

Shielding Democracy: Foreign Correspondent Coverage of the 1981 Military Coup Attempt in Spain in *The Economist*, *Time* and *Newsweek*

Everyone is pressurising Spain to advance quickly. Spain has fluctuated between authoritarianism and anarchy. It lacks democratic tradition. It needs time to develop the centre.

US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger advice to President Gerald Ford hours before the Spanish royal visit to Washington for the bicentennial celebrations, 2 June 1976

Introduction

Academic study of the role of the international media as a platform for the promotion of political change and the conquest of civil liberties within emergent democracies has grown considerably in recent years within the wider field of Transition studies and is proving increasingly attractive for journalism historians. Foreign press coverage often offers an independent and differentiated version of contemporary political affairs and introduces nuances to the national media narrative of events and to the historiography of the period under study. In this sense, the agora for political debate provided by the US and Western European press and its contribution to the consolidation of democracy in post-Francoist Spain in the late 1970s provides a salient example of these press/power dynamics.

The external reinforcement of those charged with spearheading democratic regeneration in Spain is nowhere more clearly evidenced than by the editorial positioning and news framing of the transition in the highly influential Anglo-American weekly magazines *Time*, *Newsweek* and *The Economist*, all of which enjoyed unparalleled success throughout this seven-year period (1975-1982) but which have been understudied and undervalued in deference to the perceived influence of the classic broadsheets. This article suggests that the support of these million-selling weeklies is no more clearly evident than when examining their reaction to the biggest threat posed to the success of the Spanish transition project: the foiled military coup led by Civil Guard Lieutenant-Coronel Tejero on February 23rd 1981. In doing so, it considers how these three political weeklies –read by the key policy strategists, business leaders and media executives in Washington, New York and London- protected and raised the profile of the fledgling King Juan Carlos in the eyes of the international community and projected an image of national stability amid

chaotic circumstances in a concerted and consensual contribution to greater political stability in the southern Mediterranean in the early 1980s.

The role of the media in regime transition

International media coverage of political events –particularly in times of turmoil and institutional fragility- can often become a reference standard for the external perception of a country. Its capacity to offer an alternative narrative to that of the local press is mainly due to the greater room for manoeuvre accorded to foreign correspondents and international news desks alike. Their comparatively unrestricted access to sources and inclusion of contrasting opinions can compensate for a malfunctioning domestic press subjected to greater measures of governmental control, constraints on coverage and consequent self-censorship. Such dynamics are reflected in the ever-growing body of international academic research regarding the role of the media in the external stimulation of comparative democratic processes and regime transition.

In this sense, five typologies of texts have provided essential bibliographical background support to this article: i) wide-ranging treatises on the nature of democratic transitions¹; ii) international comparative studies of press and political transitions²; iii) area-specific studies such as the role of the media in Latin American democratic transitions³, Eastern Europe⁴ or North Africa⁵; iv) Voltmer's work on how the media can facilitate or inhibit the rooting of democratic practices in complex transitional democracies and counterbalance political interference in emerging democracies⁶ and v) texts which refer specifically to the case of the international media and the democratic transition in Spain.

The foreign press and the transition to democracy in Spain

While the Transition in Spain has been the subject of landmark historical studies over the last three decades⁷, references to the role of the press have been traditionally limited to the contribution of local journalists in this rebuilding process⁸. However, in recent years, the focus has shifted as Transition analysts coincide in including the construction of a favourable international news environment among the key factors that explain its success⁹. Such studies reveal that the main figures of the Transition –King Juan Carlos, Prime Minister Adolfo Suarez or Communist leader Santiago Carrillo- were prone to influence by external forces which not only included foreign governments but also by the published opinion in the Western press. This can be seen from the testimonies of former

foreign correspondents¹⁰, research regarding the role of the European press during the Transition¹¹ or the influence of the “elite” press on United States’ foreign policy¹².

There are two main explanations for the intense press exposure which Spain received over this period; contemporary geopolitics and the undoubted news potential of the Transition narrative. The Spain beat in the late 1970s presented a major professional challenge for foreign journalists at the time as uncertainty over how events would develop led the international press to frame the Spanish transition within a wider context of political turmoil in southern Europe including the fall of the military dictatorship in Greece, the “Carnation Revolution” in Portugal or ongoing terrorist activities in both Italy and Germany. All these events, viewed with growing concern by the Ford and Carter administrations, were seen as potential game-changers when it came to the balance of Cold War forces in Europe. In this regard, former *Newsweek* and Reuters correspondent Tom Burns points out how the work carried out by the press “was crucial for persuading congressmen and those on the Senate Committee for Foreign Relations to take a serious interest in areas such as the military bases agreement or the future legacy of the dictator”¹³.

The wider contextual implications of events in Spain aside, the most salient episodes of the Transition –the return of the Monarchy, the legalization of the Spanish Communist Party in April 1977, the holding of the first free elections in June of the same year, the innumerable terrorist acts perpetrated by the Basque separatist group ETA, the Marxist-Leninist inspired GRAPO and the extreme right and the promulgation of the Spanish Constitution- proved irresistible to European and American international news desks, all of which committed reporters in droves to Madrid.

It was precisely the ratification by referendum of the new Constitution in December 1978 that led many foreign media outlets to consider the Spanish transition to be a done-and-dusted success story and to reduce the intensity of their news coverage. The apparent consolidation of democratic regime change led to a gradual wane in news output and international media presence throughout 1979 and 1980. However, the events of 23rd February 1981 would reverse that trend when the foreign media –and more specifically the three major political weeklies under analysis here- found themselves covering an event which led the country’s infant democracy to flirt with disaster.

1975-1982: The “Golden Age” of *Time*, *Newsweek* and *The Economist*

By the time of Franco’s death in 1975, *Time* had become the world’s leading English-language current affairs weekly magazine. Its self-styled “liberal” stance on sociopolitical matters, its news formula of “telling the news through people” -an editorial policy clearly visible in its narration of the Transition through its key protagonists- and its commitment of professional resources to international issues -evidenced by the opening of a bureau in Madrid in 1975 alongside its other “A-list” European offices in London, Paris, Bonn, Brussels, Rome and Moscow- had contributed to making *Time* the number one bestselling publication on the newsstands. Its main rival, *Newsweek*, considered more conservative than its main rival, had been acquired by the *Washington Post* in 1961 and as a consequence many of its foreign correspondents worked simultaneously for both publications. The magazine also disposed of a bureau in Madrid from which it paid “constant attention to Spanish matters, both the internal aspects of the evolution of the country as well as bilateral issues and, particularly the military agreement negotiations and for that reason sent its top-level correspondents to Spain”.¹⁴

The Transition years coincided with a significant increase in sales and circulation figures for both magazines. From September 1973 to October 1982, *Newsweek* sales increased by no less than 41%. As for *Time*, the corresponding rise was 17%.¹⁵ The combined circulation of the two magazines in the mid-1970s was a staggering 7.5 million. Author of a benchmark study on news values which included a study of *Time* and *Newsweek*¹⁶ Gans affirms that the Seventies form part of a “Golden Age” for both magazines for three main reasons:

- i) the International desk budget was large thanks to the “Vietnam War effect” which meant that the human resources dedicated to international affairs allowed for well-staffed bureaus to be opened in many countries;
- ii) the professional profile of the correspondents was first class, given that many of them had covered major political conflicts ranging from the Second World War to Korea, Cuba, Vietnam, Lebanon, Israeli and Latin America, a background which allowed them “to possess more prestige and influence in their firms”
- iii) the reader was also thought to be more attentive to the news, of higher social status and less eager for infotainment.

The capacity for influence of these publications is related to their socio-demographic profile. According to Gans, *Time* and *Newsweek* attracted three types of readers: affluent well-educated professionals, high school-educated white and blue collar “Middle Americans” and a small but significant audience from the “national elite” including business, political and media leaders. Regarding this latter group of *policy-makers* a study published by the journal *Public Opinion Quarterly* revealed that, in the mid-Seventies, 70% of industrial executives read *Time* and 59% *Newsweek*; in Washington, 66% of congressmen and women and senators read *Time* while 68% read *Newsweek* and as for mass media executives 76% read *Time* while no less than 81% of them read *Newsweek*.¹⁷

As for the *Economist*, the mid-Seventies to mid-Eighties also represented a “golden age” for this magazine as weekly readership figures in Europe alone doubled between 1973 and 1983. This significant rise is largely due to the change in news policies instilled by Andrew Knight, editor of *The Economist* between 1974 and 1985 and the figure responsible for creating the “Europe” section of the magazine in order to improve the coverage of EEC-related stories. By the end of the Seventies, the “Europe” section carried the same weight as heavyweight sections such as “Britain” and “American Survey”.

All three magazines followed Spanish contemporary events with extraordinary interest. A quantitative analysis of articles, editorials and interviews published throughout a period of 163 weeks from mid-October 1975 until the end of December 1978, showed that the first years of the Transition appeared in 60 editions of *Time*, 52 editions of *Newsweek* and no less than 112 editions of the *Economist*.¹⁸ If the total number of aggregate weeks in this three-year period (n= 489) is divided by the combined number of articles (n=224), a cross-publication sustained presence ratio of 46% can be observed, a significant figure given the limited -and therefore highly coveted- space for international information in a foreign weekly magazine. The proliferation of news material whether in form of front page covers, section openers, high profile editorials or “specials” such as the *Economist*’s extensive “Survey” is testimony to the importance lent by the US and UK administrations to tracking the success of the Spanish democratic experiment.

Coverage of the coup: sample, chronology of events and news production cycle

In order to demonstrate how the International news desks at these magazines shielded political transition in Spain, all regular news articles, feature pieces and editorials

published in the six-week period from the late January resignation of prime minister Suarez –the effective catalyst of later events- through to mid-March 1981 -by which time stability was restored- were analysed qualitatively. In order to verify these objectives, the author followed a methodology similar to that set out by Wimmer and Dominick combining quantitative techniques with content analysis¹⁹ after a detailed hemerographic study of the documents housed at the media library of the Universitat Autònoma in Barcelona. However, it is a methodological imperative to bring some contextual elements to the table. First of all, a brief chronology of events is necessary to understand the socio-political context of what occurred immediately prior to and during the attempted coup and is resumed in Table 1:

[TABLE 1 HERE]

A second practical consideration refers to the publication cycle of these weeklies. Unfortunately for journalism, landmark political events do not always synchronize with a 7-day news production cycle. This is exactly what happened in the case of *Time* and *Newsweek* and, to a lesser extent, to the *Economist* during the military coup attempt in Spain. Unlike the comprehensive coverage of Spanish politics in the Feb 9th and Feb 16th issues of both *Time* and *Newsweek*, the editions corresponding to the day of the coup itself –23rd February- offer minor references to Spain.²⁰

However, in the March 2nd editions of both *Time* and *Newsweek*, the coup -which took place a full six days earlier- still goes unmentioned. On this date, the former includes an article referring to incoming Prime Minister Leopoldo Calvo-Sotelo's parliamentary speech to seek approval for a minority government, while the latter offers a straightforward profile of the new premier. It is not therefore until March 9th –a full 14 days after the event- that readers in the US could read about the greatest threat to Spanish democracy in their best-selling political weeklies.

The *Economist* was also victim of its production calendar for two reasons. The London-based weekly could not publish on the coup until the 28th February –four days after the event- and, when it did so, the story was somewhat side-lined by the announcement of the engagement of Prince Charles and Lady Diana Spencer, their front-page story. It is not until March 7th –twelve days later- that readers obtain a more complete version of

events. The two-week time lag between the issue publication dates and the news event itself in the magazines under consideration can be clearly appreciated in Table 2:

[TABLE 2 HERE]

While this time lag between newsworthy events and their transfer to the printed page of a weekly magazine is clearly negative in terms of journalistic opportunism, it did allow reporters to use the beneficial consequences of this publication delay to their advantage by incorporating additional sources, crosschecking versions of events, double-checking translations of reported speech and the greater coordination of multi-staffed bureaus, all of which translated into extended feature articles of between four and six pages in length.

With the event chronology and publication cycle data at our disposition, it is now possible to analyse in greater detail the collective reinforcement of the Spanish Transition project through editorial positioning and narrative framing of key elements both prior to and immediately after the coup.

Pre-coup backing of the democratic transition

The sworn allegiance of the Anglo-American weeklies to the Spanish democratic experiment was no journalistic knee-jerk reaction to the dramatic events of the 23rd February but was in coherent accordance with its coverage of those politically turbulent events in those weeks prior to the coup. From the sample time frame, three examples can illustrate this:

Suarez's surprise resignation. Despite the immense surprise caused by his resignation, the magazines made a concerted effort to relativize Suarez's sudden exit. *Time* readjusted its discourse as readers were informed that the joint chief architect of the Transition "was never able to mould a political party out of the UCD" that he faced opposition from the Catholic church for his "liberal approach to divorce", that his policy of greater autonomy for Spain's regions was "feared" and that he was now the "scapegoat for terrorism in the Basque region and a deteriorating economy". One source is quoted as saying: "Suarez was the right man in the transition but the situation now is extraordinarily different". Despite patent political uncertainty, *Time's* Madrid correspondent assured his readers

“there was no atmosphere of crisis outside the close political circles of Madrid” and that “as Spain marked the definitive end of transition from dictatorship to democracy. Spaniards have learnt to play politics like Western democracies”²¹. In an effort to dispel concern, both *Newsweek* and the *Economist* hinted that Suarez’s resignation was a temporary strategic move and that he would be back shortly. The former was told “some political observers believe Suarez would be back in office after a respite”²² while the latter informed its readers that many thought Suarez “was withdrawing from day-to-day politics in the hope of making a dramatic comeback if the party needed him in the next election”²³ – something that never happened.

Positive spin of controversial royal visit to Guernica. The King’s symbolic visit to Guernica on the 4th February is amply covered by all three magazines. The *Economist* played down the political protests at the visit -which led to the detention of 15 elected deputies for offences to the Crown- preferring to focus on “the coolness and earnest friendliness of the King which endeared them to many wavering Basques...with his natural dignity, sense of humour and aversion to pomposity and demagoguery the King seems a head of state of a refreshingly unfamiliar kind.” Proof, according to its headline, that “The Centre Holds”.²⁴ *Time*, which designated three reporters in Madrid and San Sebastian to the story, also published an extensive and acritical article under the headline “A King for a Democracy” in which it stated that “if a viable government emerges from the crisis much of the credit undoubtedly will go to the King” and quotes a Civil War veteran as saying “I never thought I’d be saying this but the King has been essential for our democracy and has saved Spain from another dictatorship”. Only seven days prior to the attempted coup itself and as an example of its overly-zealous approach to democratic transition, *Time* drastically misinterprets events when declaring that the King has “succeeded in winning over the military’s loyalty thus minimizing the threat of a coup against the country’s young democracy”.²⁵

Press lobbying for King Juan Carlos. Much has been made of international media support for the King during the critical hours of 23-F. However, a brief analysis of the articles published by the Anglo-American magazines in the run-up to the foiled coup shows that this pre-emptive shielding of the Monarch was already in place. On the 16th February, *Newsweek* portrays the King on its front cover as three correspondents in Madrid are charged with writing a three-page biography of Juan Carlos I along with a review of the recent royal visit to Guernica in the Basque country. In this extensive article,

readers were urged to consider the King as “one of the most surprising and hopeful political developments in Western Europe in years: by some accident of history a remote and distant prince has risen from the shadow of Francisco Franco to become the steward of Spain’s successful passage from fascism to fledgling democracy”. According to the magazine, the monarch’s “flawless flair for manoeuvre” was allowing him to “map a democratic revolution” thanks to which “Spaniards have entered the ranks of the world’s free people and most give credit where it is due: to an unusually enlightened and conciliatory King”.²⁶

This gushing biography is complemented by an atypical news artefact. In an extraordinary scoop entitled “How the King views his job” readers are informed that “*as a constitutional monarch, King Juan Carlos avoids press conferences and interviews. But recently the 43-year-old King sat down for a lengthy conversation with [Newsweek correspondent] Scott Sullivan stipulating only that he not be quoted directly.*” In this exercise of royal reported speech, readers were told that the King considered that “if the monarchy is to survive, Juan Carlos believes he must exemplify it like George Washington did the American Presidency” and that “the lack of clutter in the King’s mind has honed his political instincts and helped him to chart a sure and simple path through the complexities of Spanish politics” thanks largely to his “patience, tact and a flawless sense of royal theatre”. According to Sullivan, “when Juan Carlos was installed in 1975, some Spaniards disparaged their untried monarch as “Juan Carlos the Brief”. In 1981, that joke is as dead as Francisco Franco”²⁷.

Shaping the post-coup narrative

As we can see in Table 2, the perception that the King was guiding Spain to a safe harbour led the US magazines to pull away from the Transition story in their next two issues - a cruel stroke of journalistic timing. When analysing their post-coup news output, three parallel framing strategies can be observed in an attempt to shore up democracy in transitional Spain:

Ridiculing the conspirators: Part of the “damage limitation” strategy adopted by the magazines was to openly ridicule the plotters. While *Newsweek* referred to the coup’s “comic-opera moments”²⁸ the *Economist* played down what happened and caricatured those officers involved. In both its editorial and main article, Tejero was referred to as a

“Gilbert and Sullivan coronel” while his gun-toting entrance into the Spanish parliament was alternatively coined as “the fiasco of the coronel in a funny hat”, “a 1923 Harold Lloyd film about a revolution in South America”, a “half-cock challenge” and the whole incident as “Theatre of the Absurd”.²⁹

Reinforcement of the King: The coup turned out to be a blessing in disguise for the international projection of the young King. Magazine discourse laid the dismantling of the plot entirely at his door by simultaneously employing divergent narrative strategies. One such technique is *acritical adjectivization*. An eloquent example is the Feb 28 editorial in the *Economist* which explains that “the *admirable* King dissuaded the Generals (and showed] political *flair* and *courage* of an *uncommon* order”. *Hyper-personification* is also widely employed. The subhead to the main article about the coup attempt in *Time* explained that “*Juan Carlos* faces down a daring military plot” and told readers “*only his commitment* to democracy prevented Spain from plunging back into an authoritarian past...the 43-year-old monarch made it clear that a military regime would only come to power *over his dead body*. With that he was able to rally wavering army commanders *to his cause* and that of the nation’s infant democracy.”³⁰ Similarly, *Newsweek* readers learn that “*only the cool stubborn courage of the King* had kept the Generals from having their way” (...) and how the outcome had turned on the role of the King –*acting nearly alone*.”³¹ (my italics)

An additional tool is the journalistic *assignation of a pro-active role* to the King to consolidate the image of a commander-in-chief in control of Spain’s democratic destiny. In this sense, all three magazines command respect for the monarch as: i) a master tactician whose “unyielding stand” convinced wavering former comrades and troops from rolling into Madrid; ii) the figure who can best advise new Prime Minister Calvo-Sotelo as to how to “weed *franquista* elements out of a military establishment that was the main pillar of Franco’s regime”³² or iii) a head of state risking his life for his country on a day-to-day basis: “Spanish democrats are wondering whether the Royal Family should go on living in the isolated Zarzuela palace defended by royal guards who, however loyal, could not beat off an armoured attack and whether the King can risk going abroad”³³.

“Democracy” as buzzword. One of the more prevalent narrative themes of post-coup coverage is that the attempt backfired positively leading to the definitive consolidation of democratic transition. The *Economist* used a Shakespearean headline metaphor “All’s well that ends well” to inform readers that the “highly theatrical but markedly

unsuccessful attempt at a coup has done more for *democracy* than in Spain than all the speeches made by Congressmen in recent weeks”³⁴. In a later article, the magazine opens with the question that, in many ways, defines its coverage: “What can be done to encourage Spain to carry on with its new *democracy* after last month’s attempted coup?”³⁵

The word peppered *Newsweek*’s exclusive interview with the King as readers were told that “[Juan Carlos] had detected a longing for *democracy* and modernity”, that the Monarchy itself could not survive “unless it were accompanied by *democracy*” and that he is the key player to “anchor Spain in the Western tradition of *democracy* and pluralism”³⁶. The word is also omnipresent in quotes from cited sources: “*democracy* will be reinforced” claimed centrist politician Marcelino Oreja while socialist Luis Solana pointed out that “we are trying to make a *democracy* without a *democratic* army”³⁷. For its part, *Time* cited politician Garrigues Walker as saying “thank you señor Tejero for pointing out that our *democracy* is fragile and incomplete” and highlighted that Juan Carlos had already made it clear to political leaders that they could not count on him alone to preserve *democracy*”.³⁸

Concluding remarks

The Spanish transition presents a relevant case study concerning the role of the international media in the configuration of public opinion and the development of regime change. It allows us to observe how fledgling democratic administrations use foreign reporters -en lieu of their own national press- to announce their plans well aware that they are influential agents within a State in conflict as their copy reaches international ruling elites and spheres of diplomatic decision-making.

The pre-coup campaign, immediate post-coup coverage and the framing of the key events surrounding 23-F show that the trans-Atlantic political weeklies mission was –to paraphrase the *Economist* headline- to guarantee that “The Centre Holds” despite patently adverse circumstances at the time. While, on the one hand, this strategy was clearly aided by the publication cycle time gap of these magazines –a two week delay and the benefit of hindsight allowed for a collective narrative based on institutional stability and the riding of the political storm- an intentionally overly-optimistic narrative still appears to contradict the grave nature of contemporary events. Prime Minister Suarez’s shock -and potentially destabilizing- resignation is dismissed by the magazines as the final gesture of

a politician whose time had come. The royal visit to Guernica -which led to the arrest and later sentencing of several separatist deputies- is rebranded as the successful litmus test of the fledgling Monarch's political mettle. The King himself is projected as having complete control over the armed forces while only days later the Civil Guard stormed the Spanish Parliament. This unflinching defence of transitional regeneration continues immediately afterwards as plotters are ridiculed across the pages of all three magazines, the "triumph of democracy" dominates the headlines and the failure of the coup is ascribed exclusively to the King through narrative strategies of personification, acritical character portrayal and the perceived assignment of leadership roles -whether strategist, commander-in-chief or constitutional safeguard- coherent with the position of head of state.

In 1986, just five years after the coup, Spain joined the EEC and NATO. The potential for "chaos" to which Kissinger inferred in his advice to President Ford was defused and however limited the role of the international press and their foreign correspondents may have been, the high profile, policymaking demographic and shared professional ideology of magazines such as *Time*, *Newsweek* and the *Economist* did translate into a pro-active contribution to the external projection of the democratic regeneration of Spain at one of the most delicate moments in the country's recent history.

Notes

¹ Anderson, *Transitions to Democracy*, 1-13; Segal, "International Relations", 31-44; Schmitter, "An Introduction", 3-11.

² Guillamet and Salgado, *El periodismo*, 11-21; Jones, *The Press in Transition*, 1-59.

³ Filgueira and Nohlen, *Prensa y Transición*, 10-52.

⁴ Gross, *Entangled Evolutions*, 125-158.

⁵ Khondker, "The Role of New Media", 675-679.

⁶ Voltmer, *The Media in Transitional Democracies*, 72-115.

⁷ Townson, *Spain Transformed*, 265pp; Tusell, *Historia de la Transición*, 203pp; Carr and Fusi, *Spain: Dictatorship to Democracy*, 288pp. Preston, *El Triunfo*, 268pp.

⁸ Muñoz, "The Media", 121-138; Reig and Perales-García, "The role", 157-176; Barrera and Azparena, "La transición democrática", 79-94; Zugasti, "El papel", 53-68; Canel and Pique, "Journalists in Emerging Democracies", 299-319.

⁹ Guillamet et. al, *Las Sombras*, 294pp; Chaput, "Nuevas Imágenes", 207-219; Quirosa-Cheyrouze y Muñoz, *Prensa y Democracia*, 412pp.

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- ¹⁰ Author, "The Influence", 304-321; Chislett, *Foreign Press*, 9-15; Haubrich, "La Transición española", 297-304.
- ¹¹ Reckling, "Entre la dictadura", 137-145; Botti, "La Transición Española", 222-240.
- ¹² Powell, *El amigo americano*, 301-376.
- ¹³ Interviewed by the author. Madrid, May 2011.
- ¹⁴ Lemus, "Los Estados Unidos", 100.
- ¹⁵ Arrese, *La identidad*, 890.
- ¹⁶ Gans, *Deciding What's News*, 16.
- ¹⁷ Weiss, "What American leaders", 1-22.
- ¹⁸ Author, "A Reign Again", 256.
- ¹⁹ Wimmer and Dominick, *Mass media research*, 144-191.
- ²⁰ *Time* dedicates this issue to incoming President Ronald Reagan and excludes Spain from its international roundup while *Newsweek* asks readers "Are we running out of water?" on its front cover and limits itself to publishing a standard piece on violence in the Basque Country.
- ²¹ *Time*, "Suarez resigns".
- ²² Brecher, "A Miracle Worker's Exit".
- ²³ *Economist*, "The Centre Holds".
- ²⁴ see note 23 above.
- ²⁵ Nielsen, "A King for a Democracy".
- ²⁶ Willey, "Spain's Uncommon King".
- ²⁷ Sullivan, "How the King views".
- ²⁸ Willey, "Night of the Generals".
- ²⁹ *Economist*, "An Army of Plotters".
- ³⁰ Painton, "The Coup that Failed"
- ³¹ see note 28 above.
- ³² see note 30 above.
- ³³ see note 29 above.
- ³⁴ *Economist*, "All's well".
- ³⁵ *Economist*, "Contamination risk".
- ³⁶ see note 27 above.
- ³⁷ see note 28 above.
- ³⁸ see note 30 above.

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- "All's Well That Ends Well". February 28, 1981. 55-56.

- "An Army of Plotters". March 7, 1981. 59-60.

- "Contamination risk". March 14, 1981.

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