural proximity'.

Elite countries and elite people serve as objects of general identification and this is a common phenomenon not only in newspapers, radio and TV, but also among fiction literature, cinema, magazines, 'comics', etc.. It is easier for the 'general public' to identify themselves with the coverage of the royalty of Monaco, rather than with a Latin American dictatorship, or with the guerrillas fighting in the bush.

In general terms the British press tends to ignore, or give little attention to the problems of the Third World,

and especially to those that do not have economic or cultural links with Britain. When any attention is given to these areas, it is to point out negative issues, crises, wars or disasters, while much more importance is attributed to irrelevant events occurring in Europe or the USA, where the concentration of media is saturated. According to my interviewees and to the findings of the questionnaires sent to the Foreign Editors in Fleet Street, before and after the Falklands War, there is an obvious need for more stories from culturally distant zones. The attention given to 'consonant' issues does not favour journalism: there should be more emphasis on the 'dissonant' and less on trying to fit 'stereotypes' in order to 'sell more'. There is little awareness of the continuity factor and this seems to worsen with the de cline of the foreign correspondent. In general terms British press foreign news coverage tends to concentrate and highlight negative facts among international events, with the exception of European countries and especially those of the EEC.

The most relevant characteristics pointed out here seem to be very obvious, but they also seem to be 'normal' (taken for granted), part of the 'status quo' (reinforced by the media day after day. Where there is little concern about a particular area - like Latin America - there is little knowledge about it either. In this case, it is easier to cover only crisis events, bad news or events where the conflict between East and West is involved, without a

deep historical or factual background, and tending to reproduce established stereotypes of the area and its characteristics. In this case (Latin America), the press reinforces consensus and expectations, reproducing stereotypes.

While Europe and the United States predominate as the regions most involved in foreign news, Latin America (and Asia) is very seldom included in front page stories and receives a high number of extremely brief items. The lack of human interest in the news of the Third World is remarkable and here the press tends to give more emphasis to political violence. The USA has a high proportion of news on crime, show business and human interest, while the Middle East takes the first place in 'crisis' news.

Some correspondents like Richard Gott or John Rettie of The Guardian; High O'Shaughnessy of the Financial Times and The Observer, Colin Harding of The Times, and others, are indeed experts on Latin American affairs, and they know the area and the language very well. They are widely recognised as 'specialists' and this is supported by the contents of their stories. But, as examined in the following pages, beyond their control, this fact is constrained by the limited space for news on Latin America and by the 'selection' of issues and stories on this area, according to the creiteria of the foreign editors, amongst other factors which will be discussed. Moreover, their stories often lack a continuity - once a crisis is over in any

particular Latin American country, no more is heard about it until the next crisis - and in many cases are structured in terms of reproducing consensus and expectabilities, no matter how accurate the coverage of an isolated event may be. British readers (especially of the popular press) know much more about life in the European jet-set than about life under military regimes in Latin America. One obvious example is that it took the Flaklands conflict to turn the attention of the British media to the situation of human rights under the Argentinian military government.

Galtung and Holmboe Rudge's selection of fields for specialist coverage such as 'conflict', etc., is obviously involved in the criteria for selecting countries to which correspondents should be sent, or for the selection of foreign news: wars, coups d'etat (conflict and unexpectedness-within-predictability): USA, Western Europe and some Commonwealth countries (cultural proximity), and rivalry between East and West (elite nations).

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2.3
FOREIGN EDITORS AND CORRESPONDENTS: DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVES

This chapter summarises the views given to this researcher by foreign editors and by correspondents/stringers on different aspects related to the coverage of Latin America. All Fleet Street foreign editors were sent questionnaires on two occassions, one before the Falklands War (1980) and the other after the conflict (1983). In addition, about 20 correspondents and stringers in Latin America were interveiwed within a period from 1978 to 1984.

The first questionnaire on the coverage of Latin America by the British press was sent in August 1980 to the foregin editors of eighteen national dailies and Sunday newspapers published in London. Thirteen of them filled in the questionnaires and sent them back. The sample covers, therefore, 72.22% of the total. The newspapers were: The Guardian, The Times, Daily Telegraph, Daily Mirror, Daily Mail, The Sun, Morning Star, Daily Express, Sunday Telegraph, The Observer, The Sunday Mirror, News of the World and The Evening Standard.

The questionnaire was designed, taking into account that, according to the previous chapter on Foreign News and to the content analyses done on the British press, it was clear that most of the material on Latin America was not produced by correspondents in the area and that decisions, in terms of selection of news stories, were mainly taken by foreign editors which also must have been the case in the 19th century. The following is the questionnaire with the findings:

2.3.1 QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Does your newspaper have (please tick)

a) Correspondents in Latin America?	How many?	2	3.7%
b) Stringers in Latin America?	How many?	42	77.7%
c) Specialists based in London?	How many?	10	18.5%

d) Other (please specify)

.....

2. What international news agencies cover Latin America for your newspaper?

REUTERS	12	33.3%	92.30%	INTER-PRESS	1	2.7%	7.69%
A.P.	10	27.7%	76.92%	TASS	1	2.7%	7.69%
U.P.I.	9	25%	69.23%	LAT. PRESS	1	2.7%	7.69%
A.F.P.	2	5.5%	15.38%				

3. Do you use 'free-lance' material on Latin America? Yes/No

9 3

4. Of the stories on Latin America that you publish are they mostly from

a) Agencies	8	61.5%
b) Your own staff	5	38.4%

5. Could you give the rough proportions?

a) from agencies	.61..6%
b) from own staff	.29..1%
c) from free-lancers	.13..7%

d) other (please specify) .....%

6. Roughly, what proportion do you publish of all Latin American stories that arrive from all sources?

9.16%

.....

7. Which THREE Latin American countries do you cover most in your paper?

BRAZIL	7	ARGENTINA	7	CHILE	7	BRAZIL	12
ARGENTINA	4	BRAZIL	3	BRAZIL	2	ARGENTINA	12
CHILE	2	MEXICO	2	ARGENTINA	1	CHILE	9
		CUBA	1	MEXICO	1	MEXICO	3

8. What type of Latin American news do you most often publish?
(Please tick TWO)

a)	Economic	3	23%	d)	Disasters	6	46.1%
b)	Policital	8	61.5%	e)	Sports	5	46.1%
c)	International Relations	3	23%	f)	Other		

9. Do you think British Press coverage on Latin America in general is
(Please tick TWO)

a)	Accurate	7	53.8%	d)	Poor	6	46.1%
b)	Biased	1	7.6%	d)	of British interest	5	38.4%
d)	Stereotyped	1	7.6%	f)	Other Intermittent, Sporadic, not enough of it		

10. Can you say why? .....
(apart)
.....
.....
.....

11. Are you satisfied with your own coverage of Latin America?

YES	6	46.15%
NO	7	53.84%

12. What obstacles (if any) prevent your giving better coverage?
(apart)
.....
.....
.....

Thank you for your valuable co-operation.

It is clear from these figures that to a large extent the coverage of latin America is done by the international news agencies, Reuters being the most important one in this area (92.30% of the newspapers said they used Reuters), followed by the two American ones, A.P. and U.P.I. (76.92% and 69% respectively). The rest of the international news agencies seem to have little significance for the coverage of Latin America, particularly if we consider that the average proportion of stories on this continent, published, from the amount arriving from all sources (Question No.6) is only 9.16%.

This in itself is a significant figure, because it refers to news on Latin America only. This means that quantitatively speaking, of the already 'poor' proportion of Latin American coverage, only less than 10% of it is printed.

Thirty per cent of this material is written by the newspaper's own staff. According to the first question, the category 'own staff' can be divided into 'own correspondents' (3%), stringers (77.7%) and 'specialists' based in London (18.5%). These figures show the relatively poor role of the British foreign correspondent in Latin America.

Surprisingly enough, 46.15% of the foreign editors said they were satisfied with their coverage of Latin America (Question No.11) and 53.84% stated the contrary. (it was thought that the great majority would be inclined to be dissatisfied with the coverage, therefore it was interesting

to see that almost half of them implied that they were not concerned with the area, although this relates to the following findings, and to some extent will change after the Falkland Crisis).

53.8% said that the news were 'accurate', against 7.6% who thought they were 'biased' or 'stereotyped'; 46.1% believe the coverage is 'poor' and 38.4% that it is of British interest. One foreign editor said there was 'not enought of it' (there is a significant difference with their view 'after the Falklands', as will be seen further on).

According to the answers to Question 7, the main interest of the British papers was centred in 1980 on three Latin American countries, in a very clear way: Brazil, Argentina and Chile. These three nations were the only ones mentioned as their first priority; each one of them also appears heading all three choices (horizontally), and they had the highest number of mentions: 12.12 and 9, respectively, followed by Mexico with only 3.

61.5% of the interest is focussed on political aspects; this is followed by 'disasters' and 'sport', with 46.1% each. Not surprisingly - according to the thesis that the coverage of Latin America by the British press reflects the lack of strong economic links between both regions - the interest in 'economic' affairs and international relations appears at the bottom of the percentages with only 23% each (the editors had to tick two categories, therefore, the total amounts to 200, instead of 100%). These particular findings

are empirically relevant to both, the ideological and economic background of this coverage, as developed in other sections fo this thesis, especially bearing in mind that 53.8% of the foreign editors consider this coverage - which is 61.5% political - to be 'accurate'.

The Sunday Telegraph, for instance, thinks that the coverage is 'accurate' and of 'British interest'. The foreign editor of this newspaper said:

> 'So far as the Sunday Telegraph is concerned, we feel we provide good coverage having regard to the fact that Latin America has never been a sphere of particular British interest in the sense that, say, India is or part of Africa. I would think this applies to the other serious papers, i.e. The Daily Telegraph, Times, Financial Times.'

The Evening Standard defends the accuracy of its coverage, but contradicts this when saying that the coverage is:

> 'Accurate and poor in quality. Lack of real interest and understanding, which in itself becomes a vicious circle.'

Some newspapers, like The Sunday Mirror identify 'accuracy' with the sort of news agencies they use: 'accurate as we use agencies with a high reputation for accuracy'. A rather directly honest answer was given by the Daily Mail:

> 'Accurate, because we do not have a vested interest in accuracy. Intermittent - because strangely enough South America is a little remote to the British. Relative instability of governments in some countries induces feeling of irrelevance...'

This illustrates the lack of interest while there are

no strong economic links, and also shows the little human and social concern there is on the side of some foreign editors, in relation to the area.

Some papers relate accuracy with the kind of response or 'feedback' they get, as The News of the World:

> 'Accurate and of British interest: I've no reason to believe otherwise and am convinced if we, for example, were inaccurate, the relevant South American authority would let us know. Similarly if what we published were not of British interest, we would soon find out.'

The answer of the foreign editor of The Times seems to summarise the general approach to the coverage of Latin America (only part of it included here):

> 'Accurate. Not enough of it. Rightly or wrongly, events in Latin America are seen as having little bearing on British or international concerns. There is also little knowledge of the area.'

The only three newspapers of the sample with a somewhat different view were The Guardian, who thought the coverage was:

> 'Sporadic. (due to) Limited resources and level of interest among readers',

the Morning Star,

> 'Biased and poor, because of the right-wing bias of the British press, it fails to bring out the conditions of political oppression that exists in almost all the countries of Latin America and the economic deprivation of the majority of their citizens.'

and The Observer, which provided an analytical answer to this question:

'Stereotyped and poor. There are three main reasons for the poor British press coverage of Latin America:

1. British interests in Latin America have diminished,
2. Long traditional image of Latin America as continent of banana republics and everyday revolutions, not to be taken seriously,
3. The difficult logistics, including cost of covering the South American continent. Because georgraphy and politics there is no natural centre on which a correspondent can be based and travel from.'

When asked about the obstacles preventing a better coverage, there was a general consensus - with the only exception of three newspapers - that the major difficulties were:

a) financial problems, and

b) little interest from the readers.

77% agreed with this in one way or other and only 23% said they did not encounter any problems.

The Sunday Telegraph who had previously answered that their coverage was 'accurate' and 'satisfactory' said they did not find any obstacles for their coverage. The Sunday Mirror wrote: 'No obstacles known as far as the news coverage we require is concerned' (my emphasis).

The Sun stated:

> 'not really. If there is a major story we would send staff from our New York bureau to the scene.'

This answer shows how Latin America is seen by some as an extention of the coverage of the United States of America, due to the fact, perhaps, that the region is 'Washington's

zone of influence' (see answer by The Observer further on).

Of the 77% who agreed about financial problems and little interest by the readers, three answers illustrate the general thought. The Guardian said that

> '...it is difficult to carry short news stories because without a good deal of background the stories are not easily intelligle. This in turn imposes a rhythm of longish occasional pieces pulling the stories together in a comprehensible way. Moreover, at present, stories of obviously international significance are coming out of Asia, Africa and Middle East and are competing strongly and successfully for available space.'

I believe this to be an important appreciation of the problem as far as news on Latin America being 'intermittent' is concerned. It also focusses on the problem of space and competition.

The Times finds it difficult to get 'good stringers' in the area; its foreign editor also adds: '...our own people need to be more alert to Latin American news'.

Finally, The Observer, again, provided another 'analytical' answer:

> '1. Finance. The high cost of travel and, as noted above, the lack of a national base for covering the continent - one of the major capitals with good communications and a good local press and radio.
> 2. Lack of interest in Latin America among British public specially since the Second World War plus the sale of British economic interests there. Some interests revived through football and the World Cup.
> 3. Also because of dominant role of US regionally, South America has not been actively engaged in the big international problems. This is now changing of course, but British attitudes take time to adjust.'

2.3.2

THREE YEARS LATER

Bearing in mind that the South Atlantic crisis had a strong impact in all aspects of British life, I decided to send a second and shorter questionnair to the Foreign Editors of Fleet Street, one year after the Falklands War (November 1983). I sent out 21 and 14 were returned. The purpose was to see if there were any changes in relation to the coverage of Latin America prior to the Falklands crisis. The questionnaire was divided into eight parts (see sample attached or INDEX).

There were two aspects in which there was a major consensus: 85% thought that the coverage of Latin America by the British press is poor, and the same percentage thought that the British public should get more information about the area. Only The Sun and The Daily Mail said that the coverage of Latin America was good. Paradoxically, 70% of the Foreign Editors thought that their particular newspaper was covering Latin America fairly well, 15% said that their coverage was good, and 15% that it was bad.

Comparing these figures to those of 1980, there are significant differences. In 1980 only 46.1% of the Foreign Editors thought that the coverage of Latin America was 'poor' in contrast to 85% one year after the Falklands conflict. In 1980, 46.15% of the Foreign Editors were 'satisfied' with their coverage of Latin America. Three years later 85% thought that the British public should get more information on the area (although 70% said that their

own newspapers were doing 'fairly well'). This is an important change of attitude which is clearly due to the South Atlantic crisis.

Another significant finding of the 1983 questionnaire which is consistent with the 'post-Falklands' content analysis, is that 62% of the Foreign Editors said that the amount of news on Latin America has increased after the South Atlantic crisis and, in fact, they mentioned nine countries, apart from the Central America area, as places of interest for them. It is interesting to note that, despite the internationally conspicuous Central American crisis, Brazil, Argentina and Chile were again the three countries mostly mentioned three years later, although, the coverage of El Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras and Guatemala had increased significantly by 1983.

77% said that the main sources for their coverage of Latin America were stringers, which is consistent with the findings of 1980. News agencies, London-based staff and own correspondent categories share 38% each because some editors marked two or three choices- and according to the answers to the last question, according to the previous questionnaire, I have the feeling that 'own correspondent' in some cases, was understood as 'own specialist', but based in London: when asked about the maindifficulties for covering Latin America, cost was again repeatedly mentioned as the chief one. They pointed out that it is too expensive to maintain staff correspondents

abroad and that air fares are very high. Some Foreign Editors linked this with the public's demands, arguing that it is not worth having correspondents in Latin America due to the poor interest in the region, even (as The Observer's Foreign Editor wrote) 'after the Falklands'. The decline of trade and industrial links between Britain and Latin America (since the beginning of the century) is also seen as a difficulty for the coverage. Other reasons were language, difficulty in generating interest in a region in which 'historical ties are negligible' (Sunday Times), lack of continuity of information, and difficulties in obtaining information in countries with no free press (which does not seem to be the case of similar situations in countries like Poland, the USSR or China where the British press does have an interest). Some popular newspapers like The Sun, said that they rely mainly on international news agencies for the coverage of Latin America.

Political and economic aspects are the topics which interest Fleet Street more. Economic crisis, banks and international debts, the Falklands, coups, rebellions, human rights, threat of American intervention in Central America, and social aspects were some of the topics mentioned.

In 1980 the economic aspect was not as relevant as three years later and this is because the financial problems and huge international debts of countries like Brazil,

Mexico and Argentina had not yet taken place at the time.

Most of the Foreign Editors said that the British public should get more information about Latin America (85%), because of the importance of the area to the World economy (huge debts to international banks were mentioned constantly). For The Observer the Brazilian economic crisis and the Falklands show that Latin American events 'have a dissent bearing' on Britain. Others said that Latin America is a growing and important area, politically and commercially. For The Sunday Telegraph 'the World is becoming a smaller place as regards trade', therefore more attention should be paid to Latin America in World politics, especially in relation to USA. Rebellions and the Central American crisis ('shatter zone' for The Times) were also put down as a reason for better informing the British public about Latin America. President Reagan's military commitment, for some of the Foreign Editors, 'is bound to have some effect on Washington ties not only with South America, but also with its NATO allies' (Sunday Times).

The fact that many countries in Latin America are facing major ideological and political choices was also mentioned. Another reason pointed out for increasing or improving the coverage of Latin America was that the British public needs to be more aware of other countries. To some the British public is not well informed as far as foreign news is concerned, and therefore the poor coverage of Latin America.

Of the two newspapers who consider that the British public should not get more information about Latin America, one said that there is no 'evidence' of a 'requirement' for more information; the other just argued that the public 'don't want any more'.

2.3.3 CORRESPONDENTS AND STRINGERS

Around twenty formal and informal interviews were held, since the beginning of this research, with British correspondents or stringers in Latin America. Some of them were interviewed in London (The Guardian, The Times, The Financial Times, the Latin American Bureau (LAB), The Economist, The Observer, The Latin American Newsletter); some in Latin America during a BBC Duty Tour which included Mexico, Guatemala, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Honduras and Costa Rica; and some while working as a current affairs producer at the LAS of the BBC, where there is a constant contact with the British correspondents in the area, either when they are in Latin America or when they come back to London. These interviews were held through a period which covers 1978 to 1984, but most were concentrated after the South Atlantic conflict of 1982.

The difficulties in covering the area vary from stringer to stringer and from correspondent to correspondent. But in general terms, the main obstacle is the lack of knowledge and interest in Latin America (this applies to both the public and foreign editors, according to correspondents). When describing a situation in a country,

correspondents find themselves giving a great amount of very 'simple' background, because they know that most people back home do nto know what they are writing about. They feel they cannot 'assume' that the reading public is indeed informed about Latin America. Another obstacle realted to this is the difficulty for the journalists, especially when they have just arrived in the area, to find out about the culture and the history of the countries involved. 'And the danger - one of them pointed out - is to apply cultural or political stereotypes when you don't know much about the region'. It takes a great amount of time, dedication and study to overcome this problem (the great majority of them speak Spanish) and in the end most of them do become 'experts' in Latin American affairs. But then, the problem arises at the other end: when they get involved in the area, they realise that there is a 'need' for the British readers to 'understand' Latin American societies, and yet they find themselves writing for limited space, so it is difficult to communicate all the complexities of those societies into that limited space, 'you tend to go for cliched forms and sub-stereotypes' to be in accordance with the cultural stereotypes through which Britain sees Latin America. But stereotype views depend on the particular newspaper and on the journalist involved. Stereotypes are much more evident in the popular press rather than in the 'quality' papers that either have their own correspondents in the region or rely on 'good'

stringers who, in many cases, are resident in those countries. An interesting view of the problem of stereotypes was given to me by John Rettie, former correspondent for The Guardian: 'The serious papers are not, on the whole, very biased. The Guardian, The Financial Times, and, to a lesser degree, The Times, on the whole, provide quite a good service in terms of quality, although there are occasions when they are not entirely fair. But the popular press, I think, is one of the worst of all the press in the industrialised non-communist world; and is generally inaccurate, biased, partisan, sometimes just plain inventive, especially during the Falklands War, when the popular press was particularly biased and indeed racist. I don't think the word 'dagoes' appeared, but almost, I mean, the word 'argies' was the equivalent of the word 'dagoes' in everybody's mind in the popular press'.

Therefore, it is very difficult to generalise as far as stereotyped views are concerned. But all in all these dangers (as seen by the professionals themselves) have not been entirely overcome and there is still a sort of 'very culturally conditioned view of Latin America', mainly in the popular press, and less so in the 'quality' newspapers with the only exception, perhaps, of The Daily Telegraph, which most correspondents find 'too American orientated', 'conservative', and giving 'stereotype views' when it comes to reporting on Latin America.

Latin America - not to mention each of its nineteen

countries - is an extremely complex society and British journalists can only tell part of the story due to limited space. All correspondents agreed that the space is limited in the British press for all foreign news. According to them, the main areas of interest are the US, Europe, the EEC, and the Soviet Union, in that order. Then come the countries of the British Commonwealth and Latin America, at the bottom of the list 'is in a very bad position'. Their dilemma is that they know how important some Latin American problems are, but they find it extremely difficult to interest people in countries like Peru, Bolivia or Ecuador; 'apart from earthquakes, wars and coups d'etat, countries like Mexico, Brazil and Argentina interest some foreign editors because of their debt problems, which arouse interest only because they pose a threat to our banks', Malcolm Coad of The Guardian told me. And this, obviously, is reflected in the limited space given to Latin American stories in the already limited space allotted to foreign news. As Andrew Thompson (The Times) put it: 'It is as if the story had a lot of layers and you feel, as a correspondent, that to give a proper explanation you've got to cut right through those layers and tell the story at each of those different levels. And your foreign editor tells you that it's only the first three layers from the surface downwards that he can 'hope' to interest his readers in, or get space for. So you feel you are telling an incomplete story'. This is a particular problem

for stringers, who have to 'sell' their stories to the foreign editors. They have to interest Fleet Street first, and the only way to do this is to send short, simple and crisp stories, without much background information, without explaining a variety of things that the stringer would like to explain to his readers. A short, precise and 'interesting' story is what the foreign editor would eventually buy, if it has not been commissioned.

The other problem is the question of continuity. If the newspaper has mentioned any aspect, at any level, of a story on Latin America, 'it makes sense' for British correspondents to 'follow it up'. But in most cases this cannot be done because the London practice has been to ignore aspects which constitute news, but which are not taken into account by the foreign desk until they have become extraordinarily dramatic.

Another contradiction between foreign editors and journalists is the attitude they have regarding the obstacles placed by political regimes where there is no freedom of the press. For most correspondents gathering information under these circumstances is not a problem, 'part of the job is to go and get information where it is difficult to get it', was a common answer. But one of the dangers in this case is that foreign correspondents, in a country under totalitarian rule, for instance, tend to get together and consciously or unconsciously end up with the same story. But there are problems which emerge

from the character of Latin American societies, like bureaucracy (for instance, in Mexico, a case highly quoted by stringers and correspondents) where, 'if you do not know the right shortcuts' it is almost impossible to get quick information or interviews.

As far as the lack of interest in the region by the British readers is concerned, most correspondents said that, more than the media's output, education was the main factor. Some linked this to the lack of continuity in news from Latin America, which, they pointed out, 'creates some sort of inertia' that prevents people from getting interested in the region and this itself is reflected in educational programmes for schools. Education as a factor is seen at two levels: a) at school (primary, secondary and higher education), and b) in terms of the 'general amount of information' that surrounds British cultural life (including the media). Events like the Falklands War, the Grenada Invasion, and the Latin American debt problem, do arouse interest, but too mcuh still with the attitude of 'how it affects us'. Many correspondents think that there is not enough basic grounding in the educational system about other parts of the world with which Britain is not directly related. And, for these professionals (to some extent frustrated by this) that is a 'failure' of education. But in relation to this, they all agree that the press could help to improve things. What is more, some of themthink that they themselves

could contribute to a large extent. John Rettie: 'If you are a good journalist, you can relate Latin American problems to world problems that affect people in this country. But you must be a professional with a good understanding of Latin American politics and, I daresay, an economic understanding. And too many journalists don't have enough economic background. And you should also be able to - as my foreign editor of The Guardian once said - make people in that country appear human. I think that now there are more journalists doing this than there were 20 years ago. There are better stringers. But there is still a lot of room for improvement. Overall the coverage of Latin America is not as good as it could be'. Other correspondents agreed, too, that things seem to be changing recently, even since before the Falklands Crisis. However, this only applies to the press. They all think that domestic radio is bad and that television has been improving just a little. The problem, they said, is that the press is read by a minority of the population, while radio and TV reach millions. Nevertheless, they still see the press (and for that reason) as the best source of information for people who are sometimes described as 'opinion formers' or 'opinion leaders', or even the people who actually 'run the country'.

Most of them (some vehemently) said that there should, and there could be more information on Latin America in the British press. They feel that many people

would be interested (especially after the South Atlantic conflict) to read about the region, not just the elite who already know a bit about it. Moreover, they indicated that international news in general could be given more space in national papers, and within this, Latin America should have a more relevant place.

As far as cost or financial problems are concerned, which were the main obstacles mentioned by foreign editors, less than half of the correspondents interviewed thought this to be true. But the rest said that meony is not a problem for the newspaper because sales would not fluctuate according to more or less information related to Latin America. When Fleet Street had to fill whole pages on the Falklands, correspondents and stringers already based in the region, plus those who were specially sent there, were given carte-blanche as far as expenses were concerned (travel, hotels, car rentals, logistic support, etc.). And, in the end, there were not many dramatic changes in the circulation figures of the newspapers during that period. One correspondent put it bluntly: 'Latin America does not become expensive because its stories do not sell. The relation is not between cost and sales, but rather between cost and interest, between money and ignorance.'

3. PART THREE

THE ANALYSIS

THE 19TH CENTURY

1879 Pacific War

1891 Revolution of Balmaceda

THE 20TH CENTURY

1973 Coup d'etat in Chile

1977 'Normal' year in Latin America

1982 South Atlantic conflict

1983 Coverage after The Falklands

INTRODUCTION

As explained in the section on the methodology used in this research, the study of the press has been divided into quantitative and qualitative analyses, over samples chosen from two periods: the end of the 19th century and ten years of the 20th century from 1973 to 1983.

The following are, chronologically, quantitative and qualitative analyses on the coverage of Latin America by the 19th century British press; a qualitative analysis on the coverage of the military coup d'etat in Chile (1973) - a case study); a quantitative analysis on the coverage of Latin America in 1977 (considered, as explained, a 'normal year') and, finally, an overall analysis of the coverage of Latin America during the South Atlantic War between Britain and Argentina in 1982, plus an examination of the coverage after the Falklands Crisis.

Each study has its particular comments, but the general conclusions are drawn in the overall analysis made in Part Four, when all the samples are comparatively examined according to the method described in Part One of this work.

3.1
THE 19th CENTURY: 1879

As pointed out in the chapter on methodology, the year 1879 was chosen in view of the 'Guerra del Pacifico' (Pacific War) which broke out between Chile and an alliance formed

by Peru and Bolivia. In this conflict many British naval officers and sailors took an active part on the Chilean side, but most important of all, the territories in dispute (the provinces of Tarapaca, Antofagasta and Atacama) contained rich deposits of nitrates exploited at the time by British firms. The UK also had interests there in Railway and Shipping companies, as well as in banking and insurance companies. (See chapter on the HIstorical Background of the links between Great Britain and Latin America). The war ended in a Chilean victory and the zone in dispute in 1879 has been Chilean territory ever since.

The sample of the investigation includes three of the most important British newspapers of the time: 'Lloyds Weekly Newspaper' for which a content analysis was done over the whole year (every single issue was measured); The Daily Chronicle and the Manchester Guardian, for which six months of 1879 were measured - January, March, May, July, September and November. In each case, the breakdown of the information was divided into the following overall categories: 'National', 'International' and 'Latin America', measured in column centimetres. The 'National' category included national news and advertising. The category 'Latin America' was divided by country (measured in cm/col) and sub-divided into 'Economic', 'Crises and Revolutions' and 'Other', measured by Number of Items. The breakdown by countries measured in cm/col has a special category called 'The War', which includes all the information on this conflict comprising

Chile, Peru and Bolivia. All the other information on these three nations, not related to the war, comes under the classification headed by the name of the relevant country.

The information was also divided into 'positive' and 'negative', according to the nature of the contents. From this sample, a wide selection of texts was taken for the ideological reading, which is included further on.

The following (see pages 180-184) is the breakdown and data obtained from the content analyses on the three newspapers.

If we look at the final figures of the total of the sample, it is evident that despite the fact that these newspapers were published at a time when Britain had a big empire, the overall coverage of foreign news was indeed very poor, at least in quantitative terms,.since it amounted to only 12.94%, which is almost one third of the amount of advertising space. It is therefore signficant that Latin America, with only 0.47% of the total, amounted nevertheless to 3.63% of the total foreign news, especially if we consider that this continent was not part of the British Empire.

In this particular year, the war between Peru/Bolivia and Chile received more than half of the Latin American coverage (almost 53%), and Cuba, Brazil and Argentina together attracted more than 26% of the attention. Apart from Cuba

L L O Y D ' S W E E K L Y N E W S P A P E R

SAMPLE: ALL YEAR - 1879

12 pages
5 cols
45 cms
} 2,700 (cm/col) = 100%

NATIONAL*	2,330 (cm/col)	=	86.29%
INTERNATIONAL**	354 "	=	13.11%
LATIN AMERICA	16 "	=	0.59%

LATIN AMERICA		681 (cm/col)	=	100% (WHOLE YEAR)
THE WAR	CHILE PERU BOLIVIA	457 (cm/col)	=	67.10%
	CUBA	75 "	=	11.01
	BRAZIL	45 "	=	6.60
	SAN DOMINGO	21 "	=	3.08
	MEXICO	20 "	=	2.93
	URUGUAY	15 "	=	2.20
	ARGENTINA	11 "	=	1.61
	PERU	9 "	=	1.32
	PARAGUAY	6 "	=	0.88
	VENEZUELA	3 "	=	0.44
	PANAMA	3 "	=	0.44
	HAITI	2 "	=	0.29

COUNTRY	NUMBER OF STORIES	ECONOMIC	CRISES & REVOLUTIONS	OTHER	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
CUBA	17		17 (100%)		6 (35.29)	11 (67.70)
BRAZIL	12	7 (58.33)	2 (16.66)	3 (25%)	7 (58.33)	5 (41.66)
SAN DOMINGO	7		7 (100%)		1 (14.28)	6 (85.71)
MEXICO	9	2 (22.22)	1 (11.11)	6 (66.66)	6 (66.66)	3 (33.33)
URUGUAY	2		1 (50%)	1 (50%)	1 (50%)	1 (50%)
ARGENTINA	5	2 (40%)	1 (20%)	2 (40%)	3 (60%)	2 (40%)
PERU	4		1 (25%)	3 (75%)	3 (75%)	1 (25%)
PARAGUAY	1		1 (100%)			1 (100%)
VENEZUELA	1		1 (100%)			1 (100%)
PANAMA	3		3 (100%)			3 (100%)
HAITI	1			1 (100%)		1 (100%0
TOTAL	62	11	35	16	27	35
% TOTAL	100%	17.74%	56.45%	25.80%	43.54%	56.45%

*includes advertisment (38.21%) and national news (48.08%)
**this figure does not include Latin America
} the same applies for rest of sample

THE DAILY CHRONICLE

SAMPLE: 6 MONTHS (J,M,M,J,S,N) 1879

8 pages
8 cols
62 cms
} 3,968 (cm/col) = 100%

NATIONAL*	3,658 (cm/col)	=	92.18%
INTERNATIONAL	295 "	=	7.43%
LATIN AMERICA	15 "	=	0.37%

LATIN AMERICA 1,142 (cm/col) = 100% (6 months)

THE WAR (CHILE, BOLIVIA, PERU)	380 (cm/col)	=	33.27%
BRAZIL	147 "	=	12.87
ARGENTINA	116 "	=	10.15
CUBA	115 "	=	10.07
BOLIVIA	108 "	=	9.45
PERU	68 "	=	5.95
CHILE	54 "	=	4.72
PANAMA	35 "	=	3.06
URUGUAY	21 "	=	1.83
MEXICO	20 "	=	1.75
COSTA RICA	17 "	=	1.48
PARAGUAY	16 "	=	1.40
HAITI	15 "	=	1.31
VENEZUELA	12 "	=	1.05
SAN DOMINGO	11 "	=	0.96
COLUMBIA	5 "	=	0.43

COUNTRY	NUMBER OF STORIES	ECONOMIC	CRISES & REVOLUTIONS	OTHER	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
BRAZIL	24	14 (58.33)		10 (41.66)	18 (75%)	6 (25%)
ARGENTINA	14	7 (50%)	3 (21.42)	4 (28.57)	10 (71.42)	4 (28.57)
CUBA	19		16 (84.21)	3 (15.78)	8 (42.10)	11(57.89)
BOLIVIA	5	5 (100%)				5 (100%)
PERU	3	2 (66.66)		1 (33.33)	2 (66.66)	1 (33.33)
CHILE	5			5 (100%)	5 (100%)	
PANAMA	4	3 (75%)		1 (25%)	3 (75%)	1 (25%)
URUGUAY	5	2 (40%)		3 (60%)	5 (100%)	
MEXICO	4	1 (25%)	1 (25%)	2 (50%)	3 (75%)	1 (25%)
COSTA RICA	1	1 (100%)				1 (100%)
PARAGUAY	4	1 (25%)	2 (50%)	1 (25%)	1 (25%)	3 (75%)
HAITI	4		4 (100%)		1 (25%)	3 (75%)
VENEZUELA	4	1 (25%)	2 (50%)	1 (25%)	3 (75%)	1 (25%)
SAN DOMINGO	2		2 (100%)			2 (100%)
COLUMBIA	1		1 (100%)		1 (100%)	
TOTAL	99	37	31	31	60	39
% TOTAL	100	37.37%	31.31%	31.31%	60.60%	39.39%

*includes advertisements (31.65%) and national news (49.60%)

M A N C H E S T E R G U A R D I A N

SAMPLE: 6 MONTHS (J,M,M,J,S,N) 1879

8 pages
6 cols
56 cms
} 2,688 (cm/col) = 100%

NATIONAL*	2,184	(cm/col)	= 81.25%
INTERNATIONAL	492	"	= 18.30%
LATIN AMERICA	12	"	= 0.44%

	LATIN AMERICA	756 (cm/col)	= 100% (6 months)
THE WAR	CHILE PERU BOLIVIA	441 (cm/col)	= 58.33%
	CUBA	100 "	= 13.22
	CHILE	54 "	= 7.14
	BRAZIL	53 "	= 7.01
	ARGENTINA	41 "	= 5.42
	MEXICO	24 "	= 3.17
	SAN DOMINGO	18 "	= 2.38
	HAITI	16 "	= 2.11
	VENEZUELA	11 "	= 1.45
	PERU	11 "	= 1.45
	PANAMA	9 "	= 1.19
	PARAGUAY	5 "	= 0.66
	COSTA RICA	4 "	= 0.52
	URUGUAY	2 "	= 0.26
	COLOMBIA	2 "	= 0.26

COUNTRY	NUMBER OF STORIES	ECONOMIC	CRISES & REVOLUTIONS	OTHER	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
CUBA	17		17 (100%)		6(39.29)	11(67.70)
CHILE	6			6 (100%)	4(66.66)	2 (33.33)
BRAZIL	11	8 (72.72)	1 (9.09)	2 (18.18)	8(72.72)	3 (27.27)
ARGENTINA	9	1 (11.11)	3 (33.33)	5 (55.55)	3(33.33)	6(66.66)
MEXICO	4	1 (25%)	2 (50%)	1 (25%)	1 (25%)	3(75%)
SAN DOMINGO	6		5 (83.33)	1 (16.66)	1 (16.66)	5(83.33)
HAITI	4		3 (75%)	1 (25%)	3 (75%)	3 (75%)
VENEZUELA	4	1 (25%)	2 (50%)	1 (25%)	3 (75%)	1 (25%)
PERU	4		1 (25%)	3 (75%)	3 (75%)	1 (25%)
PANAMA	2	1 (50%)	1 (50%)		1 (50%)	1 (50%)
PARAGUAY	2	1 (50%)	1 (50%)			2 (100%)
COSTA RICA	1	1 (100%)				1 (100%)
URUGUAY	1			1 (100%)	1 (100%)	
COLOMBIA	1		1 (100%)		1 (100%)	
TOTAL	72	14	37	21	33	39
% TOTAL	100%	19.44%	51.38%	29.16%	45.83%	54.16%

* advertisements (31.65%) and national news (49.60%)

TOTAL OF THE 19th CENTURY SAMPLE

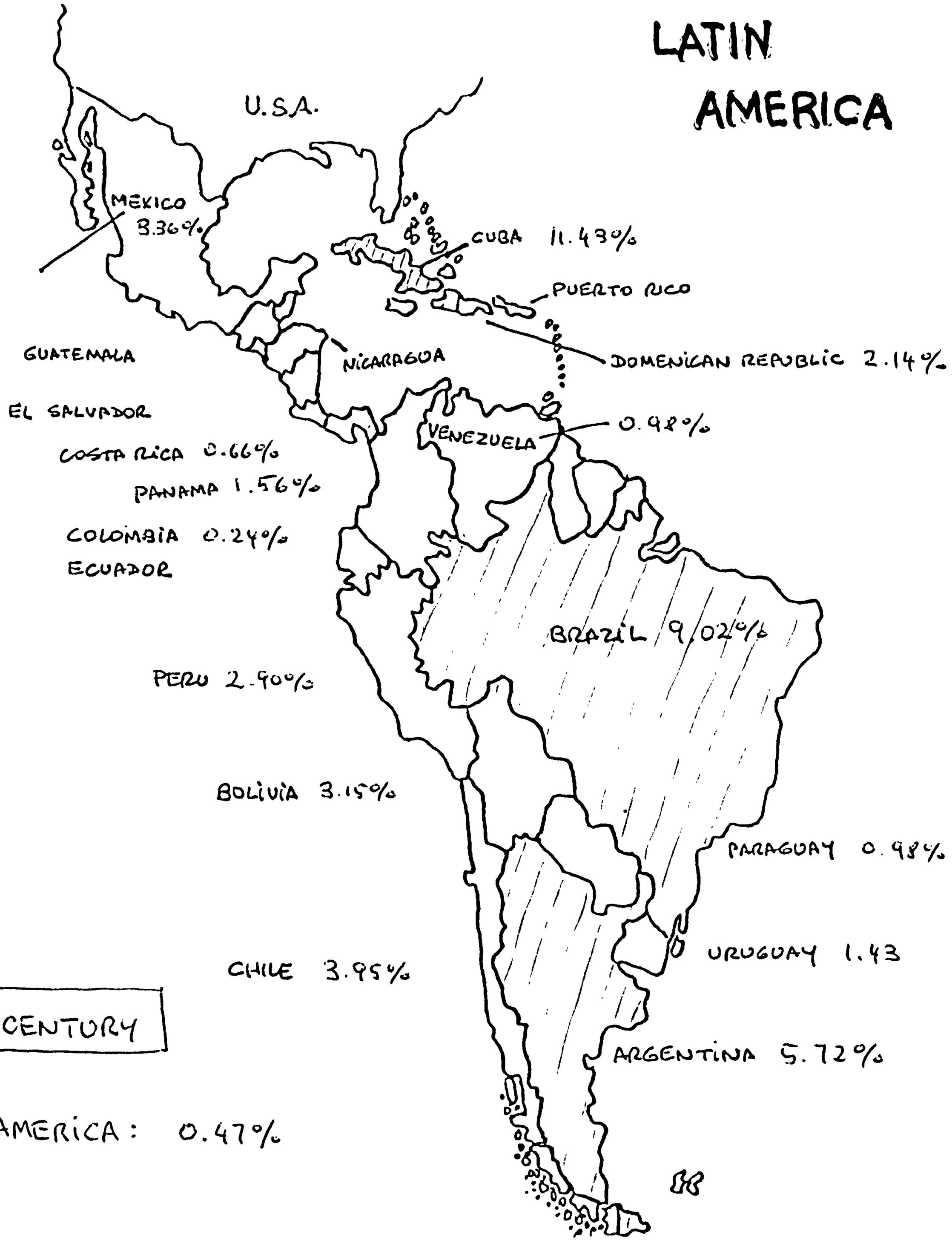
NATIONAL	86.57%	(National news 50.26%, Advertisement 36.30%)
INTERNATIONAL	12.94%	
LATIN AMERICA	0.47%	

THE WAR (CHILE, PERU, BOLIVIA)	52.90%	
CUBA	11.43%	
BRAZIL	9.02%	
ARGENTINA	5.72%	
CHILE	3.95%	
MEXICO	3.36%	
BOLIVIA	3.15%	
PERU	2.90%	
SAN DOMINGO	2.14%	
PANAMA	1.56%	
URUGUAY	1.43%	
HAITI	1.23%	
PARAGUAY	0.98%	
VENEZUELA	0.98%	
COSTA RICA	0.66%	
COLOMBIA	0.24%	

Apart from the War (Chile, Peru and Bolivia), the following is the total of the Latin American sub-categories:

ECONOMIC	26.60%	
CRISES AND REVOLUTION	44.20%	
OTHER	29.18%	
POSITIVE	51.50%	
NEGATIVE	48.49%	(Does not include the War which accounted for 52.90% of the breakdown by countries)

LATIN AMERICA



19th CENTURY

LAT. AMERICA: 0.47%

(where Britain built the first railway in Latin America), Brazil and Argentina were by then two countries with strong economic links with the UK, and this is still the case today. But it is interesting to see Venezuela and Colombia at the bottom of the table in 1879, with less than one per cent each of the total of the Latin American coverage.

Bearing in mind that the War amounted to over half the coverage of Latin America, it is also significant that the second area of interest for the British press was 'crises and revolutions', which shows a certain parallel with the 20th century coverage. Not surprisingly, due to the economic interests, the next single sphere of interest was the economic one: this has a strong connection with the chapter on the history of the links between Britain and Latin America.

Of the 47.10% of stories not related to the war, (which in itself could be considered 'negative'), the balance between 'positive' and 'negative' items showed some equilibrium with only 3% difference. Most of the 'negative' stories concentrated on Cuba and Santo Domingo, where insurrections were taking place at the time, and most of the 'positive' news concentrated on Brazil and Mexico, with more stable governments.

A selection of texts was taken from The Daily Chronicle, Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper and The Manchester Guardian. Some measurements (in cm/col) and headlines or indication of contents of other texts are also included in order to illustrate the overall coverage from where these texts were selected. This selection is included in the Appendix.

3.1.1

JOSE MANUEL BALMACEDA AND THE CIVIL WAR OF 1891

The defeat of President Balmaceda in 1891 marked the end of what is known as the Liberal Republic of Chile with strong executive power, and the beginning of the Parliamentary Republic.

Jose Manuel Balmaceda had been elected president on the 15th June 1886, after a distinguished career as a diplomat and politician. A Liberal, his campaign was supported by the National Party, the Liberal Party and a sector from the Social Democratic Party.

His efforts to unite all existing liberal fractions failed and he found himself increasingly isolated in his efforts to implement his government's plans of national development. Despite the lack of support from parliament and the continuous ministerial crises which meant that he had to change his cabinet thirteen times, the country saw a period of economic growth and infrastructural development.

Under his government, Chile's credit in Europe had an exceptional prestige and by 1890 the Treasury had a positive balance which was used to finance public spending in the building sector. The period of his government saw the canalisation of the Mapocho River which runs across Santiago; the provision of running water and sewage network in 15 cities, while the studies to provide the same facilities in another 36 cities were intitiated; the creation of the Greater Council of Hygiene; the building of the Ministry of Industry and Public Works; the creation of the Medical School; the

founding of the Santiago School (currently Barros Arana, of outstanding reputation); the School of Arts and Crafts; the Inspectorate of Primary Education; the teaching school for Primary Teachers; the Military School; the Public Prison; the Hospital for Women and the Pedagogical Institute.

Transport was another area which President Balmaceda concerned himself with: more than 1,000 kilometres of new train tracks were completed or had begun by 1891. The older tracks were greatly improved and big bridges were constructed over the rivers Malleco, Bio-Bio, Laja and Nuble in the south of the country. Amongst the most important projects was the construction of a rail track across the Andes, the Ferrocarril Transandino, to link Chile and Argentina, was initiated on the Chilean side in 1889.

His nationalist position became clear with his intention to nationalise the nitrate mines in the north of the country. Such mines were under the control of a British entrepreneur Sir John Thomas North.

The opposition to his plans for national development grew stronger and by October 1889 a political coalition known as 'Cuadrilatero' was formed by the National Party, the Social Democrat and two factions of the Liberal Party, the Liberal Moceton and the Liberal Doctrinario, thus joining forces in the opposition with the Conservative Party.

It followed a period of constant hostilities between the Executive and Congress which lead to the 1891 Civil War which was won by the opposition.

As the new presidential elections drew nearer, Congress

tried to force President Balmaceda to accept a presidential candidate of their liking and to withdraw his support for Enrique Sanfuentes. The latter was opposed even by some members of Balmaceda's own supporters and he finally withdrew his name. This political 'victory' however, did not completely satisfy some Congress men who were afraid President Balmaceda would support some other candidate not of their own liking. In order to force a change of cabinet the Congress postponed the debate and approval of the budget for 1891. In January that year, President Balmaceda decreed that since Congress had not approved a budget and that since public works and public expenditure could not be halted without risking serious consequences (both for the internal order of the country and for the republic external security) the previous year's budget would be effective.

Congress's answer to this decree was to declare the President's deposition. Two days later, on 7th January, the Navy rebelled against President Balmaceda in order to 'defend the Constitution and the Law'. The insurrection had the support of Congress as well as that of the Castillian-Basque aristocracy together with the clase media (middle class). The government had the support of a large part of the Democratic Party, an army of 5,000 men and a very small fraction of the aristocracy and of the middle class.

The rebels formed an alternative government or 'Junta de Gobierno' in the northern city of Iquique and sent their representatives abroad to buy armaments and to gather

international support for their cause. Throughout the following months several battles ensued until the government forces were completely defeated in the battles of Concon (21st August 1891) and Placilla (28th August 1891). President Balmaceda seeked refuge in the Argentinian Legacy and having been refused any legal guarantees by the rebels, he refused all offers to abandon the country illegally and committed suicide on 19th September 1891, the date when his presidential period ended.

The consequences of this triumph of parliament was the victory of the ruling class over the executive. The aristocratic ruling class through its control over parliament had, effectively, won control over the executive power.

3.1.2
THE 1891 SAMPLE

As indicated before, the Civil War of 1891 was chosen particularly as a sample for the qualitative analysis of the British coverage of Latin America in the 19th century, and in this case there was no measurement of the amount of information. Throughout the year, from January to September, texts were selected from all three analysed newspapers.

The following are the texts:

LLOYD'S WEEKLY NEWSPAPER

Jan 11 - REPORTED REVOLUTION IN CHILE

Paris Jan 8 - A telegram received here from Buenos Aires of today's date states that news has reached that city reporting the outbreak of a revolution

in Chile. No details are given.

JAN 16 - THE REVOLT IN CHILE

Lima, Jan 15 — The Chilean Navy revolted on the 7th inst and blockaded the coast from Iquique to Coquimbo. The Army holds firmly to the government. There have been no disturbances on shore. The telegraph lines have been cut between Valparaiso and the north.

JAN 25 - THE REVOLT IN CHILE. A BATTE IMMINENT

A BATTLE IMMINENT — A special telegram received in Mexico on Wednesday from Iquique announces that the insurgents are daily increasing in number, and that a battle is imminent. The Chilean Government is labouring under financial embarrassments. The censorship exercised over telegrams is stricter than ever.

The latest intelligence received at Buenos Aires states that the insurgents have occupied the post of Pisagua.

GUN-SHOPS SACKED IN VALPARAISO

An exchange company's telegram from Paris says:- the latest news from Chile received here via Buenos Aires states that Iquique, Valparaiso, Coquimbo and Pica reain blocked; but the insurgents who are masters of the situation, consent to open Valparaiso to commerce on conditions that the foreign consuls promise to remain strictly neutral...All the gunshops in Valparaiso have been sacked...All foreigners are safe, except, perhaps, the Italians, who are said to have encouraged the revolt.

DESPATCH OF A BRITISH SQUADRON

M. James Duncan, M.P., has received the following letter from the Foreign Office:- 'Foreign Office, January 17, Sir - With reference to my letter of the 14th inst I am directed by the

Marquis of Salisbury to inform you that, in view of the political crisis in Chile, the commander-in-chief of her Majesty's naval forces on the Pacific station has left Panama with some of the ships under his order to protect the interests of British subjects. It is believed that some of her Majesty's ships of war are already cruising off the coast of Chile. I am, Sir, you most obedient, humble servant, T.H. Sanderson.

FEBRUARY 1 - THE REVOLT IN CHILE

Paris, Saturday (Chiloe Archipielago blockaded) (...) Presdient Balmaceda is said to be disposed to withdraw to Santiago the regular troops, which are now prepared for a decisive battle, on condition that the blockade of the ports of Valparaiso and Iquique be raised immediately. This step, which is regarded as a concession to the insurgents, is attributed to the action of the Consular body at Santiago, in threatening the President with reprisals if the state of affairs showed no improvement by February 1. (...) An exchange company's telegram from New York says: - It is rumoured here that the American Minister to Chile has been instructed to withdraw if satisfaction is not given him, and that the English and Italian fleets have made demonstrations near Valparaiso. The loss to British commerce since the 13th inst. is estimated at nearly a million sterling.

(...) Her Majesty's ironclad Warspite, flagship of the Pacific Squadron and Her Majesty's sloop Espiegle left Callao for the South on Tuesday.

Paris, January 28:- In consequence of the recent events in Chile, the French Pacific squadron, which is at present in New Zealand waters, has received orders to proceed to the Chilean coast.

MARCH 1. THE CHILEAN REVOLUTION

New York, Saturday — According to the New York Sun a notice was issued on Friday to the merchants having business with the west coast of South America that, in consequence of the Chilean Revolution, the Compania Sudamericana de Valparaiso is compelled to discontinue the service to Chile until further notice. No cargo will be received by the company for Chilean ports. It has at the same time announced that business with Ecuador and Peru would continue without interruption.

MARCH 15. THE CIVIL WAR IN CHILE

Buenos Aires, March 9 — Intelligence received here from Chile reports desperate fighting, in which the Congressional Party was victorious.

MARCH 22. AWFUL TALE OF BLOODSHED

A letter from Santiago gives a terrible picture of the Chilean revolution:

A bloody battle has been fought at Pisagua, in which the Parliamentary forces were defeated, 40 of them being killed and 34 wounded, among the latter being Colonel Vergara, the commander. His injuries were serious.

The government continues to exile all persons who were in any way inclined towards the insurgents. Both natives and foreigners were suffering from this action, and several Germans and English merchants had been given 36 hours to leave the country for ever.

It is declared that confiscation on a grand scale was being resorted to by the government, and the entire property of don Augustino Edwards, the richest man in Chile, had been seized. The prisons were crowded with insurgents (...)

In view of the fact that all the Chilean ships had gone over to the Parliamentary Party, the government had purchased all the available merchant vessels in Chilean waters, and intended to try and buy others at Buenos Aires, and Montevideo. The President had issued a decree forbidding any person to leave the country without a passport.

APRIL 19. THE CHILEAN REBELLION. ACTION OF LORD SALISBURY

New York, April 15 ...The action of Lord Salisbury in notifying the government of President Balmaceda that the British Admiral will protect the interests of British merchants, and that Great Britain does not recognise the double duties of nitrate, will tend to stimulate the shipments from Iquique and other ports.

MAY 10. REPORTED ATROCITIES IN CHILE

A despatch received at New York from Callao states that after the recent battle at Pozo Almonte, the victorious government troops behaved with fiendish brutality. The town was sacked, and several buildings were set on fire and destroyed.

The soldiers, most of whom were maddened by liquor obtained from the looted hotels and taverns, were joined by a large number of labourers from the Nitrate works, and fearful atrocities were committed, women and girls being outraged and murdered by the score. Finally the most courageous citizens made a stand, and some sharp street fighting followed. Order was not restored until after the departure of the troops.

JULY 5. SAILORS SHOT AT SANTIAGO. CRUEL TREATMENT OF PRISONERS

The butchery, for that is what is is called, of a dozen men because they had espoused the cause of liberty, has caused the deepest indignation among the firends of the deceased....indescribable sufferings are inflicted upon prisoners daily. If a citizen dares to publicly express an opinion against the president, he is certain to be arrested,

as the government spies hunt every cafe and public resort... Women are daily imprisoned, says Dalziel's correspondent, with nothing to wear and little to eat, and are subjected to the rude assaults of soldiers. Prisoners have been made to walk upon red-hot iron and pins and needles have been stuck in their flesh. Many of them are members of the best Chilean families, but no favour is shown to them on that account.

AUGUST 30. CHILEAN CIVIL WAR
ROUT OF PRESIDENT BALMACEDA
THRILLING NARRATIVE
FLOWERS FOR THE VICTORS
FIVE THOUSAND SLAIN

New York, Saturday Balmaceda's power in Chile is broken. His army has been crushed, after five hours hard fighting, beyond all hope of reorganisation, and the insurgents have taken possession of Valparaiso. The future of Chile has been decided. With Balmaceda practically a fugitive, without resources in men or money, with the principal seaports of the country in the hands of the Congressionalists... it is a matter of only a few days when the capital shall fall into the hands of the insurgent leaders.
(Then a long and detailed military account of the action and battle in Valparaiso).
The inhabitants of Valparaiso are today apparently all in sympathy with the revolution, for as the insurgent troops, hot from battle, marched through the streets, they were greeted with the wildest enthusiasm...From the windows of the houses showers of flowers were

flung by enthusiastic women on the heads of the leaders. (...) President Balmaceda's whereabouts are unknown, but it is believed he has fled to the Argentine Republic. If he is captured he will certainly be shot, the feeling against him being particularly exasperated.

SEPTEMBER 13. ALL QUIET IN CHILE

The new Chilean government has appointed a Minister to London (...) Application was made to Mr. Justice Collins, the vacation Judge, on Wednesday, on behalf of the Chilean government, to restrain the Royal Mail Steamship Caompany and officers of their steamer Moselle from parting with possession of a quantity of silver shipped by Balmacedists, except by depositing it at the Bank of England. Motions were also made to restrain the London and River Plate bank from endorsing bills against the silver.

SEPTEMBER 20. BALMACEDA'S ESCAPE

(On board the San Francisco, an American ship)

Balmaceda was taken on board disguised as a drunken American sailor...on Saturday evening, nightfall favouring his disguise, he started for the vessel, acting the drunken sailor to perfection.

SEPTEMBER 27. SUICIDE OF BALMACEDA

(In the Argentine Legation)

'Considerable sensation'

Balmaceda's statement (published in part by L.W.N.):

'I have acted during the past eight months under the conviction that I was right...My heart throughout was with Chile. I sought to rescue the country from foreign domination, and strove to make it the first Republic in America....Many bad deeds attributed to my orders were never known of by me until they had been committed.

THE DAILY CHRONICLE

JANUARY 10

Owing to the censorship established in Chile, the various cable companies in London only accept telegrams for that country at sender's own risk.

The Exchange Company learns that the reported revolution would not cause much surprise to those who are well acquainted with Chile. That there is considerable excitement cannot be denied and the cause of that excitement is the dictatorial tone of President Balmaceda, against whose actions much opposition has for some time been offered... The actual outbreak of a revolution is, however, generally discredited in the best informed circles.

JANUARY 14

...From one course and another the Opposition appears to have been driven to use forcible measures. So far s can be learned the Army stands neutral, but the reported action of the Navy is within keeping with the known sentiments of the officers.

The financial interests of Great Britain in Chile is small as compared with our stake in Argentina, but a good deal of British money has recently been employed in developing the nitrate industry.

JANUARY 15 (EDITORIAL LEADER)

...The official class are naturally averse to disclose anything that may tend to make investors suspect that Chile is like other South American republics, a hot-bed of revolution. ...They have been patient chiefly because they desired to keep up their prestige in Europe as an orderly and stable state, in every respect different to their neighbours. The condition of Chile today closely resembles that of England under the Whigs in the last century. A few political families, linked by strong ties, partly of kinship and partly of complicity in jobbing, have monopolised the great offices, from the Presidency downwards.

JANUARY 17 (EDITORIAL LEADER)

We understand that the Chilean Navy now blockades the coast from Iquique to Coquimbo. The Army, it is said, still slings to the side of the obnoxious president, and so it would appear, does Mr Patrick Egan, Minister of the United States, ex-trustee of the Parnellite Fund, and Patron of the Gladstonian Irish Party. Mr Egan's support of the corrupt oligarchy now exploiting Chile is only what was to be expected...a revolted Navy is blockading the coast of that country, cutting off supplies from Iquique, demanding ransom from its inhabitants under threat of bombardment, seizing the Customs of Tarapaca, the region from which Colonel North's 'nitrates' and the best part of the revenue of Chile come...It gives them command of the money-bags, and if they play their cards well they can clearly starve out President Balmaceda. The Chilean government lives on its duties on nitrates...In the meantime it seems to us desirable to remind Lord Salisbury that Iquique, which we are told is being held to ransom, is a port through which a vast amount of our trade with Chile is done, and it must not be forgotten also that there is a great English colony at Valparaiso...It is time that our government began to strengthen the British naval force in the Pacific, so that it might be able to effectively guarantee British subjects on the Chilean coast against violence and robbery.

JANUARY 20

The Press Association is officially informed that, on receipt of intelligence of the revolutionary movement in Chile, the British Admiral in Command of the South Pacific Squadron at once proceeded to the Chilean coast with a portion of the vessels under his command.

JANUARY 26

Question as to the motive of the Chilean government in

their last three men-of-war in France rather than in England, Admiral Lato said that the Chilean government had invited tenders in England, Germany and France and that the best designs were those submitted by the French competitors.

FEBRUARY 14

Berlin (Reuter's): In the Reichstag Baron Von Marschall Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, stated that an agreement existed between England and Germany, according to which British ships would protect German interests in Chile.

FEBRUARY 28

The Nitrate Railways Company Ltd. received the following telegram from their general manager in Iquique: 'Iquique and Pisagua in possession of the Congress Party. Traffic still stopped.'

MARCH 16

Colonel Robles was the commander of the government troops in the action fought with the Congressionalists at Paso Almonte...it is therefore very probably that the intelligence which has reached Buenos Aires refers to the same affair.

APRIL 23 - THE CHILEAN CONGRESS (Reuter's Telegram)

Valparaiso, April 21: The newly-elected Chilean Congress has been formally opened by President Balmaceda. There was a large attendance of members. The diplomatic body was present at the ceremony.

MAY 8

A Central Newstelegram received in London yesterday from New York stated that according to advices received there from San Diego, English capital is at the back of the Chilean insurgents, and that the drafts to pay for the supplies of munitions of war to be put on board the insurgent chartered steamer Italia were drawn upon a bank in London by the Tarapaca BAnk which is controlled by Colonel North.

JUNE 25

New York: Mail advices from Iquique, which come via Panama, report that no improvement is observale in business at the Chilean port. No business is done for money, only notes payable to bearer being in circulation, but all these have suffered serious depreciation except those issued by the representative of a well-known English capitalist which are received everywhere.

AUGUST 25 THE WAR IN CHILE
THREE DAYS' FIGHTING
THREE THOUSAND KILLED AND WOUNDED

EDITORIAL: The civil war in Chile may now be said to be reaching its turning point...Of course the Dictator has had, and still has, the advantage which always belongs to the man in possession...he has turned to the United States, and has endeavoured to place on the market there a special class of bonds, secured upon the nitrate fields, and recommended on the ground that their possession would transfer to the Americans the profitable nitrate industry which is now in English hands...The English government...has placed no difficulty in his way, and still recognises him as the defacto ruler of Chile. this may be good policy; and of course it must be borne in mind that the English interests at stake in the Republic are larger than those of all other foreign countries combined...While the British government abstains from any interfernece with the freedom of Balmaceda and the junta, it ought to be careful not to compromise itself by any action which would facilitate any illegality on their part...There are still 3,000,000 dollars left in the Treasury, and the Dictator is in no doubt determined to appropriate that too if he can get ships to convey it. It ought not to be possible for him to avail himself of the services of any portion of the Royal Navy for the carrying of property which he has no legal or moral right to possess.

AUGUST 28

The Woman's Herald says: 'Bismark, Boulanger and Balmaceda are the three black B's, each in turn inspired by a spirit of boudnless egotism and tyranny. The two first are dead. May this be taken as a good omen of the fate that awaits the third.' Speaking of the Chileans, the writer says: 'The men are small, wiry, with marvellous powers of endurance, and fight like bulldogs when they are fighting; at the same time, they take life happily, and are well endowed with wit. The women are most beautiful; they are small and delicate, with fine, clear cut, straight features, and good mental abilities, though their opportunities for education are small. Their manners are extremely gracious, dignified and modest. Chile already boasts a lady doctor; the tramcars are all conducted by women; and it is, moreover, the only country in the world in which women are possessed of full political rights. Every woman over twenty one years of age has a vote.'

AUGUST 31 (EDITORIAL LEADER)

The crushing nature of the Balmacedist defeat happily forbids all likelihood of a resumption of hostilities, and Chile may now, therefore, enjoy at least breathing space in which to recover from the exhaustion into which it was plunged by the criminal folly of President Balmaceda.

SEPTEMBER 16

On reaching the boat awaiting him he made a final drunken stumble and fell into it.

SEPTEMBER 24

Letter to the Argentine Minister to Chile:

'Would to God this sacrifice might lessen the persecution of my friends of those who think that in this war they can humiliate and wound me more keenly.'

THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN

MAY 6

M. Ribot announced in the French Chamber yesterday that Chile had solicited the good offices of France, the United States and Brazil, and that those powers would endeavour to restore peace. It seems probably that it is the President, and not the Congressional Party, that has made the request.

MAY 8

A New York telegram says that Mr W.R.Grace and Messrs C.R.Flint & Co. both deny that they have been prolonging the trouble in Chile for commercial reasons, though they admit they are rivals in the competition for the Chilean trade. It is known that Messrs Flint & Co sent to President Balmaceda some little ago 350 cases of rifles and 750,000 cartridges. They say that it is as legitimate to sell arms to Chile as it is to

MAY 13

At Iquique, the Blanco Encalada, a short time before her destruction by the torpedo boat Almirante Lynch, gave satisfaction to the British Admiral by hoisting the flags of Germany and England and firing a royal salute. This was done by way of apology for having taken out the cargoes of coal of German and English vessels, and towed the vessels out of port against the wishes of their respective captains. The value of the coal was paid to the owners. Her Majesty's ship Warspite landed at Callao 120 foreign fugitives from Iquique.

MAY 18

From Paris - telegram (from Congressional sources)

President Balmaceda has proposed an exchange of prisoners. His conditions. however, are stated to have been exorbitant...the Congress Party insists that the exchange shall be made in equal terms, and demands that all

civilians and other political offenders imprisoned on mere suspicion shall be released, and that President Balmaceda shall pledge himself not to molest in future any citizen. (...) the commerce of the country is paralysed. The government troops are declared to be totally demoralised, and likely at first encounter to join the congressional army.

MAY 25

Mail advices received in Liverpool)

...The prisons were nearly full and that everyday fresh arrests were being made...the officers engaged in the searching had appropriated watches, jewellery, and any other valuables they could lay their hands on...

JUNE 8

The steamers of the Chilean and South American Company have been placed under the British flag, under what is presumed to be a simulated sale to an English comapny, pending the pacification of Chile.

JUNE 13 (EDITORIAL LEADER)

The Civil War in Chile is in itself a dull affair, but it opens interesting questions of international etiquette...Last year Chile - that is to say the united government of a tranquil Chile - ordered three warships in France. Signor Balmaceda, who, if there be at this moment such a thing as a Chilean government, is at most one fragment of a split and scattered authority, has now asked for the delivery of these ships to himself. The Congress Party have protested in Paris, and the French courts have directed that the ships shall remain where they are. For this the courts are rebuked by the Debats. On what grounds? The Provisional Government of the Congress Party, it contends, 'has not been recognised by France. Therefore as far as we in France are concerned, it has no existence as 'legal

person' and we cannot see how the French courts could give its representatives a hearing or issue an injunction at their instance. For the purposes of our authorities there exists only one Chilean government that which we have recognised, and which now maintains a duly accredited envoy at Paris'. The Debats surely misunderstands Sr. Balmaceda's position. The Chilean Constitution gives to the President and to the Congress equal and independent powers....Now the Chilean Congress by the energetic exercise of its powers placed Signor Balmaceda - whose name the Debats would treat as synonymous with that of Chile itself - in the position of a traitor and a rebellious subject...The Minister was appointed by the President as a legal representative of the whole State. There has ceased to be legal representatives of anything...least of all to Signor Balmaceda, of whom a thoroughly well-informed and mdoerate American writer says that 'on his own showing he is really an impeachable traitor and usurper, whose trial ought to be the first business of any regularly elected congress, and one may say this without by any means approving the course of his opponents'.

JUNE 16

New York: A despatch received here from Chile states that the Congress in Santiago has conferred extraordinary powers upon President Balmaceda to the war. It is also stated that the insurgents are sending all their available moneys to Europe.

JUNE 24 (SUMMARY OF NEWS)

The Chilean government announces that public feeling in Santiago is entirely in favour of the President, who controls the telegraph service. It is added that the action of the 'rebels' in prolonging the war inflicts many evils upon foreigners who are interested in the nitrate deposits.

AUGUST 5 (SUMMARY)

Senor Balmaceda, President of Chile, announces that whilst the 'rebels' continue to pocket the Customs revenues at the nitrate ports they are not in a position to make a serious attack on his troops.

AUGUST 25 (EDITORIAL LEADER)

TERRITORY HELD BY BOTH SIDES

SPECULATION ABOUT FUTURE MILITARY MOVEMENTS AND STRATEGY

Intelligent European opinion, we imagine, is practically of one mind in wishing to see an end, and one particular end, to the war. There are, no doubt, remarkable exceptions to this feeling, even where we should have expected them the least...We have already traced the ex-President's progress in the course of last year from mere straining of the Constitution on to openly unconstitutional acts, and on from these to an atrocious coup d'etat. It is doubtful whether even the manifesto just published in the FORUM by a representative of the Nationalist party is a more cogent indictment than Balmaceda's own Messages to his provisional Congress. They are full from end to end of careless and shameless admissions of outrages on the Constitution...it is to be hoped that the Congress soldiers are by this time in Vina del Mar, and that Balmaceda's trial before a regularly elected Congress may be said to be at last within sight.

SEPTEMBER 1 (SUMMARY)

...both at Santiago and Valparaiso the triumph of the Junta was followed by scenes of violence and bloodshed, for which, however the leaders of the revolution were in no way to blame. At Santiago, a great crowd assembled on the news of Balmaceda's downfall being received, and showed by their violent conduct how they would have dealt with the President if he had been caught. His house was burned down, together with the houses of some of his ministers.

SEPTEMBER 9

The reports that ex-Presdient Balmaceda had been shot by a muleteer has received no confirmation and is discredited. The latest rumour is that he is in hiding at one of the foreign legations or in some monastery.

SEPTEMBER 14

The Chilean Junta has issued a decree recognising Balmaceda's paper money, amounting to twenty-seven million dollars. The banks have been re-opened and trade has been resumed.

SEPTEMBER 16

Ex-President Balmaceda, more fortunate than many disposed South American rulers may congratulate himself on the prospect of being lionised at New York for a brief period, instead of terminating his career before a file of Chilean soldiers...there can be no doubt that the conduct of Admiral Brown in providing means for the escape of the fugitive will be construed as an unfriendly act...Balmaceda..., implored Admiral Brown...to receive him on the flagship San Fransisco, and the story goes that he went on board in the undignified disguise of a drunken American sailor.

SEPTEMBER 22

Telegraphing from Valparaiso, yesterday, the Herald correspondent says that there is a feeling of savage rejoicing at Balmaceda's death and bitter regret that he should have killed himself instead of falling into the clutches of the infuriated citizens.

The first and most evident impression one gets when comparing the coverage of 1879 with that of 1891, is that the first is more 'neutral' (although there are some elements

of admiration for the Chilean navy), while the second presents more evidence of political bias and one would be inclined to say that the language used in many stories and leaders for the 1891 coverage, was that of war propaganda and similar to the one used during the so called 'cold war' in the 20th century. The sharp dichotomy used to describe the two sides of the 1891 Revolution against Balmaceda (mainly in The Daily Chronicle and Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper) must have narrowed the political options as seen by the British readers of that period. The complexity of Chilean politics was obscured by simplifying the political events and by dsecribing the crisis as a conflict between 'freedom' and 'dictatorship', chiefly by means of biased reporting, editorial comments, dichotomised terminology, selective omissions and selective attributions, as examined in the following pages.

But first, a brief analysis on the method used by the British press to cover the events of 1891:

Obviously, the means of communications at the time were far different from those used in today's World reporting and this meant that some of the information on the war reaching London took several days - and in some cases more than a wekk - to be published, mainly because it came via Buenos Aires, Lisbon, Mexico, Paris or New York. Another characteristic is that it was not always based on direct reports. In some cases, the stories were based on

'telegrams' received from Buenos Aires, for instance, on an event which had taken place in Chile and the news item in London would read: '...news has reached that city reporting the outbreak of a revolution in Chile'. Other reports published in London were based on letters (see Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper, January 25, for instance: letter received by M. James Duncan, MP: or March 22, letter from Santiago). Some of these letters (like the one published in LLoyds Weekly Newspaper dated March 22 and headed 'Awful Tale of Bloodshed') account for very personal and subjective views on the war, giving the reader a one-sided version of the facts - in that particular case, an anti-government one. Other stories are headed, for instance, 'mail advices from Iquique, which come via Panama...'.

All three newspapers, nevertheless, include a large amount of stories which must have come to London via international agencies (most likely Reuters), since there were no newspaper correspondents or stringers at the time. All three also published editorial leaders commenting on the Civil War.

3.1.3

THE CONTENT

In 1879 Chile had been fighting a war against two other countries, for a territory rich in minerals which were exploited by - and were to remain in the hands of -

British interests. In 1891 Balmaceda wanted to nationalise them. But only a few stories in the British press mention the existence of these economic interests. The 'British connection' is more geared towards the concern about the safety of British subjects. There are long reports on the movements of the British naval forces in the area 'in order to protect the interests of British subjects'. The Daily Chronicle commented on the 17th of January '...it must not be forgotten...that there is a great English colony in Valparaiso...It is time that our government began to strength the British naval force in the Pacific'.

Together with the concern about British subjects, the press, mainly Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper and The Daily Chronicle, published a great amount of information about commerce, shipping an finance, related to the Civil War: 'The loss to British commerce since the 13th of January is estimated at nearly a million sterling' (Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper, February 1st).

The only newspaper that actually mentions the British interests in the nitrate mines in Chile, is The Daily Chronicle; on January 15th it reports: '...a good deal of money has recently been employed in developing the nitrate industry'; then in May 8th, it publishes a story about English capital financing the rebels according to American sources: 'English capital is at the back of the Chilean insurgents, and...the drafts to pay the supplies

of munitions of war...were drawn upon a bank in London by the Tarapaca Bank which is controlled by Colonel North'.

This was denied by North in London, who said: 'it must have been the ordinary course of business', and that no responsibility could be attached to him.

Later, in August 25th: '...the English interests at stake in the Republic are larger than those of all other foreign countries combined...'

It is not surprising, then, that clearly the British press had no sympathy for Balmaceda. On January 17th, at the beginning of the conflict, in one of its leaders, The Daily Chronicle calles Balmaceda 'the obnoxious President' who, according to the newspaper's editorial headed 'the corrupt oligarchy now exploiting Chile', when it was in fact the oligarchy that was the rebelling against Balmaceda. The same newspaper makes the following comparison in August 28th: 'Bismark, Boulanger and Balmaceda are the three black Bs, each in turn inspired by a spirit of boundless egotism and tyranny. The first two are dead. May this be taken as a good omen of the fate that awaits the third'. The political stand of the paper, in relation to the conflict is self-evident. After the defeat, The Daily Chronicle commented: 'Chile may now enjoy...breathing space in which to recover from the exhaustion into which it was plunged by the criminal folly of President Balmaceda'.

We find one of the clearest examples of biased reporting from London in the story published by Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper, dated May 10th, and headed 'Reported

Atrocities in Chile'. This particular despatch was received in New York from Callao (Peru), therefore it is difficult to establish the origin of the misinformation. The story accounts for the events which occurred in one of the most important battles of the war (Pozo Almonte). According to the British newspaper 'the victorious government troops behaved with fiendish brutality...the soldiers...maddened by liquor...were joined by a large number of labourers...and fearful atrocities were committed, women and girls being outraged and murdered by the score'.

But history proved the newspaper wrong. In fact, the Battle of Pozo Almonte was won by the opposition troops and it was they that, after victory, committed the atrocities, got drunk, raped women, and finally brutally murdered Colonel Robles, leader of the government troops, while he was being cured by local people from bullet wounds in a private house.

Another example of biased reporting are dubious accounts of events which may or may not have taken place. Although it cannot be proven today, they are very likely to have been invented as anti-government propaganda. The connoting key words have been underlined:

'July 5: 'If a citizen dares to publicly express an opinion against the president, he is certain to be arrested, as the government spies hunt every cafe and public resort....Women are daily imprisoned...with nothing to wear and little to eat, and are subjected to the rude assault of the soldiers. Prisoners have been made to walk upon red-hot iron and pins and needles have been stuck in their flesh. Many of them are members of the best Chilean families, but no favour is shown to them on that account'.'

The same story is headed by the following paragraph:

'The butchery, for that is what it is called, of a dozen men because they had espoused the cause of liberty, has caused the deepest indignation among the friends of the deceased.'

In fact, 'the butchery' referred to an internationally accepted procedure in times of war (and even of peace): twelve sailors had tried to desert to the opposition, taking with them a war vessel; but they were overtaken by the steamer 'Lynch' and brought back to Valparaiso. In Santiago the twelve men were condemned to death by a military court, and shot after a night of prayers and confessions with catholic priests. None of these facts (terrible, anyway) is accounted by Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper whose readers must have got the impression of some kind of wild and spontaneous massacre at the hands of the government.

In fact, while The Manchester Guardian and The Daily Chronicle published many leaders on the war throughout the conflict, the Civil War in Chile is the subject of the only editorial leader in Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper, which, for the first time, on August 30th, published an editorial comment on the certainty of Balmaceda's defeat. One of its paragraphs read:

'To most Englishmen a civil war in Chile is a mere struggle of kites and crows, though the holders of some twenty-five millions of capital invested in the country necessarily regard the impoverishment and disorganisation of Chile with painful interest...We sincerely hope that the dictator's power has totally collapsed, for his conduct has been as unconstitutional and cruel as that of a Stuart or a Bourbon monarch.'

At the end of the Civil War there was a lot of misinformation about Balmaceda's 'escape' or 'whereabouts' in all three papers, to the point of reporting that he had been taken on board an American ship, disguised as a drunken American soldier, which 'he acted to perfection'. In fact, Balmaceda never left the Argentinian embassy where he committed suicide.

None of the three newspapers analysed mention the political manifesto on which Balmaceda had been elected, which clearly showed that he was a liberal who believed in free enterprise, but also he was a nationalist who wanted to see the natural wealth of his country in the hands of Chilean subjects or firms. On the contrary, the image portrayed in all three British newspapers is almost one of a communist dictator fighting against British imperialism and 'the best Chilean families'.

3.2
THE 20th CENTURY

3.2.1
CASE STUDY: THE MILITARY COUP IN CHILE (1973)

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

The following is the qualitative analysis on the way the British press covered the military coup in Chile, in September 1973.

This particular event was chosen due to its international repercussions and because this kind of contingency would normally be expected to have a good international coverage. Therefore, it should offer a rich field for a study on the way the British press covered a typical Latin American crisis. It was also decided to include this particular case study (which is basically qualitative) before the quantitative analysis of 1977, in order to keep a chronological order of the samples chosen from 1879 to 1983.

The sample of newspapers comprises The Times, The Guardian and The Financial Times. A period of four months before the coup, was taken and general appreciations made therein. Then the analysis looks at the sixty days after the coup, a period in which closer attention was given to the qualitative examination.

This choice was based on the consideration that the main events related to the coup took place in the two months following it and that a view (in terms of a comparison) of the previous months was also necessary. The selection of texts for the analysis was based on my own particular

appreciation and I did not make a broader ideological reading since the event itself was politically very defined.

For the period before the coup, the complete coverage done by the three newspapers was examined, notes were taken and only a few examples were selected to illustrate the analysis. For the second period the same method was used, but many more examples were selected for the qualitative analysis. In both cases, the contents were compared to the facts as they became historically clearer years later.

3.2.2 THE LAST DAYS OF ALLENDE

Some months before the 'coup d'etat' in Chile, the British press seemed to start becoming more concerned about what was going on in this South American country, as though anticipating the events to come. But many of the political events which took place before June 1973 did not receive wide attention (sabotage, shutdowns in key sectors, terrorism and congressional obstructionism). With the exception of the 'bosses strike' in October 1972, the coverage of the British press was increased after the 'Tancazo', on June 29, 1973, when an armoured tank regiment unsuccessfully attacked the Presidential Palace, in an attempted coup which was not followed by the rest of the armed forces.

Before this, The Guardian and The Financial Times had been the two newspapers with the largest amount of news on Chile.. The Guardian mainly centred its attention on the political crisis, and The Financial Times, not surprisingly, covered aspects such as industrial production, black market,

price controls, nationalisations, foreign debt and some other economic news as well as some political news. But all these news items were separated in time; did not have a clear continuity, lacked historical background and in some cases, were presented as isolated events, (the ITT affair, the 'pots and pans' march of right wing women, the nationalisation of the banks, etc.), without a clear place within the historical development.

As pointed out, these two newspapers and The Times kept a more permanent coverage and paid closer attention to the events that followed the 'Tancazo', as if anticipating what was to come. This coincides with the tense feelings of the Chilean people at the time.

The three newspapers covered the frustrated attack on the Presidential Palace which was ill-prepared and not followed by the rest of the armed forces (some of the tanks ran out of fuel, was one anecdotal fact widely covered). The figure of General Prats (Chief of the Army), who led the forces which put down the attempted coup, began to draw the attention of the press. Due to the 'Tancazo', the people took to the streets in a massive demonstration that evening, in support of Allende and many factories were taken over by the workers. From this moment on, the British press covered almost every single event. The Guardian centred its attention on the increasing calls to get rid of reactionary army officers and - somewhat exceptionally - The Financial Times became more concerned with the political side of the

news than the economic side, for the first time since the elections of 1970.

In July, The Guardian was especially concerned with the massive military raids on factories and workers' quarters, searching (unsuccessfully) for weapons and ammunition stores, while ignoring mounting military and para-military preparations in other quarters. This was also covered by The Financial Times and by The Times.

From the content of the stories written in these newspapers, it is clear that the fact that the people were unprepared for a military conflict, is more evident to the British correspondents than to the Chileans themselves. This speaks not only for the deep political and ideological crisis among Chileans, but also of the position as 'observers' of the British journalists. Once again, the events, as seen by an outsider, were more 'objective' than as seen by the people directly involved.

In August 1973, the Christian Democrats, following their leader Eduardo Frei, declared their total hostility to the Popular Unity Government and the lorry owners went on strike again, quickly followed by other groups; Allende's Naval Attache (Aide-de-Camp) was assassinated by right wingers and a widespread campaign of terror and sabotage on bridges, oil supplies, electricity pylons, etc. was launched by the right; on the 23rd of that month, General Prats was forced to retire as Minister of Defence by fellow officers and he also had to resign as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces. All these events were widely covered by the British press

and when this news was reported, British interpretations were to be proven right by the later historical events.

However, the fact that correspondents and international news agencies headquarters are located in Santiago, Chile's capital, meant that some highly important provincial events and some internationals implications were not so well covered.

On August 5th 1973, more than 100 sailors were arrested on charges of plotting a mutiny. This took place in Valparaiso but it appears that the correspondents and agency journalists did not move from Santiago, because many important aspects of this case were not covered. The sailors were arrested for opposing to plans for the coup which they discovered being drawn up, and they were badly treated by their captors, as they recounted in an open letter to the Chilean workers and President Allende:

> '...we, the rank and file sailors who are opposed to the coup, declare to the workers and to our families that neither the threats of our officers to return and beat us again, nor a thousand further tortures will prevent us from telling the truth to our class, the working class...'

These statements, published in Chile by the left wing media, and in which there were allegations of torture, were not published by the British press which seems a very big gap in the UK coverage.

On the other hand, some international implications well covered by a substantial part of the Chilean media, did not call the attention of British journalists. For example, Kissinger regarded Chile as setting a dangerous precedent for

Italy, France and elsewhere and treated Chile as a 'test case' for a set of techniques which have become known as 'destabilisation'. The Chilean government and the media were fully aware of this. William Colby (then Director of the CIA) described Chile as a 'prototype or laboratory experiment to test the techniques of heavy financial investments in an effort to bring down the government'. (1) While the Chilean press was publishing much news in connection with this, in 1973, there are no signs of the British press paying any attention to this matter (over US$ 8m were made available for secret meddling in Chilean politics between 1970-73; this was openly denounced, especially during the last 'bosses strike' in 1973).

Nevertheless, apart from these specific journalistic vacuums in provincial and international matters, the coverage of the political situation was highly accurate, particularly in The Guardian and The Financial Times. It seems that this was due to the professional standard of two correspondents at the time, Richard Gott and Hugh O'Shaughnessy, respectively, who had been concerned with the Chilean developments for a long time. Both went to Santiago some time before the military coup and stayed there until after the fall of Allende. Two stories written on the same day, by each of them, have been chosen as a sample of their profound knowledge of the situation and the level of their objectivity. The Times did not have a permanent

1. Testimony by William Colby to a US Congressional Committee on April 22nd 1975

correspondent there at the time and its stories were written by stringers, news agency journalists, and by the Chilean journalist Florencia Varas, who worked as a stringer for The Times and who clearly had sympathy for the opposition to Allende.

FINANCIAL TIMES August 9, 1973
(Second part of a story about Chilean new cabinet)

DEMONSTRATIONS (H. O'Shaughnessy)

'For its part, the CUT, the Communist-led trade-union confederation, was rallying its members for demonstrations and rallies in support of President Allende.

Sr. Carlos Briones, Interior Minister, has ordered the arrest of the leaders of the transport strike, but none had been apprehended by yesterday afternoon.

The question now is whether the left-wing of President Allende's coalition government and their allies on the ultra-left outside the government will quietly accept the accession of the armed forces into the cabinet.

Passions in the far left were very strongly aroused at the weekend when Air-Force units searching a factory in Punta Arenas for stockpiles or arms, shot one worker dead and caused severe injuries to another, reportedly with bayonets.

Socialist Party leaders have called for the removal of General Manuel Torres, the officer in charge of the operation. They were joined in their denunciations by the extreme-left MIR movement.

In general, the left has accused the armed forces of having being tougher in their searches for arms of working class homes than when looking in right-wing middle class districts.'

Events were moving quickly in those days. The Financial Times correspondent, wishing to keep up-to-date in every

detail, had to make clear, for instnace, the precise time of the happening of these stories ('none had been apprehended by yesterday afternoon'), for the events were changing every hour and his reports could become obsolete. There is a special care about this (which is very professional) because despatches and communications were highly fluent by that time (a clear contrast with the coverage of the 19th century).

The question in the third paragraph suggests a good appreciation of the actual political situation inside the sectors supporting Allende.

This 'reporting' style (not always used by Mr O'Shaughnessy) was completed with other 'interpretive' stories written by the same correspondent. Richard Gott seemed to prefer this second form of writing:

THE GUARDIAN August 9, 1973
TIGHTROPE WITHOUT SAFETY NET (Richard Gott)

The Chilean President, Dr. Allende, has dismissed two senior air-force generals after a sustained campaign by left wing groups accursing members of the armed forces of involvement with the fascist 'Fatherland and Freedom' movement. At the same time the Chilean Navy has announced the crushing of an incipient mutiny on two of its ships, and the country's Cammander-in-Chief Carlos Prats, has declared that legal action will be taken against a socialist deputy accused of defaming the armed forces. These are the latest developments in the accelerating Chilean crisis which has been getting out of hand since the abortive military coup at the end of June.

Chilean crises have a tendency to end not with a bang but with a whimper. When it comes to a crunch no significant

political group is prepared to launch the country over the precipice to civil war. But President Allende, one of the world's wiliest politicians, is running out of answers to the country's problems.

Chile within its present political framework is gquite simple becoming ungovernable, and it is tempting to conclude that sooner, rather than later, some kind of major institutional breakdown must occur.

The only reason why it does not is that the growing sense of crisis is not apralleled by any growth in support for the opposition to Allende's Popular Unity Government. If anything, the deepending crisis brings more people over to the government's side.

The extent of the crisis, however, should not be minimised. The lorry owner's strike, now in its third week, has brought chaos and violence in its wake. A comparable strike in October last year cost the country £80m. There are 45,000 lorry owners and in a country where 70 per cent of the food, fuel and raw materials are transported by road, they have immense power (...)

(...) Hundreds of lorries have been requisitioned, and Allende has ordered the Army and the police to guard the convoys of lorries and buses as they move about the country. The Army has provided helicopters for this task. But even with these precautions shortages and violence have proved unavoidable.

(...) Compared with the situation in October the shortages of food are less critical. For this the government was well prepared and the immediate mobilisation of volunteers has kept hardship to a minimum (....)

(...) Allende is also faced with the breakdown of his talks with the leaders of the opposition Christian Democratic Party. As the price of their co-operation with the government the opposition - which controls the Congress - demanded a retreat from the socialist path that the government

has been trying to read and the presence of military in the cabinet and the other levels of administration.

On the former demand, Allende was prepared to make some concessions: no further industries would be brought into the public sector (though the government would not give back those that had already been occupied by their workers). But Allende felt unable to give way on military participation in his government. He feels that they are doing an excellent job where they are.

He pointed out last week 'the popular unity is the only government in Chilean history that has incorporated the armed forces as an institution into the work of the government'. This is true. The Chilean army is engaged in a wide variety of development tasks up and down the country, but much of Allende's coalition would appose giving it any more political power.

The reason for this opposition is the embryonic struggle that is emerging between the armed forces and the organisations of the workers. Every crisis strengthens the unity and the power of mobilisation of the workers. The armed forces are understandably alarmed at this force and for the past months troops have been sent into factories and the head-quarters of political parties and trade-unions to search for arms.

On Saturday a worker at a factory in Punta Arenas was killed during such a search, and the hostility of the workers towards these searches is mounting daily.

These are no longer isolated complaints, but full-blooded protests both from the Socialist Party and the Communist dominated Trade Union Confederation.

It is pressure from this direction that makes it difficult for Allende to give in to opposition demands for an increased military presence in government.

But recent events make it clear that armed forces are as divided as the rest of the country. In the past six

weeks sections of the army, navy and the air force have shown signs of disaffection. It will be a major task for General Prats and his colleagues to re-establish their authority.

In these circumstances it seems likely that they may agree to return to Allende's cabinet, not on the terms they have been demanding, but on Allende's terms.'

To begin with, the title itself is a good synthesis of the situation in early August, 1973. Since this story is not the type of 'news report' as Mr. O'Shaughnessy's, it covers general aspects and picks up facts back in time. Its text was chosen because it is considered to be an extraordinarily good policial analysis for those days, when it was extremely difficult to have a clear appreciation of the developments as a whole. One month later, history showed Mr Gott right, after he had written: 'sooner, rather than later, some kind of major institutional breakdown must occur'. At the time, in spite of the deep crisis, many Chileans did not believe in the possibility of a coup d'etat or a civil war. His description of the relations between the army and the other armed forces with the government, with the opposition and with the workers is extremely close to reality and this kind of analysis (on the Chilean situation) was not commonly found in the rest of the British press, except for The Financial Times. One of the positive aspects of these kinds of stories is that - in this particular case - they provide a wide background for the British readers. Unfortunately, although the flow

of news from Chile was kept up, these sorts of long stories with deep analysis were not; and they are only found once in a while in these two newspapers. It must be considered that many British readers do not read The Financial Times or The Guardian and that almost no news about Chile in those days was published in the popular papers.

Here is another more analytical example of The Financial Times coverage:

FINANCIAL TIMES August 27, 1973

NEW CHILE CABINET MAY EXCLUDE ARMED FORCES (H. O'Shaughnessy)

The fog of political crisis in Chile, though still thick, lightened a fraction today with reports that a new cabinet will be formed soon by President Salvador Allende and that there is a distinct possibility that the month-old road transport strike may be settled shortly.

Government sources said that President Allende is to announce this new cabinet in the next few days, which this time will not include any representatives of the armed forces. This follows the gradual collagpse·last week of the 'National Security Cabinet' announced by the President on August 9th.

The Cabinet was greatly weakened by the resignation of General Prats, a trusted associate of the President, from his post as Commander-in-Chief of teh Army and Defence Minister (...)

(...) The armed forces have, as a result of the moves of the last few days, edged away from intimate involvement with the government and the new heads of the services appear to want to underline their more traditional role as guardians of the constitution and opponents of any sector whether of the right or of the left, which sought to contravene it.

The latest developments have calmed the anxieties of senior officers that the armed forces were becoming too identified with the Allende administration.

Meanwhile talks continued today between the government and the road hauliers and bus and taxi owners. The government is reported to have given in to the haulier's demands about supplies of new vehicles and spares, but there remain some overtly political demands from the hauliers about which the two sides have yet to agree (...)

(...) The strike has gone on for nearly a month and is having extremely serious effects on the country's economy. Many staple foods are in very short supply and there is virtually no public transport (...)

(...) The government has armed a further blow at the neo-fascist Patria y Livertad by last Saturday's arresting of its leader, Sr. Walter R. Thieme. Patria y Libertad has been operating clandestinely since it claimed responsiblity for the abortive army coup attempted on June 28 which resulted in the deaths of 22 people.'

Although this story is not as analytical as that written by Richard Gott, it also gives a fair background to the political framework of the events.

In one single news despatch - like the one above, which has been reduced for analytical purposes - Mr O'Shaughnessy gives an account of the actual facts of everyone of the most important political events taking plaee and shaping the Chilean situation, almost two weeks before the coup.

These tight and synthetic stories, trying to contain most of the circumstances, were in those days, common in the British press, and it is clear that this was because

of the lack of previous information on the subject.

The Guardian and The Financial Times appreciations of the position of the armed forces were also in accordance with reality although in Chile, opinions were divided. In fact, relations among the officers, especially the navy, were unfavourable to the left. After the mutiny, the great majority of naval officers were against the government. Allende's regime tried to keep the officers separate from the class struggle, in conditions which only favoured the advance of politically right wing sectors, who have been able to carry out their plans up to the present day.

Not only was Allende determined to keep the armed forces out of the class struggle, but the Communist Party was too, as its leader Luis Corvalan stated: '...we continue and will continue to support keeping our armed forces strictly constitutional and professional'.

It is regrettable, on the other hand, that the British newspapers gave little attention to what was going on within the workers organisations. Although it was covered, it was not treated as anyting relevant and I could scarcely find any news story referring specifically to this matter.

The British coverage is clearly centred on 'top-level' politics, leaving aside, for instance, the growth of the 'popular power' which has taken root and was rapidly and consistently spreading: 'JAPs', 'Comandos Comunales', 'Centros Vecinales', 'Cordones Industriales', etc. (Supply and price control boards, in the hands of the people; people's commands;

neighbourhood centres; industrial belts, etc.).

Due to the existence and the growing power of all these popular organisations - 'parallel to the government' - the Popular Unity could in fact afford the 'Bosses strike' and the right wing struggle, during the fifteen months of administration. But, as Mr Gott points out in The Guardian, they were still not ready for a confrontation with the military.

The Times did not have a correspondent is Santiago during the coup, nor before it. When the military took over, the newspaper sent Mr David Wigg to cover the events. Before him Mr Andrew Tarnowsky wrote stories on Chile from Buenos Aires, and the stringer Florencia Varas from Santiago. All three newspapers also published a great deal of agency news.

The following is a story writeen by Florencia Varas twenty days before the end of the Popular Unity administration:

THE TIMES August 23, 1973

CHILE MPs' VOTE REBUKES THE PRESIDENT (Florencia Varas)

A noisy session of the Chamber of Deputies called to analyse the political situation in Chile, last night approved by 81 votes to 47 a motion setting out the alleged ways in which President Allende's government has broken the law.

The motion to be presented to the President asks him and his cabinet to end immediately their 'unconsitutional actions'.

This is the first time in 17 years that the Chamber of Deputies has passed a motion of this nature.

The session was called by the National Party which

wanted to accuse Allende of heading an illegal government. But the Christian Democratic Party persuaded it to present a more limited motion listing 14 ways in which the government was alleged to have broken the law.

The opposition parties have declared that this motion should be taken very seriously as a moral sanction against the government.

To government politicians the opposition is attempting to give some legal authority for a coup d'etat by the armed forces.

Ministers know the situation is extremely dangerous and they have called the workers to support the government and resist a coup (...)

(...) The Communists, in spite of being the least emotional of the government's parties, have declared that any kind of military coup will lead to civil war. The party does not want a civil war it may be forced into because of the actions of the opposition.

This political action was known, afterwards, as 'the green light' for the military takeover. But it is not the case that to government politicians the motion approved by the Chamber of Deputies 'gave some legal authority for the coup'; that was a political vote, and outside Parliament, many academics, for instance, who did not sympathise with Allende, still thought that the government was absolutely constitutional and that any action against it by the armed forces would be totally illegal.

In general terms, the stories written by Mrs Varas tried to keep a 'neutral' position, but being an opposition Chilean reporter, she could not avoid showing heavy connotations of sympathy for them.

Most of her stories are bad news for Allende's regime and 'neutrality' is more likely to be found in other news sources like Reuters:

THE GUARDIAN August 28, 1973

ALLENDE CANCELS ALGIERS VISIT BECAUSE OF THE CHILEAN CRISIS
(Reuters)

Chilean President Salvador Allende who was due to leave for Algiers next Monday to attend the non-aligned summit conference, has cancelled his trip because of the political crisis here, a government spokesman said today.

The President had set great store on attending the non-aligned summit to help thurst Chile into the forefront of the Third World.

The cancellation of the trip appeared to indicate that the President had encountered difficulties in putting together a new cabinet strong enough to pull the country through the present crisis.

STORES AND BARS CLOSE

Meanwhile, most of Chile's stores and bars closed and thousands of farm workers quit work as anti-government unions stepped up their campaign against President Allende.

Some 16,000 farm workers and 140,000 shopkeepers stopped work for 24 hours in support of a 34-day truck owners strike. The truck-owners said they would keep their 45,000 vehicles off the roads until they had confidence in the government.

And the powerful Chilean commercial and production federation, which groups a large part of the private industrial sector opposed to socialism, today called on Mr Allende to make radical changes in his government.

The national council of professionals, which includes doctors, engineers, lawyers and architects, issued a similar statement and called for the President's resignation if he did not respect Congress and Unions.

But the government trade-union confederation said it would mobilise thousands of workers tonight in a mass show of support for Mr Allende.

The workers also planned to demonstrate their solidarity with General Prats, who left the cabinet and relinquished his army command to pressure unity in the armed forces.

This story by Reuters shows the political confrontation and the tactical movements of the Right in order to precipitate the events. When it talks about 'anti-government unions' it is referring to the so-called 'white-collared unions'. This is not clear in the text, but, it is clear from its content that the struggle against the government did not precisely come from popular sectors and had a class implication: shopkeepers, truckowners, farmworkers, the Chilean Commercial and Production Federation (grouping the owners in this area), the National Council of Professionals, etc.

The following day, the same agency reported the government's position, this time published in Britain by The Financial Times:

FINANCIAL TIMES August 29, 1973

ALLENDE FIGHTS BACK WITH NEW CABINET (Reuters)

Chilean President Salvador Allende, in a new move to pull his nation through its prolonged crisis, announced his tenth cabinet in less than three years, after declaring there would be 'neither civil war nor a coup d'etat'.

In a fighting speech, the Marxist leader vowed to continue his social revolution. Then he announced the cabinet reshuffle in a clear bid to retain all the support

from the armed forces he could muster.

'I represent a revolutionary process of change which will not be halted by terror nor fascist threats' the 65 year-old President said in a national broadcast last night.

By the beginning of September the shortages caused by the economic sabotage, and the ideological and political struggle, were reaching catastrophic proportions. Supply was hampered by the prolonged strike of lorry owners determined to bring down the government. Finally deliveries of wheat into Santiago were prevented altogether by rightist terrorist attacks. Allende was forced to admit on September 7th that only three or four days' supply of flour remained.

This was well covered by the British newspapers, especially The Financial Times. The Guardian emphasised the fact that large sections of the 'petty bourgeoisie' were, in ideological terms, easily mobilised by the right in wave after wave of attacks on the regime.

Allende's last bridge to the military was cut on August 27th when Admiral Montero resigned as Head of the Navy. The naval officer corps would accept no replacement but Admiral Jose Toriblio Merino, a well known rightist who was later to be one of the members of the ruling junta.

On September 7th air force troops surrounded the 'Sumar' textile factroy and shooting broke out. Finding themselves in turn surrounded by people from the neighbourhood, the troops withdrew. It was a foretaste of the confrontation to come.

Pierre Kalfon reported in Le Monde of September 11th:

'As the armed forces - essentially the air and the naval arms - have proceeded to carry out the searches authorised by the 'arms control law', many supporters of the Unidad Popular are coming to wonder if the June 29 coup was as much of a failure as believed. Since that day, in fact, the army seems to have been progressively dropping the neutrality that was its pride and has been choosing to launch its 'mop up' operations against worker and peasant areas rather than among the bourgeoisie, which, nonetheless, does not make any bones about the fact that it is ready to 'go the limit' to overthrow President Allende.'

In fact, when this newspaper was being sold, the coup was taking place in Chile. The paragraph from Le Monde denotes the clarity on the situation of the French newspaper.

3.2.3
THE MILITARY COUP

All the events that took place before September 11th 1973 were covered by the British press in the terms noted before. Since the situation changed so radically and the eyes of the world turned to Chile, British concern about this country increased too, and the news of the coup was published in almost every newspaper. Again, after some days, the three 'quality' newspapers conforming this sample and also The Daily Telegraph, were the only ones to continue the coverage.

The following are some facts about the development of

events in Chile and the way some foreign newspapers covered them.

In the early hours of September 11th, the Navy had seized the port of Valparaiso. The military coup had started. By the evening, the armed forces had already taken over and the new regime was headed by General Augusto Pinochet, of the Army; General Gustavo Leigh, of the Air Force; Admiral Jose Toribio Merino of the Navy; and General Oscar Mendoza, Head of the Carabineros.

From that moment on, reports filtering out of Chile pointed to a slaughter of historic proportions, comparable - in the words of some witnesses - the massacres in Indonesia in 1965.

"An American doctor who was in Santiago during the coup which overthrew Marxist President Allende said yesterday that anywhere between 5,000 and 25,000 Chileans had been executed," reported the New York daily 'El Diario' on September 24th. "Dr Phillip L. Polakoff said that there had been 'widespread massacre-ing of civilians and torturing of prisoners by the junta'".

During the first few days, the main targets of the military were well-known leftist politicians, people who had been involved in the former government, foreigners, workers who had occupied their factories, workers' leaders, academic staffs, left wing students and those living in working class neighbourhoods.

Two American students released from an improvised priosn in Santiago, Adm and Patricia Schesch, reported,

according to an Associated Press despatch of September 23rd: "We personally saw the shooting of 400 or 500 prisoners in groups of 30 to 40, at the National Stadium, where we were being held".

New York Times correspondent Marvine Howe reported that an American film-maker suddenly disappeared, apparently taken by the military: "I don't know why they came," Mrs Mormon said in tears, "maybe some neighbours denounced us, although we have only been here six days". Mrs Mormon showed pamphlets which had been distributed in her neighbourhood saying: "Chileans, do not be afraid to denounce your foreign neighbours, who have come here to kill Chileans".

The fate of many other foreign residents created a scandal in Latin America, although it was barely mentioned in the British press, mainly because of the fact that they were mainly Latin Americans: Uruguayans, Argentinians, Brazilians, etc. The embassies in Santiago were packed with foreigners seeking refuge.

Some newspapers took their news too far though:

The correspondent for the prestigious Mexican paper 'Excelsior' fled Chile on September 19th and gave this description of the terror going on in the country, to 'La Razon', of Buenos Aires:

"I ahve the most direct and reliable information that there is a perfectly well prepared list of 13,115 foreigners and all the members of the GAP and the MIR...All in fact are condemned to death...Now the worry of many diplomats and

many foreigners in Santiago is how far the extremism of the military junta will go...There is no telling how far things will go."

The figures of foreigners killed, although high, was far below 13,115, but the fact remains that there actually was a persecution of foreigners.

This is how a business correspondent from the Caracas daily 'El Nacional' described the death of a young fellow countryman in Santiago, according to an Agence France-Presse despatch in Le Monde of September 20:

"Without giving any reason for the arrest of Maza Carvajal (a 22 year old electronics student), the reporter ...told how the young man was taken to an industrial district to be shot on the spot, in front of workers and students. The commander of the firing squad ordered him to flee: 'You are a foreigner, you are Venezuelan, you can save yourself'...When he refused, the soldiers dragged him out, put him against a wall and shot him, telling the witnesses that he was an 'example'."

This type of statement filled the Amerian, European and Latin American newspapers. It seems that a desire for equanimity and objectivity led the British journalists not to use them as often as their foreign colleagues. Many foreign papers publishing this kind of eye-witness account tended to be rather sensational compared to The Times, The Guardian or The Financial Times.

The New York Times reported on the 7,000 prisoners the junta admitted to holding in the National Stadium in Santiago:

"About 150 Chilean and foreing newsmen were taken on a tour of the National Stadium today and shown from a distance, some 800 prisoners. The newsmen were allowed to shout questions at the prisoners sunning themselves behind an iron barricade but could not converse with them. The prisoners appeared to come mainly from the working class.

"When asked if they were Communists or Socialists, several answered simply, 'We are workers'."

Again, the British newspapers did not wish to draw any conclusions about the implications of the CIA or other American institutions in the military coup, while this was one of the main subjects in the Latin American press, even in the American newspapers and in some others like Le Monde.

"Satisfaction not unmixed with embarrassment", was the way this French newspapers' September 13th editorial described the mood of official circles in Washington when Allende's government fell. Le Monde concluded that there was no doubt, whatever the direct role of American government agencies in the actual coup, that US imperialism was responsible in the last analysis for bringing down Allende.

It must be rememberd that the US economic blockade created 'the lion's share' of the shortage that fuelled the petty bourgeoisie revolt, in particular the shortages of spare parts for lorries. Its refusal to sell wheat to the Allende government when a desperate shortage developed just before the coup seemed to constitute the final step

in this policy. But the first and most powerful steps had been taken by the ITT, the Anaconda and Kennecott copper corporations, the Bank of America and other transnationals, as was later established in a US Senate subcommittee investigation of the American involvement in the coup.

Another type of story difficult to find in British newspapers is the following:

The September issue of Le Monde Diplomatique reported on Chile:

"The army is tending to become an outgrowth of the middle class. According to a study carried out seven years ago, 42% of officers graduating from military school came from the large bourgeoisie, 39% from the rather comfortably off middle class and 19% from the straitened petty bourgeoisie. Some 65% of the senior officers came from the middle class; among them however, a large number were linked to the upper class. In most cases, in fact, a young officer with no personal fortune takes the opportunity of an assignment to the south to marry the daughter of a landowner. One of the most unexpected results of the agrarian reform was to reduce the dowires of the brides of young officers."

Almost a month after the coup, when the development of events seemed to become rather less obscure, and when the international press was being more careful about the reporting of facts which could be supported by evidence, the American magazine Newsweek published this description, as reported by John Barnes:

"Last week I slipped through a side door into the Santiago city morgue, fashing my junta press pass with all the impatient authority of a high official. One hundred and fifty dead bodies were laid out on the gound, awaiting identification by members of their families. Upstairs I passed through a swing door and there, in a dimly lit corridor, lay at least fifty bodies, squeezed one against the other, their heads propped up against the wall. They were all naked.

"Most had been shot at close range under the chin. Some had been machine-gunned in the body. Their chests had been slit open and sewn together in what presumably had been a pro forma autopsy. They were all young, and judging from the roughness of their hands, all were from the working class. A couple of them were girls, ditinguished among the massed bodies only by the curves of their breasts."

According to the Newsweek story, the daughter of a morgue staff member told Barnes that in the two weeks following the coup, this one institution had processed 2,796 corpses.

The Newsweek correspondent added: "No one knows how many have been disposed of elsewhere; a gravedigger told me of reports that helicopters have been gathering bodies at the emergency first aid centre in central Santiago, then carrying them out to sea to be dumped".

In other parts of his report, he writes:

"Presumably the junta believes that since the 'poblaciones' (shanty towns) provided the former government's main support, they must be terrorised into accepting the

fact of its demise. So the local leaders are now playing with their lives for their love of Allende. Not one poblacion has escaped the terror.

"I spoke to three women from the Pincoya poblacion. One of them, a mother of two, had just found out that she was a widow. She told me this tearful story: 'Soldiers raided our poblacion last Saturday at eight in the morning. In the section where we live, they rounded up about fifty men and held them until a police lieutenant came to take his pick. When the lieutenant saw my husband, he made him step forward and said: 'Now you will pay for what all your people have done'. The carabineros took him and a few others to the police station, and the rest were arrested by the soldiers.'"

The facts related by the correspondent from Newsweek were later on proved to be true by Amnesty International and the United Nations Commission for Human Rights. Both the incident of the large number of corpses in the morgue and the raids on popular poblaciones had been mentioned in The Financial Times and The Guardian, but without as much detail and personal description as given by the American weekly magazine.

In order to complete this comparative sample of the foreign coverage with the British, a description published by Der Spiegel has been chosen:

"At night, when the curfew has emptied the streets, mop-up squads move in. In the morning passers-by find huge pools of blood on the sidewalks, or corpses covered with

newspapers, as in the case of Huerfanos (the business street). Slum dwellers fished forty five bodies out of the Mapocho river not far from Pudahuel airport, and in the centre of Santiago itself several bodies were piled up against a bridge over the Mapocho.

"A UN official who was looking for the body of a Bolivian student, counted 180 fresh bodies in a morgue, including five children. The head of the registry department had even complained in the press that his clerks are so busy identifying dead bodies that they have no time to issue marriage licenses".

3.2.4
THE BRITISH PRESS

On the basis of the historical events recorded during the past four years by reliable international organisations (UNO, Amnesty International, the International Association of Jurists, etc.), my own experience in the country during the period 1970-76; and having given a 'birds eye view' of the international coverage of Chile, a sample of British newspapers was examined in order to place the British coverage in this overall journalistic framework and try to analyse comparatively their approach within this context. The following is the selection of texts to be analysed:

FINANCIAL TIMES September 13, 1973

STREET FIGHTING IN SANTIAGO (David White)

Scattered street fighting was reported in Santiago, capital of Chile, yesterday, as factory workers defied the curfew imposed by the country's day-old military junta.

The army has suspended Congress and imposed strict press censorship.

A communique issued by the four-man military leadership stated that Dr Salvador Allende, the former President, committed suicide in his palace, on Tuesday night. He was reportedly buried in a local cemetary.

(...) Dr Allende's wife, Hortensia, was rumoured to have died during the bombardment of the palace by air force jets and army tanks on Tuesday.

Mrs Hortensia Bussi de Allende did not die during the attack on the Presidential Palace. (There has never been any evidence of Allende's suicide, in fact, there are controversial accounts that he was machine-gunned by the military who stormed into the Moneda Palace. Nor was he buried in a local cemetary, but in his family's private location at Cementerio Santa Ines, in Vina del Mar, near Valparaiso.) This is a typical news despatch of the sort published in the British press two days after the coup. The situation was extremely uncertain in Chile; it was very obscure outside the country and the only source of information, at that time, was the official one - the military and their communiques. Nevertheless, comparatively speaking, British journalists were more careful not to go too far by giving wrong information, as did many other newspapers around the world.

The following day, The Guardian provided more details:

THE GUARDIAN September 14, 1973

CHILEAN JUNTA APPOINTS PRESIDENT: CURFEW EASED, SHOOTING CONTINUES

(...) A communique broadcast on the state radio

appealed to Chileans to go to medical cnetres during the six half hour period to donate blood 'of whatever type'.

The appeal followed unofficial reports that five hundred to one thousand persons have died and many others have been wounded in fighting since the coup that toppled Mr Allende's three year old government. The military authorities in charge of the only radio on the air, have not mentioned casualty figures.

(...) The circumstances surrounding Mr Allende's death remain unclear. A Chilean Embassy spokesman in Mexico City declared that Mr Allende did not shoot himself as claimed by the military junta, but shot it out with an army patrol that went to fetch him from the Presidential Palace after he offered to surrender following a two-hour battle.

There are some elements of analysis in this second despatch. The appeal to donate blood 'of any type' has strong connotations denoting violent fighting, death and wounded. This is reinforced by the 'unofficial' reports of five hundred to one thousand dead, as the journalist puts it. The concern for accuracy is reflected here by mentioning that military had not given out any casualty figures; this contrasts with other foreign correspondents reports accounting for up to 60,000 dead in the first two days after the coup.

There is a general connotation of chaos and crisis in this story, sustained by elements such as the six half hour period between curfews, the blood donations, the 'unofficial' figures, the 'only' radio station on the air (from more than 150), operated by the military, and

especially the 'unclear circumstances surrounding the death of Mr Allende'.

Two days later (five days after the coup) although there were still many contradictory elements, things were becoming a little clearer for British readers:

FINANCIAL TIMES September 16, 1973

CHILEAN JUNTA NOT SEEKING POWER - LEADER (H. O'Shaughnessy)

"Chile will return to democratic normality, but I don't know when," General Pinochet, the chairman of the military junta which took over the country last Tuesday, said today in a television interview.

He claimed the junta was made up of 'old generals' who did not want power for themselves, but who had acted for patriotic reasons. He confessed to being worried by those sectors of Chilean youth who were not prepared to co-operate with the government. He declared: "I am not a murderer" and added that the military Penal Code as applicable in time of war would be applied to resisters.

(...) Last night the armed forces network showed pictures of what was said was Dr Salvador Allende's corpse being taken from Moneda Palace on Tuesday to the Military Hospital covered with a poncho of Mexican design. The officer in charge of the assault on the Moneda was seen on the spot saying that he had no proof that Dr Allende committed suicide, but the news reader added that that fact had been confirmed after an autopsy.

We find two 'selections' here from the overall text of General Pinochet's discourse: "Chile will return to democratic normality but I don't know when", and "I am not a murderer".

Niether has a positve connotation. The first one, if isolated, would appear to be ironic (like saying 'yes and no')

because of its ambiguity. The second obviously serves to remind readers of the hundreds of murders committed up to that moment, without mentioning them specifically. The placement of his words in the context, followed by the reporting of the application of the Military Penal Code in time of war, is ironically meaningful.

Another element with strong negative connotations for the military is the choice of the following construction: "pictures of what was said was...", which implies doubt about the truth or the legitimacy of the filming.

The Mexican poncho means that the military - as well as the right wing civilians - did not wish to identify Allende with Chile and the Mexican design contrasts symbolically with the "nationalist" character of the coup. This type of meaning is consistently given by the military throughout their discourse, official acts, patriotic symbolism and military rituals; all Mr O'Shaughnessy does in his account is to describe what he saw on television. The fact that he had to "cover" the news by watching the official television broadcast denotes the lack of access for the perss, at that time, to sources of information.

Finally, the evident contradiction between the declarations of the officer in charge of the attack on the Presidential Palace and those of the official speaker on television, rounds up the general negative connotations for the junta, in this despatch.

The foolowing is an example of the despatches written by Florencia Varas, in Chile for The Times:

THE TIMES September 17, 1973

MILITARY REGIME DENIES ANY WISH FOR REVENGE (Florencia Varas)

General Oscar Bonilla, the Interior Minister, last night called on all Chileans to dedicate themselves to the reconstruction of the country in a spirit of unity and forgiveness.

"We are far from wanting revengem," he said, but he admitted that 5,200 people had been detained. Their names would be very quickly released, he added. Every prisoner would have the right to defend himself.

(...) He ended by saying that a new epoch was about to dawn in Chile.

(...) The junta has claimed that the Allende government intended to assasinate the leaders of the opposition parties, the heads of the armed forces and well-known journalists.

The terms used here contrast with those of the former stories. The image of the military given in this case is charged with positive words like "reconstruction", "new epoch", "spirit of unity and forgiveness". The question here is, forgive whom? The Popular Unity of the military? Reconstruction after the atrocities committed by the armed forces?

On the other hand, by using the claims of the junta, not only is a bad image given to Allende's administration for alleged 'intentions" to assasinate ppliticians, army officers and journalists, but the actions of the military are being justified. (The Popular Unity's alleged plan to assasinate political leaders, journalists and high ranking army officers was nver proven by the military and was

disbelieved even by right wing politicians and journalists opposed to Allende). In connection with detainees, later events were to prove that many of them did not have the right to defend themselves.

There is a sharp contrast with The Financial Times report:

FINANCIAL TIMES September 18, 1973

CHILE: 4,000 DETAINED IN PURGE OF 'EXTREMISTS'
(H. O'Shaughnessy)

Four thousand people have been detained in Santiago alone since Tuesday. This was revealed last night by General Oscar Bonilla, Minister of Interior. General Bonilla added that the government would not leave "stone standing on stone" till the last foreigner had left the country and the last "extremist" annihilated.

(...) Meanwhile, journalists who supported the former administration and who are now in hiding, are attempting to mobilise journalists unions world wide to grant amnesty to them.

(...) Reuter reports that a total of 5,200 civilians detained during the military takeover of Chile last week are to be tried by court martial, according to a senior officer source.

The source said there had been summary executions during the fighting which raged the capital and other areas last week.

The "selection" by The Financial Times from the same discourse of General Bonilla reported by The Times, is completely different. In this case his image is not one of "forgiveness and unity", but one of persecuting foreigners and left wing annihilation, according to the

text. The fact that O'Shaughnessy chooses to put the word "extremists" in quotation marks denotes the political use of the term by the military who wanted to polarise all opposition onto the extreme left of the policial spectrum by means of a semantic practice which has been used to date, when Christian Democrats, Social Democrats, Socialists and even Liberals opposed to the military government are referred to as 'infiltrated communists'.

While Florencia Varas writes about the alleged intentions of the Popular Unity to assasinate well-known journalists and which were never proved, The Financial Times reports on the persecution of leftist journalists who had to hide themselves to avoid repression, according to the International Press Institute and Amnesty International, this was experienced by hundreds of newsmen.

The mention of summary executions completes the picture of negative implications for the junta. But again, the reporting is cautious compared to the rest of the international coverage. The following is a good synthetic account of the events of the first week of the military regime:

FINANCIAL TIMES September 19, 1973

CHILE'S NEW RULERS SEARCH FOR A POLICY

With the last embers of resistance being stamped out by soldiers and police with armoured support in the slum districts, Santiago and possibly most of the rest of the country is now firmly in the hands of the military junta which overthrew Salvador Allende last Tuesday. All reports suggest that the vast majority of the Army, Navy, Air Force and Cabineros, Chile's gendarmerie, obeyed the orders of

its officers and did not split on working class versus middle class lines as some left-wingers had hopefully predicted. The factories which the military earlier this month implied were arsenals manned by trained killers, crumbled rapidly, doubtless for lack of arms and training. It has been left to small isolated groups or individuals in the shanty towns of Lo Hermida, Lo Barrenechea, Nunca, La Legua and others, to pit themselves against the junta.

The military have won a quick victory. But though they give no appearance of realising the fact, the easiest part of their self-appointed task is over and in their hands lies the infinitely more difficult task of administering a deeply divided and bloodstained country whose inhabitants will never forget the date of September 11, 1973 as long as they live.

(...) The events of the past week go to confirm the growing impression, based on the social failures of the military regimes in Brazil, Peru, Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay, Bolivia, Panama, Ecuador, Honduras and Nicaragua, the Latin American societies can expect little or no real development while the generals stride about the stage.

Again, the years proved Mr O'Shaughnessy right. The political discourses and actions of the timid emergence of the opposition six or seven years after the coup, both in the media and in the political reorganisation of the country, and the strong and decided national days of protest, ten years after the coup (1983-84) are in accordance with O'Shaughnessy's comments in 1973 that the military had the 'test of administering a deeply divided and bloodstained country, whose inhabitants (would) never forget the date of September 11, 1973'. His last paragraph shows a typical British like interpretative reporting when his comment is

based on the examples of at least ten other Latin American countries under military regimes. His cautious and thoughtfulness, comparatively different from those of some American reporters, for instance, meant that his final analysis was to be correct: Argentina, Brazil, Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador and Nicaragua, in different ways, got rid of military regimes characterised by 'social failures' (as he puts it), while today there is a growing opposition inside countries like Chile and Uruguay, due to the social and economic crises under the military. These sorts of stories, steeped in historical fact, are particularly common in both The Financial Times and The Guardian during the first days after the coup. The Times followed suit when they started using Mr David Wigg, although the character of his despatches, in the beginning, was that of straight news reports:

THE TIMES September 21, 1973

US HAD NO PRIOR KNOWLEDGE OF THE CHILE COUP, JUNTA LEADER TELLS CORRESPONDENTS (David Wigg)

The U.S. had no prior knowledge of the military coup in Chile, General August Pinochet, the head of the ruling junta said during a press conference today. It was a national movement, he said, without any foreign influence. "Even my wife did not know".

President Allende was asked on four occasions to resign, the General said, speaking in a low voice. He was told he could travel to any country of his choice but he refused. There were many weapons in the Presidential Palace, so an attack was ordered and troops occupied it. Then Dr Allende committed suicide.

(...) To return the country to normality was his first task, he said. Practically all the provinces were

normal shortly after the coup. Only in Santiago had there been centres of resistance.

The next objective, he continued, was to restore the economy and an investigation would be made into Chile's foreign debt. With the help of God and the Chilean people "I hope we can be successful".

Asked whether the military rule would be on the model of Brazil, where the regime is tough and conservative, or like Peru, where the military have taken a reformist position, General Pinochet said that he would have no model.

(...) A new constitution is being drafted that will guarantee parliamentary representation for the armed forces, police and professional groups, it was announced today (...) The police and army would have a "well-defined role more important than the present" (...) The next constitution would not be submitted to a vote of the people for ratification, the General said.

This coverage is much more 'neutral' than that of Mrs Varas, although it refers to the statements of the military junta and General Pinochet. Nevertheless, his selectiveness does not include any official attack against the former government, which were consistently included in all military communiques, press conferences, speeches, etc.

One week later, Mr Wigg's coverage was very similar to the rest:

THE TIMES September 30, 1973

ARMY CALL TO ELIMINATE MARXISTS IN SANTIAGO

The military authorities who control Santiago have issued a statement calling on all citizens to "help clean your city of undesirables".

It says ,that the patriotic duty of all citizens is to help to eliminate the extremists who still remain in the capital and adds this injunction: "Denounce them, remember that indifferent citizens by their passivity helped the marxists almost to destroy Chile".

Informants are asked to call certain telephone numbers or to report personally to any military unit. A reward equivalent to about £200 was offered last week for information about 17 former left-wing politicians. Two have been arrested.

(...) Following the arrest, last week, of Sr Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Chilean Communist Party since 1957, General Oscar Bonilla, the Interior Minister, has indicated that he is to be tried for crimes against the state. General Bonilla added that most citizens were responding well to the call for information about the "extremists".

Doubtless, this kind of content clearly shows the fascist character of the Chilean military regime and must have reminded British readers of the years of Nazi rule in Germany or of the occupied countries in Europe during the war. The word "extremists" at the end of the story, when written in quotation marks is thus deprived of its political semantic charge, especially when placed in this particular context. (This had also been done by The Financial Times). During the weeks that Mr Wigg spent in Chile, The Times did not publish any more reports written by Florencia Varas.

Some days before Wigg's report, another story published in The Times (probably from a news agency) also denoted this character of the junta:

THE TIMES September 24, 1973

BOOKS BURNT IN STREET DURING SEARCH FOR ALLENDE SUPPORTERS

(...) During yesterday's operations some soldiers said they were looking for subversives on the junta's wanted list and others said they were searching for illegal weapons and explosives.

But what they were finding and bringing out into the streets were stacks of books. Many were on Marxist themes but others were seized through whimsy or ignorance. The titles included not only Marxist treats but works by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, Agatha Christie and John Kenneth Galbraith. There was one book in English, evidently seized because of its provocative title 'Revolution in Art'. A few children's books were included.

When they had a good pile, the troops set fire to the books.

The 'truth' behind this story (also published in The Guardian and The Financial Times) need not be doubted because, at the time, the pictures of piles of burning books went round the world.

3.3
1977: A NORMAL YEAR IN LATIN AMERICA

This year was chosen as a sample for the main quantitative analysis, because this was one of those periods when there were no 'dramatic' events in Latin America. Within it, the three month period analysed (March 14 to May 27) was the most 'tranquil' of that particular year.
It was thought that this would provide figures and statistics which would reflect the 'normal' amount of coverage space dedicated to Latin America in the British press, at times lacking of crises, revolutions or catastrophes. Apart from the analysis on the coverage of 1879, the chief stock of quantitative data is provided, therefore, by the 1977 content analysis. Three newspapers were looked into: The Times, The Guardian and the Financial Times (The Daily Telegraph was also examined in a pre-pilot study), and Le Monde Diplomatique was measured for comparison, too. The period going from the 14th March to the 27th May covered 64 issues of each of the three British newspapers, which constitute the sample of this analysis.

The dailies were measured in 'column centimetres'. The division into categores was similar to the one used for the 19th century: 'national', 'international', 'Latin American' and 'other'. The category 'other' refers mainly to items like advertising, fashion, cooking, motoring and sports, except when one of these items appears on the front page or in the political or economic pages due to an extraordinary

relevance as news for any of the other categories. Items like industry or finance, the arts and education, have been listed under 'national', 'international' or 'Latin America', according to their character.

When measuring the Latin American coverage a statistical record of the countries mentioned was kept. The items of the Latin American coverage were broken down into three divisions: 'origin' (sub divided into 'political', 'economic', 'international relations' and 'other'): and 'polarisation', (sub-divided into 'negative', 'positive' and 'neutral' or non-classifiable). Each country was alos given a percentage of the interest given to them within the Latin American coverage as a whole (100%).

The following are the final findings of the content analysis on The Guardian, The Times and The Financial Times, as described previously. The figures for Le Monde Diplomatique are included after the final ones of the British press. The British sample covers 192 newspapers, adding to 2,492,110 (cm/col), over a period of ten weeks. See pages 254 - 261.

The findings of the quantitative analysis of the sample show that the interest of the British press in international news (12.73%) is far behind its interest for national events (37.14%), even if we add the percentage of Latin American stories (0.61%), which adds to 13.33%) of international nws. And this 13.33% of international news is comparatively far behind the 45.5% dedicated to foreign affairs by Le

THE GUARDIAN

	TOTAL cm/col	NATIONAL	INTERNATIONAL	LATIN AMER.	OTHER
TOTAL SAMPLE (cm/col)	618,624 (64 days)	315,793	66,102	6,752	229,977
DAILY AVERAGE (cm/col)	9,666	4,934.2	1,032.8	105.5	3,593.3
%	(100%)	51.04	10.68	1.09	37.17

LATIN AMERICA

ORIGIN
- AGENCIES = 89 — 60.9%
- CORRESPONDENTS/ STRINGERS = 57 — 39.1%

POLARISATION (129=100%)
- POSITIVE = 27 — 20.9%
- NEGATIVE = 93 — 72.0%
- NEUTRAL = 9 — 7.1%

CATEGORY
- POLITICAL = 99 — 60.9%
- ECONOMIC = 27 — 18.4%
- INT. RELATIONS = 17 — 11.9%
- OTHER = 3 — 8.8%

AMOUNT OF NEWS ON LATIN AMERICA = 146 = 100% (6,752 cm/col)

FINANCIAL TIMES

	TOTAL cm/col	NATIONAL	INTERNATIONAL	LATIN AMER.	OTHER
TOTAL SAMPLE (cm/col)	975,364 (64 days)	274,010	161,506	3,894	535,954
DAILY AVERAGE (cm/col)	15,240	4,281.4	2,523.5	60.8	8,374.2
%	(100%)	28.09	16.55	0.39	54.94

LATIN AMERICA

ORIGIN
- AGENCIES = 61 — 48.8%
- CORRESPONDENTS/ STRINGERS = 64 — 51.2%

POLARISATION (104=100%)
- NEGATIVE = 79 — 75.9%
- POSITIVE = 23 — 22.1%
- NEUTRAL = 2 — 1.9%

CATEGORY
- POLITICAL = 60 — 48.0%
- ECONOMIC = 56 — 44.8%
- INT. RELATIONS = 8 — 6.4%
- OTHER = 1 — 0.8%

AMOUNT OF NEWS ON LATIN AMERICA = 125 = 100% (3,894 cm/col)

THE TIMES

	TOTAL cm/col	NATIONAL	INTERNATIONAL	LATIN AMER.	OTHER
TOTAL SAMPLE (cm/col)	898,122 (64 days)	290,209	98,580	3,185	506,148
DAILY AVERAGE (cm/col)	14,033.1	4,534.5	1,540.3	49.7	7,908.5
%	(100%)	32.31	10.97	0.35	56.35

LATIN AMERICA

ORIGIN	AGENCIES	= 45	70.3%
	CORRESPONDENTS/ STRINGERS	= 19	29.6%
CATEGORY	POLITICAL	= 49	76.5%
	ECONOMIC	= 8	12.5%
	INT. RELATIONS	= 6	9.3%
	OTHER	= 1	1.5%
POLARISATION (52=100%)	NEGATIVE	= 46	88.4%
	POSITIVE	= 4	7.6%
	NEUTRAL	= 2	3.8%

AMOUNT OF NEWS ON LATIN AMERICA = 64 = 100% (3,185 cm/col)*

*Venezuela - 1,784 cm/col of special coverage with advertising

BREAKDOWN BY COUNTRY

		No. News	No. cm/col	Agency	Correspondent	Political	Economic	Int. Relations	Other	Negative	Positive	Neutral	INTEREST WITHIN LAT.AMER.
	COUNTRY 146												
THE GUARDIAN	Argentina	43	2,776	21	22	34	6	3	-	37	-	3	29.45%
	Brazil	18	578	13	5	3	13	2	-	8	7	1	10.95%
	Chile	26	795	20	6	24	2	-	-	21	2	-	17.80%
	Venezuela	5	2,080	2	3	-	4	-	1	-	3	-	3.42%
	Mexico	12	746	4	10	11	1	2	-	5	6	1	8.21%
	Cuba	13	137	11	2	9	-	4	-	7	4	1	8.90%
	Panama	6	232	5	1	2	-	4	-	6	-	-	4.10%
	COUNTRY 125												
TIMES FINANCIAL	Argentina	44	1,731	18	26	24	18	2	-	37	1	-	35.2 %
	Brazil	23	831	12	11	2	20	1	-	9	9	-	18.4 %
	Chile	13	335	6	7	11	2	-	-	11	-	-	10.4 %
	Mexico	6	332	2	4	3	2	1	-	3	2	1	4.8 %
	El Salvador	8	208	5	2	7	-	-	-	5	-	-	6.4 %
	Venezuela	7	392	1	6	7	7	-	-	-	5	-	5.6 %
	Cuba	6	71	4	1	4	1	-	-	3	-	-	4.8 %
	COUNTRY 64												
THE TIMES	Argentina	18	627	5	13	17	-	1	-	14	1	-	28.1 %
	Chile	10	152	9	1	9	1	-	-	7	-	-	15.6 %
	Brazil	10	273	9	1	5	4	1	-	7	-	1	15.6 %
	Cuba	6	43	6	-	4	-	2	-	5	-	-	9.3 %
	Uruguay	4	34	4	-	4	-	-	-	4	-	-	6.2 %
	Venezuela	3	1,834	1	2	1	1	-	1	-	1	1	4.6 %
	Panama	3	56	2	1	2	-	1	-	3	-	-	4.6 %

FINAL FIGURES OF THE BRITISH PRESS SAMPLE

	NEWSPAPER	TOTAL	NATIONAL	INTERNATIONAL	LATIN AMER.	OTHER
cm/col	THE GUARDIAN	618,624	315,793	66,102	6,752	229,977
	FINANCIAL TIMES	975,364	274,010	161,506	3,894	535,954
	THE TIMES	898,122	290,209	98,580	3,185	506,148
	TOTAL SAMPLE (64 DAYS)	2,492,110	876,012	326,168	13,831	1,272,099
DAILY AV. cm/col	THE GUARDIAN	9,666	4,934.2	1,032.8	105.5	3,583.3
	FINANCIAL TIMES	15,240	4,281.4	2,523.5	60.8	8,374.2
	THE TIMES	14,033.1	4,534.5	1,540.3	49.7	7,908.5
	TOTAL SAMPLE	38,939.1	13,750.1	5,096.6	216	19,876
%	THE GUARDIAN	100	51.04	10.68	1.09	37.17
	FINANCIAL TIMES	100	28.09	16.55	0.39	54.94
	THE TIMES	100	32.31	10.97	0.35	56.35
	TOTAL SAMPLE	100	37.14	12.73	0.61	49.48

TOTALS

	Q.D.N.SAMPLE	NATIONAL	INTERNATIONAL	LAT. AMER.	OTHER
TOTAL AMOUNT cm/col	2,492,110	876,012	326,168	13,831	1,272,099
DAILY AVERAGE cm/col	38,939.1	13,750.1	5,096.6	216	19,876
%	(100%)	37.14	12.73	0.61	49.48

TOTAL OF THE THREE NEWSPAPER SAMPLE FOR LATIN AMERICA

			TOTAL	%
ORIGIN	AGENCY	=	195	58.20
	CORRESPONDENT/STRINGER	=	140	41.79
CATEGORY	POLITICAL	=	208	62.08
	ECONOMIC	=	91	27.16
	INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS	=	31	9.25
	OTHER	=	5	1.49
POLARISATION	NEGATIVE	=	218	76.49
	POSITIVE	=	54	18.94
	NEUTRAL (OR NOT (CLASSIFIABLE)	=	13	4.56

TOTAL OF THE BREAKDOWN BY COUNTRY

	No. of News Items	cm/col x 1,000	Agency	Correspondent	Political	Economic	Int. Relations	Other	Negative	Positive	Neutral	INTEREST WITHIN LATIN AMER.
1. Argentina	105	5.13	44	61	75	24	6	-	88	2	3	30.91%
2. Brazil	51	1.68	34	17	10	37	4	-	24	16	2	14.98%
3. Chile	49	1.28	35	14	44	5	-	-	39	2	-	14.60%
4. Cuba	25	1.25	21	4	17	1	6	-	15	4	1	7.66%
5. Mexico	20	1.07	6	14	14	3	3	-	8	8	2	6.52%
6. Venezuela	15	0.99	4	11	1	12	1	1	-	8	1	4.54%

(Only the six countries with the highest proportion of stories are included in this final chart. Out of 18 Latin American countries, four were never mentioned by any of the three newspapers analysed: Puerto Rico, Paraguary, Republica Dominique and Guatemala)

LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE

In this case, the category 'National' and 'International' include not only political, economic, or diplomatic information, but that which comes under the category 'Other' in the British newspapers content analysis as well. The sample covers 18 weeks of 1977 (18 issues) going from February to June (7,400 cm/col). The category 'Latin America' is not included in the International percentage.

	NATIONAL	INTERNATIONAL	LATIN AMERICA
WEEK 1	205	245	50
2	230	210	60
3	295	75	30
4	170	230	-
5	210	190	-
6	325	75	-
7	310	90	-
8	115	230	55
9	180	170	50
10	175	140	85
11	110	240	50
12	175	225	-
13	180	210	10
14	170	230	-
15	120	240	40
16	160	240	-
17	160	240	-
18	250	90	60
TOTAL cm/col 7,400=100%	3,540	3,370	490
TOTAL % 99.99	47.83%	45.54%	6.62%

The countries mostly mentioned were Argentina, Brazil and Chile, in that order.

LATIN AMERICA



1977

LAT. AMERICA: 0.61%

Monde Diplomatique which, it could be argued that this is due to the international character of the French weekly, but despite this evident fact, there is substantial difference between the British and French interest when it comes to Latin America: Latin American stories occupy only 1/20 (one 20th) of the total of international editorial content in the British press, while they constitute 1/6 of the foreign content in the French newspaper. The low British percentage of foreign international content found in this analysis is consistent with the findings of Denis McQuail for the Royal Commission on the Press, which show an average of 15.22% of foreign editorial content in 9 newspapers measured (see chapter on Foreign News and the British Press). It must be considered that most of the contents of the category 'other' (49.48%) (advertising, fashion, motoring, etc.) could be considered as 'national'.

The fact that this was a 'tranquil' year in Latin America should also be taken into account, because events like coups d'etat, violence in Central America or periods of economic crisis, normally attract more attention, and would increase the 0.61% of Latin American news found in this particular period which lacked of unusual events. (In a previous pre-pilot study made for this research, on a different period and over two weeks, in order to develop a first approach on the methodology of analysis - which included The Daily Telegraph too - Latin American showed 0.94% of the overall contents. See appendix). Nevertheless 0.61% reflects the 'normal' interest in the region by the

British press. Of the three newspapers analysed, The Financial Times shows the highest amount of international news (16.59%) and, being a newspaper concerned mainly with economic matters, it was interesting to find that 40% of its stories on Latin America were 'political', which is more than its 44.8% on 'economic' matters. But while The Financial Times dedicated 0.39% to Latin America, and The Times only 0.3%, The Guardian had 1.09% of Latin American news, the highest proportion of all the sample.

Something which, to some extent, is consistent with the so called 'decline of the foreign correspondent' during the 1970s, is the fact that 58.20% of the stories on Latin America were originated in international news agencies, and 41.79% of them were written by either correspondents or stringers based in the region. Nevertheless, 41.79% is a substantail figure, considering the difficulties that the press were going through during the 1970s in order to maintain their own staff abroad, specially in a region which has never been 'a first priority' to foreign editors. Moreover, when compared to Le Monde Diplomatique, the French newspaper writes most of his material on Latin America in Paris, which is highly interpretive and based on news agency cables. Again, what is interesting, is that while The Guardain and The Times had, respectively, 39.1% and 29.6% of their stories written by correspondents or stringers in Latin America, The Financial Times, with a lesser overall interest in the region than The Guardian, and just above that of The Times, had 51.2% of its Latin American stories

written by its own staff there. This could be explained by the fact that, amongst the qualities, The Financial Times has managed to keep the largest quantity of stringers and correspondents abroad.

62.08% of the Latin American stories are political. Even the Financial Times pays more attention to political news (48%, compared to 44.8% on economic affairs). And the difference in The Times is even more striking (76.5% political, compared to 12.5% economic). Both categories account for 89.24% of the editorial content of all the sample. This has been a common feature over the different periods analysed, including the 19th century.

Most of the stories reported in all three newspapers were 'bad news': 76.49% of them came under the 'negative' sub-category, and 18.94% under 'positive' (which is a similar finding to that of The Royal Commission on the Press showed in the chapter on 'Foreign News and the Press' of this work). The most 'negative' coverage was found in The Times, with 88.4% of its editorial content on Latin America considered as 'bad news'. The Financial Times follows with 75.9%, and The Guardian with 72.0%. Nevertheless the Financial Times shows the highest proportion of 'positive' editorial content among the three newspapers (22.1%) which can be explained by its largest number of financial news (44.8%), many of which refer to new investments in the region or economic agreements signed with Latin American firms or governments.

Argentina, Brazil and Chile (in that order) are consistently the three countries mostly covered by the British press (which co-incides with the coverage of the 19th century and that of other periods analysed before the breakout of the Central American Crisis in the early 1980s). The Guardian showed more political interest in Chile (24% against only 2% of economic news), and in Argentina (24% against 6%), which contrasts sharply with its coverage of Brazil (3% of political news against 13% of economic items). The Argentinian coverage of the Financial Times is rather balanced: 24% and 18% of political and economic news, respectively.

But when it comes to Brazil The Financial Times goes for the economic stories in a proportion of ten to one, while its Chilean coverage is political in a proportion of five to one. This 'mixed' coverage, in terms of the categories of the editorial content, found in The Guardian and The Financial Times, is not reflected in The Times whose coverage of Latin America is eminently political, not only as far as Argentina, Brazil and Chile is concerned, but also in its coverage of the rest of the countries.

It was interesting to find Cuba and Mexico in fourth and fifth places, because this is consistent with the findings of the coverage of the 19th century as well. Not surprisingly - due to the international stand of Cuba and the character of its regime - its coverage was political in the highest proportion of the sample: 17 to one, as far as economic

news is concerned, and the amount of Cuban stories on international relations is only matched by those on Argentina in the same category. On the other hand, Venezuela shows the highest proportion of economic editorial content (12 to one), compared to its political coverage, but this is due to 1,784 (cm/col) within the sample, dedicated to a 'special section' on Venezuela in The Guardian, consisting of an economic feature of almost three pages including Venezuelan industrial and governmental advertising. This happened too in the previous pre-pilot study mentioned before (see Appendix A) where both Venezuela and Haiti had similar special features of several pages in The Financial Times, which, obviously increase the percentage of coverage on those countries dramatically, but in a non-realistic way in terms of the real day to day interest of foreign editors in those nations. These cases are also good examples of the eccentric 'peaks' which occur over certain periods chosen for the analysis.

Of the three countries with the highest percentage of coverage, Argentina suffered the most 'negative' one, with 88 items of 'bad news' against only two of good news. Chile followed with 39 against two, and Brazil with 24 against 16. Of the other countries, Mexico showed a perfect balance in the polarisation of its covered, Cuba had a 'negative' coverage of almost three to one, and Venezuela 'due to the reasons explained above) enjoyed the most positive coverage of the sample with eight positive items and no 'bad news' at all.

Finally, out of the four Latin American countries never mentioned in the sample, it is interesting to point out Guatemala, which is going to attract the attention of the British foreign editors, later on, in the early 1980s, together with Nicaragua, El Salvador and Honduras, and will occupy the pages of the British press systematically, due to the Central American crisis. Neither is there one single mention of Republica Dominicana, a country which was consistently reported in the front pages of the British press during the American Marines invasion of the early 1960s. The two 'omissions' come to show that the interest in the area arises only during conflicts and crises or when there is a strong British connection, like the case of Belize, for instance (see Conclusion).

3.3.1
1977: QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

In spite of the fact that, originally, the qualitative method of analysis was only going to be used on the coverage of the 1891 Revolution of Balmaceda, of the 1973 coup d'etat in Chile, and of the period of The Falklands War, it was thought that a brief qualitative analysis on the coverage of 1977 would be useful as a complementing element to the quantitative content analysis of this year.

Three countries were chosen for this qualitative analysis. Two of them Latin American, and the other a Caribbean member of the British Commonwealth with strong cultural connections with Latin American nations of the area.

Firstly, Argentina was chosen because, according to the findings of the quantitative content analysis, the country enjoyed the largest attention of the British press in that particular year, as in other periods analysed. Secondly, two items on Cuba were selected assuming that this is an ideologically controversial country for the media in general and that it would, therefore, provide a good sample for the analysis of political coverage. Thirdly, it was thought that the national elections in Jamaica would provide a good element for comparative analysis, bearing in mind that this country has strong connections with the United Kingdom as well as solid cultural, economic and political links with Latin American nations of Central America and the Caribbean.

The period chosen was January 1977 (except for the national elections in Jamaica that took place in the previous month) and the newspaper sample is the same as the previous content analysis.

ARGENTINA

This country was living under the military regime March 1976, and in January 1977 there were no dramatic events. In general terms, The Times provided a mixed coverage of economic and political news, The Financial Times coverage was mainly economic and the news published by The Guardian was all political, including one - as shall be examined - on the Football World Cup.

Beginning with The Financial Times, the most evident aspect that emerges is the lack of human or social interest in its economic contents, especially when compared to those of The Times, and those of The Guardian. The Financial Times coverage was strictly centred on economic issues:

FINANCIAL TIMES, January 14, 1977

ARGENTINE MAIZE AREA PREDICTED AT 18 YEAR LOW

Argentina's 1976-77 maize sowings will total 3,025,000 hectares, the smallest area for 18 years, the Agriculture Department said in its first estimate. It attributed the decline in the area sown to heavy rains hampering planting, and switching to soyabeans and wheat by farmers because of the better price prospects.

Even though this prediction does not constitute 'good news' the overall connotation is not too negative. There is an explanation to why this decline took place, attributing it to natural causes (weather) and to an economic factor (better price prospects) which are the reasons (for the story, as it stands) that motivate specific human practices (like reducing areas of sowing, or switching to different tillage). There is no mention of possible implications for Argentina. The story lacks not only a social and political context, but an economic one as well.

FINANCIAL TIMES January 21, 1977

ARGENTINE LAW ON INVESTMENTS

The new law on Argentinian foreign investments which will be approved by the end of January, will establish an undersecretariat which will approve investments up to a sum not yet specified, writes our B.A. correspondent.

Again, although any economic policy has social and political factors determining it, as well as possible consequences, this story is short, precise and does not mention any possible issue related to the news. It is clearly addresed - as 'pure' information - to potential investors who could get interested in investing in Argentina, under those conditions. But behind this apparently plain and disengaged story, there is a secondary meaning which can be drawn out from the sentence 'will be approved': the connotation is that this is a fact 'for sure', because in 1977 there was no parliament to debate any new law and the military had the power to approve them without any kind of democratic consultations. This secondary meaning underlies the manifest content and, presumably, the journalist had not intentions of implying the existence of a dictatorship. But the message is there.

In this month there were two other items of this sort in The Financial Times and two stories on a 'Grand-Prix' that took place in Argentina. The selection of these issues by The Financial Times shows little or no concern about Argentina's social and political problems, nine months after the military coup. The ideological approach of the selection of stories and the lack of historical context, implies that 'everything is fine and everyone enjoys a good Grand-Prix in Argentina. You can invest your money'.

When comparing this approach to that of The Times, some important differences come to light. For instance, some eocnomic items in The Times connoted social implications:

THE TIMES January 7, 1977

THE UPWARD TREND

The National Statistics Institute reported that Argentina's cost of living index rose by 347.5 per cent in 1976, while wages increased by 153.9.

This was the complete item. Very short, very 'precise', apparently, but with a few connotative meanings: first, that it comes from an official and reliable institution; then the difference between the rising of the cost of living and that of the wages is stressed by the word 'while' connoting the social problem that results from the difference of almost 200% between prices and incomes.

Other information pointed out economical aspects related to social implications:

THE TIMES 12-177

ARGENTINA TRADE IMPROVES

Senor Alberto Fragio, Foreign Trade Secretary at the Economy Ministry, today revealed provisional figures for 1976 showing a notable improvement in Argentine's foreign trade since the military government took over.....The Economy Ministry has indicated that some 300,000 state employees will be declared redundant during 1977 as part of the spending cuts.

As it will be seen further on, the context of the Latin American coverage of The Times is very difficult to define, and sometimes is contradictory. In this story, for example, positive and negative news seem to 'balance' the neutrality of the information. The 'notable improvement'

has taken place 'since' the military took over: the positive connotation for the military is evident through the placement of the word 'since'. But at the same time, the more hidden connotation that lies under the 'redundant 300,000 employees' is also isgnifying a social problem (negative image for the military), to which another deeper significance is added when it says that this is only 'part' of the spending cuts, implying that this policy might have other negative effects in social terms.

Nevertheless in this particular case, the positive coverage comes in first place, and its meaning is clear. It is not only more difficult to decode the negative aspect, later on in the story, but it comes at the very end, after 29 lines about the improvement of the foreign trade, starting at the end of the first paragraph quoted.

Another very short item published in The Times shows a negative connotation on the Argentinian regime:

THE TIMES 4-177

PASSPORT BEARDS BAN

Argentine police have banned beards from passports and other identification photographs from today. No reason was given.

The banning of such a personal thing as a beard clearly denotes the characteristics of the regime. The sentence 'no reason was given' implies the totalitarian aspect of the decision.

While in 1977 the ideological perspective on Argentina by The Times is very unsteady and inconsistent, and the

interest of The Financial Times is centred only on economic aspects, The Guardian seems to show a broader and stable position in relation to this country, linking its economic problems and policies to political and social aspects. There is a special emphasis on social issues:

THE GUARDIAN 12-177

ARGENTINE UNION CALL OFF ASSEMBLY

Argentine trade unionists have called off a national assembly planned for tomorrow to avoid a confrontation with the military government. Military opposition to the assembly meant it would have to be held in secret.

The trade unionist's decision follows a series of meetings between labour representatives and government officials. Since the military coup in March, last year, trade union activity has been banned. The largest unions are under direct military control.

This information was published by The Guardian at the time when The Financial Times was reporting on the Argentine Grand-Prix. In it, secondary meanings are to be found in the 'secrecy' of meetings and in the possibilities of confrontations with the military regime: lack of freedom of assembly. It is interesting to compare the character of the contents of these two sentences:

"Since the military coup...trade union activity has been banned." The Guardian

"Since the military took over...(there has been) notable improvement in Argentina's foreign trade." The Times

Not only is there an opposite polarisation (negative/positive) in the view of the military regime, but the choice of the

concept 'take over' by The Times shows a fairly common absent meaning to avoid the strong political denotation of the concept 'military coup', which is, nevertheless, the most accurate one in the Argentinian case, because, for instance, an elected president 'takes over' the presidency too, therefore this term has a strong democratic connotation, which does not apply to the military government. There is an important denotation, as well in the choice of the words 'direct' and 'control' (in the text). The same can be said about this other information:

THE GUARDIAN 7-177

ARGENTINE WORKERS WARNING

Union leaders yesterday called on the Argentine military government to change its economic policies or risk unleashing a class struggle.

In the strongest statement by workers representatives since the military took power last March, they accused the government of restoring the sort of free enterprise system that had always led to starvation wages and massive unemployment.

It is the workers in this case who accuse the government and they are presented as acting fairly, since the warning is reported to try to avoid a 'risk' of class struggle. The feeling left after reading the manifest content, is that the workers are right. The Guardian includes in its information a strong link between economic policies and social problems: 'free enterprise...had always led to starvation wages and massive unemployment', which shows

the difference between this newspaper's approach to the Argentine situation and that of The Financial Times. In this specific story any possible connotation is not contradictory with the actual manifest content.

In political terms the structures of some information give us some examples of the 'choice' and 'the ordering' of the words, in order to connote specific meanings from which an ideological perspective may be drawn out:

THE GUARDIAN 6-177

GUERRILLAS SHOT

Security forces shot dead ten guerrillas who were painting left-wing slogans on a school wall near Buenos Aires. Military sources said the guerrillas opened fire when they were challenged by a patrol.

This is the entire item. We find the first choice in headline: 'Guerrillas shot'. When reading the whole item it could be assumed that there were many other possibiities of choice (and ordering) with different ideological intentions (and effects); for instance: 'Guerrillas die during an exchange of fire'. But in this actual case many elements leave the impression that they were 'cold-bloodedly shot'. Not only because of the headline, but mainly due to the placement of the action of the guerrillas being shot dead (at the beginning of the story) together with the action of painting slogans on a school wall (the word 'school' also has an emotional semantic charge since it is commonly identified with children - 'innocence'). The structure opposes 'military-weapon-death' against 'guerrillas-paint-ideas'.

Then the fact that it was a military 'source' saying that the guerrillas had opened fire, placed at the end of the information, leaves a tendency to doubt the validity of this statement, since there were no other sources or witnesses. The lack of more elements of judgement and the absence of more detailed information also may lead to a certain 'sympathy' for the dead guerrillas, because these absences lead to questions like: how come only one military patrol could shoot dead ten guerrillas, during an exchange of fire, without being at least wounded? Or, did they really have to kill them all, since they were only painting slogans? Did they really open fire when challenged? These questions, it must be said, could not obviously be asked from an extreme right wing ideological perspective.

The only sports information on Argentina was a political one. Written by Richard Gott it openly 'campaigned' for the World Cup not to take place in that country. This overall connotation is synthesised in the headline, which is a quotation from the text:

THE GUARDIAN 3-177

WORLD CUP. 'ARGENTINA 1978 MAY GO DOWN IN THE HISTORY BOOKS MUCH AS MEXICO 1968 AND MUNICH 1972 HAVE DONE - OCCASIONS POLITICS ERUPTED INTO SPORT WITH A FRIGHTENING DEGREE OF VIOLENCE' RICHARD GOTT REPORTS ON THE TURBULENT BACKGOUND.

Argentina, currently the most turbulent country in Latin America, is scheduled to act as host to the World Cup in the middle of next year. Will it be able to ensure that matches are played in a comparatively peaceful atmosphere, or will Argentina 1978 go down in the history books much as

Mexico 1968 and Munich 1972 have done - occasions when politics erupted into sport with a frightening degree of violence?

The generals who run Argentina - and who control the preparation for the cup - are confident that all will be well on the day...

...Yet last August the man appointed to make the arrangements for the Cup, General Omar Carlos Actis, was blown up by guerrillas, and in October a bomb exploded under a saluting base that had just been vacated by General Videla himself. Can a regime that is barely capable of protecting the lives of its most important citizens really be sure that it will be able to protect the players and the crowd at football matches up and down the country?...

...The violence in Argentina is, by no means, one-sided. For several years right-wing death squads have been operating in the cities, with the tacit approval of the army and the police.

Corruption in the army and the police, and the use of such terrorist tactics, have left the country's security forces in poor shape to deal with the comparatively simple matter of guarding a football match.

The generalimplication here is: 'Argentina is not a safe place for the World Cup'. But this story has such an explicit manifest content that it hardly needs any sort of connotations. The messages 'between the lines' are very clear. In the first place there is the choice of expressions like 'most turbulent country'. Within the context of the general meaning of the message, these choices help to make clear the intentions of the writer. The mentioning of Mexico and Munich events has a clear implication; the argument used in the rest of the text is so evidently

denotative that it does not deserve a deeper analysis. Nevertheless, from an ideological point of view, it is necessary to point out that Mr Gott wanted to make clear that the danger is not only posed by the leftist guerrillas but also by the military regime: 'by no means one-sided', he explains, and adds: 'right wing death squads...operating ...with the tacit approval of the army and the police and the use of such terrorist tactics...' With linguistic choices like these, the image of the military is given a negative character. The headline, and the use of Mr Gott's name and a quotation of his text, suggests that at the time,he was considered a 'leader of opinion'.

CUBA

The choice of Cuba for this analysis was made under the assumption that this is one of the most polemic countries in Latin America. Nevertheless, only The Times had editorial contents about Cuba during January 1977; but it was very interesting to analyse, since it clearly showed and reinforced the idea that there is a lack of a defined ideological position, or of a coherent focusing when it comes to interpret or examine Latin American events and problems. Let us compare the contents of the only two stories on Cuba published that month:

THE TIMES 11-177

CUBA DISCLOSES INTEREST IN ANGOLA BEGAN 10 YEARS AGO
(Speaking about Cuban troops and weapons being flown to Angola)

...Initially, the American Oil Company, Texaco, refused to supply fuel for Cuban aircraft landing at Georgetown. Then the United States envoy there told the Guyana Government that the airport would be bombed if the Cubans continued to land there...

...The Cuban government notified the Soviet Union of Operation Carlota after the November 5 party meeting. It was Cuba's decision to intervene and the Soviet authorities were informed afterwards...

...Ten years before the Angolan civil war, the first Cuban expeditionary force to Africa led by Che Guevara operated in what is now Zaire in April 1965 against Moise Tschombe. The first contacts between Cuba and the MPLA dated from this time. Ceh Guevara's instructors trained units of the MPLA and nationalists from Guinea Bissau in what is now the Congo People's Republic. Shortly afterwards, Dr Neto made his first visit to Havana. In May 1965, Major Flavio Bravo, of the Cuban Army, held talks with Dr Neto in Brazzaville about possible large scale military assistance.

THE TIMES 18-177

DR CASTRO: A REMARKABLE TALENT FOR SURVIVAL IN SOVIET DOMINATED CUBA

...At home - for services rendered in Africa, no doubt - the Soviet Union has promised him (Castro) an expanded aid programme to include the setting up of Cuba's first nuclear power plant...

...There are, indeed, strong indicators that Castro's Cuba, a totalitarian state, in which this one man with the aid of a small group of associates, has hitherto controlled every aspect of society, is fast being institutionalised on the Soviet model and under Soviet direction...

...The changes began in the early seventies...the Soviet Union finally decided she could no longer stand by...

...Castro - whose communism was more maverick than Marxist - to expand and revitalise the party at grass roots level, in order to turn it into a ruling party in the Soviet tradition, "the highest leading force of society and state" as it was called in the new constitution...

The first story was written by Michael Porchern, from Havana. The second one was published one week after the first and was written in London by Sir Hubert Marchant. The general impression is that the latter was published as a reaction to what is expressed by Mr Porchern from Cuba.

The contradictions are very clear. While, for Sir Hubert Marchant, the help given by Cuba to Angola was 'a service rendered in Africa' to the Soviet Union, in exchange for a nuclear power plant, the other story gives out a detailed and historical account of the first links between Cubans and Dr Neto's MPLA, in the mid sixties, when Che Guevara went to Africa; later Major Bravo had talks - according to this story - in 1965 with Dr Neto, again, about 'a possible large scale military assistance'. According to the text of Sir Hubert Marchant, by that date the Soviet Union was not involved in Cuban affairs: '...in the early seventies...the Soviet Union finally decided she could no longer stand by...', therefore, Sir Hubert's claims of a 'service rendered to the USSR' cannot be applied to a policy originating in an historical bi-lateral agreement between Cuba and Dr Neto's MPLA in the early 1960s. On the other hand, while the information written in London talks about

Fidel, his party and Cuba 'under Soviet direction', the correspondent's information states that the Soviet Union was 'notified' afterwards, and that 'it was Cuba's decision to intervene'. If one reads the documents published in Cuba since the 1960s, on the practice of solidarity among the Third World and on the Cuban concept of 'internationalism' (La Tricontinental), one easily tends to accept the version written in Havana.

Apart from this USSR-Cuba-Angola aspect, the differences between the two stories published in The Times also take other shapes. The use of concepts like 'service rendered', 'totalitarian state', 'under Soviet direction', 'Castro's communism more maverick than Marxist', 'one man and a small group of associates...control every aspect of society', clearly aims to discredit the Cuban government, openly, in both the manifest and the non-manifest contents. The story written in London is clearly an anti-Cuban one. On the other hand, the contrary can be said of Mr Porchern's story. It is a pro-Cuban one. Both items published in the same daily, with only one weeks difference between publication datee. Mr Porchern's inforamtion describes the hostility against the Cuban aircrafts and the US threat of bombing Georgetown's iarport 'if the Cubans continued to land there'. It is evident that the general aim of this story is to deny any links between the Soviet government and the Cuban decision to intervene in Angola, and its weight is based on historical facts as arguments rather than ideological statements. The interesting thing - from an ideological

perspective - is that in the following years, most of the British media would put forward the thesis that the Cuban presence in Angola was due to the orders of Moscow.

JAMAICA

This country, in spite of forming part of the British Commonwealth, did not have any press coverage during January 1977, nor within the period chosen for the quantiative analysis (March-May). It was chosen to analyse the informations on the general elections in this country due to the fact that this is the Caribbean country that presents more bonds with Great Britain.

It is interesting to note that the general approach of the British media to this nation is very similar among the different newspapers, which is not so with other countries like Argentina or Cuba, for instance.

In this particular case - the general elections - although both candidates represented very opposed political tendenices, it was difficult to find evidence of open sympathy for one or the other among the newspapers (though there was some in The Guardian), and the fact that Mr Manley was surely going to win (and won) was considered as normal as a victory of the British Labour Party. The first information published in December appeared in The Financial Times:

FINANCIAL TIMES 3-1276

JAMAICA ELECTION

The ruling People's National Party is leading the

the opposition Jamaica Labour Party by 57 per cent to 43 per cent on popular votes, according to a poll published two weeks before the December 15 general elections in Jamaica, writes Canute James in Kingston.

This was all. The headline is absolutely free of secondary meanings and the text is a plain information. The Financial Times published only this information before the elections and only one after them. In the first one the only important connotation that could be found was that the figures published were the results of a poll, according to information written by Mr Canute James in Kingston (this comes in the text), so as to make clear that if there were any changes in tendencies during the elections, the newspaper was not to be blamed. Its length (or rather, shortness) also connotes a lack of concern about Jamaican affairs.

FINANCIAL TIMES 17-1276

MANLEY WINS EASILY IN JAMAICA

The Democratic Socialist People's National Party has been returned to office with a landslide victory over the moderate Jamaica Labour Party in the general elections here.

...Mr Manley said last night that the victory of his party "should be seen not merely as a triumph for democratic socialism, but a total rejection by the people of the suggestion that Jamaica is going communist".

The second information on Jamaica's elections published by The Financial Times includes the word 'moderate' to denominate the Labour Party which, according to the contents of its political manifesto, was more a right wing party than

what is normally understood by 'moderate' in politics. This could mean an intention of hiding a right wing defeat, or also, that the perspective is so closed to the right that Mr Seaga's party is considered 'moderate'. We think that the first possibility is the correct one. At the same time the short item includes a statement by Mr Manley in which the 'rejection' of communism by the winning party is stressed, in circumstances that from the whole context of Mr Manley's speeaches, one could hardly say that he and his political party are anti-communists. The absence of a wider context connotes an ideological position.

The approach of The Times, which seems to be closer to the characteristics of both parties, is different:

THE TIMES 17-1276 A

JAMAICA'S VOTE FOR DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM

Mr Seaga's appeal to the Jamaican electorate to reverse the tide and the clocks and return to free enterprise has hopelessly miscarried, and Mr Michael Manley's version of the Third World Socialism - democratic variant - has triumphed in Jamaica.

...It was expected to lose some seats, and yet it has a balance decisively gained...This is a powerful vote of confidence in the Manley formula.

...It is difficult to resist the conclusion that for all his protestations, Mr Manley will be looking towards Mr Carter for help. Cuba cannot help him, and probably intends to foment the left wing in his party against his moderate stance.

'To reverse the tide and the clock' presents an illustrative connotation by which the conservative character of Mr Seaga

and his party is defined. Also the choice of the word 'return' (to free enterprise) 'talks' about this nature. The whole information (specially through the paragraphs chosen) tend to show the winning candidate as a moderate socialist ('version of Third World Socialism', 'democratic variant', 'the Manley Formular', etc.) who is more likely to approach the US government than the Cuban one. The Times presumes that Cuba 'probably intends' to foment the left wing 'against the moderates' within his party. This is a way in which - at least in Latin America - the press and the news agencies have historically fed the ideolgoical field, beforehand, in case left wing policies start to take shape, in order to prepare 'public opinion' for later stories blaming communist countries (Cuba in this case) for any progressive or socialist policies. Like with Argentina, the information of The Times seems to be eclectic and difficult to define.

THE TIMES 17-1276 B

EASY MANLEY VICTORY AS JAMAICANS REJECT CUBAN SCARE

...There appears to be little support for communism in Jamaica and the voters have simply shown that they did not believe the claims of Mr Seaga, the opposition leader, that if Mr Manley was returned "Jamaica will be another Cuba within six months".

...Yet Mr Manley is determined to pursue friendly relations with his next door neighbour, Cuba, and to develop a non-aligned stance for Jamaica. This has already brought one clash with the Ford administration, when Jamaica supported Cuban intervention in Angola, but Mr Manley, who has good

contacts with the Democratic Black Caucus in America, is hopeful that Mr Carter will find it easier to accept.

The headline gives the impression that Cuba has been threatening Jamaica, and that Jamaica has rejected the Cuban attitutde, which of course would imply an unfriendly relation. This connotation in the headline is completely contradictory with the manifest content about the friendly relations between the two countries.

This information was published on the same day as the previous one and its general contents show almost the same ideological meanings, with other words: Mr Seaga's defeated position; little support for communism, despite Mr Manley's relations with Cuba; and the hope that the re-elected government turns its back to that country seeking the friendship of the United States.

Again, as with the Argentinian case, The Guardian was more politically defined than The Times:

THE GUARDIAN 6-1276

THE CARIBBEAN CAMPAIGN THAT COULD BUBBLE OVER

...But the electorate does not need manifestos to recognise what alternatives face it. The PNP unashamedly declares itself to be a democratic-socialist party. The JLP is more coy in using the slogan of "nationalism" but hardly tries to disguise its adherence to the capitalist system...

...It is widely believed that one section of the CIA has been active in Jamaica, and that certain people in Washington would prefer to see Seaga win than Manley who has been friendly with Castro.

In this case the word 'unashamedly' has a connotation of 'pride' and 'openness' and The Guardian's tendency clearly emerges when it says that the JLP 'hardly tries to disguise its adherence to the capitalist system'. This idea is linked to the CIA activities mentioned at the end as well as to Washington's feelings towards Mr Seaga.

THE GUARDIAN 14-1276

JAMAICAN ISSUES SIMMER BELOW SURFACE

Watching the run-up to tomorrow's crucial general election here, it is not hard to realise who is calling the shots in this Caribbean island.

It is not Havana, as the opposition leader, Mr Edward Seaga would have everyone believe with his daily lambastings of the "communist" regime of the Prime MInister Mr Michael Manley. Mr Seaga's Jamaica Labour Party has full page newspaper advertisements showing Mr Manley embracing Fidel Casto and captioned: "The people of Jamaica shall not walk hand in hand with communism"...

...If Mr Manley wins tomorrow the question is whether he can win enough time and space from the elite and the United States to carry out reforms which might enable Jamaica to break out of the vicious circle of civil violence which is deeply scarring its society.

Or will he, like Allende, go down in the end as a victim of his own liberalism, soliciting money from the rich and votes from the poor, and promising each protection against the other.

The first paragraph seems to be consistent with The Guardian's approach found in its other stories: it rejects the claims of Mr Seaga that Mr Manley's regime is

a communist one. The story implies that this is pure ideological propaganda ('daily lambastings') trying to conveince voters that Jamaica would fall into Cuba's political orbit. But The Guardian fails in its comparison, when the correspondent used the Chilean case, as an illustrative example whose characteristics correspond to an ideological stereotype: 'soliciting money from the rich and votes from the poor...promising each protection against the other'.

The overall difference between this particular information and those of The Times is not a big one. Though it says that 'it is not Havana who will win the elections', the chracterisation of both candidates and parties is very similar, and so is the interpretation of their international connections. The new element here is 'the vicious circle of civil violence'.

THE GUARDIAN 17-1276

JAMAICA FIRES A WARNING SHOT

Jamaica's 800,000 voters have issued a blunt warning to Washington that it must come to terms with the new current of leftist nationalism which has flowered in the Commonwealth Caribbean over the past five years or risk seeing its traditional hegemony in the whole Caribbean further challenged by Cuba. The landslide electoral victory of Mr Manley yesterday is likely to remind the Carter Administration of the urgnecy of establishing relations with Fidel Castro and thus move some way to restoring the seventeen year breach in America's northern Caribbean defence perimeter, stretching from Cuba to Porto Rico.

'The blunt warning to Washington' and 'the further challenge of Cuba' are the two elements with which The Times also draws our conclusions, but then, unlike The Times, The Guardian talks about the 'urgency of establishing relations with Fidel Castro' (for the US). There is an overall connotation here, suggesting that the Caribbean area is slowly becoming leftist due to the influence of Cuba, and that something should be done, but via diplomatic relations and international policies.

Apart from the similiarities in some definitions and interpretations with The Times, The Guardian offers a more political stand in its approach to Jamaica's election and shows a deeper concern on the matter.

3.4
THE COVERAGE OF LATIN AMERICA BY THE BRITISH PRESS DURING THE FALKLANDS WAR AND ONE YEAR AFTER: QUANTITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS

A further quantitative analysis was done on the coverage of Latin America during the period of the Falklands War, and another on the coverage of the area one year later. A brief review of the coverage of the war itself by the British press was also done. In the first one the focus was on the attention paid by the British press to all Latin American countries, including Argentina; but in this particular case, only those items not related to the war itself were measured. Although at the beginning of this particular investigation it was thought that the overall coverage of the conflict itself could be analysed, later it was realised that this alone would have been the task for a single thesis, due to the complexity and the immense amount of editorial content of that object of study. Besides, most of the coverage had to do with British politics or with military action in the Falklands themselves, hence, it was decided that a content analysis should be done not on the coverage of the war itself, but on the coverage of Latin America as a whole during that period, which is, after all, the object of study in this research.

Nevertheless, the coverage of the Falklands War was also looked into, though not in the form of a quantitative content analysis, but in the form of a commented review

of the press during that period and of the problems facing journalists both in London and with the Task Force. All British papers, including the popular ones, were reviewed, and a chronology of events as seen by the newspapers was done. A bibliography was also read for this matter and an account was made on the way the South Atlantic conflict was covered by the Latin American Service of the BBC - where this researcher works as producer of current affairs programmes for Latin America - in order to have an additional element for comparison. However, as said before, the main object of study of this particular chapter, was the coverage of Latin America as a whole, during the period of the conflict. The aim was to see how far the war would distract the attention of the British press from the rest of the Latin American issues. The objective of the second content analysis, made one year later (1983), was to see if there were any significant differences between the coverage of Latin America before the Falklands War, during the conflict, and after this crisis, which, theoretically, should have increased the interest of British foreign editors in the area.

The sample for both analyses (1982 and 1983) comprises the same newspapers as that on the coverage of Latin America in 'a normal year' (1977): The Times, The Guardian and The Financial Times. But the analysis of 1983 adds The International Herald Tribune, for comparison.

3.4.1

LATIN AMERICA IN THE BRITISH PRESS DURING THE FALKLANDS WAR

The following page shows the final figures of the quantitative content analysis covering the period from April 1st to July 14th 1982. Only the information on Latin America was measured and classified by country.

The most notorious finding of the analysis on this period is the sharp fall of the overall coverage of Latin America (0.46%), compared to both 1977 (0.61%) and specially to one year after the Falklands War (1.57%). It is evident that the South Atlantic conflict did distract the attention of the British press from the other Latin American issues, specially if we consider that the crisis in Central America was already attracting the interest of Fleet Street since before the Falklands War. Nevertheless El Salvador received the highest amount of editorial content with 23.71% of the Latin American coverage; and Argentina, with 19.11% appears in the second place (contents not related to the war itself). It is also clear that, while the interest in the rest of Latin America declined during this period, the interest in Argentinian affairs went up if we add to the 19.11% the coverage of the Anglo-Argentinian conflict, which filled most of the pages of the British press at the time.

Another interesting aspect is the fact that Brazil is not anymore the second country in importance for the

COUNTRY	FINANCIAL TIMES cm/col	THE TIMES cm/col	THE GUARDIAN cm/col	TOTAL cm/col	%
ON LATIN AMERICA IN GENERAL	234	25	75	334	3.41
ARGENTINA (OTHER THAN THE WAR ITSELF)	672	546	651	1,869	19.11
BOLIVA	5	40	40	85	0.86
BRAZIL	164	83	98	345	3.52
BELIZE	-	14	-	14	0.14
CHILE	105	50	214	369	3.77
COLOMBIA	218	77	65	360	3.68
COSTA RICA	90	12	31	133	1.36
CUBA	459	190	159	808	8.26
DOMINIQUE REPUBLIC	23	128	161	312	3.19
ECUADOR	179	-	80	259	2.64
EL SALVADOR	552	327	1,437	2,316	23.71
GUATEMALA	34	188	478	700	7.15
HONDURAS	-	-	99	99	1.01
MEXICO	451	95	254	800	8.18
NICARAGUA	77	65	378	520	5.31
PERU	-	7	60	67	0.68
URUGUAY	27	25	12	64	0.65
VENZUELA	225	39	60	324	3.31

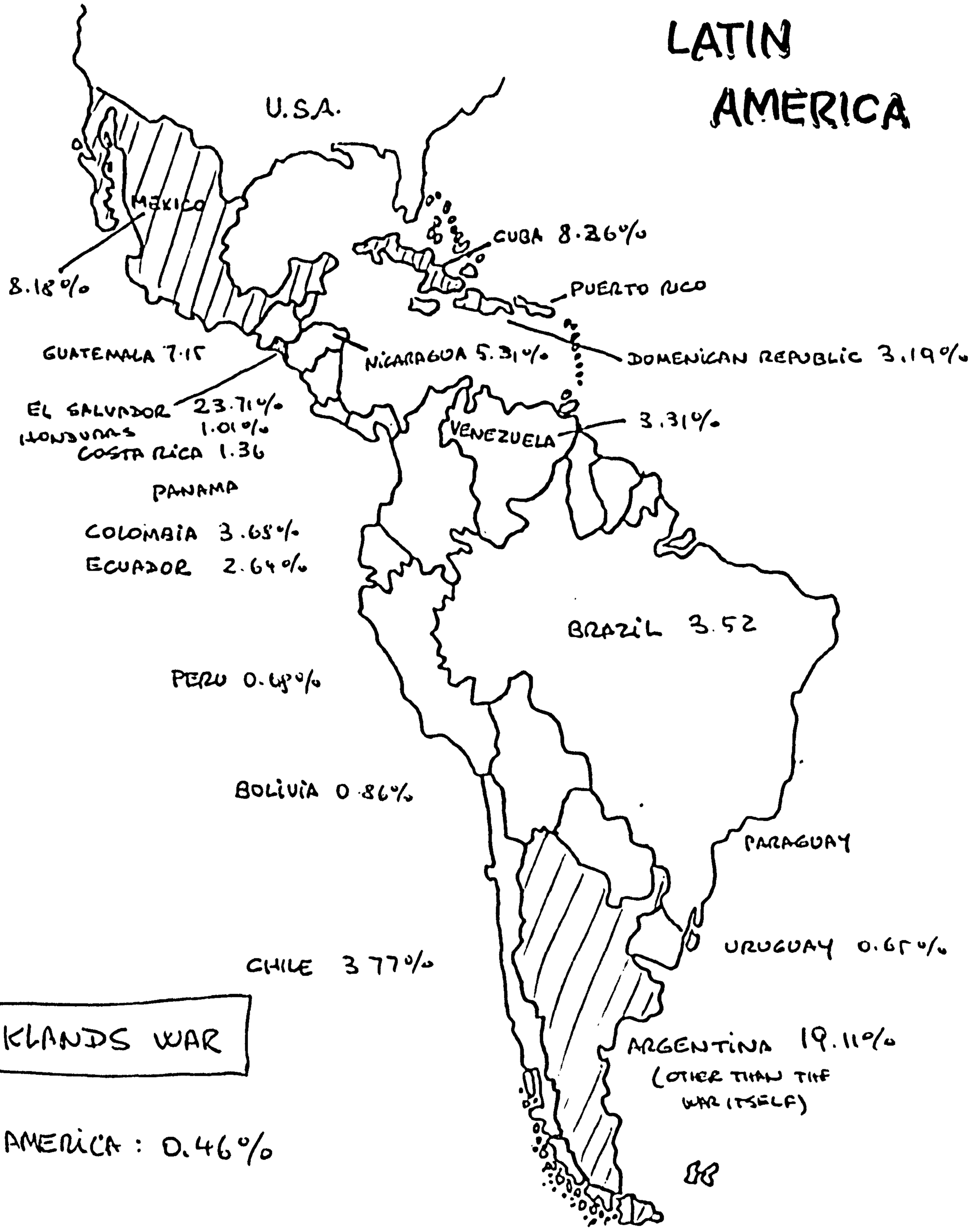
Percentage of editorial content on Latin America, of each newspaper, of the overall total of the area:

	FINANCIAL TIMES	THE TIMES	THE GUARDIAN	OVERALL TOTAL
cm/col	3,515	1,911	4,352	9,778
Percentage	35.94%	19.54%	44.50%	100%

Percentage of editorial content on Latin America of the total of the sample (711,200 cm/col):

FINANCIAL TIMES	THE TIMES	THE GUARDIAN	OVERALL TOTAL
0.49%	0.26%	0.61%	0.46%

LATIN AMERICA



FALKLANDS WAR

LAT. AMERICA : 0.46%

British press during 1982, dropping to ninth place, after El Salvador, Mexico, Guatemala (not even mentioned in 1977), Cuba, Nicaragua, Chile and Colombia, in that order. Although for this particular analysis the contents of the items were not classified in categories, it was clear that most of the stories on all the countries mentioned were political, with the exception of Mexico, whose news-items mixed the political aftermath of Miguel de la Madrid's victory in the polls with the economic situation in that country, which was beginning to concern the international finance world.

Once again it is The Guardian that shows the largest amount of information on Latin America (44.50% of the total on the area), showing special concern for the Central American issues (almost three times the amount of editorial content on El Salvador than The Financial Times, for instance, and almost five times that of The Times). .

But the general tendency shown by the whole of the sample is that in spite of the Falklands War and the drop of percentage of editorial content on Latin America, the interest of Fleet Street in 1982 is not concentrated in only three or four countries but it has evidently broadened to a wider horizon, embracing more than 60% of the 19 Latin American nations with a fairly even percentage of attention. This time, the only countries never mentioned were Panama and Uruguay.

3.4.2

THE COVERAGE OF THE FALKLANDS WAR ITSELF

INTRODUCTION

During and after the South Atlantic war, the British media were in conflict with the Ministry of Defence (hereinafter MoD) about the restrictions on the way that news was reported. This problem affected both journalists working in London and war correspondents with the Task Force. There were also bitter conflicts within the journalistic world. The whole issue of how the war was reported created a controversy that lasted long after the conflict had ended. In his book 'The Media, the Government and the Falklands Crisis', Richard Harris wrote:

> 'Around 1,000 British servicement were killed or wounded during the Falklands campaign; Argentina suffered over 1,800 casualties. Yet the final and dominant impression of the media's coverage of the war is its unreality.' (1)

In fact conditions for reporting the war were not favourable. Neither for journalists getting information from the MoD in London, nor for the war correspondents with the Task Force. The former had to get their information through the controversial filter of the MoD and the latter were subjected to military censorship. Newspapermen with the fleet sent their material to London with considerable delay "and there were severe limtis on how they could send. It was a recipe for some very frustrated journalists." (2) Television and radio reports from the war correspondents were arriving in Britain hours and sometimes days ahead of

written despatches. Many newspapers were, to some extent, dependent on taking notes from the broadcast information.

The MoD policy which allowed only British reporters to sail with the Task Force, had international implications too. The Vice-President of one American Network news organisation told ITN:

> 'The British Press was discounted here as a reliable source of news all during the Falklands engagement. It was understood, although not really mentioned, that there were a lot more things going on than the press reported and that therefore there was a form of lying going on. Not necessarily the lying of telling false facts, but saying misleading things for devious purposes. ...I think it is any nation's right to run its war any way it likes. What it ought not to expect is that others will believe its protestations when it does so in a foolish way.' (3)

The following is a review of the Falklands events as reported by the British press. It has been summarised in chronological order with some additional comments. Those events widely covered by the newspapers are only registered without any further addition (i.e. 'Britain declares a 200 mile military exclusion zone around the Falklands'), and it should be understood that their coverage was general. In some other cases, when it is relevant, some comments, additions or quotations are made.

Most of the items registered in this chronological review were not only reported by all British newspapers, but also appeared on the front pages and were subjects of further editorial contents in the 'home news' pages, editorial pages, sections on parliament, readers letters and, in some cases, even the sports pages. This is the review:

3.4.3

CHRONOLOGY OF THE EVENTS RELATED TO THE FALKLANDS WAR ITSELF, WHICH WERE WIDELY COVERED BY ALL THE BRITISH PRESS

APRIL 2 Argentina occupies the islands. Clashes between British and Argentine troops. The Argentine flag is raised at Port Stanley. Royal marines surrender.

APRIL 3 First House of Commons weekend sitting since the Suez Crisis. MPs are told that the Task Force is to be sent. The Security Council of the UN passes resolution 502, ordering the cease of all hostilities, withdrawal of all Argentine troops from the islands and calling upon Britain and Argentina to seek a diplomatic solution. The international opinion is divided on resolution 502. Some Latin American countries back Argentina and although this is reported on most of the British newspapers, no substantial further comments on analysis are made. Nevertheless, all the 'quality' papers report and comment on Argentinian Foreign Minister, Costa Mendez, asking the OAS (Organisation of American States) to support Argentine action, implying that it was unlikely that the Latin American governments would support an occupation by force, but that the sovereignty aspect could, indeed, be supported by the great majority of the Latin American community. The popular press only reports on Costa Mendez request The Daily Express wrote: 'If Argentina can shove us around, who cannot push us over?' Both The Daily Telegraph and The Times quoted 'unimpeachable sources' of stories claiming that as early as 27 March information had been passed to the British government that an invasion plan was being launched, yet nothing had been done.

APRIL 5 Lord Carrington resigns as Foreign Minister; Francis Pym takes over. First Task Force ships sail from Portsmouth. These events appear in all national dailies, and some of them keep speculating about the probability that the invasion could have been avoided by some action taken by the British government due to alleged previous knowledge about Argentinian preparations to invade. The Times carried a very long leader entitled 'We are all Falklanders now'. One sentence read 'We are an island race, and the focus of attack is one of our islands, inhabited by our islanders'. The Daily Mail: 'Forcing Argentina to disgorge the Falklnds is a bloody hazardous and formidable enterprise. It can be done. It must be done. And Mrs Thatcher is the only person who can do it. But she will have to show ruthless determination and shut her ears to the siren voices'. The Sun's editorial ('Show your iron, Maggie') took up that day a full page largely dedicated to an attack on the Foreign Office: 'Its philosophy has been: Never rock the boat. Never offend foreigners... For ourselves, we do not care where (the FO) finds its recruits...provided that they have fire in their bellies and determination in their hearts that no one is going to push Britain around ...The Iron Lady must be surrounded by men of iron!' The Daily Mirror, on the other hand, came out against the use of force in its editorial leader 'Might isn't right': 'We could probably throw the Argentines out of the Falklands, but for how long?...The Argentina occupation has humiliated the government. But military revenge is not the way to wipe it out.'

The Financial Times and The Guardian pay special attention to the banning of British imports from Argentina. Most papers report on Australia, New Zealand and Canada recalling their ambassadors from Buenos Aires.

APRIL 7 Britain declares a 200 mile military exclusion zone around the Falklands effective 12 April. International repercussions discussed in some papers. All four quality papers and most of the popular press report on the Soviet worries about grain supplies from Argentina, and on European countries banning arm supplies to Argentina.

APRIL 8 Alexander Haid, Secretary of State, arrives in London. Mirror's leader: 'Time to stay calm'.

APRIL 9 Haig undertakes mediation role. Canberra sails from Southampton.

APRIL 10 EED, excluding Italy and Ireland, backs trade sanctions against Argentina. That day The Sun printed a story with the headline 'I hunt the enemy with Andy'. SUN MAN JOINS THE PRINCE ON SOUTH ATLANTIC 'COPTER PATROL. This is a good example of the fact that for the popular press Prince Andrew was one of the major stories of the war, although the war correspondents with the Task Froce had difficulties in getting near the Prince, due to strict MoD regulations, which included a 'policy' of not giving members of the Royal Family serving with the armed forces, undue publicity. News of the World: BRITAIN 6 - ARGENTINA 0. War portrayed as a colourful game.

APRIL 17 Haig arrives in Buenos Aires for negotiations with military government. Canberra calls at Freetown, Sierra Leone.

APRIL 19 Haig returns to Washington after breakdown in mediation talks. Peruvian initiative follows, but the British press does not give it much importance. Argentina invokes Rio treaty to get military assistance from OAS member states. This is indeed reported in all newspapers, except The Daily Mail. The Sun: THE SUN SAYS KNICKERS TO ARGENTINA.

APRIL 20 The Sun's attitude to a negotiated settlement was reflected in its headline STICK IT UP YOUR JUNTA, which became a tee shirt marketed by the newspaper 'ON OFFER AT THE SUPER LOW PRICE OF ONLY £2'.

APRIL 22 Pym flies to Washington. Only The Financial Times, The Guardian and The Times report on the millions of US dollars withdrawn by Argentina from the United States, while Panama, Argentina's largest private financial company declared bankrupt.

APRIL 23 Foreign Office advises British in Argentina to leave.

APRIL 24 Mexican President, Lopez Portillo, offers mediation, should Haid mission fail. This story is only carried in a few newspapers.

APRIL 25 South Georgia recaptured by Royal Marines (see cartoon Daily Mail), Venezuela announces it will help Argentina if Galtieri asks. Three

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quality papers, and only three popular ones carry this story.

APRIL 27 Mirror's leader: KEEP ON TALKING. OAS meets and calls for ceasefire and negotiations. Venezuela excludes British banks from loan meeting in Caracas. No popular paper reports on this.

APRIL 30 Reagan publicly declares support for Britain after failure of peace efforts. In Argentina, the Trade Union Federation, CGT, warns about economic consequences of the conflict. The workers union organises demonstrations to support recovery of islands but against armed forces. Most newspapers prefer to report on British military operations, the fall by £190m in foreign reserves in Britain, and on the speeches of opposition MPs in Parliament (Foot, Owen and Benn).

MAY 1 Harriers and Vulcans attack airfield in Port Stanley. Argentine fighters shot down.

MAY 2 Argentine cruiser General Belgrano is sunk by British submarine with loss of over 300 lives.

MAY 3 All the newspapers were reporting on the Belgrano and, to some extent, speculating with concern about the loss of Argentinian lives. The first edition of The Sun (around 1.5m copies) was published with a most controversial front page headline of the conflict: GOTCHA! The previous night, the paper had been produced by its management with help of the few non-union staff

due to a journalists strike going on at the time. Afterwards, the editorial management of The Sun agreed that the headline had been 'a shame', giving as an excuse their excitement and euphoria. 'Only when we began to hear reports of how many men had died did we begin to have second thoughts'. (4) In the next editions of The Sun the previous headline was changed for DID 1,200 ARGIES DROWN?

MAY 4 Destroyer Sheffield hit by Exocet missile, set on fire and abandoned with 20 lives lost. Harrier shot down. For The Sun, the game turned serious for the first time: BRITISH WARSHIP SUNK BY ARGIES. The daily cartoon, dropped because it was considered 'inappropriate', was substituted by a blank space. The Mirror called the sinking TOO HIGH A PRICE. One of its paragraphs read: 'It is time to prove that peace through diplomacy is the only policy that pays - and we must do it before there is yet another tragedy at sea'.

MAY 5 Peru drafts peach plan. France, Holland and Italy express extreme anxiety about escalation of conflict. The USSR blame US for aggravation of crisis by putting pressure on Argentina while supporting British militarily. Juan Carlos of Spain offers to mediate. Ireland seeks removal of EEC sanctions on Argentina.

MAY 6 Two Harriers lost, believed to have collided. The Mirror: THE KILLING HAS GOT TO STOP. The Guardian prints controversial cartoon. Venezuela is reported in a few newspapers (Financial Times, The Guardian, The Times

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and The Daily Telegraph) to be withdrawing substantial sums from its banks.

MAY 7 Peace Talks begin, the United Nations in New York. The attack on The Daily Mirror, The Guardian and the BBC due to their coverage of the war, started on this day. The Sun's editorial: DARE CALL IT TREASON. 'There are traitors in our midst. Margaret Thatcher talked about them in the House of Commons yesterday... (she) did not speak of treason. The Sun does not hesitate to use the word...What is but treason for The Guardian to print a cartoon showing a British seaman clinging to a raft, above the caption: 'The price of sovereignty has been increased - official'?'. The editorial attacked the BBC and The Daily Mirror in the same terms.

MAY 8 The Daily Mirror, instead of opting for legal action - which could almost certainly have been won - decided to print a public reply. Its editorial was headed THE HARLOT OF FLEET STREET, and the page was illustrated with Sun headlines. Some sentences read: 'There have been lying newspapers before. But in the past month it has broken all records...it (The Sun) has fallen from the gutter to the sewer...as an example of how British newspapers cover the crisis...far from helping our cause, it shames it...The Sun today is to journalism what Dr Josef Goebbels was to truth...The Daily Mirror does not believe patriotism has to be proved in blood. Especially someone else's blood...A Labour MP yesterday called for The Sun to be prosecuted for criminal libel. There is no point in that. It has the

the perfect defence: Guilty but insane'.
Richard Harris writes about the reactions to The Mirror's reply: 'Haines (the leader writer) was inundated with letters and phone calls of congratulation, mainly from other journalists, including the leader writer of The Daily Star. Michael Foot (who himself later condemned the 'hysterical bloodlust' of The Sun in the House of Commons) wrote to Molly praising the article. So too, did Lord Cudlipp...Some, though, thought it too violent and detected behind it The Mirror's years of frustration at being able to recapture its old position as Britain's largest-selling paper'. (5)

MAY 9 Falklands bombarded by the British from air and sea. The Sun claimed that 'hundreds of readers have phoned us, firmly supporting our view' and it renewed its attack on the BBC, The Guardian and The Daily Mirror whose 'editorial line -wrote The Sun - is now endorsed by the communist Morning Star'..
The attack on the BBC, The Guardian and The Mirror was followed during the rest of May and the first two weeks of June, by a ferocious counter-attack by the broadcasters and Fleet Street against the Ministry of Defence. Meanwhile little attention is paid to the Peruvian government talks to promote cease-fire, and on Perez de Cuellar negotiations on long-term settlement after eventual ceasefire. The Fleet Street row and national politics concerning the conflict leave little space in the paper for the information about leaders of Belize, Colombia, Costa Rica, Honuras and Venezuela urging an end to hostilities from both sides.

MAY 11 Argentine supply ship is sunk. President Figueiredo of Brazil arrives in Washington, but reduces his visit to one day, suspending attendance of receptions, concerts and exhibitions. At the IMF, leaders of developing countries express concern about economic measures taken against Argentina and recommend they be lifted. Only three papers carry these stories.

MAY 12 Reactions to BBC's Panorama programme on opposition to the war. The Sun's front page: OUTRAGE OVER THE BEEB. The Times reported 'a number of people' who rang to complain about the programme. Most papers reported on The Sun's NUJ chapel meeting on the previous day when a motion condemning Kelvin MacKenzie (the editor) for publishing the 'treason' editorial was defeated.

MAY 13 Three Argentine Skyhawks brought down. All papers carry this story. Only a frew report on the controversy within the Argentine armed forces over possible Soviet economic and military aid. Only one paper (The Financial Times) reports on Argentina's industrial union critique of Galtieri's monetarism. All papers inform about the sailing of Queen Elizabeth II to the South Atlantic.

MAY 14 Prime Minister warns that peaceful settlement may not be possible. Most papers report on substantial progress made in the diplomatic exchanges. Both sides agreed that a ceasefire would be linked to a phased and supervised disengagement of forces.

MAY 15 Marines land on Pebble Island, destroy eleven Argentine fighters and withdraw. The Times, The Guardian and The Daily Mirror all carried editorials supporting the BBC in its editorial policies in connection to the war.

MAY 16 Italy and Ireland refuse to continue sanctions against Argentina.

MAY 17 Peace talks continue at the United Nations and Mrs Thatcher speaks of 'one more go'. Mr Perez de Cuellar's name is in most of the national papers. The Sun's headline: OUR PLANES BLITZ ARGIE SHIPS - HOW OUR TOUGH GUYS HIT PEBBLE ISLAND.

MAY 20 UN peace initiative fails. Mrs Thatcher accuses Argentina of 'obduracy and delay, deception and bad faith'. British Task Force ordered into battle.

MAY 21 Force of 3,000 British troops establish bridge-head at San Carlos. The frigate HMS Ardent sunk by air attack. Nine Argentine aircraft shot down. Some newspapers speak of seventeen plans shot down. Following a misleading briefing, the previous day, by the MoD's Public Relations man, Sir Frank Cooper, the Fleet Street press was unanimous in its description of Britain's next military move: The Daily Mirror and The Daily Express coincided in their headlines: SMASH AND GRAB. Both papers reported that there would not be a mass landing, D-Day style. The Daily Telegraph wrote: 'A single D-Day type of frontal assault has been ruled out...'; The Guardian: 'Rear Admiral Sandy Woodward is about to begin a series of landings and hit and run raids

against Argentine positions on the islands... There (will) not be a D-Day type 'invasion'. The Times reported: 'Sources were not expecting to see a repeat performance of D-Day'. The Sun: '...they ruled out a huge single operation like D-Day'.
At a time when these newspapers were distributed all over the country, a massive amount of British troops were going ashore the Falklands in Britain's largest amphibious assault since D-Day.

MAY 22 Bridgehead consolidated at San Carlos.

MAY 23 Argentine Air Force returns to continental base. The frigate HMS Antelope hit and damaged. Row over poor facilities for correspondents with the Navy continues.

MAY 24 The frigate sinks after explosion of undetonated bomb. Seven to eight Argentine aircraft shot down.

MAY 25 Argentine National Day. Destroyer HMS Coventry sunk by Skyhawks bombers. Atlantic Conveyor abandoned after being hit by Exocet missiles. Five Argentinian aircraft shot down.

MAY 27 Darwin and Goose Green fall to 2nd Battalion, the Parachute Regiment. 250 Argentine soldiers killed and 1,400 captured. 17 British soldiers killed. Royal Marines capture Douglas and Teal Inlet. Death of Lt.-Col. H. Jones. More air raids on Port Stanley.

MAY 29 Warships and Harriers bombardment of Argentine positions in Port Stanley.

MAY 30 Shelling continues as British troops advance.

JUNE 1 Britain repeats ceasefire terms.

JUNE 2 Mount Kent taken by the British. The Sun: PANICKY ARGIES FLEE BAREFOOT.

JUNE 4 Birtain vetoes Panamanian-Spanish ceasefire resolution in the United Nations Security Council.

JUNE 6 Versailles summit supports British position on Falklands. The Observer adds its attack on the handling of the information by the MoD. Captain Astiz arrives in Britain as prisoner of war. France and Sweden demand to question him about disappearances of their nationals in Argentina. Little is said about the 20,000 Argentines who disappeared during the military regime, and the few mentions on this matter are clearly geared to the discredit of the Argentine Armed Forces, rather than raising concern about the victims or their relatives.

JUNE 8 Argentine air attack on landing craft Sir Galahad and Sir Tristram at Bluff Cove, resulting in the loss of fifty British lives. Next day, The Sun reported 70 DEAD, while the MoD refused to disclose the extent of British losses. The whole of Fleet Street is outrage.

JUNE 12 Nine killed on HMS Glamorgan while supporting advance on Port Stanley.

JUNE 13 British forces seize Mount Trambledon and other key positions.

JUNE 14 Final stages of the battle. White flags raised over Port Stanley. The Sun's headline: HERO

BAYONET TROOPS KILL FIFTY. And reporting the World Cup in its sports pages, The Sun printed ARGIES SMASHED, in connection with the Belgium football team's victory over Argentina: 'They swaggered on as World Champions, and crawled off, humiliated, by little Belgium'.

JUNE 15 Argentine garrison at Port Stanley surrenders, bringing cessation of fighting. Demonstrations in Argentina blaming Galtieri.

One month later, Robert Fox (BBC radio correspondent with the Task Force) wrote in The Listener:

> 'The spirit of enquiry is abroad in Argentina and the Falklands themselves, too. Judging by the mournful faces of many of the prisoners I saw landed at Puerto Madryn, nothing of the inter-service arguments and government inquests in this country can have the bitterness and pathos of what is happening to thousands of those young men now. Two of the prisoners gave me on-the-record interviews about their life as conscripts on the Falklands, interviews in which they wanted to add their gratitude for the way they had been treated as prisoners... Both would not allow me to release their names for fear of reprisals against their families... Debates about the future of the Falklands are more hesitant...Under the original terms of the British Nationality Bill most islanders were excluded from automatic entry rights to the UK. But their home, what the broadcasting officer in Stanley, Pat Watts, calls 'what used to be our peaceful little islands', is ruined.'

But the spirit of enquiry took place, too, in Britain. Brian Hitchen, of The Daily Star, wrote to Sir Frank Cooper on 1 June: 'I consider, Sir Frank, that the treatment of the press during the Falklands crisis has

been shameful and have no doubt whatsoever that a full explanation will be called for at the appropriate time in the future'. (6)

Many of the correspondents interviewed held the view that the dominant impression of the media's coverage of the war was its 'unreality'. But most of them were mainly concerned with the type of reporting that the conflict received at the hands of the popular press in particular, apart from the specific difficultires that their colleagues faced when trying to get information, both from the MoD and the Task Force. Not only a great part of the war was treated almost like a game, but this sort of 'entertainment' was like a curtain that did not allow to a) see the seriousness of the whole affair, with all the political, economic and human implications that lay behind the conflict, both for Britain and for Argentina, and b) see what was going on in the rest of Latin America in connection with the conflict. Many of the highly important meetings of the Organisation of American States (OAS) for instance, were not covered at all by the British press, despite the fact that they were discussing the stand of Latin American governments regarding the war.

But not only the popular press got involved in this rather subjective and emotional game: The Times leader on April 5 was entitled WE ARE ALL FALKLANDERS NOW ('we are an island race, and the focus of attack is one of our islands...'). Nevertheless, it was chiefly the popular

press who created this dramatic atmosphere of 'competition' ('Show your iron, Maggie', 'Gotcha!', 'I hunt the enemy with Andy', The Sun; Britain 6 - Argentina 0', News of the World), The Mirror being the only exception ('Might isn't right', (Keep on talking', 'Too high a price', 'The killing has got to stop'). Overall, the cartoons published by the popular press emphasised even further this almost 'unreal' drive to joke about the war, treating it almost as a series of comic strips (see cartoons in Appendix). It is evident that the aim of the popular press was to achieve a dramatic impact in all aspects of its editorial contents, in order to sell in the midst of their own fierce competition(the headlines were alwasy mixed with front page ads or information about their 'Bingos' and similar competitions). The war provided them with an excellent subject for 'entertaining':

> 'The genre is well established in other media, war films and boys' comics; the imagery, the characters and the plot lines are already familiar to generations of males from the age of eight upwards. At the level of boys' comics the notorious Sun headlines, 'Stick it up your junta', 'Wallop', 'We'll smash 'em', fall naturally into place. and the stress on hardware, on the technology of the war, seems just as natural. We are offered silhouettes of the different types of battleship, diagrams of weapons...photographs of helicopters taking off, jets in mid-flight, exploding bombs and burning ships. The photographs of people stress an action-man image like that of the heroes rushing up the beach with guns at the ready...' (7)

It could be said that during the war it was clear that the popular papers did construct some sort of public

opinion, staging a patriotic support to the nation and to 'our boys' ('Every back in Britain is a little bit straighter today' The Daily Mail, 15 June, after the Argentine surrender). Peter Jenkins wrote in The Guardian on 16 June: 'Patriotic instincts have been aroused, and they potentially transcend the dividing lines of class and ideology'.

Public opinion was offered easy channels to flow along and dissident ideas were either excluded or rendered contemptible. The newspapers, with a few exceptions, organised sentiments which, in some cases, draw on racism. On May 4, William Hickey wrote in The Daily Express, commenting on patriotic songs he had been sent: 'I felt like shaking my fist at anyone looking vaguely Latin'. Life loses were not important on the Argentinian side (i.e. first reportage of the sinking of cruiser Belgrano) because, as the Daily Express put it on April 30: 'The right is on our side, so is the might'. Therefore British losses came as a shock, and the reading of the popular press denotes that the sense of outrage and thirst for revenge was greater.

Another aspect found in the contents of the popular press was that of 'Law and Order', associated to the notion of private property: 'There is a robber who must be ejected' (Daily Express, April 3); 'Argentina has stolen our territory' (The Sun, April 26). Most of these aspects, like patriotism, militarism, racism, law and order and

private ownership were organised around the chief basic concept of 'nation'. All the popular papers, except The Mirror, unitarily claimed to be 'the voice of Britain'; dissent, or even hesitation, was ruled out as 'treacherous' (The Sun, May 11).

One interesting aspect emreging from the review of the British press during the conflict is that Fleet Street suddenly 'discovered' that Argentina was a fascist dictatorship (The Guardian being, perhaps, the only exception). But the Daily Mail in particular implied that the evilness of the government invoked the compliance of the people it suppressed: 'a nation of strutting machoes...a society spewing on itself...military dictatorship backed only by a passionate patriotic Argentine people... (who will themselves to accept the propaganda they are fed'.

Both the 'entertaining' and the 'patriotic' approaches of the popular press prevented it from underlining the fact that the South Atlantic conflict cost the lives of more than a thousand people (apart from over £2billion, without counting the investment in defence and development of the islands after the war), and that it totally disrupted the economic and social lives of the islanders, together with estimulating a wave of jingoism andmilitarism in Britain. Moreover, the press (and this includes some quality papers, too) have failed to stire public opinion, in the same way they did during the war, about the fact that despite the bloodshed and the huge expense, the problem of

the status of the Falklands and their future development has not yet been resolved.

For the popular press, when the drama of the military actions was over, their interest in the islands disappeared, as did their interest in Argentina and Latin America. As seen in other chapters of this research, that is not the case of the 'quality' papers which, in fact, increased their amount of editorial content on Latin America, after the war. Before the conflict and after it, very seldom we find reports on the area in the tabloids. Perhaps this is one of the factors why the only sense left about the war, at least in the popular press, is that of its unreality. To journalists in general, nevertheless, the main feeling left after the war is one of bitterness, frustration and recriminations because of the handling of the information.

Alan Protheroe, Assistant Director Gèneral of the BBC, said at the end of the conflict, 'Britain lost the Information War'.

Indeed six weeks after the beginning of hostilities, increasing anger and frustration in Fleet Street and amongst the broadcasters in London over the lack of information and of television pictures, was running high. In addition, by then there was growing evidence of wholesale bungling by the MoD with regard to the task force correspondents. The charge was led by Alan Protheroe, who wrote on June 3: 'The miscalculations of the handling

of the information war are, I suggest, a better target for back bench wrath than the BBC'. One week later, the Defence Committee of the House of Commons announced its intention of holding an enquiry into how Whitehall handled the coverage of the conflict. In January 1983 the House of Commons Defence Committee Report of the handling of press and public information during the Falklands headed by Sir Timothy Kitson and ten colleagues, produced a cogent set of 28 conclusions and recommendations. The report emphasises how vital it is, in an industrial-parliamentary democracy, that there is an awareness of the need for the passing of information, for the reporting of arguments, circumstances and events, within obvious limits.

3.4.4
IN ARGENTINA

In Argentina, not surprisingly, recriminations ran even higher. Not only the military lost the war, but apart from leading the country into a deep economic, social and political chaos, the handling of the information during the conflict was perhaps the main element of criticism after the handling of the war itself. This is how a reasearcher observed the changing attitudes in the Argentine population in relation to this matter: 'Television andradio kept people from thinking rationally about the possibility of an Argentine victory, or defeat, by playing on patriotism and nationalism in a way that was fought far off at sea and represented no danger to the civilian population. The media presented propaganda, not news...

...Only the official version of the war was presented... The military succeeded in convincing the people they were winning because the population thought the war was just. Yet, when the truth emerged, the people turned against the media and against the government with great anger...The Argentine population was systematically told their forces were winning up to 14 June. Television was monolithic in its presentation of victory, radio was softened by the presence of broadcasts from Uruguay and international short-wave. The press, near the end of the war and on the inside pages, carried the British and US news of the war.' (8)

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3.5
THE LATIN AMERICAN SERVICE OF THE BBC AND THE FALKLANDS CRISIS

The following is a personal account of the way the Latin American Service of the BBC covered the Falklands War. It was thought methodologically helpful to include a participant's observations as an element of comparison: this researcher's own experience as a current affairs producer, who also had the task of reporting the war to Latin America from London and through a British medium.

The South Atlantic crisis was a difficult test for all the BBC staff of the Latin American Service, not only for the Argentinians involved in the production of current affairs programmes, but for the rest of the Latin Americans and British producers and journalists, as well. We were confronted with the task of building up an output as close as possible to the events related to the war, (with all the difficulties involved in covering these events from London) trying to 'balance' the official information coming from both sides of the conflict, plus the dispatches filed from BBC correspondents and from oru own Latin American stringers in Buenos Aires, the UN and some South American countries.

Due to the Falklands crisis the Foreign Office decided to increase our tranmission time from four hours to five and a half hours, creating - for the first time in the history of our service - a daily thirty minutes morning transmission ('Breakfast Time' in Latin America) with a ten minute news bulletin and a twenty minute current affairs programme comprising dispatches, news notes, talks and interviews.

A decision to increase our staff was also taken, but some of the new recruits only arrived AFTER the war had ended, therefore the already understaffed Latin American Section had to cope with the new responsibility of filling those extra 75 minutes, almost exclusively with current affairs and news.

The evening transmission included 5 nine-minute bulletins (one each hour) and a 50 minute current affairs programme, part of which was recorded on transmission and repeated three hours later. All during the war, 20 minutes of the 50 minute programme, recorded on transmission, were to the coverage of the conflict and constituted a section on its own.

Following the External Services modus operandis, the news bulletins were prepared by its newsroom and translated by the Latin American staff on duty. But the 20 minutes of current affairs in the morning, and the 50 minutes in the evening, were totally a production responsibility of our section.

The sources for the news items of the news bulletins (which during the conflict dedicated about 60% of its contents to the war) were BBC correspondents, news agencies (mainly Reuters), the British Ministry of Defence information and stringers in North, Central and South America.

In part, they were also the sources for our own current affairs programmes. But apart from despatches from our own correspondents, we also used the British and international press (there was - and still is - a daily

review of the British press in our current affairs programme) and interviews (in Spanish) with experts in Latin America or in International Affairs (these were done in our own studios or via telephone), from British universities, British press (Latin American Newsletter, Guardian, Times, etc.) with journalists and academics in Latin America (Mexico, Venezuela, Chile, Colombia, Uruguay and Argentina) and with Argentinian journalists and politicians, both in Buenos Aires and the UN in New York, via telephone. In every current affairs programme we included at least one interview or despatch with the 'official' Argentinian view, together with the information gathered from the British Ministry of Defence, accompanied by a talk or comments made by either BBC commentators, or 'neutral' experts invited to our studios or interviewed by telephone in Mexico, Chile, Spain, USA, Venezuela, Britain or any other part of the world. (The cost of this sort of operation was covered in part by the External Services as a whole, therefore, it did not largely affect the budget of the Latin American Service).

All this information was carefully put together by our producers, daily, twice a day, and at any moment we had any interference or censorship from either the BBC Management, the Foreign Office, or the Ministry of Defence.

But, reporting from London, the main problem was to select the material, the interviewees, and try to balance

the information bearing in mind, firstly, the wide range of our audience (more than nineteen Spanish speaking countries, including Argentina) and, secondly, the BBC's prestige in those areas, where undoubtedly they were expecting either a fairly balanced view of the situation or, (in the case of many Argentinians, for instance) a one-sided British position. Our task was to try to stick to the policy of 'balanced' information, therefore we did our best to include every possible point of view on any controverted event or issue of the war.

At the time when the conflict broke out, not only the Argentinians, but also some of the other Latin Americans in our service were very upset and confused, firstly because of the aggressive response of the British government, and later on due to the sinking of the Argentinian cruiser 'General Belgrano'. Some Argentinians asked not to take part at all in the current affairs programmes. Nevertheless, as time went by and our current affairs policy showed that the BBC and the Latin American Service were not taking 'sides' in the conflict (and when the BBC was being attacked by The Sun and criticised by the Prime Minister in Parliament for its coverage of the war), they agreed to take part in the production of the programmes. But some asked not to be named in the programmes or not to read at the microphone. However, every single member of the Latin American Service ended taking part in our special programmes on the crisis.

I believe that in spite of the fact that we were in daily contact with Latin America, Buenos Aires or the

United Nations in New York, and that we tried to comprise the broadest spectrum of analysis in our studio interviews, also the fact that we were reporting the war from London, made us share the overall coverage problems of Fleet Street and for some time there was a deep sense of 'unreality'.

Nevertheless, in the end, after the war, the Latin American Service got literally hundreds of letters from Latin America (a high percentage from Argentina) congratulating the BBC for the coverage of the war and pointing out that the corporation was an 'example of world broadcasting' for the rest of the international radio stations. Some of them (mainly from Argentina) expressed their 'surprise' for the fact that during the war the Latin American Service of the BBC had not taken the official line of the British government during the war.

A content analysis made on listener's letters by the BBC External Services Audience Research Department, produced a report which, in its section dedicated to the listeners' comments on the Falklands includes the following paragraph:

> 'One or two (of the Argentinian listeners) went so far as to say that, although they believed the islands to be rightfully theirs, they did not think their government had been right to carry out an invasion. One writer declared that he would be increasing his BBC listening during the crisis, because he 'wnated to hear the truth...''

Overall, 32% of the letters received from Argentina, during the conflict, were sympathetic to the BBC. The remaining 68% remained hostile either to the UK or to the BBC.

The report ends its section on the Falklands with a

paragraph dedicated to letters received during the war from other Latin American countries:

> 'The greatest number of comments were received from Colombia (14), Spain (13), Chile (11), Uruguay (8), Venezuela (6), and the USA (5). The letters contained much less political comment than those from Argentina, and what there was tended to be favourable to the United Kingdom. A more frequent theme was praise for the BBC's objective coverage of the situation. Many said it had re-inforced their previous high opinion. As one Colombian listener put it; 'The Falklands crisis has proved once again that in times of conflict the BBC is ahead of most radio stations as an example of reliable news'. Listeners in Chile and Uruguay in particular drew attention to the importance of the BBC as a counterbalance to the propaganda they were hearing from Argentina. It should be noted that at this time several leading local radio stations in Chile and Uruguay especially were relaying the BBC Latin American Service's news bulletins. This was particularly useful in view of the Argentine jamming of direct broadcasts which had some effect in neighbouring countries.'

3.6

ONE YEAR AFTER

1983

The following is the content analysis done one year after the South Atlantic conflict. The sample of newspapers is the same as in the previous analysis, but the International Herald Tribune has been added as a comparative element. The

period of 1983 analysed goes from August 15th to the 26th of the same month. As in the previous quantitative analysis, only the editorial content on Latin America was measured and classified by country. These are the final figures:

FINAL FIGURES 1983

	TOTAL cm/col	cm/col on LATIN AMERICA	PERCENTAGE ON LATIN AMERICA
THE FINANCIAL TIMES	113,152	1,638	1.44%
THE TIMES	94,848	952	1.00%
THE GUARDIAN	98,176	2,235	2.27%
TOTAL BRITISH	306,176	4,825	1.57%
INT. HERALD TRIBUNE	57,408	2,292	3.99%

BREAKDOWN BY COUNTRY

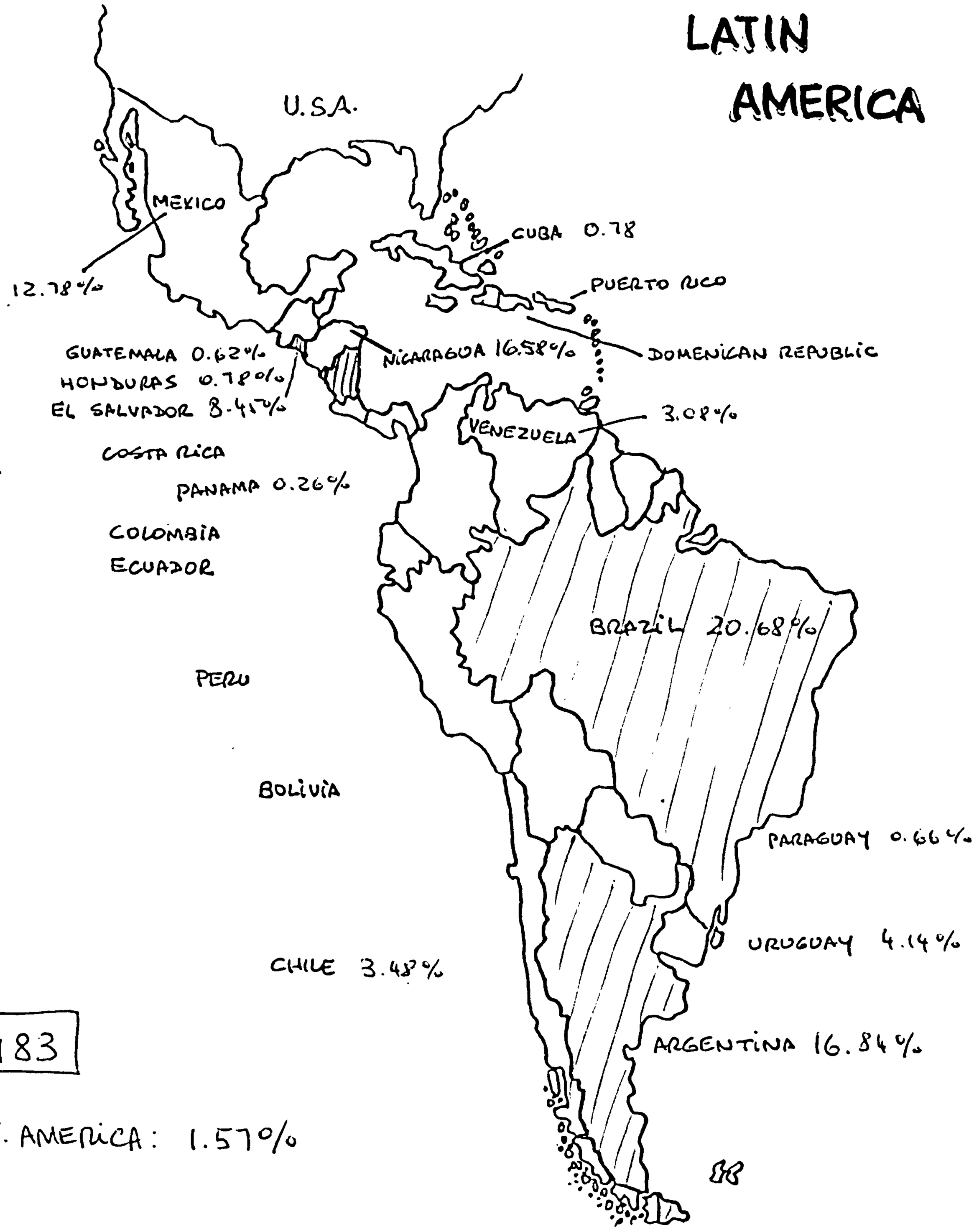
COUNTRY	FINANCIAL TIMES		THE TIMES		THE GUARDIAN	
	cm/col	%	cm/col	%	cm/col	%
ARGENTINA	189	11.53	228	23.94	396	17.71
BRAZIL	672	41.02	86	9.03	240	10.73
BOLIVIA	-	-	-	-	-	-
CHILE	58	3.54	92	9.66	18	0.80
COLOMBIA	-	-	-	-	-	-
CUBA	2	0.12	8	0.84.	28	1.52
COSTA RICA	-	-	-	-	-	-
DOMIN. REPUBLIC	-	-	-	-	-	-
ECUADOR	-	-	-	-	-	-
EL SALVADOR	16	0.97	148	15.54	244	10.91
GUATEMALA	-	-	4	0.42	26	1.16
HONDURAS	-	-	26	2.73	12	0.53
MEXICO	218	13.30	196	20.58	203	9.08
NICARAGUA	64	3.90	80	8.40	656	29.35
PERU	-	-	-	-	-	-
PARAGUAY	-	-	2	0.21	30	1.34
PANAMA	-	-	2	0.21	10	0.44
URUGUAY	124	7.57	20	2.10	56	2.50
VENEZUELA	109	6.65	16	1.68	24	1.07
LATIN AMERICA IN GENERAL	168	10.25	44	4.62	260	11.63

TOTAL OF THE SAMPLE

LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES 1983

(Percentage within the Latin American coverage)	BRITISH PRESS TOTAL		INT. HERALD TRIBUNE	
	cm/col	%	cm/col	%
ARGENTINA	813	16.84	256	11.16
BRAZIL	998	20.68	198	8.63
BOLIVIA	-	-	9	0.39
CHILE	168	3.48	215	9.38
COLOMBIA	-	-	-	-
CUBA	38	0.78	92	4.01
COSTA RICA	-	-	-	-
DOMINIC. REP.	-	-	10	0.43
ECUADOR	-	-	-	-
EL SALVADOR	408	8.45	306	13.35
GUATEMALA	30	0.62	128	5.58
HONDURAS	38	0.78	18	0.78
MEXICO	617	12.78	316	13.78
NICARAGUA	800	16.58	338	14.74
PERU	-	-	202	8.81
PARAGUAY	32	0.66	-	-
PANAMA	12	0.26	28	1.22
URUGUAY	200	4.14	30	1.30
VENEZUELA	149	3.08	71	3.09
LATIN AMERICA IN GENERAL	472	9.78	74	3.22

LATIN AMERICA



1983

LAT. AMERICA: 1.57%

The most significant finding of this content analysis is the dramatic rise of percentage of editorial content on Latin America: from 0.61% in 1977 and 0.46% in 1982, to 1.57% in 1983. This suggests that the interest created by the Falklands war, added to the increasingly rising crisis in Central America, is reflected in the editorial space dedicated to Latin America. The most 'dedicated' newspaper to Latin America is again The Guardian, but this time with 2.27%, well ahead of The Financial Times (1.44%) and The Times (1%). Another interesting aspect is that Argentina, who enjoyed the largest amount of editorial space among Latin American countries in 1977, one year after the South Atlantic crisis, is not the main focus of attention for Fleet Street any more: Brazil comes first this time, with 20.68% of the Latin American coverage, followed by Argentina (16.84%), Nicaragua (16.58%), Mexico (12.78%), and El Salvador (8.45%). This shows a clear shift of attention with a trend towards the coverage of both the economic crisis of some countries like Brazil and Mexico, and the evident political disruption in Central America (El Salvador and Nicaragua). Not surprisingly, The Financial Times concentrates its Latin American coverage on Brazil and Mexico (41.01% and 13.30%, respectively). The Guardian concentrates its own coverage on Nicaragua and Argentina (29.35% and 17.71%, respectively), followed by El Salvador (10.91%). The Times is the only newspaper of the sample to keep its main attention in Argentina (23.94%), followed by Mexico (20.58%) and El Salvador (15.54%).

Nicaragua, Mexico and El Salvador enjoy the largest attention of The International Herald Tribune, which comes to show the 'proximity' factor for the interest of the American media. In addition, Cuba, who receives only 0.78% of the British attention, gets 4.01% of the American one. The same can be said of Guatemala (0.62% in the British press, and 5.58% in the International Herald Tribune). While the stories that cover Latin America in general (as an overall category), in cluding its international relations, attract 3.22% of the American interest in this sample, they attract 9.78% of the British interests. This suggests a more analytical approach to the area by the British press, especially if we take into account that the editorial space dedicated to the area by The International Herald Tribune is proportionally larger than that of the British sample. The Guardian and The Financial Times are the main responsibles for this, with 11.63% and 10.25% respectively, on news related to Latin American 'in general'.

This tendency by the British press of an increased interest in the area, clearly attracted by economic and political factors (crises) and by the South Atlantic War, with a large amount of analytical material and with an evident growth of 'specialists' and stringers based in Latin America, has continued until the days previous to the submission of this thesis.

4. CONCLUSIONS OR FINAL ANALYSIS

4.1
CONCLUSIONS

The individual findings of the analyses of all three periods - 19th century, 1970s and early 1980s - are examined now, once more, within the framework provided by the chapters of Part II of this research, but this time through historical comparison and as a whole. As pointed out in the chpater on the method used in this investigation, any specific focuses or attitudes on Latin America are not seen as a product of 'personalising journalism', but rather as ideological (cultural) elements 'needed' by the social relations.

The reporting of political and economic crises in the region, compared to the Falklands War, for instance, provide elements which reflect specific ideological or cultural approaches. When examining these qualitative and quantitative findings, different press perspectives emerge. It is the aim of this final analysis to select and identify them, bearing in mind the 'proximity' aspect of the reporting on the region, and the diversity of circumstances of this coverage, sometimes contradictory ('cultural' differences between Britain and Latin America, geographical distance, lack of strong political and economic links, on the one hand, and on the other, a colonial presence in the area over the years, political stand related to East-West relations, and some economic links with certain nations).

The assessment of the findings looks now for different cultural approaches: a colonial perspective on the region, a political and technological perspective, a mythological perspective and an imperial or hegemonic one, all which - it is assumed - would not necessarily exclude each other. The individual, the organisational and the social levels, related to the social practices of the reporting on Latin America, are placed in that context.

The following is the final analysis.

4.2
GENERAL PERSPECTIVES

Historical, cultural, economic, geographical and political circumstances provide the overall explanation as far as the small amount of news on Latin America is concerned. Each of these circumstances can be described as having a very low degree of 'proximity' in relation to the links between Great Britain and the region. It is interesting to note that according to recent studies in America (where the element of 'proximity' is much stronger), Latin America has been neglected by the US media in the past twenty years: '...Latin American news predominantly was crisis news concentrated on a handful of countries (Cuba, Nicaragua, Panama, Chile and Mexico), and on crisis issues such as national security, violence and disaster'. (1) This study goes on to say that, on the whole, other Latin American issues and countries did not interest the American media, especially television. It could be said that the

case is similar in Britain where television and radio only carry news items on Latin America when there is a major crisis or disaster. As far as the UK is concerned, the press offers the best coverage on the region compared to the rest of the media, in spite of the small amount of editorial content on Latin America. Compared to the US and French newspapers, the British press carry less percentage of stories on the area, but these, as seen in previous chapters, seem to be more reliable than the American and the French ones. The former having too strong an element of 'proximinity' (US involvement in the area, in economic, political and cultural terms), the latter being too 'distant' (region mainly covered from Paris) and speculative.

In general terms, and looking at the 19th and 20th centuries as a whole, only on a few occasions in the history of Latin America has there been a <u>colonial press perspective</u>, associated to the relative predominance of British links or investments in the area. As a whole, the nearer the British press has come to a colonial perspective was during the 19th century, when the economic links with Latin America were much stronger. And the only exception when there has been this kind of approach, perhaps, (apart from the Caribbean) is the case of a few and small British colonies, which are now independent, like Belize, British Guyana, and the somehow special exception of the Falklands, when during the South Atlantic war, the colonial perspective of some of the British

media took the form of nationalism, patriotism and sovereignty. ('We are all Falklanders now' - The Times 5 April 1982; 'We'll smash 'em' - The Sun, 19 April 1982; 'Dare call it treason' - The Sun, May 7, 1982). But since the mid-19th century, the South Atlantic crisis has been perhaps a unique case in the history of the links between Britain and Latin America, in which a Latin American country actually went into direct military confrontation with the United Kingdom.

Nevertheless, in the past 140 years or so there has been a clear political and technocratic reporting orientation, associated with persisting or diminishing interactions between political and economic systems in the area (and with Britain) and associated too, with British varying degrees of concern about social and economic change in the existing political order (Central America, Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Chile, etc.). In the 19th century, there were opportunities when the approach of the British press was remarkably imperial (like in the case of the coverage of the Revolution of Balmaceda in Chile in 1891), or, as some authors would also call, 'hegemonic'. This imperial perspective notably increased in 1891 due to the fact that Chilean nationalisation policies were threatening mining, shipping, railways, banking and other British interests in Chile, at the time of the peak of the British Empire. But, as seen in this research, this kind of perspective has had some isolated and minor

manifestations recently, too, in some reports on Cuba, Nicaragua or the Falklands.

A mythological approach was also looked for, especially in the 20th century coverage. Bearing in mind that myths' specific function in certain sorts of political reporting, chiefly in 'national' news, is that of frustrating those forces capable of contradicting or removing the mask of the dominant force in a given system, it was thought that this would be reflected in the reporting of Latin American news. But a mythological perspective was found only, in a minimum degree, when some newspapers like The Times, for instance, allowed comments on Cuba by Sir Hubert Marchant (see analysis of 1977), or in a broader sense when the region has been looked at as a 'natural' site for social violence or revolutions (very much associated with the concept of stereotyped views). Latin America is 'alien' to British national life, mythification of the area was not the main character of the British press general approach.

However, all these perspectives have taken place over the years, some with more or less degree, and have co-existed in some cases, within the overall frame of a comparatively little attention paid to the area.

4.2.1
REPORTING THE REGION: A SOCIAL PRACTICE

Those are the general approaches. Within these perspectives, the explanatory levels taken into account

for this research, are the individual, the organisational and the social/historical levels. And it should be remembered that, according to the epistemological premises established for this study, it is assumed that ideologies are present in every social practice, at every single level. At the individual level (related to the social practices of both the journalists and the readers), at least two influences are associated with the low profile of Latin American news: a) little interest in the region which is reflected in lack of adequate information available to both journalists and readers; and b) a prior socialisation (see chapter on ideology) inducing newsmen and public to view Latin America through a fixed historical, social and national perspective of expectations.

The more interest in the are (and subsequently the more amount of available information), the more the number of correspondents or 'specialists' on Latin America, and vice versa. This has only been the case of isolated periods or regions during the past two decades (Chile 1973, Brazil 1980s, Central America 1980s). But the overall tendency towards an increasing interest in Latin America as a whole is evident after the Falklands War, when quantitatively, the coverage of the region rose dramatically in a ratio of almost 1 to 3. This has been reflected in an increasing number of a new generation of stringers and correspondents in the region, some of whom are considered to enjoy a better knowledge of the area than, say, twenty years ago.

As far as socialisation is concerned, British education and news exposure to Latin America have created stereotyped concepts and images that, to some extent, persist up to date and affect perceptions of the region (in the public to a higher degree than in foreign editors). However, as we have seen, those journalists who underwent 'formative experiences' in the area, especially during periods of political or economic crises, have written material containing relatively clear accounts that, in most cases (British correspondents and 'specialists') are less biased than the French or American perspective, which tend to be more analytical/interpretive, and more hegemonic/imperial (proximity/expectancy), respectively.

But surrounding the individual explanatory level for the little amount of news on Latin America in the British press, there is the organisation of Fleet Street in London (chapters on 'Foreign News and the British Press' and on the view of foreign editors and correspondents, in Part II of this research). There is a lack of opportunities for internal feedback and learning about the area; there is a noticeable contradiction between the professional interests of good 'stringers', correspondents or specialised reporters, on the one hand, and on the other, those of the foreign editors: the former concerned with news sources and the reality of the region, the latter with newspaper advertisers, buyers and 'readers demands' (2); there is a segmentation and discontinuity of the information related

to Latin America, which not only lacks a systematic approach, but a clear historical background for the reader, too. In part this could be accounted for by two factors: a) that most of the British and national newspapers are printed in London, therefore there is a tendency to concentrate on national news, and b) the editors have to respond to the public's demands (which do not benefit the interest in Latin America) especially in an epoch when the press competition has gone up in this television era: '...the increasingly competitive 1970s (for the British press) have been followed by further increases in competition in the 1980s' (3). And although according to our enquiries foreign editors in Fleet Street seem to be aware of these factors, and there are increasing pressures from correspondents to change them, the organisation itself of the newspaper appear to make it difficult for any drastic action to be taken in order to effectively change them.

Both the individual and the organisational levels are active and interacting parts of the social/historical level of explanation, in which ideologies are more broadly present at every single instance of the complex of social practices (see chapter on Ideology, in Part 1).

For the complexity of the process of gathering and publishing news on Latin America (slecting it and processing it, determining the extent to which information on the area is distributed to the public at all, withholding knowledge,

deciding the timing of the message distribution, deciding to go with or against the maintenance or reproduction of a particular economic/political order in the area, diminishing or increasing cultural differences between Britain and the region, avoiding or promoting 'bias' in Latin American reporting and so on and so forth), the social/historical level of explanation, with the overall presence of ideologies, is in this research the most powerful in accounting for contradictory findings at other levels of analysis, because, precisely, social events and ideologies are essentially put into motion and developed by multiple and changing contradictions. And it is in this context where the coverage of Latin America, or any coverage for that matter, takes place.

4.2.2 THE CONTENT AND THE PROFESSIONALS

The analysis of the coverage of the 19th century shows that the chief interest in Latin America is political and economic, in that order. Statistically, it shows too a rather balanced approach in terms of the amount of bad and good news, much more so than in the 20th century when the focus is centred mainly on bad news. At a period when Britain had an important economic stake in the region, it is interesting to see that Brazil, Argentina, Chile and Cuba were the countries enjoying the largest amount of information (in that order) which is exactly the same as in the 1970s. But while quantification shows some similarities between the coverage of both periods, an ideological reading

suggests that in the 19th century there was more political bias in the reporting of the area and the general approach was one of an imperial/hegemonic perspective. This is evident in the ideological analysis of the coverage of 1891 and the so called 'Revoltuion of Balmaceda' (see chapter on the analysis of the 19th century), where political bias takes elements of war propaganda, similar to some found in the popular press during the Falklands Conflict (see terminology used in reference to Balmaceda or in reference to the rebel forces in the coverage of the Battle of Pozo Almonte, same chapter).

A sharp dichotomy is used to describe the two sides of the 1891 Revolution against Balmaceda, narrowing the political options of the British readers of that period. Not only were the British economic interests being threatened by Balmaceda's policies in Chile, but the War itself was costing British commerce 'nearly a million sterling', according to Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper.

Not surprisingly, the British press had no sympathy for Balmaceda. And the poor conditions under which the War was being reported allowed the newspapers to inform without any possibility for the readers to check the accuracy of the information. The portrait of Balmaceda in the British press is one of a nearly communist dictator fighting against British economic interests and the best Chilean families. In fact, Balmaceda was a liberal (he was a member of the Liberal Party, which, later on, would

merge with the Conservative Party to form the right-wing National Party), who believed in free enterprise, and a nationalist who wanted to see the natural wealth of his country in the hands of Chileans. Antagonism against Balmaceda was evident in all three newspapers analysed, including The Manchester Guardian, where it was less obvious. The imperial or hegemonic perspective was in many cases explicit: 'It is time that our government began to strengthen the British naval force in the Pacific' (Daily Chronicle) and did not conceal the British economic involvement in Chile's internal political affairs: 'English capital is at the back of the Chilean insurgents' (id.), the insurgents being the 'constitutional' forces fighting the 'dictator', according to the British semantics.

The complexity of political events was extremely simplified, to the extent that all actions were seen as a struggle between 'freedom' and 'oppression'.

Almost a hundred years later, when an historically very similar event occurred in Chile (coup d'etat against Allende), the approach of the British press was quite different: this time Britain did not have conspicuous economic links with the region. One the whole the British view was more independent, contrasting, for instance, with Dr Kissinger's approach, reflected to a large extent in the US coverage (see chapter on 1973). Although there were problems of discontinuity (like the important gap in the story about the tortured sailors), some considerable

background was given before the actual coup. But again Allende's Chile was news anyway. During the events of September 1973, and during the following weeks, British journalists showed an extreme caution (compared to other foreign correspondents in Santiago) and were not so speculative in an extremely uncertain political situation. There was an evident concern for accuracy, in difficult circumstances (see views of correspondents), which at the beginning was more reflected in The Guardian and The Financial Times. The Times shifted its approach (which at the beginning had strong pro-military connotations), by sending their own man on the scene, after Florencia Varas (their Chilean stringer) had created a politically contrasting view with that of the other two newspapers analysed. This period is characterised by a political and technocratic perspective of the British press.

1977 (a 'noraml and tranquil' year in Latin America) proved that certain areas arouse interest only during conflict or critical periods: Chile moved to third place, after Argentina and Brazil, and the amount of 'bad news', with no particular crises, went up to almost 77%.

Most of the stories of this period in all three newspapers were 'bad news': 76.49% of them came under the 'negative' sub-category, and 18.94% under 'positive' (very similar to the findings of the Royal Commission on the Press). The most 'negative' reporting was that of The Times (88.4%). The 'less negative' was The Guardian with 72% of editorial

content on Latin America considered as 'bad news'. Of the 0.16% of editorial content dedicated to Latin America, the main approach of the British press was again one of a political and technocratic perspective (62% of the items were political, and almost 30%, economic). Argentina (one of the case-studies for the ideological reading), which was under a military regime in 1977, offered a contrasting approach for The Guardian and The Financial Times. The former showed a political interest and the latter, an economic/technocratic one. Even the sports pages offer strong connotations of their perspectives (Guardian's coverage of World Cup: 'Argentina, not a safe place for an international sports event'; Financial Times coverage of Argentina's Grand Prix: 'Everything is peaceful and normal for foreign investors under military rule'). The Times' general approach is more difficult to define (although it was mainly political) because of its contradictory coverage, with elements of imperial and mythological perspectives (see its coverage of Cuba and Argentina, 1977) which also lacked of historical background (which is conducive to easy stereotyped views).

The coverage of the Falklands Conflict constitutes a landmark in the way Latin America is covered as a whole. It is a milestone for the attitudes and the reporting approaches 'before' and 'after' the conflict.

The coverage of the war itself posed many problems and contradictions to Fleet Street and the professionals involved, but in the end it meant a re-discovery of the

region, which is demonstrated by the increase in the amount of editorial content, from 0.61% in 1977 to 1.57% in 1983.

This suggests that the interest created by the South Atlantic conflict added to the crisis in Central America, is reflected in the editorial space dedicated to Latin America. Again, after the war, The Guardian is the paper with the largest amount of stories on the region, but this time with 2.27% of its editorial content dedicated to the area, well ahead of The Financial Times (1.44%) and The Times (1%).

.The conflict of th e press, during the war, can be seen at two levels: a) a conflict between Fleet Street and the Ministry of Defence, and b) a conflict between two general appraoches to the South Atlantic Crisis, by different newspapers (see chapter on the coverage of the Falklands War). Broadly speaking these two general approaches can be identified with Colonial, Hegemonic and Mythological perspectives (with elements of inventiveness, bias reporting, stereotyped views, war seen as a game, etc.), mainly represtnted by The Sun, The Daily Express and The Daily Mail; and a more historically political perspective (with elements of professional concern for accurate reporting, and for human cost on both sides), mainly represneted by The Guardian, The Daily Mirror, and, outside Fleet Street, the BBC.

One strong element emerging from all three perspectives, is that of patriotism and nationalism (see chapter on The Falklands War), which was developed within a dramatic atmosphere of competition ('Britain 6 - Argentina 0'), although there were some exceptions, like The Mirror ('Might isn't right', 'Keep on Talking'). During this period, it was mostly the popular press who staged a dramatic patriotic support for the nation, but even the 'quality' papaers denoted this in a more subtle way ('Patriotic instincts have been aroused, and they potentially transcend the dividing lines of class and ideology' - The Guardian). Any dissident ideas or opinions, even hesitation, were either excluded from the majority of the papers or rendered contemptible. Aspects like patriotism, militarism, racism, law and order and private ownership, were organised around the chief, basic concept of nation.

One year later, in 1983, Latin America 'enjoyed' an increased amount of space in the British press, notoriously in The Guardian where the overall space for Latin American stories went up from 1.09% in 1977 to 2.27% in 1983 (The Financial Times follows with 1.44%). The general coverage places Latin America now within a world perspective and tends to be more analytical. Brazil and Argentina are still the two countries with the largest amount of news, but Chile and Cuba are replaced by Central America as a whole (mainly Nicaragua and El Salvador) due

to the political crisis there, and Mexico (together with Brazil and Argentina, due to the international debt problem). The analysis of some of the stories written in the 1970s and 1980s, and the answers given by the foreign editors which show a hegemonic perspective on the area, exhibit a reporting on Latin American news that is approached within the frame of the status-quo in the region, linked to the interests of the 'Western World'. It seems difficult for some foreign editors not to legitimise the structures of existing societies in latin America like the Uruguayan, the Chilean, the Arentinian (before the war), the Brazilianm, the Hondurian, etc.; but they do seem concerned about the radical changes in Nicaragua, the possible collapse of the status-quo in El Salvador, the future of Brazil under a democratic rule and, clearly, about the presence of revolutionary Cuba. Concepts such as 'modernisation', 'traditional', 'social change', under-development', 'economic aid', 'dependence', 'revolution', 'communism', 'progress', 'military regimes', 'left-wing guerrillas', and many others are overall related to the threat to the maintenance of Western interests (or more particularly, British ones, if any), whose values are used as pivotal reference points. And the sympathy, hostility or indifference towards the manifestation of these concepts, are expressed, in some cases, through stereotypes, or fixed images: 'Relative instability of governments induces feeling of irrelevance' (Daily Mail); '...the right wing bias of

of the British press, fials to bring out the conditions of political oppression that exists in almost all the countries of Latin America, and the economic deprivation of the majority of their citizens' (Morning Star); 'Long traditional image of Latin America as continent of banana republics and everyday revolutions, not to be taken seriously' The Observer). Nevertheless, only 7.6% of Fleet Street foreign editors thought that news on Latin America were 'biased' or 'stereotyped'. There is, therefore, little awareness of the existence of some degree of stereotyped images of Latin America amongst foreign editors, while there is evident awareness and concern about this amongst correspondents and stringers.

4.2.3

CONTRADICTING VIEWS: EDITORS AND CORRESPONDENTS

Most of the correspondents interviewed agreed that the coverage of Latin America is poor and that the British public should have more information on the region. There was also concensus about this amongst the foreign editors: 85% of them agreed that this was the case. As pointed out previously, only The Sun and The Daily Mail said that the overall coverage of Latin America was 'good'. But the contradiction between correspondents and foreign editors was evident when ALL correspondents interviewed thought that their particular newspapers had limited space for foreign news and that they should print more editorial content on Latin America, while

70% of the foreign editors thought that their newspapers were doing 'fairly well', and 15% said their coverage was 'good'.

The view of the correspondents is that the space is limited in the British press for all foreign news in general. Limited space, for them, causes the dilemma of knowing how important some Latin American issues are, and knowing, at the same time, that it is extremely difficult to interest editors in countries like Paraguay, Bolivia or Ecuador, unless there is a major crisis. As one correspondent put it, 'you feel you are telling an incomplete story'. The already limited space alloted to foreign news is further reduced when it comes to Latin American stories. Therefore limited space conduces to the problem of lack of continuity. This is a particular problem for 'stringers' who have to 'sell' their stories, and the only way to do this is by sending short, simple and crisp stories, without much background information, without explaining a variety of things that the stringer would like to explain to the readers. In the view of correspondents, it does not only 'make sense' but it is a professional duty to 'follow up' a story, but in most cases this cannot be done because the London practice has been to ignore aspects which constitute news, but which are not taken into account until they become extraordinarily dramatic.

This contrasts, too, with the critical view of correspondents with regards to the general ideological approach to the region. Most of the foreign editors' main

considerations were the financial aspects of the newspaper and the amount of interest in Latin America by the British public, while correspondents' main concern is with the interests of the region they cover. When it comes to an ideological assessment, foreign editors are quite satisfied with the way they cover the area. Correspondents, on the whole, are extremely critical.

As far as lack of interest in the region is concerned, education is the main factor, according to correspondents (some also related this to the lack of continuity, which would create some kind of intellectual 'inertia' that prevents people from getting interested in the region, and this is at the same time reflected in educational programmes for schools). Education is a factor seen at two levels: schooling, on the one hand, and the general cultural information that circulate in Britain, including media output. Some editors and many correspondents suggested that there is not enough basic grounding in the educational system about other parts of teh world with which Britain is not directly related. To them, this is a 'failure' of education. In connection to the cost of reporting the region, one of the correspondents told this researcher: 'The relation is not between cost and sales, but rather between cost and interest, between money and ignorance'.

Most of the foreign editors (62%) and ALL correspondents said that the amount of news on Latin America has increased after the Falklands War. And, apart from Central America as a whole, Brazil, Argentina and Chile were the countries

mostly mentioned by the foreign editors. (The Sun sees the coverage of Latin America as an 'extension' of the coverage of the US and they would send people from New York to cover any major story in Latin America. This 'remoteness' was also shown in The Sun's coverage of the Falklands War).

About three quarters of the printed material on Latin America in the 1970s and 1980s has been written by 'stringers'. The remaining quarter is shared by correspondents news agencies and London based staff, in that order of predominance. This is consistent with some of the comments made by correspondents, too, in the sense that not only there are more stringesr in the region now but they tend to be better informed as well.

As far as the difficulties for the coverage of Latin America by the British press, there were many contradicting assessments, too, between foreign editors, and correspondents (see chapter on their different perspectives). In the minds of foreign editors, cost is the major obstacle for reporting on Latin America, which, on the other hand was a factor easily rejected by a considerable number of correspondents. While foreign editors mention language as one of the difficulties, none of the professionals in the area thought it was an obstacle (most of them speak perfect Spanish). Lack of continuity is one of the problems which only some foreign editors pointed out and all correspondents complained about. The views on aspects such as 'Decline of trade and industrial links', remoteness, irrelevance, lack of interest, lack of knowledge, dominant role of the US

in the area, etc., were also conflicting between foreign editors and correspondents.

On the whole the contradiction of interests between foreign editors and correspondents has its expression in both the approach (or attitude) towards the region as a news-source, and the assessment of the final out-put, together with the reasons behind the character of that out-put. And while all correspondents agree that there should and could be more news on Latin America in the British press, Fleet Street editors are not in accord as to how much of Latin American stories should be printed.

Nevertheless, there has been a shift in opinion from the period previous to the Falklands War to the one after it. In 1980 only 46.1% of the Foreign Editors thought that the coverage of Latin America was 'poor' in contrast to 85% in 1983. In 1980, 46.15% of the Foreign Editors were 'satisfied' with their coverage of the region. Three years later 85% thought that there should be more stories on Latin America in the British press (although 70% stated that their own newspapers in particular were doing 'fairly well' in this field).

But while the internal tensions of interest and views increasingly dvelop in Fleet Street (which is a 'good sign', according to some professionals), the interest in the region, both at the level of foreing editors and British readers, has increased since 1982 (as indeed has the editorial space in the press).

It is diffiuclt to establish which of the following factors contributed mostly to the recent growth of interest in the region: the Falklands war, the political crisis in Central America or the financial problems of most Latin American countries; but what is certain is that, as pointed before, the quantity and the quality of the attention paid to the region could be very precisely categorised into 'before' and 'after' the South Atlantic conflict. And what seems to be encouraging is that the overall ideological approach is shifting from the general undertones of the East-West relations and the particular perspectives analysed before with elements of stereotypes or bias, to an emerging concern for cultural integrity, national sovereignty and political and economic autonomy, which is reflected in some of the analyses by British journalists of the interference of American military, political and economic policies in Central America and other areas of the region, not to mention the American invasion of Grenada. This was also reflected in the interviews held with British correspondents and stringers in Latin America.

4.3
A BRIEF POST-RESEARCH COMMENT ON THE METHODOLOGY USED

Once the analyses of Part III of this research were completed, it was satisfactorily substantiated that both quantitative and qualitative analyses do not exclude, nor, necessarily contradict each other. On the contrary, they

showed to be two integrated tools that cover two different but interrelated areas of the same object of study providing different perspectives on it. The study on the theories of ideology and the chapter on the economic conceptualisation of the media proved not to constitute an end in themselves, but were indispensable for the 'reading' of the texts and for the general assessment of the investigation. As everybody else, this researcher worked on the basis of general concepts and assumptions. Those chapters, plus the one on the historical background and the rest of Part II of this research, provided the overall framework for these concepts and assumptions which were specified and organised so that they are openly available to scrutiny, enabling the limitations of the produced findings to be clearly identified.

The general theory of ideology, the concept of 'social practice' and the epistemological premises drawn out in Part I provided the basis for the analyses of both the contents of the press coverage and the answers given by the journalists to our enquiries. The chapter on the economic conceptualisation of the media made absolute sense with the 'financial' aspect of the ideological explanation given by foreign editors as to why there was so little information on Latin America. All aspects of Parts I, II and III were inter-connected, as a dynamic whole and in a coherent way, at the stage of the final analysis. The ideological, the empirical, the economic, the historical, the organisational, and the professional approaches, for one single object of

study (the coverage of Latin America by the British press) proved, I believe, not merely convergent, but also dialectically complementary. All of them have inherent strengths and, indeed, weaknesses which could only be offset by the others, as far as the limitations of this research permitted.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

PRE-PILOT STUDY

Content analysis carried out on a sample taken between February 28th and March 11th, 1977.

PERCENTAGES:

CLASS /	Natnl.	Intrntnl.	Lat/Am.	Advert.
THE GUARDIAN	50.34	10.51	1.79	37.45
THE TIMES	33.45	11.32	1.55	53.68
THE FIN. TIMES	28.22	15.04	0.50	56.22
THE D. TELEGRAPH	27.00	4.85	0.10	68.04
TOTAL SAMPLE:	35.74	10.43	0.98	53.85

COUNTRIES WITH THE HIGHEST AMOUNT OF Cm/Col:

ARGENTINA	524 Cm/Col	Mostly political & economic
CHILE	284 Cm/Col	Mostly political
BRAZIL	277 Cm/Col	Mostly economic
MEXICO	134 Cm/Col	Mostly economic

(U.S./Lat. America : 137 Cm/Col. ; mostly political)

VENEZUELA had 55,243 Cm/Col., of which ONLY 52 Cm/Col were 'normal' editorial content (overseas news), the rest is accounted for by several paid features pages in The Guardian and The Times.

APPENDIX B

SELECTION OF CONTENTS ON THE 1879's 'PACIFIC WAR', FROM FOUR BRITISH NEWSPAPERS

LLOYD'S WEEKLY NEWSPAPER

January 5, 1879 REVOLT IN MEXICO.

New York, December 28.- Intelligence received here from Mexico states that there has been a short lived rebellion at Tapie. The revolt was crushed, 80 of the insurgents being hanged.

THE BRAZILS

Rio de Janeiro, Dec 8 (Via Lisbon).-A telegram from Ceara reports that the deaths in the city itself from small-pox are 600 daily. The distress in the interior of the province is appalling, and the starving population are said to be devouring carrion and corpses.

JANUARY 12 1879 THE BRAZILS

Rio de Janeiro, Dec 24 (Via Lisbon).- The Brazilian budget has been submitted to the Chamber of Deputies. The expenditure is estimated at 121,119,000 milreis, and the revenue at 101.000.000 milreis, thus leaving a deficit of 20,119,000 milreis, which will be met by new taxation.

A ministerial crisis has occurred, and the Minister of Marine has resigned. The Government proposed the extinction of all monastic orders, and to apply their property to the redemption of the National debt.

(The same story was repeated in January 19th without changing one word)

JANUARY 26 1879 REVOLUTION IN VENEZUELA

New York Jan 23.- The New York papers publish advices from Havanna, according to which it was reported that a revolution was proceeding in Venezuela in favour of Guzman Blanco.

FEBRUARY 16 THE REVOLUTION IN VENEZUELA

New York Feb 14.- According to intelligence published here, the revolutionists in Venezuela were defeated on the 14th inst. by the Government troops, who entered Caracas on the 9th inst.

MARCH 2 1879 CHILI AND BOLIVIA (Repeated again following week)

Santiago Feb 19.- Chilian troops have occupied Caracoles, Antofagasta and Mejillones.

MARCH 9 1879

(Insurrection in the state of Antioquia, Panama, and famine in Bolivia)

MARCH 23 CHILI AND BOLIVIA (Repeated following week)

Santiago, Feb 19 (Via Lisbon).- The Chilian troops, acting in co-operation with the fleet, occupied Auto-Fagasta on the 14th inst., and afterwards took possession of Caracoles and Mejillones, without meeting any resistance. The Bolivian authorities at those places have been superseded. A Chilian war vessel has been sent to Cobija to protect the Chilian subjects residing there. The Chilian Government has declared that in consequence of the Bolivian Government cancelling the concessions made to Chilian subjects, seizing the nirate mines, and refusing to give any explanations in regards to these measures, it (the Chilian Government) has decided to resume the territorial rights it possessed previous to The Treaty of 1866.

The Peruvian Government has refused to mediate between Chili and Bolivia. Senor Balmaceda has been appointed Chilian envoy to the Argentine Confederation.

MARCH 30 1879 CHILI-BOLIVIA
CUBA: INSURRECTIONARY PLOT DISCOVERED

Valparaiso, Feb 27 (Via Lisbon).- Preparations for war are being made on both sides. The Bolivian troops are concentrating in Calama on the frontier, while on the other hand 2,000 Chilian regular troops are being embarked, and the whole of the Chilian fleet have sailed for the Bolivian coast.

(...)The Peruvian Chambers have been convoked in consequence of the threatening aspect of the situation.

The Peruvian fleet have in the meantime been ordered to the Bolivian coast. Peru has made offers of mediation, but the Chilian Government replied that the duties imposed by Bolivia upon the exports of nitrate must be removed before any amicable settlement could be attained. The Peruvian press is strongly hostile to Chili.

APRIL 6 1879 CHILI-BOLIVIA (New accounts)

(Anouncement that Peru has concluded an alliance with Bolivia and declared war against Chili)

(Detailed military movements)

URUGUAY (appointment of new Minister of Finance)

APRIL 27 REVOLUTION IN PANAMA
THE WAR IN SOUTH AMERICA (Chile advancing) It ends:

"Chilian workmen have fled from Peru, and business in the interior (of Peru) is disorganized.

MAY 11 1879 THE WAR IN SOUTH AMERICA

The British residents in the city of Sao Paulo, Brazil, have sent the Lord Mayor, through the Rev. G.D. Quick, the resident chaplain, a sum of 48£ 1 s towards alleviating the distress among their fellow countrymen at home, with the proviso that it is not to be given to families of men on strike or connected with any of the movements which, in their opinion, appear to threaten the trade and prosperity of England. The Lord Mayor has handed over the amount to the poor box.

ARGENTINA

JUNE 1st 1879 THE WAR IN SOUTH AMERICA

New York May 26.- Intelligence from Panama, dated the 17th inst, reports that the Diplomatic Corps at Lima have strongly remonstrated with the Chilian admiral against the destruction of unfortified defenceless places and neutral property. The French Consul at Arequipa has protested against the destruction at Mollendo of a quantity of merchandise belonging to French citizens. The Peruvians at Pisagua fired at the Chilian fleet from an eminence to the rear of the British Consulate, despite the Consul's remonstrances, the result being that the Chilian fire has concentrated in the direction and the Consulate soon destroyed, several persons who had taken refuge in the house being killed.

Rio De Janeiro, May 9.- Intelligence received here from Valparaiso to the 30th inst. announces that the Chilian war vessels continue to destroy the piers and coasting craft in the southern Peruvian ports. They had also threatened to bombard Iquique unless the Peruvians inmediately ceased working the railways, the mines, and the water condensers. The foreign property destroyed at Pisagua by the Chilian bombardment was estimated at 1.500,000 pesos. The Peruvian fleet was still at Callao. One week's notice was given to the Chilian subjects who were expelled from Peru.

MEXICO (Pol. and earthquake)

JUNE 8 1879 THE WAR (Paper money issued by the Chilian Government)
MEXICO (Financial, import duty on cotton)

JUNE 15 1879 MEXICO (Increase import duty on cotton)
THE BRAZILS (Change of Ministers)
THE WAR IN SOUTH AMERICA (Battle Iquique reported to the Admiralty by telegram by the Captain of Her Majesty's ship Turquoise.
THE NAVAL BATTLE OF IQUIQUE
From New York.- One paragraph reads: "Captain Thomas, of the Esmeralda, followed by a few men, junped on board the Huascar, and fell fighting on the deck of that vessel'. (Military, naval and war-economy accounts)

JULY 20 SPAIN AND PERU (Int-Rel)
THE WAR IN SOUTH AMERICA

One paragraph reads: 'The Peruvian Government recently caused the Chilian Envoy and his Secretary to be forcibly removed from a British packet which was at Callao, about to proceed to Central America.

INSURRECTION IN PARAGUAY

JULY 27 1879 THE WAR IN SOUTH AMERICA (1st page)

Among pure information on military strategic movements the following sentence is included: 'The exportation of nitrate from Pisagua since h the declaration of war has been extremely limited, and only about half a dozen cargoes have been sent abroad'.

SEPTEMBER 7 1879 THE WAR IN SOUTH AMERICA (Front page)

Naval and Military accounts and crisis in the Chilean Cabinet: 'The Minister of War is reported to have tendered his resignation in consequence of the censure expressed upon his administration'.

CUBA (End of insurrection)
BRAZIL (Frosts injuring coffee crops)

SEPTEMBER 14 THE SOUTH AMERICAN WAR (Plymouth, Sept 12.Covered through 'The Panama Star and Herald')
International Trade affected by War.

One paragraph reads: 'The British barque Dunrikier, from England to Iqueque, with 750 tons of coals consigned to Messrs. Graham, Rowe, and Co., arrived at Callao on the 30th ult. The Chilian Admiral Williams Rebolledo stopped her entrance into Iquique and proposed to purchase the coal at 31 per ton. This offer was refused by the captain, who said he would proceed to Callao.

SPANISH TROOPS TO CUBA.

BRAZIL (COFFEE crops)

SEPTEMBER 21 1879 THE SOUTH AMERICAN WAR (Bombardment of Antofagasta)
(Political: Change in Chilian Cabinet)

THE CUBAN INSURRECTION

SEPTEMBER 28 1879 THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC (Crisis of Cabinet)
BRAZIL (Extension of the parliamentary sessions)
THE CUBAN INSURRECTION
THE WAR IN SOUTH AMERICA (Resignation of the Minister of War; Financing of the war; Naval Strategy)

OCTOBER 5 1879 CUBA (From Madrid, Insurrection)
THE WAR IN SOUTH AMERICA . Naval and military movements. Then it says:

'The Chilian Chambers have imposed an export duty of 40 centavos per cubic metre upon nitrate of soda .....The Peruvian Government have suspended Treasury payments and have also prohibited the export of silver'.
URUGUAY (Int. trade financial accounts).

OCTOBER 12 1879: MINISTERIAL CRISIS IN URUGUAY
NAVAL VICTORY OF THE CHILIANS
Capture of the Huascar (Reuter's telegram from Valparaiso through Paris) (Repeated)
THE INSURRECTION IN CUBA

OCTOBER 19 1879: THE WAR IN SOUTH AMERICA (First stages)
Ministerial crisis in Uruguay (Repeated)

OCTOBER 26 1879: SANTO DOMINGO (Rising; from New York)
CUBA (Burning of a steamer)
MEXICO (Political positive)
BRAZIL (Budget)
THE WAR IN SOUTH AMERICA

NOVEMBER 2 1879: CUBA (Rep.)
THE REVOLUTION IN SANTO DOMINGO
HAYTI (Political, negative)

NOVEMBER 9 1879: THE Capture of the Huascar (First page)
'Great Naval Battle'

The revolt in Santo Domingo (Repeated)
SLAVERY EMANCIPATION IN CUBA
Mexico (Political, positive)

NOVEMBER 16 1879: The War in South America
Capture of Pisagua

Spain and Peru (Inter. Rel)

Cuba (Rep)

NOVEMBER 23 1879: The War in South America.

(Part) Valparaiso October 22 (Via Lisbon).- A grand demonstration took place here on the 20th inst on the occasion of the Huascar being towed into harbour by the Chilian vessels. The captured flag was carried through the city admist the enthusiastic acclamations of the inhabitants. The turret and the hull of the Peruvian ram are pierced in several places, but the Chilians hope to completely repair the vessel in two week's time.

According to advices from Lima the capture of the Huascar became known in that city on October 10, when a riotous popular and military demonstration against the President and the Government took place. The Peruvian Cabinet resigned on the following day.
(...)

According to the latest accounts from the seat of war on the western coast the Chilian army is advancing, while the Bolivians are said to be about to retire in consequence of disputes having arisen between them and the Peruvians.

SPAIN AND CUBA (On the insurrection, pos)

SPAIN AND PERU (Treaty of peace and friendship)

NOVENBER 30 1879: THE SOUTH AMERICAN WAR
ANOTHER CHILIAN VICTORY (Capture of Pisagua and Iquique)
Sources: Panama (Via Lisbon), Rio de Janeiro (intelligence received here) and Paris (Private telegrams received here)

SAN DOMINGO (from San Domingo)
President Guillermon defeated by the revolutionist.

CUBA-SPAIN From Madrid, debates in the Congress about affairs in Cuba

DECEMBER 7 1879: SPAIN AND CUBA (First page, debates, positive)

CUBA (defeat of the insurgents)

PERU (Revolution believed to be eminent)

SAN DOMINGO (Revolution)

THE WAR IN SOUTH AMERICA (More victories of the Chilians)

DECEMBER 14 1879: SAN DOMINGO (Triumph of the revolutionists)

SPAIN AND CUBA (Reinforcement of the Army in Cuba by 1,600 men)

BRAZIL (Rejectionof the Electoral Bill by the Senate)

THE WAR BETWEEN CHILI AND PERU (Reuter's agency)
Part: 'The Chilian Army continues to advance...The British Minister has arranged an exchange of prisioners'.

DECEMBER 21 1879: THE SOUTH AMERICAN WAR:

(Second part statees:)

LIST OF THE ENGLISH PRISIONERS

We have received from the Chilian Consulate the following list of the English members of the crew of the Huascar, who were taken prisioners at the capture of that vessel:-
(List including chief engineer; second, third, fourth engineers; quartermasters, a blacksmith, gunners; a cabin boy; fireman; and stokers)

'The Consul fears that if there were any other English members of the crew whose names are not given in the above list, they have been either killed or are missing'.

DECEMBER 28 1879: CUBA (Revolution)

THE SOUTH AMERICAN WAR

In part it states:

Buenos Ayres, Dec 2 (Via Lisbon).-The prevalent opinion here is that the war on the west coast is practically at an end, the armies of the allies being reported to be in a state of complete desolution.

Revolutions are anticipated in both countries.

If, as expected, the Peruvians and Bolivians sue for peace, the Argentine Goverment will probably sen Senor Mitre as special envoy to Chili to take part in the peace negotiations.

JANUARY 10 1879: BRAZIL (Ministerial programme on Legislature

ARGENTINA (National revenue exceeding that of previous year)

ARAUCANIA (CHILE) Reuter's

Valparaiso, Dec 3 (Via Lisbon).- Small-pox is raging among the Araucarian Indians, whor are being decimated by the epidemic.

JANUARY 13 1879: THE BRAZILS (Brazilian Budget)

JANUARY 20, 1879 :

ARGENTINA.

The Provincial chamber of Deputies have held stormy sittings relative to the revenue law for 1879, and the Minister of Finance, in view of the arguments employed, has consented to withraw the provisions which are offensive to dealers in tobacco and spirits.

CHILI (Discussion on the treaty with Argentina)

THE BRAZILS (Minister urging that a law should be enacted making education obligatory)

JANUARY 24 1879

MEXICO (Re-establishment of relations with the Vatican)

SAN DOMINGO (Spanish Vice Consul expelled)

VENEZUELA (Revolution proceeding in this country)

MARCH 19 1879

THE COSTA RICA LOAN (Public Meeting)

'...for the purpose of appointing our independent committee of and for the vond holders of the said loan to negociate with the Government of The Republic of Costa Rica, with a view to the resumption of payment of interest due by the Republic to the bondholders, and to take such other necessary steps as may tend to the better preservation of their interests. ...Some discussion then took place, in which the conduct of the Costa Rica Government was very adversely criticised.

MARCH 22 1879

CHILI AND BOLIVIA, Chilian troops occupying Antofagasta without meeting any resistance.

URUGUAY: Pol., elections announced

THE BRAZILS: Small-pox epidemic

MARCH 24 1879

VENEZUELA: New Cabinet

MARCH 29 1879

CHILI AND BOLIVIA (Eminent war)
Reuter's from Plymouth, quite a complete account of the political events between the two countries.

MARCH 31 1879

BRAZIL: Budget and politics

BRAZIL AND CANADA: (Talks to open a line of steamers)

CONSPIRACY IN CUBA: (insurrectionary plot discovered)

CHILI AND BOLIVIA: Preparations for war on both sides

The Daily Chronicle had a 'section' headed 'South America' in which several countries were included each time this section was published, except when there was a particularly relevant story, like the war betwwen Chile and Bolivia, or the insurrection against Spain in Cuba. This section appreared with an average frequency of 18 times per month. (Better than today's)

APRIL 29, (Section on the House of Commons), the paper published the following intervention under the heading: 'THE SOUTH AMERICAN WAR':

"Mr. Anderson asked the Under Secretary of State for foreign Affairs if the Government had received any information as to the bombarding of the defenceless town in Pisagua by the Chilian fleet; if he would say what British ships were present in those maters; and, if he would consider the necessity of reinforcing them for the better protection of British subjects during what might be a long and bitter war'.

MAY 1st 1879

THE WAR IN SOUTH AMERICA (Vatican asking the 3 countries to end the War)

CHINESE COOLIES IN CUBA

SOUTH AMERICAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY (28th Anniversary meeting of this society)

MAY 3 1879

BUENOS AYRES AND ENSENADA
PORT RAILWAY COMPANY Ordinary meeting

MAY 5 1879

SANTIAGO (Declaration of war against Peru and Bolivia'received here with great enthusiasm'.)

BUENOS AYRES (Amendment);

'The band of indians which has entered San Luiz on a morauding expedition, numbers 200 and not 2,000 men, as previously reported'.

MAY 7. 1879

PERUVIAN BONDHOLDERS

(Extract) 'That this meeting...respectfully suggests to her Majesty's Government that as they consider Her Majesty's Government would interpose in the event of the Peruvians taking possession of the merchandise of property of British subjects in Peru, so they respectfully hope that a similar interference will be vouchsafed on behalf of the bond holders whilst the Peruvian Government are taking possession of the merchandise hypothecated to British subjects'.

MAY 8

BRAZIL (Reuter's) (Via Lisbon)

(Account of a discussion in the Chamber of Deputies over Banking and financial affairs)

MAY 12 1879

CHILI AND PERU (Reuter's telegram)

Berlin, May 10.- 'The Official Gazette publishes an article upon the situationo of affairs in the Pacific caused by the war between Chili, Bolivia and Peru. It says:- "Beside the Hansa, which has already being ordered by telegraph to proceed from the coast of Brazil to Valparaiso, a German gunboat has been ordered to be dispatched at once and permanently stationes in those waters. As the other maritime powers, especially England, have important commercial and shipping interests to protect in the above-mentioned Republics, an opportunity may perhaps be found for join action in the case of certain eventualities'.

MAY 15 1879

CHILE AND PERU Account of military movements

PANAMA Discussions about the cutting of a canal through the Ithmus .

SOUTH AMERICA Mixed information on Panama, Colombia and the war between Chile and Peru and Bolivia.

MAY 19 1879

ARGENTINE CONFEDERATION (Elections for the Provincial Chambers)

THE BRAZILS(Annullation of an election of a Senator)

MAY 20 1879

THE PANAMA CANAL (discussions in Paris)

THE WAR BETWEEN CHILI AND PERU (Doesn't include Bolivia!)

(The House of Commons):

Her Majesty's Government have tendered to both belligerants their good offices, with a view to the settlement of the question'.

MAY 23

BUENOS AYRES GREAT SOUTHERN RAILWAY COMPANY (Account of meeting of shareholders)

ARGENTINE REPUBLIC (Presentation of credencials of the new French Minister to Argentina)

MAY 24 1879

THE BOLIVIAN LOAN APPEAL (Included in the section called 'Law Intellicence')
(Hearing involving railway interests in Bolivia and Brazil)

THE BRAZILS (Duty on foreign salt)

MAY 28 1879THE WAR IN SOUTH AMERICA (From Rio de Janeiro)

ARGENTINA (Export trade)

BRAZIL (Opening of Brazilian Chambers)

URUGUAY (Diplomatic relations between Uruguay and Great Britain)

MAY 29 1879

THE BOLIVIAN LOAN (Finantial page)

MAY 30 1879

THE BRAZILS (Agriculture-bad weather)

MEXICO (Internal economic policy)

CHILE & PERU (WAR ACCOUNTS) Naval Battle of Iquique

JULY 10 1879

CUBA (Revolt)

THE PANAMA CANAL

JULY 16 1879

MEXICO (Appointment of ministers)

JULY 17 1879

THE WAR (Supreme Court of Peru orders the detention of German steamer Luxor)

JULY 19 1879

THE WAR (Chilian fleet blockading Iquique)

INSURRECTION IN PARAGUAY

JULY 21 1879

SPAIN AND PERU (Renewal of relations)

(CUBA: House of Lords on Slavery in Cuba)

JULY 23 1879

BRAZIL: 'The new Brazil gold loan of 50,000,000 milreis has been issued at 96, in bonds to the bearer, with interest at 4½ per cent. The coupon is payable in Brazil and in Lisbon, London and Paris'.

CHILE & ARGENTINA (maintaintion of status quo in the Patagonian affair: ratification of the Treaty of 1878

JULY 24 1879

HAYTI (riots and fire)

July 28 1879

THE WAR (Naval Battle of Iquique as published by El Peruano, Lima and British diplomatic efforts to conceive peace)

SEPTEMBER 6 1879

CUBA & USA (Cuban refugees arriving to USA)

SEPTEMBER 16 1879

CUBA (Reuter's from New York) (In part:)

'...the Spanish Government will propose to the Cortes to emancipate the slaves in July, 1880, on condition of seven years obligatory Labour, for which the slaves would receive wages'.

SEPTEMBER 17 1879

CUBA (80 insurgents surrender to the Authorities)

SEPTEMBER 18 1879

WAR IN SOUTH AMERICA (Reconstruction of Chilian Cabinet, naval movements)

BRAZIL (FINancial matters)

SEPTEMBER 22

THE CUBAN INSURRECTION (State of Siege)

THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC (Ministerial crisis)

BRAZIL (Prolongation of Chambers sessions)

SEPTEMBER 23 1879

CUBA (Insurrection and demands by Cuban slave proprietors to free the slaves)

SEPTEMBER 25 1879

CUBA: SIX THOUSAN SLAVES SET AT LIBERTY

SEPTEMBER 26 1879

CUBA: (Insurrection) (Reuter's. In part:)

'...three leaders of the late insurrection have been assassinated at Colon, on suspicion of sympathising with the present rising in Cuba.'

SEPTEMBER 27 1879

SLAVERY IN CUBA: (Reuters) (In part)

'...a band of negroes and eight pirate individuals have been defeated in an encounter with the Royal Troops...the slave owners...are disposed to co-operate in the measures for the abolition of slavery, and rely on the promise that this question and the regulatinf of labour of the slaves shall before long receive a solution .'

NOVEMBER 6 1879

CUBA (Insurrection pacified)

NOVEMBER 18 1879 (REUTERS)

THE SOUTH AMERICAN WAR (Huascar towed to Valparaiso, great demonstration) (Political crisis in Peru)

THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC (Exchange rising and purchasing of 2 more ironclads)

THE BRAZILS (Extraordinary session of the Legislature to discuss Electoral Bill)

NOVEMBER 19 1879

THE CAPTURE OF THE HUASCAR (Official report by the Commander of the Chilean Squadron, Galvarino Riveros, published completely.)

NOVEMBER 24 1879

THE SOUTH AMERICAN WAR (Re-establishment of the blockade of Peruvian ports)

NOVEMBER 25 1879

THE SOUTH AMERICAN WAR, DEFEAT OF THE ALLIES (Capture of Pisagua; Reuter's telegram, fron New York, dated in Panama, Nov.15)

SAN DOMINGO (President Guillermon defeated)

CUBA (War against insurgents)

NOVEMBER 27 1879

THE SOUTH AMERICAN WAR (Chileans have taken Iquique)

CUBA (Senate debating Bill on slavery freedom)

NOVEMBER 28 1879

CHILI AND PERU: (Chilians have occupied Iquique)

THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN

JANUARY 4 1879:

BRAZIL AND THE RIVER PLATE (Via Lisbon) (Import Tariff)

ARGENTINA & CHILE (Treaty on Patagonia)

JANUARY 10 1879

PARAGUAY (Crops destroyed)

CHILE (Small-pox)

BRAZIL (Production and expenditure)

JANUARY 13 1879

BRAZIL (Budget submitted to the Chambers of Deputies)

JANUARY 20 1879

ARGENTINA(Revenue law for 1879: stormy sittings at the Chamber of Deputies)

BRAZIL (Via Lisbon) Rio de Janeiro, January 1.-The Minister of Empire urges that a law should be enacted making education obligatory

CHILI (Discussion of the Treaty with Argentina)

JANUARY 24 1879

SAN DOMINGO (Spanish Vice-Consul dismissed by the local government) (Madrid)

VENEZUELA (from New York) (Revolution proceeding here)

JANUARY 27 1879

URUGUAY (Extradition treaty between Uruguay and Brazil ratified)

BRAZIL (Sale of currency bonds and small-pox in the north-east)

ARGENTINA (Quarantine imposed upon animals from Brazil)

CHILE (Treaty with Argentina)

MARCH 10 1879

PANAMA (Insurrection here) (from New York)

MARCH 15 1879

VENEZUELA (from New York) (Peace restored throughout the country)

MARCH 18 1879

BOLIVIA & CHILI : Without any previous background on the subject, the following is published by the first time:

Nwe York; 'According to advices received here from Lima to February 26, via Panama, the Bolivian Government, before declaring war against Chili, was awaiting the action of the Peruvian Government, which has sent to Chili a protest against the occupation of Bolivian ports.'

MARCH 19 1879

THE COSTA RICA LOAN (from London)

BOLIVIA AND CHILE (Bolivians called to arms)

MARCH 24 1879

CHILI & BOLIVIA (Chile occupies Antofagasta)

VENEZUELA (Appointment of new Cabinet)

MARCH 31 1879

CONSPIRACY IN CUBA (from New York Discovery of plot)

CHILI AND BOLIVIA PREPARING FOR WAR (Via Lisbon)

BRAZIL (Budget and rains affecting agriculture)

MAY 1 1879

CHILI & ARGENTINA (Chilian envoy to Buenos Ayres to arrange dispute over Patagonia)

MAY 3 1879

THE WAR IN SOUTH AMERICA (Victory of Chilians over Bolivia at Calama)

MAY 5 1879

THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC (Band of indians entering San Luiz)

THE WAR IN SOUTH AMERICA (by telegraph via Lisbon) (Declaration of war against Peru & Bolivia received with great enthusiasm in Santiago)

MAY 12 1879

COLUMBIA (Revolution finished)

THE WAR (Telegraph line between Peru adn Europe interrupted.

MAY 19 1879

THE WAR IN SOUTH AMERICA (Chilians ordered to leave Lima) (Military accounts)

ARGENTINA (Elections annulled)

MAY 26 1879

THE WAR IN SOUTH AMERICA
San Francisco.-Her Majesty's iron-clad Triumph has sailed hence for Valparaiso to wtch the proceedings of the belligerents in the war between Chili and Bolivia, and to protect the interests of British subjects.

BRAZIL (Issue ofpaper money)

MAY 28 1879

THE WAR IN SOUTH AMERICA - GREAT DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY. (Includes short news about Argentina Uruguay and Brazil)

MAY 30 1879

THE WAR (Naval Battle in Iquique)

MEXICO (Financial problems)

MAY 31 1879

NAVAL ENGAGEMENT OF IQUIQUE

JULY 1 1879

SPAIN AND SAN DOMINGO (Warnings of blockade by Spain) .

VENEZUELA (Treaty of commerce with Spain)
(Both from Madrid)

JULY 2 1879

THE WAR (Including a story on Uruguay issuing paper money)

JULY 4 1879

THE WAR (Naval action)

SAN DOMINGO (Disturbances outside Senate House)

JULY 5 1879

CHILI & THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC (refusal of Argentine Senate to approve draft of a treaty with Chile)

THE REVOLT IN HAYTI

JULY 9 1879

MEXICO (Revolutionary agitation)

HAYTI REVOlution here)

JULY 10 1879

THE REVOLT IN MEXICO

JULY 11 1879

PANAMA CANAL TALKS

THE ARGENTINE CONFEDERATION (Treaty with Chile)

BRAZIL (Economic affairs)

JULY 17 1879

PERU (Further detention of German steamer Luxor)

THE WAR (Military movements of Chilian troops in the south of Peru)

JULY 18 1879

THE PACIFICATION OF CUBA (Discussed in the Chamber of Deputies)

JULY 23 1879

THE WAR (Naval action and efforts made by Chilian envoys to Argentina in order to improve relations)

JULY 24 1879

THE REVOLT IN HAYTI (30 persons killled in the latest riots at Port-au-Prince)

JULY 26 1879

THE WAR (Envoy sento by Ecuador to Chile to mediate)

THE REVOLT IN PARAGUAY (Proclamation of martial law)

JULY 29 1879

THE WAR (In 'Summary of news', in part:)

'The officers of Her Majesty's ship Turqueoise "fished up" the flags of the Chilian war vessel Esmeralda and presented them to the officers of the Covadonga, in testimony of their admiration of the valour which the officers and crew of the Esmeralda had shown in their unequal fight with the Huascar'.

SEPTEMBER 1 1879

BRAZIL (Gold loan)

THE WAR (Huascar being pursued by Chilian fleet)

SEPTEMBER 3 1879

THE AGITATION IN CUBA

SEPTEMBER 8 1879

CUBA (Insurrection)

BRAZIL (Mission to China)

SEPTEMBER 16 1879

CHILE (Exasperationin Santiago for the capture by Huascar of transport Rimac)

SLAVERY IN CUBA (Slaves demanding liberty)

SEPTEMBER 17 1879

SPAIN AND CUBA (Schemes of reforms to be introduced for the abolition of slavery)

THE WAR (Rumor of peace negotiations with U.S. envoy)

SEPTEMBER 18 1879

THW WAR (Chilian Minister denies rumors of peace negotiations)

SEPTEMBER 19 1879

THE WAR (New Cabinet in Santiago and more naval actions)

SEPTEMBER 22 1879

THE WAR (Bombardment of Antofagsta by Huascar)

THE CUBAN INSURRECTION

THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC (Crisis of Cabinet)

SEPTEMBER 25 1879

CUBA (Cuban planters voluntarily manumitting the slaves of their plantations)

SEPTEMBER 26 1879

THE INSURRECTION IN CUBA

SEPTEMBER 27 1879

ENCOUNTER WITH SLAVES IN CUBA

SEPTEMBER 29 1879

THE WAR (Allies moving to Atacama)

NOVEMBER 1 1879

SAN DOMINGO (Blockeade proclamed at Pto. Plata)

NOVEMBER 3 1879

THE CAPTURE OF THE HUASCAR (Naval action and Chilean Army marching on Iquique)

NOVEMBER 5 1879

THE CAPTURE OF THE HUASCAR

NOVEMBER 6 1879

THE WAR (Huascar in Chilean hands)

INSURRECTION IN CUBA

NOVEMBER 7 1879

MEXICO (Frontier discussions with Washington)

CUBA (Insurrection and emancipation of slaves)

NOVEMBER 10 1879

CUBA (Reinforcements for Cuba sailing from Spain)

NOVEMBER 11 1879

THE WAR (Chilians have taken Pisagua: riots in Peru)

NOVEMBER 12 1879

THE WAR (Prisioners arriving to Valparaiso)

NOVEMBER 13 1879

THE WAR (Naval forces in main Chilean port)
BRAZIL (Budget crisis)
THE REVOLUTION IN SANTO DOMINGO (Repeated)
MEXICO (Political)

NOVEMBER 14 1879

THE WAR (Chilean troops to Pisagua)
(Naval account from Valparaiso --Reuter's telegram through Paris)
(More information about HUASCAR)
SANTO DOMINGO (From New York)
HAYTI (Political, negative)

NOVEMBER 15 1897

THE WAR (Huascar towed to Valparaiso)
SLAVERY EMANCIPATION IN CUBA
URUGUAY CABINET
CHILE (Plans to repair Vessel)
PERU (Peruvian Cabinet resignation)

NOVEMBER 16 1879

THE WAR (Capture of Pisagua by Chilean forces)
(Demonstrations in Valparaiso: '... The captured flag was carried through the city amidst the enthusiastic acclamations of the inhabitants... on the Western Coast the Chilian army is advancing, while the Bolivians are said to be about to retire in consequence of disputes arisen between them and the Peruvians'.
SPAIN AND PERU (Int. Relations)
THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC (Two more ironclads)

NOVEMBER 17 1879

CUBA (Fresh insurrection broken here)

SPAIN & PERU (Friendship treaty)

NOVEMBER 19 1879

PERU (Panama) (Purpose of purchasing an iron-clad to replace Huascar)

CHILE (Chilian Admiral's account of the capture of the Huascar)

THE WAR (Demonstrations in Valparaiso when Huascar being towed into the harbour)

NOVEMBER 24 1879

THE WAR (Blockade of Peruvian ports)

NOVEMBER 25 1879

IMPORTANT CHILIAN SUCCESS (Chileans have taken Iquique)

SAN DOMINGO (President Guillermo defeated)

ATTACK ON CUBAN INSURGENTS

NOVEMBER 26 1879

CUBA (Reform in progress)

NOVEMBER 27 1879

CUBA (The Spanish Garrison there)

THE WAR (Capture of Pisagua)

NOVEMBER 28 1879

THE WAR (Chile occupies Iquique)

APPENDIX C

THREE SAMPLE PAGES OF TABLES USED AT THREE DIFFERENT STAGES OF THE QUANTITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS

F.T. 19 APR T= 12.960 [cm/col] = 100%

N	I	LA	C
216	398		
168	326	80	C Agent Pol Neg
342	166	44	C Aide Ec Neg
204	432	12	A Agent Ec Neg
210	140		
186	206		
218	220		
390	262		
296	180		
254	96		
324			
166			
276			
218			
386			
108			
206			
216			
258			
4,642	2,486	136	

F.T. 20 APR T= 18,444 [cm/col] = 100%

168	138		
100	320	30	C USA/L.A. Intnl Pos
294	213	20	A Arge Pol Neg
352	432	8	A Peru Intnl Neg
256	210	20	C Arg Ec Pos
432	182		
168	156		
204	182		
320	162		
250	216		
176	160		
216	144		
124	216		
160	130		
364	240		
408	292		
218	244		
216			
366			
4,794	3,647	78	380

THE GUARDIAN

	TOT cm/cl	NAT	INT	LAT.AM.	
	8,640	4,756	1,097	65	
	10,368	5,084	879	8	
	10,368	5,377	1,038	273	
	8,640	5,010	784	–	
	10,368	4,299	905	560	*
	8,640	4,404	1,204	104	
	8,640	5,292	1,020	–	
	9,504	5,103	866	–	
	10,368	4,864	1,230	–	
10	12,960	4,636	1,274	984	*
	8,640	4,484	1,164	47	
	10,368	5,062	840	6	
	10,368	5,470	1,444	238	
	8,640	5,030	832	–	
	10,368	4,305	600	152	
	8,640	4,404	1,198	120	
	8,640	6,492	1,008	–	
	9,504	5,086	886	–	
	10,368	4,864	1,200	12	
20	12,960	4,636	1,478	172	
	8,640	4,756	1,097	65	
	10,368	5,058	899	16	
	10,368	5,294	1,204	244	
	8,640	4,554	850	–	
	10,368	5,146	1,038	56	
	10,368	5,662	928	52	
	10,368	4,590	986	618	*
	8,640	4,314	1,256	126	
	8,640	4,780	1,166	64	
30	10,368	5,056	1,026	6	
	10,368	5,468	1,244	186	
	8,640	4,986	868	–	
	10,368	5,210	634	142	
	8,640	4,518	1,252	84	
	10,368	4,306	898	140	
	8,640	4,442	1,230	124	
	8,640	5,206	1,146	8	
	9,504	5,178	920	40	
	10,368	4,636	1,274	172	
40	10,368	5,294	735	33	
	10,368	5,090	932	8	

GN' (cont)

COUNTRY	AMOUNT	ORIGIN	CATEG	DOLAR:
Argentine	8	A	Pol	Neg
Chile	48	C	Pol	Neg
Panamé	12	A	Pol	Neg
Brazil	70	A	Ec	Pos
Argentine	8	A	Pol	Neg
Argentine	10	A	Pol	Neg
Brazil	32	A	Ec	Neg
Cuba	6	A	Pol	Neg
Argentine	18	A	Pol	Neg
Argentine	146	C	Pol	Neg
USA/L.A.	10	A	Int/Rel	Neut
Chile	18	A	Pol	Neg
Mexico	12	A	Pol	Neg
Peru	28	A	Pol	Pos
Argentine	128	C	Pol	Neg
Argentine	200	C	Pol	Neg
Brazil	8	A	Ec	Pos
Mexico	60	C	Int/Rel	Pos
Cuba	3	A	Pol	Pos
Argentine	180	A	Pol	Neg
El Salvador	60	A	Pol	Neg
Mexico	60	C	Int/Rel	Neut
Brazil	30	A	Ec	Neg
Brazil	6	A	Ec	Neg
Peru	5	A	Pol	Neg
Argentine	46	C	Pol	Neg
Argentine	104	C	Pol	Neg
Argentine	8	A	Pol	Neg
Chile	46	A	Pol	Neg
Brazil	120	C	Int/Rel	Neg
Mexico	62	A	Pol	Pos
USA/Panamé	70	C	Int/Rel	Neg
Argentine	58	C	Pol	Neg
Chile	16	A	Pol	Neg
Argentine	80	C	Pol	Neg
Chile	40	A	Ec	Pos
Chile	9	A	Pol	Neg
Panamé	32	A	Int/Rel	Neg
Argentine	6	A	Pol	Neg
Brazil	12	A	Pol	Neg
Argentine	12	A	Ec	Neg
Colombie	6	A	Pol	Neg

APPENDIX D

LETTER SENT TO THE FOREIGN EDITORS WITH FIRST QUESTIONNAIRE

SAMPLES OF RETURNED QUESTIONNAIRES AND OF LETTERS SENT BY FOREIGN EDITORS.

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Sociology Professor C. J. Tunstall

MB/RN

20th March, 1979

John Moger,
Foreign Editor,
Daily Mail,
Northcliffe House,
London EC4Y OJA.

Dear Mr. Moger,

I am writing to ask you for your co-operation in a small research project being undertaken in this department. It would be a great help if you would fill in the enclosed questionnaire and return it in the self-addressed envelope provided. It should take only a few minutes of your time and would be most useful to Mr. Aguirre - who is doing the research - in compiling information on the coverage of Latin American news in the British press.

Thank you in advance for your co-operation.

Yours sincerely,

M Barrett

Dr. Michèle Barrett
Lecturer in Sociology

THE TIMES

Times Newspapers Limited, P.O. Box no. 7, New Printing House Square,
Gray's Inn Road, London WC1X 8EZ (registered office)
Telephone 01-837 1234 Telex 264971 Registered no. 894646 England

May 1, 1979

Dear Mr Aguirre,

I enclose replies to the questions which you sent to Charles Douglas-Home, and which he passed on to me. I apologize for the delay -- the result of the problems which we're having here -- and hope this isn't too late.

Yours sincerely,

Peter Strafford

Peter Strafford
Latin America writer

Daily Express

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Does your newspaper have (please tick)

   a) Correspondents in Latin America? How many?

   b) Stringers in Latin America? How many? 2.

   c) Specialists based in London? How many?

   d) Other (please specify)

   .....

2. What international news agencies cover Latin America for your newspaper?

   .....Reuter / A.P. / U.P.I.....

3. Do you use 'free-lance' material on Latin America? ~~Yes~~/No

4. Of the stories on Latin America that you publish are they mostly from

   a) Agencies

   b) your own staff

5. Could you give the rough proportions?

   a) from agencies ..50.. %

   b) from own staff ..... %

   c) from free-lancers ..50.. %

   d) Other (please specify) ..... %

6. Roughly, what proportion do you publish of all Latin American stories that arrive from all sources?

   .....Perhaps 10%.....

7. Which THREE Latin American countries do you cover most in your paper?

   I .Argentine..... II ..Mexico..... III .Brazil.....

8. What type of Latin American news do you most often publish?
(Please tick TWO)

a) Economic
b) Political
c) International Relations
d) Disasters ✓
e) Sports ✓
f) Other ✓

9. Do you think British Press coverage on Latin America in general is
(Please tick TWO)

a) Accurate
b) Biased
c) Stereotyped
d) Poor ✓
e) Of British interest ✓
f) Other .....

10. Can you say why? ...latin America lacks little.....
...interest on economic + political business.....
...readers) more popular British newspapers...
.....

11. Are you satisfied with your own coverage of Latin America?
.....Yes - we can meet all our needs.

12. What obstacles (if any) prevent your giving better coverage?
.....Possibly great possibly staff.....
...cover occasional special lack busi...
...Such target excluded lotty (as).....
.....cost bias.....
.....
.....
.....

Thank you for your valuable co-operation.

Peter Stratford
L.A. writer

The Times

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Does your newspaper have (please tick)

a) Correspondents in Latin America? No. How many? None

b) Stringers in Latin America? Yes How many? 4

c) Specialists based in London? Yes How many? One

d) Other (please specify)

.....

2. What international news agencies cover Latin America for your newspaper?

Reuter, AFP, UPI, AP

.....

3. Do you use 'free-lance' material on Latin America? Yes/~~No~~

4. Of the stories on Latin America that you publish are they mostly from

a) ~~agencies~~

b) your own ~~staff~~ stringers.

5. Could you give the rough proportions?

a) from agencies ..40.. %

b) from own ~~staff~~ in London ..10.. %

c) from ~~free-lancers~~ stringers ..50.. %

d) Other (please specify) ..... %

6. Roughly, what proportion do you publish of all Latin American stories that arrive from all sources?

.....25%.....

7. Which THREE Latin American countries do you cover most in your paper?

I ...Brazil..... II Argentina. III ..Chile.....

8. What type of Latin American news do you most often publish?
(Please tick TWO)

a) Economic ✓
b) Political ✓
c) International Relations
d) Disasters
e) Sports
f) Other

9. Do you think British Press coverage on Latin America in general is
(Please tick TWO)

a) Accurate ✓
b) Biased
c) Stereotyped
d) Poor
e) Of British interest
f) Other ..Not enough of it ✓

10. Can you say why? .....
.....Rightly or wrongly, even in Latin America are seen as having little bearing on British or international concerns! There is also little knowledge of the area.....

11. Are you satisfied with your own coverage of Latin America?
* .....No - there should be more of it - and better informed

12. What obstacles (if any) prevent your giving better coverage?
.....Latin America is a large and diverse area, far from Britain, which means that it is expensive to cover, even with a staff correspondent based here. It is also hard to find good stringers, even in the main capitals. Finally, our own people need to be more alert to Latin American news....

Thank you for your valuable co-operation.

APPENDIX E

LETTER SENT TO FOREIGN EDITORS WITH SECOND QUESTIONNAIRE

SAMPLES OF RETURNED QUESTIONNAIRES AND ENCLOSED LETTERS

RP

THE CITY UNIVERSITY
Northampton Square London EC1V 0HB
telephone: 01-253 4399 telex: 263896

Department of Social Science and Humanities
Head of Department Professor C.D. Harbury
Economics Professor C.D. Harbury
Philosophy Dr. H.P. Rickman
Psychology Dr. M.E. Wood
Sociology Professor C.J. Tunstall

Alan Shillum,
News Editor,
Daily Mirror,
Holborn Circus,
London EC1P 1DQ.

30th September, 1983

Dear Mr. Shillum,

PABLO AGUIRRE is a research student at The City University and under my supervision is completing a thesis on the coverage of Latin America by the British press. I would be very grateful if you could assist him by answering the enclosed questionnaire, which I am sure will only take a few minutes of your time and will be of great help for Pablo's research.

Yours sincerely,

Jeremy Tunstall

Jeremy Tunstall

SUNDAY TELEGRAPH

135 FLEET STREET LONDON EC4P 4BL TELEPHONE: 01-353 4242 TELEGRAMS: TELESUN LONDON EC4
TELEX: 22874 TELENEWS LONDON

19-IV-1977

Dear Mr Aguirre,

I enclose the completed questionnaire which you requested for the purposes of your research. I trust it meets your requirements

Yours sincerely

Craig Evans

Managing Editor

SUNDAY TELEGRAPH LIMITED REGISTRATION NO. 667848 ENGLAND
REGISTERED OFFICE 135 FLEET STREET LONDON EC4P 4BL

SUND. TELEGR.

QUESTIONNAIRE
Latin America and the British Press

The City University

(Please tick the appropriate boxes)

In your opinion, the coverage of Latin America by the British press is

GOOD ☐
POOR ☑

How do you think your particular newspaper is covering Latin America at the moment?

WELL ☑
FAIRLY WELL ☐
BADLY ☐

AFTER the Falklands crisis, the amount of news on Latin America has

INCREASED ☐
DECREASED ☐
STAYED THE SAME ☑

Which are the main sources for your coverage of Latin America?

OWN CORRESPONDENT ☑
STRINGERS ☑
NEWS AGENCIES ☐
LONDON STAFF ☐
OTHER ☐

Do you think the British public should get more information about Latin America?

YES ☑

NO ☐

WHY 'YES', OR WHY 'NO'?

Because it is a growing and important area politically and commercially - and, of course, because the world is becoming a smaller place as regards trade and, to all intents and purposes politically, all the time.

Please write down which are the Latin American...

a) AREAS — The whole of South America and Central America

b) COUNTRIES — Brazil, Venezuela, Chile, Peru because of the effect anything they do has on the rest of world.

c) TOPICS — Economic affairs, trade possibilities, the protection and growth of democratic government.

...which interest you more.

Which are the main difficulties, if any, for covering Latin America?

The physical problem of covering very large areas, with extremely small foreign staffs; and the fact that there are no easily-available communications facilities in all parts of many of the countries.

The decline of trade and industrial links between Britain and South America has also meant that there has been less general interest in the internal affairs of many countries there.

FT

QUESTIONNAIRE
Latin America and the British Press
The City University

(Please tick the appropriate boxes)

In your opinion, the coverage of Latin America by the British press is

GOOD ☐
POOR ☒

How do you think your particular newspaper is covering Latin America at the moment?

WELL ☐
FAIRLY WELL ☒
BADLY ☐

AFTER the Falklands crisis, the amount of news on Latin America has

INCREASED ☒
DECREASED ☐
STAYED THE SAME ☐

Which are the main sources for your coverage of Latin America?

OWN CORRESPONDENTS ☒
STRINGERS ☒
NEWS AGENCIES ☐
LONDON STAFF ☒
OTHER ☐

Do you think the British public should get more information about Latin America?

YES [X]

NO [ ]

WHY 'YES', OR WHY 'NO'?

The British public is too insular looking generally: it needs to be more aware about the predicament of other countries whether in Latin Am or elsewhere.

Please write down which are the Latin American...

a) AREAS All of them.

b) COUNTRIES Those that are strategically or economically important.

c) TOPICS Economic policy, progress towards democracy,

...which interest you more.

Which are the main difficulties, if any, for covering Latin America?

Language, and a general feeling that the free flow of information is not very desirable

APPENDIX F

FALKLANDS WAR: SAMPLE OF TABLOIDS' FIRST PAGES

SAMPLE OF CARTOONS

PAGE/PAGES EXCLUDED UNDER INSTRUCTION FROM UNIVERSITY

APPENDIX G

FALKLANDS WAR:

TRANSLATED EXTRACTS FROM LISTENERS' LETTERS
(LATIN AMERICAN SERVICE OF THE BBC)
Source: Audience Research Dept., External Services, BBC.

ARGENTINA:

It's incredible how a hasty action can provoke an armed conflict which may bring about the economic collapse of our country. It is true that the Malvinas or Falkland islands are Argentine but we should not have used force, as in 1833, and the British wish to retake the islands is understandable. I don't know how this will end but it is certain that a war will ruin Argentina, apart from discrediting us internationally. I hope there is no war for the sake of world peace.

I should tell you that in spite of the conflict I have not switched off my radio or stopped listening to the BBC. On the contrary, I have increased my listening to the full four hours of the transmission, also the extra hour introduced as a result of the crisis ..... the reception reports I shall be sending you shortly will be more complete than ever.

Why have I decided to increase the hours of my listening to the BBC Latin American Service and the World Service? Because I want to hear the truth, not the lies put out by Argentine radio and television. The objectivity, impartiality and truth of the BBC have not been lost but continue. I should tell you that your news and commentaries agree with those of Radio Nederland, Deutsche Welle, Sweden, Swiss Radio International, Austria, Radio Canada International, United Nationsetc. This implies absolute impartiality.

10th April

I am writing to you one month after the Argentine republic has recovered the Malvinas. Above all I want to tell you that we have not interfered with your transmissions as all your lies have arrived here very clearly.

I shall not explain now why the Malvinas are Argentine as you know this very well. For you the islanders are worthless people and for us Argentine brothers.

2nd May

The reason for these lines is to let you know from a simple Argentine youth what he and other Argentines living through these glorious and difficult days with him think. I believe that this experience has given us all maturity and a distinctly new way of looking at everyday things. The unity and sense of fraternity one now lives and breathes is beyond the imagination ..... At the moment it is difficult to say what is going to happen when the conflict is over. As far as I can say it is in the political field that Argentina is going to come out more united with all her Latin American sister countries who have already shown themselves to be close not only geographically, but more importantly, spiritually.

Europe and the United States will be much further away from now on. But that is their own choice. All this has helped us to come closer to our America, the Latin one which we must never regard with suspicion. Today the prodigal son who has returned, as far as the Latin American continent is concerned, is Argentina. The old dream of many people here has come true. For this we have to thank the old British lion who has pointed us in the right direction with a mad blow from his paws, one of his last blows before his total downfall.

The Malvinas are and will be Argentine forever!

8th June

Either you are wrongly informed or you are shamefully and deliberately distorting the news. I would never have thought it of the BBC.
Either you don't know or you are concealing the fact that when disembarking on South Georgia the British lost numerous lives, the frigate Exeter, the Sheffield, the carrier Hermes ..... and six helicopters and 9 or 10 Sea Harriers, while the British achievment consisted of sinking the old and obsolete General Belgrano in which 321 marines died, though it was outside the war exclusion zone ..... (goes on to say Britian has bombed civilians, mistreated P.O.W.'s, the British government is corrupt and feudal and will be humiliated by the outcome etc.) We are writing to you, BBC of London, so that you do something to stop the war machine while there is still time and help to bring about understanding.

28th May

It gives me great joy and satisfaction to be able to write to you and tell you that I am an ardent listener of this far distant and very prestigious short-wave radio station ..... For me and all my family it has been a pleasure to listen to you for many years. We have always enjoyed your wonderful programmes but we have never had the chance of writing to you becasue the postage is so expensive and we are poor and humble people. We live in the country about 10km from Estacion Alcaráz in the south. We live in solitude in the country cut off from the rest of the world by forests full of thickets and palm trees and vipers. Please dear friends of the BBC do not despise me because I am Argentine and sending these propaganda papers. I have to do it because they were given me free by the Banco Bica and they are even paying the postage ..... so I thought I would take the opportunity to write to you.

1st June

On the 11th May I was listening to the BBC as usual when I thought I heard the name of an Argentine prisoner who was not going to be returned because of violations of human rights during the 'dirty war' of the Argentine militarists. On the following day I again heard the name of the captured marine: Alfredo Aztiz, and finally on the Thursday the Venezuelan newspapers gave some details, although curtailed, of the case. Let me explain: I am Argentine, living in Venezuela since 1977 because of the persecution of my husband, a lawyer and writer, who spent a year and a half in prison in Argentina; our daughter a law student at the University of Buenos Aires, 'disappeared' on 4th December 1977. (goes on to give details of case) .....

I hope this may be of some use in the future. For the moment it is just for information, one more stain on the record of Captain Aztiz's bloody career.

17th May

Other countries

I have carefully followed this difficult and unresolved dispute between Argentina and the United Kingdom. I really admire the tact and balance of your news bulletins, which seek to preserve peace and security in the world. The media have an essential part to play in any conflict.

Colombia

Thanks to your very complete and reliable news about this Anglo-Argentine conflict I have been able to learn everything that is happening in the South Atlantic. It is a real shame that now your frequencies are being interfered with by Argentine radio stations in order to hide the truth. But their efforts are unsuccessful. Of your five frequencies, I listen on two (15.39 MHz and 11.82 MHz)and on these two reception deteriorates later on.

Chile

Once again the BBC has given a lesson in objective and reliable information in the difficult times that the United Kingdom is going through.

Chile

I can hear the BBC perfectly and I find it captivating, especially now with the Anglo-Argentine conflict. Through you I keep abreast of the truth. I'd like to wish all the British the best in this delicate situation which I firmly believe you will win by right.

Paraguay

Congratulations to Great Britian for the decision to take the islands. We hope that the aggressors (principally their government) will receive the right punishment for ignoring international laws. Traditionally Argentina has tried to take land from defenceless countries.

Paraguay

As an old listener to your radio station I want to point out the high cultural and informative standard of your programmes. I want also to congratulate you for the well-known reliability of your news, especially now that Britain is involved in this unfortunate conflict.

Peru

I have been following every day the development of the conflict in the Malvinas presented in the various bulletins of the Latin American Service. I must congratulate you for the way in which you present this problem, the balanced tone when talking about Argentina, in spite of being in conflict, contrary to the insults and inadequate language used by some communist broadcasters.

It is regrettable that two western countries - at one time friends - are at war with each other for a teritorial dispute, a situation of which many enemies of our Christian and Western civilisation will take advantage.

I hope that this delicate matter will be treated with the common sense characteristic of the British people and will not represent a breaking off of relations between Europe and America.

Peru

All that the Latin American Service has been doing since the beginning of the conflict in the Malvinas is a remarkable effort and deserves sincere congratulations. I mean the importance of presenting reliable and objective information without the political passion that alientates the fanatics. The BBC has presented up to now objective information, invaluable for anyone who wants to be up-to-date with what is happening. Congratulations.

Guatemala

As a sensible person I am against the Argentine government's retaking the Malvinas. I understand that in that country there are social and political problems and that the government is hoping to neutralise them by this action.

It is not an intelligent way to conduct politics. Although many Spaniards would be happy to see a Spanish Gibraltar, we are unanimously against the Government of Argentina. ,

Spain

APPENDIX H

LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES AND THEIR ESTIMATED POPULATION (1980) IN MILLIONS:

ARGENTINA	27.90
BOLIVIA	6.08
BRAZIL	100.30
CHILE	12.00
COLOMBIA	27.50
COSTA RICA	2.40
CUBA	10.00
ECUADOR	9.25
EL SALVADOR	5.00
GUATEMALA	6.04
MEXICO	75.39
NICARAGUA	2.82
PANAMA	1.97
PARAGUAY	3.80
PERU	18.30
PUERTO RICO	3.19
REP. DOMINICANA	6.30
URUGUAY	2.90
VENEZUELA	14.60
TOTAL:	335.23

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