Western press coverage of the Bangladesh crisis a case study.

Bushra Rafiq

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LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ MICROFILMÉE TELLE QUE NOUS L'AVONS REÇUE
Western Press Coverage of the Bangladesh Crisis: A Case Study

by

Bushra Rafiq

A thesis presented to the University of Windsor in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in
The Department of Communication Studies

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DEDICATION

To My Dearest Brother Rashid Khan whose untimely death changed the path of my life...
ABSTRACT

This study examines of the coverage by three elite Western newspapers of a Third World crisis situation. A content analysis of one hundred and nineteen issues of each of The New York Times, The Times of London, and The Globe & Mail from late 1970 to the end of 1971 was conducted with respect to reporting of the Bangladesh crisis and the separation of East and West Pakistan.

Stemming from UNESCO’s MacBride Commission and the writings of Third World scholars hypotheses were formulated which suggested that the coverage of Third World countries, on the whole, would be negative, yet there would be significant differences between the three newspapers. Variables, such as; the the source of news, e.g. special correspondents, wire services, etc.; place of origin of story, e.g. India, East Pakistan, West Pakistan, etc.; placement of news, e.g. editorial page, front page; themes favorable or unfavorable to leaders and countries; and the degree of backgrounding of events were coded. In all 575 news stories were analyzed.
The results, in the main, supported hypotheses which suggested an overall negativity of treatment except in the case of East Pakistan (Bangladesh). There were significant differences between the newspapers in regard to volume of stories, origin of news and source of news.

The study provides support for some of the Third World criticisms of the Western press and suggests areas for further research.
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Chapter I

GENERAL DESCRIPTION AND THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

1.1 THE INTRODUCTION

In the history of Pakistan the year 1971 was of crucial importance. This was the year when it became obvious that Pakistan had failed either to achieve a national identity or produce a viable political order in which the people of both East and West Pakistan could live together as one nation. Although the geographical separation between the two parts of the country was from the beginning a great challenge to its continued cohesion, it had been felt that in this modern age of satellite communication and jet aircraft distance was not an insuperable problem. However, in this pivotal year disintegration became complete.

This study will analyze the reporting of this crisis in nation building by elements of Western press. In this context certain hypotheses concerning First World press coverage of Third World events will be tested.

The driving forces behind the creation of Pakistan in 1947 were anti-colonialism and democracy, but soon after independence the democratic process faltered. There is no doubt that other factors, such as; economic disparities, the cultural conflicts among the people of East and West
Pakistan and, finally, external complicating factors which intensified the internal divisive forces were the basic reasons for Pakistan's failure to achieve national integration. Jehan (1972:3) says that:

_Nation building or national integration is a multi-dimensional problem. Language and cultural factors are often not supportive of the growth of a single nationalism in the new states of Asia and a great number of which have "illogical boundaries" cutting across tribes and nationality groups or which contain within themselves "subnational groups" whose leaders aspire to lead an independent nation state... The most immediate loyalties of the vast majority of people in these states go to units other than the nation state._

Pakistan was in many ways typical of a "new state". It shared with other new states a long history of colonial domination, a plural society and a traditional socio-economic political structure. The claim for a Pakistan nation was first put forth in 1940 and the state was created legally when India became independent in 1947. For Pakistan the most important task was the integration of subnations. The Bengali were the largest ethno-cultural subgroup in Pakistan. At the time of independence the Bengali had little representation in the civil-military bureaucracy and professional class of Pakistan. The more anglicized Punjabi and the migrants from Northern and Western India, although ethnically and linguistically a minority, from the outset had become the national elite of Pakistan. This led to an alienation of the Bengali from the Pakistani political system and created a political, social and economic gap between the two wings of the country.
The neglect of the Bengali eroded the thin veneer of a Pakistani national identity, and by the end of 1970 East and West Pakistan were on the brink of separation. This internally explosive political situation was complicated by external factors and the result was civil war in East Pakistan, which turned into a full scale war with India on 3 December 1971. By 15 December the Pakistan Army surrendered and East Pakistan emerged as the sovereign state of Bangladesh.

This study will examine how this crisis faced by a Third World country was projected in selected elite newspapers of three Western countries, namely The New York Times from the United States, The Times of London from Great Britain, and The Globe & Mail from Canada. Secondly, the study will examine if certain aspects of the crisis were given a biased treatment and compare the differences and similarities in the agendas set by these dailies.

Therefore, this study concerns itself with possibly the most controversial topic in international communications vis-a-vis the developing and the developed countries; the claim that Western media frequently contain negative and distorted coverage of the Third World. However, before stating the formal hypotheses integral to the study, some background information is necessary in three areas:

1. A review of UNESCO efforts to create a New World Information order;
2. A consideration of the views of Third World scholars whose study has dealt with the Western press and its coverage of the foreign news;

3. An examination of the socio-political context in Pakistan in which the crisis took place. Derived from this background are the hypotheses found towards the end of Chapter 2.

Quite simply, the purpose of this study is to test with respect to a single but significant event, the validity of a number of assertions made concerning the work of the Western press in reporting the Third World.

1.2 THE NEW WORLD INFORMATION ORDER

A function of the mass media is to transmit information, and thereby enlighten the public by reporting and explaining what is happening in the world. The Western media have generally assigned themselves such roles as informing, enlightening, and educating the public; watchdog of government; servicing the democratic and economic institutions of a free society; furthering international understanding through global news; etc. It has been said that the nature of the press found in a society reflects the social values, the journalistic standards, the moral and political perspectives of that particular nation. To some degree at least the coverage of national and international news depends on the nature of the society to which the press belongs.
In 1973 the Fourth Conference of Heads of States and Governments of Non-Aligned countries met in Algiers. It was stated about this meeting that;

It was the first meeting at which these countries raised the problem [of international communications] in clear-cut terms and gave forceful expression to their common interest. (UNESCO; 1980:38)

The decision to take formal action was approved at the Nineteenth Session of the General Conference held in Nairobi in 1976. A report of the conference notes;

The highest priority should be given to measures aiming at reducing the communication gap existing between the developed and the developing countries, and at achieving a freer and more balanced international flow of information. (UNESCO; 1980:295)

The General Conference also instructed the Director General of UNESCO to review all the communication problems and the controversy existing between the Western countries and the Third World. The Director General thought it best to set up a working and study group composed of fifteen distinguished and highly qualified people from varied backgrounds.

In late 1977, UNESCO initiated the International Commission for the Study of Communication problems under Chairman Sean MacBride. The Commission considered complaints by Third World countries concerning their view of a serious inadequacy and imbalance in the global free flow of information. This, perhaps, has become the most controversial and persistent issue in international communications. The composition of the International Commission is attached as Appendix 'A'.
1.2.1 Main Lines of Inquiry in The Commission's Mandate

The Commission's mandate specified four main lines of as given to it by UNESCO (1980:42). They were;

1. To study the current situation in the fields of communication and information and to identify problems which call for fresh action at the national level and a concerted, overall approach at the international level. The analysis of the state of communication in the world today, and particularly of information problems as a whole, should take account of the diversity of socio-economic conditions and levels and types of the development;

2. To pay particular attention to problems relating to the free and balanced flow of information in the world, as well as specific needs of developing countries, in accordance with the decisions of the General Conference;

3. To analyze the communication problems, in their different aspects, within the perspective of the establishment of a new international economic order and of the measures to be taken to foster the institution of a "new world information order";

4. To define the role which communication might play in making public opinion aware of the major problems besetting the world, in sensitizing it to these problems and helping gradually to solve them by concerted action at the national and international level.
The report of the Commission was published in 1980 under the name of Many Voices. One World: Towards a New More Just and More Efficient World Information and Communication Order, and is commonly known as The MacBride Report. The Commission viewed all the charges and the counter-charges put by the members of the Commission and, after extensive discussions, the Commission forwarded its recommendations to the General Assembly for approval.

1.2.2 The Controversial Issues

In the opinion of Third World critics, the mass media of these developed countries tend to emphasize the points of view, areas of interest, types of questions and ways of presenting the facts, which reflect the values of the culture in which they originate. The critics say that due to the "one way flow of information" they are subject to a transnational system of cultural imperialism. They believe that there is no free flow of information through international communications systems and this domination by the West results in the projection of inadequate and distorted images of Third World development, not only to the international community but also to themselves. Semmel (1977:317) has stated:

The country by country distribution of foreign news largely corresponds to existing hierarchical divisions within the international system. The reporting of foreign news is concentrated among the economically advanced, politically prominent and culturally Western societies; that is, the pattern of foreign news coverage is Western-oriented, big power dominated, and eurocentric.
The major western news agencies (AP, UPI, Reuters and AFP) are in fact concentrated in developed countries. These news agencies control the most developed and sophisticated distribution techniques to disseminate the news, and they enjoy the privilege of being able to send the dispatches to other countries very cheaply in a way which ensures that they have an almost absolute predominance. Richstad (1981:243) stated that:

These news agencies collect and disseminate millions of words and thousands of feet of news film daily to all the parts of the world. Their correspondents and stringers number in the hundreds and they control sophisticated, high speed transmission facilities and make extensive use of communication satellite. These agencies supply the world's mass media -- print and broadcast -- with most of the international news. Because of this they exercise vast influence over the global news agenda.

Through UNESCO and The MacBride Report the Third World succeeded in making the West aware that there were serious problems in the international communication system. However, the coverage of Third World news is not an easy job. New technology helps reporters pass on their dispatches more efficiently, but as Rosenblum (1979:4) said:

Dispatches pass through so many hands enroute to the reader that sometimes a reporter cannot recognize his own work in print. Often the few dispatches which are printed must be trimmed sharply, leaving out vital background elements.

The media of Third World countries themselves use the services of the Western news wire agencies, in order to obtain credibility and authenticity. In a sample issue of
The Asian daily newspaper The Straits Times, which originates from Singapore, Schram and Atwood (1981:55) found;

Five of the nine items on page one were from the international news agency wires, three were by local writers and the ninth apparently from a London correspondent.

The problem of the Third World countries is not only the developed world gets a distorted and biased picture, but they also get a distorted image of themselves through their use of Western news agencies. Rosenblum (1979:5) pointed out that;

Often correspondents dismiss with a label like "pro-Peking" or "Marxist" a political movement within its own fifty page ideology. ...occasionally quotes are cleaned up slightly to sound catchier, in borderline cases stronger words are usually preferred; "riots" rather than "demonstration", "massacre" instead of "killing".

No doubt the news coverage in which words like "left-wing" and "right-wing", "pro-Peking" and "pro-Moscow" are used very extensively can result in misconception and distortion.

The MacBride Commission discussed all the complaints thoroughly and it recommended;

The inescapable need to interpret unfamiliar situations in terms that will be understood by a distant audience, should not blind reporters or editors to the hazards of narrow ethnocentric thinking ...the first step to overcome this bias is to acknowledge that ...the act of selecting certain news items for publication, while rejecting others, produces in the minds of the audience a picture of the world that may well be incomplete or distorted. (UNESCO; 1980:263)
The coverage of foreign news colors the thinking of virtually all Western readers. There seems to be little doubt that the Third World countries have some legitimate complaints over the news treatment they receive in the Western press, but very little attention is given to the process through which foreign correspondents gather news in Third World countries.

1.2.3 The Problems In The Coverage Of The Third World

Foreign news coverage is an expensive task and to cut costs, as Rosenblum (1979:27) says, the trend towards "parachute journalism" is growing. Special correspondents working at home or in large foreign bureaus are dispatched to the site of major stories, wherever they break. Due to the rush, reporters do not have enough time to develop a solid feel for the information, and the chances of misinterpretation are increased substantially. Yet, the cost of maintaining a resident correspondent or permanent bureau is considered prohibitive. Hoagland (1983:7) states that;

Average costs to maintain a bureau range from $50,000 a year in places where office rents, and other infrastructure costs are kept at a minimum, up to $125,000 in a year in a high ticket place like London.

In Third World countries the maintainence of an office costs more than $100,000 per year. Hamilton (1983:17) shows these figures for a foreign news bureau;

It costs the The Washington Post about $150,000 a year to keep a reporter in West Africa, and of course any serious effort to cover the Third World must include more than two reporters in Africa.
Apart from heavy costs, the Western press faces the problem that a number of leaders in the developing countries regard independent reporting as a direct threat to their authority and the sovereignty of the state. Some of the studies done on the nature of press prevailing in Third World countries indicate that most of the leaders in Third World countries control their domestic media by censorship, subsidy or state control and that the media refrain from criticism or publishing investigative reports which challenge the status quo. Rosenblum (1983:18) points out that:

Last year there was a reported coup in Pakistan, and the government not only denied it but announced that the press was creating a malicious and absurd fabrication of the story. Shortly thereafter, however, President Zia confirmed [the coup attempt] with no apologies. He was still angry at the correspondents for having focused on a negative aspect of his country.

In certain cases the Western media were asked to comply with the requirements of the Third World governments. Rubin (1975:55) points to a number of examples.

1. During a 1973 visit to Cuba several American journalists were invited to the North Korean embassy. After a sumptuous dinner, the embassy's first secretary urged them to go home and write favourable news stories on North Korean policies. "...if you or your newspaper need any money to carry on this good work, we would be happy to provide financial assistance."

2. In June 1975, Uganda's President Idi Amin threatened to execute British subject Denis Hills for passages
critical of Amin in an unpublished manuscript confiscated by the Ugandan police. Amin made a number of demands before unconditionally releasing Hills, including ones that the British government stop the BBC from spreading malicious propaganda against Uganda and stop the British press from publishing wild and baseless reports that Uganda was in a state of chaos.

3. U.S. media were asked to comply with the Indian government's new requirement that foreign correspondents sign a pledge to abide by the country's strict state of emergency press censorship laws.

Another problem in foreign news gathering is that most of the time the foreign correspondents do not have direct knowledge of the language of the country in which an event is taking place. In the situation of a crisis or a war, the correspondent's ability to reach and deal with information diminishes. The vast distances, inadequate communication or travel restrictions make it almost impossible to obtain first hand knowledge of a news story. In a restricted situation when the correspondents have no regular access to public officials, and have no knowledge of the local language, they manage to get the news from those sources most readily available. Tyner (1983:3) stated that;

Frequently, the correspondents turn to familiar groups for help, in many cases to American Embassy experts willing to interpret a news development. That's why so often you see so much copy containing terms such as "diplomatic sources", "Western experts" or simply "diplomats".
Third World countries also have complained that the Western media distort their news. They claim that the Western press coverage of the Third World countries is more likely to be ideologically concentrated, event oriented and biased than it would be at home. Charles, Jeff; Larry Shore and Rusty Todd in their study (1979:148) found that:

There was a tendency among the Western media including the news agencies to devote greater attention to the Third World at times of disasters, crisis, and confrontation.

Elaborating this point of view, Lent (1977:46) noted some considerations which affected the Western media during the reporting of international events. He stated that:

National interests, crisis reporting, foreign censors and a shrinking corps of correspondents are said to constrain international coverage in U.S. media. News in U.S. newspapers often deals with crisis, the bizarre or outlandish, or the East-West struggle.

In a situation when the reporters cannot get into a country, they may feel forced to write about events from the outside. In this regard Rosenblum (1981:232) stated:

Often relying on questionable dissident sources with little chance to balance their reports with remarks from authorized spokesmen, the result is likely to cause even more bitterness from the leader of that country.

Ronald Koven, foreign editor of The Washington Post as quoted in Rosenblum (1981:232), once said;

We have the feeling the Third World is closing down on us little by little, almost on a monthly basis... Visas for countries at peace with the United States are sometimes very difficult to get.
The Western responses to the complaints of Third World countries range from sympathy and expanding cooperation to defensive explanation. Gerald Long (1981:237) stated:

We are sometimes accused of not doing what we have not set out to do. How can you give a complete picture of India in, say, 3,000 words a day? No...we are not and we can't. We must operate on the principle of news as exception. Reuters tries to give a fair picture...but we can only send a limited amount, and we must be selective.

1.3 THE AGENDA SETTING FUNCTION OF THE MEDIA

The theoretical framework for the study is based on the concepts of gatekeeping and agenda setting.

The news we see and hear or the information we receive from the mass media is the result of many gatekeeping decisions. At the most obvious level Shaw and Clemmer (1977:34) pointed out;

While God may indeed allow all the events to happen, reporters do not always choose to write about them, nor do news editors, columnists, editors or publishers.

No doubt the quality of foreign news gathering depends to some extent on the professionalism, ethics, and journalistic skills of the reporter. These considerations are influenced by the pressures and bureaucratic constraints in which the reporter operates. A reporter may strive to achieve accuracy and objectivity, but the basic processes of selecting the news to print, the space given to it, and the decision to highlight certain aspects of the news while ignoring others, totally depends on the organization of a
particular newspaper, and this process influences the final product of a news story. In international communications concepts of objectivity and impartiality are highly controversial. Such journalistic terms have had widely different meanings at different times and in different places. While familiarity with the country, freedom of action and knowledge of the language all contribute to the substance of a correspondent's report; how these dispatches are treated by the parent media is yet another influence in the reporting process and of much interest to this study.

It is through this selection of the news and the importance attached to it that the mass media provide an agenda for the public to discuss and think about. Cohen (1963:13) has stated;

The press is significantly more than a purveyor of information. It may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about. And it follows from this that the world looks different to different people depending not only on their personal interests, but also on the map that is drawn for them by the writers, editors and publishers of the paper they read.

Also; Lang and Lang (1982:337) observed that;

The mass media force attention to certain issues. They build up public images or political figures. They are constantly presenting objects suggesting what individuals in the mass should think about, know about, have feeling about.

This description infers that the mass media, with their selection of news, influences the perceptions of the readers and establishes their mental map of the world.
Moreover, the readers give relative priorities to the news content of the media according to the emphasis placed on it by using attention getting devices, such as headlines, placement on the first page of the newspaper or writing an editorial on the issue. These decisions influence the attitude and behavior of the readers. Shaw (1979:96) stated that:

People tend to include or exclude from their cognitions what the media include or exclude from their content. People also tend to assign an importance to what they include that closely resembles the emphasis given to events, issues and persons by the mass media.

The fact remains that those issues selected and presented by the mass media get priority in the public mind and become a public agenda. People tend to perceive the world the way it is presented in the mass media. The nature and amount of foreign news reported in the media is an important variable in the images which all levels of a society develop about other societies and, in particular, about developing countries.

Therefore, the press is viewed to be as an agenda setter as a consequence of gatekeeping activities. Schramm (1960:120) said that "a few important gatekeepers have an enormous power over our views of our environment." Keeping this in mind the study will focus upon the agenda developed in certain elite Western newspapers with respect to their presentation of the Bangladesh crisis, including the attitudes portrayed toward the countries involved in the conflict and to their political leaders.
Chapter II
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Knowledge of the characteristics of news content flowing from the Third World and attention paid to this news in the Western media are basic elements to a good understanding of Western press behavior while engaged in covering a Third World country. Since the coverage of the Bangladesh crisis is the focus of this research, and the purpose is to find out the differences or similarities in the coverage during this political crisis, appropriate concepts about the flow of foreign news in Western media are reviewed.

2.2 THE FLOW OF FOREIGN NEWS

How the Third World is presented in the elite newspapers and the comparative frequency of foreign news appearing in the Western media are the areas of research regarding news flows. The most salient conclusions that have emerged from empirical studies indicate that the distribution of foreign news in the Western media tends to be uneven and highly selective.

A few studies show that common factors in the pattern of information flow consist of few variables, such as
national rank in the power hierarchy of nations, dominance and weakness of nations, cultural and economic affinities, etc. Semmel (1977:317) in his content analysis of foreign news coverage in four U.S. newspapers found that;

The pattern of foreign news attention in the elite American press tends to reflect the "relative distances" between the United States and other national news targets. The more proximate another society is to U.S along economic, political and cultural dimensions, the more likely the U.S press will perceive its activities to be newsworthy.

This study contends that Third World news is not a permanent feature on the agenda of Western press, but rather that the Western media tend to reinforce the division of the world between high and low status nations, and in this way the relatively few developed countries are consistent news-makers while underdeveloped countries are for the most part neglected. Cohen (1965:27) concluded that;

The foreign correspondents are concentrated in the major capitals and news transmission centres, and spread out thinly over the areas of the world. When the events make the grade as news in one of the less covered areas, there is an influx of correspondents and coverage increases dramatically... this news flow lasts until the interest of the journalists is captured by events elsewhere and the reporters move on.

Hester (1971:29) suggested in his study that;

The shakers and movers upon the international news scene are often such nations as the United States, Great Britain, France, the Soviet Union and West Germany... areas which specially seem neglected include Africa, Latin America and parts of Asia.

A number of researchers have focused their work on determining the factors influencing the flow of Third World
news in the Western media and the research is taking a very interesting turn. Reimer (1981:35) goes as far as observe;

The study of foreign news flow is at the stage where the literature is taking tentative steps towards theory construction.

2.2.1 Towards the Construction of a Theory

The study regarding the factors influencing the flow of news from Third World countries presents some systematic evidence towards the construction of a theory. Galtung and Ruge (1965:69) have based their work on twelve factors, which they think will enable an event to strike enough attention to become news in the Western media. Galtung and Ruge (1965:69) have framed the problem as follows;

Imagine that the World can be linked to an enormous set of broadcasting stations, each one emitting its signal or its programme at its proper wavelength. Since we can not register everything, we have to select, and the question is what will strike our attention. This is a problem in the psychology of perception and the following is a list of some obvious implication of this metaphor:

1. If the frequency of the signal is outside the dial it will not be recorded.

2. The stronger the signal, the greater the amplitude, the more probable that it will be recorded as worth listening to.

3. The more clear and unambiguous the signal (the less noise there is), the more probable that it will be recorded as worth listening to.
4. The more meaningful the signal, the more probable that it will be recorded as worth listening to.

5. The more consonant the signal is with the mental image of what one expects to find, the more probable that it will be recorded as worth listening to.

6. The more unexpected the signal, the more probable that it will be recorded as worth listening to.

7. If one signal has been tuned into the more likely it will continue to be tuned in to as worth listening to.

8. The more a signal has been tuned into, the more probable that a very different kind of signal will be recorded as worth listening to next time.

The implications of the metaphor are that events become news to the extent that they satisfy the conditions of;

1. Frequency.
2. Threshold.
3. Unambiguity.
4. Meaningfulness.
5. Cultural promixity.
6. Predictability.
7. Unexpectedness.
8. Continuity.
9. Composition.
10. Reference to elite nations.
11. Reference to elite people.
12. Reference to something negative.
These 12 factors are not independent of each other; there are inter-relations between them. The implication is that the greater degree to which events satisfy the criteria of these factors, the more likely these events will become news in the mass media. This point and others which follow from it have presented four main hypotheses by the researchers, Galtung and Ruge (1965:69);

1. The more that events satisfy the criteria mentioned (the 12 factors) the more likely that they will be registered as news (selection).

2. Once a news item has been selected what makes it newsworthy according to the factors will be accentuated (distortion).

3. Both the process of selection and the process of distortion will take place at all steps in the chain from event to reader (replication).

4. The higher the total score of an event, the higher the probability that it will become news and even make headlines (additivity).

To test the theory the researchers selected three international crises which occurred in Third World countries, namely the Congo and Cuba crises in 1960 and the Cyprus crisis in 1964. A content analysis of a number of variables in four Norwegian newspapers was carried out and Galtung and Ruge found strong support for their hypotheses.
Moreover, they concluded that out of the 12 proposed factors, there are four cultural-bound factors which influence the transition from event to news in the Western press. According to Galtung and Ruge (1975:69) these factors consist of:

1. The more the event concerns elite nations; the more probable that it will become news.
2. The more the event concerns elite people, the more probable that it will become a news item.
3. The more the event can be seen in personal terms, as due to the action of specific individuals, the more probable that it will become a news item.
4. The more negative the event is in its consequences, the more probable that it will become a news item.

A number of empirical studies provide support for Galtung and Ruge's approach, for example in 1978-79 an examination of foreign news was sponsored by UNESCO and conducted by twenty national teams from the International Association of Mass Communication Research (IAMCR) was included in its report. With respect to this report Mohammadi and Stevenson observed:

Several characteristics about foreign news appear to be universal. Throughout the world, politics is a primary news focus, and events within the geographical region of a particular nation take priority over foreign dispatches. In addition the United States and Western Europe are the consistent newsmakers throughout the world. News in all media systems was found to deal largely with exceptional events, but particularly when the developing world was portrayed.
Pakistan is one of those developing countries that has suffered "exceptional events", i.e. widespread political instability and its ultimate disintegration as a single country. The criteria or the factors suggested above will prove useful in the later discussion with respect to the findings and conclusions.

Empirical studies, less directed to theory construction, are of more particular importance to the study in hand. Review of these studies falls into two categories. The first category includes studies related to coverage of a particular event by different newspapers and the differences amongst them. The second category reviews the existing literature on the news coverage of Bangladesh crisis. After the review, the appropriate research questions and the hypotheses will be formulated.

2.2.2 The Coverage of One Event by Two Newspapers

It seems unlikely that two newspapers will present a closely equivalent picture of a specific event. Rather, they will exhibit some selectivity and preference and will have the intent to place emphasis on exclusive aspects of a news story. In one of their studies; Azer, Stanley and MacCormick (1972:373) indicated that the Western press presented a distorted picture of a particular event. The researchers examined The New York Times index and a permanent regional source The Middle East Journal, with respect to the coverage of Egyptian-Israeli relations from 1955-1958 and noted that;
The two differed significantly in the frequency of events reported. The regional source reported more cooperative events and the global sources provided a distorted portrait of reality by over-emphasizing the dramatic and conflictual events.

The differences between the two approaches indicate that readers from either country would have a difficult time trying to comprehend the issues involved, i.e. the background and the gradual developments\(^4\) in the relationship, which could lead to distorted mental impressions.

Muravchik (1983:11), in order to evaluate the news coverage of the war in Lebanon, studied for a specific time period all the news reports about Lebanon appearing in The New York Times, The Washington Post, Time, and Newsweek as well as three television networks for a specific time period. He found a lot of discrepancies in the newspapers' reporting. He concluded that;

The New York Times maintained higher standards of journalistic objectivity than did any of the other news outlets covered in this study. It managed most of the time to restrict its editorial opinion to its editorial pages. The Washington Post read, throughout the war and siege in Lebanon, like a newspaper on a crusade. Editorial opinion flowed forth from a variety of sections and departments into a large stream that was uniformly anti-Israel and often polemical.

We may assume that these differences in news treatment could have yielded divergent views of the conflict under discussion.
2.2.3 The American Media and the Bangladesh Crisis

In one of her studies of the coverage of the Bangladesh crisis, Ali (1971:45), concluded that the attitude of the Western media was hostile and provocative towards Pakistan. According to her:

The attitude of the American news media was no better. Pakistan expressed to the American ambassador its concerns over VOA broadcasts of unauthenticated and tendentious reports mostly derived from the Indian sources...

Speaking of the period just prior to Bangladesh crisis period Narayanan (1971:135) observed that:

The only two occasions in 1970 when the American mass media made a reference to Pakistan were the cyclone in East Pakistan and the national elections. American media do not have personnel permanently stationed in Pakistan.

It may be fair to assume that the American press was left with only two options, either they could get the news of the crisis from a news bureau stationed in a nearby country, or they could send in their special correspondents. In this research we will find out how the Western media managed to get the crisis news. At the outset it should be admitted that surveys of the American press conclude that its attitude was critical and negative towards the coverage of the crisis. Ali (1971:45) has suggested Ambassador Hilaly's letter to Senator Fulbright deplored the publication in American newspapers of one sided news and opinion about events in East Pakistan. In the letter he stated:

The American newspapers had refused to publish the news refuting reports of the killing of ten professors of Dacca University and that the embassy's
request for television time had not been granted. The tendency in American media to publish and believe unconfirmed reports, so long as they are damaging to Pakistan is also apparent from the statements issued by the International Committee of University of Emiritus (ICUE) in New York describing the 'massacre of scholars at Dacca'. The truth about the massacre was revealed when the professors listed as dead were authoritatively reported to be alive.

It would thus appear that the American mass media, by adopting such a posture, was attempting to portray an unfavourable attitude towards Pakistan. This study will test this view.

2.2.4 The British Media

The British media like that of the U.S., also showed a considerable interest in setting the agenda for the crisis news. Pakistan had for a long time been part of the British Empire, and Britain had played an important role in the history of Pakistan. Thus what links Pakistan to Britain is the old historical tie, coupled with the prevalence in Pakistan of English law and the English language. The review of the British press concludes that the British attitude towards the East Pakistan crisis was more likely to be moderate at the official level and hostile at an unofficial level. Ali (1971:52) concluded that;

The British press adopted the attitude of hostility towards Pakistan, and the partiality towards India was apparent not only from the distorted and unfounded reports published by it but also from its open sympathy for the secessionists expressed in its news coverage, editorials and comments.
However, the examination of the British press seems to suggest that the British government adhered to the principle of non-interference, and it regarded the situation in Pakistan as its internal matter. Ali (1971:49) stated that:

Sir Alec [the British foreign secretary] was criticised by the British press for not declaring support to Bangladesh and for not suspending aid to Pakistan. Criticizing his statements, The Guardian commented that 'he had the opportunity in the house... to declare Britain's support for democracy in East Pakistan. He wasted it...’ The press of Pakistan described the British coverage of Bangladesh as 'gross exaggeration' of the situation in East Pakistan, and the attitude of the British media was regarded as anti-Pakistan.

Ali (1971:52) references The Pakistan Observer of Dacca which in its editorial said:

The British press minus a small section, has been following the same line of anti-Pakistan propaganda depending wholly and blindly on unverified stories told by Indian propagandists.

2.2.5 Summary

With respect to the above review of the literature a number of points have emerged which provide the assumptions leading to the formulation of the hypotheses and the research questions. Because the events of the crisis are inherently negative they will receive coverage in the Western media and this coverage will on the whole be negative. However, the newspapers under study are to some extent representatives of different societies, there will be differences between the newspapers; in the amount of news
reported; in the placement or priority attached to the news; in the attitudes (bias) expressed towards countries, leaders and events; and, in the means and sources by which each newspaper gathers its news.

Another area of interest is the degree to which consensus or difference is found in the three newspapers regarding the behavior of the superpowers in the United Nations Security Council's debate on Bangladesh and the portrayal of that debate in the press.

The next section presents a brief discussion regarding the interests of the superpowers in the subcontinent, and how these interests drew them into the conflict at the later stages.

2.3 THE INTERESTS OF THE SUPERPOWERS IN THE SUBCONTINENT

The states of modern Asia have been the centre of great power competition in the past few decades. Since the independence of the major countries of the region, it has been an arena of clashing interests. Though there has been economic, political and diplomatic confrontation, there has not been a direct large scale military confrontation. The policies of the superpowers in South Asia are not without motives. Wilson (1980:13) points out that;

Superpowers are all concerned in ensuring that the 'twilight regions' outside their immediate spheres of influence or control do not become a prey to the machination of their rivals. The primary questions of military strategy, access to raw material and the stabilization and freezing of existing frontiers are a central preoccupation of
the conventional West. For the Soviets, the problem is simpler; to them it is essentially when the internal set-up collapse. But the position is somewhat complicated because of the interest of the People's Republic of China to prevent destabilization in the region around here.

The United States is also equally interested in South Asia, particularly in Pakistan due to her own political motives. For example, the United States renewed a defence relationship with Pakistan in 1982. Robert and Roherty (1983:588) stated that;

For the first instalment of a six year $3.2 billion program of economic and military assistance to Pakistan there were overall motives for Washington's action -- alarm over the chaos in Iran, the shock of Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan and the belief that a militarily strengthened Pakistan would prove an important element in the deterrence of further Soviet expansion in the direction of the West's vulnerable oil lifeline.

The Soviet Union, the number one rival of the United States, has her 'obvious reasons' to support India, which has constantly had bad and tense relations with Pakistan since independence. Even in the disintegration of Pakistan, the Soviet Union and India had played a decisive role. Ziring (1982:137) with respect to Soviet policy in Asia concludes;

Identification with, and close support for the governments of Vietnam, Afghanistan, India and other aggressive political movements... are testimony to Soviet efforts aimed at enhancing their political military status across a vast area overlooking the Indian ocean, the Persian Gulf and Red Sea.

The third Big power in the subcontinent, China, has a very close and special relationship with Pakistan and few
politicians think this relationship has shaken the South Asian triangle. This relationship is seen in very different ways. Choudhary (1975:188) stated that:

In New Delhi, it has been interpreted as anti-Indian and has given rise to further bitterness towards both China and Pakistan. In Washington it was originally considered anti-American and led to President Johnson's discourteous cancellation of President Ayub's 1965 visit and the withholding of U.S. economic aid in the same year; later President Nixon smiled on the relationship... in Moscow, it was thought anti-Soviet and helped lead to a period of greater Soviet flexibility, which was shown, in part, to wean Pakistan away from China...

In fact Pakistan's strategic location and geographical proximity to China have brought the two countries closer, since they have a common border (about 300 miles) and a common hostile neighbour (India). Secondly, in the past few years the U.S. and the Soviet Union supported India with arms with the definite purpose of strengthening its defence against China which has caused the Chinese to look for an ally in Asia. Pakistan, a Muslim country can help China develop friendly relations with other Muslim countries. Thirdly, the existence of Pakistan as an independent sovereign state is in China's interest. A threat to Pakistan's independence would endanger the peace and the security of the proximate region.

With this brief description of the superpowers interests in the subcontinent, the behaviour of U.S. China and the Soviet Union in the United nations Security Council regarding the Bangladesh crisis is understandable. Despite
the fact that this crisis was an internal matter of Pakistan it evoked strong international reactions. The Western press assumed an unusual interest in the day-to-day developments of the crisis. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the purpose of this research is to compare the similarities and differences in the agenda setting function of the Western press on the coverage of Bangladesh crisis. Further, we will assess whether or not the hypotheses stated by the Third World regarding the coverage of news is supported or rejected by the research data.

2.4 THEORETICAL HYPOTHESES

With the brief description of the controversy regarding the negative portrayal of Third World news in the Western press, one would expect to find the negative tendency on the part of the Western press towards the crisis. The present research design will therefore consider five main hypotheses;

Hypothesis One

Although three elite newspapers are representative of the elite Western press generally, they are creatures of their own country's societies and policies and therefore will set their agendas differently. There will be significant discrepancies in the volume and the "type of content" of news among these papers.
Hypothesis Two
Since Western media do not have their permanent news bureau in most of the developing countries therefore, the three Western newspapers will gather news of the crisis through special correspondents.

Hypothesis Three
Since it has been stated the Western press has the tendency of portraying the Third World negatively, therefore, all these countries; Pakistan, India and Bangladesh will receive more negative coverage than positive coverage.

Hypothesis Four
The United States has its clashing interests and diplomatic competition with the Soviet Union, therefore, The New York Times will tend to provide the maximum news of the crisis. Because Great Britain had ceased her colonial relationship with the subcontinent, The Times of London will show lesser interest in the coverage. Since Canada has little political, historical or economic interests in the subcontinent the Canadian newspaper, The Globe & Mail, will show the least interest in coverage of the crisis.

Hypothesis Five
In the United Nations Security Council the Soviet Union favoured India and the U.S. and China approved the Pakistan position. Therefore, the three newspapers will portray this Western attitude consistently in covering the role of superpowers in the crisis.
These theoretical hypotheses are designed on the basis of the review of the literature. Primarily, the hypotheses will be operationalized through five major research questions, although other variables also will be examined.

2.5 THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The following research questions were formulated:

1. How many news stories were published by the three newspapers, and were there significant differences regarding the type of content and the "place of origin" of these stories?

2. What were the differences in the three newspapers regarding the usage of 'news source' and were there significant differences in the patterns of wire agencies originating news from West Pakistan, India and Bangladesh?

3. How was the military activity/conflict portrayed for Pakistan, India and Bangladesh, and where there significant differences in the favorable or unfavorable portrayal of Pakistan, India and Bangladesh?

4. Which newspaper printed the most information about the history of the subcontinent and the significant differences in the three?

5. How did the newspapers portray the attitudes of the superpowers toward West Pakistan, India and Bangladesh and did the newspapers show significant differences in their portrayal of the superpowers?
Chapter III
HISTORICAL REVIEW

While an historical review of the early background and the events of the crisis may seem out of context at this point in the study, it has a significance with respect to the findings and conclusions which come later and a direct bearing on Chapter 4 -- the research methodology which follows immediately. The historical review of the actual events of the crisis is used in the construction of the purposive sample and determines the periods analyzed.

3.1 THE EARLY BACKGROUND

The Arabs invading South Asia in the eighth century brought the teachings of Islam and forced the Hindu inhabitants to make a permanent place for them as a new community. The Arabs were followed by the Persians, Afghans and Turks who having adopted Islam now sought to press their religious message deeper into the heart of India.

The Sultanate of Delhi, established in the Thirteenth Century, ruled over much of Northern India. Subsequently, the Moghuls dominated almost the whole of the subcontinent until the middle of the Nineteenth century.
The British victory over the Moghuls at Plassey in 1757 marked the decline of the Muslim kingdom and the rise of the English power. Even so, a century later, the glories of a Moghul past were not forgotten and efforts to revive Muslim power were instituted by members of the Muslim intellectual community and in 1857 Muslim nationalists in the British Army rebelled against their British superiors. The British authorities developed their own form of "divide and conquer" by exploiting the religious and social differences in the Hindu and Muslim communities. However, Muslim leaders were worried about this situation and in 1906 created the Muslim League Party to protect their interests in the subcontinent. The Muslim League achieved great popularity within the Muslim community and the "freedom movement" produced a general awareness of the demand for a country of their own.

3.2 THE DEMAND FOR PAKISTAN

For the Muslims of India, self-realization of the problems they faced became the first step toward their goal of an independent sovereign state. Kohn (1944:10), points out:

A consensus has emerged among modern historians that defines nationalism as a "corporate will" of the people to live together in one state under the government of their own making.

This "corporate will" may be produced by any of these factors; common geography, common economy, language, ethnic
background and religion. Before the division of the subcontinent, Muslim Nationalism in India reflected the dynamics of historical, economic and religious forces.

A general interpretation of Pakistan's development must begin with the awareness that differing interpretations about the roots of the state had important consequences after its creation. Pakistan emerged for a number of reasons and from a number of processes, such as; the British view of minority rights, declining public authority, wartime mobilization and demobilization, the frustration of limited provincial democracy and the severe rivalries between the Hindu and Muslim communities.

A large number of Indo-Muslim thinkers have argued that the nature of the Muslim social order requires a religiously supportive state. Firm in the belief that Islam is a total way of life, the Muslim's values cannot be separated from the tradition by which he rears his children, earns his living, expresses his art or makes his political decisions. The separation of church and state for a Muslim is not only undesirable it is impossible. Therefore, it was necessary for Indian Muslims, to ensure that their faith shaped the whole of society and its political expression. They demanded that their state be governed by Islam and its noble teachings.

A second factor which forced the Indian Muslims to demand a separate state was that a reading of Hindu/Muslim
relations found them fundamentally and philosophically hostile. This conflict between social and religious values can be seen in such examples as the Hindus revering the livestock the Muslims consumed. More fundamentally the Hindus outnumbered the Muslims in a ratio of more than three to one. This assured the Hindus a commanding position to perpetuate their domination over the Muslims. Bringing respectability and leadership to the Pakistan movement was the Muslim professional middle class which had emerged as a result of the educational progress of Muslims in 1920s and 1930s. The abilities and occupation of this middle class were most particularly in the area of government and so there was a general awareness that the more responsive a government was to the Muslim community, the greater the guarantee for opportunity for higher grade employment. Because of this and other reasons the Muslim League gained popularity among the young Muslim students in the colleges and universities. Muslims of the Indian subcontinent gathered in the 1940s under the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah to demand a separate state. Under these circumstances, even if the requirements of Islam had not demanded a distinctive form of political society, the emergence of Pakistan was inevitable.

On 23 March 1940 the historic mass convention of the All India Muslim League was held in Lahore and adopted the resolution for a Pakistan unanimously. Large scale demonstrations took place which demanded, among other things,
that the British vacate India and leave the resolution of the communal problem to the communities themselves. The Indian Act of Independence was passed by the British Parliament and on 14 August 1947, the two independent states of India and Pakistan emerged on the map of the world.

3.3 THE SOCIO-POLITICAL CONFIGURATION OF PAKISTAN

The state of Pakistan was formed from East Bengal (West Bengal had been given to India), West Punjab (East Punjab was made a part of India), Sind, the Northwest frontier province and the tribal states of Baluchistan (see the map of Pakistan in 1947 attached).

Several small mountain kingdoms in the Northwest also came under the Pakistan government. While initially they were given the option to remain independent, they decided to join Pakistan. The more significant of these states (Swat, Dir, Chitral, Hunza, Gilgit and Kafiristan) maintained their individuality but no longer possessed sovereign status. In the Sindi-Punjabi region, Bahawalpur and Khairpur were ruled by individual princes, and later were merged in 1955 into the One Unit of West Pakistan. In Baluchistan, the tribal states of Kalat, Makran, Kharan and Las Bela were also incorporated into the administrative province of West Pakistan. Qureshi (1974:384) states that;

What is significant here are the ethnic and as well as political divisions that the Pakistan state inherited.
Although almost all of these areas were Muslim, they shared little else in common. These small states and tribes had histories full of conflict between rival groups and neighbours. Their capacity to live in harmony under one authority was problematic. It is unfortunate that in the early years relations with the Pakistan government were not based on understanding and trust. The use of force and manipulation eventually rendered the government ill-equipped to make adjustments with the tribal states due to feelings of mistrust and disunity. Though this state of mind does not prevail at present the roots of early mistrust still have had their after effects.

3.3.1 The Bengali Problem

In East Pakistan the Bengali who now became Pakistani also had been committed to the idea of a single separate Muslim Nation. After independence, political power in East Pakistan was conferred on those political leaders who made Dacca their home. A provincial government was organized which supposedly represented the needs of the Bengali population but its leaders were either too aloof or simply too careless to be able to carry out the Bengali aspirations. Even when Bengali became leaders in the overall National Assembly they seemed ineffectual. Keith (1957:173) pointed out;

Nazimuddin [Bengali] became the Prime Minister [of Pakistan] but lacked force of will, and was ultimately dismissed by the (Punjabi) Governor-General. Mohammed Ali was brought in as Prime Minister, but although a Bengali, he remained the
captive of the West Pakistan group that provided the main strength of his government. The Bengali members attempted to use their majority to diminish the power of the Governor-General, but as a result they found themselves out of their jobs.

Apart from the political differences in East and West Pakistan, the two regions differed greatly in size and density of population. Dupree (1972:2) stated;

West Pakistan had 80 percent of the nation's land and 40 percent of its population. In West Pakistan 98 per cent of its population are Muslim. Urdu is the lingua franca of non-English speaking bureaucrats; there are four major Indo-European sublanguages -- Punjabi, Sindhi, Pashto and Baluchi and several minor Indo-European languages spoken in the Northern mountain areas. East Pakistan, with 20 per cent of land and 60 per cent of the population of Pakistan, had a population of 13 percent Hindu, and 7 per cent Buddhist and Christians. Bengali is the language of the area but hill tribes speak local dialects; the people are smaller and darker than the West Pakistan.

The province of West Pakistan was separated from East Pakistan by almost one thousand miles of Indian territory. Jackson (1975:15) has pointed out;

Its location on the Western seaboard of the subcontinent made West Pakistan a part of the semidesert world of the Near East. While East Pakistan was climatically and ecologically linked with Burma and the monsoon lands of South East Asia. By air Baghdad and the oil fields of the Persian Gulf are closer to Karachi than Dacca; and from Dacca, Singapore and Ceylon are closer by air than Karachi. Because of the Indo-Pakistan hostilities or suspicions after 1947 it was virtually impossible to maintain land connection between the two wings, and communication had to be by air or by sea, along routes several times longer than the distance by air.

The geographical separation made communication between the two wings difficult and expensive. The result was less
homogeneity and little mobility in the people of East and West Pakistan. Moreover, the Eastern province had a sizeable Hindu population, unlike the Western provinces which held very few non-Muslims. The well-to-do Muslims avoided East Pakistan at the time of the division of subcontinent. They preferred to transfer their business and cash to West Pakistan where all the social, economic and political power became concentrated over the years. This fact also helped to widen the gap between the two wings. Jehan (1972:22) in this regard says that;

Though Islam was most often cited as the main basis of Pakistani nationhood, its validity as an integration force was limited. East Pakistan had a large number of Hindus, while West Pakistan's Hindu population was minimal. Many Bengali were reluctant to put too much emphasis on Islam, because that would immediately alienate nearly 20% of East Pakistan's population. Moreover, emphasis on Islam is no sure guarantee for uniting all the Muslims.

3.3.2 The Disparities Between West and East Pakistan

The Bengali's most serious complaint was what they called the "economic exploitation" of East Pakistan by the Pakistan central government situated in the West Pakistan. Choudhary (1974:9) stated that;

A report made by a panel of experts to the Pakistan Government's planning commission in 1970 provides authoritative documentation of the increasing economic disparity between the two regions. The most striking fact in this report was the widening gap between the income of the average West Pakistani and his Eastern counterpart.
At the time of partition few Bengali Muslims were in the civil service and fewer still served as army officials. Jehan (1972:25) notes that in 1955, even after six years of independence, the military elites in Pakistan were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service</th>
<th>E. Pakistan</th>
<th>W. Pakistan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Army</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>894</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navy</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>593</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Air force</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>640</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One reason for the lesser representation of the Bengali in the army was, as Jehan (1972:25) points out;

The British policy of army recruitment from the "martial races" of West Pakistan had the effect of almost completely excluding the Bengali from the army.

This policy resulted in a continuing alienation of the Bengali from the army and the civil services of Pakistan. The Bengali believed that the economic, social and political disparities in East and West Pakistan were caused by the Punjabi who dominated in all fields including the central government. (See Appendix "B" -- tables of demographic differences between the East and West, the frequency of languages spoken in the both wings, the religious distribution, the East-West representation in the high ranks of the central government.)

The Bengali of East Pakistan were unhappy that the power structure had little Bengali participation in the
higher services of the country. The Bengali intelligencia became more and more conscious of these realities, as Choudhury (1972:245) points out;

It has been stated by many impartial economists, particularly by the American and the British experts that the economic development of East Pakistan was sadly neglected and something ought to be done about it... unfortunately this advice was not listened to seriously; instead the government accused the Western powers of encouraging secession in East Pakistan.

During the decade of President Ayub Khan (1958-1969) there was complete authoritarian rule from 1958 to 1962. Then came a period of guided democracy and the result was a further widening of the gap between East and West Pakistan. Dupree (1972:2) has discerned four major trends during the period of President Ayub Khan.

A trend towards increased military efficiency and strength (which led to two wars with India); towards wider political participation through the creation of the Basic Democracies System (which was in part responsible for Ayub's downfall); an increasing economic and political imbalance between East and West (which intensified demand for the regional autonomy); towards encouragement of a modified free enterprise system (which developed into economic nepotism and wealth in the hands of approximately 22 families, all West Pakistani in residence or orientation).

The economic disparity provided the Bengali with a powerful weapon to win popular support in the elections of 1970. The majority of Bengali were convinced that the resources of the East wing were exploited by the West wing and that they were treated like a colony by their own people.
3.4 THE FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DISINTEGRATION

While discussing the immediate causes of the disintegration of Pakistan and the creation of Bangladesh on 16 December 1971, Choudhury (1972:242) pointed out:

The military atrocities committed by the Pakistan Army against unarmed Bengali; the influx of millions of refugees from East Bengal to India since March 1971; and finally the direct Indian military intervention in East Bengal, backed by the Soviet Union were the immediate causes of the disintegration of Pakistan.

Apart from the stated factors, the unstable political situation after the downfall of President Ayub, along with the vested interest of the political leaders in East and West Pakistan, laid the grounds for the disintegration of the country.

On 25 March 1969, President Ayub resigned and Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan, Commander-in-Chief of the Army, became Chief Martial Law Administrator. He abrogated the 1962 constitution and dissolved the National and Provincial Assemblies and proclaimed himself President of Pakistan. Ziring (1980:187) discussing the internal political situation of Pakistan states:

The politicians wanted the termination of the Presidential system, the administrative state, the Basic Democracies System, the indirect election process; they called for break-up of the One Unit in West Pakistan, the reinstitution of the parliamentary system and a return to political party activity.

From this point onward to the creation of Bangladesh as an independent nation the following developments took place and eventually led the country to disintegrate.
3.4.1 The Elections

President Yahya decided to settle, the socio-economic and political problems of the country by establishing a constitutional government. To achieve this goal he decided to hold general elections in the country on a "one-man-one-vote" basis and a Legal Framework Order (LFO) was promulgated on 30 March 1970. All the political parties contesting the election had agreed to obey the LFO, and the elections for the National and the Provincial assemblies were held on 7 and 17 December 1970 respectively.

In these elections the Awami League Party of East Pakistan, led by Sheikh Mujibur Rehman, and the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) of West Pakistan, led by Zulifqar Ali Bhutto, emerged as the two parties with absolute majorities in the East and the West wings. However, with respect to the overall National Assembly, Baxter (1970:211) points out;

In East Pakistan the Awami League won an absolute majority in the National Assembly, (167 seats out of 313 seats). The PPP from West Pakistan won 85 seats, and the remaining 59 seats for the National Assembly were won by other political parties and the independent contestants. In the provincial Assembly elections the Awami League won (288 out of 300 seats). The People's Party won a majority in the Punjab and Sindh Assemblies.

After the elections it was clear that in theory at least East Pakistan had domination in the National Assembly of the overall country.
3.4.2 The Refusal of Bhutto to Attend the Assembly

The general elections in Pakistan were followed by an extremely tense political situation. The root causes lay much earlier. Ziring (1980:185) states that:

In February 1966, a meeting of the opposition leaders was held in Lahore. All the West Pakistan organizations attended but only Mujib appeared from East Pakistan. Mujib wanted a radical change in the constitutional order and used the occasion to publicize his "six point" programme for the first time.

The majority of West Pakistani politicians refused to entertain this formula and Mujib withdrew from the conference and returned to East Pakistan. He was convinced that the West Pakistani politicians who condemned his "six points" by calling it anti-Pakistan would never accept the regional autonomy demand unless he took power. Now after five years he was in a position to implement the formula because he had won the majority of seats in the National Assembly. Ziring (1980:185) stated the "six points" of the Awami League:

1. Pakistan should be a federation under the Pakistan or the Lahore resolution of 1940, which implied the existence of two similar entities. Any new constitution, according to the Bengali, had to reflect this reality.

2. The Federal government should deal solely with defence and foreign affairs.
3. There should be two separate but freely convertible currencies. East Pakistan should have separate fiscal and monetary policies.

4. The federated units would have the sole power to tax. The central government would be granted funds to meet its expenditures.

5. Separate accounts of foreign exchange earnings would be maintained. The federated units would be free to establish separate trade links with foreign countries.

6. East Pakistan would have a separate militia.

Under the LFO, the National Assembly was given the power to frame a constitution within 120 days, for a Federation of Pakistan, consisting of five constituent units. In January 1971, after the elections, Bhutto visited Dacca for talks with Mujib, the majority party leader in the National Assembly.

The "six points" were not acceptable to Bhutto and his party. Bhutto and his party, and the Awami League adopted uncompromising positions which created a very difficult situation. Qureshi (1971:34) stated:

With Mr. Bhutto's announcement on 15 February 1971 that the Pakistan People's Party would not attend the National Assembly Session until they received the impression that there was some amount of reciprocity from Awami League, President Yahya was left with no option but to announce the temporary postponement of the National Assembly, scheduled to convene on 3 March 1971 in Dacca.
The announcement of the postponement of the Assembly gave the Bengali leader the opportunity to voice his suspicions openly and demand a period of non-cooperation.

Before the announcement to postpone the National Assembly Session, President Yahya attempted to convince Bhutto and Mujib to govern jointly, but Mujib had no intention of sharing the power. He had, after all, won the election. East Pakistan was the more populous half of the country, and in his view the question of secession from the rest of the Pakistan did not arise. Dupree (1972:1) states that;

On March 1, President Yahya announced the temporary postponement of the National Assembly... frustrated Mujib immediately called a general strike to be in effect from March 3 to March 8, and ordered Bengali people to show non-cooperation with provincial officials...

3.4.3 The Movement of Non-Cooperation

Mujib and his party strongly reacted towards the postponement of the Assembly Session and the Awami League set up what amounted to a parallel government in East Pakistan. Qureshi (1971:34) stated;

There was complete chaos in East Pakistan from March 1 to March 23 with the set up of a parallel government... To create trouble between the East and West Pakistan, large scale killing, harassment, looting, rape and premeditated murder of members of non Bengali minority, living in East Pakistan went on, with the active connivance of secessionist elements of Awami League, Hindus and Indian infiltrators.
3.4.4 Failure of Bhutto, Yahya and Mujib Negotiations

While the Awami League's non-cooperation movement was going on, President Yahya was still making efforts to resolve the conflict between the two leaders. Qureshi (1971:34) stated;

Although Mujib had persistently refused the President's invitation to come to West Pakistan to meet him, the President along with Bhutto and other leaders went to East Pakistan on 15 March but no progress was made towards a settlement, because the non-cooperative attitude of Mujib and his party.

In this situation Pakistan was facing the worst crisis of her history. Qureshi (1971:50) stated;

At this point, Pakistan has not been successful at nation-building because it has failed miserably at state-building. A disparate people can not be made into a solidary community if the government which supposedly represents their interests is itself riddled with contradictions and unable to lead.

3.4.5 Action of Army in East Pakistan

Having agreed to the framing of the constitution by the National Assembly, prior to the transfer of power, the Awami League now reversed its stand and demanded the transfer of power to it before the framing of the new constitution. Qureshi (1971:35) stated that;

[the] Awami League put new demands such as.. [an] end of Martial Law, splitting of the National Assembly into two separate constituent bodies for East and West Pakistan [and] for the framing of two separate constitutions for both wings of the country. All this meant a threat to the unity of Pakistan and these demands were not acceptable to the political parties of West Pakistan.
President Yahya banned the Awami League as a political party, ordered the Armed Forces to take action against anti-state elements and to restore law and order in the Eastern province. On 27 March it was announced that Mujib and his few followers had been arrested. Giving justification of this action, President Yahya on 26 March 1971 in his broadcast to the nation said:

Mujib's action of starting his non-cooperation movement is an act of treason. He and his party have defied the lawful authority for over three weeks. They have insulted Pakistan's flag and defiled the photograph of the Father of the Nation. They have tried to run a parallel government, and have created turmoil, terror and insecurity.

The situation deteriorated further and the Indians, who were helping the Bengali rebels took this opportunity to launch an attack against Pakistan.

3.4.6 War Between India and Pakistan

Until mid-April, mostly Hindus crossed into India from East Pakistan in the belief that they would be the first to suffer due to their Hindu commitment when the Pakistan Army moved into rural areas. The Indian government now accused Pakistan of creating the refugee problem. Meanwhile, the Mukti Bahini (the Bengali guerrillas) after being trained by the Indians went into East Pakistan to practice the art they had learned. They destroyed bridges and culverts. Dupree (1971:3) stated that:

Programmes of six week's duration taught techniques of demolition and assassination. Underwater demolition teams planted limpet mines on
ships sinking at least 30 vessels in the harbors of Chittagong and Narayanganj. The victims included several British and Greek vessels sunk or damaged.

Another guerrilla objective was the disruption of the communication system in East Pakistan. This hindered the movement of troops and obstructed their job of restoring law and order. This helped the guerrillas to create a climate of chaos extremely suitable for the successful maturing of Indian and guerrilla plans to destroy Pakistan. The dislocation in communications also effected the supply of food to the interior, thereby making worse the already bad food situation in East Pakistan creating even more difficulties for the Pakistan government. The Army took action to restore law and order in the Eastern wing, but India launched war against Pakistan on 3 December 1971. No doubt India was very anxious to strengthen her military power as evidenced by her signing the Treaty of Friendship with the Soviet Union on 9 August 1971. Dupree (1971:4) stated;

The 25-year "Treaty of Friendship" was with the following clauses; Each high contracting party undertakes to abstain from providing any assistance to any third party engaged in armed conflict with the other party. In the event of either party's being subjected to an attack or threat thereof, the high contracting parties shall immediately enter into mutual consultations in order to remove such threat and to take the appropriate effective measures to ensure peace and security of their countries.

The Soviet Union consistently supported the Indian position.
3.4.7 **Surrender of the Eastern Command**

The clashes between the Indian and Pakistan Army finally developed into open war on 3 December 1971. The Indian Army moved nine divisions across the border into East Pakistan on 3 December, confronting four Pakistani divisions. The Indians, stronger in numbers, assisted by Mukti Bahini, cut through to Dacca in East Pakistan. Dupree (1971:4) stated:

> On December 12 about 15,000 Indian paratroopers dropped in East Pakistan to cut off any Pakistani troops retreating to the South towards Dacca. From then on, surrender or annihilation was only a matter of time.

On 16 December, 1971 Pakistan forces in East Pakistan including 93,000 troops surrendered to the Indian army. On the Western front on 17 December a ceasefire was declared by President Yahya and the united Pakistan was divided into two sovereign states with the emergence of East Pakistan as "Bangladesh."

The dismemberment of Pakistan was the result of so many factors, i.e. the political decisions made by the political leaders and the Pakistan government. Moreover, Mujib and his party were highly successful in convincing the Bengali that their interests and rights were not safe with a government controlled and directed from West Pakistan. Choudhury (1972:246) pointed out that;

> Sheikh Mujib himself has confessed in a recent interview with a British journalist David Frost, that he had been working for the establishment of Bangladesh for sometime, the flag of new nation was already there; the slogan "Jai Bangle" (victory of Bangladesh) was heard long before the tragic events of 1971.
Following this political and historical review of the crisis, the main objectives are to find out how these developments were presented in the Western press, what aspects of the crisis were highlighted and what were the differences between the three newspapers under study.
Chapter IV
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 THE CONTENT ANALYSIS

In order to examine the Western Press coverage of the Bangladesh crisis, research techniques using "content analysis" were applied. Through content analysis it is claimed that it is possible to provide new insights and discover subtle aspects in the messages transmitted by the press. Blake and Haroldsen (1979:140) suggested that;

Content analysis always involves relating or comparing findings to some standard, norms or theory. It does so to discover latent attributes (in describing a communications flow) or to infer characteristics (in analyzing personality from writings which set out the person's perceptions).

The use of content analysis methodology is very old. Krippendorff (1980:13) stated that;

Empirical inquiries into communications content date back to studies in theology in the late 1600's -- when the church was worried about the spread of non-religious matters through newspapers.

We may say that content analysis is a formal system of drawing meanings and conclusions from observations of any content; written, visual or broadcast. This research technique is a scientific tool of inquiry that has the quality of being replicable. To be objective and systematic, the
rules that govern the research should be such that if applied to a particular study by different researchers, they should lead to similar results.

The methodology of content analysis has been used for various purposes. Blake and Haroldsen (1979:141) stated that:

It has been used for purposes as varied as inferring enemy intentions from wartime propaganda to settling questions of disputed authorship. It has been applied not only to the mass media but to pottery fragments and psychoanalytic interviews.

Berelson (1952:18) has given a comprehensive definition of content analysis:

- It is a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication.

The research at hand deals with the attitudes and patterns of behaviour of the Western press in its coverage of underdeveloped countries. In this case the quantitative and the qualitative approaches are thought appropriate to work with. The quantitative approach will provide information about the "key variables", such as:

1. The volume of news stories. (How many news stories were covered by the three newspapers and if there were differences in the presentation?)

2. The type of content. (How many editorials, features and news stories were published on the first page or within the newspaper?)
3. The utilization of news sources by the individual newspapers which will illustrate which wire services were heavily relied upon as opposed to the use of local staff.

4. The "place of origin" of the news will enable us to detect if there is a relationship between the location from which news is reported and various characteristics of the message which is transmitted.

The qualitative approach enables detection of a "favourable" or "unfavourable" treatment given to a political leader, activity or country in a particular news story. The combination of these approaches will present a comprehensive picture of the Western press coverage of Bangladesh crisis.

4.1.1 The Newspapers Under Study

The newspapers chosen for the study were three elite newspapers, *The New York Times*, *The Times* of London and *The Globe and Mail* of Toronto. Merrill (1968:30) has stated the criteria for distinguishing the elite press;

1. Independence, financial stability; integrity; social concern; good writing and editing.

2. Strong opinion and interpretive emphasis; world consciousness; nonsensationalism in articles and makeup.

3. Emphasis on politics, international relations, economics, social welfare, cultural endeavors, education and science.
4. Concern with getting, developing and keeping a large intelligent, well educated, articulate and technically proficient staff.

5. Determination to serve and help expand a well educated intelligent readership at home and abroad; desire to appeal to, and influence, opinion leaders everywhere.

It would appear almost self evident that the newspapers under study are among the elite newspapers of the U.S.A., Great Britain and Canada. The rationale behind the selection of elite newspapers was that these newspapers have developed excellent reputations for presenting authentic and accurate coverage of global news. Hence;

1. They would contain the most content under study.

2. They would provide a stronger agenda setting function for the readers and for the rest of the press within their respective countries.

3. They would tend to be less idiosyncratic and more reflective of the Western press at its best.

The New York Times is well known for its excellent in-depth coverage, and is considered the best in the nation for coverage of national and international issues and political events. The accuracy and objectivity in its reporting of foreign affairs makes it the most prestigious newspaper in the United States.
The Times of London is one of the Britain's oldest newspapers and it has managed to gain and hold a highly respected image of reliability. According to Merrill and Fisher (1980:320), "it is much more than a newspaper; it is a national institution." It almost goes without saying that The Times of London has been recognized for its thoughtful and interpretative articles, for its calm, selective and thorough news coverage.

The Globe and Mail, no doubt, is Canada's most influential newspaper among English-speaking elites. Merrill and Fisher (1980:138) note that The Times of London has called The Globe & Mail the only newspaper which is capable of setting the tone of newspaper play on a national basis in Canada.

Stories in The New York Times and The Times of London were completely indexed, however, since The Globe & Mail was not indexed until after 1971, it was analyzed by searching each newspaper of the required date.

4.1.2 The Sample

A purposive sample was selected on the basis of ten main events developments that were the immediate causes for the crisis. These ten events, as noted in the previous "Historical Review" and as identified by scholars referred to earlier, were analyzed in each newspaper starting from the date of announcement/development for a period of two
weeks following the commencement of each event. Some events overlapped and thus there were actually six reporting periods. The periods yielded a sample of 119 days for each newspaper. Since the British and the Canadian newspapers do not publish on the Sundays, two extra days (following the two-week period) were analyzed for these two newspapers. With this technique, The Times and The Globe & Mail also came up with a total of 119 days for study. This yielded an overall sample of 357 newspaper editions containing a total of 575 news stories, or an average of just under 192 stories per newspaper.

The following ten events/developments were selected in chronological order because of their importance and critical nature.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EVENTS</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>TOTAL(days)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elections (national assembly)</td>
<td>7 Dec 1970</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(provincial)</td>
<td>17 Dec 1970</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refusal of Bhutto</td>
<td>15 Feb 1971</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postponement of session</td>
<td>1 Mar 1971</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-cooperation movement</td>
<td>1 Mar 1971</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Failure of negotiation</td>
<td>15 Mar 1971</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Action of army in E. Pakistan</td>
<td>25 Mar 1971</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrest of Mujib</td>
<td>27 Mar 1971</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Soviet &amp; Indian Treaty</td>
<td>9 Aug 1971</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India &amp; Pakistan at War</td>
<td>3 Dec 1971</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surrender of Eastern Command</td>
<td>16 Dec 1971</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>119</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.1.3 The Newspaper Sections Under Study

In each newspaper the following sections were analyzed: the first page, the editorial page, the letters to the editor, and the inside pages containing the "overseas news." A complete record of the news sources was also maintained and the "place of origin" of the story was also recorded.

The rationale to choose these sections of the newspapers was that these sections reflect the news agenda of the respective newspaper. Moreover, in these sections of the newspapers, particularly on the first page, the importance given to a story by placing it on that page is evident. During the analysis, if a news story appearing on the first page continued onto another page, the remaining part of it was also analyzed.

Each editorial written on the crisis was singled out to determine if there were indications of the newspaper's attitude towards the events. Also, analysis of the editorial page was deemed important because content found there would be indicative of the editor's opinion and the newspaper's role in agenda setting.

4.1.4 The Coding Sheet

A news story was analyzed if it was obviously related to Pakistan, India, Bangladesh or events related to the crisis. Seven main sections were established in the coding sheet in such a way that it allowed various aspects of the
crisis to be identified. These included the internal political situation of the country, as well as, the decisions made by the political parties. (See the coding sheet attached Appendix "E".)

The coding sheet dealt with a great many details so as to pinpoint the similarities and differences in the three newspapers regarding the portrayal of political leaders, their activities and the involvement of superpowers directly or indirectly.

Each category of important activity/development was cross-tabulated with the independent variable, i.e. the three newspapers, to determine the distinct differences. The coding sheet was prepared after a pre-test pilot study of The New York Times, The Times and The Globe & Mail. The coding categories were established on the basis of news stories published in the three newspapers, during the time periods of the 10 historical events/developments which were discussed earlier. The news stories were classified as "favourable", "neutral", "unfavourable" and "not applicable" with regard to each sub-topic for each the political leader, activity or event under discussion.

4.1.5 The Coding Rules

To analyze the content of the newspapers in a replicable manner the coding rules were formulated. In one of the studies the researchers examined the quality of language
used in describing the political leaders under study.

Halford, Hoven, Romanow and Soderlund (1983:19) suggested;

One can also examine the treatment afforded these actors in a different manner, specifically, by examining the quality of language used in describing them, their actions, and their perceived attributes. In this qualitative treatment, adjectives used were identified and in subsequent coding by the authors, assigned positive and negative values based both on the actual word and the context in which it was used.

Using this method the following coding rules were formulated.

1. A news story was assumed as "favourable" when the respective newspaper used the "favourable" adjectives to describe an event or to portray a political leader (See a list of "favourable" and "unfavourable" adjectives in the Appendix "C".)

2. A news story was classified as "neutral" when the respective newspaper described the event without any color of praise or condemnation towards the activity/person under discussion.

3. A news story as "unfavourable" was concluded when the respective newspaper used "negative" adjectives to describe the activity, political leader or event under discussion.

During the process of analyzing the newspaper content, a great number of the news stories were found to be in the "neutral" category. This is probably a reflection of the attempt to ensure that there was a distinct difference
between neutral stories and those classified as "favourable" or "unfavourable" through the defined usage of favourable or unfavourable adjectives. News stories which were distinctly "favourable" or "unfavourable" were of great concern in determining the attitudes of the respective newspapers.

4.1.6 The Intercoder Reliability

To test the level of reliability eight issues were chosen randomly from the three newspapers. The intercoder reliability index was .892 based on the formula suggested by Holsti (1978:61);

\[
\text{Coder reliability} = \frac{Z}{M} \quad N_1 + N_2
\]

Where \( M \) is equal to the number of decisions where coders are in agreement, and \( N_1, N_2 \) are the number of coding decisions made by each coder.

Choosing the years of 1970-71, and examining ten specific events, the results of this study can not be generalized to any other country or event. On the other hand, previous research has pointed to a pattern in Western press treatment of Third World events, and we certainly can establish whether press treatment of this particular event follows the pattern. The findings of the research and the discussion will be dealt with in the following chapter.
Chapter V
FINDINGS

5.1 THE COMPILATION OF DATA

A content analysis of coverage of an international crisis involves a continuous effort of collecting, coding and validating data. A great amount of time and effort is used transforming and processing information. This is done to produce a useful description of the relationships between the variables under study. Whether or not the analysis of the assembled data achieves those objectives rests largely with the quality of the information itself, which in turn depends very heavily on planning and developed research skills. In this chapter, analysis of the data will be presented.

Having compiled all the necessary data on the coding sheets, the information was then entered into the computer. The data was processed to obtain the statistical tables to detect similarities and differences between the three newspapers; i.e., The New York Times, The Times of London and The Globe & Mail. Also, statistical tests were applied to test the hypotheses and the research questions stated in Chapter 2.

The study led to interesting findings, since the elite newspapers from three developed countries displayed not only
similarities but also divergences in key variables under study.

5.1.1 Comparison of Key variables

In terms of the questions and the hypotheses raised in the study, the evidence presented in the analysis of findings clearly emphasized support for the hypotheses. In general there are discernible patterns to be found in the coverage of three newspapers. To introduce the comparison, we should first review the basic "key variables" which one can examine individually or in combination. The key variables are "volume of news", "place of origin" of a story, "type of content" and "source of news."

While presenting the findings of the content analysis the five major research questions will be reintroduced and all relevant findings will be classified under the appropriate question.

5.1.2 Question no : 1

How many news stories were generated by the three newspapers, and were there significant differences regarding the "type of content" and the "place of origin" of a story?

The total volume of news stories presented by the three newspapers was 575.

As shown in Table 1 most of the news items (41%) were provided by The New York Times. The Times of London ran
second with 37.7% of the stories, while The Globe & Mail contained 21.2%.

TABLE 1
VOLUME OF STORIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NEW YORK TIMES</th>
<th>THE TIMES</th>
<th>GLOBE &amp; MAIL</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N=236</td>
<td>N=217</td>
<td>N=122</td>
<td>575</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(41.04%)</td>
<td>(37.74%)</td>
<td>(21.22%)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.1.3 Type of Content

TABLE 2
TYPE OF CONTENT
BY NEWSPAPER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NEW YORK TIMES</th>
<th>TIMES</th>
<th>GLOBE &amp; MAIL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N=236</td>
<td>N=217</td>
<td>N=122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First page</td>
<td>26.2</td>
<td>40.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inside page</td>
<td>61.0</td>
<td>46.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Editorials</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Features</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letters to Ed</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cramer's V = .14
Sig at = .01

It is apparent from Table 2 that both The New York Times and The Globe & Mail published most of their news on "inside" pages. By contrast The Times ran nearly an equal number of stories on its front page as it did on its inside pages indicating the importance which the crisis held for the British newspaper. The Globe & Mail lagged behind The New York Times and The Times on editorials and letters to the editor, but ran a greater percentage of features than did the other two papers.
5.1.4 Place of Origin of Stories

The second part of the question is concerned with place of origin of a news story and significant differences among the three newspapers on this dimension.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PLACE OF ORIGIN</th>
<th>NEW YORK TIMES</th>
<th>TIMES</th>
<th>GLOBE &amp; MAIL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>W. Pak.</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>25.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Pak</td>
<td>27.1</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td>26.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oth places</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>27.1</td>
<td>33.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cramer's $V = .15$

As Table 3 shows, the greatest amount of news originated from India, a third country indirectly involved in the political conflict between East and West Pakistan. The second prevalent source was "other places", as indicated by such datelines as; New York, London and Sri Lanka. Apart from these findings, two interesting points will be made. First, The New York Times presented the most balanced distribution of news, with very similar percentages of material originating from West Pakistan, East Pakistan, India and other places. It also published almost an equal number of news stories with East and West Pakistani origination (the two main areas directly involved in the conflict.) Secondly, The Times, published the greatest amount of news
originating from India and least amount of news originating from East Pakistan. An interesting finding is that The Globe & Mail published most of the news originating from "other places"; and while it also paid almost an equal attention to the news originating from West Pakistan and India, it gave little attention to the news originating from East Pakistan. One reason for the need to obtain information from "other places" and lack of news coming directly from East Pakistan may be apparent from the fact that in East Pakistan the Pakistan government placed restrictions on the free movement of journalists in the fighting areas.

5.1.5 **Question no : 2**

What were the differences in the three newspapers regarding "news sources" and were there significant differences found in three of them?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SOURCE OF CONTENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local staff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special corr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reuters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AFP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combination of Wire Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cramer's V= .39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig = .001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4 presents the data on the "sources of news" used by three newspapers. Here we find considerable variation among the newspapers. It is interesting that "special correspondents" were the most frequent source of news stories followed by the big wire agencies. Again The New York Times was the paper which made the most use of its special staff by dispatching it to the countries involved in the conflict. In contrast, the Canadian newspaper, The Globe & Mail, relied heavily on a combination of wire services, and apparently made little effort to send reporters to the fighting area. Rather a considerable amount of its news came through AP and Reuters and, on the whole, this paper used stories assembled from a combination of wire service sources.

The Times, also obtained a majority of its news from "special correspondents" and its second most used news source was a combination of wire services. There are two interesting points to make. First, the British news agency Reuters provided less news to the British newspaper as compared to the combined wire services. Second, The Times was the only newspaper to use news obtained from the French news agency AFP. Another striking finding is that The New York Times utilized the services of the British news agency Reuters more than that of the American news agency UPI which it used the least.

The pattern of utilization of the news sources shows the differences in the coverage of the crisis on the part of
the three newspapers. The New York Times and The Times of London used their own special correspondents more heavily than the big four Western news agencies. Only The Globe & Mail made slight use of "special correspondents" in obtaining news of the crisis, and unlike the other two newspapers relied almost exclusively on wire service copy.

5.1.6 Question no.: 3

How was the military activity/conflict portrayed for Pakistan, India and Bangladesh and were there significant differences in the three newspapers regarding the favorable/unfavorable portrayal of Pakistan, India and Bangladesh?

It is evident from the question that to find out the favorable/unfavorable attitudes towards the participants in the crisis, a qualitative approach had to be utilized. Also, this question is directly related to the attitudes and behavior of the Western press towards portrayal of the Third World. To point out the distinct differences we will focus on stories which are classified as "favorable" or "unfavorable." The attitudes of the newspapers towards Pakistan, India and Bangladesh will be discussed individually.

Comparison of the data coded as "favorable/unfavorable" in Table 5 indicates the difference in the reporting styles. The New York Times appeared as both the most "favorable" towards Pakistan as well as the most "unfavorable." Also, it had the least "neutral" news regarding Pakistan as compared to the other two newspapers. The Times adopted the
### TABLE 5

**PORTRAYAL OF PAKISTAN'S MILITARY ACTIVITY BY NEWSPAPER**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NEW YORK TIMES</th>
<th>TIMES</th>
<th>GLOBE &amp; MAIL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>1611*</td>
<td>2517</td>
<td>1104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fav</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>18.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neu</td>
<td>32.2</td>
<td>58.8</td>
<td>51.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Un Fav</td>
<td>45.4</td>
<td>31.6</td>
<td>30.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* N= Total responses which due to multi-coding exceeds the number of stories.

Cramer's V = .17
Sig = .001

most "neutral" attitude and also presented by far the least "favorable" portrayal of Pakistan's military activities.

For *The Globe & Mail*, like the British newspaper, most reporting on Pakistan military activity was "neutral." Unfavorable portrayal was very nearly equal that of *The Times*, on the other hand, the "favorable" portrayal was closer to that of *The New York Times*.

### TABLE 6

**PORTRAYAL OF INDIA'S MILITARY ACTIVITY BY NEWSPAPER**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NEW YORK TIMES</th>
<th>TIMES</th>
<th>GLOBE &amp; MAIL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>736*</td>
<td>1483</td>
<td>573</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fav</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neu</td>
<td>43.6</td>
<td>69.1</td>
<td>58.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Un Fav</td>
<td>51.5</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>39.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* N= Total responses which due to multi-coding exceeds the number of stories.

Cramer's V = .20
Sig = .001
The second country involved in the conflict was India. It is clear from Table 6 that there were striking differences in the reporting styles of three elite newspapers. The New York Times published the most "unfavorable" news stories on Indian military activities in the crisis. Also, it printed the least "neutral" news stories regarding to Indian activities.

The Times, although still negative towards India, ran the smallest percentage of negative stories and the highest number of positive ones.

The attitude of The Globe & Mail varied from the other two newspapers in certain regards. It was the Canadian newspaper which gave the least "favorable" news on Indian military activities. It also printed more news "unfavorable" to India than the British newspaper. It is clear that in the total output the three Western elite newspapers portrayed both Indian and Pakistan military activities more often as "unfavorable" than "favorable."

The third party involved in the political crisis was Bangladesh (East Pakistan). It is evident from Table 7 that The New York Times ran an almost equal number of "favorable", "neutral" and "unfavorable" news stories regarding the military activities of Bangladesh. Moreover, as was the case with Pakistan it published both the most "favorable" and the most "unfavorable" news stories on Bangladesh.
TABLE 7 -

PORTRAYAL OF BANGLADESH'S MILITARY ACTIVITY BY NEWSPAPER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NEW YORK TIMES</th>
<th>TIMES</th>
<th>GLOBE &amp; MAIL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N=615*</td>
<td>N=512</td>
<td>N=306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fav</td>
<td>30.4</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neu</td>
<td>35.3</td>
<td>36.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Un Fav</td>
<td>34.3</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* N= Total responses which due to multi-coding exceeds the number of stories.

Cramer's V = .32
Sig = .001

military activities as compared to the other newspapers. The Times of London appeared with the most "neutral" stories on Bangladesh, as well as on Pakistan and India. It seems the British newspaper was not as "opinionated" as The New York Times, which was quite active in printing the "favorable" and "unfavorable" news of parties involved in the conflict. It was also The Times of London which printed the least news "unfavorable" to Bangladesh. Further, another interesting finding apparent from Table 7 is that the treatment of American and Canadian newspapers regarding the military activities of Bangladesh was more similar, whereas the British newspaper had a different style of presentation.

The comparison of Tables 5, 6 and 7 shows that the three Western newspapers displayed quite different attitudes and patterns of coverage of military activities of Pakistan, India and Bangladesh. The three of them displayed the news of crisis in a different way.
Apart from the countries involved in the crisis, the portrayal of the political leaders of these countries was also examined. As mentioned earlier in the study, two political leaders, Z. A. Bhutto from West Pakistan and Mujibur Rehman of East Pakistan, played critical roles in the crisis. The portrayal of these leaders presented in the elite Western newspapers is of considerable importance. There were a few interesting findings in this regard.

**TABLE 8**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NEW YORK TIMES</th>
<th>TIMES</th>
<th>GLOBE &amp; MAIL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N=1520*</td>
<td>N=996</td>
<td>N=757</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Favour</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>87.4</td>
<td>81.3</td>
<td>86.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unfavour</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* N= Total of responses, which due to multi-coding exceeds the number of stories. Cramer's V = .06 Sig = .001</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data in Table 8 shows that the political leader of West Pakistan, Z.A. Bhutto was most often referred to in a "neutral" context in the three newspapers. With regard to "favorable" and "unfavorable" portrayal, the newspapers as a whole, published favorable news stories more than the unfavorable ones. The *Times* of London presented the highest percentage of positive comments, but also highest percentage of negative comments. As indicated by the very low measure of association (.06) Bhutto was portrayed in a very similar manner in the three newspapers.
TABLE 9

PORTRAYAL OF MUJIB
BY NEWSPAPER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NEW YORK TIMES</th>
<th>TIMES</th>
<th>GLOBE &amp; MAIL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N=1902*</td>
<td>N=1455</td>
<td>N=672</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fav</td>
<td>29.3</td>
<td>23.9</td>
<td>21.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neut</td>
<td>70.4</td>
<td>75.9</td>
<td>74.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Un fav</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* N= Total of references which due to multi-coding exceeds the number of stories.

Cramer's V= .12
Sig= .001

A comparison of Tables 8 and 9 clearly indicates that the Bengali leader Mujibur Rehman was portrayed far more favorably in the Western press than was Bhutto (refer to Appendix "D" for adjectives used for Mujib). It was The New York Times which came up with the most "favorable" and the least "unfavorable" portrait of Mujib. The three newspapers were almost equal in printing "neutral" news stories. Outside of some negative comments in The Globe & Mail, there was scarcely any criticism of the East Pakistan leader.

5.1.7 Question no: 4

Which newspaper gave the most information about the history of the subcontinent and were there significant differences between the three newspapers?

The categories in the "History" section of the coding sheet dealt with several variables, such as; the reasons for division of subcontinent, the strategic geographical situation, the political interests of superpowers, the relationship of India and Pakistan, the elections of 1970,
social economic and political differences, and political confrontation in East and West Pakistan. These have all been aggregated in Table 10. It was assumed that because the subcontinent was a British colony, and also that Pakistan had been a member of the Commonwealth, The Times of London would provide the greatest amount of news on history of the region.

**TABLE 10**

**PORTRAYAL OF HISTORY**
**BY NEWSPAPER**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>N=860*</th>
<th>N=518</th>
<th>N=388</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>NEW YORK TIMES</strong></td>
<td>40.4</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>35.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* N= The actual number of response given by the newspapers. Due to the multi-coding the references exceed the number of stories.

The data shows our assumption was incorrect. In fact, the British newspaper The Times of London not only had fewer than expected it trailed both The New York Times and The Globe & Mail.

In total, the three newspaper printed (34.1%) of items regarding the history of the region. The three newspapers focused their interest on different variables. The New York Times provided the most information on "social, political and economic differences in East and West Pakistan." The second emphasis was on the "East and West Pakistan election of 1970." The Times of London displayed the most interest in "Pakistani and Indian relations", while its second focus
of attention was "social, political and economic differences in East and West Pakistan" (the main focus of the N.Y.T.). The Globe & Mail was concerned mainly with the elections of 1970 (the second focus of the N.Y.T.), second on "Pakistani and Indian relations" (the first focus for The Times.) All three newspapers displayed little interest in "the division of subcontinent" and the "interests of superpowers in the region." The New York Times displayed some modest interest in writing about the East Pakistan cyclone in 1970.

5.1.8 Question no : 5

How did the newspapers portray the attitudes of the superpowers towards West Pakistan, India and Bangladesh and did the newspapers show significant differences in their portrayal of the superpowers?

The three superpowers; the U.S.A., the Soviet Union and China, got politically involved in the crisis at its later stages. Tables 11, 12 and 13 indicate the portrayal of the attitudes of these superpowers towards Pakistan.

The comparison of these tables indicates the press' perception of the attitudes of the three superpowers regarding Pakistan. Table 11 indicates the three newspapers displayed a very consistent pattern in portraying the U.S. attitudes towards Pakistan. All the papers see the U.S. as supporting the Pakistani position, while none see the U.S. as acting "unfavorably" towards Pakistan. The data in Table 12 indicate the USSR's attitudes towards Pakistan.
TABLE 11
U.S. ATTITUDE TOWARD PAKISTAN
BY NEWSPAPER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NEW YORK TIMES</th>
<th>TIMES</th>
<th>GLOBE &amp; MAIL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N=236</td>
<td>N=217</td>
<td>N=122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Favor</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>18.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unfavor</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/A.</td>
<td>77.5</td>
<td>71.0</td>
<td>75.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cramer's V</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Sig.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 12
USSR'S ATTITUDE TOWARD PAKISTAN
BY NEWSPAPER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NEW YORK TIMES</th>
<th>TIMES</th>
<th>GLOBE &amp; MAIL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N=236</td>
<td>N=217</td>
<td>N=122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Favor</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unfavor</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>23.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/A.</td>
<td>79.7</td>
<td>73.2</td>
<td>73.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cramer's V</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Sig.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 13
CHINA'S ATTITUDE TOWARD PAKISTAN
BY NEWSPAPER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NEW YORK TIMES</th>
<th>TIMES</th>
<th>GLOBE &amp; MAIL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N=236</td>
<td>N=217</td>
<td>N=122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Favor</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>22.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unfavor</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/A.</td>
<td>78.8</td>
<td>71.0</td>
<td>74.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cramer's V</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Sig.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Again, it is clear that the three newspapers were extremely consistent in their pattern of presentation. The USSR was seen by all three newspapers as opposing Pakistan, with almost no reporting of a pro-Pakistani Soviet position.
Table 13, in which China's attitudes are portrayed by the three newspapers, shows again that the three newspapers are very clear in portraying China's position on the crisis, namely, pro-Pakistan.

### TABLE 14

#### U.S. ATTITUDE TOWARD INDIA
BY NEWSPAPER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NEW YORK TIMES</th>
<th>TIMES</th>
<th>GLOBE &amp; MAIL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N=236</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>N=217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fav</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>.0</td>
<td>.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Un fav</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>18.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>83.0</td>
<td>71.0</td>
<td>75.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cramer's V = .11
Sig = .05

### TABLE 15

#### USSR'S ATTITUDE TOWARD INDIA
BY NEWSPAPER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NEW YORK TIMES</th>
<th>TIMES</th>
<th>GLOBE &amp; MAIL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N=236</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>N=217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fav</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>24.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Un fav</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>77.5</td>
<td>73.2</td>
<td>73.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cramer's V = .07
Not Sig.

### TABLE 16

#### CHINA'S ATTITUDE TOWARD INDIA
BY NEWSPAPER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NEW YORK TIMES</th>
<th>TIMES</th>
<th>GLOBE &amp; MAIL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N=236</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>N=217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fav</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Un fav</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>25.3</td>
<td>20.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>80.5</td>
<td>71.4</td>
<td>74.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cramer's V = .08
Not Sig.
Tables 14, 15 and 16 show that the three newspapers were also consistent in their portrayal of the attitudes of superpowers towards India. The only exception is that The New York Times portrays the U.S. as considerably less "unfavorable" to India than do The Globe & Mail and The Times. While the measure of association is not especially strong (.11), it is significant at the .05 level.

It is apparent from an examination of Tables 17, 18 and 19 that there were interesting differences in the three newspapers on their portrayal of attitudes of superpowers towards Bangladesh. What we see is an agreement on the part of the three newspapers that the USSR clearly supported Bangladesh. However, with respect to the position of the U.S. and China what we see is ambiguity. None of the papers ventures a position on where these two superpowers will stand with respect to the newly independent country.
5.2 THE HYPOTHESES

Following this discussion of "findings" it is appropriate to determine whether the data supported or rejected the hypotheses formed on the basis of the literature review.
5.2.1 Hypothesis: ONE

Although three elite newspapers are representative of the elite Western press generally, they are creatures of their own country's societies and policies and, therefore, will set their agendas differently. There will be significant discrepancies in the volume and the "type of content" of news among these papers.

Examination of the data leads to both confirmation and rejection of the hypothesis. The three newspapers did set their news agenda for the Bangladesh crisis differently in many regards. The tables above indicate areas where the significant differences were found between the newspapers. For example, on the variable "place of origin" of stories, The Times relied heavily on material coming out of India. Not surprisingly The Times was the most "favorable" and least "unfavorable" in reporting on India's military activity in the crisis. On the other hand, we found remarkable consistency in reporting on the position of the various superpowers among all the newspapers.

5.2.2 Hypothesis: TWO

Since the Western media do not have permanent bureaus in most developing countries, therefore, the three Western newspapers will gather news of the crisis through their special correspondents.

This hypothesis received the full support from the data pertaining to The New York Times and The Times of London. These two newspapers did indeed receive most of their coverage from their special correspondents. On the other hand, The Globe & Mail showed a little interest in obtaining
news in this manner. Instead, it relied almost extensively on a variety or combination of wire services.

5.2.3 Hypothesis: THREE

Since it has been stated that the Western press has the tendency of portraying the Third World negatively, therefore, these countries; Pakistan, India and Bangladesh, will receive more negative coverage than positive coverage.

This hypothesis also received strong support for Pakistan and India, which were subject to a far greater amount of negative news than positive. Bangladesh also received "unfavorable" treatment from The New York Times, with only The Times publishing "favorable" news of Bangladesh in greater amounts than negative, whereas The Globe & Mail had a very slight difference in "favorable" and "unfavorable" news on Bangladesh. Pakistan and India received more negative news than positive.

TABLE 20

TOTAL OUTPUT
OF
WESTERN PRESS ON THE
COVERAGE OF THREE COUNTRIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Favorable</th>
<th>N/Favorable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PAKISTAN</td>
<td>6.26%</td>
<td>18.52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDIA</td>
<td>1.57%</td>
<td>9.49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.DESH</td>
<td>7.29%</td>
<td>7.30%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
No doubt the Western press in its total output played up the negative aspects of the crisis. Table 20 shows Pakistan and India received a greater amount of negative coverage than positive. The third country, Bangladesh, got a different pattern of coverage, with equal "favorable" and "unfavorable" news.

5.2.4 Hypothesis: FOUR

The United States had its clashing interests and diplomatic competition with the Soviet Union, therefore, The New York Times will tend to provide the maximum news of the crisis. Because Great Britain had ceased her colonial relationship with the subcontinent, The Times of London will show little interest in the coverage. Since Canada has little political, historical or economic interests in the subcontinent, the Canadian newspaper, The Globe & Mail, will show the least interest in coverage of the crisis.

Strong support for the hypothesis is evident in the analysis of the data. All three newspapers clearly illustrate the differences in their coverage of the "key variables." The New York Times appears with the most volume, content, special correspondents and a balance in the distribution of news provided from Pakistan, India and Bangladesh. The data establishes that The New York Times gave the most comprehensive coverage, followed by The Globe & Mail.
5.2.5 **Hypothesis : FIVE**

In the United Nations Security Council the Soviet Union favoured India and United States; and China approved the Pakistan position. Therefore, the three newspapers will portray this Western attitude consistently in covering the role of superpowers in the crisis.

The hypothesis received very strong support from the data. The three Western newspapers showed consistency in presenting the attitudes of the superpowers towards Pakistan and India. The attitudes of the superpowers toward Bangladesh were portrayed more ambiguously by the press, while it seemed clear that the USSR would support Bangladesh.
Chapter VI

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

6.1 REVIEW OF THE DATA

Table 21 shows the total number of stories for each month in The New York Times, The Times of London and The Globe & Mail over the 357 days chosen as a purposive sample.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>NEW YORK TIMES N=236</th>
<th>TIMES N=217</th>
<th>GLOBE &amp; MAIL N=122</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>December 1970</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 1971</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 1971</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 1971</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 1971</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1971</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1971</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1971</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 1971</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 1971</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 1971</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 1971</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 1971</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The sudden and rapid escalatory nature of the conflict is clearly demonstrated in Table 21. Aside from the few events reported in 1970 (election activities, etc.) very little attention was focused on the conflict, until the beginning of 1971. With the refusal of Mr. Bhutto to attend the National Assembly session in February, the imprisonment of Mujib and the ensuing Pakistani refugee problem in March;
the amount of reported news begins to increase markedly in
the three newspapers. The activities during March and
December indicate a possible warning for the potential in-
crease in the level of activity and tension in Pakistan,
India and Bangladesh. It is interesting to note that The
New York Times reported a great number of stories during
March and December (the two peak periods of conflict). The
Times of London reported more news during the "non-crisis"
months. The Globe & Mail also increased its reporting in
February and March. This increase in news reporting may
have a different explanation for each newspaper. For exam-
ple, The Times of London and The Globe & Mail do not publish
on Sunday. This affects the number of events reported,
although, two days of coding were added to The Times and The
Globe & Mail sample. This spreads out the reporting period
for a longer time after the "triggering" event. Also, since
other media, eg. the BBC or other newspapers, already pro-
vided the news on Sunday, it is possible The Times would not
attach due importance to that particular item and which
might effect The Times interest. Turner Catledge of The New
York Times once said; "News is anything you don't know
yesterday." Blake & Haroldson (1979:49) stated;

Once an event or situation is understood and the
tension it has aroused eases, the accepted
information becomes history. It is still inter-
esting, but it no longer is pressing, no longer
news.
Another reason for the British newspaper providing less news may have been due to the fact that The Times did not publish its editions on 23, 24 and 25 of December 1971 (the time when the crisis was at its peak.)

It is presumed that the The Globe & Mail showed an increase in its reporting during the months of February and March because it was at this time that the Canadian Prime Minister went to Pakistan and India. It may have interested The Globe & Mail to provide information about the tour of the Canadian Prime Minister in the subcontinent and also to discuss the political affairs of the region.

The situation is quite different in the reporting behavior of the three newspapers. The New York Times reported almost twice as many news stories in March as The Times of London. The Globe & Mail also reported quite a large amount of news in February, March and December 1971, as compared to other dates under study.

The data show that The Times provided a great number of news stories originating from India. This could reflect a closer relationship between Great Britain and India, lasting from colonial days. (The history of the subcontinent, provides evidence of a close relationship between British and Hindus.) Furthermore, it could account for the great number of Times' correspondents in India and the continuing interest in the country. The findings confirm this idea because The Times of London originated most of its news from India.
In contrast, the closer association that has developed between Pakistan and United States may be reflected in The New York Times reporting style as compared to the other two newspapers. The competition between the U.S. and the Soviet Union on the international political level could be one of the reasons for the considerable interest in the region.

Significantly, we can find evidence of consistent discrepancies in the agenda setting functions of the three elite newspapers. Whatever the reason or cause may be, this would have to be the focus of a new study. The study at hand provides some evidence for the legitimate complaints voiced by the underdeveloped countries. The study also proves the charge against the Western press of lacking interest in Third World affairs during "non-crisis" periods. The data provide evidence of a heavy flow of news during the month of December 1971, the period when Pakistan and India got involved in war. Also, the data provide support for the contention that the most use of "special correspondents" takes place only during crisis periods.

On the other hand, we can find no significant bias amongst the three newspapers in their reporting styles of Pakistani, Indian and Bangladeshi activities. There seems to be no coherent pattern in The New York Times' view of Pakistan as less aggressive or hostile to India or Bangladesh or vice versa. In turn, The Times of London and The Globe & Mail do not seem to report more events about one or the
other countries that would indicate "favoritism." The tendency of one newspaper to report a more hostile or cooperative pattern of behavior in general does not exist. The newspapers have shown their concern over the crisis news and they have expressed their opinion in their editorials. As for the The New York Times, it portrayed the developing crisis in East Pakistan as purely an "internal" problem of the country. In its editorial of 19 March 1971, it said;

A weakened Pakistani federation would be better than a Bengali breakaway that could set off additional secessionist moves in the rest of Pakistan and India. That would throw the entire subcontinent into chaos.

Suggesting that such a breakaway would be ruinous to the Bengali state, it said in its editorial of 28 March 1971;

Going it alone is not a solution for the problems of a desperately impoverished state with limited resources in which 73 million people are crowded into an area of the size of Arkansas.

The New York Times took a view often expressed by its reporters that while effective cooperation between East and West Pakistan will require "painful compromises" between them, however, "[they] deserve every encouragement in their efforts to return to a constitutional government through democratic means." It even made suggestions to the political elites of West Pakistan. Before the declaration of Martial Law, following a deadlock in the negotiations between President Yahya Khan and the Bengali leaders, it said in its editorial of 19 March 1971;
The wiser course would be to accept the Sheikh's demand for a large measure of regional autonomy.

The New York Times blamed India for intensifying the explosive situation. It chided India for not allowing West Pakistani overflights to East Pakistan. It also published features and columns of political analysis leading to the crisis in the Eastern wing. In many of the analyses, it was suggested that the source of trouble in Pakistan was written on the map. Barring religion, the differences in terms of racial, cultural, and linguistic factors between the two regions were so insurmountable that only a strong army could keep them from breaking apart. There were a number of interesting letters to the editor found in this newspaper. One of the letters, dated 28 March 1971, said:

It is a strange paradox that all the war weapons supplied by the United States have only resulted in their profound misuse.

Another letter to the editor in the same-issue stated:

If during the Indo-Pakistan war of 1965, the United States could impose an arms embargo on both countries on grounds that its military hardware was not supposed to be used against each other, there is now all the more reason for the United States not to remain a silent witness to this wholesale slaughter of the Bengali population.

The British newspaper The Times analyzed the situation in its editorial in a slightly different manner. One of its editorials on 7 December 1971 said:

True, it is great power division that has brought the deadlock in New York as it did in the past. But this may not be the old story all over again.
Obviously, the Russians will allow no cease-fire until their friends, the Indians, have reached the objectives that have been in their sights for months past... While this is going on the Russians will doggedly meet the bargain that their Treaty of Friendship has imposed on them.

In one of its political analyses of 8 December 1971, The Times discussed the Labour Party moving towards a recognition of Bangladesh:

The resolution expressed the belief that the cause of conflict 'lies in the refusal of Pakistan government to negotiate a political solution with the democratically elected leaders of the East Bengal.' It urged all countries to end further arms supplies to India and Pakistan and called on the big powers to desist from involving themselves in the conflict.

In a few of its editorials, The Times was quite critical of Pakistan. On December 3 1971 it printed:

For eight months the Pakistan government has dithered, almost willfully turning aside from the political realities of the Eastern wing. All their political gestures have been paltry. They can not hope now to swing international support for their side by representing themselves as innocent sufferers from unprovoked aggression.

The Canadian newspaper, The Globe & Mail, also expressed an identical opinion, but there were a few errors in the reporting by this newspaper. For example, in a few editions The Globe & Mail referred to the West Pakistani leader, Zulifqar Ali Bhutto, as 'Xulfikar Ali Bhutto', and in one edition it repeatedly mentioned Chamb, as "Chamba."

In conclusion, we can say that the Western press displayed a considerable interest in the crisis news. It is evident from the data that the opinion and the attitudes
of the papers were quite different from each other. Hill
and Fenn (1974:163) suggested that;

There is need for more than one source to analyze
contemporary international politics, particularly
if a regional subsystem or crisis is the focus of
attention. The newspapers tend to exaggerate
periods of intense activity and deemphasize the
normal or routine behavior.

It is indisputable that Western dominated media
agencies lack interest in the developing countries. How-
ever, further suggestions for research arise.

Since the present study deals only with coverage of a
危机, an extension of it would be an analysis of elite
press coverage of a "crisis period" compared with that of a
"non-crisis period". A study of this kind could provide
further insights into how the Western press shapes the image
of the Third World for Western readers, and how this in turn
affects self-perceptions of national identity and image for
residents within the Third World. Also, the elite newspa-
papers might be compared with the newspapers of a developing
country over a particular time period to assess differences
in agenda setting and coverage.

Finally, although this study of elite western press
coverage of the Bangladesh crisis has brought to light some
significant results, another study comparing The New York
Times with The Pakistan Times and The Times of India might
result in conclusions of greater certainty.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Appendix A

COMPOSITION OF THE MEMBERS OF MACBRIE COMMISSION

A.1 THE PRESIDENT


A.2 THE MEMBERS

2. Elie Able (U.S.A.), journalist, and broadcaster, Henry & Norman Chandler Professor of Communication, Stanford University.

3. Hubert Beuve-Mery (France), journalist, founder of the newspaper Le Monde, president of the Centre de formation et de perfectionnement des journalistes, Paris.

4. Elbe Ma Ekonzo (Zaire), journalist, Director of National Press, Director General of Agencie-Zaïre press.
5. Gabriel García Márquez (Columbia), journalist & author.


7. Moctar Lubis (Indonesia), President of the Press Foundation of Asia.

8. Mustapha Masmudi (Tunisia), Permanent Delegate of Tunisia to UNESCO, formerly Secretary of State for information, President of the Intergovernmental Coordinating Council for information of the Non-Aligned Countries.

9. Michio Nagai (Japan), journalist and sociologist, former Minister of Education, editorialist of the newspaper Asahi Shimbun.

10. Fred Isaac Akporuaro Omu (Nigeria), Research professor, university of Benin, previously Commissioner for Information, Social Development and Sports, Bendal State.

11. Bogdan Osolnik (Yugoslavia), journalist, politician, member of the National Assembly.

12. Gamal El Otefi (Egypt), former Minister for Information and Culture, honorary professor, Cairo University, journalist, lawyer and legal adviser.

14. Juan Somavia (Chile), Executive Director, Instituto Latinoamericano de Estudios Transnacionales (Mexico City).

15. Boobli George Verghese (India), journalist and Gandhi Peace Foundation Fellow.

16. Betty Zimmerman (Canada), broadcaster, Director of Radio Canada International.
Appendix B

IMBALANCES IN EAST & WEST PAKISTAN

TABLE: 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tot population (million)</th>
<th>density (persons/SQ.MI)</th>
<th>urbanization %</th>
<th>literacy %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>1951</td>
<td>1961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.P.</td>
<td>41.9</td>
<td>50.8</td>
<td>701</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.P.</td>
<td>33.7</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


TABLE: 2

LANGUAGES SPOKEN AS MOTHER TONGUE (percentage of population)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>EAST PAKISTAN</th>
<th>WEST PAKISTAN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1951</td>
<td>1961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengali</td>
<td>98.16%</td>
<td>98.42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>0.02%</td>
<td>0.02%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pushto</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.01%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindhi</td>
<td>0.01%</td>
<td>0.01%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baluchi</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>0.64%</td>
<td>0.61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>0.01%</td>
<td>0.01%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE: 3

RELIGIOUS DISTRIBUTION IN PAKISTAN.
(percentage of total population)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>East Pakistan</th>
<th>West Pakistan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Moslem</td>
<td>1951 1951</td>
<td>1951 1961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>76.8% 80.4%</td>
<td>97.1% 97.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>22.0 18.4</td>
<td>1.6 1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>0.3 0.3</td>
<td>1.3 1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>0.9 0.9</td>
<td>0.0 0.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: Pakistan Ministry of Home & Kashmir Affairs,
Home Affairs Division, Population Census of

TABLE: 4

HIGHER RANKS IN THE CENTRAL GOVT.
(1955).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>East Pakistan</th>
<th>West Pakistan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Secretary</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joint Secretary</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deputy Secretary</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under Secretary</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>510</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: Pakistan, Constituent Assembly, Debates,
Volume 1, (1956) P.1844.

TABLE: 5

INTERWING AIR TRAVEL
(1960-1965)
(the figures are for six months period only).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Passengers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>East to West</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960-61</td>
<td>40,075</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961-62</td>
<td>51,893</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962-63</td>
<td>55,494</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963-64</td>
<td>73,330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964-65</td>
<td>39,471</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: East Pakistan, Bureau of Statistics, Statistical
Digest of East Pakistan. 1966, P.153.
### Appendix C

**POSITIVE, NEGATIVE ADJECTIVES USED FOR POLITICAL LEADERS**

**POSITIVE**
- Logical
- Philosophical
- Useful
- Serious
- Dramatic
- Great Orator
- Animated
- Compromiser
- Democratic nature

**NEGATIVE**
- Cynical
- Disdainful
- Cold
- Hesitant
- Disengaged
- Hard-line
- Dishonest
- Liar
- Arrogant
# Appendix D

## ADJECTIVES USED FOR MUJIB

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POSITIVE</th>
<th>NEGATIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Relaxed</td>
<td>Manipulator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folk hero of Bangladesh</td>
<td>Tactless</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calm</td>
<td>Irritated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smiling</td>
<td>Deceptive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moving</td>
<td>Strained</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forceful</td>
<td>Aggressor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix E

THE CODING SHEET
**Newspaper.**

2. Times (London).

**Date.**

**Place of origin of story.**

1. West Pakistan.
2. India.
3. East Pakistan.
4. Others.
5. N/A.

**Type of content.**

1. News story (inside page).
2. Editorial.
3. Feature.
4. Letters to editor.

**Source of news.**

1. AP.
2. UPI.
3. REUTER.
4. AFP.
5. SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.
6. LOCAL STAFF.
7. OTHERS.
8. UNKNOWN.

**QUESTIONS.**

1. Which newspaper gave the maximum volume of news stories related to East Pakistan crisis?
2. Which newspaper gave what type of content of news and if there were differences in the three newspapers?
3. Which newspaper used what source of news and if there were differences in the three newspapers?
4. How many stories were given on the first page, and the differences in the three newspapers?
**QUESTION.**

How the political leaders of East and West Pakistan were portrayed and if any political leader was given favorable or unfavorable coverage by the respective newspaper?

**Z.A. Bhutto / P P P. (N. Pakistan)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Support for leadership/party manifesto.</th>
<th>1. favorable</th>
<th>2. neutral</th>
<th>3. unfavorable</th>
<th>9. non applicable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>9.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Political deals / negotiations.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>9.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Attacks on political rivals, condemnation of policy.</strong></td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>9.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>9.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Refusal to negotiate, refusal to attend the assembly session.</strong></td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>9.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>9.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Agreements, settlements, turning points.</strong></td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>9.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>9.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Meetings with other heads of nations, visits etc.</strong></td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>9.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>9.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Personal characteristics, others.</strong></td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>9.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>9.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Mujib / Awami League. (E. Pakistan)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Support for leadership party manifesto.</th>
<th>1.</th>
<th>2.</th>
<th>3.</th>
<th>9.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>9.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Political deals / negotiations.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>9.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Insists on Six points, regional autonomy, division of power in East and West Pakistan.</strong></td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>9.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>9.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Calls for general strike, violation of federal govt.</strong></td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>9.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>9.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Charges the rival parties/ rejects the proposals.</strong></td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>9.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>9.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Declares independence of E. Pakistan/support his cabinet/ issues orders etc.</strong></td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>9.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>9.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Arrested/charged for treason/ military trial.</strong></td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>9.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>9.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Personal characteristics/ others.</strong></td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>9.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>9.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Question. How the military activity / conflict was portrayed for Pakistan, India and Bangladesh, and whether there were differences in the portrayal of military activity in the respective newspapers.

**Military activity / conflict.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pakistan</th>
<th>India</th>
<th>Bangladesh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Movements of troops/ martial law. (before conflict)</td>
<td>1. favorable</td>
<td>2. neutral</td>
<td>3. Unfavorable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counter Guerrilla action by official army/ bombing etc.</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil war/ violence/ brutality aggression/ killing.</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maneuvers / advance / change in command (actual conflict)</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>3.</td>
</tr>
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<td>Event Description</td>
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<td>India</td>
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<tr>
<td>Victory over the enemy</td>
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<td>statements by the defense ministers/ chief of staffs(text)</td>
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<td>Demonstrations by the people, specific grievances / disparities in East and West Pakistan.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Defeat / cease fire surrender/ inadequate defence.</td>
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Question: Whether the newspapers gave the history of the region involved in the crisis and if there were differences in the number of stories provided by each newspaper? 

**History of the region involved in the crisis.**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Division of Sub Continent/ independence.</td>
<td>46</td>
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<tr>
<td>Strategic geographical conditions of E.N. Pakistan.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Political interests of superpowers in the region.</td>
<td>48</td>
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<tr>
<td>Relations with India, wars with India.</td>
<td>49</td>
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<tr>
<td>Social, political, economic differences in E.N. Pakistan.</td>
<td>50</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elections of 1970, allocation of seats etc.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Political confrontation in E.N. Pakistan.</td>
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<td>Specify</td>
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</table>
**Question:** How did the Indian and the Pakistani governments react towards the movement of Bangladesh and if there were differences in the three newspapers in the projection of the treatment of two governments towards the movement of Bangladesh?

**Indian Govt./Mrs. Gandhi:**
- Support extended friendly relations.
- Denial of charges, rejected the charges.
- Accused/blamed/charged to.
- Parliament meetings negotiations.
- Appeals/requests.

**Pakistan:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>2. neutral</th>
<th>3. unfavorable</th>
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<td>B. Desh.</td>
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<td>J. Desh.</td>
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<td>S. Desh.</td>
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**B. Desh.**

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<td>S. Desh.</td>
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**J. Desh.**

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**S. Desh.**

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**J. Desh.**

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**S. Desh.**

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</table>
| Activity with political leaders. | United
| Pakistan | | Bangladesh |
| 1. | 2. | |
| 3. | 3. | |
| 9. | 9. | |
| Negotiations / meetings |
| public opinion |
| 1. | 2. | |
| 3. | 3. | |
| 9. | 9. | |
| Dissolves cabinet / postpones the assembly session. |
| 1. | 2. | |
| 3. | 3. | |
| 9. | 9. | |
| Warns / bans political activities / parties. |
| 1. | 2. | |
| 3. | 3. | |
| 9. | 9. | |
| Address to the Nation, gives statements urges for the unity of one Pakistan. |
| 1. | 2. | |
| 3. | 3. | |
| 9. | 9. | |
| Points out the involvement of other countries. |
| 1. | 2. | |
| 3. | 3. | |
| 9. | 9. | |
| Others. | | |
| 1. | 2. | |
| 3. | 3. | |
| 9. | 9. | |
Question.
How the superpowers involved in the crisis supported or criticized the three parties involved in the conflict, and if there were differences in the three newspapers in portraying of favorable/unfavorable portrayal towards Pakistan, India and Bangla Desh.?

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15 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30
Pakistan and Bangladesh.