

A COMPARISON STUDY OF THE REPORTING OF
THE NUCLEAR WEAPONS ISSUE INVOLVING
BELARUS, KAZAKHSTAN AND UKRAINE
IN SELECTED POST-COLD WAR
AMERICAN MEDIA

By

ALIA DZHIEMBAEVA

Bachelor of Arts in Journalism/Broadcasting

Belmont University

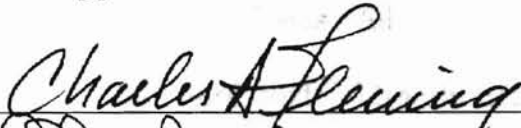
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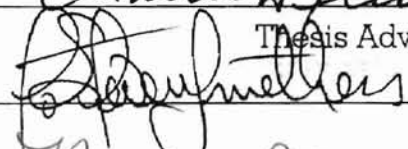
1993


Submitted to the Faculty of the
Graduate College of the
Oklahoma State University
in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for
the Degree of
MASTER OF SCIENCE
May, 1996

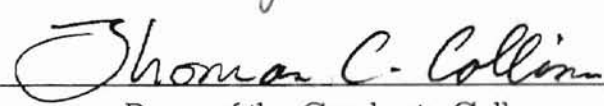
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Thesis Approved:



Thesis Advisor






Dean of the Graduate College

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author gratefully acknowledges the International Research and Exchange Board (IREX), whose financial support made possible the research and writing of this thesis.

The author also wishes to express her deep gratitude to her thesis advisor, Dr. Charles Fleming, for his generous advice, and careful reading and criticism of an earlier draft of this thesis. All of his thoughtful suggestions have been incorporated into the final text. The author is very thankful for Dr. Fleming's scholarly guidance, supervision and encouragement during this research.

The author's sincere appreciation extends to her thesis committee members, Dr. Maureen Nemecek and Dr. Steven Smethers, whose assistance, encouragement and friendship are also invaluable.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

General

In a 1981 editorial *The Washington Post* charged that the USSR and its allies were "the principle source of terror in the world."ⁱ According to Lee and Solomon the issue of terrorism was "especially useful for furthering a Cold War agenda."ⁱⁱ Moreover, the authors believe, "its efficacy as a propaganda tool has not waned with the warming of superpower relations."ⁱⁱⁱ

Ironically, on the verge of communism's collapse, the notorious "terrorist card"^{iv} was played by the Kremlin only to be picked up and spread by the Western media. According to Akchurin, the image of "the Islamic fundamentalism" of the newly independent Central Asian republics (once part of the Soviet Union) was promoted by the Kremlin "to ensure that Western democracies would turn away with disgust from the people of Muslim republics. Homemade pan-Islamism with puppet fanatics in these republics was much more useful to the Kremlin than democratic movements and groups that could conduct an independent dialogue with the West."^v Apparently, the Russian officials knew that "the very word *Muslim* causes an allergy" in the Western media.^{vi}

...to set up their own... Background ...current issues." According to

General A particular alarm in the West was evoked by Russian "hints" about the future fate of the nuclear weapons that "could turn up in the hands of "irresponsible-separatist-nationalists."⁷ In succeeding with this ploy Moscow was able to close off Central Asia "with a barrier much sturdier than the Berlin Wall."⁸ In reality, every one of the former Soviet republics wanted to become a nuclear-free zone as became evident later in the nuclear disarmament negotiations. In February 1992, Nursultan Nazarbaev, president of Kazakhstan, challenged the United States, Russia, and China to abolish all weapons of mass destruction. He was quickly convinced, though, by both Russian and American leaders "of the naïveté of disarmament; heads of state just aren't supposed to speak of such things..."⁹

Moreover, there were very few true religious believers in all newly independent countries after the Soviet Union's breakdown. In Kazakhstan "the overwhelming majority cannot even name the five major rules, the so-called pillars of Islam...the strict fulfillment of which is precisely what makes a person Muslim."¹⁰

Theoretical Framework The American media is often described as the institution that is "committed, above all, to seeking and speaking truth -- no matter who might be offended."¹¹ In theory, "objective journalism -- unaffected by favoritism or prejudice -- informs the public about relevant facts, so that

citizens can make up their own minds about current issues."¹² According to Genest, "the origination of articles is one clear way to determine the level of independence on the part of the press with regard to source material."¹³ That is, bias can often be transmitted by the way sources are chosen.

Another integral part to the reception of the news among the general public is the issue of "how media interact with information -- providing context, emphasis and vocabulary."¹⁴ According to Shoemaker and Reese, "the media do not just convey the labels created by others. They make their own decisions about tone, emphasis, placement, and portrayal..."¹⁵ That is, partiality can be remitted by politically-charged labels, words with negative connotations or phrases open to multiple interpretations.¹⁶

Studying the publications' content, the researcher attempted to unveil the false images the audience might have acquired from their media, on the premises that "the media provide most of the 'reality' that people know outside their personal experience."¹⁷

Statement of the Problem

This study will examine how three types of American publications covered the nuclear arms issue promoted by creation of new independent countries with different religious heritage. Specifically, the study will be concerned with whether or not the media coverage of Kazakhstan was fair and impartial with regard to the "Islamic-Nuclear-Threat-in-the-Central-Asia" fable.

Purpose of the Study depends on the absence or

This thesis is an attempt to understand the issues of objectivity and fairness in the United States media.

The study investigated American media coverage of three new independent states that emerged from the collapse of the Soviet Union. Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan attracted the world's attention largely because of their possession of strategic nuclear weapons. All three countries have a similar "communist background," however, they differ in the ethnic self-affirmation as nations of "Orthodox-Christian" (Belarus, Ukraine) or "Muslim"(Kazakhstan) heritage. Although governments of the three states assured the world that they would refrain from exporting uranium and nuclear weapons to other countries, particularly to the Muslim world, the American media were cautious and ambivalent regarding the question of whether the new leadership would live up to these assurances.

The data obtained under this research can be used to raise questions regarding the print media role on reporting the foreign events, particularly nuclear weapons issue. The findings of the study may add to the scholarly discussions on the objectivity in the media as well.

Methodology

General The research method of this study is one of the techniques of content analysis, known as "contingency analysis." This technique provides a

method of scoring in which the coding of material depends on the absence or presence of the attribute within the news item.¹⁸ Inferences then will be based on the proximity of two or more content attributes within the text. The assumption is that ideas that are closely associated conceptually will be also closely related statistically. The research will be concerned with discovering what terms occurred in conjunction with references to possession of nuclear weapons by the three countries, what sources were used/cited in the news articles and how different types of American media covered the issue.

Clearly, most of the media's opinions would be engaged in the assurances that the nuclear-weapon arsenal of the former Soviet states will be controlled and will not fall into possession of foreign countries. What kind of factors should make the audience more skeptical toward such assurances in the opinions of the publications? What causes some questions to be asked more frequently than others? The selection of the facts and their arrangement may reveal partiality in reporting.

Research Hypotheses The research premise is that since Kazakhstan is considered to be a Muslim-oriented country, it may have been treated with special attention by the American media. The "Islamic Fundamentalism" myth could have influenced the media impartiality toward Kazakhstan in covering the issue of nuclear weapons. It is also presumed that the popular magazines would be less objective in presenting their views to the audience compared

with the newspapers of record, that is, newspapers that "established a high level of credibility for their reporting."¹⁹ The newspapers in turn may not have been as impartial as serious political journals with a narrow specialization on nuclear issues.

Research Framework Three major American daily newspapers of record (*The New York Times*, *The Washington Post* and *The Los Angeles Times*), three popular news magazines (*Time*, *Newsweek*, and *US News & World Report*) and three serious analytical publications (*The Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, *Arms Control Today* and *Facts on File*) were selected for this project. The period covered in the study was December 23, 1991 (the formation of the Commonwealth of Independent States out of the wreckage of the old USSR) to December 5, 1994 -- the date when President Clinton, Russian President Yeltsin, and heads of Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan exchanged documents that allowed the strategic arms reduction treaty to come into force.

Research Objectives The goal of this study is to find out whether Kazakhstan received more biased coverage compared to Ukraine and Belarus with reference to the issue of nuclear arms. In doing so, the study will attempt to attest the accuracy of the common belief of the American media's objectivity. This will involve the identification of the sources used in the article (whether balanced or imbalanced.) The study will also focus on how the media presented the information to the public.

Significance of the Study

The importance of media content about the world lies in the fact that people's views of the world, and resulting actions, are often molded by their predominant source of information. Often, media content takes elements of reality, magnifies them, frames them, and feeds them back to an audience.²⁰ The media transmit more than just information, but also substantial numbers of "lessons" and judgments. Arguably, true objectivity is impossible to achieve. However, objectivity and fairness are worthwhile goals and are recognized as "the mark of a professional" by the Code of Ethics of the Society of Professional Journalists.

This study will investigate how major American publications covered the nuclear arms issue promoted by creation of new independent countries with different religious heritage. In doing so, the researcher will attempt to examine impartiality in post-Cold War reporting among three types of American publications. The findings of the study may add to the scholarly discussions on the objectivity in the media. It may also challenge popular news magazines to report stories more objectively based on the example set by the serious political publications.

Limitations

This study will employ the contingency analysis method which is "somewhat limited in regard to messages in the mass media, for the

investigator usually will not have detailed data on the person who produced the message."²¹ It is also not sufficient "to understand either the force that produce the content or the nature or the extent..."²²

However, this research is focused on identifying the biases in the particular media institution (newspapers of record, popular magazines, or scientific journals), and is not engaged in analyzing the reasons behind such partiality.

The study is based on the presumption that "systematic, patterned regularities in content result from stable, underlying structural factors."²³ The terms that are closely associated conceptually with references to possession of nuclear weapons by three countries were found to be also closely related statistically in the American mass media. When compared against the reality (the difference between the obtained and expected values) the finding has given an adequate ground for the inferences on the objectivity of the American media. What the forces or the nature of the media bias are is a subject of yet another study. This thesis, nevertheless, is a good start in understanding the issues of objectivity and fairness in the United States media.

Outline of the Reminder of the Thesis

In this thesis, Chapter II contains the literature review -- the studies that have been conducted in relation to objectivity of the international news coverage in the American media. Chapter III covers methodology to be used in the study

(description of content analysis approaches, data coding and collection, and statistical tests.) Chapter IV discusses findings and gives the analysis of the data. Chapter V contains a summary, conclusions, and recommendations that are accumulated from this research.

ENDNOTES

¹ Editorial, The Washington Post, 27 January 1981

² Martin Lee and Norman Solomon, Unreliable Sources. A Guide to Detecting Bias in News Media, Carol Publishing Group, 1991, 277.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Marat Akchurin, "Soviet Muslims: Seeking Reform, Not Revolution," Global Studies. Commonwealth of Independent States and Central/Eastern Europe, The Dushkin Publishing Group, Inc., 1992, 213.

⁵ Ibid., 214.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Geoffrey Sea, "The Great White Nuclear North," unpublished, May 1992

¹⁰ Akchurin, 210.

¹¹ Lee and Solomon, xiii.

¹² Ibid., 16.

¹³ Marc A. Genest, Negotiating in the Public Eye. The Impact of the Press on the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Force Negotiations Stanford University Press, Stanford, CA, 1995.

¹⁴ Lee and Solomon, 43.

¹⁵ Pamela J. Shoemaker and Stephen D. Reese, Mediating the Message. Theories of Influences on Mass Media Content, New York & London : Longman, 1991, 186.

¹⁶ Lee and Solomon, 43.

¹⁷ Shoemaker and Reese, 24.

¹⁸ Ole R. Holsti, Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities, Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1969, 7.

¹⁹ Genest, 63.

²⁰ Shoemaker and Reese, 49.

²¹ Richard W. Budd, Robert K. Thorp and Lewis Donohew, Content Analysis of Communications, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1967, 78.

²² Shoemaker and Reese, 24.

²³ Ibid.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

Many books have been written on the issues of the media role in various civic domains. However, the materials in the field of media and nuclear arms reporting are much more limited. Only a few scholarly works have given attention "to the relationship between United States arms control negotiations and the coverage of these events by the media."ⁱ Among these studies, none have dealt specifically with the question of the media coverage of the post-Cold War nuclear arms issue.

In the absence of the scholarly studies investigating the subject brought into existence by creation of new independent countries in place of the USSR, this chapter uses a broader context for a discussion of relevant literature. General literature on objectivity in the media and several works on the media impact on the United States arms negotiations are the major areas of examination in this section.

Review of the Literature

The book Unreliable Sources. A Guide to Detecting Bias in News Media by Lee and Solomon, suggested the idea for this thesis. This comprehensive review and analysis of media bias provided the researcher with a helpful guide

to determine the outline of the categories of bias for this study. The book documented, on a case-by-case basis, the untruthful or misleading stories carried by the most reputable media (most of them included in the frame of this research.)

Written in the early stage of the post-Cold War period, the book had not embodied the issues raised by the creation of independent states. However, one of the sections of the book is solely devoted to the coverage of the US-Soviet relations in the media. According to Lee and Solomon, the issue of Soviet terrorism was "especially useful for furthering a Cold War agenda."² Moreover, the authors believe, "its efficacy as a propaganda tool has not waned with the warming of superpower relations."³

The authors discuss "a simplistic view" of the world promoted by the American media where "North Americans in white hats police the globe of black hats" -- usually worn by Muslim terrorists.⁴ According to Richard Falk, a professor of international law at Princeton University, quoted in the book, the American perception of terrorism promoted by the press "has been dominated by recent governmental efforts to associate terrorists with Third World revolutionaries, especially those with Arab countries. The media have generally carried on their inquiries within this framework of selective perception. As a result, our political imagination is imprisoned, with a variety of ugly and unfortunate consequences."⁵

In addition, Unreliable Sources argues that media reporters' heavy dependence on "official" sources for their investigative stories brings the idea of an unbiased press to the vanishing point. "It is a truism that in the United States foreign reporting the State Department often makes a story,"⁶ said a Washington Post reporter, Julia Preston. "Articles about other countries are often datelined 'Washington,' while stories emanating from abroad are apt to feature U.S. Embassy sources or unnamed officials from friendly countries."⁷ According to former Wall Street Journal correspondent Jonathan Kwitny: "To get the stories a lot of foreign reporters file, editors could just as well save a lot of money and send them straight to State Department in Washington. They end up going to the U.S. Embassy for most of the information anyway."⁸

One of the important parts of this thesis -- the examination of the sources used/cited in the news items selected for the study -- was motivated by the main arguments of Unreliable Sources. Nevertheless, the methodology for this examination was grounded upon findings of another media study.

Negotiating in the Public Eye. The Impact of the Press on the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Force Negotiations, by Marc Genest gave major guidance in developing a comprehensive theoretical framework for this thesis. This book employs arms control negotiations as a case study to examine the role and impact (or lack thereof) of the press on the public agenda. The goal of Genest's study was to define the relationship between press reporting, government policymaking, and public response in this process.

Three general schools of thought were used in the book as parameters of the study to describe the role the press might play in policymaking : agenda-setting, agenda-building, and agenda - reflecting.⁹

According to Genest, "where the press gets its information is an important indicator of the level of its independence from strictly government-controlled sources."¹⁰ In the agenda-setting theory, which credits the media with having significant influence, the independent press "makes extensive use of non-government controlled sources and data."¹¹ In the agenda-building theory the government is the primary source of information; however, there is a significant percentage of alternative material. Genest also names a third theory in his book , "the agenda-reflecting." This theory suggests that the media merely reflect or relate the government's agenda, transmitting it to the public.¹²

Although published in 1995, the main focus of the book was the arms negotiations of the Cold War era. While the basic ideas of Genest's diagrams for the origination of news in the articles were used in this thesis, the terminology and categories were changed to account for the transformation of the political scene. That is, the Genest's categories of the news sources were adjusted to the post Cold War situation, by including sections such as "Independent Kazakh, Ukrainian or Belarussian sources," and "Identified/ Unidentified official Kazakh, Ukrainian or Belarussian sources."

Genest admits that "individual pieces of evidence from the content analysis and interview might be interpreted in such a way as to support any

one of the three theories."¹³ This thesis attempted to find out which of the theories were most applicable in the situation with the arms control in the post Cold War American media.

Reporters rely on official sources for many reasons. According to Daniel Hallin in his work The Uncensored War, the government provides a convenient and regular flow of authoritative information, which reporters find efficient compared to most labor-intensive research. Furthermore, Hallin emphasizes that professionalization has strengthened the connection between press and state. Given an objective and disinterested stance on the part of the journalist, government officials provide authoritative validation of the news product.¹⁴

Another study on media objectivity, Existential Objectivity: Freeing Journalists To Be Ethical by Kevin Stoker, asserts that although journalists enjoy unprecedented freedom from state interference to gather facts from sources, journalistic tradition and custom restricts the freedom of journalists to report facts as they see it.¹⁵ The study examined the concept of objectivity and provided the author of this thesis with the comprehensive review of the contemporary literature in regard to objectivity, showing how the concept has evolved.

According to Michael Massing's work, Euromissiles and the Press, "for the most part, American newspapers, news magazines, and television networks lined up behind the public positions of the State Department and Pentagon."¹⁶ Massing gives examples of the "inability of the American press to

free itself from the administration view"¹⁷ in reporting on the nuclear deployment in Europe in the late 1980s. Moreover, according to this research, the American media "failed to cast an equally critical eye describing Soviet and American stances, 'unmasking' Russian declarations for their insidiousness while accepting American pronouncements as genuine expression of peaceful intent."¹⁸

Another book, Images and Arms Control. Perceptions of the Soviet Union in the Regan Administration by Keith Shimko, also dealt with the question of how to conceptualize national and enemy images. According to Shimko, the images are "lenses" or "filters" through which individuals receive information and their primary purpose is to keep out undesirable material, that is bits of information that contradict existing beliefs.¹⁹ The two above mentioned works sparked the author's interest in discovering whether the post-Cold War media carried on the "enemy images," described in the book. The research ventured to examine what images of Kazakhstan, Belarus and Ukraine were created with regard to the arms control issue.

To investigate the images, another media study was used as comprehensive evaluation of the factors that influence media content decisions. Mediating the Message. Theories of Influences on Mass Media Content by Shoemaker and Reese assisted with a framework within which media content of this thesis was approached. According to the book, media content is "the basis of media impact."²⁰ The premises for this study were

grounded on the major argument of Shoemaker and Reese stating that, "if we assume that the media provide most of the 'reality' that people know outside their own personal experience, then studying media content surely helps us assess what reality it is that they consume."²¹ According to the authors, "most of the world that matters to us is beyond our direct grasp and must necessarily be mediated. The importance of mass media as sources for the pictures in our heads leads us logically to question how closely the media world actually resembles the world outside."²²

"How close do the media come to represent some objective reality?" was one of the questions this dissertation attempted to answer in light of the book's theory that proposes an active role for the media in constructing reality.

In the widely-cited book Public Opinion, Walter Lippmann depicted an island where several Germans, French and Englishmen lived peacefully on the threshold of World War I. The only link to the outside world was a British mail steamship, which once brought news that Great Britain and France had been combating Germans for over six weeks. During these six weeks the islanders, former adversaries, continued to live in harmony, trusting "the pictures in their heads."²³

In a complex and interrelated modern world most of the events are outside of people's direct reach. They must be mediated, thus creating, as Lippmann called it, a "pseudoenvironment,"²⁴ where the mass media is largely responsible for "the pictures in our heads." Thus, the importance of the mass

media as a source for these pictures "in our heads" leads to the question how closely the media world actually resembles the world outside.

According to Jay Rosen's Democracy Overwhelmed: Press and Public in the Nuclear Age, the main point of Lippmann's study is this: "publicly available information did not create an informed public."²⁵ Moreover, "decisions that are potentially the most important for citizens are among the least discussed."²⁶ Rosen argues that the American nuclear experience "had been shaped by inadequate knowledge and constrained inquiry."²⁷

This view is supported by another scholarly work on nuclear arms issue in the media, Language and the Nuclear Arms Debate: Nukespeak Today, edited by Paul Chilton, "who found the name of the most important linguistic phenomena of our time: 'Nukespeak.'"²⁸ Written during the 1980s, the book deals with the semantics, syntax and vocabulary of the public discussions of nuclear weapons issues. According to Chilton, the coverage of nuclear weapons issues in the media contributed to the rise of the military industrial complex and nuclear politics.²⁹ The author believes that by discovering Nukespeak propaganda, which is "more subtle, more pervasive, and probably unconscious though none the less effective for that, than a concrete propaganda effort," the book provides means "whereby people can begin to retake control of their own language and exchange their own meanings and values."³⁰

According to C.G. Jacobsen, "the myopia and bias of the press" in the post Cold War era is still "manifest."³¹ In his article in Journal of Peace Research, "Myths, Politics and the Not-so-New World Order," Jacobsen cited the history of "the self-serving and manipulated myth-making of media descriptions of international events."³² Jacobsen argues that "the arrogant myths that drove and justified colonial expansions and exploitation" continue to reverberate around the world.³³ They are echoed in the "USA's creed of 'manifest destiny,'... in Russia's self-image as guarantor of faith and fount of civilization (under Tsars and Communists alike)..."³⁴

This corresponds with the beliefs of another political scientist, Marat Akchurin in his article "Soviet Muslims: Seeking Reform, Not Revolution," published by Global Studies. According to this work, the myth of pan-Islamism of the newly independent Central Asian republics is strongly promoted by Russia which sees Central Asia as its colonies. According to Akchurin, it is in the imperial interests of the Kremlin to "frighten the West with talk about growth of pan-Islamism in the southern USSR and bend over backward to look like some kind of bulwark in the eyes of the Western world, shielding Christian civilization from the Muslim threat coming from the East."³⁵ The article asserts that the Islamic threat was promoted by the Kremlin "to ensure that Western democracies would turn away with disgust from the people of Muslim republics. Homemade pan-Islamism with puppet fanatics in these republics was much more useful to the Kremlin than democratic movements and groups

that could conduct an independent dialogue with the West."³⁶ According to Akchurin, the Russian officials knew that "the very word *Muslim* causes an allergy" in the Western media.³⁷

This thesis investigated the allegations made in the article. The major idea was to explore if indeed the American media picked up the Russian "hints" about the future fate of the nuclear weapons that "could turn up in the hands of "irresponsible-separatist-nationalists."³⁸

The findings of another study were especially helpful in this task. Press Treatment of Islam: What Kind of Picture Do The Media Paint, by Sheikh Kazihf investigated portrayals of Muslims in the media, drawing upon an analysis of articles published in the *Times of London*, *The Los Angeles Times*, *The New York Times* and *The Detroit Free Press* from 1988 to 1992. The research examined the types of stories that were written about Muslims, how Muslims were characterized, and the overall tone of the stories, yielding results that only partially supported initial expectations. The finding in generally did not support strong conclusions of negative media bias in reporting about Muslims. This study suggested that particular international events, depending on whether they are viewed positively or negatively, will determine the tone of the news stories about Muslims.³⁹

Another media study conducted by Shoemaker, Chang and Brendlinger, "Deviance as a Predictor of Newsworthiness : Coverage of International Events in the United States Media," found that world events covered by American

media were more deviant than those not covered, in the sense that those events threatened the status quo in the country (such as terrorism.) World events presented most prominently in the news were deviant events, and those with economic or political significance to the United States.⁴⁰

Many of the communication studies on media objectivity have compared the media world with the so-called real world, using the methods of media content analysis. The systematic technique for analyzing the American media was chosen from the work of Budd, Thorp and Donohew, Content Analysis of Communications. According to this book, contingency analysis is "a useful procedure for analyzing propaganda...."⁴¹ This method allowed for testing the association structure in a message source (what ideas are related in the source's thinking) by the content contingencies (the co-occurrence of symbols.)⁴²

The use of content analysis in investigating media bias, however, has its limitations. In the article "Stereotypes and the Media: A Re-Evaluation," Ellen Seiter wrote that there is often failure to specify what is meant by a certain stereotype and how it is related to ideology.⁴³ Bearing this in mind, the author of the thesis tried to avoid blanket assumptions and attempted to make the categories of bias explicit and distinct.

Summary

Due to the novelty of the subject, there was no study of media performance on the subject of the post-Cold War arms control at the time of this research. The United States media coverage of arms control issues, generally, has drawn little scholarly attention. The most recent works published have been based on the events that took place during the Regan administration. However, those few materials sparked the researcher's interest to explore the situation under the conditions of a new political order. Although the categories had to be modified to adjust to the new developments in the world's arena, previous studies assisted with creating the framework for this research.

Endnotes

¹ Marc A. Genest, Negotiating in the Public Eye. The Impact of the Press on the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Force Negotiations Stanford University Press, Stanford, CA, 1995, 11.

² Martin Lee and Norman Solomon, Unreliable Sources. A Guide to Detecting Bias in News Media, Carol Publishing Group, 1991, 277.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid., 285

⁵ Ibid., 286.

⁶ Ibid., 257.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Genest., 12.

¹⁰ Ibid., 13.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid., 19.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Daniel Hallin, The Uncensored War, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.

¹⁵ Kevin Stocker, "Existential Objectivity: Freeing Journalists To Be Ethical," Journal of Mass Media Ethics, Spring 1995, 5.

¹⁶ Michael Massing, Euromissiles and the Press. Occasional paper No.2, Center for War, Peace, and The News Media, New York State University, 3.

¹⁷ Ibid., 19.

¹⁸ Ibid., 14.

¹⁹ Keith L. Shimko, Images and Arms Control. Perception of the Soviet Union in the Regan Administration, Ann Arbor : The University of Michigan Press, 1994.

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²³ Walter Lippmann, Public Opinion, New York: Macmillan, 1922, 3.

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²⁵ Jay Rosen, Democracy Overwhelmed : Press and Public in the Nuclear Age. Center for War, Peace, and The News Media, New York State University, 30.

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²⁸ Paul Chilton, Language and the Nuclear Arms Debate : Nukespeak Today, Frances Pinter (Publishers,) London and Dover, N.H, 1985, 1.

²⁹ Ibid., x.

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³¹ C.G. Jacobsen, "Myths, Politics and the Not-So-New World Order," Journal of Peace Research, no.3, 1993, 244.

³² Ibid., 243.

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³⁵ Marat Akchurin, "Soviet Muslims: Seeking Reform, Not Revolution," in Global Studies. Commonwealth of Independent States and Central/Eastern Europe, The Dushkin Publishing Group, Inc., 1992, 210.

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³⁷ Ibid.

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³⁹ Sheikh Kazif, "Press Treatment of Islam: What Kind of Picture Do The Media Paint," Gazette, September 1995, 139.

⁴⁰ Pamela Shoemaker, T Chang and Brendlinger, "Deviance as a Predictor of Newsworthiness : Coverage of International Events in the United States Media," Communication Yearbook, Newbury Park, CA : Sage, 1987, 348-365.

⁴¹ Richard W. Budd, Robert K. Thorp and Lewis Donohew, Content Analysis of Communications, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1967, 78.

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⁴³ Ellen Seiter, "Stereotypes and the Media: A Re-Evaluation," Journal of Communication, Autumn 1986, 13.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Background

According to Shoemaker and Reese, media content is "the basis of media impact."ⁱ If it is presumed that the media furnish most of the knowledge about the "reality" that people know outside their own personal experience, "then studying media content surely helps us assess what reality it is that they consume."ⁱⁱ Media content may be based on the events of the "real world," however, "it singles out and highlights certain elements over others, and the media's own logic is imposed on those elements."ⁱⁱⁱ The media can force its own image of reality by "emphasizing certain behaviors and people and stereotyping."^{iv} Rhetorically, every event, action, policy can be portrayed "with different labels (freedom fighter or terrorist.)"^v Also, "one of the most obvious ways media content structures a symbolic environment is simply by giving greater attention (in the form of more time, greater prominence, and so on) to certain events, people, groups, and places than others."^{vi} These particular features are usually the focus of media content analysis.

Scope of the Study

This study will investigate how certain major American publications covered the nuclear arms issue prompted by creation of new independent

countries with different religious heritage. The goal is to find out whether Kazakhstan received more biased coverage compared with Ukraine and Belarus with reference to the issue of nuclear arms. The study premise is that since Kazakhstan is considered to be a Muslim-oriented country, it may have been treated with special attention by the American media.

It is also assumed that popular news magazines would be less objective in presenting their views to the audience, compared with the newspapers of record, that is, newspapers that have "established a high level of credibility for their reporting,"⁷ since impartiality is not the principal standard of reporting news for the popular news magazines, according to their editorials.⁸ The newspapers, in turn, may not have been as impartial as serious political journals with the narrow specialization on nuclear issues.

The null hypotheses of the study are as follows :

- Ho.1 During the period of proclaiming independence (Dec.1991) to the date of signing the strategic arms reduction treaty with the United States (Dec. 1994), three former Soviet republics -- Belarus, Ukraine and Kazakhstan -- received similar treatment in major American publications.
- Ho.2 There were no significant differences in bias covering the nuclear arms issue in Belarus, Ukraine and Kazakhstan among three types of the American publications (newspapers of record, popular news magazines and serious political journals.)

Research Method

The research method of this study is one of the techniques of content analysis, known as "contingency analysis." This technique provides a system of scoring in which the coding of material depends on the absence or presence of the attribute within the paragraph of the news item.⁸ Inferences then are based on the proximity of two or more content attributes within the text. The assumption is that ideas that are closely associated conceptually will be also closely related statistically. The study was concerned with discovering what terms occurred in conjunction with references to possession of nuclear weapons by three countries.

Media Selected

Three major American daily newspapers of record (*The New York Times*, *The Washington Post* and *The Los Angeles Times*), three popular news magazines (*Time*, *Newsweek*, and *U.S. News & World Report*) and three serious analytical publications (*The Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, *Arms Control Today* and *Foreign Affairs*) were selected for this project.

Media Profile

Newspapers

The New York Times. Circulation : (m)1,187,950; (S) 1,767,836. According to the Magazines for Libraries, the NYT "sets the standard by which all other newspapers are measured."⁹ With bureaus and correspondents

throughout the world *The NYT* is one of the major international news sources in the United States.

The Washington Post. Circulation : (m) 852,262, (S) 1,163,338. *The WP* is "the nation's most authoritative newspaper for coverage of the federal government and national politics."¹⁰ It provides comprehensive coverage of politics, government, and international affairs.

The Los Angeles Times. Circulation : (m) 1,104,651, (S) 1,502,120. A major "rival" to *the NYT* and *the WP*, *the LAT* provides a comprehensive review of the international affairs and politics around the globe. Its particular strength lies in its fame as an independent observer and reporter of the government affairs.

Popular Magazines

Time magazine. Circulation : 4,335,092. According to Katz, *Time* "is too well known to require a descriptive annotation."¹¹ The magazine is usually considered as a voice of "a conservative, middle-of-the-road American."¹² Provides weekly coverage of the important domestic and international events.

Newsweek. Circulation : 3,100,000. *Newsweek* is the challenger to *Time*, however "the rival that is so much like the other that sometimes it is hard to tell them apart."¹³ However, this magazine is "somewhat more liberal than *Time*."¹⁴ Also, provides week's summary of the news at home and abroad.

U.S. News and World Report. Circulation : 2,303,328. This weekly newsmagazine is considered to be a major rival to both *Time* and *Newsweek*.

According to Katz, although the magazine is not "strong on foreign affairs,"¹⁵ it provides good coverage of Washington politics and the international events that directly influence the national scene.

Analytical Publications

Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists. Circulation : 15,000. This journal is a comprehensive work that addresses "the political, ethical, and social aspects of nuclear science."¹⁶ Most of its contributors are social scientists that report on global security, nuclear issues and international affairs. Published by the not-for-profit Educational Foundation for Nuclear Science.

Arms Control Today. Circulation : 25,000. Founded in 1971, the Arms Control Association is a nonpartisan group "dedicated to promoting public understanding on effective policies and programs in arms control and disarmament."¹⁷ This journal contains lengthy articles and opinion pieces "approached from the variety of perspectives on a broad spectrum of arms control issues, including treaties on both nuclear and other weapons."¹⁸

Foreign Affairs. Circulation : 110,000. According to Katz, this publication is "perhaps the best known journal of world affairs, this periodical reaches an audience that is both large and elite, including many diplomats, government officials, policy analysts, and scholars."¹⁹ The parent of this magazine is the Council of Foreign Relations, a non-partisan organization that seeks to influence the shaping of the U.S. foreign policy debate with articles

that represent "a broad hospitality of divergent ideas" rather than "by identifying with one school."²⁰

The selection of the media above allowed the author to study a greater diversity of style and type of coverage of the nuclear arms issue in the American media. Another goal of this study was to challenge popular news magazines to report stories more objectively based on the example set by the serious analytical publications.

Time Frame

The period covered in the study was December 23, 1991 -- the formation of the Commonwealth of Independent States out of the wreckage of the old USSR, to December 5, 1994 -- the date when President Clinton, Russian President Yeltsin, and the heads of Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan exchanged documents that allowed the strategic arms reduction treaty to come into force.

Research Design

Contingency analysis is a method of testing "the association structure in a message source (what ideas are related in the source's thinking) by the content contingencies (the co-occurrences of symbols.)"²¹

In this thesis the unit of analysis was a news item from the publications mentioned earlier in the chapter. By definition, a news item is a genuine publication article (not an AP or other wire-news story) and its attendant

headline, photographs, and cutlines devoted to the nuclear arms issue in three countries Belarus, Ukraine and Kazakhstan.

The news items were identified on the OPAC library catalog (newspaper abstracts and periodicals) by using the key words such as "Kazakhstan," "Ukraine," and "Belarus" and a subject descriptions such as "nuclear weapons," "arms control," "nuclear fuels," "armed forces."²²

The categories of analysis were selected to serve as indicators of bias according to the reasoning below:

- All three countries shared similar communism(atheism) ideology for seventy years; indeed, there very few true religious believers in three countries. Were the same number of references to religious orientation made about Belarus and Ukraine (Orthodox-Christian oriented), as were references to the Muslim orientation of Kazakhstan? The fact that the American journalists wrote about the religious orientation of Kazakhstan could be considered as prejudiced selection.
- The same is true if references were made that weapons could be smuggled to other Muslim countries. While, according to most Western observers, this possibility exists equally for all three countries, if the opportunities in Kazakhstan are questioned the most in the American media, this could show partiality toward this particular country.

- According to the financial reports issued by the IMF and the World Bank, the economical instability in three countries is almost equal. All three countries have mixed populations of natives and Russians. Thus, similar opportunities for national upheaval exist in all three countries. If the media discussion of the possibility of civil war was done more extensively for Kazakhstan, it may reveal bias by the American media, as well.
- Similarly, the military personnel of three countries that have received equal training under the Soviet system cannot be judged differently on their abilities of command, control, communications, and intelligence. If the American media found more faults with the Kazakh military leadership, it may show partiality once again.

The second part of this study was concerned with identifying the sources used/cited in the news item. According to Genest, "the origination of articles is one clear way to determine the level of independence on the part of the press with regard to source material."²³ If publications tend to quote only official sources, as opposed to alternative channels, (such as opinions of independent experts or journalist own findings,) "it would indicate greater dependence [of the media] on the administration for information...."²⁴

Coding

Having chosen units and categories, the researcher studied the content, registering the presence or absence of each category in each unit. The raw-

data matrix was constructed, according to the innovator of the contingency technique, Osgood, with the units serving as rows and the categories as columns, to record the data in this research.²⁵

	Mention of the religious orientation of the country	Possibility within the country to smuggle nuclear weapons to any part of the world	Possibility within the country to smuggle nuclear weapons to the Muslim countries	Recognition of the possibility of civil war/national upheaval within the country	Questioning the country's military personnel abilities
Belarus (a news item referring to its possession of the nuclear arms)					
Kazakhstan (a news item referring to its possession of the nuclear arms)					
Ukraine (a news item referring to its possession of the nuclear arms)					

If the content category was present, the plus sign was recorded in the appropriate column and row; whereas the minus sign indicates the absence of reference to a specific category in a specific unit. The frequency of any category in any one unit was not important, (for example, if the "religious

orientation“ was mentioned three times in one news item (the unit), it was recorded as a single plus, not as three.

For the second part of the research the news items were studied on the presence or absence of different sources of information for the story. The categories counted were:

1. United States official government pronouncement
2. Russian official government pronouncement
3. The studied country's official government pronouncement
4. Unidentified United States government pronouncement
5. Unidentified Russian government pronouncement
6. Unidentified the studied country's government pronouncement
7. Independent United States sources
8. Independent Russian sources
9. Independent Kazakh, Ukrainian or Belarussian sources
10. Journalist's own findings/opinions

Statistics

The significance of the differences between the obtained values were tested by chi square analysis (simple and complex) since the data obtained were nominal. Same statistics were used to examine content differences among articles covering three different countries, as well as among different publications and different categories of publications.

The percentage differences between government and non-government-controlled sources in each studied media were calculated in the second part of the research.

Tables

The tables given include a breakdown of the occurrences of bias present in each medium for each country. Percentages of the source used for the news in each medium were also tabulated for each country.

Limitations

This study strictly focused on the content of the news items. This was not sufficient "to understand either the force that produced the content or the nature or the extent..."²⁶

However, this goal of this research was to focus on identifying the biases in the particular media institution (newspapers of record, popular magazines, or serious political journals), and was not intended to analyze the reasons behind such partiality. Thus, the forces or the nature of the media bias is a subject of yet another study. This thesis, nevertheless, is a good start in understanding the issues of objectivity and fairness in the United States' media.

ENDNOTES

¹ Pamela J. Shoemaker and Stephen D. Reese, Mediating the Message. Theories of Influence on Mass Media Content, New York & London: Longman, 1991, 23.

² Ibid., 24.

³ Ibid., 33.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Marc A. Genest, Negotiating in the Public Eye. The Impact of the Press on the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Force Negotiations Stanford University Press, Stanford, CA, 1995, 63.

^{*} For example, Time admitted: "We are still in the business making judgments and we still do not claim objectivity, which form the start we considered impossible and undesirable. Time at 60: A letter from the Editor-in-Chief, 1983, 5-7.

⁹ Ole R. Holsti, Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities, Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1969, 7.

¹⁰ Bill Katz and Linda Sternberg Katz, Magazines for Libraries, NY: P.R. Bowker, 1989, 825.

¹¹ Ibid., 826.

¹² Ibid., 821.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid., 819.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid., 822.

¹⁷ Ibid., 413.

¹⁸ Ibid., 840.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid., 892.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Richard W. Budd, Robert K. Thorp and Lewis Donohew, Content Analysis of Communications, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1967, 78.

²³ Exception was made for Ukraine - the articles with the subject description "armed forces" referring to the Russian-Ukrainian dispute over the Black Sea Fleet were excluded from the universe of this research.

²⁴ Genest, 65.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Budd, Thorp and Donohew, 78.

²⁷ Shoemaker and Reese, 24.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

General

This thesis is an attempt to investigate American media coverage of three new independent states that emerged from the collapse of the Soviet Union. Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan attracted world attention largely because of their possession of strategic nuclear weapons. This study examined how three types of American publications (newspapers of record, popular magazines and analytical journals) covered the nuclear arms issue promoted by creation of new independent countries with different religious heritage. Specifically, the study was concerned whether or not the media coverage of Kazakhstan was fair and impartial with regard to the "Islamic-Nuclear-Threat-in-the-Central-Asia" fable.

The research method of this study was one of the techniques of content analysis, known as "contingency analysis." This technique provided a method of scoring in which the coding of material depended on the absence or presence of the attribute within the news item.¹ The research was concerned with discovering what terms occurred in conjunction with references to possession of nuclear weapons by the three countries, what sources were used/cited in the news articles and how different types of American media covered this issue. The raw-data matrix was constructed, according to the

innovator of the contingency technique, Osgood, with the units serving as rows and the categories as columns, to record the data in this research.²

Data Collection

All studied publications published more articles on Ukraine than on Kazakhstan while there were more stories on Kazakhstan than on Belarus. Several factors contributed to this disproportion:

- The break-up of the Soviet Union, left Ukraine with the largest number of the nuclear warheads in the world after Russia and the United States. Moreover, although Ukraine pledged together with Kazakhstan and Belarus to become nuclear-free in the beginning of its statehood, it later stirred international alarm by announcing suspension of further weapons transfer to Russia until sufficient Russian and American guarantees of Ukraine's security were given.
- Contrariwise, Belarus gave up all of its nuclear weapons without much of a debate. It was the first of the former Soviet republics to proclaim nuclear-free future, which, in turn, made it "the least interesting" for the media to report on.

Taking into consideration the different quantity of the news items for each country, the number of the instances of bias were converted to the ratios by dividing the number of instances in each category by the total number of news items for the particular country.

Newspapers

New York Times A total of 55 news items (9 for Belarus, 13 for Kazakhstan and 33 for Ukraine) were found in this publication. The proportions of all instances of bias in each coding category toward the three studied countries are presented in Table I.

TABLE I

The Proportions Of All Instances Of Bias In Each Coding Category for the
New York Times, By Country

N=55

Indicators Of Bias	Belarus N=9	Kazakhstan N=13	Ukraine N=33
Mention of the religious orientation of the country	0	30%	3%
Possibility within the country to smuggle nuclear weapons to any part of the world	11%	15%	6%
Possibility within the country to smuggle nuclear weapons to the Muslim countries	11%	15%	0
Recognition of the possibility of civil war/ national upheaval within the country	0	15%	15%
Questioning the country's military personnel abilities	0	8%	6%

Washington Post A total of 77 news items (8 for Belarus, 20 for Kazakhstan, 49 for Ukraine) were selected from this newspaper. The proportions of all instances of bias in each coding category toward the three studied countries are presented in Table II.

TABLE II

The Proportions Of All Instances Of Bias In Each Coding Category for the
Washington Post, By Country

N=77

Indicators Of Bias	Belarus N=8	Kazakhstan N=20	Ukraine N=49
Mention of the religious orientation of the country	0	10%	2%
Possibility within the country to smuggle nuclear weapons to any part of the world	12.5%	25%	4%
Possibility within the country to smuggle nuclear weapons to the Muslim countries	12.5%	15%	2%
Recognition of the possibility of civil war/ national upheaval within the country	0	10%	10%
Questioning the country's military personnel abilities	0	10%	2%

Los Angeles Times A total of 62 news items (9 for Belarus, 12 for Kazakhstan, and 41 for Ukraine) were located in this medium. The proportions of all instances of bias in each coding category toward the three studied countries are presented in Table III.

TABLE III
The Proportions Of All Instances Of Bias In Each Coding Category for the
Los Angeles Times, By Country

N=62

Indicators Of Bias	Belarus N=9	Kazakhstan N=12	Ukraine N=41
Mention of the religious orientation of the country	0	25%	2%
Possibility within the country to smuggle nuclear weapons to any part of the world	11%	25%	7%
Possibility within the country to smuggle nuclear weapons to the Muslim countries	0	17%	0
Recognition of the possibility of civil war/ national upheaval within the country	0	17%	5%
Questioning the country's military personnel abilities	0	25%	10%

From the raw data in Tables I, II and III it appears that the percentage of instances of bias was slightly higher for Kazakhstan than for two other countries in all three newspapers of record. However, no statistically

significant differences between the coverage of three countries were found at 95% confidence level using a chi-square analysis. Thus, these data indicate that all three newspapers of record were not more partial toward Kazakhstan than to the other two states.

Popular Magazines

Newsweek A total of 15 news items (4 for Belarus, 5 for Kazakhstan, and 6 for Ukraine) were published by this magazine within the time frame of this research. The proportions of all instances of bias in each coding category toward the three studied countries are presented in Table IV.

TABLE IV

The Proportions Of All Instances Of Bias In Each Coding Category for

Newsweek, By Country

N= 15

Indicators Of Bias	Belarus N=4	Kazakhstan N=5	Ukraine N=6
Mention of the religious orientation of the country	0	40%	0%
Possibility within the country to smuggle nuclear weapons to any part of the world	100%	100%	50%
Possibility within the country to smuggle nuclear weapons to the Muslim countries	75%	100%	50%
Recognition of the possibility of civil war/ national upheaval within the country	25%	20%	33.3%
Questioning the country's military personnel abilities	0	0	0

U.S. News & World Report. A total of 17 news items (3 for Belarus, 3 for Kazakhstan, and 11 for Ukraine) were identified for this publication. The proportions of all instances of bias in each coding category toward the three studied countries are presented in Table V.

TABLE V

The Proportions Of All Instances Of Bias In Each Coding Category for

U.S. News World Report, By Country

N=17

Indicators Of Bias	Belarus N=3	Kazakhstan N=3	Ukraine N=11
Mention of the religious orientation of the country	0	33%	0
Possibility within the country to smuggle nuclear weapons to any part of the world	0	33%	0
Possibility within the country to smuggle nuclear weapons to the Muslim countries	0	0	0
Recognition of the possibility of civil war/ national upheaval within the country	0	33%	9%
Questioning the country's military personnel abilities	0	67%	27%

Time A total of 14 news items (3 for Belarus, 5 for Kazakhstan, and 6 for Ukraine) appeared in this publication within the time frame of the research. The proportions of all instances of bias in each coding category toward the three studied countries are presented in Table VI.

TABLE VI

The Proportions Of All Instances Of Bias In Each Coding Category for *Time*,

By Country

N= 14

Indicators Of Bias	Belarus N=3	Kazakhstan N=5	Ukraine N=6
Mention of the religious orientation of the country	0	60%	0
Possibility within the country to smuggle nuclear weapons to any part of the world	33%	60%	17%
Possibility within the country to smuggle nuclear weapons to the Muslim countries	0	40%	0
Recognition of the possibility of civil war/ national upheaval within the country	33%	40%	17%
Questioning the country's military personnel abilities	33%	20%	17%

Raw data alone appear to support the hypothesis, which predicted that popular magazines would be less impartial toward Kazakhstan compared with Ukraine and Belarus. To statistically test the differences between the three

countries in each of the magazines, a chi-square analysis was conducted on the data obtained for the three publications for each indicator of bias. The test revealed no statistically significant differences at the 95% confidence level. Thus, the data obtained do not support the initial hypothesis.

Analytical Journals

Bulletin of Atomic Scientists A total of 17 news items (5 for Belarus, 6 for Kazakhstan, and 6 for Ukraine) were located in this publication within the time frame of the research. The proportions of all instances of bias in each coding category toward the three studied countries are presented in Table VII

TABLE VII

The Proportions Of All Instances Of Bias In Each Coding Category for

Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, By Country

N=17

Indicators Of Bias	Belarus N=5	Kazakhstan N=6	Ukraine N=6
Mention of the religious orientation of the country	0	0	0
Possibility within the country to smuggle nuclear weapons to any part of the world	0	0	17%
Possibility within the country to smuggle nuclear weapons to the Muslim countries	0	0	17%
Recognition of the possibility of civil war/ national upheaval within the country	0	0	0
Questioning the country's military personnel abilities	0	0	17%

Foreign Affairs A total of 7 news items (1 for Belarus, 2 for Kazakhstan, and 4 for Ukraine) were found in this publication within the time frame of the research. Although there were very few articles to study in this publication, it must be considered that the volume of the articles was substantial (from 20 to 40 pages) thus making the data comparable to the other publications. The proportions of all instances of bias in each coding category toward the three studied countries are presented in Table VIII.

TABLE VIII

The Proportions Of All Instances Of Bias In Each Coding Category for

Foreign Affairs, By Country

N=7

Indicators Of Bias	Belarus N=1	Kazakhstan N=2	Ukraine N=4
Mention of the religious orientation of the country	0	50%	0
Possibility within the country to smuggle nuclear weapons to any part of the world	0	0	25%
Possibility within the country to smuggle nuclear weapons to the Muslim countries	0	50%	0
Recognition of the possibility of civil war/ national upheaval within the country	0	0	25%
Questioning the country's military personnel abilities	0	0	50%

Arms Control Today A total of 21 news items (5 for Belarus, 5 for Kazakhstan, and 11 for Ukraine) were identified in this publication within the time frame of the research. The proportions of all instances of bias in each coding category toward the three studied countries are presented in Table IX.

TABLE IX

The Proportions Of All Instances Of Bias In Each Coding Category for
Arms Control Today, By Country

N=21

Indicators Of Bias	Belarus N=5	Kazakhstan N=5	Ukraine N=11
Mention of the religious orientation of the country	0	0	0
Possibility within the country to smuggle nuclear weapons to any part of the world	0	0	0
Possibility within the country to smuggle nuclear weapons to the Muslim countries	0	0	0
Recognition of the possibility of civil war/ national upheaval within the country	0	0	22%
Questioning the country's military personnel abilities	0	0	11%

As predicted there was almost no indication of bias toward Kazakhstan found in the analytical journals. Foreign Affairs makes an exception in two categories "mentions the Muslim orientation of the country" and "the existing

possibility to smuggle nuclear weapons to the Muslim countries." However, no statistically significant difference was found between the coverage of the three countries by *Foreign Affairs* at 95 % confidence level using a chi-square statistical test.

Newspapers vs. Popular Magazines vs. Analytical Journals

To look for the differences among three types of the publications the chi-square statistical test was employed. Since the data were gathered from experimentally different (e.g. 4 instances of bias out of 13 news items in *New York Times* vs. 3 instances of bias out of 5 news items in *Newsweek*), the chi-square test was performed on the ratios calculated by dividing the number of instances in each category by the total number of news items for the particular country.

Although the percentages obtained for three publications appear to support the hypothesis (which predicted that popular news magazines will be the most biased whereas the analytical journals will be the most impartial toward Kazakhstan among three types of publications,) the study failed to detect statistically significant difference in coverage of the nuclear arms issue in Kazakhstan, Ukraine, Belarus among all publications.

One of the possible explanations is that most of the information presented in the news items of newspapers and popular magazines was heavily drawn from the same United States' government official sources and pronouncements.

Below is the breakdown of the percentages of news sources used in newspapers and popular magazines studied.

FIGURE 1

The Percentage Of News Sources Used By *The New York Times*

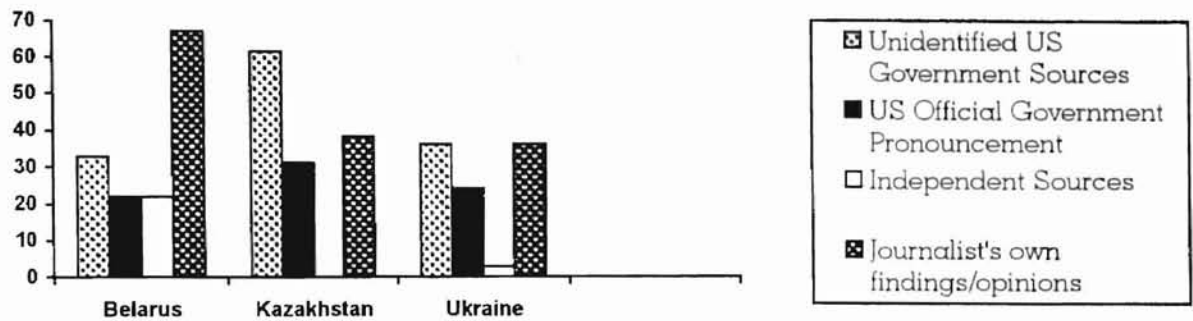


FIGURE 2

The Percentage Of News Sources Used By *The Washington Post*

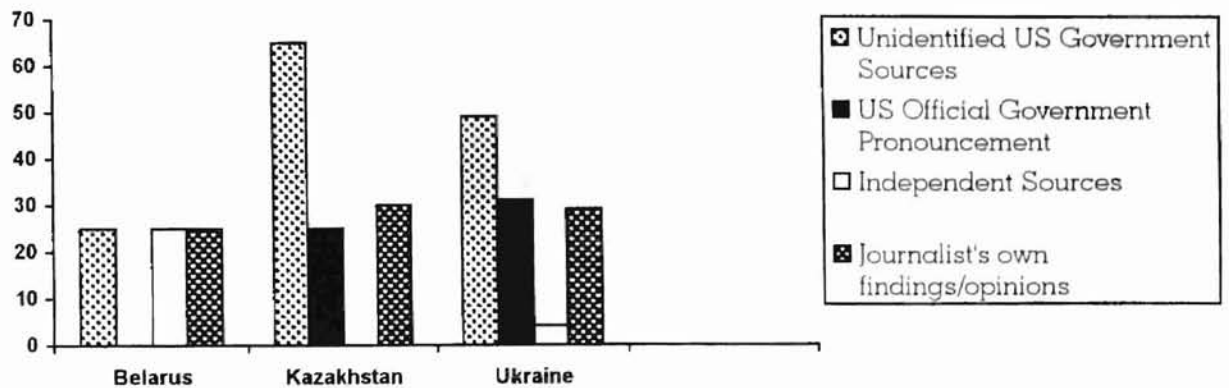


FIGURE 3

The Percentage Of News Sources Used By *The Los Angeles Times*

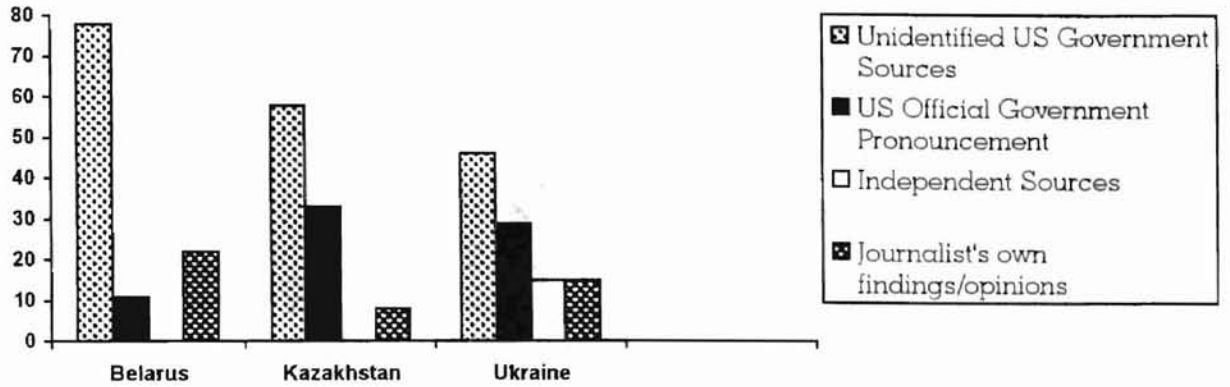


FIGURE 4

The Percentage Of News Sources Used By *Newsweek*

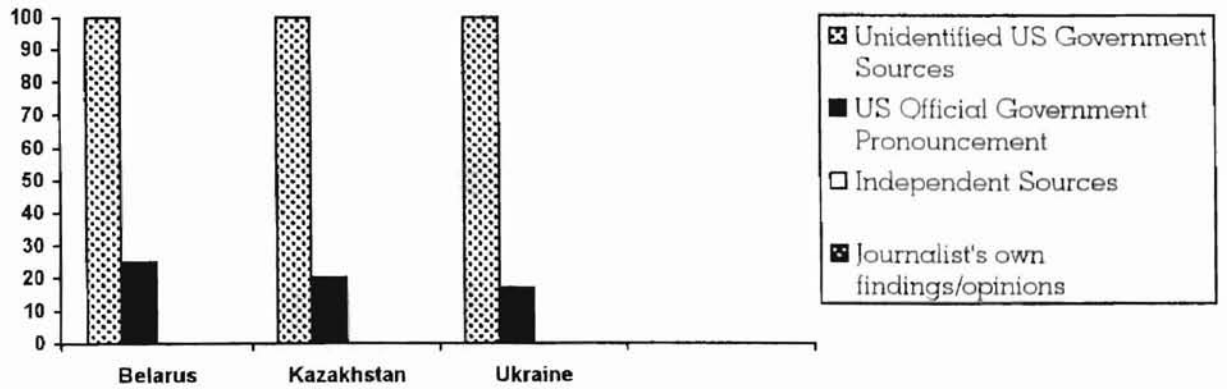


FIGURE 5

The Percentage Of News Sources Used By *US. News World Report*

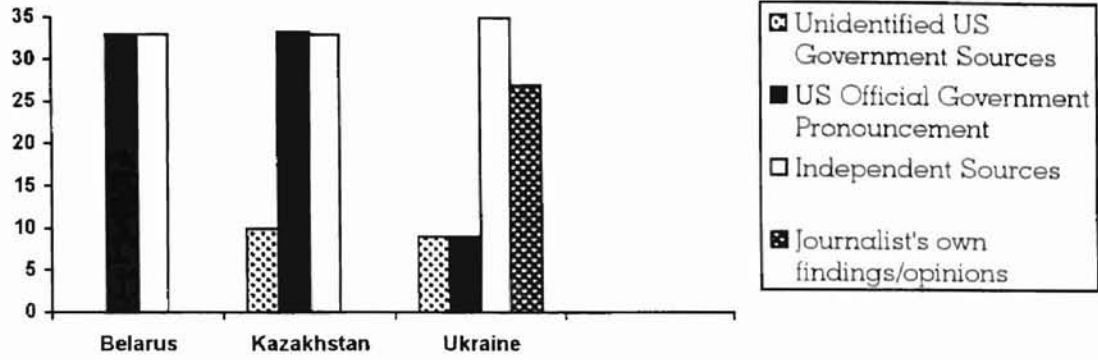
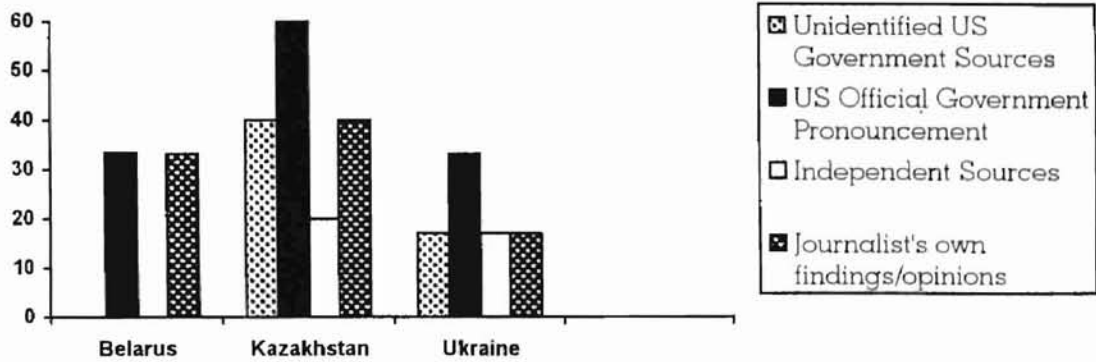


FIGURE 6

The Percentage Of News Sources Used By *Time*



As shown on the tables above most of the news about Kazakhstan were "provided" by the United States government. The unidentified official sources compounded the largest amount of the derivation of information for

Kazakhstan. Both newspapers and popular magazines followed officially staged events and reacted to those events.

Because the government was the primary source of information for all newspapers and popular magazines, the media coverage of events tend to be similar in all publications. The stories in all three publications inclined towards reporting with relatively little analysis and were strongly dependent on official quotations. The alternative non-official sources and journalists' own findings and opinions did not figure prominently in the coverage of both newspapers and popular magazines. Thus, those few "own" media opinions were not large enough to produce any statistically significant differences among the all newspapers and popular news magazines.

Generally, the official information quoted in the newspapers and popular magazines tended to be neutral toward all three republics. All three newly independent states (with exception of Ukraine for a brief period) were very amiable toward United States' official policies and agreed easily to all conditions and terms set forth by the United States administration.

This overall politically neutral tone of the official sources could have contributed to no significant difference in coverage of Kazakhstan when popular magazines and newspapers were compared with analytical journals, since the journals' opinions and analysis tend to stay impartial toward all three independent countries. Although the official sources were not used in the news items of both *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* and *Foreign Affairs*, the politically

balanced tone of the articles was similar to the government pronouncements. *Arms Control Today* had equal number of references to the official sources as of journalists' own findings. Below are the figures with the breakdown of the percentages of news sources used in analytical journals.

FIGURE 7

The Percentage Of News Sources Used By *The Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*

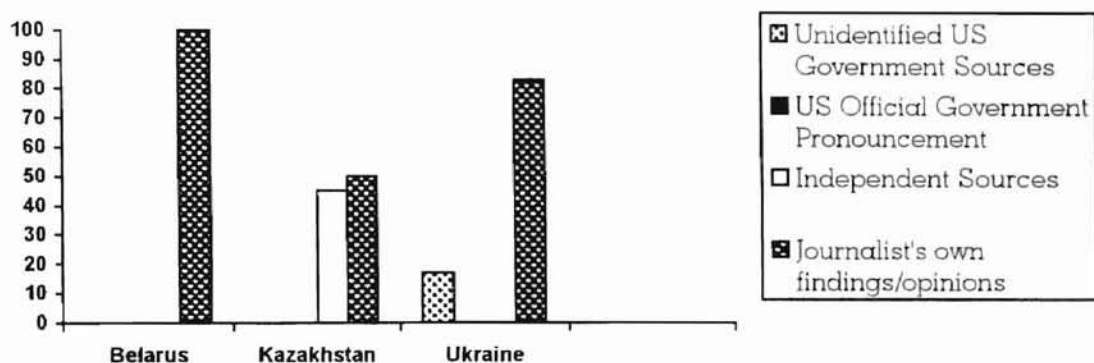


FIGURE 8

The Percentage Of News Sources Used By *Foreign Affairs*

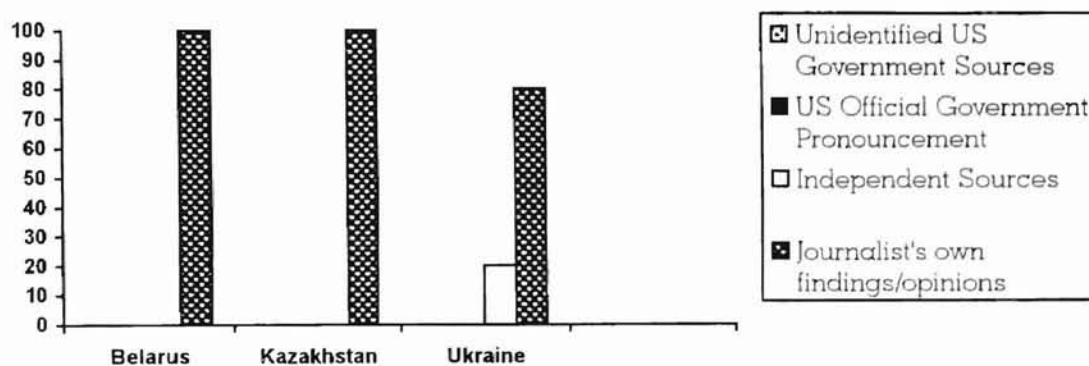
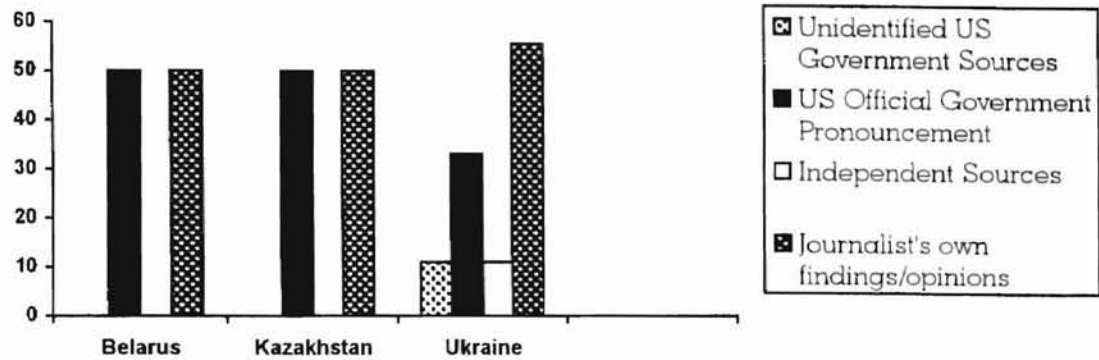


FIGURE 9

The Percentage Of News Sources Used By *Arms Control Today*

Summary

The study failed to reject both of the null hypotheses. Although the raw data indicated that there were more instances of bias in reporting about Kazakhstan than in the news items about Ukraine and Belarus, statistically significant differences were not found. No significant differences between three types of publications were detected as well. One of the possible explanations for the similarity in reporting on three countries by newspapers and popular magazines is that most of the news was derived from the United States official pronouncements. The alternative non-official sources and journalists' own findings and opinions were not presented eminently in the coverage of both newspapers and popular magazines, thus, making it impossible to produce any statistically significant differences among all the newspapers and popular news magazines.

The United States' official pronouncement was for the most part neutral toward the three new independent states. This neutrality corresponded with beliefs of the writers for analytical journals, thus contributing to no significant differences in biases between popular magazines/newspapers and analytical journals.

Endnotes

¹ Ole R. Holsti, Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities, Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1969, 7.

² Richard W. Budd, Robert K. Thorp and Lewis Donohew, Content Analysis of Communications, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1967, 78.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

General

This chapter is a summary of research methodology, a discussion of findings based on data from newspapers of record, popular news magazines and analytical journals about media coverage of the nuclear weapon issue in three independent states, Belarus, Kazakhstan and Ukraine, and recommendations for further research.

Summary

Methodology

This thesis examined how three types of American publications covered the nuclear arms issue promoted by creation of new independent countries with different religious heritage. Three major American daily newspapers of record (*The New York Times*, *The Washington Post* and *The Los Angeles Times*), three popular news magazines (*Time*, *Newsweek*, and *U.S. News & World Report*) and three serious analytical publications (*The Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, *Arms Control Today* and *Foreign Affairs*) were selected for this project.

The research method used for this study was one of the techniques of content analysis, known as "contingency analysis." Two more researchers

were asked to examine the data of the study following the same coding rules. Both of the coders arrived at the same results.

The study investigated the instances of bias that occurred in conjunction with references to possession of nuclear weapons by each of the three countries in three different types of American media. The study was also concerned with discovering what sources were used/cited in the news articles.

The goal was to find out whether Kazakhstan received more biased coverage compared with Ukraine and Belarus with reference to the issue of nuclear arms. The study premise was that since Kazakhstan was considered to be a Muslim-oriented country, it may have been treated with special attention by the American media. It was also presumed that popular news magazines would be less objective in presenting their views to the audience compared with the newspapers of record, that is, newspapers that have "established a high level of credibility for their reporting."¹ The newspapers, in turn, may not have been as impartial as serious political journals with narrow specialization on nuclear issues.

The null hypotheses of the study were as follows :

- Ho.1 During the period of proclaiming independence (Dec.1991) to the date of signing the strategic arms reduction treaty with the United States (Dec., 1994), three former Soviet republics Belarus, Ukraine and Kazakhstan received similar treatment in major American publications.

- Ho.2 There were no significant differences in bias covering the nuclear arms issue in Belarus, Ukraine and Kazakhstan between three types of the American publications (newspapers of record, popular news magazines and serious political journals.)

Findings

Raw data alone appear to support the hypothesis, which predicted that publications would be less impartial toward Kazakhstan compared with Ukraine and Belarus. To statistically test the differences between the three countries in every medium, a chi-square analysis was conducted on the data obtained for each indicator of bias. The tests revealed no statistically significant differences at the 95% confidence level for any of the publications.

Although the percentages obtained for three publications appear to support the second hypothesis (which predicted that popular news magazines will be the most biased whereas the analytical journals will be the most impartial toward Kazakhstan among three types of publications,) the study failed to detect statistically significant differences in coverage of the nuclear arms issue in Kazakhstan, Ukraine, Belarus among all publications using chi-square statistical test.

The study also failed to find evidence that American media obtained and repeated the Kremlin-created "Islamic-Nuclear-Threat-in-the-Central-Asia fable."² None of the publications used Russian sources for their stories about nuclear weapons issues in Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine.

The study, however, revealed that most of the information presented in the news items of newspapers and popular magazines was drawn heavily from the same United States government official sources and pronouncements.

Conclusions

One of the possible explanations of the failure to detect any significant differences in coverage of nuclear arms issue among all publications is that the major percentage of articles from all newspapers and popular news magazines cited the same United States' government official sources and pronouncements. Because the government was the primary source of information for all newspapers and popular magazines, the media coverage of the event tended to be similar in all publications. The stories in all newspapers and popular magazines inclined towards reporting with relatively little analysis and were strongly dependent on official quotations. The alternative non-official sources and journalists' own findings and opinions did not figure prominently in the coverage of both newspapers and popular magazines. Both newspaper and popular magazine coverage tended to focus on official events, such as state visits, negotiations, ceremonies of signing of the treaties. All three newspapers and news magazines followed officially staged events and reacted to those events.

Overall, the official information quoted in the newspapers and popular magazines tended to stay neutral toward all three republics. This

corresponded with the neutral tone of the analytical journals, thus, producing no statistically significant difference among coverage of all three publications.

Although the conclusion that the American media was impartial toward all three new independent states can be made according to the findings of this study, the question of the true objectivity of the mainstream media remains. The heavy dependence of the media on official sources in reporting important international events is not necessarily a perfect way to insure true objectivity in reporting.

All three newly independent states (with exception of Ukraine for a brief period) were very amiable toward United States' official policies and agreed easily to all conditions and terms set forth by the White House administration with respect to nuclear weapons disarmament. This explains the diplomatically balanced tone of the official pronouncements. However, in November of 1994, the Clinton administration reached a secret deal with the Kazakh government under which more than half-a-ton of highly enriched uranium was brought to the United States Energy Department nuclear facility at Oak Ridge, Tenn. To justify such a shipment the unidentified American government officials pointed out reasons that were not mentioned in the prior pronouncements : the possibility of uranium to find its way to Third World countries for use in nuclear weapons, particularly to Iran and Iraq, the inadequate military management of the nuclear weapons on the territory of Kazakhstan and the possibility of national upheaval in the country.

As a result, the articles of all three newspapers (solely based on the official information) scored the highest number of instances of bias toward Kazakhstan. *Time* magazine was the only one among the popular news publications to report on so-called "Project Sapphire," thus, producing the highest percentage of bias toward Kazakhstan among the magazines.

This indicates that reliance on official sources cannot always guarantee objectivity in reporting. According to Solomon and Lee, "media reporters heavy dependence on 'official' sources for their investigative stories brings the idea of an unbiased press to the vanishing point."³

Far from establishing a long-term trend theory about media coverage of the post-Cold War nuclear weapons issues, the findings of this thesis, however, support Genest's "agenda-reflecting theory."⁴ This term implies that the media merely reflect or relate the government's agenda, transmitting it to the public for the most of instances.

The researcher failed to reject the null hypotheses set forth for this study. However, the data can be used to raise questions regarding the print media role on reporting the foreign events, particularly nuclear weapons issue. The findings of the study may add to the scholarly discussions on the objectivity in the media by bringing to the attention of researchers the fact that often the objectivity of the media can be influenced by the official policies.

The findings obtained may also support the idea that for the most part newspapers of record and popular magazines acted as "agenda-reflectors,

serving as a conduit between the government and the public for information on official policy"⁵ thus, conducting only official views.

Recommendations

Further research is needed on the origination of the coverage of the important international events. What are the forces or the nature of the media bias is an important subject for study. Some scholars call the media the "fourth estate" of the government. With regard to the coverage of the nuclear weapons issue in Belarus, Kazakhstan and Ukraine this seem to be the case. Further study is needed to investigate such premises.

Objectivity is one of the core professional values of journalism in most cultural and political settings. Mass communications theory may benefit from a comparative analysis of how journalists in different countries (particularly, United States and Russia) reported on the post-Cold War nuclear weapons issues. Besides showing country-to-country differences of the professional value of objectivity, the study may assess the consequences of the different notions of objectivity for the audience's perception of Belarus, Ukraine or Kazakhstan and for the influence of the news media on public opinion.

Findings of the research showed that despite the alternative information available at the analytical journals, the reporters of mainstream media heavily relied on the information from the official sources. One of the suggestions to the post-Cold War foreign correspondents then would be to go beyond

available government information, in order to insure the true objectivity in reporting on foreign events.

One of the problems with measuring bias in the media is that there are no suitable references with which to compare media content. "Journalists are as aware as the media watchdogs of the most simplistic quantitative measures of bias."⁶ Perhaps, in the media analysis "the ruler and stopwatch" of content analysis should be combined with techniques that allow one to account for non-quantitative indications of impartiality. A thorough investigation that include both qualitative and quantitative techniques to investigate media content of the post-Cold War would be warranted.

Concluding Comment

The thesis was an attempt to understand the issues of objectivity and fairness in the United States media. The study investigated how major American publications covered the nuclear arms issue promoted by creation of new independent countries with different religious heritage. In doing so, the researcher failed to detect a significant bias toward any of the three countries in three types of American publications. However, results raise the issue of the relationship between press reporting and official policymaking. The study suggested that the origination of the coverage should be an important factor to consider in studies of media objectivity.

¹ Marc A. Genest, Negotiating in the Public Eye. The Impact of the Press on the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Force Negotiations Stanford University Press, Stanford, CA, 1995, 63.

² Marat Akchurin, "Soviet Muslims: Seeking Reform, Not Revolution," Global Studies. Commonwealth of Independent States and Central/Eastern Europe, The Dushkin Publishing Group, Inc., 1992, 213.

³ Martin Lee and Norman Solomon, Unreliable Sources. A Guide to Detecting Bias in News Media, Carol Publishing Group, 1991, 277.

⁴ Genest, 36.

⁵ Ibid., 94

⁶ Pamela J. Shoemaker and Stephen D. Reese, Mediating the Message. Theories of Influence on Mass Media Content, New York & London: Longman, 1991, 40.

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Stocker, Kevin. "Existential Objectivity: Freeing Journalists To Be Ethical." *Journal of Mass Media Ethics* Spring 1995.

APPENDIX A

LIST OF THE NEWS ITEMS STUDIED, BELARUS

The Washington Post

Author	Name of the Article	Date	Page
1994			
Hiatt, Fred	Russia Rejects Monetary Union With Lagging Neighbor, Belarus	Sep.10	A16
Silchuck, Vasily	Belarus Lugosi? Another Scary Rising Leader in Another Former Soviet Republic	Jul.3	C8
1992			
Editorials	Accidentally Nuclear	May 11	A16
Smith, Jeffrey	3 Former Soviet Republics Meet U.S. Arms Terms	Apr.27	A13
Oberdorfer, Don	3 Ex-Soviet States to Give Up A-Arms	May 24	A1

New York Times

Erlanger, Steven	In Belarus, Memorials Define a Nation	Jan.14	A10
Jehl, Douglas	Clinton Promises Help for Belarus Before Changing Focus to Mideast	Jan.16	1,10
Perlez, Jane	Treaty to Cut A-weapons Now in Effect	Dec.6	A10
1993			
Editorials	Help Belarus Become Nuclear-Free	Apr.15	1993
	Belarus, a Model for Ukraine	Aug.4	1993
Erlanger, Steven	3 Slavic ex-Soviet Lands to Press Economic Union	Jul.15	A15
Sciolino, Elaine	Christopher Praises Belarus on Nuclear Issue	Oct.27	A5

1992

Editorials	Yawning at the Bomb	Sep23	A26
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Los Angeles Times

1994

McManus, Doyle	Clinton Hails Belarus for Arms Policy	Jan.16	A1
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	No Aid Without Reform, U.S. Warns Russia, Belarus	Jan.28	A6
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1993

Eisenhower, Susan	Republics Want Their Share From 'Union'	Feb.1	B7
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1992

Goldberg, Carey	Ukraine Begins Putting Troops Under Its Flags	Jan.4	A1
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Ross, Michael and McManus, Doyle	Focus Urged on Ex-Soviet Nuclear Arms	Nov.26	A4
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1991

Dahlburg, John- Thor	Slavic Pact No Nuclear Threat, Its Leader Say	Dec.10	A1
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Shorgen, Elizabeth	Won't Launch 1st Strike, 4 States Pledge	Dec.22	A1
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Newsweek

Masland, Tom, Bogert, Carrol, McKay, Betsy, Waller, Douglas, Liu, Melinda and Sullivan, Scott	For Sale	Aug.29, 1994	30
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Post, Tom, Pia Hinckle and Fred Coleman	Selling Nuclear Missiles - And Minds	Jan.13, 1992	29
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Watson Russell, Douglas Waller, Margaret Warner, Fred Coleman and Melinda Liu	The Devil's Work	Feb.17, 1992	30
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Watson Russell, John Barry, and Carrol Bogert	Nukes on the Loose	Dec 16, 1991	32
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U.S. News & World Report

Editorials	Slow Going	Nov.8, 1993	41
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	The Anti-Nukes Club Initiates a Vital Member	Nov.28, 1994	26
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Zimmermann, Tim, Bruce Auster and Kenneth T. Walsh, and Douglas Stanglin and Peter Vassiliev	Are Nukes on the Loose?	Apr.19, 1993	41
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Time

Church, George	Soviet Nukes On the Loose	Dec.16, 1991	40
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	The End of the U.S.S.R.	Dec.23, 1991	19
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Fedarko, Kevin	Back to the USSR?	Jul.25, 1994	40
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Bulletin of Atomic Scientists

Cohen, Stephen	U.S. Security In a Separatist Season	Jul/Aug 1992	28
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Davydov, Valeri	Nyet To Full Battle Dress	Jul/Aug 1992	33
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Kiselyov, Sergei	Nothing in Common, No Wealth	Jan/Feb 1993	12
Lockwood, Dunbar	Purchasing Power	Mar/Apr 1994	10
Tiurina, Tatiana	Neutrality, Maybe	Jan/Feb 1994	37

Foreign Affairs

Simes, Dimitri	America and The Post-Soviet Republics	Spring 1992	73
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Arms Control Today

Lockwood, Dunbar	U.S. Begins to Deliver Nunn-Lugar Equipment to Russia, Belarus	May 1994	21
	Former Soviet Republics Clear Way for Nunn-Lugar Moneys	Jan/Feb 1994	27
	U.S. Security Assistance to the Former Soviet Union	Jan/Feb 1994	32
	Bush Clears Way for Weapons Dismantlement, Security Aid	May 92	16
	Belarus Ratifies START I Pact; Ukraine Remains Last Handout	Mar.93	20

APPENDIX B

LIST OF THE NEWS ITEMS STUDIED, KAZAKHSTAN

The Washington Post

Author	Name of the Article	Date	Page
1994			
Anderson, Jack and Binstein, Michael	O'Leary Calls Project Sapphire a Gem	Dec.12	1994
Devroy, Ann	Clinton Pledges Increase in Aid to Kazakhstan, Citing Reform	Feb.15	A4
Editorials	Kazakhstan's Uranium	Dec.3	A16
Hiatt, Fred	Kazakh Leader Warns the West Not to Concentrate Aid on Russia	Feb.8	A11
	U.S. Reward Sought for Ceding A-arms	Feb.14	A17
	Kazakhstan's Stability Teeters on Ethic, Economic Woes	Feb.14	A17
LeVine, Steve	Perry Seeks Security Pact for Ex-Soviet Republics	Mar.20	A32
Smith, Jeffrey	U.S. Takes Nuclear Fuel	Nov.23	1994
1993			
Lippman, Thomas	Christopher Flies to Almaty With Praise for Kazakhstan	Oct.24	A36
	Harried Christopher Buoyed by Kazakh Success	Oct.25	A14

1992

Hiatt, Fred and Freeland, Chrystia	Commonwealth Faces Unstable Future	Mar.22	A1
Dobbs, Michael	Kazakh Sets Conditions on A-Arms	May 6	A1
	Kazakh Leader Emerges as Key Ex-Soviet Figure	May 18	A12
Oberdorfer, Don	Kazakhstan Agrees to Give Up A-Arms	May 20	A1
Smith, Jeffrey	U.S. Asks About ICBM Launch from Kazakhstan	Jan.22	A26

1991

Hoffman, David	Kazakhstan Keeping Nuclear Arms, Republic's President Tells Baker	Dec. 18	A30
Remnick, David	In New Commonwealth of 'Equals,' Russia Remains the Dominant Force	Dec.22	A39

New York Times

1994

Gordon, Michael	U.S., In A Secret Deal, Removes Bomb Fuel In Ex-Soviet Republic	Nov.23	A1
	Months of Delicate Talks in Kazakhstan Atom Deal	Nov.24	A6
Greenhouse, Steven	Clinton and Kazakh Chief Each Filling a Need	Feb.13	1,11

1993

Berke, Richard	Prodded by Gore, Kazakhstan Signs Arms Accord	Dec.14	A15
Sciolino, Elaine	Kazakh Uses America to Enhance His Stature	Oct.25	A2

1992

Binder, David	4 New Republics Provide Details on Dismantling Soviet Arsenal	Feb.7	A9
Crossette, Barbara	4 Ex-Soviet States and U.S. in Accord on 1991 Arms Pact	May 24	1,1
Editorials	Yawning at the Bomb	Sep.23	A26
Hough, Jerry	About Those Nukes...	May 16	A23
Schmitt, Eric	U.S. Gains Pledge on Ex-Soviet Arms	Apr.1	A9

1991

Editorials	Try Reciprocity on Soviet Arms	Dec.30	A14
Friedman, Thomas	Yeltsin Rebuffed by Asian Republic on Nuclear Arms	Dec.18	A1

Los Angeles Times

1994

Pine, Art	U.S. Takes Over Uranium Cache from Kazakhstan	Nov.23	A1
	Secret Operations Safeguard Uranium	Nov.24	A1

1993

Eisenhower, Susan	Republics Want Their Share From 'Union'	Feb.1	B7
MacWilliam, Ian	Atom-Test Legacy Shadows Kazakh Prairie's Calm	Sep.15	A20
McManus, Doyle	Kazakh Leader Vows to Ratify Arms Proliferation Pact	Oct.25	A9

1992

Holley, David	Kazakhstan's Leader Extols China Ties	Feb.27	A4
McManus, Doyle	No Military Aid for Republics, U.S. Says	Apr.29	A8
	Kazakh Chief Keeps U.S. Guessing on Arms Pact	May 19	A9
	Kazakh Leader Foresees Stationing Russian Missiles	May 21	A8

Newsweek

Masland, Tom, Bogert, Carrol, McKay, Betsy, Waller, Douglas, Liu, Melinda and Sullivan, Scott	For Sale	Aug.29, 1994	30
Post, Tom, Pia Hinckle and Fred Coleman	Selling Nuclear Missiles - And Minds	Jan.13, 1992	29
Post, Tom, Melinda Liu, Steve Le Vine, Margaret Warner, Fred Coleman and Carrol Bogert	The Great Game, Chapter Two	Feb.3, 1992	28
Waller, Douglas	Sneaking in the Scuds	June 22, 1992	42
Watson Russell, John Barry, and Carrol Bogert	Nukes on the Loose	Dec 16, 1991	32

U.S. News & World Report

Editorials	Slow Going	Nov.8, 1993	41
Pope, Victoria	Back to the Future in Central Asia	Mar.8, 1993	42

Zimmermann, Tim, Bruce Auster and Kenneth T. Walsh, Douglas Stanglin and Peter Vassiliev	Are Nukes on the Loose?	Apr.19, 1993	41
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Time

Church, George	Soviet Nukes On the Loose	Dec.16, 1991	40
	The End of the U.S.S.R.	Dec.23, 1991	19
Kohan, John	Five New nations Ask Who Are We?	Apr.27, 1992	45
Fedarko, Kevin	Back to the USSR?	Jul.25, 1994	40
Thompson, Mark	Sapphire's Hot Glow	Dec.5, 1994	38

Bulletin of Atomic Scientists

Ardaev, Vladimir	An Embarrassment of Weapons	Oct.93	53
Cohen, Stephen	U.S. Security In a Separatist Season	Jul/Aug 1992	28
Davydov, Valeri	Nyet To Full Battle Dress	Jul/Aug 1992	33
Kiselyov, Sergei	Nothing in Common, No Wealth	Jan/Feb 1993	12
Lockwood, Dunbar	Purchasing Power	Mar/Ap 1994	10
Ustiugov, Mikhail	A "Temporarily Nuclear State"	Oct.93	32

Foreign Affairs

Olcott, Martha Brill	Central Asia's Catapult to Independence	Fall 1992	108
Simes, Dimitri	America and The Post-Soviet Republics	Spring 1992	73

*Arms Control
Today*

Lockwood, Dunbar	U.S Kazakhstan Make Progress In SSD Talks; Ukraine Balks	Nov.93	23
	Former Soviet Republics Clear Way for Nunn-Lugar Moneys	Jan/Feb 1994	27
	Bush Clears Way For Weapons Dismantlement	May 92	21
	U.S. Security Assistance to the Former Soviet Union	Jan/Feb 1994	32
	Bush Clears Way for Weapons Dismantlement, Security Aid	May 92	16

Foreign Affairs

Olcott, Martha Brill	Central Asia's Catapult to Independence	Fall 1992	108
Simes, Dimitri	America and The Post-Soviet Republics	Spring 1992	73

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Today*

Lockwood, Dunbar	U.S Kazakhstan Make Progress In SSD Talks; Ukraine Balks	Nov.93	23
	Former Soviet Republics Clear Way for Nunn-Lugar Moneys	Jan/Feb 1994	27
	Bush Clears Way For Weapons Dismantlement	May 92	21
	U.S. Security Assistance to the Former Soviet Union	Jan/Feb 1994	32
	Bush Clears Way for Weapons Dismantlement, Security Aid	May 92	16

APPENDIX C

LIST OF THE NEWS ITEMS STUDIED, UKRAINE

The Washington Post

Author	Name of the Article	Date	Page
1994			
Devroy, Ann	Pact Reached To Dismantle Ukraine's Nuclear Force	Jan.11	A1
	Ukraine Talks Intensify On Dismantling Missiles	Jan.4	A12
	The Selling of a Nuclear -Arms Agreement	Jan.12	A14
Devroy, Ann and Williams, Daniel	Clinton Boosts A-arms pact in Ukraine.	Jan.13	A1
Editorial	A Non-Nuclear Ukraine	Jan.11	A18
	About That Ukraine Agreement	Jan.14	A19
	New Triangle	Mar.8	A18
	Europe's Central Issue - Ukraine	May 24	A20
Harrison Selig	'Package' Incentives For Forswearing Nuclear Arms	Jan.30	C7
Hockstader, Lee	In Ukraine, Arms Deal May Hinge On The Deftness of the Salesman	Jan.14	A26
Nunn, Sam	Will Ukraine Save Itself?	Jan.3	A19
Rupert, James	Ukraine Joins Treaty Curbing Nuclear Arms	Nov.17	A1

Smith, Jeffrey	U.S., Ukraine, Russia Near Deal On Arms.	Jan.9	A1
	Ukraine Begins Moving Nuclear Warheads to Russia	Mar.6	A28
	Ukraine Leaders Assure U.S. on Economic Reforms	Aug.3	A24
	Ukraine Agrees To Follow Missile Control Treaty	May 14	A14
Seely, Robert	Ukraine Nuclear Accord Survives Its First Test	Jan.21	A31
	Support for A-Arms Pact Seen Gaining in Ukraine	Feb.3	A21
	A-arms Pact Approved in Ukraine	Feb.4	A1
	Ukraine Promises Nuclear Divestiture	Feb.5	A12
	New Obstacles to Ukraine's Nuclear Disarmament	Feb.28	A12
	Ukraine Casts Doubt on Disarmament	Mar.7	A12
	Perry Offers More Money to Ukraine	Mar.22	A12
	Perry Stops Ukraine's Deadliest Missile Facilities	Mar.23	A24
Williams Daniel and Smith Jeffrey	U.S. Intelligence Sees Economic Plight Leading to Breakup of Ukraine	Jan. 25	A24
Weymouth, Lally	U.S. Can Calm Ukrainian Jitters.	Jan.24	A17
1993			
Coll, Steve and Smith, Jeffrey	Ukraine Could Seize Control Over Nuclear Arms	Jun.3	A1
Devroy, Ann	Clinton Presses Ukraine on Disarming	Nov.30	A4
Editorial	Ukraine: Nuclear Fever	Oct.28	A22

Evans, Rowland and Novak, Robert	Ukraine's Nuclear Stall	Feb.12	A27
Freeland, Chrystia	Ukrainian Leader Says No Change on A-Arms	Jun.5	A17
Foran, Virginia	The Nuclear Safety Catch: What Should Follow START? Ukrainian Holdout : the Real Problem with a Treaty	Jan.3	C3
Goshko, John	U.S., Ukraine Fail to Resolve Nuclear Arms Dispute	Dec.4	A22
Lippman, Thomas	US Clears Way to Give Ukraine \$175 Million to Destroy A-Arms	Oct.26	A19
Oberdorfer, Don	Administration Rejects Ukrainian Appeal on START I ratification	Jan.7	A27
Randolph, Eleanor	Ukraine Supports Treaty Cutting Strategic Arms	Jan.2	A13
Shapiro, Margaret	Ukraine Gets Defense Offer From Yeltsin	Jan.16	A14
	Ukraine Nominally Ratifies START I	Nov.19	A45
Seely, Robert	Ukrainian Retreats on A-pledges	Oct.20	A31
	Ukraine Deactivates 17 Missiles in Goodwill Gesture Toward US and Russia	Dec.21	A18
1992			
Dobbs, Michael and Hiatt, Fred	Russian Politics Imperiling Arms Cuts.	Oct.31	A17
Dozdiak, William	Ukraine's Leader Says Russia Still Has "Imperial Ambitions"	Jun.18	A40
Editorial	Russia, Ukraine : The New Politics	Mar.18	A20
	Liquidating a Nuclear Inheritance	May 22	A16
Evans, Rowland and Novak, Robert	If Ukraine Keeps Its Nuclear Arms	Mar.23	A15

Hiatt, Fred	U.S. May Buy Soviet Uranium	Nov.24	A17
Oberdorfer, Don and Shapiro, Margaret	Ukraine Agrees to Eliminate Nuclear Arms	May 7	A1
Oberdorfer, Don	3 Ex-Soviet States to Give Up A-Arms	May 24	A1
	Bush Offers \$175 Million to Nonnuclear Ukraine	Dec.10	A12
Randolph, Eleanor and Smith, Jeffrey	Kiev Halts A-Weapons Transfer	Mar.13	A1
Smith, Jeffrey and Hoffman, David	U.S. Protests Interruption in Moving Ukrainian Arms.	Mar.14	A19
Smith, Jeffrey	3 Former Soviet Republics Meet U.S. Arms Terms	Apr.27	A13
Smith, Jeffrey, Oberdorfer, Don and Sun. Lena	Officials See Shift in Ukraine's Nuclear Position	Dec.19	A10
December 1991			
Editorials	Ukraine's Nuclear Arms	Dec.6	A30
	A Post-Soviet 'Commonwealth'	Dec.10	A20
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VITA 2

Alia Dzhiembraeva

Candidate for the Degree of

Master of Science

Thesis: A COMPARISON STUDY OF THE REPORTING OF THE NUCLEAR WEAPONS ISSUE INVOLVING BELARUS, KAZAKHSTAN AND UKRAINE IN SELECTED POST-COLD WAR AMERICAN MEDIA

Major Field: Mass Communications

Biographical:

Education: Graduated from High School # 19, Almaty, Kazakhstan in May 1987; received Bachelor of Arts degree in Journalism and Broadcasting from Belmont University, Nashville, Tennessee in May 1993. Completed the requirements for the Master of Science degree with major in Mass Communications at Oklahoma State University in May 1996.

Professional Experience: Executive Assistant and PR Coordinator, Arthur Andersen & Co., September 1993 to August 1994. PR intern at Deloitte Touche Tohmatsu International, ILA group in Washington, DC, Summer, 1995.