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Reality In Media: Images Of India, Russia And America 
In Bangladesh TV During 1980's 

By 

Shaikh Abdus Salam
Title: Reality in Media: Images of India, Russia, and America in Bangladesh TV during 1980's.

By

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I

Prologue:
Media of any country are considered to be very important vehicle for the onward journey towards reaching an understanding which is the goal of all types of communication. Then to pose a question, what reality does Bangladesh media have with regards to portrayal of India, former USSR and the U.S.A who had their different role during the War of Liberation of Bangladesh in 1971. The focus of this write-up is to analyse the image of India, former Soviet Union and the United States of America as reflected in a Bangladesh mass medium - BTV (Bangladesh Television). Before we proceed to the core of the study it would be fair to discuss some of the concept at the outset.

Image & its Formation:

The understanding of anything is a function of communication which is very much related to cognition. The term 'understanding', 'communication' and 'cognition' are so closely related that it is very difficult to distinguish them from one another in the process of communication - the act of building images in mind. It is communication that helps improve one's ability to understand the feelings and motives of others, enables one to share subjective experiences or feelings with others and confirms one's own internal feelings. In short, it just provides

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a means for social transaction for the awareness of and concern for various national and international issues i.e., human cognition. According to Gray Cronkite human cognition can be divided into three parts. They are beliefs, values and plans.

Beliefs: Beliefs are feelings about the probable existence of and relationships among the objects, events and ideas which constitute one's image of world.

Values: Values are feelings of liking or disliking for the objects, people, concepts, events and ideas which constitute one's image of the world.

Plans: Plans are feelings about the sequences in which behaviours must be performed in order to achieve certain outcomes.

Cronkhite observes that generally speaking one's values depend upon one's beliefs and sometimes the opposite is true i.e., to a certain extent one's beliefs depend upon one's values. From the above description of 'beliefs' and 'values' it will be seen that they are the ingredients of image building activity. On the other hand, Miller, Galanter and Pribram observe that the 'plans' form a part of the image. Plan indeed can be thought of as a special type of belief in a contingency relationship.
We have to consider the question of how the image is constituted. Cronkhite has developed an image constituting model, in which the outer ring labelled 'plans' is the only one which has any contact with the external world. But there are two types of 'plans' presented here: 'sensory' and 'motor'. Sensory plans receive and organise incoming stimuli into the image; motor plans act on the external environment in some way. The ring labelled 'beliefs' has contact with both plans and values, but its only contact with the external world is through plans. Beliefs are affected by incoming stimuli filtered through sensory (perceptual) plans, and they in turn affect the plans which the individual chooses. The inside circle labeled 'values' is affected by the individual's beliefs and can in turn, affect those beliefs. But values have no direct contact with either plans or the external world.

The Image: Belief-Plan-Value model.
The model given above provides a way of looking at what goes on inside an individual as he/she processes information and makes plans to respond to it. To explain what happens outside the individual for building the image, there is another model developed, with the help of a diagram, by Barnlund. We need not go into a detailed discussion of this model as we are mainly concerned with the concept of image. To become aware of any issue or to constitute an image is actually the beginning of high quality of communication. A communication message which one receives is initially a sensation but ultimately it is absorbed in understanding i.e. cognition and then the image is formed.

Concept & Meaning:

Image is not an easy term to define. We find hardly any articulated, concrete and full-fledged definition of image. Generally, image is the reflection of the state of a concept on the availability of information about the concept. As defined by C.K. Ogden and I.A. Richards - "Images, etc. are often most useful signs of our present and future behaviour — notably in the modern interpretation of dreams". It was Boulding who discussed the concept of the image of a nation in mid 1950's. He argued that it was the image that was real and that the real, however defined, was really an image.
Alex S. Edelstein observes that "To Boulding, images were the bases on which nations communicated. Nations were mindful, as well, of the images other nations held of them. Mutual perceptions, including perceptions of other perceptions, were the realities that produced friendly or hostile actions. Boulding saw images as constantly changing in their elements and therefore in their meanings; history was very much a part of image."

In the beginning of his chapter on "The construction of images" Edelstein demonstrates that images of nations have been observed as varied, changing and subject to similar tendencies among all nations. These images are "Pictures" of reality that are shaped not only by mass media but by other avenues of learning.

Edelstein also cites W.A. Scott according to whom the social and psychological correlates of image represent the totality of attributes that a person recognizes or imagines for that country. Primary among them would be the cognitive attributes by which the person understands the objective in an intellectual way; these are regarded by the observer as 'inherent' characteristics which are 'independent' of one's own response. Secondly, the images contain an affective component, representing a liking or disliking, usually a product of attributes that a person likes or dislikes. Finally, the image contains a set of responses that the person believes to be appropriate in the light of the perceived attribute. To these, Edelstein has added the concept of 'picture' and armour that these cognitions, the feelings towards them, and their evaluation must be linked in a mental structure of some kind. He refers

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to images as stereotypes, except that an essential meaning of stereotype is 'fixedness' and 'image' appears to be subject to change. G. Rachty has also contributed significantly to an understanding of the manyfaceted aspects of an image. She conceptualizes 'image' as "subjective knowledge". In usage, the image is what we think about the concept rather than any introduction of bias by any agent. Mohamad Tadayon quotes Walter Lippman who argues that image is the "picture in our heads". According to the psycho-analysis, image is formed from cognition and emotion. They are now debating which of them comes first. We are not, however, concerned here with that debate. In fine, the image can be termed as — a composite of impressions, themes, opinions and attitudes that form an over-all or dominant 'representation' about a concept.

II

The selected countries and their role in Bangladesh War of Independence.

We have mentioned that the history is very much a part of image. Therefore the political image of other nations to Bangladesh is expected to be related with her history of liberation.
The role played by different countries of the world during the grim struggle of Bangladesh for Independence in 1971 was marked with varying attitudes. As a consequence, political relations of the emerging Bangladesh with some countries were damaged or disturbed, whereas with some other countries, they received encouragement and boost. Some countries viewed it from humanitarian and other from political point of view. It was India in particular whose generous support and cooperation helped the struggle a lot in coming into being as Bangladesh. Being the world giants and the then leaders of the world's two political camps, the United States and the Soviet Union also became a party, in the strict sense of the term, to the War of Independence of Bangladesh. The roles played by them are discussed below:

**Bangladesh War of Independence and India**

The immense help India has extended to Bangladesh in the War of Liberation in 1971 has been universally recognised. From the night of March 25, 1971 the Pakistani Army launched its surprise attack in an attempt to crush the Bangalee's movement for autonomy. The very existence of the Bangalee in the then East Pakistan was endangered. Millions of people had then fled to India. And on April 10, 1971 they had formed their government (in exile) and the political beginning of Bangladesh as sovereign state began.

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Bangladesh started its first formal political communication with India with the very highest esteem of friendship on April 24, 1971. The letter addressed to President of India was jointly signed by Acting President Syed Nazrul Islam and Foreign Minister Khandokar Moshtaque Ahmed of the exile government. It was worded as "in view of the friendly relations that traditionally exist between the fraternal people of Bangla Desh and that of India, I request your excellency's Government to accord immediate recognition to the People's Republic of Bangla Desh. The Government of Bangla Desh will be pleased to establish normal diplomatic relations and exchange envoys with a view to further strengthening the ties of friendship between our two countries".  

The friendship between the two countries passed the test of time when India accorded recognition to Bangladesh. Communicating India's decision to recognise Bangladesh Indian Prime Minister wrote to her Bangladesh counterpart that—

"My colleagues in the Government of India and I were deeply touched by the message which His Excellency the Acting President Syed Nazrul Islam and you sent to me on December 4. ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 

... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 

... your young men are engaged in a self sacrificing struggle for freedom and democracy. The people of India are also fighting in defence of the same values. I have no doubt that this championship in endeavour...".

contd.....P/9.
and sacrifice will strengthen our dedication to
great causes and friendship between our two
people's ... ... ... 13

The relations and mutual understanding between India and
Bangladesh were, indeed very cordial. On January 5 to 9,
1972 the Foreign Minister of Bangladesh paid his first
official visit to India. Thus India was the first foreign
country visited by a statesman of Bangladesh. A joint
communique after the visit revealed the honest and sincere
desire of both the countries to establish and maintain
friendship and co-operation. It was confined not only to
the days of struggle but also extended to post-liberation
days of reconstruction of Bangladesh. To express the grati-
tude of Bangladesh to India, the leader and President of
Bangladesh Sheikh Mujibur Rahman on his way to Dhaka from
Pakistan jail made a stopover in Delhi. He said —"I have
decided to stopover in this historic capital of your great
country on my way back to Bangla Desh. For this is the least
I can do to pay personal tribute to the best friends of my
people, the people of India and this Government under the
leadership of your magnificent Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira
Gandhi (cheers). She is not only a leader of men but also
of mankind. ... ... ... ... ... He repeatedly spoke
of the unity of feeling between the people of Bangla Desh
and of India, in their ideals and beliefs." On the follow-
ing day the New York Times reported that
Sheikh Mujibur Rahman told cheering Indian crowds that his
Contd......F/10.
country and theirs would be bound in eternal friendship as brothers. 15

About Indo-Bangla relation the Bangladesh Observer (14.1.72) quotes Sheikh Mujib which reads:

"Prime Minister Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman reiterated that the friendship of Bangladesh for India was 'in our heart' ... ..."

"We have a very special relationship. The relationship is the friendliest. Our treaty of 'friendship' is in our heart." 16

These two countries signed a treaty of friendship, cooperation and peace on March 19, 1972. In spite of the strain on its own resources, India extended its every cooperation and assistance in the process of reconstruction of Bangladesh. Marcus Franda writes —

"The Indian Government has already allocated about 50 crores of rupees (US $ 67 million) worth of food grains for relief purposes, ... ... ... ... ... ... In addition, India has given Bangladesh a general purpose grant of Rs. 30 crores (US $ 40 million) ... ... ... ... ... Smaller grants for reconstruction of the transport system (10 crores), a foreign exchange loan (9.5 crores), when coupled with a grant of two ships and several aircraft (worth approximately 10 crores) brings India's total assistance. Thus far to Rs. 128 crores (US $ 180 million), a figure that is woefully inadequate to

Contd...........F/11.
meet the needs of Bangladesh but as obvious sacrifice for poor India." 17

During the beginning of reconstruction, Bangladesh economy and administration had almost totally collapsed. Prices soared to an average of three times their previous level and the law and order situation became a problem of the first magnitude. Excessive mismanagement of relief operation, smuggling and hoardings caused political pressure on the popular image of the then government and India too was criticized. There was a widespread belief that the ruling party and the officials of both countries were involved in smuggling relief goods, jute, fertilizers and other items into India in return for textiles, medicines and consumer goods into Bangladesh. The persistent rumours and massive political campaign against India by the anti-govt. forces tended to destroy whatever good will India had cultivated in Bangladesh. The situation took a turn in such a manner that India too became very doubtful about the attitude of the people of Bangladesh. The political relations between the two countries started cooling down due to some inevitable crisis like sharing of the Ganges water, Maritime boundary, South Calpatty problem, Bangchhumi campaign etc. Some of which rooted in the pre-liberation era. Most of the people in Bangladesh today appear to be uneasy with regards to so called fraternal relations these countries had during early 70's.

The War of Independence and the United States

As pointed out earlier, the civil strife which erupted in Bangladesh in March, 1971 and its aftermath caused a deep concern to the
World Community. The United States with some other countries had tried to describe the strife as an internal affair of Pakistan and tended to ignore the atrocities committed by the Pakistani ruling Junta. It appeared as if the United States had been avoiding to see the situation in its proper perspective as a political concern. In fact, the United States showed a clear tilt towards the Pakistani Junta. During this period, the image and influence of the United States in India received a severe jolt and the later moved to strengthen her relationship with the Soviet Union. With this reality the then President of the United States, Richard M. Nixon (1971) in his foreign policy report, 1971 stressed - "We have a deep interest in ensuring that the subcontinent does not become a focus of great power conflict. ... ... ... We will try to keep our activities in balance with those of the other major power concerned ... ... ... No outside power has a claim to predominant influence". It may be that because of this policy the United States took a partisan view as the Soviet Union had signed a pact with India, she would support Pakistan. During the nine months period of the War of Liberation of Bangladesh (March-December, 1971) the United States not only supported Pakistan and maintained excellent relations with her, but also helped her in all respects.

Being deeply concerned with the situation, the UN Secretary General made an appeal to the concerned parties, particularly India and Pakistan, to avoid any development which might lead them to conflict and thus disturb the peace in the region. He reported the situation to the Security Council where the United
States clearly sided with Pakistan. Unlike the Soviet Union, the United States tried her best to convince the world opinion that this crisis was nothing else but a conflict between India and Pakistan. On the bi-lateral level, the United States gave Pakistan its economic, military, material and moral support in the War of Independence of Bangladesh. On the international level too, her stand and eloquent advocacy always favoured Pakistani ruling Junta.

The resolution in this regard moved by the United States in the Security Council reads as under:

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

HAVING HEARD the statements of the representatives of India and Pakistan,

CONVINCED that hostilities along the India-Pakistan border constitute an immediate threat to international peace and security,

1. Calls upon the Governments of India and Pakistan to take all steps required for an immediate cessation of hostilities:

2. Calls for an immediate withdrawal of armed personnel present on the territory of the other to their own sides of India-Pakistan borders:

3. Authorizes the Secretary-General at the request of the Governments of India and Pakistan, to place observers along the India-Pakistan borders to report on the implementation of the cease-fire and troop withdrawals, drawing as necessary of UNOGCC personnel;

Contd......P/14
4. Calls upon the Government of India and Pakistan and others concerned to exert their best efforts towards the creation of a climate conducive to the voluntary return of refugees to East Pakistan;

5. Calls upon all states to refrain from any action that would endanger the peace in the area;

6. Invites the Government of India and Pakistan to respond affirmatively to the proposal of the Secretary-General offering good offices to secure and maintain peace in the subcontinent;

7. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council as soon as possible on the implementation of the resolution.

However, on Dec. 16, 1971, Bangladesh emerged as a free and independent nation after a nine month long bloody war. It was then that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the symbol of the Bangalees' unity, the leader of the people and the President of the new Republic was released from the Pakistani Jail. He made a stop-over at Delhi on January 10, 1972 on his way to Bangladesh via London. Until then the attitude and the actions of the United States were hazy and shrouded in mystery. Sydney H. Schanberg reported in The New York Times that— "Diplomatic representatives of more than 20 countries, most of them Ambassadors, were at airport. The Soviet bloc was heavily represented. Absent from the airport ceremony was any representative from the United States, which supported Pakistan during the nine-month crisis and the India-Pakistan War. It is understood that the United States
Ambassador, Kenneth B. Keating, had received instructions from Washington not to attend. But on the same day at Dhaka, at the welcoming line with others was the consular crops and the U.S. Consul-General was present.

Then the negative and suspicious attitude shown by U.S.A. to Bangladesh War of Independence and her victory as well as the support extended by the U.S. to Pakistan earned a bad image for the U.S. among the people of Bangladesh. Here, it is pertinent to mention that the U.S.A. had established contacts indirectly with Bangladesh before it recognised the new Republic through humanitarian assistance mainly channelled through as many as twelve voluntary agencies and the UN relief operation in Dhaka. She formally recognised Bangladesh in April, 1972 and soon after established diplomatic relation. It is not surprising that to improve her image which was damaged due to her misgivings, suspicions and unfriendly acts during the nine months crisis of Bangladesh the U.S.A. became the largest aid giver to Bangladesh with a total of $451.94 million between Dec. 16, 1971 to March 31, 1974. The Hindustan Times reported that, according to a study of USAID, India with $339.9 million was the second and the U.S.S.R with $134.83 million was the fifth largest aid given to Bangladesh.

Bangladesh War of Independence and the Soviet Union

Unlike the United States, the support extended by the Soviet Union proved very helpful in the cause of liberation of the people of Bangladesh. The Soviet Union's eloquent advocacy of the cause of Bangladesh struggle in the international forums was highly appreciated and respected by the people of Bangladesh as well as...
all the freedom-loving nations of the world. The vetoing of all undesirable resolutions in the Security Council and the cause on the part of U.S.S.R ensured the successful conclusion of the freedom struggle, thereby ushering in the Sovereign People's Republic of Bangladesh. Unlike the other giant nation (U.S.) the Soviet Union had expressed, as early as April 2, 1971, its deep concern about the 'repression' and 'persecution' of the people of the then east wing of Pakistan.

The situation had been alarmingly deteriorating in Dec. 1971. The UN Secretary General reported to the Security Council on Dec. 3, and again on Dec 4, 1971 that both India and Pakistan claimed that they had been attacked by each other. On the basis of this report, the Soviet Union along with other members of the Security Council expressed their deep concern and the following draft resolution was proposed by the Soviet Union in the Security Council:

"THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

HAVING CONSIDERED the letter of nine Members of the Security Council (S/10411) and the report of the Secretary-General (S/10410), Calls for a political settlement in East Pakistan which would inevitably result in a cessation of hostilities;

Calls upon the Government of Pakistan to take measures to cease all acts of violence by Pakistani forces in East Pakistan which have led to deterioration of the situation".

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The focus of this resolution was different from that of the United States. While the United States tried to make it a conflict between India and Pakistan, the Soviet Union viewed it as an atrocity solely perpetrated by Pakistan. Afterwards the Soviet Union revised its draft resolution to so as to enable other countries to give it a more distinct political consideration. Then the resolution read as under:

"THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

GRAVELY CONCERNED that hostilities have broken out between India and Pakistan which constitute an immediate threat to international peace and security,

1. Calls upon all parties concerned forthwith, as a first step, for an immediate cease-fire and cessation of all hostilities;

2. Calls upon the Government of Pakistan simultaneously to take effective action towards a political settlement in East Pakistan, giving immediate recognition to the Will of the East Pakistan population as expressed in the election of December, 1971;

3. Declares that the provisions of operative paragraphs 1 and 2 of this resolution constitute a single whole;

4. Requests the Secretary-General to keep the Council promptly and currently informed of the implementation of this resolution;

5. Decides to continue to discuss the further measures to be taken in order to restore peace in the area".

A little later, the Soviet Union, in spite of Pakistani threat of snapping USSR-Pakistan relations, did not hesitate to declare that
"only the people of East Pakistan in the persons of their elected representatives can decide their future fate with regard to whether they will remain part of Pakistan or form a separate independent State" as well as the question of resumption of talks or contacts of any kind or relations with Pakistan Government. The strong support extended by the Soviet Union both in and outside the UN for the cause of Bangladesh's Liberation naturally evoked feelings of admiration among the people of Bangladesh for the Soviet Union. As reported by the Sunday Mail dt. Jan. 9, 1972 that the Prime Minister of the new republic, Syed Tajuddin Ahmed, praised the Soviet Union for "saving this part of the world from becoming a second Vietnam". According to him "Russia's hands off the sub-continent" warning had halted the advance of the United States' Seventh Fleet towards Bangladesh in its attempts at "salvaging what remained of Pakistan". The Prime minister hoped the friendship between the two countries "born out of the liberation struggle" would grow from strength to strength. The Soviet Union formally recognized Bangladesh in Jan. 1972 and soon after, diplomatic relations were established. In the letter of recognition she conveyed "friendly wishes of peace, well-being and success" in consolidating the state sovereignty of Bangladesh and in "building a peaceful democratic Republic". The message also expressed the hope that the two countries would "successfully develop fruitful friendly relations" - which it confidently stated was: "the vital interest of the peoples of...

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our two countries, the cause of strengthening Universal peace. 25

The Soviet Union followed this up by establishing formal diplomatic relation and extended much needed economic assistance for the reconstruction of the war-ravaged economy of the new-born Republic. The honest and strong support rendered by the Soviet Union placed Bangladesh in a position on an equal footing with other states in the UN as well as other international forums. All these had strengthened strong bounds of friendly relations already existing between the two countries. But with the passing of time and due to changes in the needs and attitude of the people of Bangladesh, whatever may be the magnitude there is a question mark with regards to the 'friendly relation' between this two countries as was during and in the early days of Bangladesh liberation.

Change Brought About (by the August 1975 coup)—
And this study:

Since its independence, Bangladesh was devoted to a policy of Democracy, Nationalism, Socialism and Secularism. There was a great political change because of the August 1975 coup. The post-seventy world economic situation affected the war-ravaged economy of Bangladesh seriously. Therefore, the economic instability, rise of fanatic forces in Bangladesh politics etc. on the national level and many a changes on the international level too made the new nation re-evaluate her position in the world politics. As a result of these changes Bangladesh has been operating in a certain socio-political arena of world...
politics which has been projected in the media of the country. The outlook and the attitude of the people of Bangladesh have also been changing to a certain extent keeping in harmony with her present stand in the world forum. Associated with each of these changes has been a rather deep socio-eco-political transformation affecting, in turn, the profiles of other countries in the minds of the people of Bangladesh. In other words, the image of and attitude towards the countries covered by this study and indeed the national style of Bangladesh, have undergone a change. Therefore, in a sense, this study of political communication will help in assessing the projection of the selected countries in Bangladesh media, perhaps according to the estimation of the people of the country.

III

Images of those countries in Bangladesh Television (BTV)

The main theme of this article is to find out and analyse the images of those selected countries in Bangladesh Television. This section thus deals with the analysis of the content of BTV news item to find the images of the three selected countries. We have already discussed the concept and meaning of image. Image generally speaking, is the reflection of the state of any concept or the availability of news about the concept, rather than any introduction of bias by the media itself. In communication and public opinion studies, the concept of image is closely related

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to the political image of a nation. Stuart Chase observes that "the whole realm of material objects, happenings, relations connected with another country is image." In other words, we have to take into consideration economic, political cultural, media cultural and other aspects of a nation while studying its socio-political image. Image study has thus an immense importance for understanding as well as assessing the diplomatic ties between the countries. It appears to be a very important area of political communication in communication studies. Media reality can be perceived from this sorts of studies as well. However this study is based on Barry Fulton's content analysis model annexed as appendix 'A' to this article.

As pointed out by Boulding that the dynamics of the stock of image in a society is changed through communication process as well as relationships among the generations. The present study aims at studying the image of certain countries as they are reflected in one of the most modern and popular media of Bangladesh — Bangladesh Television (BTV). These images reveal a lot about the way the people of Bangladesh think about these nations.

Sampling and Setting up the Study:

Being high ranked mass media, newspaper, radio and television play a very vital role in projecting any concept to the people.
Considering their importance, influence, effectiveness and usefulness, they all could have been considered for this study of the image of India, the United States and the former Soviet Union as portrayed by them. But considering the manageability factor we concentrated our study on BTV only. The main English news bulletins (8.30 p.m.) of Bangladesh Television, Rampura, Dhaka of January-March, 1984 period have been analysed for the purpose. In this case the bulletin dated Jan.1, 1984 was found missing and there was no mention of those countries in the news on March 18 and 25, 1984. Thus we had actually analysed news bulletins of 88 days’ in total. The samples selected for this study were all those individual and/or composite news items of those countries having some bearing of either - primary, secondary or tertiary/casual nature. No hypothesis was formed beforehand nor was there any specific reason behind choosing this particular span of time. It was considered, by the researcher to be a normal time without any unusual events occurring. But there was, of course, a general consideration for choosing the period of mid-80’s for this study. 70’s was the decade that Bangladesh got its independence. During 90’s the Soviet Union is disappeared - now the bi-polar structuring of world politics is no longer present. Therefore our study period concentrated on neither 70’s nor 90’s. Mid-80’s was thus, perhaps considered the proper period for our study. The entire content of all the news items of sample was read carefully for their identification and proper treatment.

Selection of News Items

As mentioned earlier, any news item in Bangladesh Television
of the period having some bearing on these particular countries was included in this study. News of the country concerned or, any news item mentioning the country was selected. For example, in respect of the United States, the following types of items were selected:

1. Story originating in the United States (i.e., have a headline or prominent intro mentioning the United States);
2. Story having a domestic or other country headline but most of the information coming from the United States or dealing mostly with matters relating to the United States or her involvement in any form;
3. Story originating anywhere in the world but concerning the United States in any form;
4. Story about a visitor from the United States to any part of the world or story about a visitor to the United States. But the news originating in international zone such as the UN at New York and having in no way any concern with or the mention of the United States was not considered as the news of the United States.
5. Story which was not about the United States but which had a passing reference to the United States was also considered as the news of the United States having casual mention. The same consideration was made in the case of both India and the Soviet Union.

**Treatment of the Selected News Items**

That to assess the image of the concerned nation(s) on the basis of a news item we have to judge the item and then assign it to...
one of the three sub-columns (i.e. Negative, Neutral, or Positive) under both the dimensions (Evaluation and Dynamism).

It was assumed that the most desirable image of a country is one that gets the best treatment on the evaluation dimension and the most dynamic treatment on the dynamism dimension. To determine whether an item was negative, neutral or positive, we posited some parameters for both the dimensions.

For this reason the following media survey form was used.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Name of the Media:</th>
<th>Item Mention:</th>
<th>Countries:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bangladesh Television</td>
<td>P = Primary</td>
<td>I = India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S = Secondary</td>
<td>A = America (U.S.A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C = Casual</td>
<td>R = Russia (U.S.S.R)</td>
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Note: News item identification of the media is shown in the style -

\[ T_n = n \text{th News item of Television.} \]
Steps

1. News bulletins of Bangladesh Television were collected from the BTV broadcasting centre and then scrutinised.

2. The news items having some bearing on those countries were selected.

3. The selected news items were marked as item $T_1$, $T_2$, $T_3$, ..., $T_n$ (were $T$ denotes the Television and 1, 2, 3, ..., $n$ indicates the item number from one to the last number of the lot).

4. The selected news item were read carefully and assigned to one of the three subcolumns under both the dimensions with the help of a tick mark (✓) on the basis of the researcher's judgement which was, in turn, based upon the parameters given in the media survey form, only after reading the whole news item meticulously. The process of
judging was repeated twice with an interval of one month period. Then it was checked by supervisor of the researcher and finally, problems and some disputes were settled by mutual discussion.

5. Lastly, the calculations were made and the findings and conclusions were drawn based on the statistical data.

In this connection it is necessary to point out that the total number of identified news items (i.e. news items mentioned presented in the media survey form) is more than the actual number of items selected earlier. It was because of the fact that some of the news items were found to be 'composite', as they referred to more than one of the selected countries or consisted of more than one theme. The following news item could be taken for an example.

Pipe Lines:

The first supplies of Siberian gas have started pumping through the controversial East-West Pipe line to France. Reuter quotes, Radio Moscow as saying that the gas arrived in France yesterday. The Radio however, did not say, whether the delivery had also started to West Germany and Austria, the other main purchasers for the Soviet gas. The pipe-line was the subject of bitter controversy between the Western Europe and the United States in 1982 when President Reagan imposed sanctions on supplies of equipment following
declaration of Martial Law in Poland. It may be mentioned that France, West-Germany and Austria are committed to taking gas from the Soviet pipelines for 25 years despite US objections. Washington repeatedly voiced fears that the pipe-line will make West-European countries too dependent on Moscow for energy and thus make them vulnerable to economic pressure.

The news item was treated as the item having primary mention of the Soviet Union with positive treatment under both the dimensions. The item was judged as having a secondary mention of the U.S.A. which was negative under both the dimensions. Thus that single news item came to be treated as a composite or two-mention item in our analysis. In other words every such 'composite' item was split notionally in our analysis depending on the number of countries it referred to or the number of themes it consisted of. As a result, the number of identified items (i.e., mention items) is more than the number of actual items selected for the study i.e., $I^{1^*} > I^{S}$ (where, $I^{1^*}$ stands for number of identified items and $I^{S}$ for the number of selected items).

Statistical Findings:

After completing the process of judging and assigning the news items in the selected media i.e., Bangladesh Television, we calculated the figures on month by month basis. The following picture emerges as a result of our calculations:
### Bangladesh Television

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Countries</th>
<th>Months</th>
<th>Item Identification</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Evaluation Dimension</th>
<th>Dynamism Dimension</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>Jan. 84</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Feb. 84</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mar. 84</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.A.</td>
<td>Jan. 84</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Feb. 84</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mar. 84</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.S.R</td>
<td>Jan. 84</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Feb. 84</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mar. 84</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contd......1/29.
Applying the image analysing model, we can now find out month by month image index of the countries under study. As an example, we shall elaborate below the process of finding out the image index of India as projected in the ETV news items in January, 1984. We know—

\[
E = \frac{\xi_E}{\xi_E^p + \xi_E^n}
\]

and,

\[
D = \frac{\xi_D}{\xi_D^p + \xi_D^n}
\]

\[
E = \frac{5}{5+2} = \frac{5}{7} = 0.71
\]

\[
D = \frac{4}{4+1} = \frac{4}{5} = 0.80
\]

Number of items (N) broadcast in ETV during the period \(i = 18\).

\[
(E)(\text{Number of TV sets during the period}) \times (\text{Number of viewer per set}) = E_w
\]

Hence,\( E_w = \frac{\text{(Number of TV sets during the period)}}{\text{(Number of TV sets during the period)}} \)

\( = 0.71\)

Similarly \(D_w = 0.80\) and, \(N_w = 18\)

In the case of a single media, the weighted value and the plain magnitude values are the same for all \(E, D,\) or \(N\). We should clarify two more points here. One thing may be pointed out that throughout this mathematical exercise we were concerned with finding out month by month image of the countries in ETV. For each month’s case we considered distribution of TV sets numbering 2,22,842. Indeed it was the average figure during the period. For more accurate measurement, we have considered the concept of first degree situation of...
media proximity, i.e. the number of viewers per set; but because of non-availability of exact data we have taken the assumed figure (10-group viewing) into consideration for this study. Because of single media case we understand and assume that mathematically it would not make much difference to our findings.

So, according to the model:

\[ I = (E^2 + D^2)^{\frac{1}{2}} \]

\[ = \{ (0.71)^2 + (0.80)^2 \}^{\frac{1}{2}} \]

\[ = (0.50 + 0.64)^{\frac{1}{2}} \]

\[ = (1.14)^{\frac{1}{2}} \]

\[ = 1.07 \]

Following the same procedure, the full picture of the image table of the individual countries in individual months appears as:

**Bangladesh Television**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Months</th>
<th>Countries</th>
<th>E/E</th>
<th>D/D</th>
<th>I/I</th>
<th>N/N</th>
<th>Image index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 84</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>0.71</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>1.07</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>U.S.A.</td>
<td>0.62</td>
<td>0.68</td>
<td>0.92</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>4.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>U.S.S.R.</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>1.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 84</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>0.83</td>
<td>0.70</td>
<td>1.09</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>3.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>U.S.A.</td>
<td>0.60</td>
<td>0.71</td>
<td>0.93</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>U.S.S.R.</td>
<td>0.69</td>
<td>0.71</td>
<td>0.99</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>3.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 84</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>0.70</td>
<td>1.06</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>U.S.A.</td>
<td>0.63</td>
<td>0.66</td>
<td>0.92</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>3.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>U.S.S.R.</td>
<td>0.36</td>
<td>0.36</td>
<td>0.42</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>1.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan.-</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>0.73</td>
<td>1.07</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar., 84</td>
<td>U.S.A.</td>
<td>0.62</td>
<td>0.66</td>
<td>0.92</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>2.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>U.S.S.R.</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>0.47</td>
<td>0.67</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2.67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Discussion and conclusion

From the findings it is revealed that the United States tops the list among the selected countries regarding coverage of news in Bangladesh Television. During this period the average monthly news coverage by BTV regarding these countries was: America 72, Russia 33 and India 17.

Regarding the presentation of those news items during the period (from the point of their mention) it was found that the United States bagged 116 primary mention followed by the Russia 41 and India 18. The following table shows the picture regarding mentions of different countries in the news items broadcast in Bangladesh Television during mid 1980's.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Countries</th>
<th>Primary</th>
<th>Secondary</th>
<th>Casual</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January - March</td>
<td>U.S.A.</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(53.46)</td>
<td>(30.41)</td>
<td>(16.13)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(41.84)</td>
<td>(32.65)</td>
<td>(25.5)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>India</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(35.29)</td>
<td>(23.53)</td>
<td>(41.18)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If we look at the percentage it is revealed that while the United States bagged 53.46 percent primary mention the U.S.S.R was found

Contd.........P/33
to be occupy the second place (having 41.84 percent) followed by India (35.28 percent). Why the United States is found to be ahead of the other countries is not difficult to understand. It is perhaps because of her active participation in most of the world issues as a world giant. Not only her eco-political policies but other policies also influence, in a significant way, the events which develop all over the world. Therefore, the coverage of news regarding America is found to be very prominent in Bangladesh Television. As a world giant the Soviet Union too gets mention in ETV but the frequency of her mentions and their prominence was not as favourable as in the case of the United States. It makes surprising that India although is a big neighbouring country and Bangladesh shares with as well as differs from her with respect to many considerations she got least mention in ETV news coverage. It is interesting to report that this is not the picture in case of press medium in Bangladesh. During this period India got the highest mention in the largest circulated newspaper - The Ittefaq in the country. With respect to many cultural, geographical and political characteristics, historical links and policy orientation these two countries have many common issues which tend to either pose problems or boost cordial relations. When these issues become news items in Bangladesh media, India too as a party should get mention in them. But in comparison to Bangladesh press, Bangladesh Television thus covers India in a conservative way.

One more thing should also be noted that the U.S... gets more mention both in total mention and primary mention. The pre-eminence of the U.S.A. is seen not only in the case of mentions but also with regards to the sources of news. An early study reported that in the

Contd......1/34
case of Bangladesh press media 65 per cent of the international news comes from the major western news agencies. This is so in the case of broadcasting media also. During the study period Bangladesh Television credited 17.97 per cent news to American sources, 1.63 per cent to Indian and 0.33 per cent to Soviet sources. In the case of radio Bangladesh the figure is 14.50, 6.50 and 0.50 respectively. Thus in this respect also the U.S.A. was far ahead of other two countries.

Regardless of the nature and number of the mentions we cntr.

our attention on the image of the countries reflected in Bangladesh Television. If we consider individual countries it is clearly seen that the image index value for the United States is the highest in Order followed by India and the Soviet Union. In my Ch.D Thesis I found that in press media as a whole the weighted image index of the U.S.A. came at the top and then followed India and the U.S.S.R in that order. The mean value of the weighted image index of the broadcasting media too placed the U.S.A. highest in order. India's position was second followed by the U.S.S.R. The image index values for the countries in Bangladesh media system were: U.S.A 3.75, India 3.18 and U.S.S.R 2.63 in general and in Bangladesh Television: 3.95 (U.S.A.), 3.03 (India) and 2.74 (Soviet Union) in particular.

The findings of this study hardly spring any surprises. There were possibly economic and political reasons why these countries influenced Bangladesh in different ways as reflected in Bangladesh Television. The diplomatic set-back which the U.S.A. received in 1971 in the form of the emergence of Bangladesh was likely to have
enhanced the influence of the U.S. in the South Asian region in general and in Bangladesh in particular, which accepted socialism as its economic and political goal. Generally speaking, the country had followed a pro-soviet policy in the early days of her independence.

There was a change in the comparative influence of these three countries on Bangladesh following the assassination of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman through August 1975 coup. The governments which came into power after August 1975 seemed to have worked for the strengthening of economic and political relations with the Western countries. Since the United States started playing a significant role, particularly, in the economic aspect of Bangladesh through trade, commerce and foreign aid. In the field of both export receipts and import payments it is the United States of America that tops the list. The following tables make it clear.

**Table: II**

(Total Export Receipt by countries)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time series</th>
<th>75-76</th>
<th>76-77</th>
<th>77-78</th>
<th>78-79</th>
<th>79-80</th>
<th>80-81</th>
<th>81-82</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>59919</td>
<td>71961</td>
<td>21096</td>
<td>39905</td>
<td>218109</td>
<td>403623</td>
<td>224780</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82-83</td>
<td>83-84</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>347939</td>
<td>407883</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table III

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Cash &amp; Others*</th>
<th>Loans &amp; Grants</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1975-76</td>
<td>7267</td>
<td>4679</td>
<td>11946</td>
<td>India</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8259</td>
<td>42073</td>
<td>50332</td>
<td>U.S.A.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5647</td>
<td>2644</td>
<td>892</td>
<td>U.S.S.R</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976-77</td>
<td>5251</td>
<td>3395</td>
<td>8646</td>
<td>India</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6309</td>
<td>9225</td>
<td>15534</td>
<td>U.S.A.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4425</td>
<td>743</td>
<td>5166</td>
<td>U.S.S.R</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977-78</td>
<td>5913</td>
<td>888</td>
<td>6801</td>
<td>India</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5372</td>
<td>20306</td>
<td>25678</td>
<td>U.S.A.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4584</td>
<td>3645</td>
<td>8229</td>
<td>U.S.S.R</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Contd....F/37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Rate</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Country</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1978-79</td>
<td>6587</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>6722</td>
<td>India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4467</td>
<td>27669</td>
<td>32662</td>
<td>U.S.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4770</td>
<td>621</td>
<td>5391</td>
<td>U.S.S.R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979-80</td>
<td>7361</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>7525</td>
<td>India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20328</td>
<td>26728</td>
<td>47056</td>
<td>U.S.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3963</td>
<td>1087</td>
<td>5050</td>
<td>U.S.S.R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980-81</td>
<td>8977</td>
<td>458</td>
<td>9435</td>
<td>India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18025</td>
<td>19588</td>
<td>37613</td>
<td>U.S.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9081</td>
<td>603</td>
<td>6684</td>
<td>U.S.S.R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981-82</td>
<td>9969</td>
<td>1840</td>
<td>11809</td>
<td>India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8041</td>
<td>21547</td>
<td>29583</td>
<td>U.S.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8503</td>
<td>825</td>
<td>9308</td>
<td>U.S.S.R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982-83</td>
<td>7600</td>
<td>561</td>
<td>8161</td>
<td>India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11416</td>
<td>538385</td>
<td>64901</td>
<td>U.S.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6662</td>
<td>2137</td>
<td>8799</td>
<td>U.S.S.R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983-84</td>
<td>11710</td>
<td>640</td>
<td>12350</td>
<td>India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20159</td>
<td>38034</td>
<td>58193</td>
<td>U.S.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6973</td>
<td>9428</td>
<td>16401</td>
<td>U.S.S.R.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"Others" include Barter, S.T.A. (Special Trade Agreement), wage earners scheme.

In addition to the prominence that the U.S.A. enjoys in trade relations, it has supported Bangladesh during 1972-82 by a substantial aid programme. The following table shows the U.S.A.'s aid support to Bangladesh during that period:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aid</th>
<th>Grant Commitment (In million dollars)</th>
<th>Disbursement (In million dollars)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Grant</td>
<td>Loan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Aid</td>
<td>358.42</td>
<td>483.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commodity Aid</td>
<td>250.28</td>
<td>142.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Project Aid</td>
<td>113.58</td>
<td>151.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>722.28</td>
<td>778.10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Extracted and calculated from the article - "U.S. Economic Assistance to Bangladesh, 1971-82 and Growth of Private Enterprise" by Kamal Uddin Ahmed Published in South Asian Studies, Rajasthann University, India, vol. 18 No.1 1983.

Along with the trade and aid programmes, the political relations between Bangladesh and the United States improved gradually and are quite close now. The pro-U.S.A role of Bangladesh in the international forums coupled with measures such as denationalization and attempts to foster a free economy have further consolidated the relations between the two countries. The alignment of Bangladesh with the U.S. in political sphere may also be the consequence of its economic dependence on the U.S.A. As a result,
the Bangladesh media possibly projected the United States in a more positive light than they do India and the Soviet Union during 80's. The situation hold good at present too.

Because of the change in the socio-political attitudes, Bangladesh started distancing herself from the Soviet Union since mid 70's and during the last few years. Bangladesh's role in international forums regarding Soviet presence in Afghanistan in late 70's, her stand on the Cambodia issue etc. had not found favour with the Soviet Union. More important is Bangladesh's belief that Soviet Russia was engaged in espionage activities in Bangladesh which resulted in a severe jolt for the image of the Soviet Union.

The situation became explosive and the relationship between the two countries strained extremely in 1983 when Bangladesh expelled 14 Soviet diplomats from the country. Bangladesh Government also closed the sprawling U.S.S.R's cultural centre in Dhaka and its Consulate General office in Chittagong. The two countries were maintaining very formal relations based on discordance and distrust of one another during the period under study. Bangladesh mass media, as a result, happen to reflect a low profile of the U.S.S.R. in comparison with the United States and their relation appeared to be in a very low key.

The study shows that the mean weighted image index value of the U.S.A. was highest among the three countries. India's position was second followed by the Soviet Union. It points out that India too was not projected as favourably as the United States.
An anti-Indian feeling has been gaining ground in Bangladesh over the years. The Bangladesh Television by and large projected India accordingly. Although the profile of India is low in comparison with the U.S.A. (and high enough in comparison with the U.S.S.R), the results (value) of some of the image components show an ambivalence in judging the overall image of India in Bangladesh media.

Actually, on the regional level Bangladesh seems to pursue neighbourly relations with India but perhaps the deadlock of outstanding issues such as the sharing of the Ganges waters, South Telpathy (India calls it New Moore Island), Berubari (Tin Bigha) Corridor and erection of barbed wire fencing along the border etc. continue to be obstacles in them. Although there was no direct confrontation between the two countries, their relations too appeared to be in a low key. The news regarding the problems mentioned above as well as India's internal problems (such as, Punjab and Assam) were reported by the media which, as a whole, seems to have caused low weighted image value of India in comparison with the United States.

However to conclude the study we must make it clear that what we are studying is the images of the countries projected by Bangladesh Television during 1980's. We are not concerned here with whether these images are flattering to the countries studied.

The profile of any concept indeed determined by many factors.

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The order of many of the factors or variables related to image may bring different picture of such study. This study is at best an explanatory treatment based on data we found. The materials and the model which have served us to see the images of the selected nations might receive a different picture in interpretation in the hands of some other researchers leading him to essentially a different conclusion. The topic itself is important, interesting hence calls for investigating from various points of view.

Reference:


8. Ibid.
9. Ibid. pp. 77-78.


13. Ibid. p.587.


