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A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF FRENCH AND AMERICAN NEWS MAGAZINES REGARDING THEIR COVERAGE OF THE 1982 FALKLAND ISLANDS WAR

A Thesis

Presented for the

Master of Science

Degree

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Laura A. Copeland

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Merci bien à vous tous!

ABSTRACT

The majority of research in the field of international communications concerns news flow rather than specific issues of comparison. This study is a bilingual cross-cultural content analysis of French and American newsmagazines concerning a specific world event, the Falkland Islands War. The study seeks to identify newswriting themes evident within either country's newsmagazine. The top two French newsmagazines and the top two American newsmagazines were investigated in order to test the hypothesis that French newswriting contains themes of political opinion and American newswriting contains themes of sequential events. Every issue of each magazine was examined for a ten-week period to identify three variables: the amount of opinion versus narrative in the newswriting, the kinds of sources used to substantiate the news content, and using the Merrill scale of biases, the types of biases incorporated in the newswriting style.

Findings indicated that French newsmagazines were indeed more opinionated than American newsmagazines. Surprising, however, was the finding that American newsmagazines contained biases that were almost always linked to overemphasis of the United States' role in the Falkland Islands War. Conclusions suggest that the French newsmagazines and the American newsmagazines are intended to serve two divergent roles in their respective countries. French newsmagazines seek to provide a forum for political debate and American newsmagazines try to explain how world events affect Americans. Finally,

scholars comparing the news media of various nations must take into consideration those nations' cultural expectations.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The UNESCO General Conference of 1976 in Nairobi, Kenya, marks the genesis of the continuing debate about what is known as the "New World Information Order." Since that time the UNESCO International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems has been investigating the role of the mass media in the international community. The 1977-78 International Committee for the Study of Communication Problems proposed to study the image of foreign countries as represented in the mass media of other countries. The committee wanted to study how different social and cultural backgrounds were portrayed in the mass media of the industrialized nations.[1]

The next year, communication scholars from all over the world began the extensive UNESCO project in which foreign news was examined during a two-week period in some 29 countries. The concepts and methodology of the research project were straightforward insofar as the study was intended to be descriptive, providing a broad picture of foreign news. The UNESCO project was limited, however, because financial and technical resources were lacking.[2] But when the study was completed, all participating scholars agreed that this type of

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[1]Robert L. Stevenson, Foreign News and the New World Information Order (Ames, 1984), p. 21.

[2]Ibid., p. 24.

investigation of foreign news on such a wide scale provided the necessary foundation for more narrowly focused research.

Robert L. Stevenson of the Indiana University School of Journalism organized the 1977-78 UNESCO research project. He contacted the various foreign countries to find representatives to participate in the project. He also located students in the United States who were familiar with the foreign languages of those countries that had no representative. When the project was completed, Stevenson contended that even though the study was "simple in concept and design," the fact that it was cross-cultural made it challenging.[3] Stevenson and others called for more microanalysis of international communication, including the issue of how nations treat each other in the news.

In his 1983 book, Global Journalism, John C. Merrill writes that all journalism students need at least an introduction to international communication because the United States press can now only be viewed in an international context. He notes that schools of journalism have begun to introduce international communication courses into their curricula, but he stresses that these courses can be no more than broad overviews because of the relatively short time that international communication has been studied seriously.[4] Research projects by graduate students in the United States reflect the tendency to

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[3]Ibid., p. 23.

[4]John C. Merrill, Global Journalism: A Survey of the World's Mass Media (New York, 1983), p. vii.

investigate broad international communication questions, although there are some more microanalytical studies to examine.

It is unfortunate that so many of the more narrowly focused research projects in international communication are restricted to English language publications. Furthermore, the greater majority of research projects continue to focus on the flow of foreign news rather than on comparisons between nations. When more specific issues are investigated, such as treatment of the news, for example, the study is usually limited to one country, one media system. And on the rare occasion that two countries' media systems are under investigation, English is the language researchers use to compare even two non-English speaking countries.

Newspaper research dominates the study of international communication in the United States. This is true for two reasons: newspapers are more readily available in the United States, and most foreign countries have an English language newspaper. There is some research, for example, that follows the UNESCO study of 1977-78 in that it involves a broad study of images in foreign news coverage. For example, Mousa studied the portrayal of Arabs in the New York Times from 1917 to 1947. His investigation spans 30 years and brings into consideration such factors as the Hollywood film industry and the creation of Israel.[5]

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[5]Issam S. Mousa, "The Arab Portrayal: The New York Times from 1917-1947" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1982), p. 15.

Similar, but involving newsmagazines rather than newspapers, is Salama's study tracing Time's coverage of Egypt between 1959 and 1972. Salama's content analysis determined which individual issues of Time were biased against to Egypt. Conclusions were that coverage was unfavorable while Gamal Abdel Nasser was president and favorable during the leadership of President Anwar El-Sadat.[6] There has been only a smattering of research that has involved newsmagazines, and those have been quite good, but there needs to be more use of newsmagazines in the investigation of specific international communication issues.

Some newsmagazine research has focused, for example, on one country's news coverage of a specific world event. Such projects have involved one, two or three news sources. An excellent example is Luh's comparison of how Time, Newsweek and U.S. News and World Report reported the Chinese Civil War. Luh used content analysis to measure the degree of favorable or unfavorable bias evident in each magazine's coverage of the 1946 to 1949 Chinese Civil War.[7] Other research involves one or several sources and the coverage given before and after a major world event. Such a study is Kirby's content analysis of the coverage in U.S. newsmagazines of Mexico before and

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[6]Azza K. Salama, "Time Magazine's Coverage of Egypt Between the Years 1952 and 1979" (M.A. thesis, College Park, Maryland, 1982, p. 3.

[7]Wen-shwu Maria Luh, "Attitude of Three National American Magazines toward the Chinese Civil War, 1946-1949" (M.S. thesis, Iowa State University, 1981), p. 5.

after major oil deposit disclosures. Kirby concluded that Mexico received much more attention following the disclosures.[8]

A small number of comparative studies involves two nations and their media's treatment of an issue. One drawback here is that the research does not challenge a language barrier. An excellent study by Kim compared the New York Times's and the Times of London's coverage of the Korean coup d'etat.[9] Husni compared the coverage of the 1975 to 1976 Lebanese Civil War in these same two newspapers.[10]

Some international communication research makes use of a foreign language, but these studies are rare and restricted to newspapers. One example is Hoope's content analysis of three metropolitan newspapers in Buenos Aires, Argentina.[11] Another is the comparison of Thai newspapers by Phayakvichien, who examined a sample of newspapers from 1960 and 1969 to measure changes in style

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[8]N. Riley Kirby, "U.S. Newsmagazine Coverage of Mexico Before and After Major Oil Deposit Disclosures" (M.S. thesis, University of Florida, 1980), p. 22.

[9]Chai Kehn Kim, "A Comparative Quantitative Content Analysis of the Coverage of the South Korean Coup d'Etat in the New York Times and the Times of London" (M.S. thesis, Southern Illinois University, 1980), p. 10.

[10]Samir A. Husni, "A Content Analysis of Press Coverage of the 1975-76 Lebanese Civil War by the New York Times and the Times of London" (M.S. thesis, North Texas State University, 1980), p. 27.

[11]Paul R. Hoope, "A Comparison of News Content in Three metropolitan Daily Papers in Buenos Aires, Argentina" (M.S. thesis, Ohio University, 1964), p. 2.

and content.[12] Missing from these two pieces of research, nonetheless, is a cross-over in cultures as well as in languages. One study that does measure coverage by two cultures via two languages is Sinno's content analysis of the New York Times' and Beruit's An-Ahar's coverage of the Lebanese Civil War from 1975 to 1976.[13]

But even Sinno's rare cross-cultural investigation lacks a few elements in need of consideration. First, it is yet another example of research that makes use of newspapers as the primary resource. Another important element of consideration is a "neutral" world event. How do the media of two countries threat a major world event that does not involve directly either nation? And how would two newsmagazines differ in their portrayal of the event and in their attitudes toward the issue?

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[12]Pongsak Phayakvichien, "A Comparative Content Analysis of Thai Newspapers in 1960 and 1969" (M.S. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1971), p. 3.

[13]Abdul-Karim Sinno, "Media Coverage of the Lebanese Civil War" (M.A. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1982), p. 30.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

Most content analysis of international communication has been restricted to measuring the amount of foreign news in a particular media system. This study is a cross-cultural bilingual content analysis of French and American newsmagazines regarding coverage of one "neutral" world event. Here a "neutral" world event is defined as one that directly involves neither France nor the United States. The Falkland Islands invasion and subsequent war between Argentina and Great Britain provide such an event for the study. While the United States was connected to the crisis for a short time, France also had some vested interest because Argentina had only recently purchased some new French-manufactured military equipment.

The study is designed to identify a direction or attitude as conveyed in the reporting in terms of how much opinion is woven into the text of the reports. In addition, the kinds of sources most prominently used for evidence as well as possible types of bias in the reporting are to be identified. Content analysis provides the most efficient means of investigating French and American reporting themes, which are then to be used to compare coverage of the Falkland Islands crisis. In order to familiarize the reader with the Falkland Islands situation, a brief background and history of the crisis are provided.

The leading two newsmagazines from each country are examined. The French magazines employed in this content analysis are L'Express and Le Nouvel Observateur, as they are the best known of France's

top four newsmagazines. Their circulations are 538,000 and 370,000, respectively.[14] Time and Newsweek, with circulations of 6 million and 4.5 million, represent the American newsmagazines used in the study.[15] A brief history of each of the four is included in order to provide the unfamiliar reader a comparative framework.

Total amount of coverage can be measured by physical count in column inches whereas measuring attitude or direction is accomplished by placing recording units, or segments of the print media being examined, within previously determined categories. This content analysis uses the recording unit to identify the theme of each sample of print media. In order to best measure the theme of each sample, the recording unit chosen is the entire article. According to Holsti, a specialist in content analysis, sentences and paragraphs do not reveal an entire theme because the larger the content unit, the more evident themes of bias. Conversely, the smaller the recording unit, a sentence for example, the more neutral it will appear because it is taken out of context.[16]

According to Holsti, category construction for a content analysis must reflect the purpose of the research.[17] The purpose of this

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[14]Dominque Frémy and Michèle Frémy, Quid (Paris, 1983), p. 1390.

[15]Editor, Ulrich's International Periodicals Directory (New York, 1984), p. 689.

[16]Oli R. Holsti, Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities (New York, 1969), p. 114.

[17]Ibid., p. 94.

study is to compare how French and American newsmagazines treat the same news events. The issue of how each magazine treats the event will be determined by answering three questions. First, would the coverage in each sample be labeled opinion or narrative, or some mixture of the two? Second, what kinds of sources are used as evidence within each sample? And third, what types of bias, if any, are used in each sample? When all of these variables are investigated for each sample of print media, a comparison between the French and American newsmagazines is made.

The sample for this study is all issues of all four newsmagazines within a ten-week period from April 1, 1982, to June 14, 1982. It was during these ten weeks that the news event, the Falkland Islands crisis, received its most extensive coverage. Every article pertinent to this news event within each issue of each magazine is examined according to the three variables of measurement. The categories to be measured for each variable must be derived from a single classification principle.[18] The first variable to be investigated is the "directional category" which identifies the attitude or theme of the news coverage.

"Directional categories" are useful in identifying themes within samples of print media. Using "directional categories" represents the best manner of determining the author's treatment of the relevant communication.[19] For this study a five-point scale is used, and its breakdown is as follows:

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[18]Ibid., p. 100.

[19]Ibid., p. 107.

1. Outright opinion
2. More opinion than narration
3. Even mixture of opinion and narration
4. More narration than opinion
5. Pure narration

The number 1 represents coverage that is purely editorial. A good example taken from Newsweek states:

> The invasion has stirred a national euphoria that hasn't been seen since Argentina won the world cup in soccer in 1978. As the battle drew near, many Argentines welcomed the struggle with the British as a blood rite.[20]

The number 5 represents coverage that is purely factual. An example of this end of the scale taken from Time states:

> The aircraft brought food, ammunition, trucks and members of the Argentine 9th Infantry Brigade to bolster the 2,500-man invasion force. In Buenos Aires, the government made further preparations for battle. Some 80,000 Argentines who had just finished their year of compulsory military service were ordered back into uniform.[21]

Numbers 2 through 4 represent some degree between 1 and 5. The research is intended to test the hypothesis that French newsmagazines are more likely to contain themes of political opinion while American newsmagazines are more likely to contain themes of sequential events.

Every article concerning the news event that is published in the French and American newsmagazines can be placed in one of the five categories. All articles are capable of being placed in one of the

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[20]Ibid., p. 99.

[21]Mark Whittaker, "The Gauchos Faded Glory." Newsweek, May 10, 1982, p. 24.

categories because even in the event that the coder cannot make a decision based upon what he or she has read, there is a category which corresponds to that situation. Furthermore, no article will be placed in more than one category when coding for the opinion-narrative scale. Placing an article in one of these five categories will not affect the classification of any other article because each is considered individually.[22] This is the purpose of using the entire article as the recording unit, as not one paragraph or sentence can be identified separately from the entire context.

The categories mentioned above fall under Holsti's term "directional categories" because they determine which direction or attitude to assign to any given sample. Evidence, another important aspect of the relevant communication, can be explored by assigning to each sample of print media certain types of support given by the reporter in his or her assertations. Most samples exhibit more than one type of evidence. The five types used in the investigation of evidence are:

1. Statistics
2. Examples and comparisons
3. Testimony
4. Analogies and figurative language
5. None
6. Cannot determine

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[22]George Russell, "Face Off on the High Seas." Time, April 19, 1982, p. 27.

Number 5 it represents the possibility of no perceivable source of evidence. There is also a number 6 which is to be used in the event that the coder is unable to make a decision. The author's hypothesis is that both French and American reporters will use all five types of evidence. Due to differences in approach and style of the French newswriting and the American newswriting, however, certain types of evidence can be linked with one or the other country's newswriting. In other words, there will be a strong correlation between numbers 1 and 3 with the American coverage, and numbers 2, 4, and 5 with the French coverage.

As mentioned the recording unit is the item, the article. According to Merrill, the larger the recording unit, the greater the possibility for bias.[23] For this reason, outright opinion, which is linked more with French newswriting, and contextual and graphic bias, which will be linked with American newswriting, will presumably be more evident. The choices for types of bias are as follows:

1. Outright opinion
2. Contextual
3. Graphic
4. Attributional
5. Adjectival
6. Adverbial
7. Cannot determine

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[23]John C. Merrill, "How Time Stereotyped Three U.S. Presidents." Journalism Quarterly, (1965), p. 565.

There is also a number 7 which is to be used when the coder is unable to make a decision concerning type of bias. A working definition of these types of biases can be found in Appendix A.

Here the term "bias" is used more in its original sense of not cutting along the straight line but rather cutting along the diagonal to produce a different edge. The term "bias" used in this study does not necessarily refer to an unfairness in the magazines. The types of biases used in the research represent the different sorts of deviations evident in the newswriting that is under investigation. The "type of bias" category is used to determine individual writing styles among the four newsmagazines.

This methodology proves to be the most efficient, as its units give satisfactory results by simply studying the primary resource. Results are compared from multiple examinations of the primary resource sample. Five coders, including the primary researcher, conducted content analysis on the samples from Time and Newsweek. Three coders, including myself, conducted content analysis on the samples from L'Express and Le Nouvel Observateur. Language problems prevented more coding from the French newsmagazines, and financial limitations restricted more coding in general.

Definition of Terms

Item. The entire article, including the article title and graphic content; to be placed in a directional category for classification and later comparisons.

Direction. A judgment on the part of the coder as to the amount of opinion versus narration evident within the sample; to be measured by means of a 5-point scale with 1 being "outright opinion" and 5 being "pure narration."

Evidence. A judgment by the coder as to the means by which the reporter expresses support for his or her assertations; includes statistics, examples and comparisons, testimony, analogies and figurative language, and none.

Bias. A judgment by the coder as to the type of bias evident in the sample; biases include outright opinion, contextual, graphic, attributional, adjectival, and adverbial.

Background

English-speaking countries long have upheld a tradition of separating fact from opinion in writing for the press. Many scholars contend that this proclivity for objectivity is rooted in a free society in which a balance of viewpoints is possible because of the competitive nature of the news industry. As the study of mass communications broadens, scholars no longer accept the idea of purely factual reporting, as they have come to realize that all news is conveyed through one reporter's perspective. It is now commonplace for reporters in the United States to "set a tone" for what they report, although this has not always been the case, especially prior

to the advent of television journalism.[24] In some sense, American reporting is approaching the European press tradition in which journalists view their task as one of blending fact and opinion to form a conclusion for the reader to think about.[25]

In general American reporters are hired to "report the facts" while European reporters are hired to "write an interesting and controversial piece of news." Reporting the "facts" was once the "highest criterion" for newswriting in the United States. Since the realization that purely factual reporting does not exist, American reporters have felt more free to use a mood or tone so the reader might better understand the issue.[26] Nonetheless, no one would mistake American newswriting for that of Europe because opinion is blatant in the European media whereas American reporters disguise opinion within their newswriting (except for that of the editorial page).

The French press system strongly supports the European tradition of expressing opinion in news. Because their differing newswriting policies and practices, French and American news coverage is ideally suited for a cross-cultural comparison. Their respective coverage of the Falkland Islands War is investigated to determine their degrees of factual versus editorial reporting. A general attitude or

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[24]John L. Martin and Anju Grover Chaudhary, Comparative Mass Media Systems (New York, 1983), p. 14.

[25]Michael Rice and James A. Cooney, Reporting U.S.-European Relations: Four Nations, Four Newspapers (Elmsford, 1982), p. 85.

[26]Frémy and Frémy, p. 728.

direction of the French and American magazines is achieved, and then a comparison of the two is made.

The revolt and subsequent invasion and war in the Falkland Islands off Argentina's coast provide a "neutral" world event for the comparison of French and American newswriting. Not only does Great Britain share status as an industrialized nation with both the United States and France, but also the Falklands, as British colonies and part of South American, bring Third World elements into play. This particular political and military situation spanning roughly ten weeks provides an excellent event with which to investigate American and French press coverage. Before the reader learns the background of the Falkland Islands as well as that of the four newsmagazines, it is important to shed light upon France and its former and present colonial empire. Therefore a history and a brief look at its colonies today are provided for the reader.

CHAPTER 3

EVOLUTION OF THE FRENCH COLONIAL EMPIRE

French exploration began in the sixteenth century when the Italian Verrazano conducted an expedition to North American in 1524 for Francis the First. Frenchman Jacques Cartier followed 1534 when he claimed possession of Canada. Ensuing was a series of expeditions to Brazil between 1551 and 1615. Samuel Champlain and Pierre de Monts founded Acadia in 1604, which was later to become the British island of Nova Scotia. In 1608, Champlain founded Quebec and later he founded Montreal in 1642. Meanwhile in 1634, Martinique and Guadeloupe were claimed for France. Discoveries in the Indian Ocean brought Madagascar under French rule in 1642. For the next 200 years, France continued to claim parts of Africa, the East and West Indies, and the Pacific. Significant claims include Senegal in 1659, Algeria in 1832, Ivory Coast in 1842, New Caledonia in 1843, Cambodia in 1863, the Tonkin Delta in 1873, Tunisia in 1881, Niger in 1891, Tahiti in 1892, Chad and Morocco in 1912, and Cameroon, Togo, Lebanon and Syria in 1919.[27]

In North America, France lost Canada to England in 1763. Just a few years earlier France had given parts of India to England. In addition France had lost the Louisiana territory to Spain, but France regained the region in 1802 and then sold it to the United States the

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[27]Frémy and Frémy, p. 728.

next year. In 1801 France occupied Egypt and then turned it over to England. By the time the modern French Colonial Empire hit its peak in 1939, most of West Africa was under French rule, as were other areas scattered around the globe. Decolonization of France began in 1941 when Syria and Lebanon struggled until they were granted independence in 1946. In 1944, however, representatives of the "French" people living overseas assembled in Parliament to create local assemblies. It was here that Hô Chi Mihn claimed the existence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and this marked the beginning of the Indochinese War.[28]

Also in 1946, France voted to create the French Union out of what formerly comprised the Colonial Empire. In 1947 there was an insurrection in Madagascar. Ten years later the island received internal autonomy and then independence in 1960. France recognized Vietnam's independence in 1949. Cambodia and Laos became independent in 1953. In 1956 Morocco and Tunisia also became independent. In 1958 the French Union became the French Community, and that same year saw all the West African nations become autonomous states. Their independence came in 1960, followed finally by Algeria in 1962.[29]

The political and administrative organization of the Colonial Empire was changed and better defined in the interim between World War I and World War II. Most of the nations and territories claimed by the

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[28]Ibid., p. 729.

[29]Ibid.

French were colonies and protectorates. The black African nations were grouped in two federations known as the A.O.F., the Occidental French Africa, and the A.E.F., the Equatorial French Africa. The countries of the Indochinese Peninsula that were under French rule were regrouped under the authority of the general government of Indochina. Those colonies and territories that were dependent on the French Minister of Colonies (with the exception of Algeria) were Tunisia, Morocco, Lebanon and Syria. At the head of each colony was a governor who had authority over all colonial administration.[30]

The French Union was created and added to the Constitution in 1946. It consisted of the French Republic plus the territories and associated states. The French Republic included metropolitan France and the areas known as "départements d'outre-mer" and "territoires d'outre-mer" (departments and territories of overseas). Inhabitants of the D.O.M. and T.O.M. were French citizens, could send representative to French assemblies and certain of them had the right to vote. The second part of the Union, the territories, had their own nationalities and political systems, but were under tutelage and could also send representatives to the High Council in Paris. These countries included Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos.[31]

The French Community was created to replace the Union in the Constitution in 1958. Under its title, there was a referendum held in

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[30]Ibid., p. 730.

[31]Ibid.

each D.O.M. and T.O.M. This included all of black Africa (except French Somalia) and Madagascar. Only Guinea voted no to an independent status. In general the Community was an association among the independent states, the French Republic (metropolitan France, departments of Algeria and the Saharas, four D.O.M. and six T.O.M.) and the twelve states that had voted for internal autonomy. By 1960 all the states had acquired their full sovereignty and cooperation agreements had been signed with France.[32]

At present France recognizes five D.O.M. and seven T.O.M. The D.O.M. include Martinique, Guyana, Guadeloupe and Réunion since 1946, and St. Pierre-et-Miquelon since 1976. The status as "département" means that even though they are part of the French Republic, they have their own legislation and each adapts its organization of government according to its needs. The T.O.M. are New Caledonia, New Hebrides, French Polynesia, the islands Wallis and Futuna, and parts of Australia and South Pole territories. Their status is one of an integral part of the French Republic, with their inhabitants being French citizens. They have a council and a local assembly with a governor who represents them in France. Representatives are also sent to Parliament and other council meetings. Both the D.O.M. and the T.O.M. depend on a minister delegated by the prime minister of France.[33]

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[32]Ibid.

[33]Dorothy Pickles, The Fifth French Republic (New York, 1960), p. 184.

To determine France's general attitude toward its former colonies, some general statistical information is examined regarding a sample of former colonies that are now independent and some which are D.O.M. or T.O.M. This description of some former French colonial claims, along with the history of the French colonial period, is included to provide the reader a context in which to view the United Kingdom's policies toward its colonies versus that of France.

Three D.O.M. and one T.O.M. are to be examined. The T.O.M. is New Caledonia, an island in the Pacific Ocean located to the east of Australia and north of New Zealand. New Caledonia, claimed by France in 1843, covers some 16,750 km^2 and has a semitropical climate. In 1981 the population was 142,500, comprised mostly of Europeans and Malaysians. French is the official language. From 1969 until the present, there has been a series of revolts against French rule by the non-European islanders. Each time the French majority has voted to keep New Caledonia part of the French Republic.[34]

The three D.O.M. to be discussed are Guadeloupe, Réunion and St. Pierre-et-Miquelon. Guadeloupe is a group of volcanic islands located in the Caribbean and measuring 943 km^2. They were discovered by Christopher Columbus in 1493 and were sold to the French crown in 1674. Guadeloupe has had a representative in French Parliament since 1871. It was made D.O.M. in 1946 and has held its own elections since 1973. About 99 percent of its 322,900 inhabitants speak

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[34]Frémy and Frémy, p. 1186.

French, which is the official language. There is a small English-speaking community, and most of the natives also speak Creole.[35]

Similarly, Réunion is a hot, humid, volcanic island in the Indian Ocean on the far side of Madagascar. Discovered by a Portuguese in 1507, it measures 2,510 km^2. France claimed Réunion in 1646 and it became a D.O.M. in 1946. French is the official language of the approximately 502,400 inhabitants.[36]

St. Pierre-et-Miquelon is a group of three islands located in the northeast Atlantic territory of North America. St. Pierre is 25 km^2, while Langland and Miquelon, which are connected by an isthmus, are 91 km^2 and 110 km^2 respectively. This cold, windy area was discovered by a Portuguese in 1520 and claimed in 1536 for France by Jacques Cartier. In 1946 the islands became a T.O.M. and then a D.O.M. in 1976. The official language is French.[37]

The definitive former French colony turned independent nation is Algeria. France claimed the region in 1830 and a century later Algeria was part of French life. By 1930 over one million Europeans had settled there, which assured that the area remained western and tied to France. Both Frenchmen and the French-educated Arab elite hoped that Algerians would let go of their Islamic-Arab past to become French. After World War II, the dream became an illusion and

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[35]Ibid., p. 1125.

[36]Ibid., p. 1201.

[37]Ibid., p. 1202.

Algerian leaders began to demand autonomy and independence. They complained that France had suppressed their Islamic-Arab history and, in turn, their role in the rest of the Arab world. France would not relinquish its plans for assimilation, however, and it responded to the situation with violence. At this point, though, sheer force was not enough because France had lost the will necessary to make its plans work.[38]

When Algeria became independent in 1962, some Frenchmen felt that "part of France had died," as Algeria represented France's last colonial foothold. Others felt that only the French illusion of assimilation was gone and that now France could indeed play a role in the development of the Third World. In other words, now France could be truly a "friend and ally" not only to Algeria but also to Tunisia and Morocco. Since then, France has helped Algeria reconstruct itself. French rule is gone from Algeria, but the French language and cultural values are not. France left the decision up to Algeria to preserve or to destroy French values. Overall, France has provided the greatest amount of financial aid, more than double what it gives any other nation, and furthermore, it has served as a market for some of Algeria's products.[39] In summary, the relationship of the two countries has been one of Algeria's effort to be independent and France's acceptance of Algeria's new identity.

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[38]David C. Gordon, The Passing of French Algeria (London, 1966), p. 2.

[39]Frémy and Frémy, p. 1224.

Senegal is another important former French colony that is now an independent nation. France began exploration of the inner Senegalese river valleys in the early seventeenth century. France's interest in Senegal was trade-oriented until the middle of the nineteenth century when France became involved in Senegal's administrative affairs. During the period of French expansionism into Africa, great political and social changes were taking place. Reformist groups within Africa were trying to restructure traditional forms of government. There was also a great spread of Islam. This new religion was widely accepted in Senegal, as well as in other West African countries because, to the natives, it provided a better social organization than did the local religious practices.[40]

To some extent, Islam also provided a better means of communicating with the French because it was only one religious practice compared to the numerous different local practices. In this way France was able to apply its "theories of assimilation." Assimilation entailed substituting French social, political and economic institutions for the native ones, and eventually integrating the French with the Senegalese. Without a doubt French rule profoundly changed the Senegalese social, political and economic systems. Senegal was the only French African country were assimilation was achieved on a large segment of the population.[41] This high degree of assimilation occurred

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[40]Sheldon Gellar, Senegal: An African Nation Between Islam and the West (Boulder, 1982, p. 19.

[41]Ibid., p. 18.

in the coastal areas of Senegal by the turn of the nineteenth century. The French accomplished this by establishing schools and by making a sustained effort to educate the native people. Soon a group of "urban intellectual elites" evolved.[42]

In general the colony of Senegal carried with it a privileged status because it was the federal capital of French West Africa. Senegal had its own territorial assembly, municipal councils (based on the French councils), and a deputy who attended Parliament in Paris. Africans born and educated in the urban areas of Senegal were granted citizenship and had better access to employment opportunities. And, in fact, Senegal was the only French colony to have elected councils prior to World War II. In 1958 France granted Senegal autonomy, and its independence followed in 1960.[43]

Generally speaking, French colonial policy was guided by the principle of assimilation. This principle assumed that all men were equal but that the French civilization was superior to all others. This required direct rule in the area and the destruction of traditional governments, but the principle was always more "theoretical than an actual policy."[44] Today France remains friendly with its former colonies and particularly so with the African ones. France and its former African colonies engage in diplomatic exchange on a regular basis

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[42]Harold D. Nelson, Area Handbook for Senegal (Washington, D.C., 1974), p. 9.

[43]Gellar, p. 9.

[44]Nelson, p. 9.

because French leaders believe that problems in Africa can be solved through negotiations. Furthermore, France upholds a commitment to help developing nations "assert themselves both politically and economically."[45]

[45]Wayne Northcutt, Régis Debray's Buffalo Lectures (Buffalo, 1985), p. 92.

CHAPTER 4

THE FALKLAND ISLANDS CRISIS

On April 2, 1982, Argentine Army, Navy and Air Force troops invaded the Falkland Islands, which have been a British colony since 1833. Argentina, however, has long laid claim to these islands, especially since its independence from Spain in 1816.[46] For two hundred years Argentina has wanted sovereignty over these islands it calls the Islas Malvinas. The Falklands were probably first sighted by Amerigo Vespucci when he sailed along the east coast of South America.[47] Records of the islands were first kept by British sailors who claimed them for England in 1690. French sailors from the Brittany port of San Malo regularly visited the islands in the eighteenth century. Actually, they named the islands "les iles Malouines" from which the Argentines got their Hispanicized version Islas Malvinas.[48]

The Falklands are located 250 miles off the southeastern tip of Argentina. They consist of two large islands known as East and West Falkland. In addition there are some 200 smaller islands. The entire area covers 4,700 square miles and is characterized by highly irregular coastlines. The generally calm climate on the islands consists of

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[46] State Department of Bulletin (Washington, D.C., 1982), p. 82.

[47] Fritz L. Hoffmann and Olga Mingo Hoffmann, Sovereignty in Dispute (Boulder, 1984), p. 17.

[48] Peter Calvert, The Falkland Crisis (New York, 1982), p. 5.

evenly spread rain and snow, which both fall during every month of the year. Recorded temperatures have never exceeded a high of 79°F or a low of 12°F.

The population of the Falklands is about 1,825, of which 1,075 inhabit the capital city of Stanley. The remaining population is scattered among 30 or so settlements. About 95 percent of the labor force on the Falklands is involved in agriculture, primarily raising sheep. The entire economic organization is geared toward the production of wool. Telephones connect most of the farms on the two main islands, but several smaller islands depend on short-wave radio for their communications. There is one permanent airfield in Stanley and about 35 unsurfaced airstrips used by interisland services. There are 217 miles of roads and most of them are unpaved. Boat travel among the islands is by far the best means of transportation. There is one diesel power station in Stanley as well as a water purification plant. Most settlements and farms have their own generating plants. Everything on the island is shipped there by Great Britain. Ships take consumer goods, vehicles, construction materials, etc., to the islands and then return to England with wool as their cargo. The only commercial establishments on the islands are general stores.[49]

Disputes over these islands in the South Atlantic date to the time of the earliest European expeditions. The French were very fond of the islands for most of the early eighteenth century and in fact had a

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[49]State Department Bulletin, p. 83.

settlement there for many years, but France never pursued seriously its claim to the area.[50] On the other hand, Spain and England nearly went to war in the late eighteenth century over control of these islands. Since Argentina gained independence from Spain in 1816, it has been concerned over what it believes is its right by heritage to the islands. Great Britain has held possession of the Falkland Islands for "longer than most of today's independent states have been independent."[51] The background of the dispute over Argentina's sovereignty began in 1820 when the government of Argentina first formally contested England's control of the islands. Argentina claimed that the Papal Award of 1494 gave Spain absolute sovereignty of th Falklands and, as a republic created from the Spanish Empire, Argentina had every right to the area. Great Britain responded that unlike the treaty of Havana, for example, no Spanish claim was ever formally accepted by the European community. Great Britain further declared that even if Spain had held any true legal rights to the Falklands, that sovereignty would not have devolved to Argentina.[52]

In 1833 Great Britain installed the Royal Navy to protect its sheep and whaling industries on the islands. These industries continued to grow for the next 150 years, making England more attached, and, at the same time, Argentina never dropped the issue of its

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[50] Ibid.

[51] Calvert, p. 9.

[52] Ibid.

inherited sovereignty. After World War I, Argentina's demands became more frequent. Formal negotiations between England and Argentina did not begin until 1966, and no solution or compromise was ever worked out. The initial stages of the crisis began early in 1982 when Argentina demanded monthly bilateral negotiations. Finally Argentina invaded the Falklands on April 2, 1982.[53]

The crisis actually began 12 days prior to the invasion of Stanley. On March 19, 1982, Argentine scrap metal merchants landed on the remote island of South Georgia. They were employees of an Argentine company that had purchased an abandoned British whaling station on South Georgia. They put up Argentina's flag and the British officials on the island asked them to leave. The Argentines insisted that they were there legally as employees of the owner of the whaling station. British officials considered them interlopers for not having checked in to present their passports.[54]

On March 24, Argentina ordered one of its naval vessels to South Georgia. The ship was probably on its way because it landed early on March 25 and began to unload its troops. Immediately Argentina demanded diplomatic action or else it would use military force. This put Great Britain in "a state of alarm" because it felt that it had not been allowed sufficient time to react. On April 1, Argentine Foreign Minister Costa Mendez told British ambassadors not to send a special

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[53]State Department Bulletin, p. 88.

[54]Hoffmann and Hoffmann, p. 153.

envoy after all because South Georgia was no longer an issue. The question now was one of Argentina's sovereignty. It became clear that Argentina used the whaling station incident as a platform from which to launch its campaign for sovereignty of the Islas Malvinas.[55]

The British officials at Stanley were warned of the imminent invasion by Argentine officials on the afternoon of April 1, 1982. The British officials announced the information to Stanley's citizens by that evening. On April 2, at 6:30 a.m. local time, 11,000 Argentine troops landed at Port Stanley. The Royal Marines kept them at bay for three hours, but then the commander ordered a cease-fire. The British governor was deported to Uruguay and the Argentine governor arrived soon afterward to assume his duties.[56] Argentina's media reported the invasion on April 2, at 11 a.m. Several Argentines were killed but no islanders were hurt.

On the afternoon of April 2, Great Britain reacted to the news of the invasion by breaking diplomatic relations and informing Argentina that it would use military measures "to assert its rights under international law." On Saturday, April 3, members of Parliament met in London to learn details of the invasion. By that time, Argentina assumed that British control of the islands was over.[57] The next day UN Security Forces demanded that Argentina withdraw its forces from

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[55]Ibid., p. 162.

[56]Calvert, p. 73.

[57]William Borders, "Argentina Seizes Falkland Islands," New York Times, April 3, 1982, p. 1.

the Falkland Islands. Also on that day, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher announced to Parliament that the Falklands would remain "British territory" and she sent a naval task force to the area.[58]

On April 5 the Argentine government announced that it had defeated the last British military units on the islands and that British residents on the islands were under sever restrictions. On April 7, Great Britain issued a warning that effective at 5 a.m. British time on Monday, April 12, there would be a "maritime exclusion zone (MEZ) within a 200 mile radius around the Falklands." Great Britain warned that from that point, any Argentine vessel in violation would be sunk. The next day U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig flew to London to begin negotiations for the British and the Argentines.[59]

By April 11, Prime Minister Thatcher secured the support of the European Economic Community by obtaining backing for an embargo of military supplies to Argentina. Meanwhile Secretary of State Haig met with officials in Buenos Aires where Foreign Minister Costa Mendez expressed optimism for peace and President Galtieri insisted that Argentina would fight. On April 12, Haig returned to London and reported the stalled talks. That same day, the British maritime exclusion zone went into effect.[60]

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[58]Steven Rattner, "London Ordering 35-Ship Task Force to the Falklands," New York Times, April 4, 1982, p. 1.

[59]Calvert, p. 90.

[60]R. W. Apple, Jr., "British Blockade Around Falklands Goes Into Effect," New York Times, April 4, 1982, p. 1.

During the week of April 17, Great Britain sent a fleet of warships to the Falkland Islands. On April 24, negotiations having broken down, Argentine officials announced that two British warships violated the Argentine defense zone by moving within 50 miles of South Georgia Island. Even though Argentine forces knew of the British presence, Great Britain managed to recapture South Georgia Island on April 25. This was Britain's first military move to recapture the Falklands and there were no British casualties.[61]

Despite a 17-0 Organization of Atlantic States vote to call a truce in the Falklands situation, Prime Minister Thatcher announced that there would be an invasion unless a diplomatic breakthrough occurred shortly. On April 29, Great Britain announced that effective April 30 at 11 a.m. Falkland time, it would enforce a "total exclusion zone (TEZ)." This would be a total sea and air blockade for 200 nautical miles around the islands and the zone applied to any country aiding Argentina as well. The same day Argentina replied that any British ship or plane within 200 miles of the Falkland Islands would be treated as "hostile" and would be dealt with accordingly. On April 30, U.S. Secretary of State Haig terminated his mission. When he arrived back in Washington, President Reagan announced the U.S. alliance with Great Britain.[62]

Early on May 1, Great Britain began a naval and air invasion of Port Stanley, which had been occupied by Argentine forces. On

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[61]Calvert, p. 100.

[62]Hoffmann and Hoffmann, p. 167.

This is controversial. See Air War South Atlantic, Ethel and Price, p. 76

May 2, Argentina announced that it had repulsed British forces and had damaged three British frigates. Later that day Argentine ships were ordered back to their bases. The General Belgrano was returning to port along with its two escorts when the British nuclear powered H.M.S. Conqueror sighted it about 240 miles from the Falklands and hence outside the TEZ. The Conqueror fired and sank the Belgrano, killing 368 men, or more than one half of the lives lost in the Falklands War. Great Britain continued to torpedo Argentine cruisers, causing them severe damage. Also one patrol vessel was sunk and several more were damaged by British helicopters.[63]

? The Belgrano was Argentina's only cruiser!

Late on May 4, the pilot of an Argentine jet fighter noticed something on radar about 60 miles away. He and another pilot fired air-to-surface missiles and hit the H.M.S. Sheffield. The crew abandoned ship and only 20 lives were lost. After the sinking of the Sheffield, Great Britain announced that henceforth all Argentine ships and aircraft more than 12 nautical miles from the coast of Argentina would be treated as hostile forces. On Sunday, May 9, British forces began hostilities by shelling the Argentine military installations at Stanley, also attacking a fishing vessel, which indeed turned out to be a spy vessel.[64]

only one Exocet hit Sheffield. Ethel and Price p. 82

While British ships and planes patrolled the Argentine coast, no less than a full-scale war was expected. In the next two days, Great

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[63]Edward Shumacher, "Buenos Aires, Confirming Attack Calls It 'New Act of Aggression,'" New York Times, May 3, 1982, p. 1.

[64]Calvert, p. 100.

Britain sank several more Argentine ships and downed several more planes, after which Britain claimed military superiority. Around May 14, Argentine diplomats talked of dropping the sovereignty issue, but by May 16, Britain had raided the airstrip at Port Stanley and nearby Pebble Island, destroying several Argentine warplanes. On May 18, Argentina threw out its plans to forget the issue of sovereignty and instead braced itself for the British attach at Stanley.[65]

Great Britain planned to invade Stanley on Friday, May 21. British ships entered Falkland Sound, invading San Carlos on the northern coast of East Falkland. Then the British raided Stanley and Goose Green to the east of Port Stanley. There was also a commando raid on Fox Bay in West Falkland. The Argentine counterattack came from the air. Its main targets were ships, not the British troops on the ground. Argentina sank five ships, killing 22, but it lost 20 jets and four helicopters in the process. On May 22, Argentina announced that its troops were failing to defeat the British. British troops were, in fact, strengthening their hold on the island.[66]

On Sunday, May 23, the Argentines led a massive attack on the British fleet. One ship was sunk with no casualties while another was hit but later repaired. By May 25, British reinforcements had arrived and 5,000 British were ashore. Britain decided to push across East Falkland to Stanley even though it lost a merchant ship and a

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[65]Hoffmann and Hoffmann, p. 170.

[66]Edward Shumacher, "Junta Concedes Troops Failed to Dislodge Landing Forces," New York Times, May 22, 1982, p. 1.

"fighter ship" is a childishly inappropriate choice of words. What is the author of this thesis trying to describe? > Calvert, p. 133, refers to the sinking of the 36 freighter Atlantic Conveyor and of the Type 42 destroyer Coventry.

destroyer on the way. The beachhead at Port Stanley was expanding in all directions and the British had not yet experienced a ground-based counterattack, so they proceeded. Argentina bombed a fighter ship and Britain managed to down five Argentine jets. More raids followed but with no major defeat.[67]

a fighter ship.

On May 28, Great Britain attacked Darwin Island and defeated the Argentine troops with relative ease. The British military announced it had overrun the second largest Argentine military installation in the Falklands. By the next day, British forces had battled to within 15 miles of Stanley. That is where Argentina decided to make its final stand. On June 2, British troops seized the high ground 10 miles east of Stanley, after which Britain sent 3,000 more troops to help in the final siege at Stanley.[68]

Great Britain's second landing at Port Stanley came on June 8. The Argentines bombed the British landing craft, damaging a few frigates. Britain fired antiaircraft missiles in retaliation. By June 12, Great Britain had captured two sites that gave it total command over all routes to and from Port Stanley. Fighting continued through the next day. The end came quickly on June 14 when the British saw white flags raised as they approached Stanley.[69] Argentina announced a complete surrender of its forces on June 14 and a total cessation of

one frigate, Plymouth.

Landing ships Sir Galahad and Sir Tristran sunk on June 8, Ibid, p. 254

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[67] Calvert, p. 133.

[68] R. W. Apple, Jr., "Britain Reports Seizing Key Hills Outside Stanley," New York Times, June 2, 1982, p. 1.

[69] Calvert, p. 141.

Also see War In the Falklands and papers

hostilities on June 19. The total casualties for the Falkland Islands War were Argentina: 712, and Great Britain: 255.[70]

[70]Hoffmann and Hoffmann, p. 180.

CHAPTER 5

HISTORY AND OVERVIEW OF NEWSMAGAZINES

The French Weekly Newsmagazine

The period from 1960 to 1965 in France marked the reorganization of French culture to one based primarily on leisure time. This same period is also characterized by troubled times. The Algerian War, General Charles DeGaulle's rise to power and the split of the French Socialist Party from the communists all contributed to the evolution of contemporary French culture. More than any other sphere of cultural life, the French press emerged greatly influenced by these problems and changes.[71]

L'Express, a weekly newsmagazine, was founded by Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber and Francois Geroud in 1960. The two were part of a group that opposed the Gaullist regime and was in favor of Algerian independence.[72] A few years later, Le Nouvel Observateur, a small weekly socialist newsmagazine, was created under the direction of Jean Daniel. It grew slowly because the French Socialist Party was divided and weak and could offer little support.[73]

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[71]Jean-Claud Menger, Les Mass Media En France (Paper in lieu of M.S. thesis, University of Tennessee, 1979), p. 63.

[72]Dominique Frémy and Michèle Frémy, Quid (Paris, 1979), p. 1386.

[73]Menger, p. 66.

L'Express

L'Express was founded in 1959 by a group opposing the DeGaulle regime. Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber and Francois Geroud, as directors of L'Express, used the magazine to speak out specifically for Algerian independence. During its first year of publication, L'Express had an average circulation of 138,00 issues per week. Circulation reached 614,000 in 1972. By that time, L'Express was considered to be the French equivalent of Time and, in fact, its slant had shifted from left to center-right.[74]

Soon after L'Express attained its peak of popularity and importance, Servan-Schreiber in order to pursue a career in politics, passed a 45 percent of his control to Englishman Sir J. Goldsmith. By 1976 circulation had dropped to 537,000 and the magazine lost its reputation as the most influential weekly newsmagazine in France.[75] During the twelve years from 1960 to 1972 in which L'Express was most successful, it dominated all other weeklies, including Paris-Match and Jours de France, which were judged as too right-wing and too heavily devoted to photojournalism. During the early years of their coexistence, Le Nouvel Observateur was viewed as resolutely socialistic and excessively intellectual in tone and style in comparison to L'Express.[76]

The importance of L'Express lingers, however, because it represents the first French magazine to synthesize current events with a

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[74]Ibid., p. 63.

[75]Frémy and Frémy, p. 1386.

[76]Menger, p. 64.

weekly news format. L'Express tries to cover all types of news: national and international politics, literature, theater and film criticism, social problems, leisure activities and the quotidian life.[77] In the past ten years, L'Express has been criticized heavily for its reporting of current events in the same middle-of-the-road political stance. Le Nouvel Observateur had become more popular due to its more dynamic style. Nonetheless, L'Express is still widely read today for access to general information.[78]

Le Nouvel Observateur

Le Nouvel Observateur was founded in 1966 by members of the French Socialist Party. During its first year, circulation reached only 69,000 issues per week, most of which were purchased by socialist intellectuals of the French Socialist Party.[79] During its early years, readers found Le Nouvel Observateur too dry, too demanding and too dogmatic. Also readers found it counter to the contemporary thought that was reflected in L'Express. Further, socialism was dying out. French society was becoming one of consumerism, a change partially attributable to the desire to forget the problems associated with the Algerian War.[80]

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[77]Frémy and Frémy, p. 1387.

[78]Menger, p. 66.

[79]Frémy and Frémy, p. 1390.

[80]Menger, p. 63.

Le Nouvel Observateur differs little in physical appearance from L'Express and other newsmagazine in general. It is characterized, however, by an "uncompromising approach to problems, an open intellectualism and above all, an unshakable dedication to the socialist doctrine."[81] Le Nouvel Observateur is accused, though, of being unreasonable because it addresses more often than not the idealistic tendencies of its readers. Le Nouvel Observateur continued to uphold its tradition begun in the late 1960s to pursue values of intelligence and liberalism over those of mass appeal and social conformity. Le Nouvel Observateur remains appreciated for the "severity and clarity" of its economic analyses, by its catalytic reporting concerning ecological issues and for its spirited intellectual commentaries.[82]

The American Weekly Newsmagazine

Time

Time was founded in 1923 by Henry R. Luce and Briton Hadden who had been classmates at Yale University. While at Yale, they planned a new magazine whose purpose was to organize the news in departments and to present the news in a more easily understood manner.[83] Hadden served as editor of Time for its first five years, but after Hadden's death in 1928, Luce borrowed enough money to buy up his late partner's shares of the magazine. Under Luce, Time's

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[81] Ibid., p. 68.

[82] Ibid., p. 67.

[83] Theodore Peterson, Magazines in the Twentieth Century (Urbana, 1956), p. 298.

focus shifted from one of muckraking, or exposing frauds and crooks, to one of "educating the public." Luce's notion of instruction, however, involved more than reporting facts. Rather, he placed emphasis on analysis and interpretation.[84]

Critics claimed that such mixing of editorial analysis with straight news was unfair to the reader. However unfair Luce's approach might have been, it produced some novel news practices. For example, each week's news was organized into departments and then written in a narrative style full of descriptions. Other innovations attributable to Luce include the concept of "group journalism" in which many researchers, writers and editors pool their work to create an article with no single by-line.[85]

Time went international in 1941. The circulation of Time had risen steadily until World War II, and after that time sales increased dramatically. Time had dominated the newsmagazine market for some 40 years and many believe it to be the best newsmagazine available.[86] It is important to realize that Time never claimed to be purely objective because Henry R. Luce admitted his prejudices as a Protestant, Republican and free enterpriser.[87]

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[84]Robert T. Elson, The World of Time: 1923-1941 (New York, 1973), p. 89.

[85]James Playsted Wood, Magazines in the United States (New York, 1976), p. 188.

[86]Elson, p. 382.

[87]William H. Taft, American Magazines for the 1980s (New York, 1982), p. 67.

Newsweek

English newspaperman Thomas J. C. Martyn founded News-week in 1933. Ten years earlier Martyn had served as foreign editor of Time and, in fact, his first professional writing was for the initial issue of that magazine. With Martyn as business manager and Samuel T. Williamson as editor, News-week survived four years on $2 million provided by investors.[88] Because of financial difficulties, News-week merged with Today, and what is now known as Newsweek was created. After the merger and name change, a new editorial policy was adopted. Under the new policy, the content was to include "the news itself, the background of the news and the significance of the news."[89]

Raymond Moley served as editor of Today and later Newsweek from the 1930s to the 1950s. Under Moley, Newsweek's objective was to present the news in an honest, unbiased, easily understood manner. Because Time had been so heavily criticized for its inaccuracy and arrogance, Martyn made sure Newsweek was written in simple English. Newsweek's attitude was also more moderate when taste and ethics were involved.[90] Newsweek and Time were just as dissimilar in their practices of journalism as they were in their writing style. Rather than

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[88]Ibid., p. 70.

[89]Peterson, p. 332.

[90]Elson, p. 169.

using group journalism, Newsweek supported a system of signed opinion columns and anonymous news columns.[91]

Newsweek was never criticized in the way Time was for its opinionated and slanted reporting. Some critics considered Newsweek the objective and unbiased magazine. Today no one considers any newsmagazine objective. "Editorial comment" is evident in Newsweek's reporting, which some consider imaginative and "brightly written."[92] It is important to note that although Time claims a higher circulation, Newsweek's circulation is growing steadily.[93]

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[91]Taft, p. 69.

[92]Wood, p. 232.

[93]Taft, p. 70.

CHAPTER 6

FINDINGS AND RESULTS

A total of 79 articles was found suitable for analysis in this study from a search of the four magazines. Those articles were analyzed in three ways:

1. Scale category analysis
2. Source of evidence analysis
3. Type of bias analysis

Each issue of all four magazines was analyzed according to these three variables for a ten-week time period. The total number of articles examined in L'Express was 24, which was the same number of articles examined in Newsweek. Le Nouvel Observateur contained only 13 articles pertaining to the Falkland Islands War, while Time contained 17, an only slightly higher number. The breakdown of articles and issues of each magazine is listed in Tables 1 through 4.

Five students were paid to perform the content analysis so that the author could perform a reliability check. Due to financial restraints and lack of students fluent in French, the author could engage only these five. In any case, the reliability check resulted in an approximate 75 to 80 percent agreement among the coders and the author. The agreement would have been higher had one student not been included because that particular student seemed to have a very different perspective from the others.

A copy of the Guidelines for Coding as well as the coding sheet used to record the work are included as Appendix A and B.

Table 1. Articles from Time magazine examined in study.

	Date of issue	Number of articles
	April 19, 1982	3
	April 26, 1982	2
	May 3, 1982	1
	May 10, 1982	1
	May 17, 1982	4
	May 24, 1982	2
	May 31, 1982	1
	June 7, 1982	2
	June 14, 1982	1
Total		17

Table 2. Articles from Newsweek magazine examined in study.

Date of issue	Number of articles
April 12, 1982	1
April 19, 1982	2
April 26, 1982	3
May 3, 1982	1
May 10, 1982	3
May 17, 1982	2
May 24, 1982	2
May 31, 1982	3
June 7, 1982	4
June 14, 1982	3
Total	24

Table 3. Articles from L'Express magazine examined in study.

Date of issue	Number of articles
April 16, 1982	1
April 23, 1982	2
April 30, 1982	1
May 7, 1982	1
May 14, 1982	4
May 21, 1982	4
May 28, 1982	5
June 4, 1982	3
June 11, 1982	3
Total	24

Table 4. Articles from Le Nouvel Observateur magazine examined in study.

Date of issue	Number of articles
April 17, 1982	3
April 24, 1982	2
April 30, 1982	1
May 8, 1982	3
May 22, 1982	3
June 5, 1982	1
Total	13

Appendices C and D are excerpts from Time that have been marked so as to illustrate the method in which the coding for the three variables was conducted.

In general the articles in Time and Newsweek were twice as long and contained twice as much graphic content as the articles found in L'Express and Le Nouvel Observateur. The length of the articles was a minor concern in comparison to the content of the newswriting.

The findings and results for each magazine are discussed in detail. Next is a comparison of L'Express in regards to Le Nouvel Observateur. A similar comparison of Time and Newsweek follows. After the two French newsmagazines have been compared and the two American newsmagazines compared, a comparison of the two countries' newsmagazines is discussed. The results of the content analysis can be found in Tables 5 through 7. These tables chart the percentages for each of the three variables that were investigated.

Le Nouvel Observateur

Under the "directional category" scale of 1 to 5, 30 percent of Le Nouvel Observateur's articles were marked as pure opinion. The more opinion than narrative category was marked for 39 percent of the articles. Approximately 28 percent of the articles were marked as being an even mixture of opinion and narrative. Only three percent were ranked 4, or more narrative than opinion, and none were marked pure narrative.

Table 5. Summary analysis of "directional category" scale.*

	Percent of 1	Percent of 2	Percent of 3	Percent of 4	Percent of 5
Time	1	16	22	52	9
Newsweek	12	15	26	44	3
L'Express	17	40	24	12	7
Le Nouvel Observateur	30	39	28	3	0

*Scale from 1-5, where 1 is outright opinion and 5 is pure narrative.

Table 6. Summary analysis of source of evidence* cited in article.

	Percent of 1	Percent of 2	Percent of 3	Percent of 4	Percent of 5	Percent of 6
Time	26	25	27	21	1	0
Newsweek	25	18	40	17	0	0
L'Express	16	11	27	26	19	1
Le Nouvel Observateur	7	32	22	26	13	0

*Types of sources of evidence:
1. Statistics
2. Examples and comparisons
3. Testimony
4. Analogies and figurative language
5. None
6. Cannot determine

Table 7. Summary analysis of type of bias* evident in article.

	Percent of 1	Percent of 2	Percent of 3	Percent of 4	Percent of 5	Percent of 6	Percent of 7
Time	1	18	6	13	31	29	2
Newsweek	6	20	4	13	33	24	0
L'Express	11	12	12	30	27	5	3
Le Nouvel Observateur	21	18	9	15	24	12	1

*Types of bias:
1. Outright opinion
2. Contextual
3. Graphic
4. Attributional
5. Adjectival
6. Adverbial
7. Cannot determine

In terms of what types of evidence were used in Le Nouvel Observateur, 13 percent of articles were listed as having information with no perceivable source of evidence. The majority of evidence cited was 32 percent for examples and comparisons and 26 percent for analogies and figurative language. About 22 percent of the articles used quotes as evidence and only seven percent used statistics.

The types of bias evident in Le Nouvel Observateur were predictable. Outright opinion was linked to 21 percent of the articles. contextual bias found its way into 18 percent of the articles and attributional bias was in 15 percent. Graphic bias was found in only nine percent. Surprising, however, was the majority of articles (24) containing adjectival bias. Adverbial bias was linked to 12 percent.

L'Express

Under the "directional category" scale, 17 percent of L'Express's articles were considered outright opinion. The majority rank was 2, or more opinion than narrative, and 40 percent of the articles were placed in this category. Some 24 percent of the articles were placed in the even mixture of opinion and narrative, while eight percent received rank 2 of more narrative than opinion. A surprising seven percent of the articles were considered pure narrative.

Another surprise in the results of L'Express was that 27 percent of the articles contained quotes as a source of evidence. It was not expected that French newswriting would make use of testimony so often. Analogies and figurative language were used in 26 percent of the articles. About 19 percent of the articles had no evident source

for their information and 16 percent used statistics. And finally, 11 percent of the articles used examples and comparisons.

The types of bias evident in L'Express more or less followed the predictions. For example, 30 percent of the articles had some sort of attributional bias. Adjectival bias was linked with 27 percent of the articles, and adverbial bias was linked with only four percent. Twelve percent of the articles had some graphic bias. Also 12 percent contained contextual bias. Approximately 11 percent of the articles in L'Express contained outright opinion.

The French magazines were definitely more opinionated than the American ones. Le Nouvel Observateur was very opinionated and the writing style was rhetorical and almost sarcastic in tone. The Falkland Islands War of 1982 was presented in the context of all recent revolutions. Biases were usually linked with Le Nouvel Observateur's practice of creating a scenario in which England and Argentina are pitted against each other, as opposed to providing a rundown of what happened that week in the Falklands. For example, this piece of text taken from an April 30 issue of Le Nouvel Observateur did refer to a specific fact but emphasized the animosity between the British and the Argentines:

> Friday, April 30 at noon, the British fleet must establish an air and sea blockade. Ultimate step before the assault? The American states have offered Argentina a possibility to leave honorably by immediately suspending hostilities. But the Iron Lady, without realizing that, decides to show off Britain's military advantages.[94]

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[94]Georges Buis, "Falklands: The British Fury." Le Nouvel Observateur, April 30, 1982, p. 33.

Le Nouvel Observateur spends quite a bit of space depicting life in Argentina as well as finding out what Argentina's important thinkers were saying about the war. One article incorporated the beliefs of Ernesto Sabato, one of Latin America's great writers and the principal figure in Argentina's democratic opposition. For example, Sabato said,

> I must separate the problems with the government from the problems with the Falklands. I am absolutely against the dictatorial crimes that will profit from the Falklands, but I am also against the problem that the British are creating, this fight between a democracy and a dictatorship.[95]

Almost every paragraph contained a rhetorical question that one would ask if one believed Argentina was conducting a full scale revolution against England. The sarcastic tone and generally questioning nature are, of course, part of French writing style, but Le Nouvel Observateur seems to be more rhetorical than L'Express.

Overall L'Express focused much more on the individuals involved in the events of the Falkland Islands crisis. Emphasis was placed on the public policies and private beliefs of all the people involved as well as the history of the conflict. One early article in reference to Argentine President Galtieri stated:

> Like Haig, he has the reputation of being a dry bore. Proud of his boxing and equestrian exploits, Galtieri likes to impress the women. On the condition that they're not Maggie, that is.[96]

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[95]Oliver Rolin, "Now, Liberate Our Children." Le Nouvel Observateur, April 24, 1982, p. 32.

[96]Jacques Renard, "Falklands: The Forbidden War." L'Express, April 23, 1982, p. 46.

L'Express reported more "factually" than Le Nouvel Observateur, but it put the war into a world context in terms of world economics and human rights.

Again one notices a sarcastic tone in L'Express. In addition there is a taste of drama throughout its articles. Often L'Express compared how one party acted in an event of the Falkland Islands War of 1982 to how France itself would have acted. For example, a reference to Great Britain's strategy in May 14 issue of L'Express stated:

> And their logic in the South Atlantic situation unfortunately implies the bombing of Argentine air and naval bases even on the continent. "It's war," they say.[97]

When L'Express used quotes in its articles, over half were of what Argentines said in protest against Great Britain. L'Express referred to British Prime Minister Thatcher as "Maggie" and was often very critical of not only her public life but also her private life.

There was one very "factual" article in L'Express, one which was based on testimony from two U.S. reporters. Both L'Express and Le Nouvel Observateur published a long recapitulatory article at the end of the war and both articles were somewhat more factual than those of the preceding eight or ten weeks.

Time

Under the scale for "directional categories" only one percent of Time's articles was considered outright opinion. Only nine percent

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[97] Jerôme Dumoulin, "London: The Rage to Win." L'Express, May 14, 1982, p. 51.

were considered pure narrative. The majority was the 52 percent that was associated with the more narrative than opinion category. Next came the even mixture which was linked with 22 percent of the articles. Rank 2, more opinion than narrative, received 16 percent.

The majority of sources of evidence in Time's articles were statistics and quotations, with percentages of 26 and 27, respectively. Only one percent was marked as containing information with no perceivable sources of evidence. About 25 percent of the articles used examples and comparisons, and 21 percent used analogies and figurative language.

Time's biases were utterly predictable. The huge majority of the kinds of bias cited in its articles were adjectival and adverbial biases. Their percentages of frequency were 31 and 29. Time's articles exhibited only six percent graphic bias and only one percent outright opinion. Contextual bias was linked with 18 percent of the articles and attributional bias, 13 percent.

Newsweek

Coding Newsweek for "directional categories" showed a majority of 44 percent that were given rank 4, or more narrative than opinion. Only three percent were considered pure narrative, but a surprising 12 percent were labeled outright opinion. About 15 percent of the articles were determined to be more opinion than narrative and 26 percent were considered an even mixture.

Most of the information in Newsweek's articles was backed up by quotes, most of which came from U.S. intelligence of U.S. officials.

Quotes were used in 40 percent of the articles. Statistics were used in 25 percent of the articles. Examples and comparisons, and analogies and figurative language were used in 18 and 17 percent of the articles, respectively.

Newsweek proved most biased in the categories of adjectival and adverbial bias. These two were linked to 33 and 24 percent of the articles. Contextual bias was found in 20 percent of the article and attributional bias was found in 13 percent of the articles. Four percent of the articles were considered to contain graphic bias. A surprisingly low six percent of the articles were considered to have exhibited outright opinion.

Time seemed to do a good job of sticking to the "facts" of the invasion and subsequent war. Occasionally, though, Time spent too much time discussing U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig and U.S. diplomacy in general. Contextual bias was almost always linked to this practice.

As predicted, there was an abundance of adjectival and adverbial bias in Time. This newsmagazine has long been well known for its opulent, descriptive newswriting style. Time backed up its assertations with equal percentages of all four sources of evidence. It is not surprising that Time used more examples and comparisons and analogies and figurative language than Newsweek.

Time and Newsweek had much more margin for graphic bias than the two French newsmagazines did because American magazines use more graphic content in general. Nonetheless Time and Newsweek

seemed to be somewhat more fair about using photographs that depicted both sides of the issue.

Newsweek proved to be more opinionated that Time but not as much as the French newsmagazines. Its biggest bias was that it seemed to criticize the Argentine nationality. Newsweek recounted jokes and old adages that were not flattering to the Argentine people. For example, a joke published in May 10 issue of Newsweek stated:

> Saint Peter asks the Lord at the Creation why he has so unequally blessed Argentina with so many natural resources. The reply: "Wait. Now I'm going to populate it with Argentines."[98]

Similar to Time, some of Newsweek's opinion and bias shown through in overemphasizing U.S. Secretary of State Haig and the U.S. diplomatic role. Also similar to Time is the fact that there was a majority of adjectival and adverbial bias evident in the newswriting. Sources of evidence were somewhat concentrated on quotes, but the remaining sources were evenly distributed.

There are definite differences in the peculiarities of the four newsmagazines that were investigated. The greatest difference was that when French articles warranted a rank of 3 in the "directional category" (even mixture), that is because the article was an even mixture of the author's opinion and the "facts" of the event. When an American newsmagazine warranted a rank of 3, it was because the newswriting was halfway fair about where to place emphasis. In other words, the American newsmagazines would have seemed even less

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[98]Whittaker, p. 32.

opinionated than they did if they had placed equal emphasis on all the "facts" of the news event.

Another major difference concerns graphic bias. In the French newsmagazines, graphic bias always pertained to an editorial cartoon of some kind. In the U.S. magazines, there were a few editorial cartoons, but the greater majority of graphic bias, when there was any, was linked to unflattering photographs or those that showed only one side of an issue.

CHAPTER 7

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study was to compare the leading two American newsmagazines and the leading two French newsmagazines by examining how the two countries covered a "neutral event." This was accomplished by identifying how much opinion versus narrative was used in their newswriting. The four newsmagazines, Time, Newsweek, L'Express and Le Nouvel Observateur were studied in detail to determine certain specific traits inherent in their newswriting styles.

The background of the four newsmagazines was explained with emphasis placed on their early years as well as their founders so that any reader unfamiliar with them can infer something about the philosophy behind each publication.

The historical background of the French colonial empire was provided to help the unfamiliar reader to better understand France's general attitude toward any conflict of a "colonial nature," such as the Falkland Islands War.

The Falkland Islands War of 1982 was explained with emphasis on chronological events to familiarize the reader with the situation under investigation. More important is that providing the sequence of events affords the reader the knowledge necessary to determine when the most controversial events of the war might have had an effect on newswriting.

In order to know the attitudes, sources of evidence, and types of bias, analyses of each article's content, theme, graphics were

performed in this research. As predicted, the French newsmagazines proved significantly more opinionated than the American newsmagazines. And as expected, the French and American magazines showed considerable differences in sources of evidence used and types of biases revealed. Despite predicted differences, however, there were a few surprising similarities.

The newswriting styles of the French and the American newsmagazines are different precisely because the goals of the two are different. French magazines aim to produce an interesting and dynamic piece of writing. American newsmagazines strive to report events and their backgrounds so as to explain how that might affect the United States. Such different goals allowed an excellent framework for a cross-cultural comparison of newswriting styles and how that might have affected coverage of a specific event.

Event though there are divergences evident in the two French newsmagazines, L'Express and Le Nouvel Observateur, they are both written for the purpose of creating a forum of discussion and debate. French people are politically very aware, and they enjoy discussing politics. There are certain institutions built into French culture that allow for and protect the activity of political debate. The best example is France's sidewalk cafes where people may sit, drink coffee, and talk for hours. Hence, the French news media tries to provide a basis for the discussion that the French culture demands.

Like L'Express and Le Nouvel Observateur, Time and Newsweek are not identical in their renditions of the news. It was evident,

however, that the two American newsmagazines placed the "neutral event" into an American context. "Americans are not very politically aware. Moreover, they tend to be uneducated about life outside the United States. The lack of Americans who speak a second language testifies to that shortcoming. American reporters must not only inform but also educate the American reader. The American reporter must explain how events affect the United States because that is how the American reader, whom some would call narrow-minded, processes world news.

The differences in approaches and goals between the United States and France are important to keep in mind when examining news media from either of those countries. If an American were not familiar with the proclivity for political discussion in French culture, he or she might be shocked that France's newsmagazines contain so much blatant opinion. On the other hand, the French would probably find the content of American newsmagazines rather bland and ethnocentric. In conclusion, those who are interested in the news media of any other country should be warned that the content of the news is shaped by that country's cultural expectations.

Suggestions for further research are endless. This study, for example, could be recreated in numerous variations in order to compare the news media systems of different nations. It would be very interesting, for example, to conduct a similar study involving the top newsmagazine of three countries. One could examine the leading newsmagazine from the United States, France and Italy, or from

Switzerland, Germany and Austria, or from Australia, Great Britain and the United States, to name but a few examples.

Another means of extending this research would be to reproduce what has been done but using newspapers as the primary resource. Primary resources could be expanded to include broadcasts, advertising, or even film. The many languages and cultures in the world mean that the possibilities for multilingual cross-cultural comparisons are extremely bountiful.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

GUIDELINES FOR CODING

1. Turn to article marker in magazine; record the date of each article in each issue of the magazine.

2. Read the entire article; treat each article separately.

3. Under "Scale" you are to make a judgment about what you have read:

   1=outright opinion 5=pure narrative

   Using this scale, the coder is to determine the direction of the article.

4. Under "Source" the coder is to make a judgment about the sources of information used in the article.

   1=use of numbers and statistics
   2=comparisons with other situations, events, etc.
   3=use of quotes or information coming from quotes
   4=inferring or creating a similarity with another situation
   5=no perceivable source of evidence
   6=used as a last resort when the coder cannot make a decision

   The coder may use more than one source of evidence.

5. Under "Bias" the coder makes a decision as to what kinds of bias are evident in the article, if any at all.

   1=absolute editorializing
   2=putting an event in a context other than its immediate one
   3=graphics only showing one side of an issue
   4=attributing information so that only one side is evident
   5=using adjectives so that an opinion is evident
   6=using adverbs so that an opinion is evident
   7=used as a last resort when the coder cannot make a decision

   The coder may use more than one type of bias.

APPENDIX B

CODING SHEET

Magazine _____

1. Outright Opinion 2. More Opinion 3. Even Mixture 4. More Narrative 5. Pure Narrative	1. Statistics 2. Examples/ comparisons 3. Testimony 4. Analogies/ Figurative Language 5. None 6. Cannot Determine	1. Outright Opinion 2. Contextual 3. Graphic 4. Attributional 5. Adjectival 6. Adverbial 7. Cannot Determine

Scale	Source	Bias
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

APPENDIX C

FIRST EXCERPT FROM TIME

COVER STORIES

Face-Off on the High Seas

The British and the Argentines brace for combat over the Falklands

I The solemn scene has been played out time and time again over the centuries—the great warships weighing anchor and heading out to sea on the morning tide. Near II by, as a reminder of the glorious past, was the *Victory*, the flagship of Lord Nelson when he sailed out through the same channel to win his great victory over the French and Spanish at Trafalgar in 1805. And, as always, the Britons gathered at Portsmouth Harbor last week to watch the naval departure were swept with deep feelings of national pride and a sense of foreboding about an uncertain future. The crowd was largely silent at first, but the cheers began as the aircraft carriers *Invincible* and *Hermes* moved past. The spectators, some of whom had been weeping only moments before, shouted encouragement across the water, waved Union Jacks and held placards reading GOOD LUCK and UK–OK.



Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher
"Failure? The possibilities do not exist."

Sailors in their blue-and-white dress uniforms lined up on deck in the traditional farewell. Spectators in boats accompanying the *Invincible* searched for a glimpse of Prince Andrew, 22, second in line to the throne and a helicopter pilot. The decks of the *Invincible* and the *Hermes* were jammed with munitions and the latest in British aerial fighting gear: vertical-takeoff Harrier attack aircraft and Sea King helicopters. Some 2,000 Royal Marines, the nucleus of an assault group, were also aboard the ships. Once out on the Atlantic, the carriers were joined by destroyers, frigates and support vessels until the fleet numbered close to 30. Running at night under blackout conditions, the largest British military armada since World War II began its long, slow voyage toward the South Atlantic. Far ahead of surface ships, nuclear-powered attack submarines already prowled the waters around the fleet's destination, the barren and windswept Falkland Islands.

Meanwhile, about 7,800 miles from Portsmouth, the Argentines braced to de-

I. Source: Analogies/Figurative Language

Bias: Contextual, Adjectival

II. Source: Examples/Comparisons

Bias: Contextual, Adjectival

APPENDIX D

SECOND EXCERPT FROM TIME

be Thatcher's most serious rival for the party's leadership and a critic, however cautious, of her stringent economic policies. Wealthy, Eton- and Cambridge-educated and a descendant of the famed Puritan leader of the House of Commons during the 17th century English civil war, Pym had hoped for the Foreign Secretary post after the Conservative election victory of May 1979. Instead he became Defense Secretary. In January 1981 Thatcher fired him from the job after Pym opposed her on military spending cuts to reduce the British budget deficit. Importantly, Pym had questioned the government's decision to cut back its conventional naval forces while modernizing its submarine-based nuclear deterrent.

As the British fleet set sail, Thatcher regained some of her customary fire. Her basic position was that Britain would not negotiate until the Argentines withdrew. "We have to recover those islands," she declared in a television interview. Evoking Queen Victoria's words from the "black week" of December 1899, when attacking British forces were being repulsed in the Boer War, she declaimed: "Failure? The possibilities do not exist. I'm not talking about failure. I am talking about supreme confidence in the British fleet, superlative troops, excellent equipment. We must use all our professionalism, our flair, every single bit of native cunning and all our equipment. We must go out calmly, quietly, to succeed."

In setting that course, Thatcher had overwhelming levels of public support. One British national public opinion poll showed 83% in favor of regaining the Falklands. Given the choice between force and diplomatic pressure to achieve that goal, 53% preferred the use of force.

British strategy was designed to use a carefully calculated mixture of both. High government officials were sure that the Argentines would never withdraw their invasion force from the Falklands unless they were convinced that Britain was deadly serious about military retaliation. Accordingly, the government deliberately harshened its rhetoric, while using every other means at its disposal to bring diplomatic pressure on Argentina. Pym set the tone. "Britain does not appease dictators," he told a solemn House of Commons. Pale and grave, Thatcher answered further opposition cries for her resignation with the tart retort: "No. Now is the time for strength and resolution."

There were few doubts of Thatcher's resolution, or of her determination to use Britain's still formidable strength on the high seas. As she spoke, the fleet was continuing to grow. In addition to the warships already under way, the government requisitioned at least three British Petroleum tankers to serve as fuel transports for the attack force, which eventually could include as many as ten civilian ships. The navy was drawing heavily on the little-known Royal Fleet Auxiliary, whose 24 ships belong to the British Defense Ministry but whose officers and crew are technically members of the British merchant marine. The Fleet Auxiliary excels at carrying out high-speed naval refueling operations at sea, even while zigzagging in the dark beside their "customers."

In the port of Southampton, the 45,000-ton, 1,600-passenger cruise ship *Canberra* was stripped of her luxury fittings, chandeliers and heavy curtains. Two helicopter landing pads were fitted onto the liner's decks, one of them across an empty swimming pool. Military rations, munitions, armored vehicles and other equipment were put aboard, and 2,000 marines and paratroopers filed up the gangways. Many members of the *Canberra's* crew volunteered to serve for the possibly hazardous South Atlantic duty; in addition, some 30 nurses were accompanying the troops; the *Canberra* might be used as a hospital ship.

As the British moved south, pilots of the Harrier attack aircraft began practicing combat missions and making wave-skimming flights to avoid radar detection. Pilots later plan to fire some of their weapons close to the carrier to accustom crews to the noise of combat. Marines conducted regular calisthenic- and weapons-training sessions on the carrier flight decks, and helicopter crews worked on their tricky approaches and landings. For relaxation, officers aboard the *Invincible* were shown a Walt Disney wildlife film. Subject: the Falkland Islands. Prince Andrew joined in the laughter about the penguins.

The greatest weakness of the British task force is that it lacks airpower: the range of the Harriers is not much more than 100 miles. To help correct that flaw, the government has dispatched Nimrod reconnaissance aircraft armed with torpedoes and "smart," target-seeking bombs to Ascension Island, a British colony, some 3,500 miles from the Falklands. The Nimrods have a range of 5,755 miles and can be refueled in the air. In addition, C-130 Hercules military transports are flying into Ascension to be ready for use in the Falklands.

Beyond establishing a blockade, British battle strategy is top secret, but TIME has learned that a likely second phase of the British effort, if it came to war, would be the reoccupation of South Georgia Island, 800 miles from Port Stanley, and a blockade of Argentina's naval base at Comodoro Rivadavia. A third stage might be the seizing of Port Stanley itself by marines and paratroopers under air cover from the Harriers and Nimrods.

But the British faced several major problems. The first is what U.S. experts were calling "sustainability": resupplying troops and fleet if a blockade continued for several weeks. The common assumption was that supplies would be stocked at Ascension, but it was not certain that such stores would be available soon enough. Even then, the British faced the daunting prospect of maintaining a long supply line under conditions of war.

Many military experts also question the ability of the British to retake the is-

I. Source: Testimony

II. Source: Testimony
Bias: Contextual

III. Source: Statistics

IV. Source: Testimony
Bias: Adjectival

V. Bias: Adverbial

VI. Bias: Contextual

VII. Bias: Attributional

VIII. Source: None

VITA

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During her junior year she attended the University of Bordeaux in Bordeaux, France. After returning to San Diego after eight months of studies and four months of travels, she was employed as the assistant to the Dean of International Education at the University of California, San Diego. In December 1982, she received a Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of California, San Diego, with a major in communication and minors in anthropology and French literature.

In January 1983, she returned to Knoxville to enter the master's program in communications at The University of Tennessee, Knoxville. While a graduate student at The University of Tennessee, she interned at N.A.P. Consumer Electronics Corporation in Knoxville. Prior to receiving a Master of Science degree in August 1985, she was employed by the Society of Behavior Medicine.

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