Notes

Notes to Chapter 1

1 SIPRI (2001: 64) defines ‘major armed conflicts’ as those involving at least 1,000 battle-related deaths in at least one one-year period since the onset of hostilities. In 1990–2001, the lowest number of major conflicts (19) occurred in 1997 and the highest (33) in 1991.


3 There have, however, been some studies of the propaganda role of the non-Western media, particularly in the former Yugoslavia (Thompson 1999; Skopljanac Brunner et al. 2000) and Rwanda (Article 19 1996; Kellow and Steeves 1998).


5 A more obvious choice for a fourth newspaper might be the Telegraph. However, at the time of writing the newspaper had withdrawn its archives prior to 2000 from all electronic databases. The Mail was chosen because of its right-of-centre political stance, and in order to allow some comparisons to be drawn between the broadsheet press and a mid-market tabloid.

6 Online news databases are not without their problems. Archives can be unreliable and incomplete, and discrepancies can arise when different newspapers’ data are recorded differently. One particular problem which deserves mention is that whereas the broadsheets usually split ‘in brief’ columns into separate stories, the Mail often bundled more than one item into a single ‘article.’ In this study, no changes were made to the way in which newspapers separated their articles, except for editorials, which were always counted as single articles. Where data were evidently incomplete, the ProQuest database was used as an alternative source, although this did not always yield better results. Where the database included different versions of the same article, the longest was selected. For these reasons, figures for total coverage in the case studies should be treated as approximate. A more general problem with electronic versions of newspapers is that they do not include layout, photographs or other illustrations. It would be desirable to integrate the textual analysis attempted in this study with the type of
framing approach to news images offered by Griffin (2004), but on this occasion the limitations of a text-only analysis were felt to be outweighed by the advantages it affords in terms of handling larger quantities of coverage.

Notes to Chapter 2

1 Their 10 December 1992 Los Angeles Times article, ‘Disaster Pornography from Somalia’, is available at www.medialit.org/reading_room/article105.html. Their views were also reported in the Independent on the same day.


4 Table 2.1 gives the numbers of relevant articles. A LexisNexis search was carried out using the term ‘Somalia’ for all the periods listed and all articles were checked for relevance. Readers’ letters and articles mentioning Somalia only in passing were excluded. The date ranges of the five periods of coverage selected were determined as follows: Period 1 is the calendar month of August, since the airlift began mid-month, on 14 August 1992. Period 2 covers the week before President Bush issued the order for Operation Restore Hope, on Friday 4 December 1992, and the following three weeks. Period 3 is from three weeks before the end of Operation Restore Hope (on 4 May 1993) until one week after. Period 4 is the calendar month of October, since the clash with General Aidid’s militia was at the beginning of the month (3–4 October 1993). Period 5 is the four weeks preceding the 1 April 1994 deadline for the withdrawal of US forces.

5 The Guardian carried 25 articles in which causes were addressed briefly, accounting for 22.5 per cent of the paper’s total coverage of Somalia during the periods examined; the Independent carried 20 (15.2 per cent of its coverage); the Times 20 (17.5 per cent); and the Mail 6 (22.2 per cent).

6 The number of explanatory articles during the remaining two periods was three at the end of Operation Restore Hope, in April/May 1993 (27.3 per cent of the coverage for that period), and two as US forces withdrew in March 1994 (9.1 per cent).

7 This type of limited explanation was not found in any other articles.

8 Terms such as these, suggesting the violence was criminal, occurred in 6 of the 11 articles; in two instances the violence was presented in the context of civil war (‘factional fighting’ by ‘guerrillas’); and in three instances both criminal and civil war frames were invoked.

9 Of the 71 articles offering brief explanations, 46 made this connection (64.7 per cent), although only 36 of these offered some explanation of the war itself.

10 This article evidently formed the basis for the Times editorial of 28 March 1994 discussed earlier. Kiley wrote that: ‘Operation Restore Hope aimed to put an end to the looting of food aid and the protection rackets which were the main cause of famine costing relief agencies tens of millions of pounds a year. For, unlike the Ethiopian famine of 1984, the disaster in Somalia was entirely man-made’ (5 May 1993).

11 Fifteen articles had more than one target of criticism: six focusing on both the military and the aid operation; five on both the media and the aid operation; and four on the media and the military. ‘Criticism’ includes both direct criticism by journalists and also the reported criticism of others, such as politicians, NGO spokespersons and Somalis.
12 In order to be as inclusive as possible, a LexisNexis search was conducted of all UK national newspapers, including Sundays, from 1 January 1992 to 31 December 1995 using the terms 'Somalia' AND 'African Rights' OR 'de Waal' OR 'Omaar'. The Telegraph's archives were not available.


14 The search, using NUDIST, was not for whole words only, so that 'child' also includes 'children'; 'militia' also includes 'militiamen', and so on. Without checking the context of every mention of each term, this technique provides only a crude indication of the changing emphasis in the coverage: for example, while 60.6 per cent of articles in August 1992 mentioned the word 'child' or derivatives, only 23.4 per cent of articles were coded as drawing attention to children's suffering. With this caution, the overall pattern presented here may be taken as broadly accurate, since there is no reason to suppose a greater number of irrelevant mentions of a term in one period than in any other.

15 The Guardian and the Times also reminded readers of this story in later coverage, each running an article comparing the December 1992 landings with the shocking images of dead soldiers in October 1993, and each carrying a report contrasting the televised arrival of US troops with their departure in March 1994.


Notes to Chapter 3


5 Table 3.1 indicates the total numbers of relevant articles. A LexisNexis search was carried out using the term ‘Bosnia’ for all the periods listed and all articles were checked for relevance. Readers’ letters and articles which mentioned Bosnia only in passing were excluded.

6 The quantity of articles for the other periods was as follows: focusing mainly on causes, three in the 1993 sample period, one in 1994 and one in 1995; mentioning causes briefly, 21 in 1993, four in 1994 and three in 1995.

7 Despite its 10 April 1993 report that the US had ‘subtly changed tune’, on 15 April the Times quoted a ‘senior American diplomat’ as explaining that ‘In Europe, the feeling is that this is a civil war but in the US there is a greater sense that it is a war of aggression.’

8 The numbers of articles explaining the war as the result of Serbian aggression were as follows: focusing mainly on causes, four (out of a total of nine) during the 1992 sample period, one (out of three) in 1993, none (of one) in 1994 and one (of one) in 1995; mentioning causes briefly, 28 (out of a total of 37) in 1992, nine (out of 21) in 1993, three (of four) in 1994 and three (of three) in 1995.

9 The Mail (7 April) also said that the Serbs ‘were being blamed’ but cited no sources to this effect apart from Izetbegovic.
The coincidence of the ‘crusade’ or ‘holy war’ idea appearing in the Guardian, Independent and Times within three days of each other suggests that it may have come from a shared source, although none was cited. Such similarities are evidence of the ‘pack mentality’ that critics have identified in Bosnia coverage. The most striking examples of this in our samples were in articles by the Independent’s Emma Daly and Stacy Sullivan of the Times, who offered very similar ‘first-hand’ accounts based on interviews with victims of the war. The same anecdote from a Sarajevan woman appeared in Daly’s 22 November 1995 report as in Sullivan’s report the following day; and on 27 November both journalists based stories around an interview with the same man.

The other two articles advancing this explanation were in the Guardian (23 April 1992) and the Mail (7 April 1992).

The remaining two articles advancing this combination of ‘Western interference’ and ‘Serb–Croat carve-up’ explanations were in the Times (5 and 24 April 1993).

This issue deserves more extensive treatment than can be attempted here, although we return to it in Chapter 5.


The equivalent Russian term (etnicheskoye chishcheniye) was used by the Soviets to describe Azeri assaults on Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh in the 1980s (see for example Banks and Wolfe Murray 1999: 152). Here there is a linguistic similarity, but no direct relationship with its use in the former Yugoslavia.


Kenney resigned in protest over the US government’s failure to take a tougher stance on Bosnia, but later changed his mind and became an opponent of military intervention in the Balkans. All quotations from Kenney here are from personal correspondence.

The figures on US media were kindly obtained for me by David Peterson via a Lexis-Nexis database search.

One report in our 1992 sample did mention a ‘violent clean-out’ of Zvornik by the Serbs (Independent, 14 April) and another described the Yugoslav army as ‘mopping up’ in Visegrad while Serbian gunmen ‘moved around the town … to ensure it had been “cleansed”’ (Guardian, 16 April). A search of all incidences of the term ‘clean’ (and variants, such as cleansed) for our four chosen newspapers revealed seven similar uses of the term in 1991. Six of these referred to ‘clean up’ or ‘clean out’ operations, in all cases but one describing the actions of Croatian forces. The only instance in which ‘cleansing’ was linked to ethnicity was in a 9 July 1991 article by Tim Judah in the Times, which reported the fears of a Serb in Croatia: ‘Zarko Cubrilo, aged 48, said that he had lost his job after 20 years as a building supervisor. He said that all the Croats in his company had kept their jobs. “Many of us have been sacked because they want an ethnically clean Croatia.” Mr Cubrilo said that Croatia’s ruling party wanted “either to conquer us and make us loyal citizens who will only be allowed to sweep the streets, or kick us out.”’

The Bosnian Muslim government successfully obtained a decision from the International Court of Justice (also in April 1993) ordering Serbia to prevent ‘acts of genocide’ in Bosnia, and later threatened to take the British government to the same court for complying with Serbian genocide.

See notes 758–825 to this section of the report. Aside from news articles, other sources used here included books by journalists (Misha Glenny and Roy Gutman) and specialist publications such as Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty research reports, as well as Western NGOs and US Congressional committees.

The totals for other periods were: 18 articles in 1992 (16.2 per cent of coverage for that period); 77 in 1993 (19.4 per cent); and 36 in 1995 (19.4 per cent).
Counting only those articles which mentioned a British angle in their headlines, this type of coverage accounted for 8.2 per cent of the total. Comparing different periods, adoption of a British news angle was most prominent in 1994 (13.1 per cent of coverage for that period); comparing different newspapers, it was most marked in the Mail (21.8 per cent of the paper’s total coverage).

Notes to Chapter 4

1 Common estimates of the number of victims range from 500,000 to 1,000,000, and occasionally more. The figure of 800,000 is given by the UN International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (see the Tribunal’s Handbook for Journalists, http://69.94.11.53/ENGLISH/handbook/index.htm). The estimate of deaths among Hutu opposition party supporters is from Mamdani (2001: 5).
3 Seth Sendashonga, the Hutu Interior Minister in the new government established by the RPF, said the RPF’s victory was followed by a ‘killing spree’, which was halted only temporarily by its need to secure international aid. Sendashonga was sacked from the government in August 1995 and later assassinated because of his criticism of the regime (Terry 2002: 209).
4 Terry (2002: 210) notes that UN personnel physically counted 4,000 dead and 650 wounded before they were stopped by the RPF; the higher estimate of 8,000 was given by aid agencies at the time.
5 Table 4.1 gives the total numbers of relevant articles. A LexisNexis search was carried out using the term ‘Rwanda’ for all the periods listed and all articles were checked for relevance. Readers’ letters and articles mentioning Rwanda only in passing were excluded.
6 The numbers given for explanatory articles refer only to those attempting to explain the mass killings of April–June 1994. Explanations of other events, such as the flight of refugees, are treated separately below.
7 The quantity of explanatory material in the different sample periods examined was as follows: April 1994, 21 articles (25.3 per cent of total coverage for that period), comprising eight in which the causes of violence were the major focus and 13 in which it was a minor focus; July 1994, 13 articles (9.4 per cent of coverage), comprising five in which the causes of violence were the major focus and eight in which it was a minor focus; April 1995, one article which took the causes of violence as its main focus and three in which it was a minor focus (6.6 per cent of coverage); November 1996, three articles (1.8 per cent of coverage), all of which took the causes of violence as their main focus.
8 The quantity of explanatory material in different newspapers was as follows: the Guardian carried 16 articles (9.9 per cent of its total coverage), of which five took the causes of violence as their major focus; the Independent carried 14 articles (10.4 per cent of its total coverage), eight of which were focused mainly on the causes of violence; the Mail carried five articles (23.8 per cent of the coverage examined), two of which focused mainly on causes; and the Times carried six (4.7 per cent of its total coverage), again with two focusing mainly on causes.
9 Of the 21 articles offering explanations in this period, 11 adopted the ‘tribal’ framework (52.4 per cent): five of eight articles focusing mainly on causes and six of 13 mentioning causes briefly.
10 The editorial praised Overseas Development Minister Linda Chalker, whose claim that
Notes

‘These camps are full of Hutu extremists with weaponry’ was also reported in the same day’s edition of the Times, but not reported in other papers.

11 It might be thought that calling Zaire the ‘heart of darkness’ suggested itself simply because it was the setting for Conrad’s novel. Yet the idea apparently suggested itself most forcefully to Times journalists. Although this 14 November article used the heart of darkness metaphor, the Independent also carried a commentary by Andrew Marshall, entitled ‘Heart of Prejudice’, which offered a critique of ‘the attitudes that still blind us to the realities of Rwanda and Zaire’ (20 November 1996).

12 Of 101 articles dealing with the refugee camps in November 1996, 40 offered an explanation of why the refugees had not returned to Rwanda, and 30 of these said that the refugees were being forced to stay by their leaders.

Notes to Chapter 5

1 For a summary of these initiatives see Defence Select Committee (2000: Annex B, ‘Chronology’).


3 This and other similar German government documents are posted at: http://emperors-clothes.com/articles/german/Germany.html. Since these reports were issued in response to requests for asylum by Kosovo Albanians, their objectivity may be questionable. But the picture they reveal is borne out by KVM monitor Jacques Prod’homme, who is reported to have said that ‘in the month leading up to the war, during which he moved freely throughout the Pec region, neither he nor his colleagues observed anything that could be described as systematic persecution, either collective or individual murders, burning of houses or deportations’ (Rouleau 1999). Post-war assessments issued by the US State Department, the ICTY and the OSCE all corroborate Prod’homme’s statement (Chomsky 2000c).


5 Ibid.

6 Ibid.

7 Tom Walker and Aidan Laverty, ‘CIA Aided Kosovo Guerrilla Army’, Sunday Times, 12 March 2000. In addition, two private US military training companies, Dyncorps and Military Professional Resources Inc., which had earlier operated in Croatia and Bosnia, sent their personnel to Kosovo; and Johnstone (2002: 235) notes that from 1996 the German intelligence services also provided training and equipment to the KLA.

8 Vickers (1998: 225–6) notes that in the 1980s cash obtained from narcotics was used in an organised fashion to enable the purchase of land from Serbian families in Kosovo. The combined Serbian and Montenegrin population in the province declined from 27.4 per cent in 1961 to 8.6 per cent in 1991 (Vickers 1998: 318, 320).


10 John Goetz and Tom Walker, ‘Serbian Ethnic Cleansing Scare Was a Fake, Says General’, Sunday Times, 2 April 2000. The Germans based their claims on a Bulgarian intelligence report (which actually concluded that ‘the goal of the Serbian military was to destroy the Kosovo Liberation Army, and not to expel the entire Albanian population’),
invented a codename for the alleged ‘plan’ (inadvertently using the Croatian variant of Serbo-Croat) and drew up fake maps in order to provide supporting documentation.

11 As Binder (2000) notes, this means that a greater proportion of Serbs and Montenegrins than ethnic-Albanians fled Kosovo during the bombing.

12 In addition, as KLA soldier Lirak Qelaj admitted, ‘it was KLA advice, rather than Serbian deportations, which led some of the hundreds of thousands of Albanians to leave Kosovo’ (Jonathan Steele, ‘KLA Player Longs to Retire from World Stage’, Guardian, 30 June 1999).


15 This estimate is based on information from the UN Mission in Kosovo’s Office of Missing Persons and Forensics, press release, 3 February 2003, www.unmikonline.org/press/2003/press/pr917.htm. Requests for more up-to-date figures met with no response and no more recent information appears on its website.

16 A LexisNexis search was carried out using the term ‘Kosovo’ for both periods and all articles were checked for relevance. Readers’ letters and articles which mentioned Kosovo only in passing were excluded. However, in the case of the Guardian’s coverage during 17 March–14 April 1999, the database was found to be faulty. This was evident from both the uncharacteristically small quantity of coverage returned from the Lexis-Nexis search and by references in some articles to others which were missing from our sample but clearly relevant. The Guardian articles for this period were therefore taken from the ProQuest database instead, using the same procedure as for other searches.

17 The Guardian carried 65 explanatory articles (11.0 per cent of its total coverage), the Times carried 53 (9.2 per cent), the Independent 42 (6.6 per cent) and the Mail 26 (8.8 per cent). Four explanatory articles addressed both the conflict in Kosovo and the Nato intervention: to avoid double counting, these were included in the latter category of ‘explanation’.


21 Ibid.

22 Overall, the Times carried 36 editorials, the Guardian and Independent 25 each and the Mail 23.

23 The only British national newspaper which opposed intervention was the Independent on Sunday, which took a different editorial stance from its weekday equivalent.

24 The Guardian’s 98 articles made up 16.5 per cent of its coverage; the Times carried 65 critical articles (11.2 per cent of its total) and the Independent 76 articles (11.9 per cent).

Notes to Chapter 6

1 Tony Blair was reportedly advised by the British Attorney General that the sole legal justification for the war was self-defence and that he ‘would be in breach of international law if he was to portray the attack as a retaliation or punishment’ (Guardian, 4 October).
Notes

8 A third possibility would have been to take both sample periods and examine how the story changed over a longer time-span. This option was considered, but the large quantity of coverage and the limited time-frame for completing the study made it impossible.
9 A LexisNexis search was carried out using the term ‘Afghanistan’ for both periods and all articles were checked for relevance. Readers’ letters and articles which mentioned Afghanistan only in passing were excluded, although, as discussed below, an exception was made in the case of the Guardian, allowing more articles than usual to pass the test of relevance.
10 The Times also used the strap-line ‘War on Terror’, but this was not included in its electronic archives on LexisNexis or ProQuest and so could not be counted.
11 The paper’s use of strap-lines was checked on microfilm copies at the British Library.
12 The only instance of the term ‘revenge’ being used in the context of support for the war was a report that a US government advisor had told members of Congress to ‘remember that revenge is better eaten cold’ (Guardian, 8 October).
13 This was from the introduction to a long feature debating the question ‘Can Islam liberate women?’, which took a sympathetic view of Islam, with articles based on interviews with Muslim women and a commentary by Egyptian novelist Ahdaf Soueif (Guardian, 8 December). In our samples, two articles highlighted human rights abuses in Afghanistan in the context of an explicitly anti-war argument: a Guardian interview with the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan (8 October); and an anti-war commentary by Independent columnist Natasha Walter, who argued that: ‘In this war, if we look dispassionately at the situation of women, we can clearly understand that military attacks are not going to eradicate the problems of the region’ (10 October).
14 The Independent carried 109 critical articles (16.1 per cent of its total coverage), the Times carried 80 (11.1 per cent) and the Mail 41 (13.8 per cent). Most criticism appeared during October (288 articles, as against 84 in December), when, despite the greater quantity of total coverage, it also accounted for a higher proportion (14.8 per cent, compared with 12.6 per cent in December).
15 As compared with 15 such articles in the Independent, seven in the Times and three in the Mail.
16 The Independent carried 11 articles making this point, the Mail eight and the Times and Guardian seven each.
Notes to Chapter 7


7 Rangwala first aired his analysis of the dossier in a post to the Campaign Against Sanctions on Iraq email discussion list (www.casi.org.uk/discuss/2003/msg00457.html). It was subsequently picked up by Channel 4 News and other media outlets.

8 See Rangwala’s work at http://middleeastreference.org.uk/iraqncbfurther.html.


10 A LexisNexis search was carried out using the term ‘Iraq’ for the dates selected and all articles were checked for relevance. Readers’ letters and articles which mentioned Iraq only in passing were excluded.

11 There were 58 explanatory articles in our first sample, 190 in the second and five in the third. Explanatory articles made up 4.8 per cent of coverage during the invasion.

12 The Mail carried 49 explanatory articles, the Times 56, the Guardian 77 and the Independent 71.