

UNIVERSITÉ STENDHAL – GRENOBLE 3

DÉPARTEMENT D'ÉTUDES ANGLOPHONES

CAULCUTT CLEA

FRANCHISING MYTHS

A case study of the
cooperation between
The New York Times
and European newspapers



SUPERVISED BY PROFESSOR FRANCIS FEELEY

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank my supervisor Professor Francis Feeley for his help and for all the interesting and challenging discussions we had this year.

All my thanks are also due to the librarians who worked and helped us throughout the refurbishing of the main library.

Finally, I would like to thank my family for helping me during the drafting of this thesis and during the many computer-induced crises.

Table of Contents

Introduction.....	5
1. THEORIES AND CONCEPTS.....	8
Introduction.....	9
A. From Structuralism to Functionalism	9
1. Two Theories	9
2. Ideology and language	15
3. The Sacred myth	16
4. The Political myth and the sacred myth.....	18
B. Globalising the Media.....	20
1. A brief Overview: Integrating the world economy.....	21
2. The Media oligarchy in the United States	24
3. The European media market	26
4. Global Strategies in the written media.....	27
5. The Position of the NYT within the media network.....	28
C. The Communicative Situation of the NYT.....	29
Conclusion	31
2. EUROREACH AND THE PILOT HOST PROJECT.....	32
Introduction.....	33
A. Euroreach	33
1. Brief Description of the NYT project in Europe	33
2. Changes at the International Herald Tribune.....	34
3. Not Messianism but marketing: The conflicting aims of the NYT European project	36
4. Readership and the concept of the host	39
b. The readership of the host newspapers	41
c. Cultural resistance and the first buy	42
d. Branding, blending and the concept of the host.....	43
5. Advertising.....	44
b. The Supplement as advertiser host	47
B. The Pilot Host Project ‘Le Monde’	49
1. Evolutions at <i>Le Monde</i>	49
a. A Propitious international context	51
b. The Growing international tension	52
2. Comparative Study	53
a. Evolution of articles concerning France	53
b. Editing the titles of articles in the NYT supplement	57
c. Editing the NYT articles for the supplement	62
3. Layout: use of photography and complementary between articles.....	66

Introduction

In the light of recent studies of globalisation and of the media, the aim of this thesis is to study the approach of the *New York Times* (NYT) to a new European readership. During the past three years, the *New York Times* has established loose partnerships with European newspapers which resulted in the publishing of supplements containing a selection of NYT articles within these newspapers. Participating newspapers include *Le Monde* in France, *El País* in Spain, *la Repubblica* in Italy, *The Daily Telegraph* in the United Kingdom and *Süddeutsche Zeitung* in Germany. The cooperation, christened 'Euroreach', includes the *International Herald Tribune* (IHT), an English-language daily owned by the *New York Times*. Our analysis of the NYT's pan-European venture nevertheless focuses mainly on the NYT cooperation with *Le Monde* which was its first experiment in Europe.

Our investigation of the NYT's cooperation with European newspapers is organised around two distinct approaches, one which analyses the information gathered about 'Euroreach' in the light of trends in the global media, the other which restricts itself to an analysis of the textual strategies in the supplement. The detailed analysis will be confined to the NYT supplement in *Le Monde* and spans two months (March and April 2003). Unfortunately the information available about Euroreach is sparse and restricted to presentations and editorials about the project, readership profiles and more general information about the various participating newspapers. Nevertheless, we hope to gradually establish the communicative situation in which the NYT, the IHT, the advertisers, the European newspapers and their readers are related. Our main hypothesis is that the discourse of the NYT within the supplement reflects the specific communicative situation which produces it.

In the first part of our thesis, we shall address the theoretical contradictions and difficulties entailed by the integration of a study of discourse and the context in which it

operates. We will clarify, in section A, the possibility that the NYT maintains a mythopoetic discourse by grounding our hypothesis on studies made of myths and myth-making by C. Levi-Strauss, C. Flood and R. Fowler. By mythopoetic discourse, we mean a type of discourse which creates or maintains myths. We will then address, in section B, the general trends in the world media and seek to explain the position of *New York Times* within the mass media's global structure.

In the second part of our study, we will look more specifically at the 'Euroreach project' to understand the interrelations which determine the conditions under which the NYT supplement is published. By paying particular attention to the contradictory presentations of the supplement, differences emerge between the stated aims of the cooperation and its strategies with respect to advertisement, 'branding'¹ and readership approach in section A. We will then examine the NYT supplement in *Le Monde* more specifically in terms of layout and contents in section B. The originality of the supplement is that it is a direct re-edition of articles which appeared in the home edition of *The New York Times* targeted at a different readership. By comparing the original articles, on the one hand, and the articles published in the supplement on the other, we will be able to ascertain the extent of the 'editorial gap' between the two versions. The conclusions drawn from this study will help us qualify the editorial negotiations between *Le Monde* and the NYT and the relationship between the NYT and different readerships.

The third part of our study will be entirely devoted to the detailed analysis of mythopoetic discourse within the supplement. The analysis will again be restricted to the supplement in *Le Monde* (March to April 2003). We have organised our analysis, in section A, around certain myths and around mythopoetic techniques in section B. The first approach analyses themes

¹ By 'branding', we refer to the expansion of the brand as the brand name or logo becomes a valuable product in itself.

such as multiculturalism, culture, antiwar dissent, whereas the second looks at the textual strategies used to integrate new information into an incessant mythopoetic discourse.

In conclusion, we will assess the correlations between the discourse of the NYT and the context which produced it. We will assert the responsibility of the NYT in promoting a discourse which supports military and economic expansionism such as the growth of multinationals and invasions such as Iraq. Our appendices are organised around five themes, 'Euroreach presentations', 'Readerships', 'Le Monde', 'Lay-out', 'Detailed analysis of the NYT supplement'. We hope that these appendices will complement the different sections of our thesis.

PARD 1

JERRY AND CONJEX

Introduction

In the following section, we will analyse the theoretical implications of the analysis of the mythopoetic discourse of *The New York Times* and will endeavour to clarify the position of the NYT within the global media market. Our part on theory contrasts two approaches, Structuralism and Functionalism, and argues that a strictly linguistic analysis of political myths alienates them from their political context. Furthermore, we will look language, ideology and the sacred myth, in order to explain what we mean by the 'political myth'. The second section on globalisation examines the trends and context of the media market so that we may better understand the relationship of the NYT to corporation, state or international institutions and the greater media network. The third part on the communicative situation of the NYT seeks to integrate the theoretical and contextual approach described above.

A. From Structuralism to Functionalism

1. Two Theories

Our analysis of myth-making is indebted to two approaches or theories which fundamentally challenge each other or at least do not include each other in their theoretical scope: structuralism and functionalism. By structuralism, we refer here to Saussurean linguistics, the advances made by anthropology in particular by Lévi-Strauss and the works of R. Barthes on mythology. As an introductory statement, their work insists on the analysis of language, here mythological language, as a self-contained system which defines itself on its own terms. By functionalism, we refer to work in the field of political myth-making by C. Flood and to sociolinguistics, Halliday, Blom and Gumperz as analysed R. Fowler. Their contributions to the field of mythology reintroduce myths into the social situation in which they have particular functions. While yielding correlating results and conclusions about myths, these two methodologies do not cohabit easily. A strictly structuralist analysis prohibits to a certain degree the analysis of the particular situation in which discourse operates for reasons which

are stated below. A functionalist approach does not or only cautiously integrates the advances made by structuralism.

By asserting that the connections between language and the concepts or objects that it refers to are arbitrary, Saussurean linguistics posited language as an abstract, autonomous, self-contained system.² A scientific study of language should not analyse its relation to the external world and should be watchful of any ‘references’ whether contextual, social or historical. The contributions of linguistics were fundamentally liberating and freed language and literary analysis from assumptions about authorship, nature, literary creation, history, etc. Moreover the Saussurean breakthrough helped expose the ideological bias in many fields of study. Anthropology is a significant example of this evolution: in precursor fields of study such as ‘Orientalism’, studies were fundamentally biased according to E. Said because the Orientalist scholarly discourse revolved around central assumptions about nature and about human characteristics³. These assumptions effectively placed the European man of the 18th and 19th century as the human norm which ideologically determined the study of other cultures. According to Fowler, anthropologists gradually extended the Saussurean notion that the connection between language and the external world is arbitrary and asserted that the external world was ‘unobservable’⁴. The analysis of the cultural context would inevitably entail an evaluation according to occidental culture. Analysis of myths and of language could only be pursued on their own terms. Obviously this approach can be attacked as being falsely purist: the refusal to refer to an ‘external world’ eschews an ideological interpretation inevitably re-introduced by the method of analysis.

In *Mythologiques: Le cru et le cuit*, Lévi-Strauss addresses this issue and states that his study of myths does not claim to be objective, that new studies may well prove it to be

² SAUSSURE Ferdinand, ‘The object of study’, *Modern Criticism and Theory*, London: Longman, 1988, 1996, p.2.

³ SAID E., ‘Crisis [in Orientalism]’, *Modern Criticism and Theory*, London: Longman, 1988, 1996, p.295.

⁴ FOWLER Roger, *Language in the news*, New York: Routledge, 1991, 1999, pp. 25 – 26.

erroneous but that the importance of his work lay in the clarification of real questions⁵. Thus Lévi-Strauss endeavours to avoid all reference to an external world and to analyse myths ‘among themselves’. Unlike the strategies of Orientalism, the structure of his analysis does not posit a central normative myth which determines the significance of the others. He states that taken individually each myth has no significance, ‘they are substantial only if integrated into a sequence, in which, according to its general coherence, the terms are more or less credible’⁶.

Yet as the advances of structuralism released the study of language and myths from consistent ideological assumptions, linguistics and mythology were to a certain extent alienated from their political context. Whereas studies which refused to make external references yielded radical results, it was considered irrelevant or non-empirical to consider how the subjects, myths, language or discourse, function in their original situations. Yet, as socio-linguists proved, the original situation determines, to a certain extent, the type of discourse produced. For instance, Brown and Gilman analyse the use of the French ‘tu’ and ‘vous’; they conclude that these pronouns used in non-egalitarian situations, when superiors use ‘tu’ to subordinates who use ‘vous’, and also used in egalitarian situations when both members use the same pronoun. In this example the different usage of language is determined by the relations of power between the users. More relevant to our study of the media, Fowler asserts that ‘the structure of the [news medium] encodes significances which derive from the respective positions within society of the publishing and broadcasting organisations’⁷. Consequently the avoidance of the examination of context could itself be used as a tool of mystification. By effacing the institutional, political and personal instances in which language and myths are used, we effectively deny the possibility that these may be social tools in situations of domination, subservience or equality. It is the glaring need to use our analysis of

⁵ LEVI-STRAUSS Claude, *Mythologiques:Le cru et le cuit*, Paris : Plon, 1964, p. 15.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁷ FOWLER R., *op.cit.*, p. 10.

myths and languages to understand social and political situations rather than the necessity of examining context to understand myths and language, which demands the re-examination of context.

R. Barthes addresses this imperative in *Mythologies*, where he states first of all that the myth is an act of speech. All objects, ideas, concepts can become myths. It is therefore futile to organize myths according to the customary categories such as myths of heroes, renewal, passage, etc. Similarly, Lévi-Strauss refuses to use pre-conceived, external categories which would distort the analysis of ancient myths⁸. Instead of analysing modern myths according to their subjects, Barthes investigates myth as ‘messages’ or ‘systems of communication’. By inserting the myth back into its initial situation, he asserts that it has a social function between speaker (here speaker, writer...) and listener.

According to Barthes’ definition of the mythical system, the myth consists of an original signifier such as language, photography, painting, etc, which acquires an additional, overarching meaning. For instance, in the article ‘With a little bit of cash, poor woman begin to overcome’⁹ analysed in part III, the language of the text refers to a particular woman, Guadalupe Castillo Ureña and her life in Mexico. Yet this initial meaning serves as the illustration of an additional meaning according to which the narrative of Mrs Ureña’s existence and recovery is an apology of the capitalist system. Indeed Mrs Ureña survives thanks to a micro-loan and this is used as an argument against those who criticize not only the capitalist system but also the maintenance of the third world debt. According to Barthes, the additional mythical meaning does not enrich the original signifier but on the contrary impoverishes it. The existence of, for example, the Mexican woman, is subordinated to its supplementary meaning. The narratives of Guadalupe Ureño or of the New York immigrant

⁸ LEVI-STRAUSS C., *op. cit.*, p.12.

⁹ WEINER T., ‘With a little bit of cash, poor woman begin to overcome’. *The New York Times supplement*, 29 March 2003.

taxi drivers¹⁰ illustrating multiculturalism (part III) become insignificant, inaccessible to the reader due to their function in the particular situation which relates the NYT to its readers.

The necessity to re-locate language and the contributions made by Saussurean linguistics in the situation of its emission was first addressed by Chomsky in his work *Language and Mind*¹¹. Nevertheless, Chomsky did not analyse the use of language empirically but in a theoretical setting. He states that linguistics is interested in ‘an ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogenous speech-community’¹². Commenting on Chomsky’s object of study, Fowler states that, by idealizing the use of language, one cannot study its functions in a communicative situation. Indeed homogenizing the speech-community effaces differences, which more than being insignificant human errors, are fundamental in understanding the relations of power, solidarity and compliance.

Indeed the previous analysis of the different use of the pronouns ‘tu’ and ‘vous’ in French reveals undeniable correlations between language and relations of power between the speakers and listeners. Another study by Trudgill reveals that essential differences in language use in certain speech-communities encoded social values¹³. According to Fowler, Trudgill studied the phonetic habits of working-class inhabitants of Norwich. He discovered that women hypercorrected their English while thinking that they used the higher prestige accent more often than they did, whereas men hypocorrected their pronunciation and thought they used the lower prestige form more often than they did. In Trudgill and Fowler’s opinion, the findings show that Norwich women approve of middle-class values whereas men express ‘a commitment to the macho image of the rough working-class male’. One can evidently question the interpretations and norms which determine this study: notions of hyper and hypocorrection imply pre-conceived norms which are necessary determined by culture and

¹⁰ ZOEPF K., ‘Immigrant taxi drivers pause for a taste of home’, *The New York Times supplement*, 1 March 2003

¹¹ CHOMSKY Noam, *Language and Mind*, New York: Harcourt, 1972.

¹² CHOMSKY Noam, *Language and Mind*, as cited by Fowler in *Language in the News*, p. 27.

¹³ FOWLER R., *op.cit.*, p.34.

class. 'Rough' and 'macho' are highly evaluative, if not pejorative, terms, and the interpretive leap between a dislike for middle-class pronunciation and exaggerated masculinity is great. The study never-the-less reveals systematic variations in language use; while these variations firmly imply differences of social values and ideology, the above studies do not fully explain the mechanisms or motivations that produce them.

Whereas Trudgill analyses the coding of social values in pronunciation, Fowler examines it in language in general and especially in the language of the news. He asserts that all language use, choice of vocabulary and syntax, expresses an ideological position. Drawing from the work of sociolinguistics, Fowler asserts that language use is not only determined by social position and circumstances but also '*expresses* their view of the way society is organised, and of their own position within the social network'¹⁴. This notion is essential in our analysis of myth-making or myth-maintenance within the NYT; more than simply expressing the particular position of the speaker, language performance conveys a particular conception social structure. For instance, the asymmetrical use of 'tu' and 'vous' in French not only reveals the relationship of the users but also that they are aware of and accept, if not endorse, the differences of power or status between the users. Fowler concludes by stating that 'the linguistic construction of discourse – all the minutiae of formal structure – relates systematically and predictably to the contextual circumstances of discourse'. Accordingly this study seeks to find correlations between the strategies at work within the supplement of *The New York Times* and the circumstances which determine its publication. Furthermore we will try to qualify this relationship by studying notions of ideology and myths. The notions we subsequently use are indebted to C. Flood and his work on contemporary political myths¹⁵.

¹⁴ id.

¹⁵ FLOOD C., *Political Myths: a theoretical introduction*, New York: Garland, 1996.

2. Ideology and language

It is difficult to briefly define ideology without extending too far into the philosophical questions entailed by the concept of ideology itself. In the previous section, we fleetingly addressed notions such as social values or social structure which relate to ideology. C. Flood proposes a definition of ideology as a set of ideas and beliefs that explains and justifies a preferred political order for society¹⁶. Thus social values are intrinsic to ideology because it is through the act of differentiation or preference between ideas, concepts and choices that one endorses a particular ideology and social order for society. As language proposes inexhaustible possibilities of structure, vocabulary and syntax, its use implies choice and necessarily conveys an ideological position. No language is therefore politically neutral.

According to C. Flood, the social order legitimated by ideology may be projected or established. Established liberal capitalism, for instance, supports private and corporate ownership of capital goods, investment, free competition and individual freedom. Given that the present system is determined by unequal distribution of wealth and power required for liberal capitalism, institutions or individual which endorse that ideology will seek to preserve the status quo. Therefore their linguistic choices will encode social values which promote liberal capitalism.

According to C. Flood, ideology serves two main functions. Firstly, ideology legitimates a specific social order. Laying claims to virtue or logic, the *authority* of the concepts, beliefs and values composing an ideology, validates the proposed structure of society. Secondly, ideology provides tools to integrate the individual. Scarbrough states that 'once internalised, [ideologies] provide cognitive maps which filter perceptions of social reality'. Furthermore, in Flood's terminology, the dominant ideology operates on a drip-feed model which leads to the political acculturation of the members of society. The cognitive

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.13.

maps are gradually integrated and enable the individual to function and situate himself within a social order.

Yet stating that ideologies provide a basis for ‘interpretation of social reality’ presents certain fundamental problems. First of all, two notions of ‘social reality’ are here superposed. Social reality is here presented as pre-existing the ‘cognitive maps’ provided by ideology. Yet as we saw before ideology is the set of ideas and values which justify a particular social order, therefore ‘social reality’ may be said to be a product of ideology. Scarbrough’s assertion is therefore unverifiable because one cannot access an a priori ideological-free ‘social reality’.

Secondly, he endows ideology with a coherence that is not found within the texts that are associated with it. In the case of the NYT, the supplement presents certain fundamental contradictions analysed later on, which at first sight refute the hypothesis that the NYT belongs to a particular ideology. Using notions of social reality and cognitive maps is therefore particularly dangerous and may lead to brash conclusions about psychology and social integration. Nevertheless we will study how ideology, claiming a certain authority, presents a social order which correlates with the NYT’s economic and social position.

3. The Sacred myth

We asserted previously that the discursive choices taken by an individual or institution will encode the social values he, she or it endorses. In the case of the NYT supplement we will argue, that due to its particular position as media (analysed in the following section on globalisation), the coding of these values will be of a particular kind. Our hypothesis is that the NYT is involved in a process of myth-making and myth maintaining. To clarify the implications of this assertion, we need to examine the modern political and the sacred myth on which it is based.

The term 'myth' is not used here in the sense of 'distortion' or 'falsehood'. According to Flood, the sacred myth is 'a narrative', a 'sequence of connected events' and can be determined according to topic and status. Here Flood differs essentially from Lévi-Strauss who objected to analysing myths according to pre-determined categories. More interestingly Flood also defines ancient myths according to their 'cultural status': these are sacred because they illustrate and substantiate religious beliefs. The authority of the myth lies in that it is believe to be simultaneously sacred and true, that it encodes religious belief and is 'true' or 'natural'.

Flood asserts that the sacred myth in ancient or traditional societies functions like ideology in modern societies. Ideology though lays claims to logic and argumentation which the myth, as a narrative, does not. Yet the sacred myth enacts 'sets of relationships between gods, man and nature'¹⁷. Collated together, these myths reveal correlations which express a social and cosmic order and 'constitute an explanation of what the world is and how it came to be so'¹⁸. Like ideology, a mythology, a group of myths deemed to relate to each other, is a system of signification which encodes fundamental values. As such, the myth may be a tool to insert the individual into an established social and cosmic order. This order is not 'natural' or pre-determined but an artificial system of significance.

Similar to ideology explained earlier, the function of the sacred myth is two-fold; it proposes a matrix for decoding the physical environment and inserts the individual into a social structure. The decoding of information, in other words its classification, valuation and narration, is dovetailed with the establishment of a particular social structure. Indeed Flood asserts that 'sacred myths have reflected and validated numerous different types of relationship between social groups' such as hierarchical domination and equality.

¹⁷ *ibid.*, p. 33.

¹⁸ *id.*

Stating that myths propose a particular system of decoding implies a strict coherence which, after analysing individual myths, is not sustainable. Levis-Strauss asserts that mythologies are organised in ‘constellations’ and are variations of one another; their meaning is fluctuating and determined by global coherence. Each myth studied individually has very little substance.

4. The Political myth and the sacred myth

According to Flood, political myths are ‘narratives of the past, present or predicted events which their tellers seek to make intelligible and meaningful to their audiences’¹⁹. He further details certain categories of myths such as ‘origins and foundings, stories of the exploits of culture heroes, stories of rebirth and renewal, and eschatological stories’. Focusing his analysis on certain preferred subjects implies that certain topics are mythical. Again it is possible to argue that any topic can lend itself to myth-making. As R. Barthes suggests ‘the myth is defined not according to its subject but according to the way it presents it’²⁰. Myth-making should be addressed not in terms of topics but in terms of language. Nevertheless, we will retain C. Flood’s idea according to which a mythopoetic discourse is essentially narrative, in order to avoid confusion with other types of ideological discourse such as argumentation.

Flood further states that modern myths, unlike their traditional counterparts, do not have a sacred status. Though they are not believed to express religious beliefs, modern political myths must carry ‘sufficient authority’ to be effective. Though modern myths are not sacred, they seek to encode values whose status is, if not sacred, at least unquestionable. This implies that myths must have the status of ‘nature’ or ‘objectivity’ in the social community

¹⁹ *ibid.*, p. 41

²⁰ BARTHES Roland, *Mythologies*, Paris: Seuil, 1957, 1970, p193, ‘le myth se définit non par l’objet mais par la façon dont il le profère’.

they are aimed at. Consequently mythmaking need not be voluntary, the reproduction or variation of a myth may be believed to be ‘the way things are’.

Furthermore, like ancient myths, Flood states that modern myths ‘can have political functions broadly comparable to those served by the myths of traditional societies in relation to the distribution of power’²¹. Modern myths substantiate the relationships between citizen, environment, workplace and state or international institutions, etc. The frequent use of mythopoetic narrative discourse would therefore justify and posit as acceptable a specific order for society.

Given that modern myths are, to a certain extent, performances between archetypal actors, it may be posited that myths are, in C. Flood’s terminology, ‘ideologically marked’ narratives. Modern myths ‘carry the imprint of the assumptions, values and goals associated with a specific ideology or identifiable family of ideologies’²². The frequent reproduction or slight variation of certain myths would help establish a specific ideology as dominant. Political myth posits itself as true and is therefore implicitly ideological. Its ideological characteristics may be deciphered under the minute analysis of its linguistic choices of lexicon, syntax, description, relations of causality, etc. Whereas Flood defines the myth as a strictly narrative figure, we will here argue that myths belonging to a dominant ideology such as liberal capitalism, are not necessarily narrated in their entirety but sometimes merely alluded to in order to maintain their efficacy. For example, the modern myth of the founding fathers or the multicultural melting-pot need not be detailed every time it is referred to. Furthermore, given the nature of certain supports such as newspapers, we will argue that mythopoetic discourse is rarely pure but often blended in with argumentation and description.

We therefore suggest the following definition of political mythmaking and its hypothetical application in the NYT supplement. Mythopoetic discourse posits itself as

²¹FLOOD C., *op.cit.*, p 41.

²² *ibid.*, p. 42.

objective or neutral while encoding the values and ideas of a specific ideology. Given that the NYT is part of the corporate capitalist system, its mythopoetic discourse will inevitably substantiate and justify the relations of domination between individuals, cultural groups, institutions and corporations. The frequent use of ideological discourse in the NYT and in the mass media in general provide tools for the integration and the acculturation of individual in order to maintain the status quo and guarantee the political consent of its readership.

B. Globalising the Media

Our hypothesis is that *The New York Times* supplement is a component of the global media and therefore serves the interests of corporate capitalism. Chomsky and Herman address the structural considerations which condition the output of the mass media in *Manufacturing Consent: the Political Economy of the Mass Media*²³. They distinguish five factors influencing the mass media: size; ownership and profit-orientation; advertising; sources; institutional and corporate hostility. In conclusion, they claim that the position of the media within the corporate capitalist structure significantly limits the range of subjects addressed. Likewise, in *The Global Media*²⁴, E. Herman and R. McChesney claim that the global media not only complements but is essential to global capitalism for two reasons. First of all, media provides a basis for advertising corporate merchandise which enables corporations to expand into new markets. Secondly, the mass media provides ‘an informational and ideological environment that helps sustain the political, economic and

²³ CHOMSKY Noam and HERMAN Edward, *Manufacturing Consent: the Political Economy of the Mass Media*, London : Vintage, 1988, 1994.

²⁴ HERMAN Edward and McCHESNEY Robert, *The Global Media: The New Missionaries of Corporate Capitalism*, New York: Continuum, 1997, 2001, p. 10.

moral basis for marketing goods and having a profit-driven social order²⁵. In our analysis the mythopoetic discourse of the mass media provides this political, economic and moral basis. In the following section, we examine the components and evolution of globalisation to clarify the position of the NYT within the corporate capitalist system.

1. A brief Overview: Integrating the world economy

The last thirty years have been characterised by the increasing domination of the world economy by international actors, the transnational corporations (TNC). Between 1973 and 1993, the number of TNCs tripled in the fourteen most developed countries and reached a total of 37 000 with 206 000 associates²⁶. According to the latest figures, the world's four largest TNCs have a turn-over above 200 billion dollars each²⁷. Under the auspices of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Trade Organisation (WTO), the multinational companies of the developed countries had increasing access to foreign markets over the last fifty years. This evolution generated an increase of cross-border loans and acquisitions; for instance between 1964 and 1972, international bank loans as a percentage of world trade quadrupled²⁸. As the TNCs expanded geographically, they became more vertically integrated increasing their control over their production.

The relationship between firms changed as TNCs gained in importance and resorted to inter-company alliances such as affiliations and loose arrangements. According to E. Herman and R. Chesney, these sharing arrangements helped '[speed] up market entry, [obtain] technological knowledge, [share] expenses and risks and [limit] competition'. As we shall see the cooperation between the NYT and *Le Monde* is paradigmatic of such loose agreements

²⁵ *id.*

²⁶ *ibid.*, p. 26.

²⁷ *Le Monde* 2, 4 September 2004, pp. 20-21. The largest companies are Wal-mart Stores, BP, Exxon Mobil and Royal Dutch Shell Group.

²⁸ HERMAN E. and McCHESNEY R., *op.cit.*, p 26.

which are very common in the media markets where risks are very high. Whereas the liberalist ideology insists on the benefits of competition, the increasing domination of TNCs dramatically curbs competition.

Yet, as multinational companies managed all stages from production to retail, they increasingly resorted to out-sourcing. Commenting on globalisation in the 1990's, N. Klein associates the growing use of overseas contractors, out-sourcing and the rise of branding and advertising. She says 'after establishing the "soul" of their corporations, the superbrand companies have gone on to rid themselves of their cumbersome bodies, [...] the factories that produce their products'²⁹. As industries reached levels of overcapacity, 'the rise of product differentiation and oligopolistic competition'³⁰ between the larger corporations generated a dramatic rise in advertising. In 1995, the forty largest advertising corporations spent \$47 billion on advertising throughout the world.³¹ N. Klein qualifies this evolution as a gradual shift from production to branding. The changing nature of advertisement is addressed in the section on advertisement in part II. Yet to be able to fund the frenzied advertising, corporations needed to decrease the cost of production and therefore turned to contractors in low-wage countries to produce their goods.

The UN conference on trade and development (UNCTAD) commented on this evolution, stating that national economies are no longer linked only via markets but also at various levels of production. The result of this trend weakens the authority of domestic governance and increases the control of multinationals. This domination is furthermore

²⁹ KLEIN Naomi, *No Logo*, Hammersmith : Flamingo, 2001.,p. 196.

³⁰ HERMAN E. and McCHESNEY R., *op.cit.*, p.21.

³¹ *id.*

[...] strengthened by the flow across borders of norms, values and routines (business culture) that are becoming of central to international competition in a more integrated world economy.³²

Globalisation and the consolidation of the corporations' supremacy therefore required an ideological apparatus to promote the 'norms, values and routines' which complemented the corporations functioning such as consumerism, productiveness and profit impetus. This ideological support was in part supplied by advertising which, according to P. Breton, not only seeks to advertise a product but is also 'an apology of the consumerist society and of mass culture'³³. As early as 1929, F. Presley commented on the cultural homogenisation achieved by advertising in the U.S. and contrasted it with the situation in Europe: 'The progress of national unity has recently been attributed to the extension of advertisement campaigns to the whole country: they impart a similitude of views, which in spite of the ethnical mixture, is more pronounced here than in Europe whose population, belonging to the same race, would therefore seem more easy to homogenize'³⁴ (as P. Breton points out, the term 'race' here no doubt belongs to the vocabulary of the twenties) . The extension of 'this similitude of views' beyond the U.S. is an effect and a consequence of globalisation. The media can also be said to be a component of the ideological apparatus that supports the TNCs in that it provides a far-reaching support for advertising and may also promote norms favourable to TNCs.

³² UNCTAD, *World investment report 1994*, (New Cork: UN, 1995) p. 141 as cited by HERMAN E. and McCHESENEY, *op.cit.*, p.27.

³³ BRETON Philippe, *La Parole manipulée*, Paris: la Découverte, 1997, 2000. 'une apologie de la société de consommation et de la culture de masse', p.55.

³⁴ PRESLEY F. as cited by BRETON P., *op.cit.*, p. 55 : 'c'est à l'extention des compagnes publicitaires à tout le pays qu'on a récemment attribué les progrès de l'unité nationale: elles apportent une similitude de vues, qui, en dépit du mélange ethnique, est plus prononcéechez nous que dans les pays européens dont la population appartient à la même race et semblerait plus facile à homogénéiser'

2. The Media oligarchy in the United States

The world-wide penetration of the global media companies is nevertheless unequal. According to E. Herman and R. McChesney, the United States is the most mature global media market given that corporations seized control of the film, broadcasting and written press market before an extensive public service was established and tough regulatory legislation could be passed. For instance, the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) and Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) had removed the resistance to commercial broadcasting by 1934.³⁵

According to Bagdakian, who first wrote about the growing monopoly of the media in 1983, most of the business in newspapers, magazines and other print media was owned by only 23 corporations³⁶. He argued that the growing concentration of the media held its audience captive and consolidated the spread of corporate views. Still, at the beginning of the 1980's, the U.S. media still included some 1,700 dailies, 11,000 magazines, 9,000 radio stations, 1,000 TV channels and 2,500 publishing houses.³⁷

According to *Le Monde Diplomatique*, by 2003, ten companies controlled the U.S. media market³⁸. Anti-trust laws are slowly being eroded by the push towards concentration. Media lobbying to relax the regulations is particularly vigorous. Between January 1993 and June 2000, the media industry donated 75 millions dollars to fund the electoral campaigns of Republican and Democratic candidates for federal functions. Furthermore, between 1995 and 2000, the media industry some offered 1,460 trips to the members of the Federal Communication Commission.³⁹ Significantly, in 2003, the FCC sought to relax the concentration regulations and ruled that a firm could control up to 45% of the national

³⁵ HERMAN E. and McCHESNEY R., *op.cit.*, pp. 14-15.

³⁶ BAGDAKIAN Ben, *The Media Monopoly*, Boston: Beacon Press, 1983,1992.

³⁷ KLINENBERG E., 'Dix maîtres pour les médias américains', *Monde Diplomatique*, April 2003.

³⁸ *id.*

³⁹ *id.*

audience (against 35% today). Barred by the Supreme Court as ‘a threat to democracy’, this ruling was never applied.

Favourable international institutions and the strong integrated U.S. home market enable larger U.S. media companies to expand abroad to control foreign markets. Under the leverage of corporations and governments of developed countries, international organisations such as the IMF, the WTO and the North American Free Trade Organisation (NAFTA), worked towards the establishment of a global free trade area in which infant or fragile, local and national markets will be integrated into the corporate system. For instance, in 1997, the WTO ruled that Canada could not tax US periodicals to protect her own. In 1996, U.S. and Mexico opened their satellite TV markets to each other under NAFTA supervision without taking into account the differences of economic development between the two countries.⁴⁰

Nevertheless it would be erroneous to interpret these developments as signs of a clear-cut U.S. cultural expansionism. At first sight, because the corporations themselves untiringly seek to place themselves the centre of U.S. culture, it may seem that their development abroad is some sort of cultural imperialism. Yet to see the corporate expansion through the prism of competing nationalisms is to misunderstand its very nature. First-of-all, many global corporations such as News Corporation, Sony or Vivendi are not U.S. owned. Secondly, corporations integrate the cultural values in its immediate environment which are favourable to its development. Corporations do not impose their values but blend in, ‘highjacking’ the local culture. For example, according to E. Herman and R. McChesney, MTV, the music television channel, started to include local music and to vary its programming from country to country. Ironically, a Disney executive claimed that ‘for all children, the Disney characters are local characters and this is very important. They always speak local languages...The Disney strategy is to “Think global and act local”’⁴¹

⁴⁰ HERMAN E. and McCHESNEY R., *op.cit.*, p. 50.

⁴¹ HERMAN E. and McCHESNEY R., *op.cit.*, p 43.

3. The European media market

The European media was, until well into the 1980's and even in the 1990's, resistant to globalisation and remained under national and local control. The daily newspaper market is, even today, the least integrated into the global market.⁴² Initially, legislative and cultural resistances checked the growth of European corporations and the expansion of U.S. based companies in Europe. In France, for example, according to P. Albert⁴³, the written press was, and still is, to a certain extent, resistant to the internationalisation of the media. Language barriers are significant obstacles to globalisation. Furthermore the structure of the media, journalistic characteristics and reading habits are strongly conditioned by national traditions. Though new technologies of layout, press production and communication are increasingly the same, the contents of European newspapers differ significantly. P. Albert furthermore states, for example, that French journalism differs fundamentally from the factual Anglo-Saxon model in which the news must be clearly separated from its commentary. One can obviously question, as have done many students of media, the 'factuality' of the Anglo-Saxon model. P. Albert's statement is revelatory though of the French resistance to foreign news contents. He also asserts that 'reading newspapers is as much an acquired habit as a determined choice'⁴⁴. The reader is therefore not only receptive to national journalistic traditions but also loyal to the particular newspaper he reads.

Generally speaking the European market was more regulated than in the U.S and circumstances were more favourable to the establishment of strong, good-quality public services. In France, the 1944 laws forbade foreign share-holdings in French newspapers to

⁴² HERMAN E. and McCHESNEY R., *op.cit.*, p. 12.

⁴³ ALBERT Pierre, *La Presse Française*, Paris : la Documentation Française, 1983, 2004, Chap. 2.

⁴⁴ 'la lecture de la presse est autant une affaire d'habitude acquise que de choix déterminé'

exceed 20%.⁴⁵ Later the 1984 and 1986 media laws sought to defend the pluralism of the media and established quotas to curb the accumulation of different types of media such as print, radio, television.⁴⁶ In Great Britain, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), established in 1922, banned advertisement and is still financed by an annual licence collected from viewers. It held a broadcasting monopoly until 1955 and still is the principal television channel. Unlike the written press, television viewing was less determined by tradition and more by appeal which helped the European expansion of groups such as News Corporation with Sky.

4. Global Strategies in the written media

The resistance to globalisation and the difficulties encountered by media companies seeking to expand across national borders in Europe greatly conditioned the corporations' approach to the media market. Corporate failures in the European news market and especially in the written press have been significant. The attempts to copy one press format from one country to the other have almost invariably been unsuccessful. For instance, News Corporation, a mammoth of global media, sought to launch a version of the Sun to compete against the legendary *Bild Zeitung* in Germany. Heavily funded, this *Super Zeitung* however failed to gather a sufficient readership.⁴⁷ Similarly, the group Springer associated itself with Prensa Española and tried to set up a version of the *Bild Zeitung* in Spain. Given the new technologies used and the heavy investments, *Claro*'s readership of about 200 000 was similarly considered an embarrassing under-achievement.

Consequently global corporations tended to integrate the national market through alliances, partnerships, acquisitions, etc. Partnerships, such as the partnership between the

⁴⁵ CHARON Jean-Marie, *La Presse Quotidienne*, Paris : La Découverte, 1996. - the IHT, implanted in France since 1887, was exempted from compliance.

⁴⁶ ALBERT P., *op.cit.* p. 124.

⁴⁷ CHARON J-M, *op.cit.*

NYT and other European newspapers described in our case study, inform corporations about the national markets and ways to approach them. More significantly, in Great Britain, for instance, where the penetration of media corporations is probably at its deepest, the corporate acquisition of national newspapers significantly affects the political stakes. Given the Thatcherite push towards internationalising the media market, a Canadian media magnate easily took control the *Daily Telegraph*, one of the NYT's current partners, in 1985 and News Corporation acquired three other national papers. Between them, they totalled 40% of the national audience in 1993.⁴⁸ Evidently, these corporate newspapers gave good coverage to the Thatcherite Tories who defended their interests in the 1987 and 1992 elections. As the former Conservative Party treasurer Lord McAlpine puts it, 'the real heroes of the campaign were the editors of the Tory press... This was how the election was won.'⁴⁹

The global integration of the media in the rest of Europe is not as advanced and may sometimes appear to regress as illustrated by the decomposition of two French conglomerates Hersant and Vivendi Universal. Nevertheless the European public services are under continual erosion as shown by the BBC's commercialisation on the international scene. Indeed though the BBC remains a public service organisation at home, it has gone commercial abroad using the BBC brand.⁵⁰ Similarly, the recent acquisition of Socpress, which has an annual turn-over of 800 million euros in 2001, by Dassault, a French aeronautics and armaments conglomerate demonstrates that though the corporate scenery may change, its fundamental trend remains the same.

5. The Position of the NYT within the media network

⁴⁸ HERMAN E. and McCHESNEY R., *op.cit.*, p.169.

⁴⁹ *id.*

⁵⁰ HERMAN E. and McCHESNEY R., *op.cit.*, p.46.

With an annual turn-over of \$ 2.5 billion, *The New York Times* is considered to be a second-tier media conglomerate by E. Herman and R. Chesney.⁵¹ Unlike first-tier media giants, second-tier conglomerates occupy ‘regional or niche markets’⁵². Specialisation, language barriers or regional influence enables them to dominate and consolidate their hold on a particular market. Competition is nevertheless fierce and second-tier conglomerates are often threatened with buy-outs or market losses. The more aggressive ones seek to develop into first-tier media giants. Alongside the Washington Post, the NYT has consolidated its grip over the U.S. written press market and is an ‘agenda-setting’ newspaper according to N. Chomsky⁵³. As an ‘elite’ newspaper, which boasts an influential readership (see appendix 2), the NYT selects the news that will be replicated in the local media networks. Nevertheless, in spite of influence and reputation as a reference newspaper, the NYT remains a second-tier conglomerate. The acquisition of the IHT and the NYT’s loose partnerships with European newspapers may be an attempt to extend its reach beyond the U.S. high-income readership to a more international readership.

C. The Communicative Situation of the NYT

According to R. Fowler ‘the structure of the [news medium] encodes significances which derive from the respective positions within society of the publishing and broadcasting organisations’⁵⁴. In this section we will try to incorporate our knowledge of the evolution of global media into our theoretical understanding of mythopoetic discourse in order to

⁵¹ Herman and McChesney divide the global media market in three tiers, the first tier is occupied by the largest, vertically integrated media corporations, the second tier is composed by large specialised media companies and the last tier is made up of smaller, relatively fragile local media firms.

⁵² HERMAN E. and McCHESNEY R., *op.cit.*, p.95.

⁵³ The film ‘Manufacturing Consent – Noam Chomsky and the Media’, Director: Mark Achbar, Peter Wintonick, 2002.

⁵⁴ FOWLER R., *op.cit.*, p 2.

understand the conditions in which the NYT constructs its discourse. The notion that news institutions encode ideology clashes fundamentally with the assumption the press is objective. Indeed the assumed objectivity of the NYT's reporting was again brought to light during an episode that put strain on the *New York Times* and *Le Monde* during March and April 2003. Indeed, the NYT ran a series of editorial articles called 'The French Connection'⁵⁵ about the French-Iraqi relations. The author W. Safire accused France, China and Syria of opposing the war because they did not want investigators to find weapons they had illegally sold to Iraq. A journalist of *Le Monde* termed these articles 'Francophobe' and completely wrong⁵⁶. Nevertheless he also said that the NYT, 'like many newspapers, maintains that the editorial pages are used to present opinions and not facts'. Thereby the NYT not only denies being responsible for the 'opinions' published, but more importantly re-asserts, through the opinion/fact distinction, that its news articles are objective and factual. Therefore the discourse produced by the NYT will be the result of a compromise between their values and journalistic requirements of objectivity.

In the developing structure of the global economy, the media provide a growing support for corporate capitalism. The NYT expansion in Europe is paradigmatic of the corporate use of a strong home market to assimilate less integrated markets such as the European written press. The presence of the NYT in Europe provides a very hospitable basis for advertisement and its discourse may encode corporate values. Yet, given the rigidity of the newspaper market, the discourse of the NYT is a compromise between their political beliefs and the values of the host culture (i.e.: the editors of the partner papers and their readerships).

While being an institution heavily implicated in the global economy, the NYT is part of a cultural industry which manufactures the news and information about recent world events. The NYT will therefore necessarily address notions of social structure and may

⁵⁵ SAFIRE William, 'The French Connection', *The New York Times*, 13 March and 20 March 2003.

⁵⁶ LANDO B., 'Brutale francophobie: une contre-enquête', *Le Monde*, March 26 2003.

legitimate a particular kind. Furthermore, the NYT offers ample opportunities for the production of mythopoetic discourse, which presents itself as neutral or objective.

Conclusion

In the above section, we hope that we have demonstrated that, given that language offers inexhaustible ways of expression, all language use will convey a particular ideological position. Given that the NYT is part of the global media market, its language use will convey an ideology favourable to its situation in the broader media network. Furthermore, the media is not only a part but a necessary component of global capitalism. The media provides a support for advertising and a political, moral, economical basis for the growth of TNCs. The discourse of the NYT will therefore create and maintain myths which promote certain values, provide tools for integration and substantiate the relationship between readers, TNCs, the state, etc. This function is all the more important because the written press market is, to a certain extent, resistant to the trends of globalisation. In the following sections, we will examine the ways in which the discourse of the supplement of the NYT relates systematically and predictably to the circumstances of its production.

PART 2

*FURBERFELT AND HIS PREFERRED HOBBY
PROJECT*

Introduction

In the following section, we will look at the context of the publication of the NYT supplement. Our approach is divided into two enquiries: the first studies documents about the cooperation ‘Euroreach’ and the second is a comparative study of the NYT supplement in *Le Monde* and the original US version of the NYT. At first, we will look at the documents (presentations, readership, etc.) available about the supplement in order to understand the aims and functions of the supplement. We hope that by contrasting the different presentations of the supplement and by looking at advertisement and readership we will clarify the contradictory position of the NYT in relation to advertisers and readers. Our second approach of context looks at the re-edition original NYT articles for the supplement. By comparing the articles selected and edited for the supplement and their originals, we will sketch out the editorial guidelines of the supplement. We hope that these guidelines will correspond to and complement the conclusions we drew in the first section of part II about the situation and aims of the NYT.

A. Euroreach

1. Brief Description of the NYT project in Europe

As co-owner, until recently, of the *International Herald Tribune*, the NYT has been present in Europe since 1967. The first signs of a direct partnership between the NYT and a European newspaper date back to April 2001 when *El País* co-edited a bilingual supplement ‘La América de George W. Bush’ with the NYT. Later, *El País* inaugurated a partnership with the IHT in October 2001. Nevertheless, the NYT sidelined the IHT by establishing another direct partnership with *Le Monde*. After the attacks of the 11 September 2001, *Le Monde* published NYT articles in English about the attacks and their political and social impact. This venture was carefully studied and revealed that half the readers of *Le Monde* tried to read the articles

Founded in 1887, the IHT was at first a Paris edition of the *New York Herald*. In 1934, the *New York Herald* acquired the Paris edition of *The Chicago Tribune* and became *The New York Herald Tribune*. Yet the Herald was not without competition, for in 1960, the NYT first displayed its international ambitions by setting up its own Paris edition⁶⁰. Unfortunately for the *Times*, following the demise of the *New York Herald* in 1966, the owners of *The New York Herald Tribune*, Whitney Communications struck up a partnership with *The Washington Post* to continue *The New York Herald Tribune*. Faced with such strengthened competition, the NYT decided to join the partnership⁶¹. In 1967, the *International Herald Tribune* first appeared jointly owned by *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post* and Whitney Communications.

The gradual shift in the readership of the IHT, a shift which the present owner of the IHT is trying to exacerbate, occurred after 1967. According to Bertrand and Bordat⁶², The Herald was known as a newspaper for Americans abroad with a circulation of about 50,000 copies, printed in Paris and distributed in fifty countries. After the take-over, the new owners introduced more material concerning finance and trade to attract a more professional and business-oriented readership. By the end of the eighties, the IHT had increased its circulation to about 174,000 copies, sold in 164 countries and printed in nine different places. The newspaper had in effect become the newspaper of the travelling businessman. Whereas in 1970, non-Americans represented only one third of the paper's readership, that percentage increased to more than half in 1980.⁶³

The move towards a more global circulation was followed by the establishment of 'publishing partnerships' with several foreign newspapers such as the *Haaretz* (Israel), the *Kathimerini* (Greece), the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (Germany), the *JoongAng Daily*

⁶¹ KIRKPATRICK David D, 'IHT begins new era with The New York Times', *The New York Times* 2 January, 2003.

⁶² BERTRAND C.-J. and BORDAT F., *Les Médias Américains en France*, Paris : Belin, 1989, p. 28.

⁶³ 'Media Matters, a short history', www.iht.com.

(South Korea), the *Asahi Shimbun* (Japan), *The Daily Star* (Lebanon) and *El País* (Spain). These partnerships foreran the active move towards globalisation that became ‘Euroreach’ project. According to the terms of these partnerships, the IHT for the above countries would include a compilation of articles from the participating newspaper in a ‘domestic section’. The aims of these domestic sections will be analysed in the section on advertisement.

The partnership between *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* continued for thirty-five years and terminated on 1st January 2003 when *The New York Times* became the sole owner of the IHT. The circumstances of this change are somewhat unhappy and raised a few suspicions. According to *The Daily Telegraph*, the NYT forced the sale by threatening to cut funds to IHT and set up its international edition of NYT⁶⁴. Furthermore, the chairman of the IHT, Mr Goldmark, asserts at the time of his dismissal that, whereas the IHT had enjoyed a relative independence, after the sale the IHT became strictly bound to *The New York Times* editorial line (see appendix 1). This statement was to some extent confirmed by Gail Collins, editorial page editor of *The New York Times*, who stated that all the IHT editorials would be written by NYT staff⁶⁵.

After the take-over, *The New York Times* expressed its intent to increase its coverage of business, media and technology to attract ‘international business readers who operate in Europe’s main financial centres’⁶⁶. The coveted readership is a key to the principles of their global scheme, ‘Euroreach’, and their efforts to establish partnerships with many European newspapers.

3. Not Messianism but marketing: The conflicting aims of the NYT European project

⁶⁴ SIKOS Richard, ‘Today New York, tomorrow the world’, *The Daily Telegraph*, 11 November 2002

⁶⁵ KIRKPATRICK, *op.cit.*.

⁶⁶ ‘Media Matters, a short history’, www.iht.com.

The few presentations and sparse documentation available concerning the NYT's pan-European venture are rather contradictory and the content of such material depends greatly on the audience which is being addressed. The instigators of the project address the business community and the readers of the participating newspapers very differently.

The first reader-oriented presentation of the 'Euroreach project' is the editorial 'Plusieurs Mondes' on the 8th April 2002⁶⁷ which justifies the appearance of *The New York Times* supplement in English. The editorial endeavours to challenge two objections that might be raised against its cooperation with the NYT, mainly that *Le Monde* would be encouraging homogenisation of English as the dominant language and that it would be participating in an American ideological propaganda effort. On the contrary, *Le Monde* maintains that, by cooperating with *The New York Times*, it is fighting the homogenisation of the world cultures and promoting diversity. Defending the use of English, *Le Monde* asserts that bilingualism or multilingualism is a sign of diversity, which is a valid statement if it did not follow an Orwellian pattern of 'some are more bilingual than others' as it does here. Cultural diversity implies an element of parity between the different cultures and exchanges which are mutually enriching. On examining 'Euroreach', the exchange of articles is unidirectional: the readers of *Le Monde* will be able to read NYT articles but the readers of the NYT will not be reading articles from *Le Monde* or *El País*, let alone in their original language⁶⁸. The collaborations between *The New York Times* and the partner newspapers are furthermore unilateral and do not involve exchanges between the various European newspapers. Nonetheless, diversity features strongly in the NYT supplement and is used, as we shall see, as an instrument of further homogenisation.

In response to the argument that *Le Monde* is participating in an ideological propaganda endeavour, *Le Monde* states that 'nothing would be worse, in the uncertain period

⁶⁷ Le Monde Editorial, *Le Monde*, 8 April 2002

opened by the 11th of September, than to indistinctly identify the entire American nation, its opinions and its press, with the policies developed by the White House'. This assertion reiterates the archetypal argument that the mainstream media is a liberal, staunch critic of governmental institutions. The NYT Times supplement though does cover dissent and the anti-war movement as analysed in part III of this thesis. *Le Monde* quite rightly states that the American media and people cannot be assimilated to the White House. The press is under no direct control nor can it be said that it is a state propaganda tool. Yet it comes under heavy pressure to be favourable to state policies as *The New York Times* explains in a mea culpa written about their coverage of pre-war events⁶⁹ a year later.

The need to assert the independence of *The New York Times* is an attempt to demonstrate the disinterestedness of project. Yet the mention of the White House as a possible culprit avoids the real actors and interests. No mention is made of the companies who will use the supplement for advertising and whose interests are inextricably bound to the contents of the supplement. In effect, the presentations introducing the project to the business community and the descriptions aimed at readers diverge significantly. These texts differ fundamentally from the previous ones in that they do not emphasize diversity but uniformity. Whereas the editorial of *Le Monde* insisted it was bringing different types of journalism and opinions to readers, the business-oriented presentations maintain that they will bring one type of reader to the advertisers. *The Daily Telegraph* maintains that it reaches 'globally-aware, culturally active, business-involved readers'⁷⁰. The *Süddeutsche Zeitung* states that the project is aimed at its 'socially active, internationally and culturally oriented' readership⁷¹ and the IHT talks of a 'significant and influential' readership combining the 'high-end opinion former audience of the IHT with the business decision-makers and high net worth individuals' who

⁶⁹ SANTI Pascale, 'Mea culpa du « New York Times » sur sa couverture de l'Irak', *Le Monde*, 28 May 2004.

⁷⁰ 'The Daily Telegraph exclusive UK relationship with the New York Times', *The Telegraph group limited press release*, 23 March 2004.

⁷¹ 'Süddeutsche Zeitung kooperiert mit der New York Times', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 30 april 2004.

read the participating national papers. Two main characteristics emerge from the descriptions of potential readership described above; the supplement is aimed at internationally-aware and business-oriented readers. It would therefore be misguided to imagine that the instigators of the 'Euroreach' project are trying to impose English on the European readers; quite to the contrary, the readers they are seeking already speak English because they are involved in global, international affairs. The non-English speaking readers of the national papers are relatively insignificant because they would be not be receptive to the particular advertising that would appear in the supplement, if only because they would not have sufficient means to indulge in the advertised products.

Furthermore it is relevant to note that *The New York Times* supplement appears in the collaborating newspapers in weekly sections which accompany the national paper's own weekly financial supplement such as the 'Business 2 + Jobs' section of *The Daily Telegraph*, the 'Argent' section of *Le Monde*. By choosing to publish the supplement on those days, the coordinators of 'Euroreach' have a greater chance of reaching the targeted audience.

Whereas the editorial of *Le Monde* implied that the supplement was about bringing new and varied articles to their readers, the 'Euroreach' project is mostly about selling a certain audience to advertisers. The decision to publish articles in English is neither a messianic, nor even an educational choice, but a tactical choice to appeal to certain sections of a paper's readership. The fundamental assumption made by the NYT is that the European elite is more globally integrated and receptive to similar material.

4. Readership and the concept of the host

The keys to understanding the strategy at work in *The New York Times* are readership, buying habits and advertising. An analysis of the readership of the IHT and the various host newspapers of *The New York Times* reveals certain symmetries and fundamental differences.

a. The Readership of the IHT and the NYT

The *International Herald Tribune* boasts such a very enviable readership that, in the latest ‘short history’ of the ‘enhanced’ IHT, the profile of the average reader was published on virtually every page in a very insistent attempt to woo advertisers and investors. The average IHT reader is male, affluent, educated and has a managerial level profession (see following page). On the other hand, the IHT does not attract a very young audience (the average reader is 47 years old) nor does it have a very broad readership base. Whereas the IHT has a world-wide circulation of 245,223 copies, which seems to contend with newspapers such as *Le Monde* (circulation: 345,231 copies)⁷², the *Herald Tribune’s* circulation per country remains extremely low. In France, the circulation reaches its highest at 32,520 copies, hardly a mainstream daily nor a match for the important national newspapers. The IHT remains a therefore a rather specialised newspaper for senior businessmen.

The IHT readership

Average household income US\$ 200,993
Average net worth* US\$ 1,796,440
College graduate+ 94%
Senior management** 90%

International business trips, past year
1+ 70%
7+ 33%
Average 9 trips

International business hotel nights, past year
1+ 96%
15+ 64%
Average 31 nights

Source: IHT Reader Survey 2002. Base: worldwide readership with HHI \$50,000 +

⁷²‘Les Comptes du Groupe Le Monde’, *Le Monde*, 5 June 2004.

*sum of all investments, home and HHI **Base: All employed in business and industry
--

The NYT readership is comparable in terms of the socio-economic characteristics of its readership. According to their figures, the ‘affluent readers of the NYT are 39% more likely than the average affluent adult to hold a college or postgraduate degree, 90% more likely to have a household income exceeding \$150,000 and 46% more likely to be a top manager’ (see appendix 2). Compatibility and similarity between the different readerships are essential, and enable the easy re-edition of articles for the European readership.

b. The readership of the host newspapers

The average reader of the partner newspapers shares certain fundamental socio-economic characteristics with the reader of the IHT. *Le Monde*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *El País*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung* and *La Repubblica* all attract a relatively wealthy and educated audience similar to that of the IHT. Evaluated by the newspapers themselves, readership estimations must be approached with caution; to our knowledge, no independent statistical information is available about European readerships. Given that the newspapers in question have vested interests in the evaluation of their readerships, the criteria used to collect the following data differ quite significantly and raises doubts as to the reliability of the published information.

According to their published accounts, half the readership of *Le Monde* belongs to a managerial household and 595,000 *Le Monde* readers belong to very high income households (more than 52,000 euros per year). Similarly more than half the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* readers belong to high income households (above 30,000 euros per year) and 2 million *Daily Telegraph* readers are affluent, high income adults. Furthermore, in terms of education, 66% of *Le Monde*’s readers, 51% of *Süddeutsche Zeitung* and 48% of *El País* readers have university degrees (see appendix 2 for readership profiles).

Yet, whereas most of the newspapers *The New York Times* choose to work with have similar readers in terms of socio-economic factors, they differ considerably in terms of age, sex and population reach. The readership of *Le Monde* illustrates these differences particularly. According to their accounts and readership surveys published in 2004⁷³, 32% of their readers are under 34 years (*Le Monde* is the most read daily by students) and 43% of *Le Monde* readers are female. Furthermore, *Le Monde* is the second most read European daily and the most read French daily. Similarly 57% of the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* readers are aged between 20 and 49 years old, and 61% of *El País* readers are aged between 14 and 44 years old according to figures released by the group Prisa in 2002. *El País* is also the most read Spanish daily newspaper and has a higher circulation than any of the other Spanish dailies such as *El Mundo* or *ABC*.

The advantages reaped by associating itself with *Le Monde*, *El País*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung* and *La Repubblica* are evident for the new owner of the IHT: by becoming a part of these newspapers, the NYT reaches those sectors of the European population, women, students, young professionals, who wouldn't normally read nor consider buying the IHT. This approach overcomes, literally sidesteps cultural resistance, one of the global media's problems in penetrating new markets.

c. Cultural resistance and the first buy

Though global media is global corporate capitalism's necessary companion, large media companies have encountered tough legislative and cultural resistance to their expansion as we have seen previously. Global media companies, aware of these obstacles to their expansion, heavily invest in media research and strategy consulting in the hope of avoiding cultural blunders and doomed ventures. An illustrative case is that of the French company Médiangles which bases its media consulting around the notion of the 'paradox of the

⁷³'Les Comptes du Groupe Le Monde', *Le Monde*, 5 June 2004.

reader'⁷⁴. According to their commercial research, the reader is double and composed of two readers: the reader as he is, with his interests and desires, and the reader as he sees himself, an individual with certain cultural or social qualities that he wants to see reflected by the newspaper he buys. To approach the European written press market, *The New York Times* must satisfy the desire for entertainment and information and induce a sense of belonging and identification. By including *The New York Times* in *Le Monde*, the NYT no doubt hopes that social values and prestige associated with *Le Monde* may 'rub off' onto *The New York Times* and that *Le Monde* readers may eventually identify with The NYT. To a certain extent, the NYT may be seeking to blend in with its European host newspapers.

Including *The New York Times* in *Le Monde* overcomes two problems; it enters a restricted market without having to incite, at great cost and limited chances of success, an active choice on the part of the reader and it fosters a new reading habit and familiarity with a new language, different values and journalistic traditions.

d. Branding, blending and the concept of the host

The relationship of *The New York Times* to its host European newspapers is, to a certain extent, similar to the relationship of advertising and branding to culture and cultural events in the U.S. According to Naomi Klein in *No Logo*⁷⁵, standard strategy for advertising and branding was to associate the brand with a cultural event, an art piece, a particular style, in the hope that the values associated with the co-opted cultural element will gradually extend to the company or brand that is advertised: 'culture, in other words would add value to their brands'⁷⁶. The result was a culturally enriched brand and a value-impooverished cultural 'support'. In the case of *The New York Times*' European ventures, the props, the host

⁷⁴ KERMOAL François, *Mieux Connâître ses Lecteurs*, Paris : Les Editions du CFPJ, 1994, p. 19.

⁷⁵ KLEIN Naomi, *op.cit.*, p.29.

⁷⁶ *id.*

newspapers, are not fragile or defenceless cultural supports which can easily be sapped. *Le Monde* and *El País* are hardly quaint, grassroots local newspapers; they are fully integrated into corporate capitalism and have vested interests in many sectors and countries. The synergy between these newspapers is slightly different to the relationship described by N. Klein. Each newspaper is seeking to gain added value from being associated with the other. *Le Monde* increases its reputation as outward looking newspaper with a definite international edge and *The New York Times* will gain a local touch. Such partnerships had already been tested by the IHT which had struck up alliances with newspapers such as the *JoongAng Daily* in South Korea or the *Haaretz* in Israel. The aim of such ventures was to produce domestic sections within the IHT containing material from the national papers written or translated into English.

The IHT therefore becomes a partially local paper without having to do expensive cultural or readership research and does not need to have heavily staffed domestic offices employing local journalists to report for them. By accumulating partnerships with different newspapers, including articles from other newspapers or letting its articles be included in other papers, *The New York Times* and, to a certain extent, its partners are effectively seeking to lose its cultural specification. As different media giants move towards blending their respective readerships, the benefits are mutual but are obtained at the risk of losing their differentiation. Furthermore what at first appears to be mutually enriching cultural exchanges is accompanied by a tightened grip on newspaper content as shown by the recent changes at IHT.

5. Advertising

Concerning advertising in the NYT supplements, the IHT writes that ‘thanks to the addition of concise but comprehensive coverage of that country's news and events, advertisers

will have a perfect environment in which to place locally targeted advertising'⁷⁷. Whereas advertising may be perceived by the reader as the necessary evil that cohabits with informative articles, the 'ad' is increasingly the centre player around which entertainment and information revolves. The latter are relegated to a minor role as a sideshow or 'perfect environment' for advertisement.

One might ask how ingratiating or subservient this 'perfect environment' is to the interest of the ad. In compliance with the recent combination of the global media and advertising companies, the contents of *The New York Times* supplement are blended, to various degrees, with advertisements. This gradual blending is not only a threat to the objectivity of the press but also impoverishes the cultural background, here the press articles, it uses as 'environment'. As N. Klein puts it: 'Branding becomes troubling [...] when the balance tips dramatically in favour of the sponsoring brand, stripping the hosting culture of its inherent value and treating it as little more than a promotional tool'⁷⁸

a. The Advertisers

The composition of the advertisers using the NYT supplement to promote their products is rather unique considering that 56% of the ads are placed by companies holding shares in *Le Monde*, or by *The New York Times* and *Le Monde* themselves (see appendix 3). The combination of advertiser and shareholder jeopardizes the objectivity of the material which will be featured in the supplement. External companies (*Le Monde* entreprises) which are potential advertisers only own 10.43% of *Le Monde* (see appendix 3). The supplement, on the other hand, is funded entirely by advertising which greatly increases the influence of these companies⁷⁹. It is probable that the layout and the contents were approved before the

⁷⁷'The International Herald tribune introduces Euroreach', *The New York Times Company press release*, 24 March 2004.

⁷⁸ KLEIN Naomi, *op.cit.*, p. 39.

⁷⁹WHITE C., 'A French Beau for the *New York Times*', *Businessweek*, April 12th 2002.

Times brand itself. Indeed as noted by N. Klein, the trend towards globalisation was accompanied by an inflation of the brand at the expense of production. The evolutions of the NYT follow a similar pattern; as the company expands abroad, huge efforts are made to develop the NYT brand.

b. The Supplement as advertiser host

As seen before the European newspapers serve as hosts for delivering *The New York Times* to a readership that it would not normally be reach with the IHT. The NYT supplement serves as a host for companies who wish to place their advertisements in a ‘perfect environment’. The NYT offers the ads in various formats from the explicit ‘ad’ to the implicit ad-informative article. Between these two extremes, the NYT presents an array of articles with different degrees of ad-orientation. The advertisement completely encroaches upon the informative space of the supplement. The most glaring example of such infringement was a catalogue-style presentation titled ‘In one form, many functions’⁸⁰ which blended in with the style of the newspaper (see appendix 5 for article). The presentation featured photos of multi-functional products such as penknives and remote controls with a description including the brand and the price of the object. The title, typeset and colours used declared that the presentation was part of the informative, periodical side of the paper. Its aims though were clearly and none other than to advertise the displayed products.

The ‘Science and Technology’, ‘Arts and Styles’ and even the ‘Americana’ sections of the supplement are friendly to articles heavily featuring certain products or companies. The NYT supplement ran, for example, two articles on TiVo, a type of VCR-recording remote control; the first was ‘Skip-the-ads upsets programming executives’⁸¹ and the second ‘The

⁸⁰ ‘In one form many functions’, *The New York Times* supplement, 5 May 2002.

⁸¹ HARMON Amy, ‘Skip-the-ads upsets programming executives’, *The New York Times* supplement, 2nd June 2002.

Goliaths of Television Kneel to TiVo'⁸² which appeared on the front page of the supplement during the invasion of Iraq. These articles insist on the advantages of TiVo stating that it 'inspires devotion among its users' and even mentions its price. Ironically TiVo is a device that enables viewers to skip the commercials, solving the problem of advertisement saturation, and thus absurdly advertises an advertisement-free life. The array of products mentioned in the NYT articles, such as computers, cars or hi-fi equipment, corresponds not only to the type of products openly advertised but also to the targeted audience, the high-income, business-related readers.

Yet whereas it is clear that an article titled 'With PDAs, a Sommelier in your Pocket'⁸³, which describes the characteristics (with websites and prices) of the new iPad or the Neohand, is an advertisement, others are more dubiously so. In an environment in which brands have become part of our collective imagination, is all brand-mentioning in the media advertisement? Furthermore it cannot be proved, for example, that the high level of articles about blond icons⁸⁴ in the supplement has any direct link to the fact that l'Oréal, a *Le Monde* share-holder and by far the main advertiser in the supplement, uses it to advertise its new dyes. Due to the great secrecy in which the global media evolves, it is extremely difficult to get precise figures about advertisement and the terms on which advertisement contracts are agreed.

The fact that we are unable to determine the line which separates the ad from the article is irrelevant because it is the ambiguity between 'ad' and article which is exploited by advertisers. According to P. Breton, the ad works against a mental resistance in order to provoke a buying behaviour. Increasingly the 'ad' no longer tries to convince us to buy a certain product with arguments. On the contrary, the logical link between the product and the

⁸² WARREN J., 'The Goliaths of Television Kneel to TiVo', *The New York Times* supplement, 27 Avril 2003.

⁸³ KRAUSS N., 'With PDAs, a sommelier in your pocket', *The New York Times* supplement, 14 July 2002.

⁸⁴ 'A boy's day with Marilyn Monroe', 'The power of Blondes: a Long Fascination for Fair Hair', 'Madonna is not quite the diva she was', 'When all that glitters is most likely Borrowed', *The New York Times* supplement, 1 March 2003, 22 March 2003, 12 April 2003, 19 April 2003.

message emitted by the ad is growing weaker. In other words, whereas explicit argumentation allows its listeners the choice of agreeing or disagreeing with it, today's advertisement allows no such choice. In effect, according to P. Breton, by repeatedly associated an agreeable but fundamentally unrelated message to a certain product, an involuntary buying behaviour is incited. The ad-articles that appear in The NYT supplement go a step further. However insidious its strategies, the advertisement, branded as 'ad', still operates against a certain resistance because the reader is aware of its advertising aims. The ad-article on the other hand does not warn the reader of its interests and therefore weaves advertisement into entertainment and information as a way to disarm the reader's possible rejection of the product. Examples of ad-articles include 'One Cosmopolitan, many translations'⁸⁵ featuring the Cosmopolitan magazine, 'Latest style in malls brings the outdoors in'⁸⁶ featuring Billabong and other outdoor sports brands, and 'Hybrid autos are moving beyond the novelty stage'⁸⁷ featuring new Toyota and Honda car models. Thus the 'ad' may be the most harmless form of advertisement because it asserts its ad-nature whereas other ad-oriented articles are more insidious. Furthermore, whereas the ad-article is still anchored to certain products, other NYT articles advertise more than a product, they advertise a way of life which promotes consumerism as analysed in Part III.

B. The Pilot Host Project 'Le Monde'

1. Evolutions at *Le Monde*

⁸⁵ CARR D., 'One Cosmopolitan, many translations', *The New York Times* supplement, 2 June 2002.

⁸⁶ WHITAKER B., 'Latest style in malls brings the outdoors in', *The New York Times* supplement, 8 December 2002.

⁸⁷ HAKIM D., 'Hybrid autos are moving beyond the novelty stage', *The New York Times* supplement, 9 February 2003.

The recent developments at *Le Monde* made the newspaper a propitious host for the NYT supplement. Indeed the structure of the company and the format of the newspaper had undergone significant changes in recent years.

In terms of annual turn-over, *Le Monde* figures far behind other larger French media conglomerates such as Publicis, Havas or Lagardère. Whereas a group such as Havas has an annual turn-over of 14,950 million euros, *Le Monde* reaches an annual turn-over of 404 million euros⁸⁸. However under the leadership of its new director, Jean-Marie Colombani, the company has increasingly moved towards a conglomerate organisation. In recent years the company opened up to exterior investment, a move which has been severely criticized by many as a threat to the independence of the respected French newspaper. Moreover, *Le Monde* has increased and diversified its activities by acquiring new firms (*Midi Libre, Le Courrier International, La Vie Catholique...*) to add to existing array of publications (*Le Monde Diplomatique, Aden, Le Nouvel Observateur...*)⁸⁹. These developments made *Le Monde* an auspicious partner for *The New York Times*, a second-tier firm with global ambitions.

Besides the format of the daily *Le Monde* had been varied to include annex supplements with themes based around fashion, paperbacks, hi-fi etc. which provide great opportunities for advertisers. The traditional austere and slim newspaper was gradually moving towards an Anglo-Saxon formula including a larger week-end edition. While *The New York Times* was no doubt looking for new partners to expand its circulation, *Le Monde* was most likely seeking suitable material to add to its weekly edition. The NYT supplement, published from April to July 2002 and then from October 2002 to April 2002, was also a test-run for *Le Monde* to see if a week-end edition was feasible. Later the week-end version of *Le*

⁸⁸ ALBERT Pierre, *La Presse Française*.

⁸⁹ Idem.

Monde was launched on the 16th January 2004 and comprised *Le Monde 2, Argent* (a financial supplement) and *The New York Times* supplement.

a. A Propitious international context

The collaboration between *Le Monde* and *The New York Times* appeared very shortly after the 11th September 2001 attacks. Indeed when *Le Monde* reported the attack on the 13th of September⁹⁰, *The New York Times* front-cover appeared in a reduced format on *Le Monde*'s own front page. The picture illustrated a collection of translated articles from various newspapers. A partnership might have already been under way when the attacks occurred and accelerated the process. Furthermore in very notorious editorial the editor announced that 'Nous sommes tous américains! Nous sommes tous new-yorkais' rewording a famous speech by Kennedy in Berlin in 1962 (see appendix 3), following which *Le Monde* ran a series of articles in English extracted from *The New York Times* about the attacks.

The operation was considered a success because seven months later *Le Monde* started issuing *The New York Times* supplement. The material that composed the supplement was again heavily inspired by the 11 September attacks, featuring subjects such as artwork influenced by the attacks and detailed accounts of the attacks. The supplement flourished on the back of the world-wide solidarity expressed toward the American nation.

Later world events would again be favourable to the supplement when Jean-Marie Le Pen, Leader of the Nationalist Front, got through the first round of the French Presidential elections. In April 2002, the victory of a nationalist party often accused of anti-Semitism recalled the rise of fascism and Nazism in the thirties and revived the importance of the coalition that fought against it. The association of an international-oriented French newspaper with an American newspaper could but draw added moral standing from the political situation. Indeed, the NYT supplement ran an article in April 2002 titled 'what America and

⁹⁰ The delay no doubt occurred because *Le Monde* is an evening edition paper and does not appear on Mondays.

France share'⁹¹ which paralleled the division of the Left and the rise of obscurantism in France and the U.S (see appendix 3).

b. The Growing international tension

Between April 2002 and March 2003, the political context thoroughly changed and was considerably less favourable to the success of the NYT supplement within *Le Monde*. As the United States moved towards an invasion of Iraq, and serious clashes appeared between France and the U.S.. Indeed, on a diplomatic level, the French and the Russians did not want to lose their assets in Iraq as asserted by an article published in *Le Monde*⁹². According to the authors, an American invasion would sideline TotalFinaElf, a French petroleum multinational, and Lukoil, a Russian counterpart, from negotiations to get access to the 112 billion of barrels of exploitable Iraqi oil. Additionally, the prestige held by the U.S. is seen to have waned by September 2002. On the 11th September 2002, *Le Monde* published a study analysing the opinion of the French concerning the United States and stated that 'the solidarity and friendship that came to light after the 9/11 attacks' had faded and that the U.S. were increasingly seen as a hegemonic world power.

Furthermore, the partnership between the two papers came under increasing strain as the invasion approached and Francophobia and anti-Americanism grew. Indeed *Le Monde* reported on several articles or advertisements published in the NYT which were said to encourage xenophobia and Francophobia. On the 26th March 2003, *Le Monde* published a counter-inquiry about a series of opinion articles published in the NYT accusing France of opposing the war to hide its illegal arms trafficking with Iraq. Barely a week later, *Le Monde* published a front-cover article titled 'Boycott their sticky cheeses!'⁹³ in which it asserted that

⁹¹ KRUGMAN P. 'What America and France share', *The NYT supplement*, April 27 2002.

⁹² BELOT L. and GALINIER P., 'Les français et les russes veulent préserver leurs acquis en Irak', *Le Monde*, February 13, 2003.

⁹³ BELOT L., 'Boycotez leurs fromages gluants', *Le Monde*, 29 March 2003.

the NYT allowed the publication of an advertisement calling for a boycott against French brands.

The degradation of the conditions in which the supplement was published correlates with the drastic decrease and eventual absence of advertisements within the supplement. Furthermore, these conditions might justify the discontinuation of the supplement from the 26th April 2003 till the 17th January 2004. More importantly though, the probable divergences between the material published in the NYT and that of *Le Monde* might reveal itself in an ‘editorial’ and ideological gap between the NYT supplement in *Le Monde* and the original NYT articles as are analysed in comparative study in the following section.

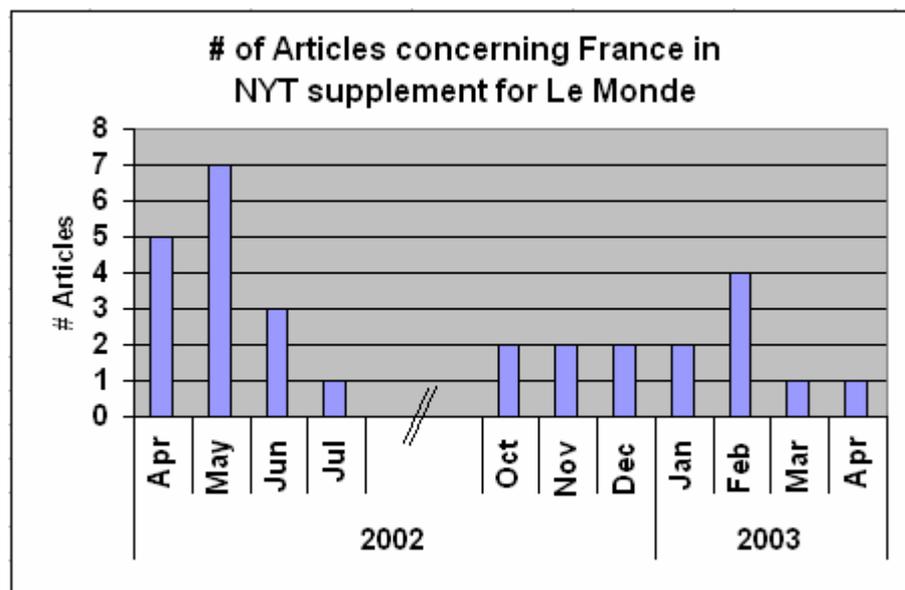
2. Comparative Study

In order to assess how the NYT changes its approach according to the readership it addresses, we conducted a comparative study of the NYT and the NYT supplement as it appears in *Le Monde*. Our study examines the selection and edition of articles for the supplement. In the first section, we examine the selection of articles concerning France. In the second section, we examine the systematic re-wording of titles and in the third section we look at the cuts made to articles which appear in the NYT supplement.

a. Evolution of articles concerning France

Given the increasingly difficult conditions in which the NYT supplement was published within *Le Monde*, a diachronic and comparative study would reveal the possible existence of editorial differences between the home version of the NYT and the NYT supplement in France. These differences would be the voluntary or involuntary result of editorial decisions made between the NYT and *Le Monde*, and would illustrate a differential approach to communities of readers. We chose to study articles concerning France to increase our chances of collecting meaningful data.

A diachronic study of articles about France shows that their number gradually decreases between April 2002 and April 2003 (see next page). Apart from a sudden peak in February, references to France are gradually excluded from the supplement. Furthermore the nature of the articles published changes significantly throughout this period. Whereas the supplement readily addressed political issues in April 2002 such as the rise of Le Pen or the electoral similarities of the two nations, the supplement gradually evades important issues. During the last two months of the study, March and April 2003, only two articles addressing France were published in the supplement. The first was ‘Exhibit shows that the masters of French masters were Spanish’⁹⁴ which presented an exhibition at the Metropolitan museum of art. The second was ‘Trying times for famed French cheese’⁹⁵ which approached the Franco-American rift from a rather trivialising perspective.



With no article appearing in the supplement about Franco-American relations, the NYT was publishing almost daily reports about the evolutions of their relation and particularly the French refusal to cooperate with the U.S. on the Iraqi situation. During the period under study (March to April 2003), a slow change of approach to the diplomatic

⁹⁴ KIMMELMAN M., ‘Exhibit shows that the masters of French masters were Spanish’, the NYT supplement, March 29 2003.

⁹⁵TAGLIABUE J., ‘Trying times for famed French cheese’, the NYT supplement, 12 April 2003.

deadlock may be ascertained from a close reading of the articles within the NYT. In the last weeks before the war, early March to the 17th of March, the NYT reported on the proceedings within the Security Council of the U.N. without displaying much bias in favour of the White House policies. On the 6th March 2003, the NYT published an article titled 'France and Russia ready to use veto against Iraq'⁹⁶, which claimed that these countries might use their veto but that C. Powell was 'dismissive'. The article later stated that 'Mr. Blix made clear today that the inspections set in motion by the United Nations late last year were working'. If anything, this article is rather critical of the government's lack of efforts to reach a peaceful solution. On the 8th March, the NYT reported on the antiwar movement and some of the reasons for its existence around the world. And startlingly, on the 9th March 2003, the NYT published an editorial titled 'Saying No to war' in which they charge President Bush of ineptitude and question his reasons for going to war. Furthermore, they maintain that the inspections should be allowed to continue and that countries should not go to war on the basis of forebodings or 'fragmentary information'.

Nevertheless, towards the close of the month of March 2003, the stance taken on the situation within the Security Council gradually changed. A key article is 'A long winding road to diplomatic dead-end'⁹⁷ which appeared on the front page and summarized the diplomatic proceedings since September 2002. Going back six months, the author of the articles re-frames the political circumstances which led to the Security Council dead-end. He states that dining in September with a group of foreign ministers, 'Secretary of State C. Powell was uneasy': 'France was advocating that a first resolution at the U.N. Security Council, demanding that Iraq promptly disclose its weapons and disarm, must be followed by a second authorizing war if Iraq refused.' The article maintains that, while Mr. de Villepin agreed with C. Powell that they must be sure to vote for both resolutions, France 'had rejected

⁹⁶ TAGLIABUE J., 'France and Russia ready to use veto against Iraq', *The New York Times*, 6 March 2003.

⁹⁷ WEISMAN S., 'A long winding road to diplomatic dead-end', *The New York Times*, 17 March 2003.

any second resolution clearing the way for war'. Furthermore Mr. de Villepin had 'won over most of the other thirteen Council members'. Setting aside the reliability of the events narrated and the French government's reasons for opposing the war, the function of these events is to set a new framework in which to interpret the proceedings at the Security Council. The drift towards war was less due to the U.S. government's actions in that direction, and more to France's vacillation and lack of commitment.

The trend towards a critical coverage of France culminates on the 28th March 2003, when the NYT published an article titled 'France holds out a tentative olive branch, with thorns, to the U.S.'⁹⁸. The title implies that the French government is treacherous in its overture to the U.S. government. The article claims that Mr de Villepin 'offered an olive branch to Washington today, but declined to say explicitly who he hoped would win the war for Baghdad'. According to the author, Mr. de Villepin refused to explain where his sympathies lay because reporters had not listened to what he had to say; the article states that 'the text of his speech, however, gave no particular clue to what he meant'.

The disparaging treatment of France subsided shortly afterwards, as illustrated by the article 'In the heart of France, Anti-U.S. mood softens'⁹⁹ on the 13th of April 2003. The articles stressed that while the French did not agree with the U.S. foreign policy, they wished to stay in good terms with the U.S'. The article quotes a Frenchman stating that the U.S. was an 'imperial' force that sought to establish its 'hegemony', but that it was also 'a guardian of the world'. The changes in coverage of France correlate exactly with the evolution of the U.S. deployment in Iraq. The treatment of the French government was its most critical after the ultimatum given to Saddam Hussein on the 16th March and during the heavy bombing of Iraqi targets from the 20th to the 28th March 2003. The coverage is toned down as the American and British soldiers begin to consolidate their control of Iraq in the first weeks of April 2003.

⁹⁸ COWELL A., 'France holds out a tentative olive branch, with thorns, to the U.S', *The New York Times*, 28 March 2003.

⁹⁹ TAGLIABUE J., 'In the Heart of France, Anti-U.S. mood softens', *The New York Times*, 13 April 2003.

While the relations between the U.S. and French government were being scrutinised by the NYT and by *Le Monde*, a total absence of articles concerning them in the NYT supplement in *Le Monde* is patent. This silence reveals distinctive editorial differences between the home version of the NYT and the NYT supplement within *Le Monde*. Contrasting with articles earlier in 2002 which readily developed French and American similarities, the absence of material concerning Franco-American relations in March and April 2003 no doubt indicates that it was considered unsuitable for publication in *Le Monde*.

b. Editing the titles of articles in the NYT supplement

The editorial presenting the NYT supplement in *Le Monde* stated that published articles would be selected from the original *New York Times*. The layout might incur certain changes but nothing fundamental. Yet on analysis, though the selected articles are not rewritten, the titles of the articles are systematically modified. Given that the supplement is destined for non-native English readers, the titles are essential and will be most read. Necessarily the titles and opening paragraphs will be all the more important in informing the reader on the contents and stance taken by the article. Yet the analysis of titles displays significant changes such as accentuations, understatements, vocabulary or verb modifications, etc. These are not systematic but reveal overarching editorial guidelines.

- Taboo words

An analysis of vocabulary changes in the titles reveal taboo words which appear in one version and are often or systematically avoided in the other. For instance, the word 'elite' appears twice in titles in the European version (March – April 2003) and never in the U.S. version. Thus the article 'An effort to reach Iraq's elite'¹⁰⁰ was originally 'Decade of plans to

¹⁰⁰ RISEN J. and SHANKER T., 'An effort to reach Iraq's Elite', *The NYT supplement*, 29 March 2003.

topple Hussein reveal mixed results’ and ‘War brings Arab elite to despair’¹⁰¹ was ‘Egyptian intellectual speaks of the Arab world’s despair’. More interesting is the second example in which ‘intellectual’ is a substitute for ‘elite’. While the home version of the NYT scrupulously refuses to name the ‘elite’ or to acknowledge the existence of a ruling class, the European version uses the term much more freely.

Similarly terms describing Iraqi civilian resistance in the 2nd Gulf war or the U.S. ideological warfare appear in the European version but not in the home version. Indeed the ‘American portrayal of a war of liberation’¹⁰² in the home edition becomes a ‘propaganda effort by the Bush team’¹⁰³. Similarly, while Iraqis exiles go home ‘to fight against Americans’ in the European edition, they merely ‘[display] solidarity’ in the U.S. version.

- Understating the war

The articles concerning the Iraqi war are almost always changed to minimize the conflict and avoid specifics in *Le Monde*. For instance the original article ‘Baghdad targets picked if Hussein holes up there’ becomes ‘U.S. and Iraq foresee the battle of Baghdad’¹⁰⁴. The dismissive derogatory expression ‘holes up there’ is removed in favour of the more dignified description ‘battle of Baghdad’. The supplement title is also less specific and does not mention either targets or bombing. Similar to the removal of the trivialising expression ‘holes up there’, the article ‘Urban warfare: long, a key part of an underdog’s down to earth arsenal’ becomes ‘An urban war may be costly for U.S.’. Whereas the original title presents the Iraqi military tactics as aggressive and immoral, the new title eludes all reference to the Iraqis.

¹⁰¹ SACHS S. ‘War brings Arab elite to despair’, *The NYT supplement*, 12 April 2003.

¹⁰² BECKER E., ‘The American portrayal of a war of liberation is faltering across the Arab world’, *The New York Times*, 5 April, 2003.

¹⁰³ BECKER E., ‘Propaganda effort by the Bush Team faces difficulties’, *The New York Times supplement*, 6 April 2003.

¹⁰⁴ GORDON M., ‘U.S. and Iraq foresee battle of Baghdad’, *The New York Times supplement*, 9 March 2003.

Many articles present the U.S. as being far more assertive in the original version than they do in the French supplement. Whereas the NYT titles often emphasize the superiority and authority of the U.S. on other countries, the supplement presents the U.S. as being defensive, tentative and sometimes even naïve in its approach of international politics. The article ‘U.S. tells Iran not to interfere in Iraq efforts’ illustrates this point and becomes ‘Complexity of Iraqi politics hits U.S.’¹⁰⁵. Whereas the original title presented the U.S. as a necessary international policing force, the French title presents the U.S. as an amateurish, albeit good-willed, player in the international arena. Likewise, the article ‘Turks wonder whether U.S. will share some of the spoils of rebuilding’ became ‘Turks hope for business with Iraqis’¹⁰⁶. While the original title posited the U.S. as a decision-maker, the French title emphasizes the self-government of the Iraqis. Furthermore the term ‘spoils’ which connotes pillage, invasion and violence is also removed. In the same vein, another articles which emphasized the superiority of the U.S. in the original version, presents the U.S. foreign policy as defensive. Indeed the title ‘Pentagon expects long term access to key Iraqi bases’ becomes ‘U.S. security interests widened since 9/11’¹⁰⁷ in the supplement. The second title is not only less specific or material but also construes the U.S. military presence in Iraqi as a act of self-defence after the 11 September attacks.

- **Modifying verbs**

The above section discussed the edition of titles which fundamentally changed the significance and orientation of the article. In this section, we address more subtle title changes such as the use of verb constructions, the addition of auxiliary verbs, nominalizations and

¹⁰⁵ JEHL D. and SANGER D., ‘Complexity of Iraqi politics hits U.S.’, *The NYT supplement*, 27 April 2003.

¹⁰⁶ COWELL A., ‘Turks hope for business with Iraqis’, *The NYT supplement*, 27 April 2003.

¹⁰⁷ SHANKER T. and SCHMITT E., ‘U.S. security interests widened since 9/11’, *The NYT supplement*, 27 April 2003.

transitivity. These changes reveal different journalistic approaches and modify the stance taken by the article.

Whereas the editors of the NYT prefer simple verb structure in the NYT, they often use more complex verb constructions in the supplement. For instance, ‘With little loans, Mexican women overcome’ becomes ‘With a little bit of cash, poor woman begin to overcome’¹⁰⁸; ‘For Arabs, new Jihad is in Iraq’ becomes ‘Arab leaders mute calls for Jihad in Iraq’ and ‘About 100 non-Iraqis cross border into Jordan’ becomes ‘Along the border, Jordan prepares for a influx of refugees’. These journalistic differences may reveal differences of readership approach. The U.S. versions prefer clear direct statements at the expense of nuance, the European versions privilege caution and modulation at the expense of precision and clarity.

In certain articles, the use of auxiliary verbs moderates the articles’ assertions. Indeed the article ‘Flawed Khmer Rouge trial better than none’ becomes ‘Flawed Khmer Rouge trial may be better than none’¹⁰⁹. In the second version, the addition of the auxiliary verb ‘may’ introduces doubt and caution. Likewise, the article ‘Next question: how to stop nuclear blackmail’ becomes ‘U.S. may face nuclear blackmail’¹¹⁰. Whereas the original syntax in question form invites answers and action, the French version is again cautious about its assertions.

Furthermore, nominalization, the use of nouns derived from verbs, changes the significance of an article. For instance, the article ‘After years at the top, MacDonald’s *strives* to regain ground’¹¹¹ becomes ‘McDonald’s domination shows signs of *waning*’¹¹². Whereas in the original article the significant term ‘strives’ is a verb in the active form which connotes dynamism, the significant term of the edited version is a nominalization ‘waning’ which

¹⁰⁸ WEINER T., ‘With a little bit of cash, poor women begin to overcome’, *the NYT supplement*, 29 March 2003.

¹⁰⁹ MYDANS S., ‘Flawed Khmer Rouge trial may be better than none’, *the NYT supplement*, 19 April 2003.

¹¹⁰ SANGER D., ‘U.S. may face nuclear blackmail’, *the NYT supplement*, 15 March 2003

¹¹¹ DAY S., ‘After years at the top, MacDonald’s strives to regain ground’, *The New York Times*, 3 March 2003.

¹¹² DAY S., ‘MacDonald’s domination shows signs of waning’, *The New York Times supplement*, 8 March 2003.

connotes decline. The rather positive dynamic presentation of Macdonald's in the original version becomes a rather pessimistic assessment of Macdonald's decline in the French version. According to Fowler in *Language in the news*, nominalizations reify processes and qualities raising (or lowering) them to the status of '*things*: impersonal, inanimate, capable of being amassed and counted like capital, paraded like possessions.'¹¹³ In the NYT supplement, nominalizations present actions, which may be challenged, justified, or impeded, as *things* which merely exist and are therefore unquestionable. For example the title of the article 'Invasion is easy. Occupation is hard'¹¹⁴ becomes 'The complexities of occupation'¹¹⁵ in the NYT supplement. Though the change here cannot be termed a nominalization in the strictly grammatical sense, we will argue that the logic is the same. The original article uses the verb 'to be' in its active form while the version in the NYT supplement uses a noun. These patterns of syntax changes reveal journalistic approaches of different readerships: While the American version privileges dynamism, the French version, on the other hand, emphasizes evaluation and analysis.

Finally, the NYT supplement displays variations in tense and mood which modify the significance of the articles. For instance, the article 'Pre-emption, an idea with a lineage whose time *has come*'¹¹⁶ becomes 'How the idea of Pre-emption finally *took* center stage'¹¹⁷. The change of verb tense resituates the subject firmly in the past and again illustrates the preference for a more dynamic approach in the home version of the NYT. Similarly in *Language in the news*, Fowler addresses transitivity and argues that though 'actives and passives share the same propositional meaning', their functions differ in terms of focus, agency, power distribution and responsibility. The comparison of the NYT and the NYT

¹¹³ FOWLER R., *op.cited*, p.80.

¹¹⁴ CHIRA S., 'Invasion is easy. Occupation is hard', *The New York Times*, 13 April 2003

¹¹⁵ CHIRA S., 'The complexities of occupations', *the NYT supplement*, 19 April 2003

¹¹⁶ WEISMAN S., 'Pre-emption, an idea with a lineage whose time has come', *The New York Times*, 23 March 2003

¹¹⁷ WEISMAN S. 'How the idea of Pre-emption finally took center stage', *The New York Times* supplement, 28 March 2003.

supplement show particular variations of agency and responsibility. The NYT supplement titles an article concerning children killed during the bombing of Iraq, ‘Iraqi family dreads telling father 3 daughters were killed’¹¹⁸. The use of the passive ‘were killed’ instead of an active form, such as ‘missile kills three’, redirects our attention and conceals the agent, here the missile. This grammatical turn of phrase absolves those who ordered the bombing and reduces the explosion of the missile to a *circumstance* instead of the *cause* of their death. In the original U.S. title ‘Family dreads telling father 3 daughters are dead’¹¹⁹, responsibility and agency are further side-stepped. These articles differ fundamentally in the allocation of responsibility: whereas ‘were killed’ implies that somebody is responsible for their deaths, ‘are dead’ does not.

c. Editing the NYT articles for the supplement

As explained by the editorial of *Le Monde* presenting the NYT supplement, the editorial line of the supplement is decided by NYT and *Le Monde* editors. Nevertheless, *Le Monde* states that it is offering a ‘selection’ of articles and not a re-edition of articles. Yet the resulting changes applied to the articles are significant. Not only are the titles, as we have seen, are changed, but also the body of the text. While the titles are re-worded, the texts of the articles are not rewritten, but cut and shortened. In many cases almost half the content of the original articles is removed. These changes can be justified by the new layout of the supplement, by journalistic differences¹²⁰ and by the wish to edit out news that is deemed too ‘local’. Yet the cuts and changes made to the articles also reveal editorial guidelines, which though significant, are sometimes contradictory and difficult to interpret.

¹¹⁸ FISHER I., ‘Iraqi family dreads telling father 3 daughters were killed’, *The New York Times supplement*, 19 April 2003.

¹¹⁹ FISHER I., ‘Family dreads telling father 3 daughters are dead’, *The New York Times*, 14 April 2003.

¹²⁰ Some NYT articles reach lengths which would rarely be found in a newspaper such as *Le Monde*. These articles often include speech or debate transcriptions and detailed descriptions. Given that the supplement is for non-native English speakers, the articles will be necessarily much shorter.

The editors approach the articles as very adaptable material and do not hesitate to make cuts which significantly change the meaning of the article. In one case, a section from one article was moved to another article by a different author. The article ‘Centers of oldest human history may be threatened’¹²¹ written by J. Wilford contains a paragraph written by H. Cotter¹²² about damages to archaeological sites during the first gulf war. The changes and contributions were not indicated. While the importance of these changes is not great, they nevertheless illustrate the licence used by the editors when editing the articles.

Other types of changes or cuts are more systematic and disclose the editorial principles of the supplement. The editors are particularly cautious when referring to Europe. For instance, in the author of the article ‘Europe seems to hear echoes of empires past’¹²³ quotes a rather virulent attack of the U.S. occupation of Iraq written by a journalist of *The Guardian*: ‘What cannot be disguised, as U.S. marines swagger around the Iraqi capital [...] is the crudely colonial nature of this enterprise’. In the original version of the NYT article this quote was qualified by the assertion that *The Guardian* was a ‘newspaper that rarely misses a chance to cast the United States in a negative light’. This depreciative assessment of the British newspaper is removed in the NYT supplement. Given that the international European business community aimed at by the supplement is probably familiar with *The Guardian*, the editors no doubt removed the comment to avoid casting the NYT in a bad light. Similarly in an article about ‘the complexities of occupation’¹²⁴, a comparison between scenes of World War II liberation and the situation in Iraq was cut: the comment ‘scenes of jubilant Iraqis, handing flowers to American soldiers in the streets of Baghdad may evoke images of liberating troops in World War II’¹²⁵ was removed.

¹²¹ WILFORD J., ‘Centers of oldest human history may be threatened’, The NYT supplement, 1 March 2003.

¹²² COTTER H., ‘A prime center of islamic art and cultura may be in harm’s way’, *The New York Times*, 25 February 2003.

¹²³ BERNSTEIN R., ‘Europe seems to hear echoes of empires past’, the NYT supplement, 19 April 2003.

¹²⁴ CHIRA S., ‘The complexities of occupation’, the NYT supplement, 19 April 2003.

¹²⁵ CHIRA S., ‘Invasion is easy, occupation is hard’, *The New York Times*, 13 April 2003.

Similar to the editor's caution with Europe, the editors of the supplement edit out many comments which might insist too much on the supremacy of the U.S. For instance, the article 'Europe seems to hear echoes of empires past'¹²⁶ considers the growing opinion that the U.S. is becoming an imperialist power. In its original version the article extensively quoted Mr. Honrich, a sociologist at the Goethe University in Frankfurt, who gave a very positive appraisal of the U.S. hegemony. In the NYT supplement, on the other hand, the article has been thoroughly edited to give a more negative assessment of the U.S. (see extract below).

Extract from the article 'Europe seems to hear echoes of empires past'
Illustrating differences of editorial practises

"The key terms of the new imperialism will be the ability of the U.S. to provide security and stability for other nations without imposing an American way of life," Karl-Otto Honrich, a sociologist at Goethe University in Frankfurt, said in a telephone interview. **After the war in Iraq began, Mr. Honrich wrote a much noted article subtitled "Without a Hegemonic Power There Can Be No Peace."**

"Over the last 10 years, U.S. hegemony has become clearer as a function of what America has done in the world," he said. "It has taken on the role of world police in several cases, **and successfully done so**".

"The function of the U.S. right now is to tell the world there is someone who is ready to fight in cases of big security and disorder," Mr. Honrich said. "The U.S. has taken on this role, and hence its leadership has become a social reality."

Legend :

The text in black was published in the NYT supplement.

The text in red was removed from the original article before publication in the supplement

Likewise in 'U.N. votes complicate Iraq plan'¹²⁷, another comment stating that the American ideal 'was held up as a global example' was deleted. Similarly the first 500 words of an article titled 'U.S. security interests widened since 9/11'¹²⁸ were deleted from the original text.

¹²⁶ BERNSTEIN R., 'Europe seems to hear echoes of empires past', *The New York Times supplement*, 19 April 2003.

¹²⁷ PURDUM T., 'U.N. votes complicate Iraq plan',

¹²⁸ SHANKER T., 'U.S. security interest widened since 9/11', *The NYT supplement*, 29 April 2003.

Indeed the original article, titled ‘Pentagon expects long term access to key Iraqi bases’¹²⁹, precisely detailed the U.S. military presence in the Middle East. After the cuts, the article opened with a few paragraphs about the attacks and the consequential need for expanded military presence in regions such as the Middle East. Whereas the original article emphasized the U.S. assurance in world politics, the edited version presents recent military changes as a defence tactic and as a direct result of the 9/11 attacks.

Unexpectedly, though the editorial changes examined above seek to cast the U.S. in a more favourable light, the editors of the supplement also insist heavily on aspects of U.S. foreign policy such as the use of torture in prisoner camps or the U.S. practice of negotiating with dictators. For instance ‘Questioning terror suspects in a surreal world’¹³⁰ is based on a much longer article by the same title. The article in the supplement includes the first, virtually unedited, section of the original article and selected passages from a second section titled ‘Deprivation and black hoods’ which describes the interrogation of a suspect Mr. Fahruq. Grimly, the editors chose to include only the most explicit details of Mr. Fahruq’s ordeal in Guantánamo such as ‘Mr. Fahruq was left naked naked most of the time, his hands and feet bound’ and ‘the official said that over a three-month period, the suspect was feed very little, while being subjected to sleep and light deprivation, prolonged isolation and room temperatures that varied from 100 degrees to 10 degrees’. Furthermore the editors retained the conditions and not the ‘results’ of the interrogations which the original article maintains are worthwhile. The article in the NYT supplement is tougher, more explicit and less compromising than its U.S. counterpart.

The editorial guidelines of the supplement appear to be contradictory and refute the hypothesis that the NYT supplement is a simple pro-U.S. propaganda tool. It seems that, on the one hand, the supplement seeks to tone down articles which might cast the U.S. as a

¹²⁹ SHANKER T., ‘Pentagon expects long term access to key Iraqi bases’, *The New York Times*, 20 April 2003.

¹³⁰ VAN NATTA and others, ‘Questioning terror suspects in a surreal world’, *the NYT supplement*, 15 Mach 2003.

hegemonic, imperialist country. On the other, the editors seek to present the NYT as an opposition force.

In conclusion, the comparative study of the NYT and the NYT supplement reveals differences which support our hypothesis that the NYT significantly changes its approach according to the readership it is addressing. The absence of any political articles on France signifies that these were deemed unsuitable for publication. Taboo words, re-wordings and grammatical changes applied to the titles of NYT articles reveal that the American and the European communities of readers do not accept the same things as revealed by the differential treatment of fast-foods and elites. Finally, passages of the NYT articles which detail the war and which might show that the NYT supports a US hegemony are deleted.

3. Layout: use of photography and complementary between articles

The possibilities offered by layout and illustrative photographs are often used by the NYT supplement to convey a particular stance on an issue without having to explicitly defend it. In *Ways of seeing*, J. Berger asserts that images, even photographs, are not ‘mechanical records’ but ‘embody ways of seeing’¹³¹. The framing, composition, angle, size and colours of a photograph determine its significance. Of works of art, he states ‘when an image is presented as a work of art, the way people look at it is affected by whole series of learnt assumptions about art’¹³². Similarly while journalistic photographs are presented as mechanical records of events, they convey particular meanings and reveal an ideological treatment of the news (see appendix 4).

¹³¹ BERGER John, *Ways of Seeing*, London: Pelican, 1972, 1973, p.10.

¹³² *ibid.*, p.11.

The front-page, a focal central point of the supplement, is especially suited to the immediate assertion of a particular notion. The NYT supplement uses photo compositions to associate different situations: these amalgamations assert a judgment while simultaneously disowning it. For instance, on the 12th April 2003, the NYT supplement featured six photos, the Korean border, a rally in Syria, militants in Gaza, demonstrators in Iran and a Taliban suspect in Afghanistan, around an out-of-focus photo of a toppling statue of Saddam Hussein. The title and caption were respectively ‘New doctrine challenges the old order’ and ‘The United States may be eyeing other trouble spots’¹³³. Firstly, showing these extremely different situations together asserts that they are somehow implicitly related. Their unstated resemblance lays in their denomination as ‘trouble spots’ and their position around the falling statue of Saddam Hussein. Implicitly the NYT here endorses the White House’s construction of an ‘axis of evil’. Secondly, the use of an unfocused photo of a toppling statue of Saddam Hussein heavily connotes the fall of communism and the dismantling of communist icons. This connotation is further reinforced by the title ‘new doctrine challenges old order’ which may be a twist on the notion that the new world order challenged the old communist doctrine. This photo composition is therefore an over-simplification and mystification and asserts that different situations are not only linked together but are also linked to the past Soviet coalition.

The photographic treatment of the Iraqi war is sometimes more revealing of the NYT position than the articles that accompany them. Over the two months period analysed, during which occurred the heavy fighting and bombing, the coverage of U.S. and British soldiers on Iraqi ground is substantial. Yet out of the nineteen photos published over this critical two month period, only one or two show a soldier actually fighting (see appendix 4). Furthermore one of these photos features a black female soldier in combat, which is hardly representative of the majority of the soldiers sent to Iraq. Featuring a member of a group which is frequently discriminated against, fighting in Iraq, works as an alibi or as evidence against accusations

¹³³ *The New York Times* supplement, 12 April 2003.

that the war is either racist or unethical. Indeed the bulk of the photos show soldiers at rest, distributing medicine, surveying, going out on reconnaissance, establishing contact with Iraqi civilians, guarding checkpoints and policing demonstrations. The soldiers are presented as a peace-keeping force active in everything except fighting.

Interrelations between articles and photos reinforce the stance taken or the significance of certain articles. For instance, as we will see in part III, the treatment of dissent and anti-war demonstrations firmly exempted the state from the conflict. The photos corroborated the case made by the article which presented the conflict as occurring between groups of civilians rather than between civilians and the state. Similarly in ‘On both sides, cool talk of war’¹³⁴, the photos complement the notion elaborated by the article that Iraq and the United States share equal responsibility in the path to war.

Akin to interrelations between articles and photos, affinities and resemblances between different articles induce significant amalgamations. The intended message is conveyed without being made explicit. Its non-acceptance is therefore impeded because the amalgamation is very loose and is probably effective only if repeated. P. Breton defines a similar textual strategy as a ‘cognitive amalgamation’ and defines it as a technique which ‘consists in rendering acceptable a message which is a mixed opinion without discussion of its content, with an external element, which has no immediate relationship with this opinion but is considered, itself, as already accepted by the reader. In this way one transfers the acceptability of the external element to the opinion itself.’¹³⁵

Similarly, during the U.S.-led invasion and occupation of Iraq, an amalgamation between World War II and the situation in Iraq was used against the widespread opposition to

¹³⁴ ‘On both sides, cool talk of war’, *The New York Times* supplement, 8 march 2003.

¹³⁵ BRETON P., *op.cited.*, p. 120 trans. : ‘consiste à rendre acceptable un message qui est un mélange [d’une] opinion, sans discussion de son contenu, avec un élément extérieur, sans rapport immédiat avec cette opinion, mais concidéré, lui, comme déjà accepté par l’auditoire. On transfère ainsi l’acceptabilité de cet élément que l’on va chercher en aval, sur l’opinion elle-même.

the war in the traditionally allied European countries. Indeed the NYT supplement ran an article on the extent of this idea in the U.S ‘All last week, members of Congress have denounced France and Germany. A favoured theme was their ingratitude after being saved from disaster in World War II’. Further on the article quotes ‘The Boston Herald wrote, “the graves of soldiers” should serve as “a timely reminder that there is no appeasing a tyrant, not then and not now.”’¹³⁶ The Boston Herald here equates Hitler and Saddam Hussein and consequently likens the ‘liberation’ of Iraq to the liberation of Europe heedless of fundamental historical differences.

Whereas the stance taken by the NYT in this article is impartial, several articles were subsequently run in the supplement which may be said to reinforce the amalgamation. During the two month period here studied, the NYT ran three articles on World War II. More significant though are the relations between these articles and other articles in the supplement. For instance, the article ‘Revisiting war’s agony ends German taboo’¹³⁷ details the suffering sustained by German civilians who underwent the allied bombing during World War II. According to the article, their suffering had been suppressed until then because the bombing was and is still deemed acceptable and necessary. This article appears below another about the post-war reconstruction of Iraq titled ‘Bush plan favors U.S. firms for Iraqi rebuilding efforts’¹³⁸. The amalgamation is here patent: the allied WWII bombing is compared to the US-led bombing of Iraq and the subsequent Marshall plan is compared to the presented ‘Bush plan’. In P. Breton’s terminology, the NYT here means to transfer the acceptability of the allied bombing campaign onto the bombing of Iraq.

Conclusion

¹³⁶ WEISMAN S., ‘Feuds threaten a historic union’, *The NYT supplement*, 16 February 2003.

¹³⁷ BERNSTEIN R., ‘Revisiting war’s agony ends German taboo’, *The NYT supplement*, 22 March 2003.

¹³⁸ BECKER E., ‘Bush plan favors U.S. firms for Iraqi rebuilding efforts’, *The NYT supplement*, 22 March 2003.

Studies of presentations and material available about the supplement reveals that whereas the NYT and collaborating newspapers seem to bring more diverse articles to their readers, the supplement is funded in order to bring a more uniform, pan-European reader to advertisers. The analysis readerships of the European newspapers which collaborate with the NYT reveal that their readers belong to a similar socio-economic category: many have high-status jobs, a university education and are relatively wealthy. The NYT though is seeking to expand its readership base by reaching, through the supplement, sections of the population (women, young professionals, students) which would not normally read *The New York Times* or the *International Herald Tribune*. For global advertisers, these sections of the European population are also difficult to reach because the European written press market is not at all homogeneous. It is nonetheless moving towards a greater integration as illustrated by the NYT supplement attempts to 'fuse' with different European host newspapers. The NYT nonetheless adapts its approach, in terms of journalistic style, subject matter and stance, to the audience that it addresses as shown by the comparative study of the supplement and the home edition of the NYT.

PARADISE 3

MYSTIC PRODIGES DISCOVERED IN THE

NEW YORK TIMES SUPPLEMENT

Introduction

In the following section, we will examine the mythopoetic discourse of *The New York Times* supplement. Our study focuses on two months (March - April 2003) of the NYT supplement that appeared in *Le Monde*. These two months include the last weeks of the U.N. negotiations on Iraq, the air bombing and the American and British invasion of Iraq. We chose this period on the assumption that a renewed assertion of consensual values would be needed in a period of crisis, division or war. Thus we hoped that the studied period would yield significant insights into the encoding of ideology in the news (see appendix 5 for articles). In the first part of this section, we address the way in which corporate values are encoded in the treatment of art and multiculturalism. In the second section, we focus on the treatment of the 2nd Gulf war and cover the invasion of Iraq and the reporting on victims and dissent. Finally, we look at certain recurrent mechanisms of mythopoetic discourse as they appear in the NYT supplement.

A. Investigating Corporate Values and Myth-making

1. Culture

As a likely result of studies of the readership of *Le Monde*, the NYT supplement runs a considerable proportion of articles on art, culture, literature and theatre. The articles are nevertheless preoccupied with culture not as a subject but more as the attribute of a way of life which involves a lot of time allocated to leisure and education. As a result the articles are centred on exhibitions that were put on by major museums, on performances or musicals

showing and on recent fashion trends or art design. The treatment of art encodes the values of the class which can afford such pursuits and promotes the fundamentals of capitalism.

The articles in the NYT are less concerned with the significance of culture or art than with its place within the capitalist system. The transcendent and educational quality of art is repeatedly invoked: 'Indeed the best art in this show is so inspiring, presented with such precise and fresh detail, that you would have been churlish not to leave edified and amazed'¹³⁹. Knowing that the highly derogative adjective 'churlish' means to be 'vulgar' or 'peasant-like', the failure to undergo the experience described by the article signifies that the viewer is not only excluded from the elite but also displays a lack of spirituality. The elite here usurp the spirituality associated with art to justify its superiority.

Indifferent to the significance of art, many articles address more readily the history of art pieces and their ownership in order to mystify aspects of the capitalist system. Provenance is a key theme. In 'For Russian art collector, a murky trail to end of dreams'¹⁴⁰, nothing is said about the meaning of the work of an important Russian artist Kasimir Malevich (see appendix 5 for article). Instead the author narrates the 'saga' or 'art-world parable' of a few of his paintings. According to the article, an aged Russian critic, Mr. Khardzhiev, was trying to 'find a suitable home for their collection'. A great amount of personal details are given about the art collector, his friendship with Malevich, his passion for painting, the loss of his wife and his death 'embittered and alone'. The veracity of these details are here not at stake, what is important though is their function within the text. The use of personalisation and the assertion that 'he was a frail and complicated old man against the forces of the market' appeal to our sympathy. This appeal forces our acceptance of the values conveyed by the story. The attempt to 'find a suitable home' for the Malevich paintings is nothing more than an attempt

¹³⁹ KIMMELMAN M., 'Exhibit shows that the masters of French masters were Spanish', *The New York Times supplement*, 29 March 2003.

¹⁴⁰ GOLDEN T., 'For Russian art collector, a murky trail to end of dreams', *The New York Times supplement*, 12 April, 2003.

to smuggle a private collection out of Russia. The idea that the paintings' suitable home might be in Russia where the Russian general public might see them is completely sidestepped.

On the contrary, the narration of Mr. Khardzhiev is presented as a fight 'against the forces of the market' to preserve the collection. The bulk of the article details the various misfortunes and sales of the Malevich paintings. These misfortunes are due to a series of breaches of contract: 'An out-of-work Russian actor to whom they entrusted their estate took a \$5 million payoff and disappeared'. The addition of unrelated details such as 'out-of-work' and 'actor' here seems to suggest that there is a causal relationship between his lack of occupation and his duplicity. The same individual later breaks the terms of the art collector's will to sell more Malevich paintings. The subject of the article is patently not art but the mystified history of an investment. On the terms of the text, the significance of the paintings is an attribute or secondary feature of the investment. The article furthermore asserts the need to respect the laws that protect investments at any cost. Similarly another article 'A mix of restitution and collecting'¹⁴¹ narrates the restitution of art stolen by the Nazis to illustrate the need to respect property and assimilates the stolen paintings to 'prisoners of war' (quoting heir to Estée Lauder cosmetics R. Lauder). Setting aside the legitimacy of the families' claims to certain stolen art pieces, this article presents the ownership and monetary worth of the art pieces as being the central issues.

Interestingly the NYT supplement ran from March to April 2003 a series of articles on art in the developing countries and especially in Iraq. 'Centers of oldest human history may be threatened'¹⁴² and 'Across Iraq, thousands of vulnerable historical sites'¹⁴³ both detail the dangers threatening Iraqi artefacts and archaeological sites in the event of an invasion. On the eve of the attacks, these articles address the unacceptable and the barbaric as the disrespect of property endowed with human presence and importance. Indeed the title 'Centers of oldest

¹⁴¹ BOHLEN C., 'A mix of restitution and collecting', *the NYT supplement*, 8 March 2003.

¹⁴² WILFORD J., 'Centers of oldest human history may be threatened', *the NYT supplement*, 1st March 2003.

¹⁴³ COTTER H. 'Across Iraq, thousands of vulnerable historical sites', *the NYT supplement*, 1st March 2003.

human history may be threatened' acknowledges that the war threatens humanity but addresses it as a threat against human history. The article is concerned with the study of the traces of past existence and sublimates the present civilisation and existence. Indeed the article 'Across Iraq, thousands of vulnerable historical sites' details the vibrancy of past Iraqi societies: 'Ur, which flourished in the third millennium B.C.', 'Babylon is rich in historical glamour', or later '[...] a royal cemetery in which members of a powerful social elite were buried with their servants and exquisitely wrought possessions'. The Iraq at risk here has already died. On the terms of the text, the historical sites transcend the transitory lives of the population and increase our knowledge of humanity. Furthermore, like the above articles approach to art and its ownership, the concern for human lives is transformed into a concern for objects and places sanctified by their archaeological importance. On these terms, theft becomes more serious than combat: 'post-war looting could cause even more damage to the antiquities than combat'.

Not only does the treatment of art and culture encode corporate values such as property or the protection of contract laws, these art narratives alienate the readers from their own culture. By constructing the significance of art as a privileged elite experience, these articles assert a particular social structure mystified by the airy spirituality of art. The reduction of art to the status of objects is furthermore present in the article 'Mandela paints vivid recollections of prison life'¹⁴⁴ which features his paintings of Robben Island. The NYT caption on these images is 'At 84, Nelson Mandela is learning to draw. He has composed vivid images of his bleak years in prison on Robben Island. Some of Mr. Mandela's work has sold for prices ranging from \$ 2,600 for a single drawing to \$ 15,150 for a set of six drawings.' The caption reads like a commercial catalogue entry. By estimating, evaluating,

¹⁴⁴ SWARNS R., 'Mandela paints vivid recollections of prison life', *The New York Times supplement*, 23 February 2003.

praising and displaying artistic and cultural creation, such articles conjure the meaning of art away and construct its value as purely monetary.

2. Multiculturalism is the new Orientalism

In the editorial of *Le Monde* 'Plusieurs mondes' the authors highlight the dangers of 'imprisoning the other in its own national, ethnical or religious identity'. The pan-European project allegedly hopes to promote understanding and familiarity between different cultures. The NYT supplement does indeed publish many articles on different cultures and asserts multiculturalism as a foundation the American culture. Though these articles may have originated in a genuine interest in the cultural diversity of the U.S., they do not escape particular mythopoetic mechanisms which deny cultural diversity its very significance.

The multiculturalism of the NYT is a type of 'Orientalism'. It might even be said that multiculturalism is the new Orientalism of the dominant global media. Edward Said describes Orientalism in 'Crisis [in Orientalism]' as a 'kind of Western projection onto and will to govern over the Orient'¹⁴⁵. At first glance, the assertion that multiculturalism, as it appears in the NYT, is an 'Orientalism' seems to be a contradiction in terms. But this is not the case if we can demonstrate that multiculturalism is the ideological response to a changing political context in order to perpetuate the fundamental principles of Orientalism.

Orientalism may be formally defined as the study of Oriental subjects and as the product of an interest in Oriental culture. On the other hand, as Edward Said argues, the Orientalist text or discourse, studies what it means to discover. Certain assumptions about the 'Orient' determine the conclusions, the directions and the perspectives of the Orientalists texts. What is more, it may be said that Orientalism serves to preserve and authenticate a

¹⁴⁵ SAID Edward, 'Crisis [in Orientalism]', *Modern Criticism and Theory*, London: Longman, 1988, 1996, pp.297.

certain idea of the 'Orient'. In other words it mystifies the 'Orient' and presents its version as 'truth' or 'essence'. Edward Said furthermore states that 'the texts can create not only the knowledge but also the very reality they appear to describe'¹⁴⁶. Here Said asserts a central causal link between the Orientalist discourse and the colonialist enterprises of the European nations in the 18th and 19th century and questions the supposition of impartial and detached scholarly institutions. It is here pertinent to note that the mass media, like scholarly institutions, tries to perpetuate a reputation of objectivity. The journalist, like the scholar is supposed to be a detached, disinterested observer uninvolved in politics or ideology.

To assert a resemblance between the Orientalist and the present multiculturalist discourse, one needs to examine the notion of the 'Orient' presented by the Orientalist discourse. According to Said, this Orient is seen as 'being always the same, unchanging, uniform and radically peculiar'. The orient is reduced to 'essences', ideas, fictions that are fixed and remain unchallenged. The advantage of such an approach is that it banishes history from its scope of study; this banishment is two-fold since it effectively evades the examination of the European involvement in the Orient, which might question the validity and the objectivity of Orientalist discourse, and erases the possibility of change or likelihood that the Orient might question or subvert its representation. Consequently, any oriental behaviour that does not coincide with the Orientalist's notion of what an Oriental behaviour should be, is construed as deviance or abnormality. Furthermore, the Orientalist discourse constructs the Oriental man as being essentially 'other' or different from, according to Said 'the "normal man" [...] being the European man of the historical period'¹⁴⁷.

Following Said's analysis, the hypothesis that multiculturalism is a form of Orientalism, entails that multiculturalism is the product of a certain society in a certain period. Therefore even if it may abstract itself from history, it is historically contingent. The paradox

¹⁴⁶ SAID E., *op.cit.*, p.296.

¹⁴⁷ *ibid.*, p. 299.

is that it seems impossible for a multicultural society to produce an Orientalist discourse. As an attempt by one culture to define the other, a multicultural society would find it difficult to sustain a variety of Orientalism for very long. We will argue advance that though the type of multiculturalism present in the NYT supplement differs from Orientalism in its content and in certain of its strategies; its methodology remains to a certain extent the same.

In Europe, the Orientalist discourse posits the White European man of a said period as the norm and the Orient as the 'other', the 'different'. Discussion of the European white man never appears in the Orientalist discourse because analysing the European man would invert the established relationship of norm and difference and would construct the European man as relative to the Oriental man. The 'European man' is therefore the central, unobservable concept which determines the significance and differences of the other cultures. The multicultural discourse of the NYT, on the other hand, does not eclipse the white man but presents him as relative, as a variant among other human beings.

The article 'Two towns, close, forced apart'¹⁴⁸ illustrates the values and mechanisms of the multicultural discourse (see appendix 5 for article). The article presents two men, Russell Duncan and Raúl Lopez, who live in two small towns on the Mexican border. The text and the illustrative photo show the two men separated and differentiated by a metal fence, the border. Initially their cultural differences, in terms of names, appearances and activities are stereotypically emphasized. The Mexican man is trying to sell tequila; their names are typical. According to the photo, their physical differences in terms of skin colour and shape are stereotypically exaggerated.

Eventually, their cultural differences are presented as being interchangeable. The American calls his friend 'Amigo' and the Mexican man smokes 'an American cigarette'. Their cultures are presented as assessorial, non-essential like a nickname or the brand of a

¹⁴⁸ LEDUFF C., 'Two Towns, close, but forced apart', *The NYT supplement*, 1 March 2003.

cigarette. By positing that their cultures are interchangeable, the text affirms that they are dispensable, that their cultural differences are only superficial. Indeed the article asserts that while the two men are divided by the fence they are abstractly united 'by bloodlines' and by their habits (going to work, to school, shopping for their groceries). The text concludes, quoting one of the men, that the border is 'about as phoney as a three dollar bill'.

A similar myth, 'the great family of man'¹⁴⁹ analysed by R. Barthes, shows similar characteristics: 'Ce mythe fonctionne en deux temps: on affirme d'abord la différence des morphologies humaines, on surenchérit dans l'exotisme, on manifeste les infinies variations de l'espèce, la diversité des peaux, des crânes et des usages, on babelise à plaisir l'image du monde. Puis, de ce pluralisme, on tire magiquement une unité : l'homme naît, travaille, rit et meurt partout de la même façon [...]'. Unlike the Orientalist discourse which claims that different cultures are *essentially* different, the multiculturalist discourse asserts that they are essentially the same and that differences are superficial. The article triumphantly chases away the differences that alienate the American man from the Mexican man. A priori the multiculturalist discourse is equalitarian and non-racialist.

Two issues, the characteristics of this universal man and the differences effaced by the logical steps of the article, must be addressed. Similar to an article on Muslim American victims of discrimination 'New surge of anxiety for Muslims in America' analysed in the following section, the essential man is western: he goes to school and to work, and he shops for his groceries... C. Hamilton states in 'Multiculturalism as a political strategy' that 'for immigrants newly arrived in the U.S., the culture of their past had to prove useful in the struggle to adjust to urban life and factory work or be discarded'¹⁵⁰. In the article 'Two towns, close, but forced, apart', the Mexican man's most salient cultural feature, apart from his name, is his participation in the production and trade of Tequila. On the terms of the text, the

¹⁴⁹ BARTHES R., *op.cit.*, p.174.

¹⁵⁰ HAMILTON C., 'Multiculturalism as a political strategy', *Mapping Multiculturalism*, Edit.: AVERY G. and NEWFIELD C., London. University of Minnesota press, 1997, p. 168.

Mexican man's culture is represented, not by different traditions or values but by an exotic marketable product. Such discrimination and representation illustrate F. Fanon's notion of 'cultural racism' which discriminate against certain forms of existing rather than particular men or groups.

Certain parasitical details perturb the article's proclamation of the universal American man. The Mexican man tries to sell to the U.S. citizen but not the other way round. The Mexican families want to work and shop in the United States but not the other way round. The federal agents do not let the Mexican families enter the U.S. but the Mexican officials 'could not care less' if families attempt to enter Mexico. The conjuring away of differences laboriously conceals the inequalities that condition the existence of these two border towns. In spite of the article's efforts to construct their differences as being superficial, their relationship is conditioned by inequalities in terms of access to health, education, food and decent employment. Furthermore if Raúl López is significantly thinner than his counterpart on the photograph, it perhaps less because they are part of a stereotypical 'Laurel and Hardy' duo and more because the average revenue per capita of an American is six times that of a Mexican¹⁵¹ in an integrated economic sphere under the auspices of NAFTA.

The sentimentalism of the article protects its proclamation of universality from doubt and questioning. The fear of appearing ungrateful prevents us from declaring this universal man non-existent, not because human beings are essentially different, as an Orientalist discourse would claim, but because irreducible conditions, relations and injustices alienate them. Comparable to the Orientalist discourse which claimed that the specifics of the European man of the 18th and 19th century were 'natural' or 'essential', the multiculturalist discourse presents the characteristics and values of the economically-integrated Western man as 'natural' and unquestionable. The values attached to this central figure become the norm setting the limits and borders of the acceptable and the unacceptable.

¹⁵¹ World bank figures 2000.

The NYT supplement, for instance, addresses the notion of the community in two articles ‘Girl bride stirs outcry over polygamy in Utah’¹⁵² and ‘Immigrant taxi drivers pause for a taste of home’¹⁵³. The aim here is not to pass judgement on polygamy and underage weddings, but to examine these articles to see which values are attached to the notion of community. Two communities, the New York immigrant taxi community, which gathers at night in a local deli, and the Utah Mormon community, receive very different treatments. The terms used to describe the taxi community are appreciative: ‘pulsing’, ‘chattering’, ‘free-flowing’, ‘all-night party’, ‘taste of home’, ‘mother figure’. The Mormon community, on the other hand, are said to ‘shun the outside world and live by traditions their ancestors brought west in the mid-1800’s’. According to these articles, an economically integrated community is preferred to a non-integrated one. Indeed the immigrant taxi community congregates due to their employment as night taxi drivers in the New York business centre. The self-sufficiency of the Mormon community on the other hand is pejoratively termed as shunning the outside world. Nevertheless the hypothesis that the NYT rejects non-integrated communities is difficult to verify. For if it is the case, the NYT would only cover non-integrated communities involved in negative events and disregard other constructive communities. Thus the analysis of the published articles will never be able to separate the moral condemnation of the reported wrongdoings from the criticism of the economic status of the community. In the case of the Mormon community, the NYT exposes the underage marriages and polygamy that involve members of the self-reliant community.

Similarly, the NYT publishes many articles, three over a two month period, about the political situation in North Korea, another negative example of a community, here a nation, which is not incorporated in the capitalist system. In ‘Experiments in a free market are little

¹⁵² JANOFSKY M., ‘Girl bride stir outcry in Utah’, the NYT supplement, 8 March 2003.

¹⁵³ ZOEPF K., ‘Immigrant taxi drivers pause for a taste of home’, the NYT supplement, 1 March 2003.

help to North Korea'¹⁵⁴, the autonomous economic policy sought by the dictatorial rule is said to 'alienate almost all its aid donors, and the money from overseas, which plays a crucial role in the economy has dried up'. The criticism of the refusal of Kim Jong II to integrate the capitalist system, and the denunciation of living conditions in North Korea operate simultaneously. Repeated coverage of negative non-integrated communities ultimately strongly associates moral qualities with economic choices in order to propagate the liberalist free market system.

According to F. Fanon's notion of 'cultural racism', Mrs. Kahatun's traditional 'yellow curry with vegetables' is viewed favourably in 'Immigrant taxi drivers pause for a taste of home' because it is a marketable produce which fits into the commercial system. The traditions brought by the Mormon ancestors, on the other hand, do not help them adapt to the commercial system and are viewed unfavourably. The first article begins 'by day, the 29th street Deli is as generic as they come, a tiny convenience store [...]' and sets the focus point of the text: the convenience store. The sentimental narrative places the workplace at the centre of work and personal relations. Fanon studies in 'Culture and racism'¹⁵⁵ how the new American industrial society gradually placed work as the central focus of political, economical and cultural concerns. Businesses gradually incorporated cultural traditions such as festivals and parades and focused them around achievement. Similar to the strategies of the Oriental discourse, the positioning of production as the centre or support which hosts culture leads to the superficial effacement of workplace.

¹⁵⁴ BROOKE J., 'Experiments in a free market are little help to North Korea', the NYT supplement, 22 march 2003.

¹⁵⁵ AVERY G. and NEWFIELD C., *Mapping Multiculturalism*, London. University of Minnesota press, 1997, p. 169.

3. The War

a. The Invasion of Iraq

According to the editorial in *Le Monde* presenting *The New York Times* supplement, the American Press should not be assimilated with the White House. The media is not a propaganda tool for the U.S. government. Indeed the NYT does cover dissent and anti-war demonstrations and formulates a particular type of criticism against White House policies. Over two months (March/April 2004), the NYT supplement ran a dozen articles on the White House or other U.S. institutions. The articles can be divided into two categories: those which consider particular individuals such as President Bush or Mr. Rumsfeld and others which deal with state or U.S. policies in general. The most critical articles were ‘Bush talks of peace and democracy in the Mideast’¹⁵⁶ and ‘U.N. votes complicate planning for war’¹⁵⁷.

On analysis, the criticism is essentially directed at President Bush and concentrates on his style or personality. Indeed the supplement’s most critical article, ‘Bush talks of peace and democracy in the Mideast’, the author evaluates Bush’s interaction with his critics: Bush does not ‘engage the logic of his critics’ on his refusal to give more time to the arms inspections. President Bush ‘provided little in the way of detail’ and his goals are described ‘lofty’ given the fissure with European allies. Furthermore the article quotes an Arab ‘expert’ who asserts that ‘anything coming from President Bush is taken in the Middle East as camouflage or diversion because the President has a credibility problem’. Similarly in ‘U.N. vote complicate Iraq Plan’, the author denounces Bush’s double-talk, pointing out that Bush stated, on the one hand, that he desired U.N. support and, on the other, that his administration didn’t really ‘need anybody’s permission’. The bulk of the criticism that appears in the NYT supplement is therefore directed at President Bush, criticizing his manner, his approach of the press and of

¹⁵⁶ TYLER E., ‘Bush talks of peace and democracy in the Mideast’, the NYT supplement, 1 March 2003

¹⁵⁷ PURDUM T., ‘U.N. votes complicate planning for war’, the NYT supplement, 15 March 2003

international institutions. Fundamentally, the NYT does not criticize the foreign policy, but the way the White House carries out its foreign policy. For instance, in 'Bush talks of peace and democracy in the Mideast', the author criticizes the White House for not extending the deadline for Iraqi compliance with the arms inspection, but does not analyse why there should be a deadline. Likewise in 'U.N. votes complicate Iraq', the author asserts that President Bush should try and seek support from the U.N. Security Council but does analyse the reasons why they do not support him. The criticism is superficial and uses personalization, reducing the government policies to Bush's antics to avoid considering the issues or interests at stake in the Iraqi war.

In 'Language in the News', R. Fowler considers the use of personalization, its frequency and function in the media. According to him, figureheads such as 'Princess Diana' can almost be said to be 'semiotically produced'. 'Princess Diana' functions as a group of signs produced by the press and which are derived, though fundamentally removed, from the actual Princess Diana. Personalization, according to Fowler, promotes 'straightforward feelings of identification, empathy or disapproval; [and are] to effect a metonymic simplification of complex historical and institutional processes'¹⁵⁸. Similarly President Bush is attributed certain moral qualities and a particular character: he is rash, inconsiderate and terse. Occupying an important place in the NYT supplement's analysis of the Iraqi situation, displays of these characteristics are a technique of simplification for dealing with the diplomatic issues at stake. Indeed, in 'U.N. votes complicate planning for war', President Bush clashes with the U.N. Security Council, 'that unruly parliament of nations'. Ignoring the fact that the Security Council is not a 'parliament' but a select group of U.N. members, the author simplifies the diplomatic relations within the U.N. portraying them as a sort of classroom or parliament of fowls. Diplomatic stalemate is presented as a clash of personalities

¹⁵⁸ FOWLER R., *op.cit.*, p. 15.

or refusal to 'get along'. The produced 'President Bush' becomes a malleable superficial interface between the readers of the press and the diplomatic processes.

Counterbalancing the persona of President Bush, the articles in the NYT supplement present the secretary of defence Mr. Rumsfeld as his alter-ego. Two articles about Mr. Rumsfeld's personality 'Triumph in Iraq enhances Rumsfeld's power in Washington' and 'U.S. assesses the risks of conflict'¹⁵⁹ present him as 'workmanlike', 'assertive', 'on deck when the action is happening' and as having ascendance over the President. Whereas George Bush is rash and inconsiderate, Mr. Rumsfeld is said to be level-headed and studied in the articles on the risks of conflict in Iraq.

In contrast with the above articles, the NYT supplement ran a series of broader articles on the U.S. military policy in the Middle-East and especially in Iraq such as 'Success brings vindications to American foreign policy', 'U.S. security interests widened since 9/11' or 'Generals and politicians shape Iraq battlefield'. Although these articles do doubt or question certain aspects of the military deployment in the Middle East, the overall tone is that of approval. In 'Success in Iraq brings vindication to American military policy', the author states that U.S. military intervention has more often than not succeeded as 'in Grenada (1983), Panama (1989) and Kuwait (1991)'. Furthermore the text asserts that victory in Iraq 'would no doubt diminish the chances of another terrorist attack like those of September 11, 2001'.

More worryingly, the author of 'Generals and Politicians shape Iraq battlefield' develops the idea that the bombing and military deployment was tempered because of the opposition to the war. He implies that the politics 'interfered' with the military plans: 'Advisers to any modern president waging a war are likely to say that it is a mistake to let the politics interfere'. In other words, democratic debate about war is here presented as an unfounded disturbance. According to the article, the Iraqi strategy on the other hand was 'dictated by politics': 'Instead of destroying their own country and torching oil fields to slow

¹⁵⁹ SANGER D. and SHANKER T., 'U.S. assesses the risks of conflict', *The NYT supplement*, 1 march 2003.

down the coalition forces advance, they left them largely intact in an effort to convince the world that they were innocent victims'. Politics are here presented as essentially deceitful and unworthy of trust. The Iraqi refusal (or incapability) to fight is a strategy to appear to be pacifist non-fighters. Absurdly the text constructs the Iraqi military and strategic moderation as part of extremist strategy.

b. Discriminating against Victims

In *Manufacturing Consent*¹⁶⁰, N. Chomsky and E. Herman elaborated the notion of worthy and unworthy victims. They argued that the victims of repressive, allied governments receive qualitatively and quantitatively less coverage than those who are killed by non-allies or enemy states. Similarly the NYT deeply discriminates between victims during the invasion of Iraq. In this case, the discrimination is ambivalent and not always turned against the same group. In two articles appearing in the same supplement, 'New surge of anxiety for Muslims in America'¹⁶¹ and 'On drive north, sharpshooters take a shot or a chance'¹⁶² the NYT narrates the plight of Muslim victims (see appendix 5).

In the first article, the author describes how American Muslims are increasingly ill-at-ease and apprehensive after the 9/11 attacks. Many have been victim of discrimination and violence. The article sides strongly with the victims and against the perpetrators of the discrimination. The aggressors are anonymous: 'explosives were tossed into the yard of an Iraqi-American family', 'a van [...] exploded', 'windows at a Mosque were shattered' and 'a local disk jockey'. Only one aggressor is named 'a local man, Eric Nix, 24' but very little details are given concerning him. The victims, on the other hand, are amply described in terms of their profession, their families, their activities and leisure. For instance, Hassan

¹⁶⁰ CHOMSKY N. and HERMAN E., *Manufacturing Consent the Political Economy of the Mass Media*, Vintage, 1994.

¹⁶¹ JANOFSKY M., 'New surge of anxiety for Muslims in America', *The New York Times supplement*, 5 April 2003.

¹⁶² FILKINS D., 'On drive north, sharpshooters take a shot or a chance', *The New York Times supplement*, 5 April 2003.

Elsaad is ‘an engineer of Lebanese descent’ who takes his family to the park and ‘Aneesah Nadir’ is ‘an American-born teacher’ who has to call an escort on her way back from the office. The professions mentioned are generally high-revenue and socially respected: civil engineer, software consultant, physician, teacher. Furthermore the activities described are compatible with the occidental way of life: going to the park at the week-end, driving the car, working, going to the disco. In other words, whereas these victims are originally from Iraq or Lebanon, they champion American values and do not try, on the terms of the text, to defend an independent identity: their culture is reduced to inoffensive accessories such as the music they listen to on their way to work.

The second article narrates the difficulties encountered by American soldiers in urban warfare and the killing of Iraqi civilians used as human shields by enemy soldiers. The victims are not described in terms of their profession, their family or their normal activities, but as ‘civilians’ (4 times), ‘women and/or children’ (3 times), ‘a lot of people’ (once), ‘the losses’ (once) or ‘the chick’ (once, quoting a sergeant). Such terms give the least possible detail about the victims and lend themselves easily to quantification and trivialisation: the ‘losses’ can be rationally measured against ‘the risks’ taken. The aim of such a terminology reduces the humanity of the victims, masking its intolerability and allows the article to support the argument that while civilian deaths are not right, they are a necessary sacrifice.

The very different treatment of Arab or Muslim victims of violence and discrimination show that the importance or worthiness of a victim does not vary according to their origin or race but according to their function within the narrative developed within the NYT supplement.

c. Covering Dissent

The treatment of dissent and the anti-war movement is furthermore revealing in *The New York Times* supplement. Chomsky¹⁶³ argues that the model whereby the media is a instrument of propaganda is ‘effectively excluded from discussion, for it questions a factual assumption that is most serviceable to the interests of established power, namely, that the media are adversarial and cantankerous, perhaps excessively so’. A manifest aim of established media is therefore to foster the idea that it represents a dissenting voice or that it gives fair coverage of dissenting actors. The NYT supplement ran four articles on the anti-war movement from March to April 2003.¹⁶⁴ The treatment of dissent, a recurrent subject in the supplement, is nevertheless strongly distorted.

Citizen dissent is not portrayed as the disagreement between civilians and the institutions of the state but as a disagreement between two factions of society requiring the intervention of the state. The use of this myth-making technique is analysed by Roland Barthes as the ‘Neither...Nor...’ figure of speech which consists of positing two contraries and of balancing them in order to reject both of them (see following section). ‘Reality’ is thus reduced to analogues of equal weight in order to evade choosing between them. In the supplement, this technique suggests impartiality but is in fact a particularly warped logic that truncates the fundamental issue of the antiwar movement. In articles such as ‘Divided over war with room to agree’¹⁶⁵, the antiwar demonstrations are presented as the confrontation of the antiwar and the pro-war partisans (see appendix 5 for article). No reference is made to police or state conflict with the demonstrators. The reported violence occurs only between individuals of opposing civilian sides. Two photos above the article depict two men arguing and the intervention of the police. The content of these photos and of the article leads one to believe that police intervention was caused by violence or a breach of order. This might

¹⁶³ Noam Chomsky, *Necessary illusions, Thought control in Democratic Societies*, Pluto press, p. 11.

¹⁶⁴ List: ‘Dissent complicates the casualties of war’, ‘Saying no to war with civility or a show of disobedience’, ‘Celebrities opposed to war feel backlash from fans’, ‘Arab lands test limits of protest’.

¹⁶⁵ EATON L., ‘Divided over war, with room to agree’, *The NYT supplement*, 5 April 2003.

indeed have happened but such a presentation falsifies the fundamental issue and the real opponents. Antiwar demonstrations oppose citizens and the state whose representatives in this article are the police. The presentation in *The New York Times* raises the state above and out of the war/antiwar equation. Whereas the antiwar demos were provoked by state military action in Iraq, state intervention is presented as being needed and provoked by events occurring in the war/antiwar street arena.

Similarly in 'Saying No to war, with civility or a show of disobedience'¹⁶⁶, the main subject is not the actual dissent and the essential issues it raises but the disagreement within the anti-war movements on the ways to express its opposition to the war. In the article some anti-war groups advocate civil disobedience whereas others prefer vigils, demonstrations and e-mail actions. The reduction is one of depth to surface: the fundamental disagreement of a significant part of the population is reduced to a disagreement of *form*. The article is concerned with the 'how' and not the 'why' of the anti-war. The article further questions the significance of the anti-war movement treating the civil disobedience as a performance in the title 'Saying no to war with civility or with a *show* of disobedience' and in the text '*showy* acts of civil disobedience'. This treatment dematerializes the protest and reduces it to a disposable image. This approach rejects the significance of the protest and reduces it to the appearance of disagreement, to a tantrum or attention-seeking performance.

B. Myth-making Techniques

1. The Neither/nor technique

In *Mythologies*¹⁶⁷, Roland Barthes elaborates the subtle strategy of the 'neither...nor'.

According to him, this strategy consists of positing two contraries, balancing one against the

¹⁶⁶ ZERNIKE K., 'Saying No to war, with civility or show of disobedience', *The NYT supplement*, 22 March

¹⁶⁷ BARTHES Roland, *op.cit.*

other in order to dismiss both of them as undesirable. He states that ‘on renvoie dos à dos ce qu’il était gênant de choisir ; on fuit le réel intolérable en le réduisant à deux contraires qui s’équilibrent dans la mesure où ils sont formels, allégés de leur poids spécifiques.’¹⁶⁸ In other words, Barthes posits a reality which is ‘intolerable’, a disgraceful reality, which represents a threat to the status quo and the received interpretations of events. The intolerable reality must therefore be processed or mythologized in order to disarm it. Reality is reduced to the opposition of two entities which confront and cancel each other out. All struggles are stripped of their value because they are constructed as being founded on the same terms as their opponents. The equal importance of these contraries though is only official; the opposition though may hide fundamental differences and inequalities.

The strategy of the ‘neither...nor’ figures prominently in the NYT supplement as it an efficient and useful method of treating conflict and especially conflicts in which there are vested interests of multinationals, the United States and other world powers. Besides this approach superficially resembles the objectivity that the media are eager to demonstrate. Without doubt though no journalist uses this figure deliberately, its application is most likely the result of repeated use. Yet it is not our aim here to analyse the psychology of the myth-maker or of the consciousness or unconsciousness of his activity.

In its treatment of pre-war Iraq, the use of the ‘neither...nor’ technique was a way to inflate the threat posed by Iraq and to diminish the belligerence of the Bush administration. The supplement of the 8th March 2003, a week or so from the beginning of the invasion, ran a headline stating ‘On Both Sides, Cool Talk of War’ above a large photo of an Iraqi division the ‘Iraqi martyr volunteers’. Below the larger photo figures a considerably smaller photo featuring the U.S. army soldiers training outside Kuwait city. Quite apart from the considerable differences in size, the photos are not taken from the same angle; the Iraqi

¹⁶⁸ BARTHES Roland, *op.cit.*, p. 241.

soldiers were photographed from below which exaggerates their height whereas the U.S. soldiers were taken at eye-level.

The title 'On both sides, cool talk of war' and the subheading 'U.S. and Iraq foresee the battle of Baghdad' imply that Iraq and the U.S. are both deliberately planning their confrontation. The two nations are balanced against one another, in Barthes' terminology, and are dismissed as being equally responsible for the events. Indeed the use of the term war rather than, for example, invasion or assault, implies parity between the two nations. This parity is entirely fictitious and 'official' given that the Iraqi war occurred solely on Iraqi soil and that any scientific measure of their 'weight' such as GNP¹⁶⁹ would show gaping differences. Furthermore, the two articles quote General William S. Wallace and President Saddam Hussein as examples of this 'cool talk of war'. The two opponents are therefore compared on the same terms which effectively eclipse the existence of civilians who are heavily implicated in the events and who doubtlessly do not entertain 'cool talk of war'. The photos, on the other hand, carry a very different significance. Fundamentally displaying the same event, marching soldiers, the different angles and sizes of the photo diminish the U.S. forces and emphasize the threat posed by the Iraqi military. This unsaid statement inflates the U.S. rival in an attempt to symbolically compensate for the deep inequalities between the U.S. and Iraqi armed forces.

Similarly the 'neither...nor' figure is frequently used in the supplement when treating the complexities of long-term conflicts such as African political unrest. In two articles concerning Nigeria, 'Nigerian tribal dispute scares away oil giants and disrupts flow'¹⁷⁰ and 'Piety and politics leave Nigerian city torn apart'¹⁷¹ the dismal state of the country is caused by two factions locked in an eternal conflict. The oil multinationals are rarely presented as

¹⁶⁹ Figures such as the GNP of Iraq are not available according to World Bank sources 2001.

¹⁷⁰ SENGPUTA Somini, 'Nigerian tribal dispute scares away oil giants and disrupts flow', *The NYT supplement*, 5 April 2003.

¹⁷¹ SENGPUTA S., 'Piety and Politics leave a Nigerian city torn apart by riots' find date

being a significant player in the history of Nigeria. In the first article, though the author mentions that the vast wealth being drained from the country is a source of resentment, the brunt of the conflict is caused by the Ijaw and the Itsekiri 'locked in a violent struggle over who should control the local government and the millions of dollars in patronage and returned oil profits that accrue from such a dominion'. The conflict is therefore dismissed as one which involves two identical factions which refuse to be reconciled. This conclusion reasserts the validity of the status quo and the futility of any type of intervention. The second article presents the Nigerian Christians and Muslims locked into a similar conflict. The author narrates the story of a Muslim attacked by Christians and a second one about a Christian attacked by Muslim. The two religions are balanced one against and shown to share equal responsibility in the conflict, finally they are judged and dismissed. We do not however here advocate that the author should have differentiated between the two religions and have made one responsible. We here criticize the reduction of the Nigerian conflict to an abstract religious opposition caused by tragic misunderstanding¹⁷². The reduction of violence to a measured opposition reasserts the status quo and again sets aside the possibility of a useful intervention.

The 'neither...nor' is a strategy or mechanism which integrates difficult conflicts into the mythology of the dominant ideology. The media thereby sidesteps the responsibility of certain corporate actors in different parts of the world and provides an apology for global corporate capitalism.

2. Sources, fear and authority

¹⁷² Indeed the author insists heavily on the misunderstanding between the religious groups who call god by different names.

According to E. Herman and N. Chomsky in *Manufacturing Consent*, the mass-media are highly reliant on official news sources such as the state department, the Pentagon and the White House. This relationship of dependence is determined by ‘economic necessity and reciprocity of interest’¹⁷³. The big news corporations ‘concentrate their resources where significant news often occurs’ and cut down on investigation expenditure and time. Furthermore the news industries need a constant ‘flow of news’ which the larger state institutions are eager to give. Structurally the larger institutions have the resources and the organisation to cater for the media’s needs. The NYT, like all mass media, is therefore heavily bound to state institutions, think tanks and business or trade corporation for their information.

The synergy between the mass media and state institutions not only determines the nature of the information that will be diffused but also the type of discourse that the mass media will hold. More than information, the mass media will encode the values of a particular social class because they are present in the particular institutions such as the state bureaucracy, large multinationals, which have a high access to information networks. Fowler comments on the inequality of access between social categories stating that ‘the political effect of this division hardly needs stating: an imbalance between representation of the already privileged, on the one hand, and the already underprivileged, on the other, with the views of the official, the powerful and the rich being constantly invoked to legitimate the status quo’¹⁷⁴. The differential access to the media has a direct consequence on the ideological content of the media. Furthermore Fowler insists on the linguistic consequence of the differential access to the media: the media reproduces the ideological discourse of the privileged and of the authoritative institutions. He states ‘written articles [...] are tinged with an official ideology, because they are written in the formal, authoritative style with assessed figures such as politicians habitually use’. The discourse used by the media therefore because

¹⁷³ HERMAN E. and CHOMSKY N., *op.cit.*, p.18.

¹⁷⁴ FOWLER R., *op.cit.*, p.22.

of its strong links to a particular social class reproduces a discourse which legitimises a social structure based on inequality.

Similarly the NYT Times supplement reproduces the discourse of the military which aims at depersonalising the civilians killed during the invasion of Iraq as shown by the differential treatment of victims (see preceding section). Unlike the wealthier, privileged victims of discrimination in The US, the impoverished Iraqi victims have a sporadic or inexistent access to the media.

In *La Parole Manipulée*, P. Breton analyses the ‘argument of authority’¹⁷⁵ which is founded on the legitimate confidence inspired by an authority whereby the use of an authoritative statement replaces argumentation. In ‘U.N. vote complicates planning for war’¹⁷⁶, the author quotes ‘Robert D. Kaplan, a foreign policy expert and author who has twice briefed President Bush’. The legitimacy and authority of Mr. Kaplan is established by his social function ‘foreign policy expert’ and emphasized by his intellectual authority over the President. According to the article he argues that ‘the United States should promote democratic change where it can, but not so irresponsibly in places where it might unleash undemocratic forces’. The authority of Mr Kaplan is here used to support the view that whereas democracy should theoretically be encouraged everywhere, in practice other considerations prevail.

The synergy between the media and state institutions heavily restrict the range of opinion and sources available to the press. Furthermore, more than the nature of the information diffused, the media reproduce the discourse of these institutions, introducing an ideological bent which is more surreptitious.

3. Conjuring history

¹⁷⁵ BRETON P., *op.cit.*, p. 87-9.

¹⁷⁶ PURDUM T. ‘U.N. votes complicate planning for war’, *The New York Times supplement*, 8 March 2003.

The necessity to ‘conjure away’ history comes first and foremost in the treatment of events which might question the goodwill of the developed nations’ foreign policy, of our international institutions and of our transnational firms. The conjuring of history legitimates a global economy and complements the figure of the ‘neither...nor’ which is not effective without significantly simplifying events and the main players.

Indeed in the articles concerning Nigerian politics, the authors present tribal or religious dissension as the main cause of the dire state of Nigeria and conceal the occidental colonial past and the state of dependence maintained by international institutions and by transnational firms. The author of ‘Piety and Politics leave a Nigerian town torn apart by riots’ implies that the situation in Kaduna is determined by a type of tragic fate more than by events or socio-economic realities. Indeed the author presents an indeterminate ideal past: ‘once a lively urban mélange of faiths and tribes...’ and later ‘once people of all tribes and faiths flocked to the textile mills of Kaduna’. These references to the past are saturated with fairy-tale or biblical connotations such as the fall of Adam and Eve or the tower of Babel. The idea is that men once lived in happy harmony when an event or faux pas damned them from the ideal state. The function of applying such patterns to African politics absolves all real actors, maintains readers in a state of ignorance, and excludes the possibility of any change. In other words the forces of fate are presented as being too strong and any human effort, especially actions which might question the interest of western states, would be futile. Thus this article defends the present evolutions of globalisation.

The NYT treatment of Latin American politics also excludes all references to the past and especially references to the economic relations between the U.S. and Latin America. In a series of articles ‘With a little bit of cash poor women begin to overcome’¹⁷⁷, ‘Two towns,

¹⁷⁷ WEINER Tim, ‘With a little bit of cash poor women begin to overcome’, *The New York Times* supplement, 29 March 2003.

close but forced apart'¹⁷⁸, and 'Iraq war provokes Ire in Latin America'¹⁷⁹, *The New York Times* addresses the economic situation in Latin America.

The first article operates according to the same pattern as the articles on African politics, the past is presented as a vague, static 'once upon a time' which is radically altered by an event. In this case though, the pattern is reversed, the past is very far from ideal and the event brings about a happy change. The ideological significance is nevertheless the same and justifies corporate capitalism and globalisation. Originally, the main actress of the narrative, a Mexican woman was amongst 'the poorest of the poor' like 'half of the world's population'. The reasons why such a high percentage of the world's population is so underprivileged are not addressed. The turn of phrase used by the text is the statement: people are poor; they do not become poor. Poverty in other words has no causes; it is something which like natural catastrophes or illnesses simply occurs.

The event that caused the poor woman's change of fate was the arrival of a small loans organisation called Finca. Our aim here is not to determine whether micro-financing projects help Mexican women out of poverty but what function the organisation serves in the narrative developed by the NYT. The article implies that the arrival of the small loans company is the poor woman's first encounter with the capitalist system. With Finca, she enters into the virtuous circle of profit-making as illustrated by the complementary diagram. The fact that the Mexican woman and more generally the Mexican nation were already well-integrated into the globalised capitalist system and into the less virtuous profit-making system is thoroughly concealed. The virtuous loans organisation furthermore serves as an implicit justification of the loans system in which developing countries are locked, spending enormous amounts of money servicing their debt.

¹⁷⁸ LEDUFF Charlie, 'Tow towns, close, but forced apart', *The New York Times supplement*, 1 March 2003.

¹⁷⁹ ROHTER Larry, 'Iraq war provokes Ire in Latin America', *The New York Times supplement*, 27 April 2003.

The other two articles about Latin America further sidestep the issue of the economic devastation of the region. In 'Iraq war provokes in Latin America', the author explains and qualifies the anti-war fervour and the mounting anti-American resentment. He states 'the Unites States is also paying for what is seen here as the indifference to an economic crisis that swept this region a few years after its leaders took American advice to open their markets and embrace globalization.' The potential criticism is defused by the use of a very figurative language: 'swept', 'open' and 'embrace'. The use of the term 'swept' naturalises an essentially human activity, the economy. Similar to the use of the theory that the economy is 'cyclical' like the seasons, the aim here is to construct the present state of the economy as inevitable.

Barthes analyses a similar approach in his essay 'the great family of man' where he analyses an exhibition's attempt to override the differences of human conditions around the world by positing a universal human nature. He states that 'ce mythe de la 'condition' humaine repose sur une très vieille mystification, qui consiste toujours à placer la Nature au fond de l'Histoire'. History and nature relate like surface and depth: the human condition, its diversity and inequalities, are construed as being an insignificant superficial pattern which conceals Man's universal characteristics. The task of progressive historian is to invert the terms of this very old imposture and to 'strip nature, its 'laws' and 'limits' in order to discover history and posit nature itself as historical'¹⁸⁰. In the NYT supplement certain subjects such as African or Latin American politics are construed as being due to natural, inexorable causes such as human nature, economic laws, etc. This approach avoids having to lay responsibility on world deciders and dispels both choice and the freedom to change future events.

4. Engaged Vocabulary

¹⁸⁰ trans.: 'décaper sans cesse la nature, ses 'lois' et ses 'limites' pour y découvrir l'Histoire et poser enfin la Nature comme elle-même comme historique'

Considering the contemporary notion that the media strives to be impartial, the vocabulary used in the NYT is to a certain extent engaged and biased. Metaphors and trap-words, a category of manipulative techniques elaborated by A. Freund¹⁸¹ in *Journalism et Mésinformation*, are certain ways of investing words with ideological significance. In the supplement of the NYT, the metaphor functions as a way of adding or retrenching meaning. By using figurative language, the object, concept or event referred to is twice removed from the word used in the text. The associative link between the object and the term is thereby weakened and the metaphor may have a euphemistic function. In the supplement of the NYT, the euphemistic function of the metaphor is often used to diminish the belligerence of the armies of the U.S. and its allies during the period of the invasion of Iraq.

An example of this approach is an article about the British army reinforcing security in Basra titled 'British turn to calming unruly streets of Basra'¹⁸². The use of the metaphorical term 'calming' suggests that the British army are pacifying the situation, that they are bringing peace where there was fighting or agitation. This assertion reiterates the notion propagated by occidental governments that their military forces bring peace and democracy. The article explains nevertheless that the British army took military control of the city and that during the 'allied bombing' all the governmental buildings were destroyed, including the police station, and the hospital was left without electricity. The violence and disruption are therefore a direct consequence of the bombing and military capture of Basra. The British therefore applied themselves to repressing the resulting looting by 'stopping people and confiscating stolen goods'. Whether the British army rightly or wrongly stopped people and confiscated goods is not at stake. The title constructs the repression as an act of tranquilisation

¹⁸¹ FREUND Andreas, *Journalism et Mésinformation*, La pensée sauvage, Paris, 1991.

¹⁸² SANTORA M., 'British turn to calming the streets of Basra', *The New York Times supplement*, 12 April 2003

and lessens the responsibility of the British in the conflict. R. Barthes describes such language as a code in which ‘words have no or little relationship to their content’¹⁸³

Similarly the NYT supplement employs many terms which euphemise the military implantation of the United States in the middle-east such as ‘swath of western influence’, ‘U.S. security interest’, ‘military footprint’ and ‘expanded American presence’¹⁸⁴. In Barthes’ words, such terminology could be described as a cosmetic whose function is to cover events or facts, here the military expansionism, by the ‘noise’ of words. ‘Presence’, ‘interest’, ‘influence’ are all abstract terms whose link to the actual troops and military bases deployed in the Middle East is thin.

The metaphor can complement attempts to conjure away history and construct historically determined conflicts as inevitable. In ‘Two towns, close, but forced apart’¹⁸⁵ and in ‘Piety and politics leave a Nigerian city torn apart by riots’¹⁸⁶, the authors consider the tensions and conflicts produced by national or religious divisions. In both articles, the two divided groups are constructed as having been symbiotic. In ‘two towns, close, but forced apart’, two towns on the Mexican border, Jacumba and Jacume, ‘co-existed in the sun and the sand of the high desert, tied together in their isolation by bloodlines’. Similarly, in the article on Nigeria, the city of Kaduna used to be a ‘lively urban mélange’ and is now partitioned by the river ‘cutting a line through its heart’. The use of terms of human life such as ‘bloodlines’, ‘lively’, ‘heart’ associated with terms of rupture such as ‘torn apart’, ‘forced apart’ and ‘cutting’ presents the conflicts as caused by a tragic accident. The compassionate terminology avoids and discourages the analysis of the causes which created these conflicts. We are ultimately encouraged to sympathize strongly with the sufferers conveniently blending compassion with a sense of powerlessness.

¹⁸³ BARTHES R., *op.cit.*, p. 137. trans : ‘les mots ont un rapport nul ou contraire à leur contenu.’

¹⁸⁴ SHANKER T. and SCHMIT E., ‘U.S. security interest widened since 9/11’, *The New York Times supplement*, 26 April 2003.

¹⁸⁵ LEDUFF C., ‘Two towns, close, but forced apart’, *The New York Times supplement*, 1 March 2003.

¹⁸⁶ SENGPUTA, ‘Piety and politics leave a Nigerian city torn apart by riots’, *The New York Times supplement*, 1 March 2003.

Similar to the metaphor, which adds or deducts meaning, weakening the link between words and the events they describe, a particular type of appreciative or depreciative names or labels is repeatedly applied to certain actors. For example, a group of fighters labelled the ‘mob’ or the ‘rebels’ is not granted the same moral qualities as a similar group of fighters called the ‘freedom fighters’. Such an approach introduces an ideological bent which is only visible on analysis. The notion of appreciative and depreciative trap-words was developed by A. Freund in *Journalism et Mésinformation* and by P. Breton in *La parole Manipulée*¹⁸⁷. Ideological trap-words are associated with moral qualities or judgements and applied to different groups with the idea of emulating or stigmatising them. These words are therefore dissociated from their referents. For instance, the NYT supplement repeatedly refers to ‘the coalition’ when referring to the occupying force mainly composed of the U.S. and British armies. The ‘coalition’ implies that several parties have joined together in a military undertaking whereas the coalition entering Iraq was led by the U.S.. A. Freud analyses the use of the word ‘moderate’, which implies tolerance, virtue and moderation when referring to pro-western dictatorships. Similarly the NYT times refers to ‘liberal-minded dictators’ such as Pervez Musharraf in Pakistan which are far more preferable and benevolent than ‘Stalinist dictators’. In the same article ‘U.N. vote complicates planning for war’¹⁸⁸, the author states that ““semi-authoritarian” [regimes] like Pakistan are now offering active cooperation in an American-led attack on Iraq’. The fact that Pakistan is increasingly pro-US and pro-western might justify the use of the term liberal-minded where others, less inclined to ally themselves with the U.S., are branded with the term ‘Stalinist’.

Furthermore critical terms such as ‘terrorists’, ‘mob’, ‘rogue states’, ‘Stalinist dictator’ are ambiguously employed in the NYT supplement. A. Freund mentions the use of the term ‘terrorist’ which far from being applied to authentic terrorists was repeatedly applied to

¹⁸⁷ BRETON P., *op.cit*, p. 109.

¹⁸⁸ PURDUM T., ‘U.N. vote complicates planning for war’, *The New York Times supplement*, 15 March 2003.

Sandinistas or ANC militants during the apartheid era. The indignation associated with ‘authentic’ terrorists is transferred to those who are unduly qualified as such. Similarly the NYT ambiguously quotes a ‘right-wing’ ‘Chilean military official’ on the reasons why Latin America does not support the war in Iraq¹⁸⁹. The official replies that Latin America does not support the U.S. because they did not help Latin America fight ‘internal terrorism’ in the 1970’s. Knowing that the Chilean government was at the time a repressive dictatorship, these ‘internal terrorists’ doubtlessly refers to 20,000 civilians killed between 1973 and 1985¹⁹⁰. The use of the term ‘terrorist’ here strips the victims of their rights and denies the legitimacy of their struggle. Ultimately the repeated use of such terminology means that we involuntarily discriminate between the different governments and political groups around the world.

Conclusion

The two-month study of the myths and the myth-making techniques of the NYT supplement reveal that any subject can lend itself to the encoding of corporate values. Art and culture are used to transfer the awe it inspires onto corporate elements such as property or investment and to legitimize a set social order. The discourse of the NYT alienates the reader from his own culture and constructs culture as being the property of the elite. In its treatment of multiculturalism, the mythopoetic discourse of the NYT posits the western economically-integrated man as the universal man and constructs different forms of existing as deviance. Furthermore the treatment of the 2nd Gulf war was the result of the compromise between the journalistic requirement of objectivity and the endorsement of the dominant ideology. Thus the NYT canalises and reframes criticism in order to legitimise state foreign policy. The mythopoetic discourse of the NYT substantiates the relations between human beings and between citizens and institutions such as the state. By positing a particular framework in which these operate, the NYT legitimizes the status quo.

¹⁸⁹ ROHTER L. ‘Iraq war provokes Ire in Latin America’, *The New York Times supplement*, 27 April 2003.

¹⁹⁰ FREUND Andreas, *op.cit.*, p.22.

General Conclusion

The central aim of this thesis was to find significant correlations between the discourse of *The New York Times* supplement and the communicative situation in which it was produced. We hope that we effectively worked towards integrating these two almost distinct areas of study. The partnerships between the NYT and the European newspapers are prototypical of a global media company's approach to a problematic and not easily accessible market. The NYT seeks to expand its readership base beyond the U.S. readership by becoming increasingly aggressive towards competitors such as *The Washington Post* and by establishing loose partnerships with newspapers in new markets. According to P. Albert, the fragmented, multilingual domain of the European written press is still one of the least integrated into the global media network¹⁹¹. Indeed by associating itself with leading newspapers, the NYT gains in prestige, becomes a familiar brand, fosters new reading habits and reaches great sections of the European 'influential and affluent' readership. The NYT's approach illustrates that European written press market may be moving towards a greater homogenisation. It is nevertheless too early to tell if an English-language approach to the European readership will be successful.

Given that the NYT's pan-European project is still in its infant stages, our analysis of the NYT's discursive strategies in Europe is limited. It would be interesting to analyse the supplement over a much longer period of time in order to be able to collect significant data about its evolution. Furthermore, we were only able to examine *The New York Times* pilot project with *Le Monde* and did not analyse the partnerships individually to see if the NYT approached each national readership differently. A diachronic and comparative study of several supplements would yield significant insights into the NYT's global strategies.

¹⁹¹ ALBERT P., *op.cit.*, p.123

The analysis of the NYT's media strategies within *Le Monde* reveals that the NYT does not try to defeat cultural resistance to more homogenised news content but seeks to skirt it or to erode it by becoming, to a certain extent, part of the national European newspapers. Though information about the contractual terms of the 'Euroreach' partnerships are not readily available and sparse, there is not doubt that their relationship functions as a type of 'cultural franchise': the participating newspapers have the right to diffuse material under *The New York Times* brand and fund it through locally-targeted advertising. Nevertheless, the material published by *Le Monde*, for instance, was re-edited and may be seen as the result of negotiations between ideology of *The New York Times* and its host culture. The editorial changes also illustrate what the NYT thinks European readers will be receptive to. This demonstrates that institutions of corporate capitalism are adaptable to new environments and seek to integrate the values of their surroundings which might be useful to their expansion. Thus the NYT supplement privileged material which challenged established authority, and edited out material which implied too strongly that they backed a U.S. hegemony.

These edited co-productions of the NYT follow a trend towards a decrease in cultural differentiation. In the creation of an integrated European or world-wide readership, these globally oriented newspapers will increasingly offer more uniform and mediocre news contents and risk losing their cultural specificity. The restriction of journalistic freedom seems to be a direct result of this trend as shown by recent evolutions at the *International Herald Tribune* which has become the de facto global representative of *The New York Times* (as shown in section II, A, 2).

As an institution of global corporate capitalism, the discourse of *The New York Times* should encode the values of corporate capitalism as established by R. Fowler. The NYT articles about art and culture operated as cultural sanctifications of the fundamentals of corporate capitalism such as property, the respect of contractual relations, etc. They legitimise and make morally acceptable a social structure in which the distribution of wealth and power

is unequal. Nevertheless, the NYT does not function as an unequivocal propaganda tool; the notoriety of the NYT, its role as a 'reference' newspaper and the requirement of journalistic objectivity condition the ways in which social values are encoded. The NYT, for instance, covered state opposition to the state by directing criticism against certain personalities but approving or condoning the general policies of the state.

The New York Times is a cultural industry and functions as an interface between its readership and the proceedings of state institutions or world events. The encoding of corporate values is all the more significant because the material produced by the NYT provides citizens with an understanding of the world they live in. Furthermore Edward Said stated that 'such texts can create not only the knowledge but also the very reality they appear to describe'¹⁹². Here E. Said establishes a causal relation between the Orientalist discourse and the colonial expansion of the 18th and 19th. The Orientalist discourse provided the ideological support necessary for imperial expansionism. E. Said effectively questions the impartiality of universities, state institutions, etc, who produced the Orientalist discourse and reasserts their responsibility in the colonial undertakings of their time. Similarly, E. Herman and R. McChesney maintain that mass media institutions provided the 'political and moral' basis for the expansion of transnational corporations.

Likewise, in its treatment of multiculturalism and victims of discrimination, the NYT supplement maintains and establishes the normative worthwhile human being as the economically integrated western human citizen. The growing media institutions therefore share a significant responsibility in the global expansionism of corporations. As the NYT admits over a year after the invasion of Iraq, its coverage of the 2nd Gulf war was less than fair. The NYT effectively channelled and reframed criticism of the war and participated in the efforts to build public support for the war.

¹⁹² SAID E., *op.cit.*, p296.

Though *The New York Times'* pan-European project may turn out to be short-lived and premature, it nevertheless illustrates the fact that the European press is moving towards greater integration. Both an aggravated blending of advertisement and information, and a greater uniformity result from these attempts to establish a global readership and platform for advertisers. Consequently, the spread of corporate mythopoetic discourse occurs at the expense of journalistic freedom and inevitably leads to the cultural impoverishment of its host environments.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. Primary sources

BECKER E., 'The American portrayal of a war of liberation is faltering across the Arab world', *The New York Times*, 5 April 2003.

BECKER E., 'Propaganda effort by the Bush Team faces difficulties', *The New York Times supplement*, 6 April 2003.

BECKER E., 'Bush plan favors U.S. firms for Iraqi rebuilding efforts', *The NYT supplement*, 22 March 2003.

BELOT L., 'Boycottez leurs fromages gluants', *Le Monde*, 29 March 2003.

BELOT L. and GALINIER P., 'Les français et les russes veulent préserver leurs acquis en Irak', *Le Monde*, 13 February 2003.

BERNSTEIN R., 'Europe seems to hear echoes of empires past', *the NYT supplement*, 19 April 2003.

BERNSTEIN R., 'Revisiting war's agony ends German taboo', *The NYT supplement*, 22 March 2003.

BROOKE J., 'Experiments in a free market are little help to North Korea', *the NYT supplement*, 22 march 2003.

CARR D., 'One Cosmopolitan, many translations', *The New York Times*, 2 June 2002.

CHIRA S., 'Invasion is easy. Occupation is hard', *The New York Times*, 13 April 2003

CHIRA S., 'The complexities of occupations', *The NYT supplement*, 19 April 2003

COTTER H., 'A prime center of Islamic art and culture may be in harm's way', *The New York Times*, 25 February 2003.

COWELL A., 'France holds out a tentative olive branch, with thorns, to the U.S', *The New York Times*, 28 March 2003.

COWELL A., 'Turks hope for business with Iraqis', *the NYT supplement*, 27 April 2003.

DAY S., 'After years at the top, MacDonald's strives to regain ground', *The New York Times*, 3 March 2003.

DAY S., 'MacDonald's domination shows signs of waning', *The New York Times supplement*, 8 March 2003.

FILKINS D., 'On drive north, sharpshooters take a shot or a chance', *The New York Times supplement*, 8 March 2003.

FISHER I., 'Iraqi family dreads telling father 3 daughters were killed', *The New York Times supplement*, 19 April 2003.

FISHER I., 'Family dreads telling father 3 daughters are dead', *The New York Times*, 14 April 2003.

GOLDEN T., 'For Russian art collector, a murky trail to end of dreams', *The NYT supplement*, 12 April, 2003.

GORDON M., 'U.S. and Iraq foresee battle of Baghdad', *The New York Times supplement*, 9 March 2003.

HAKIM D., 'Hybrid autos are moving beyond the novelty stage', *The New York Times supplement*, 9 February 2003.

HARMON Amy, 'Skip-the-ads upsets programming executives', *The New York Times supplement*, 2 June 2002.

'In one form many functions', *The New York Times supplement*, 5 May 2002.

JANOFSKY M., 'New surge of anxiety for Muslims in America', *The NYT supplement*, 5 April 2003.

JEHL D. and SANGER D., 'Complexity of Iraqi politics hits U.S.', *The New York Times supplement*, 27 April 2003.

KIMMELMAN M., 'Exhibit shows that the masters of French masters were Spanish', *The New York Times supplement*, March 29 2003.

KIRKPATRICK David D, 'IHT begins new era with The New York Times', *The New York Times* 2 January, 2003.

KRAUSS N., 'With PDAs, a sommelier in your pocket', *The New York Times supplement*, 14 July 2002.

KRUGMAN P. 'What America and France share', *The NYT supplement*, April 27 2002.

LANDO Barry, 'Brutale francophobie: une contre-enquête', *Le Monde*, March 26 2003.

LEDUFF C., 'Two Towns, close, but forced apart', *The NYT supplement*, 1 March 2003.

'Les Comptes du Groupe Le Monde', *Le Monde*, 5 June 2004

MYDANS S., 'Flawed Khmer Rouge trial may be better than none', *the NYT supplement*, 19 April 2003.

PURDUM T., 'U.N. votes complicate Iraq plan', *The New York Times supplement*, 15 March 2003.

RISEN J. and SHANKER T., 'An effort to reach Iraq's Elite', *The NYT supplement*, 29 March 2003.

ROHTER Larry, 'Iraq war provokes Ire in Latin America', the NYT supplement, 27 April 2003.

SACHS S. 'War brings Arab elite to despair', *The NYT supplement*, 12 April 2003.

SAFIRE William, 'The French Connection', *The New York Times*, 13 March and 20 March 2003.

SANGER D., 'U.S. may face nuclear blackmail', *the NYT supplement*, 15 March 2003.

SANTI Pascale, 'Mea culpa du « New York Times » sur sa couverture de l'Irak', *Le Monde*, 28 May 2004.

SANTORA M., 'British turn to calming the streets of Basra', *The New York Times supplement*, 12 April 2003

SIKLOS Richard, 'Today New York, Tomorrow the World', *The Daily Telegraph*, 10 November 2002.

'Süddeutsche Zeitung kooperiert mit der New York Times', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 30 April 2004

TAGLIABUE J., 'Trying times for famed French cheese', *The New York Times supplement*, 12 April 2003.

TAGLIABUE J., 'In the Heart of France, Anti-U.S. mood softens', *The New York Times*, 13 April 2003.

'The Daily Telegraph exclusive UK relationship with the New York Times', *The Telegraph group limited press release*, 23 March 2004.

'The International Herald tribune introduces Euroreach', *The New York Times Company press release*, 24 March 2004.

WARREN J., 'The Goliaths of Television Kneel to TiVo', *The New York Times supplement*, 27 April 2003.

WEINER T., 'With a little bit of cash, poor woman begin to overcome'. *The New York Times supplement*, 29 March 2003.

WEISMAN S., 'A long winding road to diplomatic dead-end', *The New York Times*, 17 March 2003.

WEISMAN S., 'Pre-emption, an idea with a lineage whose time has come', *The New York Times*, 23 March 2003

WEISMAN S. 'How the idea of Pre-emption finally took center stage', *The New York Times* supplement, 28 March 2003.

WEISMAN S., 'Feuds threaten a historic union', *The NYT supplement*, 16 February 2003.

WHITAKER B., 'Latest style in malls brings the outdoors in', *The New York Times* supplement, 8 December 2002.

WHITE C., 'A French Beau for the *New York Times*', *Business week*, April 12th 2002.

WILFORD J., 'Centers of oldest human history may be threatened', *The New York Times* supplement, 1 March 2003.

VAN NATTA and others, 'Questioning terror suspects in a surreal world', *The New York Times* supplement, 15 March 2003.

ZOEPF K., 'Immigrant taxi drivers pause for a taste of home', *The New York Times* supplement, 1 March 2003

B. Secondary sources

1. Books

ALBERT Pierre, *La Presse Française*, Paris: la Documentation Française, 1983, 2004.

AVERY G. and NEWFIELD C., *Mapping Multiculturalism*, London. University of Minnesota press, 1997.

BAGDAKIAN Ben, *The Media Monopoly*, Boston: Beacon Press, 1983,1992.

BARTHES Roland, *Mythologies*, Paris: Seuil, 1957, 1970.

BERGER John, *Ways of Seeing*, New York: Viking Press, 1972, 1973.

BERTRAND C.-J. and BORDAT F., *Les Médias Américains en France*, Paris : Belin, 1989.

BRETON P., *La Parole Manipulée*, Paris: la Découverte, 1997, 2000.

CHARON Jean-Marie, *La Presse Quotidienne*, Paris : La Découverte, 1996.

CHOMSKY Noam, *Necessary Illusions: Thought Control in Democratic Societies*, London: Pluto press, 1989.

CHOMSKY Noam, *Language and Mind*, New York: Harcourt, 1972.

CHOMSKY Noam and HERMAN Edward, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*, London : Vintage, 1988, 1994.

- EVENO Patrick, *'Le Monde', histoire d'une entreprise de presse: 1944-1995*, Paris : 'Le Monde' ed., 1996.
- FAIRCLOUGH N., *Language and Power*, London: Longman, 1989.
- FERRIER Jean-Pierre, *L'Année Diplomatique 2002*, Paris: Gualino, 2003.
- FLOOD Christopher, *Political Myth: a Theoretical Introduction*, New York: Garland, 1996.
- FOWLER Roger, *Language in the news*, New York: Routledge, 1991, 1999.
- FREUND Andreas, *Journalism et Mésinformation*, Paris : La pensée sauvage, 1991.
- GERBNER George, *Invisible Crises : What Conglomerate Control of Media means for America and the World*, Boulder: Westview press, 1996.
- GOYET Francis, *Rhétorique de la tribu, rhétorique de l'état*, PUF, 1994.
- HERMAN Edward and McCHESNEY Robert, *The Global Media: The New Missionaries of Corporate Capitalism*, New York: Continuum, 1997, 2001.
- KERMOAL François, *Mieux connaître ses lecteurs : les méthodes d'analyse du lectorat et des supports*, Paris : Éd. du Centre de formation et de perfectionnement des journalistes, 1994.
- KLEIN Naomi, *No Logo*, Hammersmith : Flamingo, 2001.
- LEVI-STRAUSS Claude, *Mythologies, Le Cru et le cuit*, Paris : Plon, 1964
- O'BERRY Nicholas, *Foreign policy and the press: an analysis of The New York Times' coverage of US foreign policy*, New York, Greenwood press, 1990.
- PEAN Pierre and COHEN Philippe, *La Face Cachée du 'Monde' : du contre-pouvoir aux abus de pouvoir*, Paris : Mille et Une Nuits, 2003.
- PRADIE Christian, *La presse, le capitalisme et le lecteur, contribution à l'histoire économique d'une industrie culturelle*, s.I. : s.n., 1994
- SAID Edward, 'Crisis [in Orientalism]', *Modern Criticism and Theory*, ed. D. Lodge, London: Longman, 1988, 1996, pp.295-309.
- SAUSSURE Ferdinand, 'The object of study', *Modern Criticism and Theory*, ed. D. Lodge, London: Longman, 1988, 1996, pp. 2-9.

2. Articles

- ALTHAUS S., 'Using substitutes for full-text news stories in context analysis: which text is best?', *American journal of political science*, volume 45, number 3, 2001, pp. 707-23.

DEAN John, 'The Diffusion of American Culture in Western Europe', *Journal of American Culture*, 20(4), Winter, 1997.

'Entreprises : Les 500 Mastodontes', *Le Monde* 2, 4 September 2004, pp. 20-21

FOUCAULT Michel, 'Il faut défendre la Société', Paris : Gallimard, 1997.

KLINENBERG Eric, 'Dix maîtres pour les médias américains', *Monde Diplomatique*, April, 2003.

MILLINGTON Mark, 'On location; the Question of Reading Crossculturality', *Twentieth Century Series*, volume 13(1),1995.

3. Film Documentation

'Manufacturing Consent – Noam Chomky and the Media', Director: Mark Achbar, Peter Wintonick, 2002.

A P P F O N D I E F S

APPENDIX 1:

Euroreach presentations

'Plusieurs Mondes', *Le Monde*, 8 April 2002.

'Daily Telegraph's exclusive U.K. Partnership with the NYT', The Telegraph group limited press release, 23 March 2004.

'Süddeutsche Zeitung kooperiert mit der NYT', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 30 April 2004.

'The IHT introduces Euroreach', The NYT company press release, 24 March 2004.

'A Great International Voice Silenced', G. Overholser, Poynteronline, 20 January 2003.

Plusieurs mondes

A PARTIR de ce numéro, *Le Monde* commence la publication hebdomadaire d'un cahier de 12 pages consacré à une sélection d'articles du *New York Times*. Nous avons fait le choix d'offrir à nos lecteurs cet aperçu de l'actualité vue d'outre-Atlantique en version originale. Engagée avec d'autres quotidiens européens – notamment nos amis d'*El País* –, cette initiative durera trois mois, jusqu'à l'été. A la rentrée de septembre, elle devrait s'intégrer à un magazine de fin de semaine qui étoffera notre offre de lecture du week-end.

Ce n'est pas la première fois que *Le Monde* s'associe au *New York Times*. Ce supplément est l'aboutissement d'un long dialogue entre deux rédactions dont les références professionnelles sont voisines, sinon semblables, rapprochant deux des grands quotidiens mondiaux de qualité. De fait, la sélection des articles retenus, puis mis en page par les équipes du *New York Times*, sera le résultat d'échanges quotidiens entre Paris et New York.

Notre choix soulève évidemment deux questions. D'abord, pourquoi l'anglais ? En faisant le pari de la version originale, participons-nous d'une uniformisation du monde dont une langue dominante serait l'instrument ? Ensuite, pourquoi un quotidien américain – et non pas allemand ou anglais, italien ou espagnol, bref européen ? En assumant cette alliance américaine, n'encourons-nous pas le reproche de créer un effet de sens idéologique dans un moment où la politique étrangère des Etats-Unis fait plus que jamais débat ?

Notre démarche est exactement à l'inverse des préjugés qui sous-tendent ces interrogations. Dans la bataille contre l'uniformisation des mondes, le bilinguisme – ou le multilinguisme – nous semble une arme qui entretient, au contraire, la diversité. C'est la stratégie du faible au fort : maîtriser la langue d'usage dominante permet de mieux défendre l'identité attachée à la langue d'origine.

D'autre part, rien ne serait pire, dans la période incertaine ouverte par le 11 septembre, que d'identifier indistinctement le peuple américain tout entier, son opinion et sa presse, aux politiques suivies à la Maison Blanche. Découvrir le *New York Times*, surtout en version originale, c'est aussi mieux connaître les Américains dans leur diversité. C'est entendre leur récit du monde, à la fois différent et semblable au nôtre, à coup sûr plus complexe, plus ouvert, moins replié que le département d'Etat ou le Pentagone n'en donnent l'impression.

Ce qui nous menace tous en ce début de XXI^e siècle, en France comme aux Etats-Unis, mais aussi en Israël comme en Palestine, en Inde comme au Pakistan, c'est d'enfermer l'autre dans son identité nationale, ethnique ou religieuse. L'exotisme, c'est l'esthétique du divers, affirmait l'écrivain et sinologue Victor Segalen. Mieux connaître l'autre de l'intérieur dans sa langue et dans son imaginaire, ce n'est pas renoncer à soi. C'est au contraire accroître la pluralité des mondes, la diversité des récits et, surtout, le respect des différences.

Le Monde

Président du directoire, directeur de la publication : Jean-Marie Colombani

Directoire : Jean-Marie Colombani ; Dominique Alduy, directeur général ; Noël Jean Bergeroux.

Directeurs généraux adjoints : Edwy Plenel, René Gabriel
Secrétaire général du directoire : Pierre-Yves Rottzain

Directeur de la rédaction : Edwy Plenel

Directeurs adjoints : Thomas Ferracci, Pierre Georges, Jean-Yves Etienne

Secrétaire général : Olivier Biffaud ; déléguée générale : Claire Blandin

Directeur artistique : François Lollchon

Chef d'édition : Christian Marsol ; chef de production : Jean-Marc Houssard

Rédacteur en chef technique : Eric Azan ; directeur informatique : José Bolufe

Rédaction en chef centrale :

Alain Deboux, Eric Fombonne, Alain Frachon, Laurent Greilsamer, Michel Sagman,

Eric Le Boucher, Bertrand Le Gendre

Rédaction en chef :

François Bonnet (International) ; Anne-Lise Boccati (France) ;

Anne Chemin (Société) ; Jean-Louis Andréani (Régions) ; Laurent Mauduit (Entreprises) ;

Jacques Buob (Aujourd'hui) ; Francis Nonchi (Culture) ;

Isyane Savignieu (Le Monde des Livres) ; Serge Marli (Le Monde Economie)

Médiateur : Robert Solé

Directrice des projets éditoriaux : Dominique Rouvenat

The Daily Telegraph exclusive UK relationship with The New York Times

March 23, 2004, the Telegraph group limited press office.

The New York Times, America's top general interest newspaper, has selected The Daily Telegraph as its UK collaborate in EuroReach, a pan-European advertising initiative. The new relationship will also see The Daily Telegraph carrying a weekly eight-page broadsheet supplement from The New York Times. The supplement will be published with Business 2 + Jobs on Thursdays.

France's Le Monde will distribute the supplement on Saturdays and EuroReach advertisements will be carried in the International Herald Tribune (IHT), giving advertisers pan-European exposure. Other major publications in major markets will be added in coming months.

The supplement, called The New York Times International Weekly, will contain the week's most interesting reports, photographs and graphics from The New York Times. Each edition will include stories about world trends, Americana, money and business, science and technology and style and culture. An editorial committee drawn from the participating newspapers, including The Daily Telegraph's managing editor Sue Ryan and a lead editor from The New York Times, will decide the editorial.

Nick Edgley, international advertisement manager at Telegraph Group Limited, said: "This is an extremely exciting project for The Daily Telegraph. Each week, our readers will be offered an American point of view on world events from America's leading newspaper. We're delighted that The New York Times recognised us, Britain's best-selling quality daily, as the right UK newspaper for this initiative."

Cristian Edwards, President of The New York Times Syndication Sales Corporation, said: "Year after year, The Daily Telegraph reaches the globally aware, culturally active, business-involved readers of the UK and we are very pleased to be taking The New York Times' journalism to this audience. Our shared commitment to the ideals of sound journalism and the importance of a free press makes our titles well matched."

Stephen Dunbar-Johnson, senior vice president and commercial director at the International Herald Tribune said: "The IHT is delighted to be working with such prestigious newspapers as The Daily Telegraph and Le Monde which offer high penetration of high net worth individuals and business decision-makers in two of Europe's core markets. As EuroReach is extended in Germany, Italy and Spain, the combination of the IHT and these leading national titles will become even more powerful, delivering a unique and highly cost-efficient pan-regional buy."

The supplement will be available initially in 400,000 copies of The Daily Telegraph in London and the South East.

Jean-Christophe Demarta, Continental Europe Advertising Director for the IHT in Paris will handle advertising sales for EuroReach. He can be reached on +33 (1) 4143 9381 or via email: jcdemarta@iht.com

For further information please contact:

- Victoria Higham, Telegraph Group Limited: 020 7538 5000
- Charlotte Gordon, International Herald Tribune: 020 7510 5712
- Toby Usnik, The New York Times Company: +1 212 556 4425

Süddeutsche Zeitung kooperiert mit der New York Times

Vom 03. Mai an wird die Süddeutsche Zeitung (SZ) in einer Testphase jeden Montag mit der Beilage *The New York Times International Weekly* erscheinen. Das englischsprachige Supplement ist eine exklusive Kooperation der SZ mit der New York Times (NYT) für den deutschsprachigen Raum. Es wird im Tabloid-Format gedruckt und enthält auf sechzehn Seiten ausgewählte aktuelle NYT-Beiträge. Die Themenauswahl der Beilage wird zwischen der NYT-Redaktion und der SZ-Chefredaktion abgestimmt, produziert wird das Supplement im Druckzentrum des Süddeutschen Verlages in München. Die verbreitete Auflage wird fast 430.000 Exemplare (IVW, Mo-Fr, I. Quartal 2004) umfassen.

Hans Werner Kilz, Chefredakteur der Süddeutschen Zeitung: "The New York Times International Weekly ist eine hervorragende Ergänzung zum bisherigen Angebot der SZ, mit der wir vor allem unsere international orientierte Leserschaft ansprechen. Diese redaktionelle Kooperation mit der NYT, einer der bekanntesten Zeitungen der Welt, unterstreicht den Stellenwert der SZ nicht nur für Deutschland sondern auch in Europa."

Klaus Josef Lutz, Geschäftsführer der Süddeutschen Zeitung: "Mit der Beilage bauen wir nicht nur das vielfältige Angebot für unsere Leser aus sondern geben auch weitere Anreize für das internationale Anzeigengeschäft. Wir unterstreichen sowohl die Marktführerschaft der SZ unter den überregionalen Abonnement-Tageszeitungen in Deutschland als auch ihren Anspruch, zu den führenden und besten Zeitungen der Welt zu gehören und damit ein auch für internationale Kampagnen attraktiver Werbeträger zu sein."

Cristian Edwards, President New York Times Syndication: "Jahr für Jahr erreicht die Süddeutsche Zeitung die international orientierte, kulturell interessierte und wirtschaftlich aktive Leserschaft Europas¹⁹³. Es freut uns, dieser Zielgruppe künftig ausgewählte Inhalte der New York Times zugänglich zu machen. Unsere beiden Titel ergänzen sich auf ideale Weise, da sowohl die Süddeutsche Zeitung als auch die New York Times dem Qualitätsjournalismus und einer unabhängigen Berichterstattung verpflichtet sind."

The New York Times International Weekly erscheint auch in den großen Zeitungen von anderen europäischen Ländern, in der italienischen *La Repubblica*, dem spanischen *El Pais*, in Frankreich mit *Le Monde* und in Großbritannien mit *The Daily Telegraph*. Die Beilage ist Teil eines europäischen Anzeigennetzwerkes, zu dem neben den Partnerzeitungen der New York Times auch die NYT-Tochter *International Herald Tribune* gehört. Für die Süddeutsche Zeitung verantwortet Ingeborg Brugger das Anzeigengeschäft des neuen SZ-Supplements.

[30.04.2004]

¹⁹³ Translation: 'Cristian Edwards, President of the New York Times Syndication states: "Year after year the Süddeutsche Zeitung reaches the globally-aware, culturally active and business-involved European readers. "'

Ansprechpartner

The International Herald Tribune introduces EuroReach

New regional advertising opportunity via expanding network of national newspapers in Europe

PARIS, March 24, 2004 – The International Herald Tribune (IHT) announced today that it is offering a new advertising platform called EuroReach, via the expanding network of The New York Times International Weekly sections now appearing in prominent European newspapers.

With EuroReach, advertisers can buy space in the International Herald Tribune as well as in The New York Times International Weekly section currently appearing in Le Monde (Saturdays) and The Daily Telegraph (Thursdays starting tomorrow). As other prestigious newspapers in major markets are added to the network so the coverage of high-end general interest readers will increase to make EuroReach by far the most effective pan-European platform for reaching this desirable audience.

"We are delighted to be working with Le Monde and The Daily Telegraph to extend this great new advertising opportunity to our clients," said Stephen Dunbar-Johnson, senior vice president and commercial director of the International Herald Tribune. "Combining the high-end, opinion-former audience of the IHT with the business decision-makers and high net worth individuals who read these top general interest newspapers, delivers a significant and influential readership in two of Europe's core markets. And as EuroReach is extended to markets such as Germany, Italy and Spain, the coverage and cost-efficiency of this one-stop European buy will make it unbeatable."

The New York Times International Weekly section is created by a team of New York Times editors and editors from the national newspapers where the supplement will appear. Selections are made from the articles and artwork published during the week in The New York Times that, in the opinion of the editors, are of the greatest interest and relevance to a European audience.

EuroReach is sold through the International Herald Tribune. For more information, please contact your local IHT representative or Jean-Christophe Demarta at (33 1) 41 43 93 81 or jcdemarta@iht.com.

About the IHT

The International Herald Tribune (www.iht.com) is the premier international newspaper for opinion leaders and decision-makers around the globe. It combines the extensive resources of its own correspondents with those of The New York Times and is printed at 26 sites throughout the world for sales in more than 180 countries. Based in Paris since 1887, the IHT is part of The New York Times Company.

About The New York Times Company

The New York Times Company (NYSE: NYT), a leading media company with 2003 revenues of \$3.2 billion, includes The New York Times, the International Herald

Tribune, The Boston Globe, 16 other newspapers, eight network-affiliated television stations, two New York City radio stations and more than 40 Web sites, including NYTimes.com and Boston.com. For the fourth consecutive year, the Company was ranked No. 1 in the publishing industry in Fortune's 2004 list of America's Most Admired Companies. The Company's core purpose is to enhance society by creating, collecting and distributing high-quality news, information and entertainment.

Poynteronline

Posted, Jan. 20, 2003

Updated, Jan. 20, 2003

Departing IHT Publisher Speaks Out

A Great International Voice Silenced

By [Geneva Overholser](#) ([more by author](#))

Peter Goldmark, one of journalism's most incisive and honorable voices (see his fine 2000 [speech](#) to the Aspen Institute on independent values) issued a stunning letter today in Paris as he steps down as Chairman and CEO of the *International Herald Tribune*:

STATEMENT OF PETER C. GOLDMARK JR., CHAIR AND CEO OF THE *INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE*, TO THE *IHT* STAFF, PARIS, JANUARY 20, 2003:

I will be stepping down as Chairman and CEO of the *International Herald Tribune*.

I was not quite ready to go, but the *New York Times* has asked me to go.

Later this week the *New York Times* will announce that Richard Wooldridge, our COO and my deputy, will take over management of the *IHT*. He is a capable and honorable manager and I urge you to extend to him the same loyalty and professionalism that you have given me.

There is a code in the corporate world. Under that code you are expected to leave it murky as to whether you are resigning or being fired; you are supposed to go quietly; you are supposed to say everything is OK; and you often pick up a nice fat check at the door.

But on this and other issues of importance to me the *New York Times* and I did not see eye to eye, so I am going to break that code today. Believe me, I will pay dearly for this, both financially and in other coin.

But I gain something beyond price that is also very important. And that is the freedom to talk frankly and clearly, with you here this morning and elsewhere, and to say some things that should be said.

The *Times* has been very clear recently that the job of Chair and CEO of the *IHT* as it exists today will no longer exist. I can see that this is so, and so can you. The earliest and most fundamental change they announced is that editorial will report exclusively to New York.

This means I am the last publisher of the *IHT* as an independent newspaper with its own voice and its own international outlook on the world.

There are many issues on which the *New York Times* and I have disagreed over the past few months, but this is the fundamental one: the end of the *IHT* as an independent newspaper, with its own voice and its own international outlook.

This is a great loss. The world needs more independent voices, not fewer. And at a time when the world is growing to mistrust America, it needs thoughtful voices and independent perspectives that see the world whole and are not managed from America. So while for me it is a difficult and a sad moment, in the history of the paper it is more than that: it is the end of an era in international journalism that will leave a big hole, just when we need

it most.

The past three months have been difficult for me, and my dealings with the New York Times have been personally very disappointing. I have argued strenuously to preserve the international outlook and voice of the *IHT*. At the same time I have worked like a professional to try to make the transition to full ownership of the *IHT* by the New York Times as successful as possible. You know me well enough to guess that I was never shy about telling them what I thought.

Nor was I shy with both the *Times* and the *Washington Post* over the past five years. I argued privately to them that the *IHT* could not succeed in the long run under the old 50-50 ownership structure, and that they should restructure the company. Several alternative structures would have been workable, and the actual outcome - the agreement under which the *New York Times* acquired 100% of the *IHT* - was one that met the test of creating a powerful, global and independent news organization. There was no long-term economic future for the *IHT* under the old structure. So what has happened gives all of you and the enlarged *New York Times* a good, strong shot at the future.

Do I wish this were being done in a way that preserved the independent voice and character of the *IHT*? Yes. Could it have been done this way? Yes. But that die has been cast. What is going forward is the global *New York Times*. Is it nevertheless important that the global *New York Times* succeed? Again, the answer is yes. It is too important to fail. The stakes are very high. In the largest sense we all need the *New York Times* to succeed - because independent journalism is the oxygen of democracy, and it is one of the few navigational markers we human beings have as we set out to cross the deadly minefields of terrorism, weapons of mass destruction, and environmental deterioration.

And I want all of you to succeed. Many of you have come to see that an enormous professional opportunity now lies before you. You are correct in that perception and with your new colleagues at the *New York Times* you must try to make the most of that opportunity.

I want to thank you for the brave, gritty and professional job you have turned in over the past five years during which I was privileged to lead the *IHT*. We had some tough times and we faced some rough problems. We will leave it to the history books to pass the final verdict on the quality and usefulness of what we did together. But I want to acknowledge today the spirit, the resourcefulness, the tenacity, and the good humor that you brought to our common adventure, and the sacrifices many of you made along the way.

I will think of you often, about the race we have run together, and about the small miracles we pulled off and the critics and skeptics we confounded together.

APPENDIX 2:

Readerships

Readership of *The New York Times*: www.nytadvertising.com

Readership of *The Daily Telegraph*: www.opinion.telegraph.co.uk

Readership of *Le Monde*: 'Les Comptes du Groupe Le Monde', *Le Monde*, 5 June 2004.

Readership of *El País* : www.prisa.es

Readership of *Süddeutsche Zeitung*: contribution by the marketing department of *Süddeutsche Zeitung*

The Power of Our Brand and Our Audience

The New York Times attracts some of the most educated, affluent and influential readers anywhere. Here are the numbers - select a profile for more detailed information.

Reader Profile: Mendelsohn

Affluent U.S. readers of the New York Times are 39% more likely than the average affluent adult to hold a college or postgraduate degree, 90% more likely to have a household income exceeding \$150,000 and 46% more likely to be a top manager.*

Source: Mendelsohn 2003 Affluent Head of Household Survey HHI \$75K+

Reader Profile: MRI

U.S. readers of The New York Times are over two and a half times as likely as the average U.S. adult to have a college or post-graduate degree, over twice as likely to be a professional/managerial and over twice as likely to have a household income exceeding \$100,000.*

Source: 2004 Spring MRI

Reader Profile: Scarborough

In the NY DMA, readers of The New York Times are nearly twice as likely as the average adult to have a college degree or higher; 52% more likely to hold a professional/managerial position; 63% more likely to have a household income exceeding \$100,000.*

Source: 2004 Scarborough New York Release 1 (NY Market includes NY DMA plus Mercer, NJ, and New Haven, CT counties)

Reader Loyalty

The weekday and Sunday New York Times are among the top publications in regular readership.**

Source: 2004 Spring MRI

* Based on Net Times readership of Sunday/Weekday New York Times

** Regular readers = read 4 or 5 of the past 5 Weekday issues or 3 or 4 of the past 4 Sunday issues

Le quotidien leader en France

fusion du *Monde* « papier » baisse de 4,4 % pour la première fois depuis 1994, après une période de hausse continue. En revanche, près de 17 000 lecteurs se sont abonnés à la partie payante (5 euros par mois) au monde.fr. Au total, la diffusion, papier et web, a continué sa progression et le journal n'a jamais été aussi présent, en France et à l'étranger : l'audience a augmenté de 3 % en 2003, soit plus de 2 millions de lecteurs quotidiens (EuroPQN).

LES COÛTS : POURSUITE DU PLAN DE RÉDUCTION

Face à la baisse du chiffre d'affaires, un plan triennal de réduction des coûts (10 %) a été mis en place qui vise une économie de 5 % en 2003, 3 % en 2004, et 2 % en 2005. L'objectif 2003 a été atteint et a pesé en charges exceptionnelles ponctuelles.

Quels sont vos projets de développement ?

F. N. : La fin de l'année 2003 a été consacrée à la préparation du passage du *Monde 2* mensuel à une formule hebdomadaire avec le quotidien du samedi, daté dimanche-lundi. Cette nouvelle formule a été lancée avec succès, le 17 janvier 2004. Aujourd'hui, plus de 300 000 exemplaires du *Monde 2* sont vendus chaque semaine. Nous avons décidé de rajouter à notre gamme « Dossiers et documents » un trimestriel consacré aux sciences. Celui-ci a été préparé en 2003 et le premier numéro est sorti en mars 2004.

Quelles sont les perspectives pour 2004 ?

F. N. : À la fin mai, nous étions dans le cadre de notre plan de marche sur l'ensemble de nos titres. Nous explorons avec succès la vente de compléments (type DVD) avec le quotidien. Ces offres doivent être en ligne avec les attentes culturelles de nos lecteurs et représenter une valeur ajoutée à leur contrat de lecture. Ils doivent également permettre à des non lecteurs du quotidien de le découvrir à cette occasion. Enfin, les résultats du *Monde* et du *Monde 2* dépendront, en 2004, de la poursuite ou non, au second semestre, du redressement publicitaire déjà perceptible en ce début d'année.

Et Le Monde Imprimerie ?

F. N. : Le Monde Imprimerie a subi de plein fouet la baisse des tirages, de la pagination et des numéros spéciaux du *Monde* et de ses clients extérieurs (*Journal du Dimanche*, *Journal des Finances*, *Les Échos*). Après l'arrivée des *Échos* et le démarrage d'une nouvelle rotative en septembre 2003, les clients extérieurs représentent 25 % du chiffre d'affaires. Devant la dégradation des comptes de l'ensemble des imprimeries de presse parisienne, une discussion est en cours au niveau de la branche sur la mise en place d'un plan social régional. Le Monde Imprimerie, par ailleurs, s'efforce de mettre en place une organisation et un fonctionnement cohérents avec les modernisations qui ont été faites et compatibles avec notre équilibre économique. ■

Un journal passe de main en main au sein d'un même foyer, d'un même bureau ou d'une bibliothèque, il circule, on le partage : un exemplaire est donc lu plusieurs fois par des personnes différentes qui ne l'ont pas nécessairement acheté (c'est le taux de circulation).

Le *Monde* réunit 2 129 000 lecteurs en 2003 (1) et détient ainsi l'audience la plus forte de tous les quotidiens généralistes nationaux dits « de qualité », ce qui représente un taux de pénétration de 4,4 %.

LE QUOTIDIEN DES CADRES

Au-delà du nombre de lecteurs, il est intéressant de connaître le « profil » du lecteur du *Monde*. Les études de lectorat permettent d'identifier les lecteurs selon des critères socio-démographiques et professionnels, ce qui est très utile aux annonceurs soucieux de choisir le support le mieux adapté à leur public. Près d'un lecteur du *Monde* sur deux appartient à un foyer cadre. Des études spécifiques sur les « cadres actifs » permettent de compléter ces données. Ainsi, en 2003, 855 000 cadres lisent *Le Monde* (tandis que 686 000 lisent *Les Échos*, 465 000 *Le Figaro*, 373 000 *Libération* et 285 000 *La Tribune*).

UN PUBLIC DE « DÉCIDEURS »

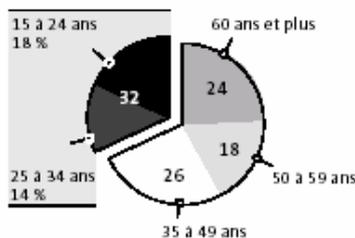
Le *Monde* touche des cadres de tous les horizons : des cadres d'entreprise (399 000), des professions libérales (104 000)(2), des cadres de l'enseignement (177 000) et de l'administration et des collectivités locales (176 000).

DES LECTEURS A HAUTS REVENUS

Le *Monde* est le quotidien le plus lu par les foyers à hauts revenus (plus de 52 000 euros par an). Ces derniers représentent 8 % de la population française de 15 ans et plus (*Le Monde*, 596 000 lecteurs hauts revenus, *Le Figaro*, 407 111, *Libération* 273 000)(3).

DES LECTEURS JEUNES, ACTIFS ET INSTRUITS

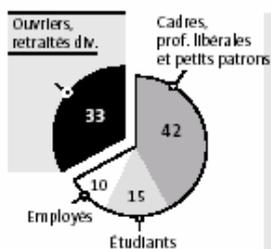
En pourcentage



Source : EuroPQN 2003-LNM

UN LECTORAT DIVERSIFIÉ

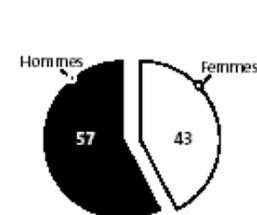
D'après leur catégorie professionnelle, en %



Source : EuroPQN 2003-LNM

909 000 LECTRICES

Audience, en %



Source : EuroPQN 2003-LNM

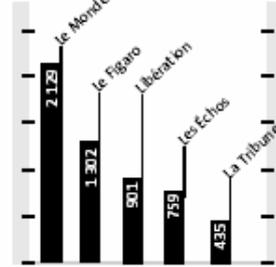
DES JEUNES, ACTIFS ET INSTRUITS

Un niveau d'instruction élevé et la jeunesse caractérisent plus spécifiquement le lectorat du *Monde* : 32 % des lecteurs ont moins de 35 ans, et 66 % d'entre eux ont fait des études supérieures (contre 41 % dans l'ensemble de la population des moins de 35 ans).

Le *Monde* est très présent dans les établissements scolaires et universitaires : il est le premier quotidien national des étudiants (322 000 lec-

1^{er} QUOTIDIEN GÉNÉRALISTE

Lecteurs de quotidiens nationaux, en milliers



Source : EuroPQN 2003-LNM

teurs, soit 15 % de ses lecteurs sont étudiants ou lycéens).

PREMIER QUOTIDIEN NATIONAL DES FEMMES

Avec quelque 909 000 lectrices, ce qui représente 43 % de son audience, *Le Monde* est le quotidien national des femmes.

DES LECTEURS A PARIS ET EN RÉGIONS

Les lecteurs du *Monde* se répartissent presque équitablement sur le territoire : 61 % de nos lecteurs sont en régions tandis que 39 % résident en Île-de-France.

UNE RÉFÉRENCE SUR LA SCÈNE INTERNATIONALE

Sur la scène internationale, *Le Monde* est le deuxième quotidien lu par les leaders d'opinion européens et est considéré comme le deuxième quotidien le plus influent par ces mêmes leaders. Il se place ainsi juste derrière le *Financial Times*(4). ■

(1) Résultat de l'enquête EuroPQN 2003 - LNM

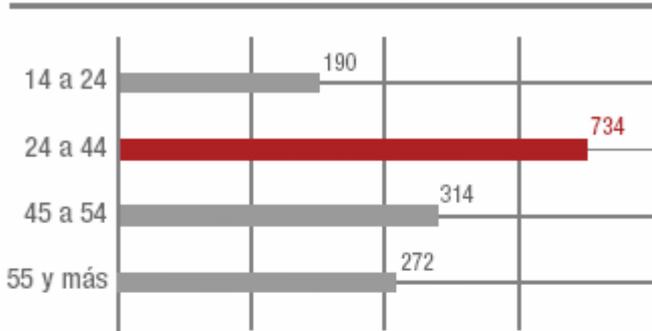
(2) Audience Ipsos cadres actifs 2003 - LNM

(3) Ipsos hauts revenus 2003

(4) European Opinion Leaders

READERSHIP OF EL PAIS - 2001

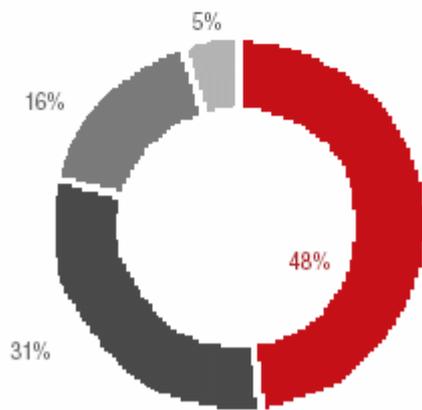
Perfil del lector / Edad



Reader profile / age

Perfil del lector / Nivel de estudios

Total: 1.511.000 Lectores

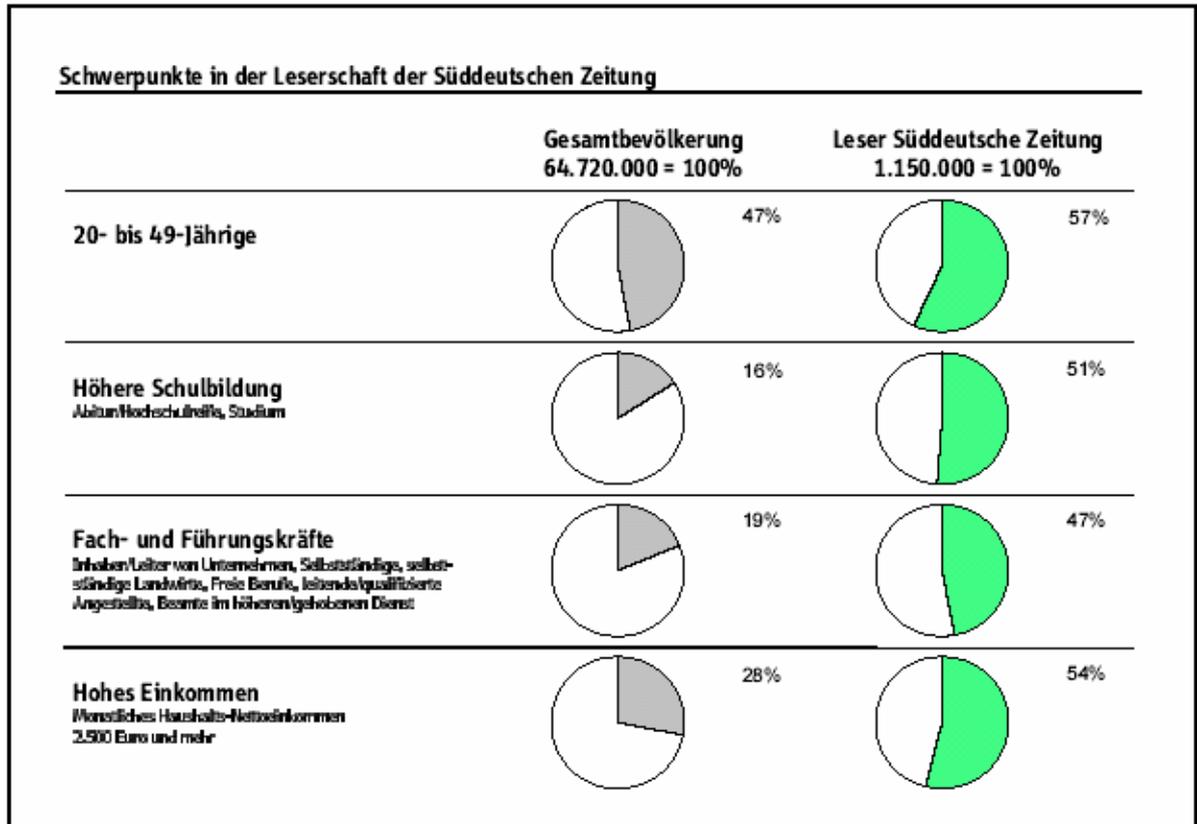


Reader profile / level of studies

Total: 1,511,000 readers

Source: EGM (Feb.-Nov. 01)

READERSHIP SÜDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG



Translation:

Schwerpunkte in der Leserschaft des Süddeutsche Zeitung: the strong points of the Süddeutsche Zeitung's readership.

Gesamtbevölkerung: Total population studied.

Leser Süddeutsche Zeitung: the readership of the Süddeutsche Zeitung.

20- bis 49-Jährige: percentage of population aged between 20 and 49 years old.

Höhere Schulbildung: percentage of population who have reached Higher Education.

Fach- und Führungskräfte: percentage of population with specialised or managerial jobs.

Hohes Einkommen: percentage of population with high incomes.

APPENDIX 3 :

Le Monde

Composition of the group *Le Monde*: 'Les Comptes du Groupe Le Monde', *Le Monde*, 5 June 2004.

Turn-over of the Groupe : *La Presse Française*, ALBERT P., Paris : la Documentation Française, 1983, 2004, p. 126.

The share-holders of *Le Monde* : *Le Face Cachée du 'Monde'*, du contre-pouvoir aux abus de pouvoir, PEAN P. and COHEN P., Mille et une nuits, 2003, p. 626.

'What France and America share', KRUGMAN P., *The New York Times* supplement, 28 April 2002.

Editorial of *Le Monde* after the 11th September attacks: 'Nous sommes tous Américains', COLOMBANI J.-M., *Le Monde*, 13 Septembre 2001.

DU GROUPE AU 1^{er} JUIN 2004

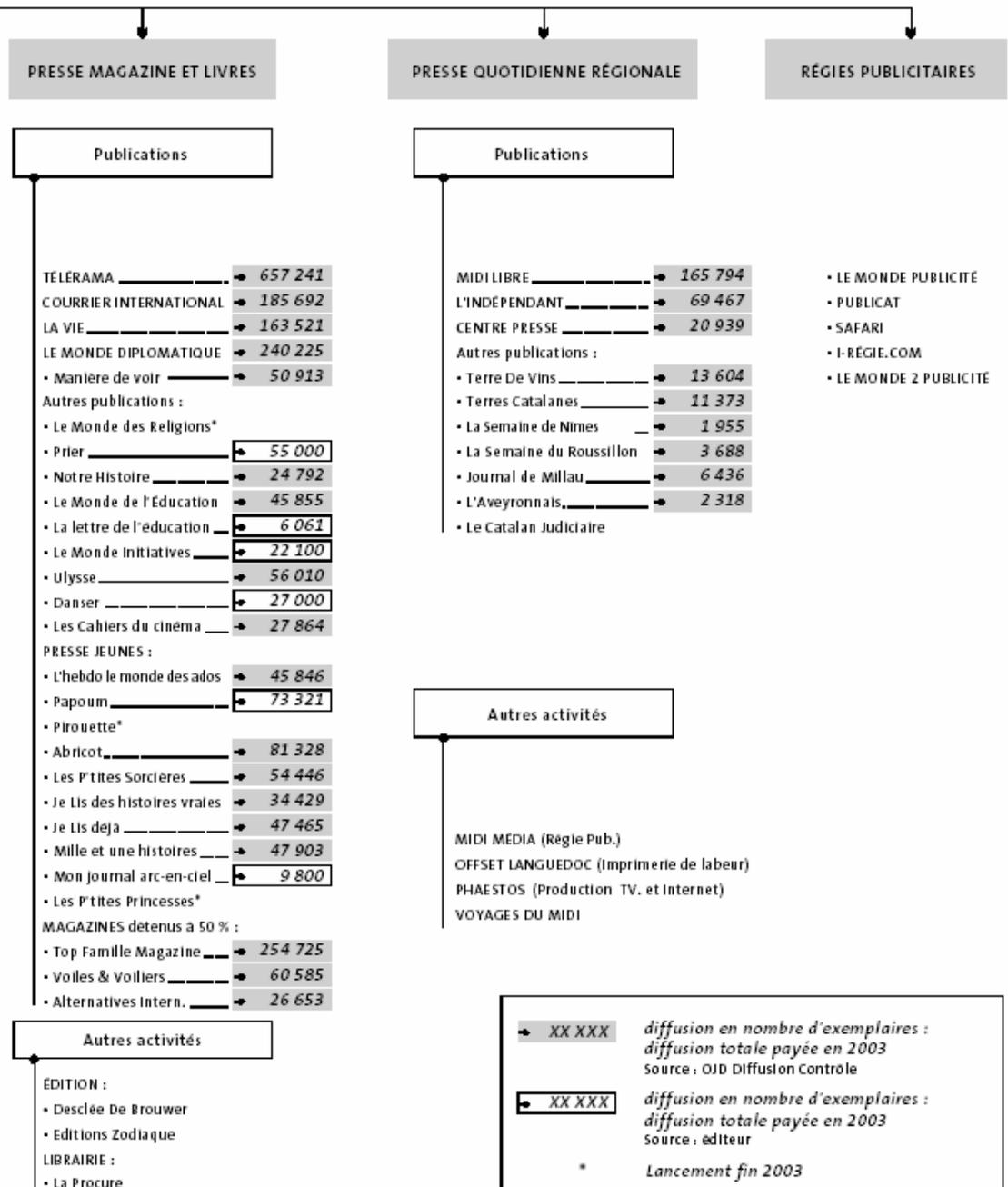


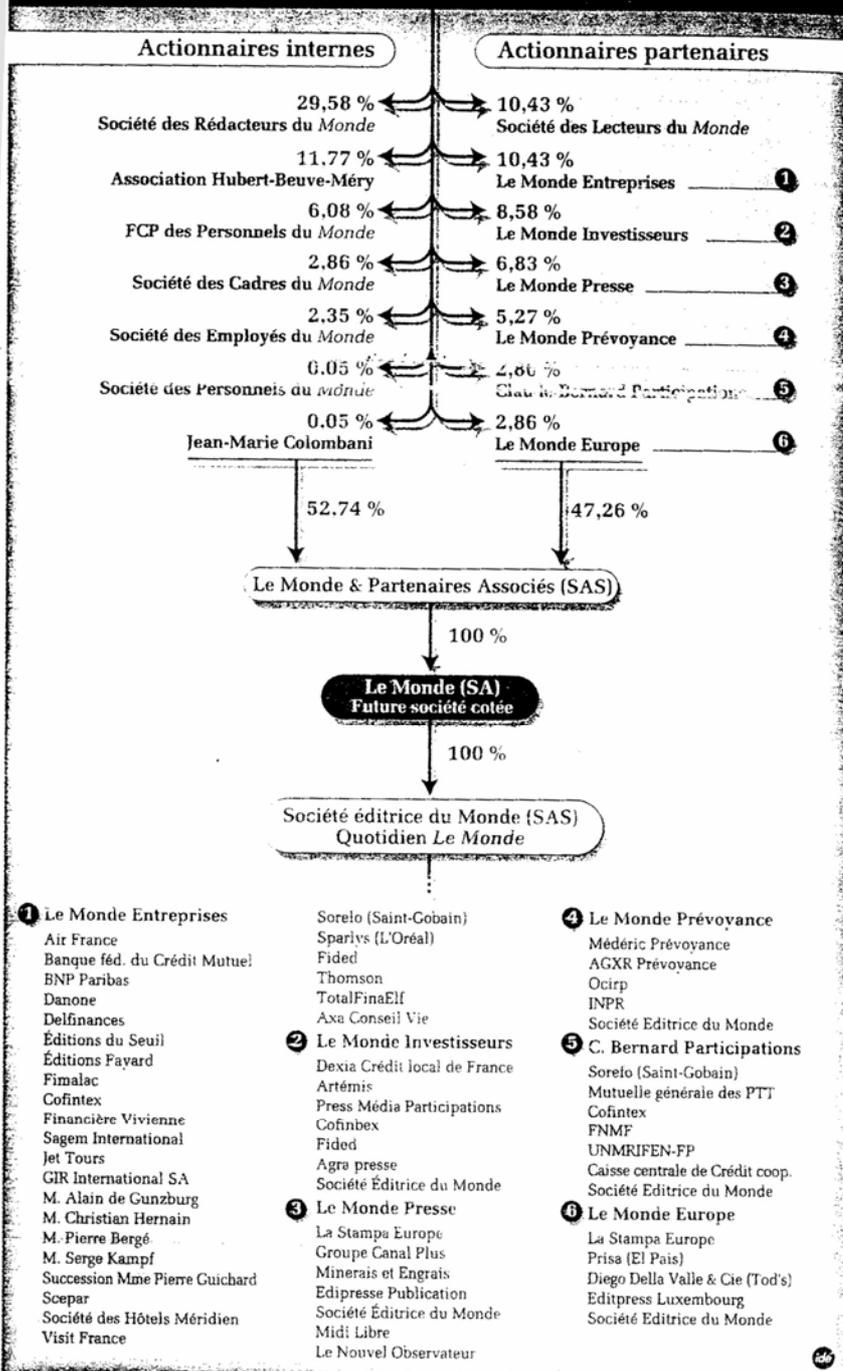
Tableau 25. - Classement par chiffre d'affaires en 2001 des principales sociétés de communication françaises (en millions d'euros)

Publicis Groupe	16 667	RFO	217
Havas	14 950	Panmarion	169
Lagardère, dont :	13 296	Média Participation Paris (Rustica...)	155
- Hachette Filipacchi Médias	2 300	Le Seuil	154
- Hachette Livre	846	Sélection du Reader's Digest	149
- Lagardère active	536	Le Progrès (a) (Socpresse)	146
- Nice-Matin	112	Groupe Voix du Nord (a) (Socpresse)	143
- La Provence	84	Les Échos	142
Vivendi Universal Publishing	4 222	La Dépêche du Midi	141
NMPP	2 761	Le Dauphiné libéré (a) (Socpresse)	136
TF 1	2 282	La Nouvelle République du Centre-Ouest	133
France Télévisions	2 180	Éditions Lamy	116
JC Decaux	1 543	Les Dernières Nouvelles d'Alsace	114
Canal + (Vivendi Universal)	1 530	L'Est républicain	112
TBWA (publicité)	1 416	La Montagne	106
DDP (publicité)	1 348	Institut national de l'audiovisuel	102
Métropole Télévision-M 6	845	Le Nouvel Observateur	100
Philip Morris France (publicité)	819	Le Télégramme (Brest)	96
SR Téléperformance (publicité)	801	Groupe du Moniteur	95
Pages jaunes (publicité)	752	Le Républicain Lorrain	94
Éditions Philippe Amaury	628	International Herald Tribune	93
Prisma Presse	524	Ixo	93
Imprimeries Québecor France	513	Cicot Bottin	88
Ipsos	480	Gaumont	86
Radio France	473	Le Midi libre (Le Monde)	84
France Loisirs (Bertelsmann)	445	Liberation	81
Le Figaro (a) (Socpresse)	426	Télérama (groupe Vie catholique)	80
Le Monde	404	Albin Michel	74
Spir Communication (Ouest-France)	379	Juris-Classeur	74
Bayard Presse	353	Excelsior publications	70
EMAP France	350	Éditions Francis-Lefebvre	66
NRJ Groupe	322	RTL (France)	65
Ouest-France (Sipa)	289	Milan Presse	59
Publications de la Vie catholique	282	L'Alsace	57
Sony Music (France)	280	L'Union de Reims	51
Groupe Sud Ouest, dont :	273	MLP	48
- Sud Ouest	166	Le Courrier de l'Ouest	44
Studio Canal France	254	Uni-Éditions	42
Éditions Atlas	252	Paris-Normandie	37
Sadis (Gallimard)	240	L'Indépendant (Le Monde)	33
Dauphin	218	La République du Centre	27

Source : Anjeux Les Échos, Le Grand Atlas des entreprises, 2002 et Stratégias, n° 1254 du 25 octobre 2002 (au-dessous de 250 millions d'euros, les sociétés de publicité, de marketing et de médias n'ont pas été retenues).

(a) Pour 2000, le chiffre d'affaires global de la Socpresse est estimé à 1 173 millions d'euros.

L'ACTIONNARIAT DU MONDE



PAUL KRUGMAN

What America and France Share

A slightly left-of-center candidate runs for president. In a rational world he would win easily. After all, his party has been running the country, with great success: unemployment is down, economic growth has accelerated, the sense of malaise that prevailed under the previous administration has evaporated.

But everything goes wrong. His moderation becomes a liability; denouncing the candidate's pro-market stance, left-wing candidates — who have no chance of winning, but are engaged in politics as theater — draw off crucial support. The candidate, though by every indication a very good human being, is not a natural campaigner; he has, say critics, "a professorial style" that seems "condescending and humorless" to many voters. Above all, there is apathy and complacency among moderates; they take it for granted that he will win, or that in any case the election will make little difference.

The result is a stunning victory for the hard right. It's by and large a tolerant, open-minded country; but there is a hard core, maybe 20 percent of the electorate, that is deeply angry even in good times. And owing to the peculiarities of the electoral system, this right-wing minority prevails even though more people actually cast their votes for the moderate left.

If all this sounds like a post-mortem on Al-Gore-presidential campaign in 2000, that's intentional. But I'm actually describing the shocking election in France, in which the current prime minister, Lionel Jospin, placed third, behind the rabid rightist Jean-Marie Le Pen. Until very recently, Mr. Le Pen was regarded as a spent force. Now he has scored an astonishing triumph.

As I've implicitly suggested, there

are some important parallels between the earthquake in French politics and recent political events in the United States. Let me draw out those parallels, then go to the big difference.

What the French election revealed is that in France, as in the United States, there are a lot of angry people. They aren't a majority; Mr. Le Pen received about 17 percent of the vote, less than Ross Perot got here in 1992. But they are highly motivated, and can exert influence out of proportion to their numbers if moderates take a tolerant society for granted.

What are the angry people angry about? Not economics; peace and prosperity did not reconcile them to Bill Clinton or to Mr. Jospin. Instead, it seems to be about traditional values. Our angry right rails against godless liberals; France's targets immigrants. In both cases, what really seems to bother them is the loss of certainty; they want to return to a simpler time, one without that disturbing modern mix of people and ideas.

And in both cases this angry minority has had far more influence than its numbers would suggest, largely because of the fecklessness of the left and the apathy of moderates. Al Gore had Ralph Nader; Mr. Jospin had a potpourri of silly leftists (two Trotskyists took 10 percent of the vote). And both men were mocked and neglected by complacent moderates.

Now for the important difference. Mr. Le Pen is a political outsider; his showing in the election puts him into the second-round runoff, but he won't actually become France's president. So his hard-right ideas won't be put into practice anytime soon.

In the United States, by contrast, the hard right has essentially been co-opt-

ed by the Republican Party — or maybe it's the other way around. In this country people with views that are, in their way, as extreme as Mr. Le Pen's are in a position to put those views into practice.

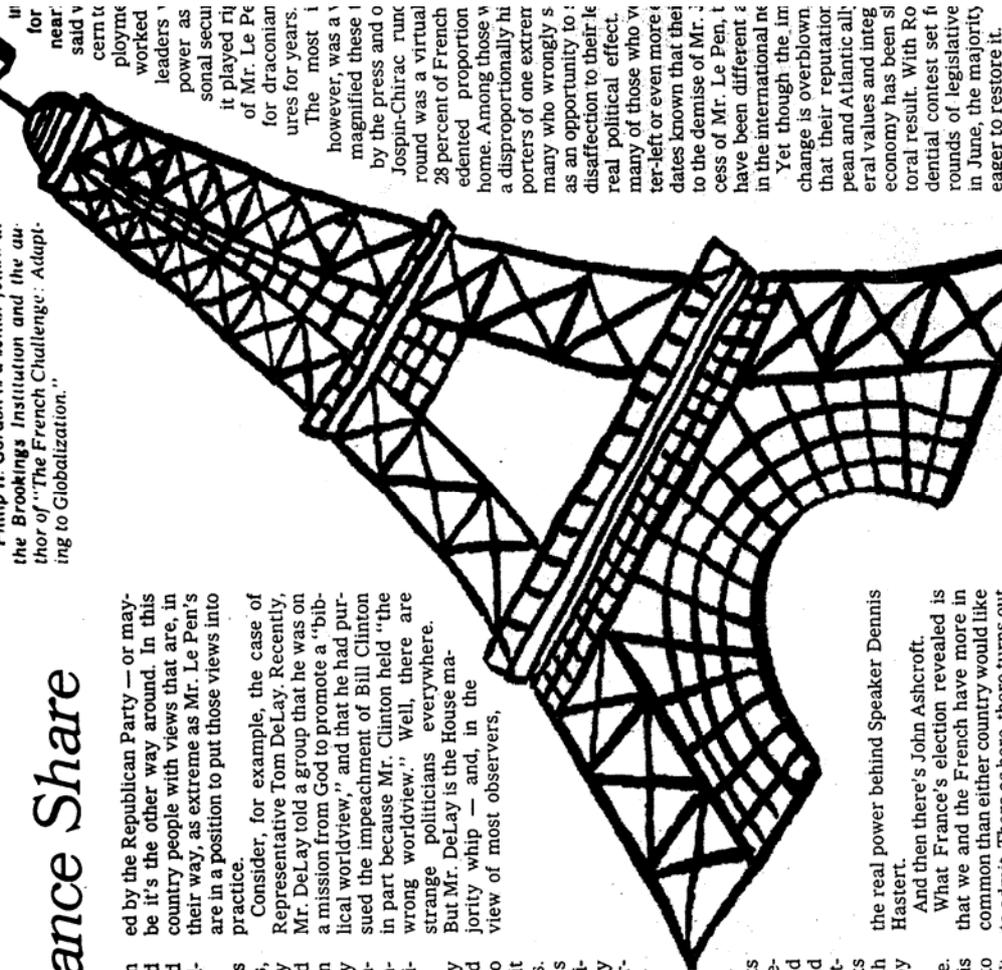
Consider, for example, the case of Representative Tom DeLay. Recently, Mr. DeLay told a group that he was on a mission from God to promote a "biblical worldview," and that he had pursued the impeachment of Bill Clinton in part because Mr. Clinton held "the wrong worldview." Well, there are strange politicians everywhere.

But Mr. DeLay is the House majority whip — and, in the view of most observers,

the real power behind Speaker Dennis Hastert.

And then there's John Ashcroft. What France's election revealed is that we and the French have more in common than either country would like to admit. There as here, there turns out to be a lot of irrational anger lurking just below the surface of politics as usual. The difference is that here the angry people are already running the country.

Philip H. Gordon is a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution and the author of "The French Challenge: Adapting to Globalization."



M.K. Mabry

in for near said v cern it ploynt worked leaders v power as sonal secu it played ri of Mr. Le Pe for draconian ures for years. The most i however, was a v magnified these i by the press and o Jospin-Chirac. rump round was a virtual 28 percent of French edented proportion home. Among those v a disproportionately hi porters of one extre as an opportunity to : disaffection to their le real political effect. many of those who v ter-left or even more : dates known that thei to the demise of Mr. : cess of Mr. Le Pen, t have been different : in the international ne Yet though the lin change is overblown that their reputatio pean and Atlantic all. economy has been sl toral result. With Ro dential contest set fi rounds of legislative in June, the majority eager to restore it.

Nous sommes tous Américains

DANS CE MOMENT tragique où les mots paraissent si pauvres pour dire le choc que l'on ressent, la première chose qui vient à l'esprit est celle-ci : nous sommes tous



Américains !

Nous sommes tous New-Yorkais, aussi sûrement que John Kennedy se déclarait, en 1962 à Berlin, Berlinois.

ÉDITORIAL

Comment ne pas se sentir en effet, comme dans les moments les plus graves de notre histoire, profondément solidaires de ce peuple et de ce pays, les Etats-Unis, dont nous sommes si proches et à qui nous devons la liberté, et donc notre solidarité.

Comment ne pas être en même temps aussitôt assaillis par ce constat : le siècle nouveau est avarié.

J.-M. C.

Lire la suite page 18



Nous sommes tous Américains

Suite de la première page

La journée du 11 septembre 2001 marque l'entrée dans une nouvelle ère, qui nous paraît bien loin des promesses et des espoirs d'une autre journée historique, celle du 9 novembre 1989, et qu'une année quelque peu euphorique, l'an 2000, que l'on croyait pouvoir se conclure par la paix au Proche-Orient, avait fait naître.

Un siècle nouveau s'avance donc, technologiquement performant, comme le montre la sophistication de l'opération de guerre qui a frappé tous les symboles de l'Amérique : ceux de la surpuissance économique au cœur de Manhattan, de la « puissance » militaire au Pentagone, et enfin de la puissance tutélaire du Proche-Orient tout près de Camp David. Les abords de ce siècle sont aussi inintelligibles. Sauf à se rallier promptement et sans précautions au cliché déjà le plus répandu, celui du déclenchement d'une guerre du sud contre le nord. Mais dire cela, c'est créditer les auteurs de cette folie meurtrière de « bonnes intentions » ou d'un quelconque projet selon lequel il faudrait venger les peuples opprimés contre leur unique oppresseur, l'Amérique. Ce serait leur permettre de se réclamer de la « pauvreté », faisant ainsi injure aux pauvres ! Quelle monstrueuse hypocrisie. Aucun de ceux qui ont prêté la main à cette opération ne peut prétendre vouloir le bien de l'humanité. Ceux-là

ne veulent pas d'un monde meilleur, plus juste. Ils veulent simplement tayer le nôtre de la barbe.

La réalité est plus sûrement celle, en effet, d'un monde sans contrepoids, physiquement déstabilisé donc dangereux, faute d'équilibre multipolaire. Et l'Amérique, dans la solitude de sa puissance, de son hyper-puissance, en l'absence désormais de tout contre-modèle soviétique, a cessé d'attirer les peuples à elle, ou plus précisément, en certains points du globe, elle ne semble plus attirer que la haine. Dans le monde-régulé de la guerre froide où les terrorismes étaient peu ou prou aidés par Moscou, une forme de contrôle était toujours possible ; et le dialogue entre Moscou et Washington ne s'interrompait jamais. Dans le monde monopolistique d'aujourd'hui c'est une nouvelle barbarie, apparemment sans contrôle, qui paraît vouloir s'ériger en contre-pouvoir. Et peut-être avons-nous nous-mêmes en Europe, de la guerre du Golfe à l'utilisation des F16 par l'armée israélienne contre les Palestiniens, sous-estimé l'intensité de la haine qui, des faubourgs de Djakarta à ceux de Durban, en passant par ces foules réjouies de Naplouse et du Caire, se concentre contre les Etats-Unis.

Mais la réalité, c'est peut-être aussi celle d'une Amérique rattrapée par son cynisme : si Ben Laden est bien, comme semblent le penser les autorités américaines, l'ordonnateur de la journée du 11 septembre, comment ne pas rappeler qu'il a lui-même été formé par la CIA, qu'il a été l'un des éléments d'une politique, tournée contre les Soviétiques, que les Américains croyaient savante. Ne serait-ce pas alors l'Amérique qui aurait enfanté ce diable ?

En tout état de cause, l'Amérique va changer. Profondément. Elle est comme un grand paque-

vois, glissant parfois sur une mer agitée. Et lorsque celle-ci est infléchie, elle l'est durablement. Or même si le langage est galvaudé, les Etats-Unis viennent de subir un choc sans précédent. Sans remonter à la toute première agression sur son territoire, celle de 1812 où l'armée britannique détruisit la première Maison Blanche, l'épisode le plus proche qui s'impose est celui de Pearl Harbor. C'était en 1941, loin du continent, avec des bombardiers contre une flotte militaire : l'horreur de Pearl Harbor n'est rien en regard de ce qui vient d'arriver. Elle est au sens propre sans commune mesure : hier 2400 marins engloutis, aujourd'hui bien plus de civils innocents.

Pearl Harbor avait marqué la fin d'un isolationnisme, ancré au point d'avoir résisté même à la barbarie de Hitler. Quand en 1941, Charles Lindbergh, faisait une tournée de conférences en Europe pour plaider contre toute implication américaine, une large partie de l'opinion outre-Atlantique rêvait déjà d'un repli sur l'espace latino-américain, laissant l'Europe à ses ruines et à ses crimes. Après Pearl Harbor tout a changé. Et l'Amérique a tout accepté, le plan Marshall comme l'envoi de GI's sur tous les points du globe. Vint ensuite la déchirure vietnamienne, qui a débouché sur une nouvelle doctrine, celle de l'emploi massif et rare de la force, accompagnée du dogme du « zéro mort » américain comme cela fut illustré pendant la guerre du Golfe. Tout cela est désormais balayé : nul doute que tous les moyens seront utilisés contre des adversaires restés à ce jour insaisissables.

La nouvelle donne qui s'esquisse dans le sang comporte à ce stade au moins deux conséquences prévisibles. Toutes deux ont trait aux alliances : c'en est bel et bien finie d'une stratégie tout entière conçue contre la Russie alors soviétique. La Russie, du moins dans sa partie non-islamisée, va devenir le principal allié des Etats-Unis. Mouvement que le président Poutine a saisi dès le soir du drame. Peut-être en est-ce fini aussi d'une alliance que les Etats-Unis avaient esquisse dès les années trente et solidement établie dans les années 1950 avec l'intégrisme musulman sunnite, tel qu'il est défendu notamment en Arabie saoudite et au Pakistan. Aux yeux de l'opinion américaine et de ses dirigeants, l'islamisme, sous toutes ses formes, risque d'être désigné comme le nouvel ennemi. Certes, le réflexe anti-islamiste avait déjà donné lieu, aussitôt après l'attentat d'Oklahoma City contre un immeuble fédéral, à des déclarations ridicules, sinon odieuses. Mais, cette fois, la haine inextinguible qui nourrit ces attentats tout comme le choix des cibles et le caractère militaire de l'organisation nécessaire limitent le nombre des auteurs possibles.

Au-delà de leur apparente folie meurtrière, ces derniers obsessionnés malgré tout à une logique. Il s'agit évidemment d'une logique barbare, d'un nouveau nihilisme qui répugne à une grande majorité de ceux qui croient en l'islam, dont la religion n'autorise pas plus le suicide que le christianisme ; à plus forte raison le suicide couplé au massacre des innocents. Mais il s'agit d'une logique politique qui par la montée aux extrêmes veut obliger les opinions musulmanes à « choisir leur camp », contre ceux qui sont couramment désignés comme « le grand Satan ». Ce faisant, leur objectif pourrait bien être d'étendre et de développer une crise sans précédent dans l'ensemble du monde arabe.

A long terme, cette attitude est évidemment suicidaire. Parce qu'elle attire la foudre. Et qu'elle peut l'attirer sans discernement. Cette situation commande à nos dirigeants de se hisser à la hauteur des circonstances. Pour éviter aux peuples que ces fauteurs de guerre convoitent et sur lesquels ils comptent d'entrer à leur tour dans cette logique suicidaire. Car on peut le dire avec effroi : la technologie moderne leur permet d'aller encore plus loin. La folie, même au prétexte du désespoir, n'est jamais une force qui peut régénérer le monde. Voilà pourquoi, aujourd'hui, nous sommes américains.

T.-M. C.



APPENDIX 4:

Layout

BERNSTEIN R., 'Revisiting war's agony ends German taboo', *The NYT supplement*, 22 March 2003.

BECKER E., 'Bush plan favors U.S. firms for Iraqi rebuilding efforts', *The NYT supplement*, 22 March 2003.

Front-cover NYT supplement: 'On both sides, cool talk of war', *The New York Times supplement*, 8 march 2003.

Front-cover NYT supplement: 'New Doctrine challenges the old order', 12 April 2003.

WAR IN IRAQ

Bush Plan Favors U.S. Firms for Iraqi Rebuilding Efforts

By ELIZABETH BECKER

WASHINGTON — Bush administration plans for the rebuilding of Iraq call for private American corporations to undertake much of the work, with the United Nations development agencies and other multilateral organizations sidelined, according to administration officials who have seen confidential documents outlining the plans. With the administration offering \$1.5 billion in work to private companies and just \$50 million to American aid groups, the plan will leave out many large international organizations. Several development experts said recently that they found the plan ambitious, particularly for an administration that campaigned against "nation building." According to aid officials, the contracts call for the reconstruction or rehabilitation of roads, municipal water systems, seaports and airports, government ministry buildings, schools and irrigation systems. Contracts will also be given to overhaul public health facilities and the primary and secondary education systems. In line with the administration's goal of transforming Iraq into a democracy, those who have seen the plans said, American officials will also be appointed as ministers overseeing Iraqi bureaucrats. The plan as outlined would be a sharp departure from reconstruction efforts in the last decade, which were largely undertaken by international peacekeeping operations. Administration officials said it was important to give contracts to American corporations, essentially leaping over the experienced development and international groups, as a way to demonstrate to the Iraqi people that the United States is a "liberator."

Relief work will begin almost as soon as the first bombs are dropped and the military is confronted with Iraqi civilians in need of food, water, medicine and shelter, officials said. For that reason, Jay Garner, the retired general who directs the new Office of Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance in the Pentagon, arrived recently in Kuwait. Kofi Annan, the secretary general of the United Nations, has suspended the program under which revenues from oil sales have kept nearly three-quarters of Iraqis fed. Administration officials said they believe they can reinvigorate it as soon as the military gains control of Iraq. The administration is already feeling pressure to expand the list of nations and corporations taking part in what could become a \$30 billion program over the next three years. Foreign officials questioned why even British companies have been excluded despite the loyalty of Prime Minister Tony Blair, who has been a strong ally of the United States. Bernard Kouchner, the former United Nations special representative in Kosovo and one of the few French politicians sympathetic to the idea of overthrowing Saddam Hussein, said the Bush administration would be short-sighted if it excluded other nations. "It's impossible — impossible — to reconstruct without Europe, not just in terms of money but to push the international community toward your position," he said. "You have to cut them a piece of cake."

A sharp departure from reconstruction efforts of recent years.

At this stage, the only plan for rebuilding Iraq is a list of contractors to the American companies, according to Ellen Yount, spokeswoman for United States Agency International Development. The companies asked to bid include Kellogg Brown & Root, a subsidiary of Halliburton Company, which President Dick Cheney once headed. Frances D. Cook, former American ambassador to Oman and a consul to several Middle Eastern countries, has been lobbying the administration to include companies from Egypt, Jordan and other nations to show appreciation for their cooperation in the war effort. "They are already screaming in the Middle East — you call us, we look at you giving contracts to American companies and no one else," Cook said.

they wrought has become an important element in German opposition to the war with Iraq. What people like Ms. Lang and Ms. John, both antiwar activists in Dresden, have been saying is something like this: "We have direct knowledge of the gruesome effects of war and we don't want anybody else to experience what we have experienced. In Germany, where all consideration of World War II bears a special weight, this new national attention to German suffering has generated plenty of commentary of its own. Much of it focuses on the widely successful book by Mr. Friedrich, which is titled "Der Brand," or "The Fire," a work that describes in stark, unrelenting and very literary detail what happened in city after city as the Allies dropped 80 million incendiary bombs on Germany. There have long been books and photographic collections on many of the cities destroyed in the bombing, including an authoritative one on Dresden by Götz Bergander, a 76-year-old

Revisiting War's Agony Ends a German Taboo



German suffering during World War II, like the bombing of Dresden, left, has become an acceptable topic of discussion; an element in the opposition to the war with Iraq. Jörg Friedrich recently wrote a best-seller about the Allied bomb

By RICHARD BERNSTEIN

DRESDEN, Germany — The photograph, a precious possession, shows Dresden before World War II, where the childhood friends Nora Lang, now 72, and Vanila John, 71, lived in apartments across from each other. "It's nice that Dresden is being restored," Ms. John said, speaking of the many monuments in this once ruined city that are still being rebuilt, stone by stone. "But the old Dresden is gone forever — the houses, the homes and

also the people whom I knew, who are gone, too."

Ms. John, who witnessed the nighttime firebombing of Dresden by the Royal Air Force on Feb. 13, 1945 — an attack that killed about 35,000 people and destroyed one of the most beautiful cities in Europe — was doing what many Germans have been doing lately: talking about their own suffering in World War II.

For the last few months in fact, television has been showing endless documentaries and discussions of the air war waged by Britain and the United States against Germany in World War

II. While this is not a new subject in Germany, there are at least two ways in which the discussion is different from the past.

First, the emphasis is on what Jörg Friedrich, author of a best-selling book on the Allied bombing campaign, calls "Leideform," the form of suffering inflicted on German civilians. In other words, a taboo, by which Germans have remained guiltily silent, at least in public, about their experience of the horrors of war, has been suddenly and mysteriously broken.

Second, the new awareness of the Allied bombings and the devastation

survivor of the firebombing. But reaction to Mr. Friedrich's book is more visceral and widespread, and brings questions to mind: Have Germans attached themselves to Friedrich's book and, similarly, I they used Mr. Friedrich's book cause it gives them a rare and in catering taste of the moral high ground. Moreover, in what has stirred haps the greatest amount of critic Mr. Friedrich uses language that now has been reserved for describing the Holocaust.

In the interview, Mr. Friedrich pointed to photographs in a book that unflinchingly depicts the destruction of the city of Kassel. One of the photographs shows a tangle of burned and twisted bodies, including those of children, women and old people, filling up an entire square. "You cannot look at pictures like that without being reminded that the only one other situation where you see such scenes," he said.

Many in Germany and elsewhere, of course, will disagree. Mr. Bergan interviewed in his home in Berlin, exception to Mr. Friedrich's words like "death by gassing," said Mr. Bergander argues, "is not a you can use as a German."

A New Plan Would Weigh Lost Liberties vs. Security

By EDMUND L. ANDREWS

WASHINGTON — Civil liberties and privacy may be priceless, but they may soon have a price tag. In an unusual twist on cost-benefit analysis, an economic tool that conservatives have often used to attack envi-

budget office asked experts from around America for ideas on how to measure "indirect costs" like lost time, lost privacy and even lost liberty that might stem from tougher security regulations.

The budget office has not challenged any domestic security rules, and officials say they are only beginning to



The United States government wants to measure the benefits of tighter domestic security, like that at this Chicago airport, against the "costs" of lost freedom and priv-

with monetary evaluations, I told them they should start asking about the cost of destroying democracy," said Nader, who lobbied Mitchell E. Daniels Jr., the budget office director the issue. "If the value assigned to the rights and privacy is zero, the rational thing to do is just wipe them out. Skeptics abound, with some pre-

On Both Sides, Cool Talk of War



U.S. and Iraq Foresee The Battle of Baghdad

By MICHAEL R. GORDON

CAMP VIRGINIA, Kuwait — If Saddam Hussein decides to make a final stand in Baghdad, the United States military plans to send troops into the heart of the city in a coordinated ground and air campaign against centers of government power, the commander of the United States Army's forces in Kuwait said.

The aim is to avoid bloody house-to-house fighting that could claim large numbers of American and civilian lives, said Lt. Gen. William S. Wallace. The plan would also avoid a prolonged siege, which could leave the Iraqi leader in control of his capital and in a position to exploit world concern about the fate of his citizens.

Saddam Hussein's recent decision to move the Adnan Republican Guard division from its base near the northern city of Mosul toward central Iraq appears to have indicated such a plan.

The Iraqi leader, it seems, does not plan to mount a determined defense of his borders. Some military experts say the indications are that he plans to make his stand in Baghdad, playing the starring role in a drama intended to portray his government as a victim holding out against the advancing Americans.

It is as much a political strategy as a military one. The Iraqi government's political calculation apparently is that it can use a prolonged siege of Baghdad to stir up opposition on the Arab street and in European capitals to the Bush administration's drive to topple Mr. Hussein, the Iraqi leader.

The images the American military wants to see on Al Jazeera are thousands of Iraqis cheering the American and British forces as the invaders head north from Kuwait into Shiite-



Iraqi martyr volunteers, top, paraded on Palestine Street in Baghdad on Wednesday. United States Army soldiers trained on Thursday at a military base outside Kuwait City.

dominated southern Iraq, already chafing under Mr. Hussein's rule, before rumbling forward toward Baghdad. It wants a quick war and a friendly welcome in Baghdad, not a long, miserable siege with growing anxiety around the world about the

Continued on Page 2

On TV, Saddam Hussein Shows He Is in Charge

By NEIL MacFARQUHAR

BAGHDAD, Iraq — President Saddam Hussein, cigar in hand, is addressing an auditorium filled with commanders from the Republican Guards, belittling the deployment of American aircraft carriers to the Persian Gulf.

He reels off statistics about how each is nine stories high and serves 20,000 meals a day. "But in the end, does this aircraft carrier have wheels that enable it to come to Baghdad?" he says to the commanders, led by his son Qusay, a younger, stockier version of himself, seated in the front row.

"The decisive factor in battle will be a soldier marching on his feet and tanks and mobile or fixed artillery," says Mr. Hussein, speaking from behind a long dais with an Iraqi flag off to his right. "All this talk about what America has is nonsense."

Such scenes have been unrolling almost nightly for the past week at 9 o'clock on Iraqi television. The first

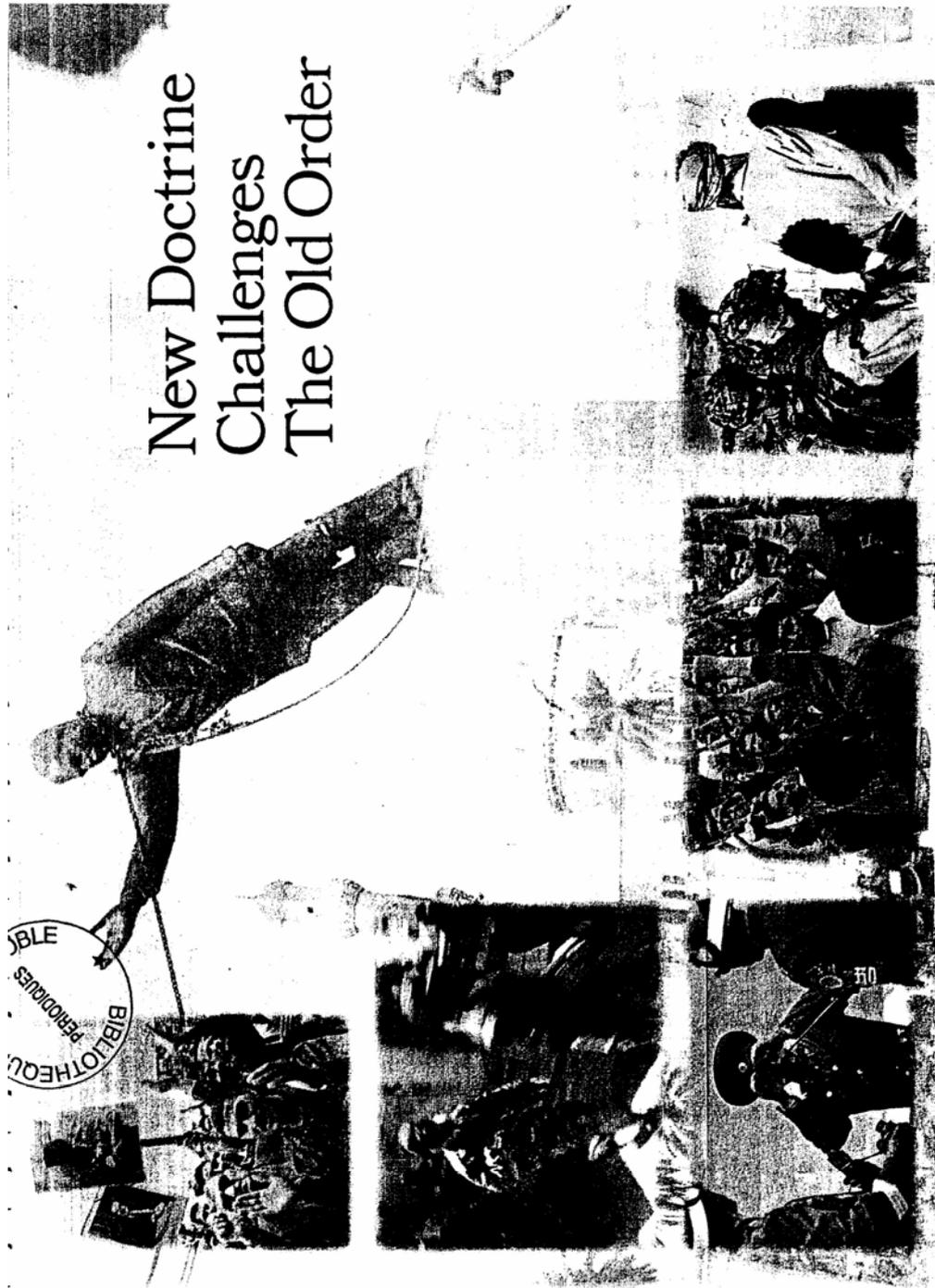
hour, at least, of the news is by coverage of the preside meeting with successive military commanders.

The broadcasts serve purposes. They are partly to reassure an increasingly edgy nation of that they will not be overruled by their third major commander Mr. Hussein's rule.

The speeches are also meant to mobilize and rally the military, the president's most common theme the bristling array of high-tech weaponry can be overruled by the determination of Iraqi soldiers ing their own homes.

Perhaps most important, a calm, assured leader exerts certain easy camaraderie with military commanders, the very Bush administration has been encourage to stage a coup if president has not been seen by the Iraqi public since a 2000 military parade, and

Continued on Page 2



New Doctrine Challenges The Old Order

The United States may be eyeing other trouble spots: counterclockwise from top left, a rally in Syria; Fatah militants in Gaza; the Korean border; demonstrators in Iran; a Taliban suspect in Afghanistan.

Iraq Was First Test of Bush's Strategy, but Might Not Be the Last

By DAVID E. SANGER and STEVE WEISMAN

"that support for terror will not be tolerated."
Iraq was No. 1 on the Axis of Evil. But the new strategy extends to Syria and Iran. North Korea

Secretary of Defense Donald H. Rumsfeld was already warning Syria recently that it had ignored his past cautions against aiding the Iraqi

strength from the Iraqi war.
Mr. Bush has said that the attacks on September 11, 2001, forced him to an entirely new con-

APPENDIX 5:

Detailed analysis of the NYT supplement

VAN NATTA and others, 'Questioning terror suspects in a surreal world', *the NYT supplement*, 15 March 2003.

LEDUFF C., 'Two Towns, close, but forced apart', *The NYT supplement*, 1 March 2003.

SENGUPTA S., 'Piety and politics leave a Nigerian city torn apart by riots', *The NYT supplement*, 1 March 2003.

ZOEPF K., 'Immigrant taxi drivers pause for a taste of home', *The NYT supplement*, 1 March 2003.

GOLDEN T., 'For Russian art collector, a murky trail to end of dreams', *The NYT supplement*, 12 April, 2003.

WILFORD J., 'Centers of oldest human history may be threatened', *the NYT supplement*, 1st March 2003.

TYLER E., 'Bush talks of peace and democracy in the Mideast', *the NYT supplement*, 1 March 2003

JANOFSKY M., 'New surge of anxiety for Muslims in America', *the NYT supplement*, 5th April 2003.

EATON L., 'Divided over war, with room to agree', *The NYT supplement*, 5 April 2003.

'In one form, many functions', *The NYT supplement*, 5 May 2002.

WEINER T., 'With a little bit of cash, poor woman begin to overcome'. *The New York Times supplement*, 29 March 2003.

HARMON Amy, 'Skip-the-ads upsets programming executives', *The New York Times supplement*, 2nd June 2002.

WARREN J., 'The Goliaths of Television Kneel to TiVo', *The New York Times supplement*, 27 April 2003.

The U.S. has detained about 3,000 suspected members of Al Qaeda and the Taliban. A suspect was taken away after an interrogation at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba.

Questioning Terror Suspects in a Surreal World

This article was reported by Raymond Bonner, Don Van Natta Jr. and Amy Waldman and written by Mr. Van Natta.

CAIRO — The capture of Khalid Shaikh Mohammed provides American authorities with their best opportunity to prevent attacks by Al Qaeda and track down Osama bin Laden. But the detention also presents a tactical and moral challenge when it comes to the interrogation techniques used to obtain vital information.

Senior American officials said physical torture would not be used against Mr. Mohammed, regarded as the operations chief of Al Qaeda and mastermind of the September 11 attacks. They said his interrogation would rely on what they consider acceptable techniques like sleep and light deprivation and the temporary withholding of food, water, access to sunlight and medical attention. American officials acknowledged that such techniques were recently applied as part of the interrogation of Abu Zubaydah, the highest-ranking Qaeda operative in custody until the capture of Mr. Mohammed. Painkillers were withheld from Mr. Zubaydah, who was shot several times during his capture in Pakistan.

But the urgency of obtaining information about potential attacks and the opaque nature of the way interrogations are carried out can blur the line between accepted and unaccepted actions, several American officials said.

Routine techniques include covering suspects' heads with black hoods for hours at a time and forcing them to stand or kneel in uncomfortable posi-

tions in extreme cold or heat, American and other officials familiar with interrogations said.

Interrogations of important Qaeda operatives like Mr. Mohammed occur at isolated locations outside the jurisdiction of American law. Some places have been kept secret, but American officials acknowledged that the C.I.A. has interrogation centers at the United States air base at Bagram in Afghanistan and at a base on Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean.

Intelligence officials also acknowledged that some suspects had been turned over to security services in

countries known to employ torture. There have also been isolated, if persistent, reports of beatings in some American-operated centers. American military officials in Afghanistan are investigating the deaths of two prisoners at Bagram in December.

Secretary of State Colin L. Powell and Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld have said that American techniques adhere to international accords that ban the use of torture and that "all appropriate measures" are employed in interrogations.

Rights advocates and lawyers for prisoners' rights have accused the

United States of quietly embracing torture as an acceptable means of getting information in the global antiterrorism campaign. "They don't have a policy on torture," said Holly Burkhalter, the United States director of Physicians for Human Rights, one of five groups pressing the Pentagon for assurances detainees are not being tortured. "There is no specific policy that eschews torture."

Critics also assert that transferring Qaeda suspects to countries where torture is believed common — like Egypt, Jordan and Saudi Arabia — violates American law and the 1984 international convention against torture.

About 3,000 Qaeda and Taliban suspects have been detained since the fall of 2001. Some have since been freed. The largest known group, about 650, is being held at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. Senior Qaeda members are interrogated by C.I.A. officers and interpreters.

Omar al-Faruq, a confidant of Mr. bin Laden and one of Al Qaeda's senior operatives in Southeast Asia, was captured last June. Officials said Mr. Faruq was brought to the C.I.A. interrogation center at the Bagram air base.

It is likely, experts say, that Mr. Faruq was left naked most of the time, said that over a three-month period, he was fed very little while being subjected to sleep and light deprivation, prolonged isolation and room temperatures that varied from 100 degrees Fahrenheit to 10 degrees. In the end he began to cooperate.

The official described Mr. Faruq's interrogation as "not quite torture, but about as close as you can get."

Critics say the United States has condoned the use of torture in the questioning of suspected Qaeda and Taliban members. One was escorted after an interrogation in Guantánamo Bay last year.



Reuters

Two Towns, Close, but Forced Apart

By CHARLIE LEDUFF

JACUMBA, California — Two men stood on opposite sides of a fence, one trying to sell the other eggs.

Passing eggs over the border is technically trafficking in contraband. A border patrol agent watched the men with spyglasses from a hill.

"No thanks, amigo. I got plenty of eggs," said Russell Duncan, standing in Jacumba, U.S.A.

"Tequila, then," said Raúl López, standing across the border in Jacume, Mexico. "How about some tequila? I have that, too."

Between them was a metal and wood wall on a dead-end street.

"No thanks, partner," Mr. Duncan said, motioning with his thumb at the federal agent.

"This line is going to kill these towns," Mr. López said, smoking an American cigarette. "It's going to kill everything."

Jacumba and Jacume (pronounced hah-COOM-bah and hah-COO-may) are small unmemorable towns. Orig-

nally the border that divided the men was a simple wire fence that cattle routinely trampled. In 1995, the barricade was built to discourage caravans smuggling people and narcotics from driving into the United States from Mexico.

But the government still did not bother the people of Jacume from coming to Jacumba to buy groceries or to work. Old men were permitted to trade in eggs and alcohol. Mexican children were not stopped when coming to school or to the health clinic.

Then came the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, followed by helicopters and lights and motion detectors and extra border agents, and now nobody is allowed to cross into Jacumba. Foreigners who cross into the United States here are arrested. Americans could be fined \$5,000 for illegal entry and be jailed. What was a 10-minute walk is now a two-hour drive.

Some Mexicans have moved into trailers on the American side, and to visit home on weekends they simply jump the fence, because it seems the Mexican officials could not care less.

"It's unfortunate that American citizens suffer," said Raleigh Leonard, a spokesman for the Border Patrol. "But we are committed to protecting the nation's borders."

Jacume is a poor town of perhaps 600. There are no paved roads and no streetlights and dogs roam the streets. Jacumba is also a town of 600 and poor by American standards. There is no human activity in many of the storefronts. For a century, the villages co-existed in the sun and the sand of the high desert, tied together in their isolation by bloodlines. But now, the residents say, it is all coming undone.

"This border is about as phony as a three dollar bill," said Mr. Duncan, 75, a gunsmith and knife smith. "We got illegals, we got drug smugglers, but the only people we're able to keep out is our neighbors and many of these people we're related to."

In the distance, a man in a truck on the American side was passing plywood over the fence to a man on the Mexican side.

A sign on the Mexican side of the wall reads in Spanish: Go north and work and prosper but don't forget where you come from.

CALIFORNIA

Jacumba



Dave Gutley for The New York Times

Raúl López of Jacume, Mexico, and Russell Duncan of Jacumba, California, left, chatting across the fence that now separates their towns. The border used to be marked by a wire cattle fence that was even easier to cross.

WORLD TRENDS



Elizabeth Agbu, a Christian, was driven from her home in Kaduna's Muslim quarter by a mob that killed her brother. Homes, right, that were destroyed in religious riots.



Photograph by Michael Kamber for The New York Times

Piety and Politics Leave a Nigerian City Torn Apart by Riots

By SOMINI SENGUPTA

KADUNA, Nigeria — When the mob came for Tajudeen A. Tijjani, they came in the name of the Lord, setting his house on fire, destroying all his earthly possessions.

Across town, when the mob came for Elizabeth Agbu, they came in the name of Allah, ransacking her house, killing her brother before her eyes.

Mr. Tijjani, 55, a Muslim and chief of his neighborhood security council, had lived among Christians most of his life. When he and his children ran for their lives, it was a Christian neighbor who pulled them inside to safety.

Likewise, it was a Muslim neighbor who saved Ms. Agbu, 20, a Christian who was born and raised in a Muslim quarter.

But in the temporary sanctuary of a neighbor's house last November during the latest riots here, both Mr. Tijjani and Ms. Agbu made an awful choice: to stop living among people who call God by another name. They

each crossed the Kaduna River, heading in opposite directions. She went south to live among fellow Christians, and he went north to the Muslim quarter.

Once a lively urban mélange of faiths and tribes, this today is a partitioned city, the Kaduna River cutting a line through its heart.

Muslims crowd into the neighborhoods bizarrely renamed Kandar and Jalalabad. Christians pack a new settlement of unpaved red dust roads, where pigs roam free and churches multiply: they call it New Jerusalem. "We have no Muslims here," one of Ms. Agbu's neighbors said.

Kaduna, with an estimated two million people, is abuzz with religious piety. Koranic schools sprout on one side; crowded Christian prayer meetings take place on the other. Even local entrepreneurs display their religious stripes: "God's Will Depot" promises Coca-Cola and 7-Up at affordable prices.

But Kaduna is also a snapshot of the most twisted sort of piety. "Jesus is

the king of the world," reads the graffiti in the courtyard of a destroyed mosque in a Christian part of town. A Catholic church in a Muslim enclave has been burned, its roof collapsed, its priest hacked to death.

Once, people of all tribes and faiths flocked to the textile mills of Kaduna.

Violence in the name of religion, but politics may be to blame.

Christians recall being invited to Muslim weddings. A devout Muslim recalls kneeling down and praying with his Christian cousins.

"The way we attack each other, you'd think Muhammad and Jesus were both Nigerians," one bewildered man here whispered to a stranger.

Mr. Tijjani, a journalist by profession, lives now in a spartan room in the

guest house of the Kaduna Press Center. "This is not the Kaduna I knew," he said. "We used to climb up for the same mangoes, play in the same fields, chase after the same girls."

His one and only sister has been married to a Christian for 25 years. "It would be foolhardy," he added, "for anyone to think religion is actually the cause of the crisis we are having."

The November riots, the third in as many years, killed 200 people and were set off by a Nigerian newspaper column, offensive to some Muslims, that suggested that the prophet Muhammad would have chosen a wife from among the contestants of a Miss World beauty pageant scheduled to be held in Nigeria.

But at the root of the eruptions were grievances that run deeper: who gets jobs, who gets police protection, who is elected to political office. Some blame religious leaders who had no control of their flocks. Others blame the failure of law enforcement authorities to protect people and property.

There are Muslims who point an angry finger at the Nigerian president, Olusegun Obasanjo, a Christian. There are Christians who accuse the Hausa Muslims who dominate the north of being indifferent to their needs. But one thing is clear: playing the religion card has been vital to scoring political points here.

Ms. Agbu, a university student, hoped to be safer when she and her father moved to the Christian enclave. Nearly all her friends are in the old neighborhood. She visits from time to time. But everything has changed. "I don't joke with them like before," she said. "I just say 'hi hi' and just go."

Across town, Mr. Tijjani, the Muslim, says his old neighbors have offered to take up a collection to rebuild his house. Some of the area boys, all Christians, have offered to exact revenge on those who razed his home. But he wanted no violence in his name. He said, "It's God that gives, it's him that takes," he said.

Behind him, a Christian man listening in on the conversation piped in. "The Lord give. The Lord take."

Immigrant Taxi Drivers Pause for a Taste of Home

By KATHERINE ZOEPPF

NEW YORK By day, the 29th Street Deli is as generic as they come, a tiny convenience store tucked between a parking lot and a shop selling imported silk saris on a barren stretch of 29th Street.

By night, the deli is transformed. The modest store becomes a pulsing, chattering, free-flowing all-night party, a makeshift restaurant and social club for a group of New York workers long underserved by both restaurants and social clubs: Bangladeshi taxi drivers.

"They say that 40 percent of the cabbies in New York are from Bangladesh," said Ahmed Gulam, who has been driving a taxi in New York since 1996. "And now we have a place to go where there is always community, always a party."

A spokesman for the New York City Taxi and Limousine Commission estimates that 70 percent of the city's 100,000 cabbies are from the Indian

subcontinent.

Even small New York restaurants are generally too expensive for many drivers, and so the city has become home to many makeshift establishments where cabbies from a particular country or region can congregate.

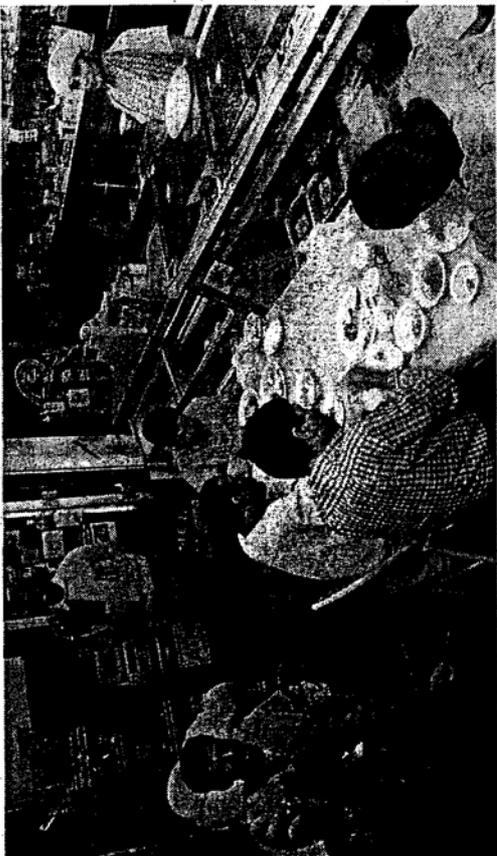
The transformation of the 29th Street Deli started in 1999, when a Bangladeshi woman named Muksuda Kahatun emigrated to New York to join her cab-driving husband, Daud Kahatun.

"He knew she was such a good cook," Mr. Gulam said of Mr. Kahatun. "And so one day he asked her, 'Why don't you try to sell your food to the cabbies?'"

Last year Mrs. Kahatun began doing just that. Each day she prepares a variety of foods at home and packs them into foil containers. In the evening, she brings the food to the deli.

The selection changes nightly. On a recent Saturday, it included rice with dark lentil dal, yellow curry with vegetables, a spicy chicken stew, vegetable rolls, snacks and sweets.

She serves 150 to 200 cab drivers



Graham Morrison for The New York Times

New York taxi drivers enjoy Bangladeshi food at the 29th Street Deli, one of many places that cater to drivers from the Indian subcontinent.

each night, and has become a sort of mother figure to the Bangladeshi drivers working the night shift, many of whom are young and unmarried.

"I'm a single man, so when I stay home, I feel boring," said Mr. Gulam, explaining why he came almost every night. "Here, there are always friends. You know everyone, you eat, you laugh, and you tell stories."

The place is busiest around 2 a.m., when most cab drivers change shifts. On weekends, Mrs. Kahatun often

serves until nearly dawn. Several blocks away, the Punjabi Food Junction at 10th Avenue and 28th Street does a brisk overnight business serving the community of Punjabi taxi drivers. There's a \$5.95 all-you-can-eat buffet which, the owner, Phuman Singh, likes to say is "open 26 hours a day."

Balwant Singh and Amer Deep Singh, cousins from the state of Punjab, in India, often meet here around 2 a.m. "The food tastes just like at home," Balwant Singh said.



FRIEND OF THE AVANT-GARDE Nikolai Khardzhiev, right, a collector, with Malevich.



WAITING TO ESCAPE Mr. Khardzhiev with his wife, Lydia Chaga, in Moscow in the 1970's.



THE HEIR Boris Abarov became the sole heir of Mr. Khardzhiev and Ms. Chaga.



THE DEALERS Krystyna Gmurzynska and Mathias Rastorfer resettled Mr. Khardzhiev.

For Russian Art Collector, a Murky Trail to End of a Dream

By TIM GOLDEN

On May 13 the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum in New York will open a gleaming exhibition of paintings and drawings by Kasimir Malevich, a master of the Russian avant-garde and a seminal figure in modern art.

This show will feature important works never seen in the West. But this exhibition is also about a saga of the avant-garde.

The paintings at the center of the show were once the treasure of Nikolai Khardzhiev, a Russian critic who befriended leading members of the avant-garde.

The story of Mr. Khardzhiev's collection is an art-world parable, setting the obsession of a trail and complicated old man against the forces of a market in which a single Malevich oil can command \$15 million or more.

When the 90-year-old scholar and his wife finally left Moscow in 1993 they hoped to finish their lives in peace and find a suitable home for their collection.

Instead, Mr. Khardzhiev died in Amsterdam, less than three years later, embittered and alone. His wife had died in a mysterious fall. An out-of-work Russian actor to whom they entrusted their estate took a \$5 million payoff and disappeared.

Though Mr. Khardzhiev wanted his collection preserved, many of the best pieces were sold to wealthy collectors, earning millions in profits for a pair of European art dealers whom the couple had come to despise. Nearly half of his precious literary archive was seized by Russian customs inspectors as it was smuggled out of Moscow; the rest now sits in a museum basement in Amsterdam.

The role of the Guggenheim is also complicated. Displaying the Khardzhiev works could greatly increase their value for the

art dealers still trying to sell them, and the Guggenheim official who conceived the Malevich show is a longtime friend of the dealers. The art dealers, the Guggenheim and Russian officials all deny having done anything improper.

"What happened here is the worst thing I could have envisioned," one of the art dealers, Mathias Rastorfer, said regarding the scattering of Mr. Khardzhiev's art and archive. When Mr. Khardzhiev and his wife, Lydia Chaga, left Moscow

their conduct was a Dutch academic, Willem Weststeyn, who approached Mr. Khardzhiev in 1992 with an invitation to visit the University of Amsterdam. Mr. Khardzhiev proposed instead that he move, and suggested he might leave his archive to that university.

Mr. Weststeyn had no idea how to get the collection out of Russia, but soon found someone who did in Krystyna Gmurzynska, an art dealer in Germany. Ms. Gmurzynska and her partner, Mr. Rastorfer, were to give Mr. Khardzhiev and his wife \$2.5 million to resettle in Amsterdam. In return, the dealers would receive six Malevich works that experts had valued at 10 times that amount or more. Ms. Gmurzynska and Mr. Rastorfer denied taking part in the smuggling.

The Khardzhievs said the two art dealers not only took charge of moving their belongings, but also helped to pack and carry away suitcases full of art. But Mr. Khardzhiev learned in February 1994 that almost half of his archive had been seized at Sheremetyevo Airport in Moscow.

Lastly came Boris Abarov, a former Russian actor, who placed a Dutch friend as the couple's business adviser. In July 1995, Mr. Abarov and this adviser helped Mr. Khardzhiev prepare a will providing for a foundation in the couple's name and making Mr. Abarov their heir.

Ms. Chaga died four months later. A friend of Mr. Khardzhiev, Vadim Kozovoi, said he arrived in Amsterdam in March 1996 to find him confined to bed, demanding to change his will.

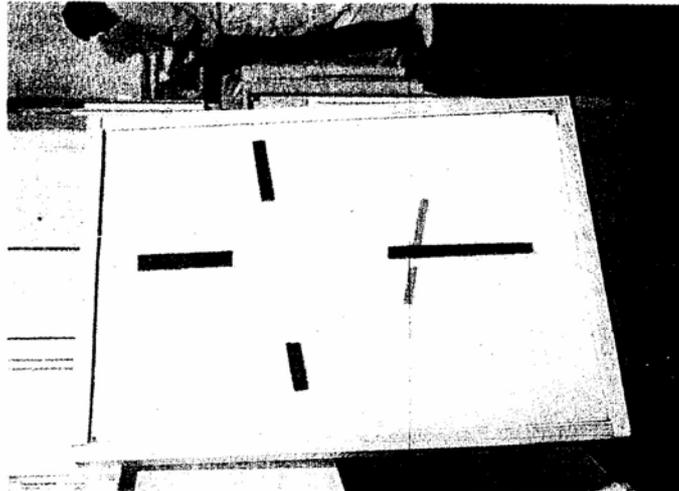
After Mr. Khardzhiev's death three months later, Mr. Abarov changed the bylaws of the Khardzhiev-Chaga foundation in Amsterdam to allow the sale of more art. Before the Dutch authorities began investigating a year later, the foundation negotiated new sales of at least \$12.5 million with the Gmurzynska gallery. Finally, Mr. Abarov negotiated with the couple's executor to receive \$5 million for re-

nouncing further claims on the estate. Then he disappeared.

With more Malevich works to sell and tens of millions of dollars at stake, Ms. Gmurzynska and Mr. Rastorfer set about making the problems go away. They eventually began working with the European representative of the Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation, Nicholas Ijine, on an exhibition of works.

The guest curator of the exhibition, Matthew Drutt, said he had agreed to work on it only after being assured that there were no outstanding legal claims to the paintings.

"It was only trying to honor Khardzhiev's ultimate intention, which was to bring this work to a broader public," Mr. Drutt said.



From left: for The New York Times, Gabriele Gmurzynska, best right Works by Kasimir Malevich that are in dispute include "Suprematism of the Mind," above, and "Pictorial Realism of a Peasant Woman in Two Dimensions, called Red Red Square," inset.

Modern Art Is Transformed Into a Vision of Torture



Contemplating War and Its Uncertainties



U.S. Assesses The Risks Of Conflict

By DAVID E. SANGER and THOM SHANKER

WASHINGTON — Senior Bush administration officials are now discussing a subject they have stepped during the buildup of force around Iraq: what could go wrong not only during an attack but also in the aftermath of an invasion.

Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld has a four- to five-page, written catalog of risks that aides say he keeps in his desk drawer. He refers to it constantly, updating it with his own ideas and suggestions from senior military commanders.



His list includes a "concern" Saddam Hussein using weapons of mass destruction against his own people and blaming it on us, which "doesn't fit a pattern." Mr. Rumsfeld said the document also notes "that he can't be sure what he did to the Kuwaiti oil fields explode them, detonate, in a way that lost that important revenue for Iraqi people."

That item is of particular concern to administration officials' postwar planning because they are counting on Iraqi oil revenues to help pay for rebuilding the nation.

Although administration officials are no doubt concerned about the number of American casualties they have declined to discuss the and it is not known how that rises in Mr. Rumsfeld's list.

If there is one scenario that administration war planners thought of a protracted conflict, it would likely lead to increased casualties. "How long will this go on?" senior administration officials asked. "Three days, three weeks,

James Hill for The New York Times; inset, Sanger

A war in Iraq could cause political upheaval in the region and elsewhere and damage to some of the Arab world's cultural and architectural treasures. A building in Baghdad that Iraq says was a bomb shelter hit by American missiles in 1991 houses a monument to civilians, killed in that conflict.

Centers of Oldest Human History May Be Threatened

By JOHN NOBLE WILFORD

War in Iraq would halt archaeology not just in that country but across the Middle East, experts say, and could result in some of the earliest cities of Mesopotamia being bombed or looted into ruins of ruins.

Researchers with experience in Iraq say they are worried that postwar looting could cause even more damage to the antiquities than combat. They also fear that some art dealers and collectors might take advantage of postwar disarray to gain access to more of Iraq's archaeological treasures. After the Persian Gulf war of 1991, ancient treasures were plundered and sold illegally in international markets. Fear of war has already had a wide-

spread effect. All European research teams left Iraq months ago, suspending excavations along the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers at places like Uruk, Assur, Nimrud and Nineveh.

Others doubt that they will return this year to sites in Syria, Jordan and some places in southern Turkey. In many cases it is impossible to get insurance for staff and students. Researchers in Egypt are growing wary, and nascent plans for reviving long-suspended operations in Iran have been abandoned.

Archaeology in Israel, already curtailed by internal hostilities, is expected to suffer further interruptions, with almost none of 30 American excavations likely to be operating soon.



The ziggurat of the temple of Enlil, in Nippur, a center of ancient Babylon.

Even those who have not yet called off this summer's dig season say they will have to make a decision in the next few weeks. They are not optimistic.

"I want to go into the field, but I don't want to walk into a war zone," said Dr. Richard Zettler of the University of Pennsylvania, who has directed excavations in Syria at Tell Sweyhat, once considered safely distant from the Iraqi border.

Archaeologists have set aside their own concerns and have tried to alert American officials to the cultural devastation that war and its aftermath could bring to the land of the oldest civilization, where urban life and the written word began some 5,500 years ago.

During the Persian Gulf war in 1991 at least one major archaeological monument, the colossal ziggurat of Ur, was bombed. Shock from explosions damaged fragile structures like the

Continued on Page 2

Continued on Page 2

Bush Talks of Peace and Democracy in the Mideast

By PATRICK E. TYLER

WASHINGTON — Responding to calls from allies, friends and even family members, President Bush last week embraced the goals that his father pursued when he attacked Saddam Hussein's forces more than a decade ago.

In a speech on Wednesday, Mr. Bush asserted that removing Mr. Hussein and replacing his dictatorship with democratic institutions will transform a region known for authoritarianism and repression.

In saying he would exploit victory over Baghdad to develop a momentum toward peace in the Middle East, Mr. Bush put himself in the steps of his father, who told Congress after American forces defeated Iraqi troops in Kuwait: "The time has come to put an end to the Arab-Israeli conflict."

Mr. Bush's remarks were doubtless intended to influence skeptics and to provide a further justification for going to war with Iraq. But he did not engage the logic of his critics on the cru-

cial questions of why he is unwilling to give United Nations arms inspectors more time to try disarm Mr. Hussein through peaceful means.

Instead, he said he had "listened carefully" to world leaders and offered them this explanation: "The threat to peace does not come from those who seek to enforce the just demands of the civilized world; the threat to peace comes from those who flout those demands."

The White House seemed unwilling to discuss a Canadian compromise proposal that would set a late March deadline for Iraqi compliance as a way to narrow the rift separating the United States and a group of nations led by France, Germany and Russia.

As challenging as bridging that rift will be, building a peace between Arabs and Israelis would require even greater diplomatic efforts. And, Mr. Bush, like his father, provided little in the way of details.

Mr. Bush said Palestinians would have to choose new leaders and build a state that would "abandon forever the use of terror."

At the same time, he said that, after

The president dusts off the 'road map' to a Palestinian state.

threat of terror is removed and security improves, he expected the new Israeli government to "support the creation of a viable Palestinian state" and to "work as quickly as possible."

Mr. Bush dedicated himself more forcefully to the "road map" that America and its European allies have been working on to accomplish the goal of Palestinian statehood within three years. The goals are lofty at a time when the Western alliance and most of the rest of the world is divided over the whether there are any constraints on American power.

There are indications that close associates of the Bush family were privately expressing concerns about the fissures that have opened between Washington and its major partners in Europe and Asia.

Delivering his remarks before a tableau of American flags, Mr. Bush seemed calm and confident. With this address, and others to come, the White House was seeking to project the coming American intervention in compassionate terms, aimed at constructing images of liberation, reconstruction and reconciliation in the region.

"I think right now that anything that comes from President Bush is taken in the Middle East as camouflage or diversion because the president has a credibility problem, not only in the Middle East, but throughout Europe," said an Arab who advises one of the governments allied with the United States in the region.

Speaking of the American leadership, the official continued, "They have made up their minds to get rid of Saddam Hussein. If they withdraw their armies now, that means that Saddam has won. If you ask me, I would rather that Saddam not win. So I wish Mr. Bush luck, but he has locked himself into a new situation for Iraq and the new situation is unknown. Anyone who tells you that he knows what will happen is a liar."

New Surge Of Anxiety For Muslims In America

By MICHAEL JANOFSKY

PHOENIX — Hassan Elsaad, a civil engineer of Lebanese descent, used to take his family to a public park here every weekend. Now he doesn't. Manan Mohammed, a software consultant from India, used to listen to the Koran and Middle Eastern music in his car. Now he doesn't. Aneesah Nadir, an American-born teacher, never thought twice about walking from her office to the parking lot after work. Now she calls for an escort.

Many Muslim Americans say, the backlash they have felt since the attacks of September 11 has intensified since the United States attacked Iraq. Other Americans, they say, are making them feel scared, anxious and obligated to change their lifestyles and make themselves inconspicuous. Many say they have been made to feel like scapegoats, and the feelings are all too familiar.



Jeff Topping for The New York Times

"The anxiety and stress we feel started after 9/11," said Ms. Nadir, who teaches social work at Arizona State University and serves as president of the Islamic Social Services Association of the United States. "This is a continuation of all that."

The war has made Zarinah Nadir and other American Muslims circumspect.

Some of the most recent incidents have been violent. The police here are investigating a case in which explosives were tossed into the yard of an Iraqi-American family.

In one of several incidents in the Chicago area, a van parked outside the suburban home of a Palestinian family exploded. It caused no injuries, but the authorities have charged a local man, Eric Nix, 24, with arson, criminal damage and committing a hate crime. In another suburb, windows at a mosque were shattered during the Friday prayer service. Muslim leaders say a local disc jockey known for commentary that many listeners regard as outrageous played a parody of an Elvis Presley song, with the lyrics "hunka, hunka burnin' mosques."

Seema Munir, a physician who was born in India, was almost seething. "The fact is," she said, "you have to adjust. You have to change to prove the point to others that I am not a terrorist, that I'm not a bad guy. It's all such wasted energy, yet it's survival."

Divided Over War, With Room to Agree

By LESLIE EATON

NEW YORK — Across from an anti-war demonstration on Fifth Avenue, Steve Durgee, 33, brandished an American flag and a sign that read "Move to France (please)." Speeding by on Rollerblades, Roger Manning, 46, said, "You people are fools!"

The two men started to yell at each other, then to argue, then to talk. No minds were changed, but in a few minutes the long-haired Mr. Manning and the short-haired Mr. Durgee were saying things like "I have no problem with discussion," and "Good point."

Americans may not agree on the wisdom of going to war with Iraq, but polls and interviews around New York suggest that the two sides remain on speaking terms. While each side views the other as misguided, so far relatively few are voicing the vitriol about each other that characterized the Vietnam era.

Thirty years ago, after a decade of war in Vietnam, slogans like "Amer-

ica, Love It or Leave It" carried an angry punch. This time, the mantra of many New Yorkers seems to be, "Everyone is entitled to his own opinion."

Take Michael Pearson, a 35-year-old carpenter. He supports President Bush, he said, and thinks the antiwar protests have been counterproductive. But asked if these demonstrations should be permitted, he sounded almost incredulous.

"Oh, of course they should be able to protest, without a doubt," he said. "That's what we're fighting for."

Thirty-three years ago, construction workers beat up antiwar demonstrators on Wall Street and stormed City Hall. Four students were killed by the National Guard during a period of antiwar protests at Kent State, in Ohio. One 1970 Harris poll found that 37 percent of Americans thought that protesting against the Vietnam War should be illegal.

Today, 61 percent say Americans who oppose the war should be allowed to hold protest marches and rallies, while 29 percent think such activity is detrimental to the war effort, according to the latest New York Times/CBS News poll.

Of course, just because you believe people can protest does not mean you believe that they should. "Once the war started, you should not protest anymore," said Salvatore Scarlato, 70, who is a veteran of the Korean War. "You should now say, 'Let's support our troops and hope it's over soon.'"

And it is not hard to find war-related nastiness and name-calling.

At the Fifth Avenue antiwar demonstration hecklers called protesters "traitors" and "freaks" and yelled "Get a job!" at young people in the crowd. The protesters in turn called those who disagreed with them "idiots" and tried to drown out dissent by chanting "Peace is patriotic."



Angel Franco/The New York Times

Some Americans say the debate over the war is less divisive than during the Vietnam era. But emotions ran high at a rally held in New York at the end of March where pro- and antiwar activists confronted each other and the police.

help defuse some of the class-based resentments that made the Vietnam protests so unpopular with many Americans, especially blue-collar families whose sons were serving overseas. "Working-class people were as divided by the war as anyone else," Mr. Appy said, "but they were deeply offended by upper-middle-class protesters who had all of the advantages."

Seymour Meiman, emeritus professor at Columbia University and a speaker at an antiwar protest in 1970, said, "Antiwar protests have also become an accepted part of American history and culture."

"Present populations are drawing upon a common heritage of ideas that has been around for some time," he said.



Justin Lane for The New York Times

tion for those serving in the armed forces, and to avoid, for the most part, desecrating American flags. "Everyone is trying to grab the patriotic banner," said Christian G. Appy, whose "Patriots: The Vietnam War Remembered From All Sides," will be published by Viking in May.

Not having a military draft may also

Those who have studied the Vietnam protests and those who participated in them have several explanations for why discourse may be more civil now. One is simply that these are still the early days of the war.

But unlike the Vietnam-era protesters, demonstrators these days have been careful to express their admira-



Justin Lane for The New York Times

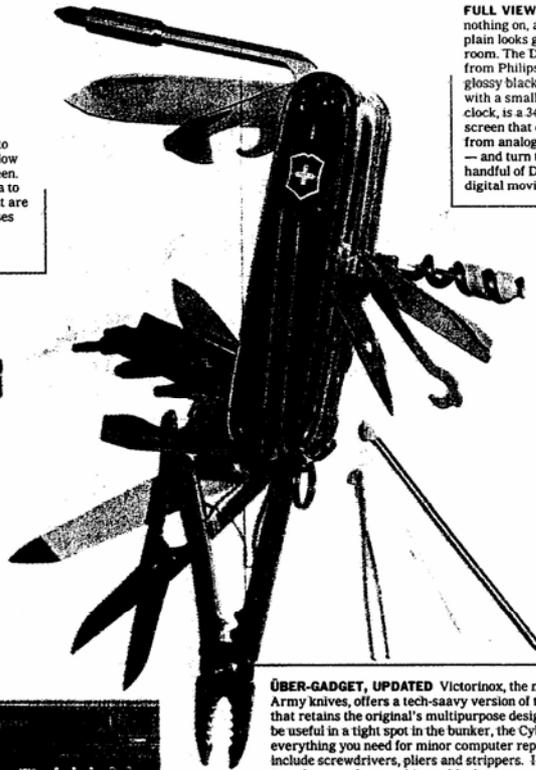
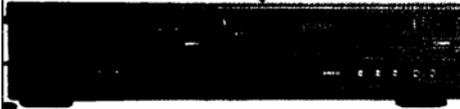
A protester at a rally in New York was one of 125 arrested that day.

In One Form, Many Functions

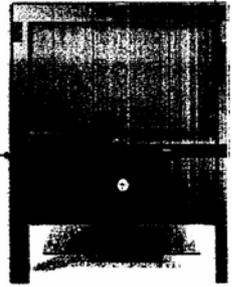
HIGH-TECH PHOTO ALBUM Microsoft's TV Photo Viewer (\$168) doesn't make 8-by-10's, but it does allow you to view your photographs on any television screen. The software converts photos from a digital camera to the JPEG format and loads them onto diskettes that are then loaded in the Viewer. So if the nightly news loses its appeal, you can tune in and relive last year's summer vacation.



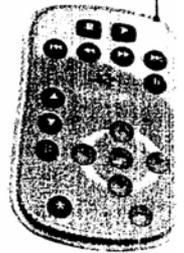
DOUBLE FEATURE Buying a DVD player to complement your VCR can lead to precarious stacking and more component clutter. A combination DVD-VCR player can offer a streamlined solution. Samsung offers the DVD-V1000 (\$400), a DVD-VCR that merges the functions of both machines into one.



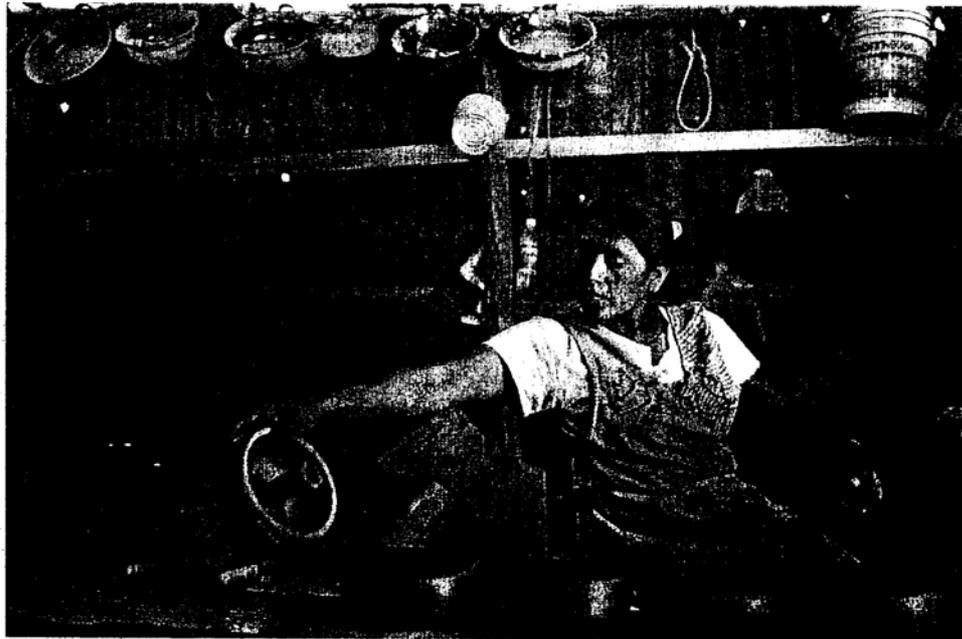
FULL VIEW Even if there's nothing on, a television that just plain looks good can perk up a room. The Direct View television from Philips (\$4,500), housed in a glossy black cabinet and accented with a small gold-rimmed analog clock, is a 34-inch flicker-free screen that can handle anything from analog TV signals to HDTV — and turn the living room and a handful of DVD's into a bona fide digital movie theater.



REMOTE POSSIBILITIES The Keyspan Digital Media Remote Control (\$50) gives computer users the power that couch potatoes have had for years. It can be programmed to replicate almost any keystroke, but for people whose PC's are their home entertainment systems, it can come in handy when operating DVD's or clicking through music files.



ÜBER-GADGET, UPDATED Victorinox, the maker of Swiss Army knives, offers a tech-saavy version of the classic gadget that retains the original's multipurpose design. While it might be useful in a tight spot in the bunker, the Cybertool 41 (\$90) has everything you need for minor computer repairs. The 41 tools include screwdrivers, pliers and strippers. It comes in translucent ruby, sapphire or black.



Photographs by Sarah Martone for The New York Times

With a loan of \$250, Guadalupe Castillo Ureña, 35, built a pottery business in San Marcos Acteopan, Mexico.

With a Little Bit of Cash, Poor Women Begin to Overcome

By TIM WEINER

SAN MARCOS ACTEOPAN, Mexico — Guadalupe Castillo Ureña was widowed at 31, left alone with five children when her husband died trying to get to the United States from their hut in the foothills of Mexico's southern Sierras.

She was among the poorest of the poor — barely surviving on \$2 a day — or less, like half the people in Mexico and half the world's six billion people.

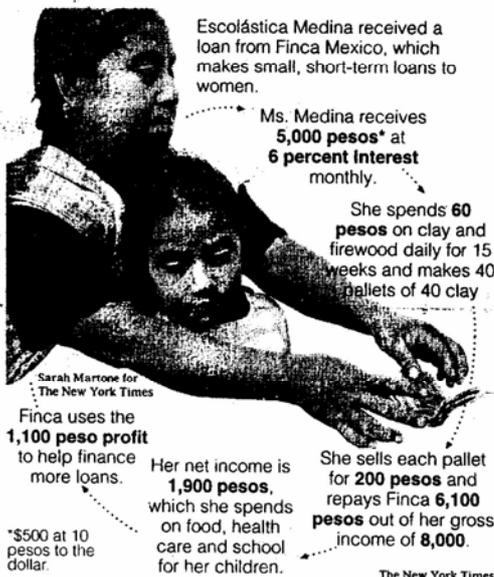
Then an organization called Finca, which means farm in Spanish, came to the village. It asked the women there — and only the women — whether they would be interested in borrowing a small sum of money, at the high interest rate of 6 percent a month, to start their own businesses.

Change came. With a loan of about \$250, Ms. Ureña, now 35, started making hundreds of clay pots this winter. With Finca's help, they were sold in bulk to a wholesaler, who sells them in the city. She pocketed \$15 to \$20 a week in profit. That sum, the first real money she had ever earned, was enough to help feed her children and pay their school expenses.

"It's exhausting," she said, "kneading the mud, stoking the kiln. But it's something. An opportunity."

These small loans, known as microcredit or microfinance, are not a charity. They are a growing business that is producing wealth in some of the world's poorest countries.

Experience has taught the lenders to make nearly all their loans — 95 percent or more — to women, and preferably those like Ms. Ureña who are single mothers.



Sarah Martone for The New York Times

Finca uses the 1,100 peso profit to help finance more loans.

*\$500 at 10 pesos to the dollar.

Escolástica Medina received a loan from Finca Mexico, which makes small, short-term loans to women.

Ms. Medina receives 5,000 pesos* at 6 percent interest monthly.

She spends 60 pesos on clay and firewood daily for 15 weeks and makes 40 pallets of 40 clay

Her net income is 1,900 pesos, which she spends on food, health care and school for her children.

She sells each pallet for 200 pesos and repays Finca 6,100 pesos out of her gross income of 8,000.

The New York Times

1990's. For many, money initially came from private American foundations or, in at least one case, the United States Agency for International Development. Many are modeled on the Grameen Bank of Bangladesh, run by an American-educated economist named Muhammad Yunis, which now lends roughly \$1.2 billion to 2.4 million poor people, overwhelmingly women.

Compartamos, which is based in Mexico City and translates as "let's share" in English, started making loans in 1990.

With 140,000 clients today — 98 percent of them women — it has a loan portfolio of \$45 million and a default rate of just over 2 percent. Compartamos may not be Citibank, but it has the potential to offer more poor people more financial services than any commercial bank in Mexi-

co ever has.

"People don't just need credit," said Mr. Labarte, Compartamos's director general. "They need financial services. They need savings accounts. They need insurance, life insurance, education insurance."

Escolástica Medina, 43, of San Marcos Acteopan, borrowed the equivalent of \$500 from Finca late last year. She bought mud and firewood to make about 1,600 clay pots. She sold them over 15 weeks for about \$800, with \$110 in interest going back to Finca, a rate about five times higher than any United States credit card company could legally charge. She kept about \$190 — "a little money for when my children need something — enough for food, for school, for their health." Now, she said, "I feel equal to anyone."

"Why only women?" said Alejandra Ayala, 36, a participant from this village 100 miles southeast of Mexico City. "Everyone knows women have the capacity to do this. Running a family, running a business, what's the difference?"

In Mexico alone, companies making these loans are reaching hundreds of thousands of women and children. Those women borrowed and repaid tens of millions of dollars in the last two years. Their default rate on these loans averages 2 percent, considered unusually low in the developed world.

The sums loaned are tiny by most standards, a few hundred dollars in most cases. But they represent a chance for the poor to acquire a little bit of wealth.

Most of the 32 small loan institutions now operating in Mexico started in the

The Goliaths of Television Kneel to TiVo

By WARREN ST. JOHN

NEW YORK — Not since the PalmPilot debuted in 1996 has a new electronic contraption sparked as many zealous proselytizers as the television gadget TiVo. Michael Powell, the chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, once called TiVo "God's machine."

TiVo has around 700,000 subscribers — a tiny fraction of U.S. television viewers, 70 percent of whom have never heard of TiVo, according to Josh Bernoff, an analyst at Forrester Research in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

But, Mr. Bernoff said, TiVo's fans are a vocal minority. "A cult implies a small group of enthusiasts and a large number of people who don't know what it is," he said. "That's exactly what we have here."

TiVo is a personal video recorder, a kind of VCR on steroids that hooks up to a television and can record up to 80 hours of programming on a hard drive. Much of the media coverage about the device has focused on viewers' ability to skip commercials at the touch of a button.

But TiVo worshippers say that is only part of the allure.

Press a button and TiVo will record every episode of any show for a season. And TiVo viewers can pause when the phone

rings, or speed through the boring parts. Like early adopters of cellphones and the Internet, the first users swear that the devices have fundamentally altered their lives — changing domestic routines and making it possible to live a life free of commercial interruptions.

But freedom, as the saying goes, comes at a price. For TiVo, that price is around \$250 for a model capable of storing 40 hours of programs, or \$350 for an 80-hour machine.

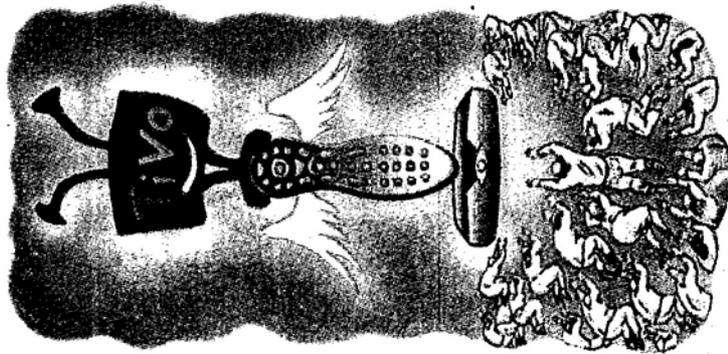
The devices also make it easier to watch a lot more TV. Studies by Next Research, a media consulting firm, show that TiVo users watch an average of five to six additional hours of television per week, the company said.

"You justify it because it's more efficient," said Elise Loehnen, 23, an editorial assistant at Lucky magazine. "It means you're late going to the gym and that when you're home, you're not reading."

Other devotees say that is not the point. "You control your TV, not the other way around," said Jeffrey Hawkins, a technology consultant in Oceanside, California. "So the amount of TV you watch is not even the question."

Mr. Hawkins said that among his friends, there is a rift between those who get it — in his view, TiVo owners — and those who don't.

"It's like the abortion issue," he said.



The New York Times

TiVo, which is like a super-powered and easier-to-use VCR, inspires devotion among its users.