

**INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION :
NEWSPAPER REPORTING OF
THE MEETINGS OF
THE NONALIGNED COUNTRIES
(DURING THE YEAR 1979)**

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(DURING THE YEAR 1979)**

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As no work is perfect, I would like to mention here that all the calculations have been done by the author and would be responsible for any errors committed.

(errors of omission and commission)

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INTRODUCTION

If access to information is a human right, then the social function of communicating it must be considered service to which individuals and the community are entitled. (1)

- Juan Somavia

In a world that has speedily moved into a highly sophisticated electronic age, messages and information travel across the globe in fractions of electronic minutes. The rapid advance in the communication technology in the past decade - the world wide proliferation of various channels of mass media like transistor radio, television, new techniques of high speed composition and the circulation of print media - has given a substantially new dimension to the possibility for interchange of ideas and information. The inter-continental communication networks, would soon make it possible to see, hear and talk to any one anywhere - such is the magnitude of progress in this field.

Effective communication is absolutely necessary for better understanding among nations, including understanding

(1) Juan Somavia, "Transnational Power Structure and International Information", Media Asia (Singapore: Eurasia Press, 1976), p. 157.

between the technologically advanced countries and the developing third world. The 'communication revolution' has been hailed as bearing promise for new solutions for better understanding and relations between the developed and the developing countries. At the same time anxiety has been expressed over the danger of blocking of information, and distortion of news, by the media giants to effectively control the global flow of news through the communication channels.

Depending upon the way the mass media are used, they can be tools not only of personal enrichment, but also of international cohesion and advancement; understanding and peace among the peoples of the world through 'a truer and more perfect knowledge of each other's lives'.

These considerations led the general conference of UNESCO, at its XV session in November 1968 to undertake a long term programme of research and to promote the study of the role and effects of the mass media on the relations between the changing and the developing societies.

In the past decades, which have been called as the 'communication research decades' many researchers, projects and studies have been conducted to analyse and gauge the impact of mass media on transmission of a given message. In India, and abroad, a number of works can be sighted in the field of agriculture, education and public health. However,

in the field of international relations very little work has been done in terms of the role of communication as a tool of establishing relations among nations. Whatever research has been conducted is in the nature of numerical or quantitative flow of information.

The proposed study is based on the claims of the Third World countries regarding the imbalance in flow of news, distortion of news and blocking of information by the industrialized countries. Furthermore, there are still many avenues of international communication unexplored. This study entitled "International Communication: Newspaper Reporting of the Meetings of the Nonaligned Countries during the year 1979", was undertaken with a view to make a humble contribution.

An attempt has been made to empirically study the nature and extent of coverage of the nonaligned meetings done by a selected number of Indian and foreign newspapers.

The chapterization and categorization of the dissertation into two parts has been done on the basis of 'Conceptual Framework' and 'The Findings of the Study'.

The first part consists of the chapters on:

- I. The Research Methodology
- II. International Communication in International Relations
- III. Concept of Nonalignment: Its Recent Trends.

The first chapter gives in detail the research methodology that has been used for the first hand data collection regarding the quantitiveness of the coverage. It further enumerates the method of 'content analysis' that has been used to analyse the nature of reporting.

As the proposed study is in the field of international communication, and tries to establish the functional relationship between international relations and the tools of mass media, the concepts of the same have been given in the second chapter.

Nonalignment is not only a concept of international relations, but the movement has become a reality of the contemporary international politics. The Third Chapter tries to analyse the journey made by the nonalignment movement, both as a concept and a viable force of world community.

Part II of the dissertation consists of the analysis of the findings and is categorized according to the meetings held during the year 1979.

Thus the proposed study has tried to focus attention on the lacunae in the existing communication system (in a modest form).

PART - I

THE CONCEPTUAL

FRAME-WORK

CHAPTER - I

THE METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY ON NEWSPAPER REPORTING

There are various tools of communication which are used to communicate messages and information at all stratas of society and nations. The print media in general and the Newspapers in particular, reflect the attitudes, implications and significance of the multidimensions of international relations. Hence the study has been narrowed down to the analysis of the newspapers.

THE OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

Relationships, may they be interpersonal or intergroup, at local, national or international level; are dependent upon communication techniques. In the field of international relations different tools of international communication are used. This study proposes to observe the following broad objectives:

- (1) To establish a link between international relations and international communications.
- (2) To identify different channels of international communications.
- (3) To study the use of different channels of communication by international relations.

In order to study the role and functioning of international communication in international relations, this work proposes to pursue the following specific objectives:

- (i) To identify the major international news agencies and to study their pattern of functioning.
- (ii) To study the manner in which news flows from its point of origin to different parts of the world.
- (iii) To investigate the extent of news coverage done by Indian and foreign newspapers; of the news from the less developed countries.

HYPOTHESIS

Along with the sophistication in the media communication a large inequality has also entered the field. This case of newspaper reporting proposes to investigate the hypothesis that:

There is a total imbalance in flow of news, its coverage, and accurateness from the developing countries to the developed ones.

SAMPLING

In order to investigate the above hypothesis four newspapers are selected. The criteria for their selection is (a) the national importance of the newspapers, (b) the medium of

publication, i.e. the English language and (c) the availability of the newspapers, especially in case of foreign newspapers.

Keeping in mind the above criteria two Indian newspapers, one American newspaper and one British newspaper were selected. The Indian Newspapers are: (1) The Times of India (Delhi Edition), (2) Patriot. The American newspaper which has been selected is The New York Times and the British newspaper which has been selected in the absence of The London Times⁽¹⁾ is the Daily Telegraph (London). Only four newspapers are thus selected for the study due to limitations of time and space.

MESSAGES (REPORTING OF THE MEETING OF NONALIGNED NATIONS)

In order to study the flow of information a specific area of international relations has been taken. The Nonaligned movement is not only a crucial factor of the international relations, but is also the one which puts forward the call for a New International Information Order. Hence reporting of the Nonaligned meetings has been chosen for analysis.

The year 1979, has been a turning point in the saga of nonalignment. This study makes an indepth analysis of the three meetings of the Nonaligned countries during 1979. They are:

- I. The Extra-Ordinary Ministerial Level Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of the Nonaligned Countries (Mozambique)

(1) The London Times was on strike during the year 1979, and the Daily Telegraph was being provided.

- II. The Ministerial level Preparatory Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of the Nonaligned Countries (Colombo).
- III. The Sixth Summit Conference of the Heads of the States/Governments of the Nonaligned Countries (Havana).

The period of analysis, the year 1979, has been further broken down to one week prior to the meeting, one week during the meeting and one week after the meetings of the Coordinating Bureau. As the Havana Summit, is an event, that took place after three years, and is the decision and policy making forum, two weeks prior to the Summit, during the Summit and after the Summit were taken. This makes a total of Twelve weeks for the analysis of the message communicated by the newspapers.

TECHNIQUE OF INVESTIGATION: The Procedures followed:

CONTENT-ANALYSIS: The technique of 'Content Analysis', which is used for communication research was used for this study. Content Analysis in its early stages was defined by Berelson (in 1952). According to this definition content Analysis was:

"a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication"⁽²⁾

(2) B. Berelson; Content Analysis in Communication Research. New York: Free Press (1957), p. 18.

However, since then, the concept of communication itself has undergone changes. It is no longer seen as separate messages, held static, for the purpose of analysis, by capturing them either in print or speech. It is now regarded as a process of flow of information and interaction. (3)

It means that 'Content Analysis' is done to draw inferences based on quality and quantity of the flow of information. Hence the latest definition of content analysis points out that:

"Content Analysis is any technique of making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specific characteristics of messages" (4)

Thus content analysis may be considered a method of studying the material and content of any form of communication in order to assess the utility value of the content, inner behaviour, motive, attitudes and the trends of communication.

The present study is based on this basic concept of content analysis, which has of course, been at times modified, in accordance with the needs of the Project.

(3) This trend is based on the Lasswellian concept of communication of 'who says what, in what channel, with what effect'.
See: Harold Larswell, "Structure and function of communication in Society". in

B.L. Bryson (ed.), The Communication of ideas (New York Harper & Row, 1948), p. 37.

(4) T.F. Carney: Content Analysis (New York, B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1972), p. 5.

The contents of the selected newspapers have been analysed for their quantity as well as quality of information given.

Units of Quantitative Analysis

The comparative quantitative analysis aims at finding out the amount of coverage given to the Nonaligned meetings during 1979, by the various newspapers under study. The units of analysis have been classified into two broad categories: (1) The total news coverage on that particular day⁽⁵⁾, (2) The total coverage of the Nonaligned meetings.

The criteria for calculating coverage of both the categories is:

- (1) Columns
- (2) Length in centimeters
- (3) Words printed

In order to calculate total columns and total printed words a common formula has been evolved, with varying scales of words covered in 5 cms by each newspaper.⁽⁶⁾

(5) The term 'total coverage' refers to the space devoted to news items, without the space given for advertisements. Generally the newspapers follow the policy of giving equal i.e. 50 percent space for news and 50 percent to the advertisements. However, at times news may be more than the advertisements.

(6) For the practical derivations and numerical findings refer to Appendices No. I to IV, Tables 1 to 12.

The formulaStep I Formula for counting total words:

If 5 cms covers = 1 words

Then 'n' centimeters covers = $\frac{1}{5}$ x 'n'

(This would include the headlines and subtitles).

Step II Formula for counting words of Nonaligned meetings

If 5 cms covers = 1 words

Then 'x' cms covers = $\frac{1}{5}$ x X = Z

(Here 'X' represent the actual length of the news item without the headlines and subtitles. The words of Headlines and subtitles = y would be added to the total words obtained.)

Step III The final formula thus evolved

$$\frac{1}{5} \times X = Z$$

$$\therefore \text{Total words} = Z + Y = TW$$

This formula has been uniformly applied to calculate the daily coverage of the Nonaligned meetings by all the four selected newspapers.

Interpretation of Data

The final interpretation has been done in terms of percentage of coverage of columns, length and words. The formula used for columns, length and words is the same. (7)

Thus the formula for percentage calculation is:

$$\frac{\text{Columns of Nonaligned news}}{\text{Total columns covered}} \times 100$$

(Columns would be substituted by length, then words, for calculating the percentage).

Further interpretation of the quantitative aspect of the coverage has been done in terms of the sources of news, i.e., the International News Agencies and the Special correspondents of the selected newspapers; the treatment given to the news items i.e. kind of headlines, page of appearance and the column of display. Thus the quantitative analysis has been done on the basis of above formula and units of study.

Qualitative Analysis

Content analysis of the reporting of the nonaligned meetings has also been done for the qualitative (i.e. what the news actually contains) aspect of the coverage.

(7) For the percentage tabulation refer to Appendix No. IV Table Numbers: 13-15.

Units of Analysis

The units of analysis vary according to the meetings. Different units have been taken on the basis of the formal agendas of respective meetings. ⁽⁸⁾ However, the entire coverage has been categorized into four broad groups:

- I. The Basic Principles of the Nonaligned Movement.
- II. The membership and Structural Issues.
- III. The Political/Security Issues.
- IV. The Economic Issues.

This classification is common for all the three meetings of the nonaligned countries.

The sub-units of analysis have been determined on the basis of the prepared agenda. ⁽⁹⁾ These sub-categories have been used as units of frequency analysis for the contents of the news story.

Interpretation

The interpretation of the data so obtained has been done in terms of the priority given to various categories in the

(8) For the formal agendas of the meetings refer to Appendices number V to VIII.

(9) For the detailed sub-categories refer to the Frequency Charts in Appendix number VIII, table numbers 16 to 18.

coverage. The factors of interpretation are:

- (i) The priority given to the units.
- (ii) The editorials, special supplements, and special feature-articles.
- (iii) Trends of the news i.e. favourable, unfavourable or neutral.
- (iv) Absentees in the coverage.

This method has been uniformly used for the individual content analysis of each newspaper in respect to each meeting. After having done the individual analysis a comparative analysis of the coverage of each meeting as done by each paper has been made. Further a comparative analysis of the coverage of all the three meetings by the selected newspapers has been made.

The units of comparative analysis are:

- (i) The coverage of Indian newspapers vis-a-vis the American newspapers
- (ii) The coverage of Indian Newspapers vis-a-vis the British newspaper.
- (iii) The coverage of the American newspaper: vis-a-vis the British newspaper .

On the basis of above methodology relevant quantitative and qualitative inferences have been drawn; which have been given in the following chapter on the findings of the study.

As the study draws its basic ideas from the concepts of International Communication and International relations and deals with the contemporary movement of nonalignment. The following chapters deal with the theoretical frame-work of these concepts.

CHAPTER - II

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

In the era of modernization and industrialization every thing is being weighed in terms of apparent development and progress. The perceptions regarding the contemporary situation and environment are formulated on the basis of images that are projected through the propaganda machinery. It is well known that men are bound together by the strings of communication and the moment there is disturbance or defective communication there is a break in relations leading to conflicts and tensions.

This concept of break down of a system at the inter-personal level is also applicable at the level of relations among nations. Never before in the history of human civilization has there been a time when the role of communication has been as important as today. This is due to the fact that there has never been a time when there was so much to know, so many people who wanted to know, so much and so quickly. Today the inflow and outflow of information is prompt and efficient. The entire mechanism - personal, national and and international - is geared to enhance this exchange of news, views and ideas.

The notion of a 'smaller world', and a close-knit international community has gained ground due to the communication efficacy. All events, national or international, good and bad, are seen in the light of efficient or inefficient communication.

Before we discuss international communication as a tool of international relations, it is necessary to know the process of communication and what is meant by mass communication.

The Process of Communication

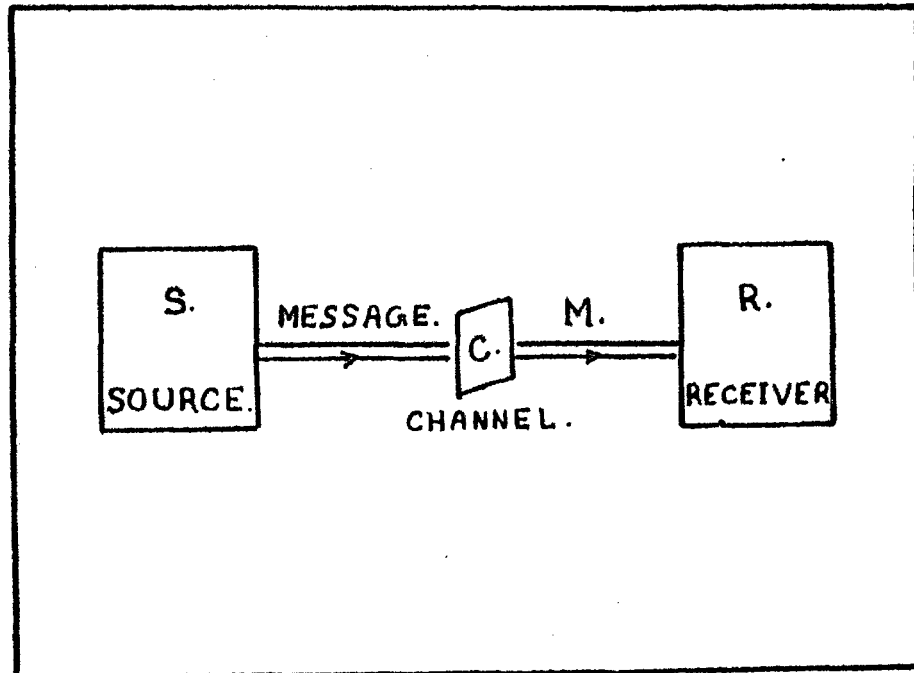
The term communication stems from the Latin word "communis" meaning common. When we communicate we are trying to establish a 'commonness' with someone. The communication process is the basis for all social interactions, communication can be defined as:

The transmission of information, ideas, emotions, skills etc., by use of symbols - words, pictures, figures, graphs etc., it is the act or process of transmission that is usually called communication."(10)

Communication then, is a conscious attempt to share information, ideas, attitudes and the like with others. In essence it is the act of getting a sender and a receiver tuned together for a particular message or messages.

(10) Reed H. Blake and Edwina O. Haroldson, A Taxonomy of Concepts in Communications (New York: Hastings House Publishers, 1975), p. 3.

FIGURE: 1
THE S.M.C.R. MODEL OF
COMMUNICATION.



SOURCE :

Berlo. David. k. The Process of Communication,

(New York. Holt. Rinehart and Winston. 1960).

The basic communication model which is known as 'the SMCR model' consists of source-message-channel-receiver (Figure 1, p. 15).

A key factor of communication is the source of the message or the person who originates and sends the message. Message means the idea or the information which is to be transmitted.

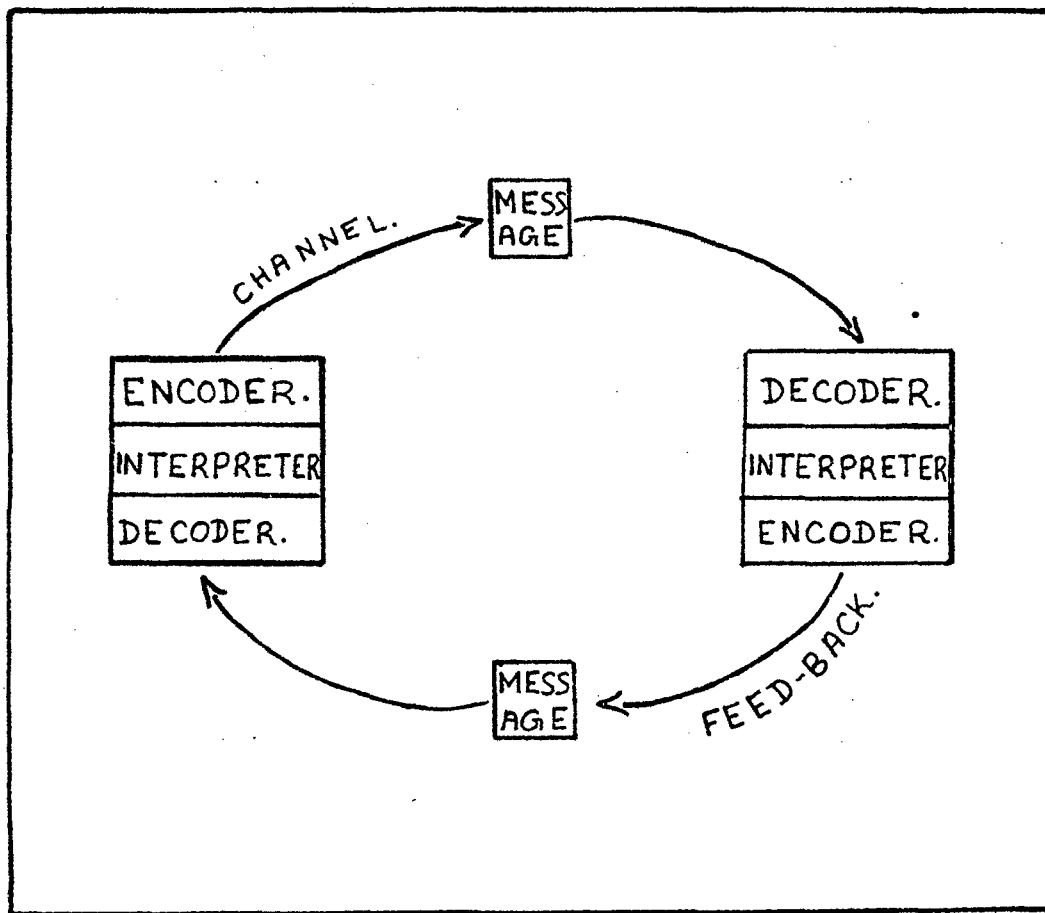
Channel is the means used to communicate the information such as traditional media - puppet shows, folk songs etc., or the modern media-radio, television, newspapers and the like.

Receiver is the audience or the people who are destined to receive the message.

This model is based on the assumption that the effectiveness of any 'message' is dependent upon factors such as who sends it, through what channel and to whom?

The process of communication is triggered off by the source. The message sent by the source is encoded in forms of signs and symbols, which passes through a selected medium or channel towards its destiny. The Receiver has to decode the symbols, in order to receive the given message. As the process of communication is not complete till the receiver

FIGURE : 2.
THE PROCESS OF
COMMUNICATION. ⁽¹²⁾



SOURCE :

Schramm, Wilbur. (ed.) Mass Communication.

2n. ed. (Urbana, Illinois, 1960)

reacts and sends a feed back to the source. Thus it is obvious that each person in the communication process is an encoder and decoder. He receives and transmits. Thus the communication process is a complete circular circuit (Figure 2, p. 17), of given and take of messages.

However, the impact of communication depends on the skill of the communicator and his command over the message he gives. The interpersonal or face-to-face communication is a process where there is constant flow of actions and reactions. The inter play of ideas and change of role from source to receiver and vice-versa is rapid. The messages get modified in accordance with the response of the receiver, and the technique and approach of 'getting across the desired message is changed.'

When this process of interpersonal communication is enlarged and projected on a larger scale, and is aimed at larger audience or a mass of people, is referred to as mass communication, which uses the tools of mass media.

Mass Communication

The process of mass communication is similar to the process of communication, but the elements in the process are not the same.

The main source of mass communication is a 'communication organization' or an institutionalized person. The term

'communication organization' refers to newspaper broad casting network, a film studio etc. By an institutionalized person we mean such a person as the editor of a newspaper, who speaks in his editorial columns through the facilities of the institution. The organisation works exactly like an individual. It operates as decoder, interpreter, and encoder but it is carried out by a group of people rather than by one individual.

The destinations of mass communication are individuals at the ends of these channels. This receiving position is much different from interpersonal communication, for one thing, because there is very little direct feed back from the receivers to the senders.

The process of mass communication as it works (Diagram 3) is started by the organization that sends messages through a channel to millions who are at the receiving end. The communicator has to so design the contents of the message as to reach maximum number of people.

The model that then evolves has been described by different scholars in different terms. The ingredients of communication as mentioned by Wilbur Schramm are: ⁽¹³⁾

- (i) Source
- (ii) Encoder
- (iii) Signal (message)
- (iv) Channel
- (v) Decoder

⁽¹³⁾ Schramm, Wilbur (1960), *ibid.*, p. 15.

(vi) Receiver

Schramm has recently added the seventh element also,

(vii) Feed back

The process as is evident is not a simple but is a complex system. Different elements that participate in the process have definite functions and field of operation. They are:

Source: Source is the person who starts the process of communication in operation. He is the originator and sender of messages. In international relations the source may vary from governmental body to different diplomatic and cultural groups. The credibility of the source as perceived by the audience is a powerful determinant in communication.

Message: A message is the information a communicator wishes his audience to receive, understand, accept and act upon. It is the actual physical product of the source and encoder. Messages for instance, may consist of statements by the statesmen on foreign policy, international politics or economics. Potential messages range as wide as the content of the programme.

Encoder: Encoding is a process whereby a message is transmitted into symbols that can be carried by the communication channel. The encoder takes the ideas from the source and transforms those ideas in the form of messages as understood and meaningful for the receiver.



Channels of Communication

The sender and the receiver of messages must be connected or tuned with each other. For this channels of communication are necessary. They are physical bridges between the sender and the receiver of messages. They are the transmission lines used for carrying messages to their destination. Thus, channels like radio, television, newspapers, serve as tools of communication.

De Coder: The decoder translates the messages for being meaningful to the receiver. Decoding is essential for covering the accurate message from the source and encoder to the receiver.

Receiver: Obviously the receiver is the intended audience of messages. It is the consumer of messages. It is the extended respondent in message sending, and is assumed to be in a position to gain economically, socially or in other ways by responding to the messages in a particular way.

Food-back: When the individual communicates with himself, the messages he encodes are fed back into his system by his decoder. This is what is called as feedback. The communication process is incomplete without this feed back or response from the receiver.



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The effects of communication and the response are the main realization behind communicating. Given a purpose for communicating a communicator hopes that his communication is fully received. However the efficacy of the system gets disturbed when there is 'noise' in the system. Noise is what you had when communication did not work. If there is miscommunication, or the source gave a message that was above the reach of the audience or the audience in turn misunderstood the message a noise is created disrupting the system.

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION AS A TOOL OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The system of mass communication, when spread over a large area at the transnational level serves as a process of communication between various nations. Pattern of international relations are woven with strands of communication threads. Efficient system ensures unkindered flow of information, ideas and better understanding. But as soon as an element of 'noise' permeates the process conflict situations are created.

In the process of international communication it is the 'nations' that take up the role of a source, the channels remain the same, but the messages vary from policy matters to human relations and the destination becomes the population of the world community. The process of international communication is very complex. In terms of systems theory-communication is a whole with national communication system as its parts; and it

functions in an environment of global reactions. If any one of the sub-systems starts malfunctioning the entire international process of communication gets affected. Over the years the international scenario has changed. In rapidly changing situations relations are being viewed from different angles and levels. Though the focus is still on nations, their behaviour and communicating skills are playing a dominant role.

The contemporary world has experienced and seen the development of five major communication revolutions based on technological advancements; all of which originated in the West. Every single revolution was the outcome of a technological invention and thereby induced alterations in the social-political behaviour and institutions. The five revolutions were: Print, Film, Radio, Television and Satellites.

The invention of the print media was a landmark in the field of communication; and its impacts were revolutionary. But it was only after four hundred years that it emerged as a powerful social institutions. The impact of print in Britain, which led the way was noted by Samuel Johnson:

Every Englishman nowadays, expects to be promptly and accurately informed upon the conditions of public affairs. (14)

(14)

Daniel Lerner "Revolutionary Elites and World Symbolism" In Harold D. Lasswell, Daniel Lerner and Hans Spier (edited). Propaganda and Communication in World History, vol. II (East-West Centre, Hawaii, 1980), p.377.

Once the print revolution was achieved it provided base for innovations and transformation of communication institutions. The second revolution was in the field of celluloid and vision, based on the new technology of camera and film. This enabled people to reproduce the sights of their world mechanically and massively. It was:

For the first time in human history; people could build visual archives of their past, representations of their present and projections of their possible futures. (15)

These live chronicles of human experiences became available to majority of the masses, and to even those who could not read the print. It brought a large section of the illiterate periphery of the social affairs into a participant relationship with the social elites:

The visual communication, became in this sense, great historical teacher of empathy and the multiplier of mobility - especially of what we have called 'psychic mobility'. (16)

(15) Daniel Lerner "Revolutionary Elites and World Symbolism" In Harold D. Lasswell, Daniel Lerner and Hans Spier (edited). Propaganda and Communication in World History, vol. II (East-West Centre, Hawaii, 1980), p. 378.

(16) Daniel Lerner, The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1958).

The third revolution is just a half century old. This was the auidial transformation as communication through the technique of sound transmission and vacuum tube. This brought sound and sight of human activities. This was followed by amalgamation of sound and light in form of cinema - the movies and then the talkies.

Television was the fourth wonder of communication channel. It applied the new technique of picture tube with a strong recent assistance from transistors. The television brought the reality of life to the homes of people and their daily lives. This made a profound impact of millions of people.

The latest and most sophisticated innovation is the satellites. It has adopted the technique of mass media to the new space science and has created the first functional world communication network which knows no boundaries.

These advances in communication has profoundly changed the nature of human contacts and social relations and has moulded human history. Already the impact of human behaviour on world affairs has surpassed that of atom bomb. Today the world community is on the threshold of world transformed by electronic age; a time has come in which further developments in communication will magnify both our opportunities for progress and our problems.

The advances in this area are going to create a lasting impact on international relations. It provides tools and techniques for exchange of values, norms, information and ideas which leads to closer contacts among people within as well as between nations. They promote education, and propanganda, national objectives and international co-operation, economic-social and political development, control, recruitment and mobilization of opinion through the mass media. By and large the policy of imperialism has destroyed the indigenous enterprises - may they be economic, political or social. Generally parasitic centres of administration were developed and expatriate dominated merchantile activities were encouraged. In order to satisfy the colonies an illusion of development was created whereby only consumer goods industries were developed. This led to a structural gap, because colonialism perpetuated a socio-economic system in which there was no connection between the structure of needs of the population and the structure of production within the colony.

The resulting relationship between the coloniser and the colonised nation was the first stage of colonialism; where in the centre of the periphery was physically occupied by the Centre of the Centre. This created a dependent structure of relations. (20) Though this 'theory of centre and periphery'

(20) P. Jalee, The Pillage of the Third World (Mary Klopper translated) (New York, 1968), p. 78.

P. Jalee has elaborated the dynamics of the post-colonial relations between the centre and the periphery, where the powerful sections of the periphery continue to be linked with the metropolis.

has been developed by scholars like Galtung and P. Jalee, in order to define the politico-economic relations among the developed and the developing nations, it can be and has been applied, for defining the existing International Information Order. The monopoly of media by the developed world has stunted the growth of the third world media. The foundation of this domination was laid down in the colonial period when these states formed the colonies of the imperial powers. Communication has been a part and parcel of international dynamics and transnational relations.

The present system of relations functions at three levels. The international order is distinctly divided into the First, Second and Third Worlds based on their developmental stages. This level of progress is not just limited to economic sector but also trickles down to the level of social and political life. The International Economic Order is firmly saddled on the back of the bygone days of colonialism and imperialism. The modern form of exploitation of the erstwhile colonies is in the garb of neo-colonialism.

Most of the Third World or the less developed countries are deeply embeded in a world system whose morale and rationale is laid down by the industrialized nations and whose operation benefits the latter. As in economics, so in the field of information system the developed nations dominate.

As the lords and masters of the land the colonial powers had controlled the media, and at times did not allow the media to get established. In terms of telecommunications, some colonies, especially African states were linked with their central power, and had no indigenous communication system.

In a decolonized world the independent nations inherited either a weak communication system or did not possess one at all. The system of centre-periphery relations continued to function at all levels. Today the Third World countries are backward in the communication field. The mass media like radio, television and newspapers are still underdeveloped.

The Developed world through its efficient, sophisticated and up to date communication system is dominating the developing world. Through its mass media they are trying to influence the politics of the third world nations. As mass media does not just deal with the political issues; culture and civilization of the West is gradually being injected in the dependent nations.

This one sided flow of information, and the citadels of information controllers are apparent in the world of news and newspapers.

The modern channels of communication, which can be divided into the audio-visual and print media,⁽²¹⁾ are infested with the

(21) The channels of Audio-visual media are: (1) Radio, (2) Television, and (3) Films.

The tools of print media are: Dailies, periodicals, brochures, pamphlets, albums, paperbacks, books, posters, etc.

Western technique of information services. However, the print media is still the most stable and dependable instrument of information. The newspapers are the chronicals of current history that is being formulated by the helms men of different nations.

The newspapers are like those activists or group leaders who mobilize and mould public opinion. The opinion of the people is the input for different national and international policies. It is being used as a tool of international communication to judge the public opinion.

The news items that are published by the newspapers project their understanding of the international events. This reporting of events creates a positive or a negative attitude among its readership.

It is this relation of projection and reaction that is being controlled by the media giants. Today the international news agencies are the carriers of news from one part of the world to the other. Their intricate network is spread all over the globe and is serving as vital sources of information. Had these agencies been functioning in fair and balanced manner there would have been a free flow of information. But the real problem engulfing the third world nations is of misrepresentation and imbalanced reporting about the events of their countries. Apart from mal-reporting there is inaccuracy and distorted news flow. This kind of give and take of information by the

TABLE 1

FIGURES RELATING TO SOME INTERNATIONALLY ACTIVE AGENCIES*

1. o.	Press Agency	Number of countries served	Number of subscribers	Number of countries covered by correspon- dents and stringers	Number of words issued daily	Number of regular staff	Number of corres- pondents in foreign countries
	AP	108	1320 newspapers 3400 broadcasters in US 1000 print subscribers	62 foreign bureaux	17 million		559
	AFP	152	12000 newspapers 69 national agencies	167 countries 108 foreign bureaux	3,350000 + 50 news pictures	1,990 incl.	171 full time correspondents 1200 stringers
	Reuters	147	6,500 newspapers 8,400 radio TV stations	153 countries	1,500000	2000 incl.	350 full time correspondents 800 stringers
	Tass	80	13000 subscribers 200 subscribers to Tass photo 325 foreign subscribers	110 countries 40 bureaux		Profess- ional staff 560	61 correspondents
	Tanjung	103	-	46	75,000 to 120,000 + 40-50 news pictures	896	40 full time correspondents
	IPS	36	19 National agencies e.g. 400 weeklies and institutions	50	100.00	390	44

*Source REPORT No. 11 'The World News Agencies', International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems, UNESCO, 1978, p. 3.

International News agencies like AP, AFP, Reuters, Tass and others are harming the national communication system of the third world. As is clear from the table (p. 30) these news agencies have their clients outside their parent nations. The subscribers to the news from these agencies are largely from the developing countries whose newspapers cannot afford to send special correspondents to cover news from every country.

Keeping in mind the vital role of communication and intake with the trends of international relation there are attempts being made to reconstruct the information order. Since time immorable contacts among nations have shaped their relations. Now when information mechanism is linking the people of remotest corner of the world with others and the world is 'shrinking' in terms of contacts the flow of information has to be reinforced.

International relations has and would continue to effectively use the tools of international communication for the dynamics of politics, diplomacy and supremacy. Yet the weaker nations from all points of view in an united movement of non-alignment are in search of new avenues in communication, whereby new trends can be set in for relations among nations.

CHAPTER - III

THE CONCEPT OF NONALIGNMENT : RECENT TRENDS

The paradigm of non-alignment over the decades has developed in response to the changing exigencies of world events. The concept of non-alignment has three dimensions. These can be classified as moral, ethical, political and economic. The inter-weaving and permutation - combination of these three strands make various patterns of behaviour of nations, guiding the course of contemporary international relations. This concept emphasised the prominent role that could be played by the new nations in order to reduce the tensions.

The policy of non-alignment was a response of the new states of Asia, Africa and Latin America to the domestic and international environment. In the post Second World War era, this policy was not a mere reaction to the intense cold-war situations but had much broader and firmer foundation. It was a clear manifestation of their ambitions and aspirations of vast number of people, who were eager to attain the status of equality and respect of international relations. The basic aim of these nations was to attain freedom of taking their own

decisions and making their policies free from any foreign pressures. The main motivation and objectives of the non-aligned countries was to consolidate their newly acquired independence - which was based on a weak, and vulnerable social, economic and political foundation. They needed a peaceful atmosphere of international relations in order to develop themselves. They endeavoured to alter the existing patterns of transnational relations in political and economic spheres and establish new networks as ties based on peaceful co-existence and mutual cooperation.

The concept of non-alignment can be regarded as an amalgamation of positive and negative elements. "The negativity being denoted by the rejection of the bipolarity concept of the world, and the refusal to take sides in any military line-up of world powers. This is perhaps the hard core or the irreducible minimum of non-alignment and a state would not be recognized to be non-aligned nations if this condition is not satisfied. (23)

The foundation of this concept was laid by Jawaharlal Nehru when he declared that "we shall make the history of our

(23) Refer to K.P. Misra, "The Concept of Non-alignment: Its Implications and Recent Trends", in K.P. Misra (ed.), Studies in Indian Foreign Policy (New Delhi: Vikas Publication House, 1969), p. 91.

choice." He said:

We propose, as far as possible, to keep away from the power politics of groups, aligned against one another, which have led in the past to world wars, and which may again lead to disaster on an even vaster scale. (24)

The unprecedented developments in the field of armaments, nuclear as well as conventional, have been threatening the world peace and security for the past three decades. Especially during the peak period of Cold War and formative stage of the doctrine of non-alignment, the world was being polarized into two camps led by the United States and the Soviet Union. Though the two power blocs were ideologically opposite, they had a mutually shared perception of a bipolar international system. Non-alignment, was a rejection of this division of the world into two power centres.

Apart from the fear of the nuclear holocaust, due to their historical experiences of colonialism, the non-aligned countries were opposed to the imperialist, hegemonist tendencies, and were anti-colonialist, neo-colonialist and racist policies. It was on account of the legacy of imperialism, that the concept of non-alignment, during the post Second World War years, envisaged non-participation in the Cold War, and rejection of military alliances.

(24) Jawaharlal Nehru, India's Foreign Policy: Selected Speeches, September 1946-April 1961 (New Delhi: publication Division, Govt. of India, 1961), p.2.

In the past thirty four years, from its clear articulation by Nehru, non-alignment has passed through various stages of clarity and refinement. Just as a small atom grows into a powerful source of energy, nonalignment too, has developed from a mere idea into a world wide movement. Initially non-alignment was conceived as the assertion of autonomy in the conduct of foreign policy, despite interdependence for development and construction of a viable national economic base. In view of economic - technological backwardness, the emerging leadership of the non-aligned countries hoped to get best of the two worlds, by remaining unaligned. Similarly, the unattached position of these countries enabled them to play the role of mediators and tension reducers among the Super Powers. Theoretically nonalignment reflects 'power politics' and the prominent concern of the movement is to reduce this struggle for supremacy. As Schwarzenberger states power politics:

Signifies a type of relation between states in which certain patterns of behaviour are predominant, armaments, isolationism, power diplomacy power economics, hegemony, imperialism, alliances, balance of power and war. (25)

(25) Georg Schwarzenberger, Power Politics
(New York, 197, p. 13).

By and large the non-aligned countries have not indulged in the game of power politics, but have tried to influence world politics. This attempt to make a dent on the existing system was not only done through unified efforts, but also through mutual cooperation. Thus, the possibility of resolving many important contemporary problems of the world, peace and security, the advancement of people along the road of social, economic, technological and political programme depended to a large extent on the promotion of mutual support and cooperation.

This led to the establishment by the non-aligned leaders a sort of 'organic link between national development and international relations. Hence international peace became the central theme of the theory and practice of non-alignment. Today, non-alignment is a factor to be reckon with in the international scenario.

The non-alignment movement has taken great strides since its first summit of 1961. Five more summit conferences have been since - in Cairo in 1964, in Lusaka, in 1970, in Algiers in 1973, in Colombo in 1976, and in Havana in 1979. The three-fold increase in the membership is an indication of the strength of the movement.

The international scene has undergone a considerable change since the inception of the movement. The process of

Decolonization which began in the aftermath of the Second World War is virtually complete. With the attainment of independence of Zimbabwe in April, 1980, it seems that the fight against colonialism has reached hopefully the last phase. The liberation movements at that time led to the transfer of power to the natives of the colonies, there by soaring the figures of independent countries in the world. The non-aligned movement, though even today, in principle and practice tries to establish peace and order and plays a mediatory role for the East-West debate, has made a considerable shift in its priorities. It now focuses its attention on the major economic and developmental issues. It has made a considerable effort in building up consensus for the evolution of New International Economic Order and New International Information Order, based on principles of equity and justice. Even today, at the dawn of a new decade, the concept of non-alignment is valid and relevant. As the Lusaka Declaration of 1970 puts it:

Non-alignment derives its origin from certain perennial yearnings of nation states for a safer, fuller and better life. It would, therefore, remain of abiding significance and was not dependent upon international political circumstances which were likely to change. (26)

(26) Lusaka Declaration as quoted by Y.B. Chavan, 'Ideals of Non-alignment' in Secular Democracy, 'Non-alignment Issue, (New Delhi), 1976, pp.

This shift in the priorities of the nonealigned world came about as the gap between them and the developed world increased. The newly independent states of Asia, Africa and Latin America suffered a serious set back in their national machinery which was geared to benefit their colonial masters. Thus, these countries inherited shattered economic structures and totally underdeveloped mass media. In order to rebuild their countries, these new nations started relying heavily on the developed world, thereby established a 'centre-periphery' relationships with the developed countries. With an exception of the oil producing countries, the economic conditions of the developing countries has deteriorated. The enormous and growing deficits in their balance of payment, their growing debts have helped in increasing the yawning gap between the North and the South. The energy crisis, disruptions and changing world economy, and political relations confirm the new orientation taken by the non-aligned world, towards the imperative necessity of changes and development of new and just international system. The twin calls for New International Economic Order and the New International Information Order given by the non-aligned states, is in tune with the basic tennets of the concept, because:

Non-alignment is a political concept that strives for the remodelling of international society, as a whole and not merely any single aspect of it, though inevitably the non-aligned nations had stressed a particular aspect at a particular period of time. (27)

(27) Sisir Gupta. "Ethos of Nonalignment." in Secular Democracy

The multi-dimensional problem of communications emerged with increased significance on the international scene in the 1970s. It was not only the New International Economic Order but a new order of information and communications that was to be established. In this field also, the non-aligned states laid their claims and demanded changes in structures and conduct in international scene. But it is in the countries themselves, and long before the last decade that politicians, professionals and researchers have been and continue to be, concerned with transformation in systems of communication, media and technologies. Gradually the emphasis has shifted to distortions in the international circulation of news and messages, the imbalance and lack of reciprocity in the exchanges of information and cultural products are inevitably harmful consequences of the free flow doctrine between the two very unequal partners.

Hence, the call for 'new orders' was part and parcel of the same process of peoples aspiration for an independent life, indigenous development and cultural identity. Social communication in the broadest sense of the term is a socio-cultural process of exchange of messages by signs and symbols between men and nations. It has become increasingly a factor of national and international life, which has to be reconstructed, remodelled and developed.

The need to overhaul the present international system in all its aspects was felt right after the end of the Second

World War. The process of political decolonisation, establishing a new equitable international relationship and a just international economic order, are closely connected with the fundamental changes in the world information order. There are numerous legacies of the colonial era that continue to infest present system; even in field of communications where there are a small number of centres of power that control the so-called information market. This, according to the non-aligned countries, has created situation in which the majority of the countries in the world were reduced to only recipients of biased, inadequate and distorted information. Over the years, however, a realization has grown that has prompted the non-aligned countries to overcome the situation in which the information flow was one-way. The news travelled from several highly developed countries to the over whelming majority of the world community. The variety of measures adopted by the third world countries to change this information structure viewed by the West with circumspection and sometimes with overt displeasure. As Dr. Wolfgang Weynen, General Manager of Deutsche Presse-Agenture (DPA) of West Germany put it, the Third World countries have begun to develop a:

deep rooted distrust toward the countries they once idolised, who taught them every thing they know, who looked after them and to whom they often owe their very existence. (28)

(28) Cited in Guy de Fontgalland, "News Pool: Background to the Controversy" in Media Asia (Singapore), vol. 3, no. 3, 1976, p. 141.

In essence, the Third World, or the non-aligned countries, to a great extent resented the attitude of the Western world in continuing to adopt a colonial attitude toward them and projecting this attitude in their new media.

Indeed, superficial, ephemeral, sensational or redundant information is damaging for the image of the countries. One cannot overlook the fact that call for the establishment of a new world communication order has emerged essentially as a move against barriers and discrepancies in communication. Such discrepancies exist at the level of resources as well as exchanges of news. It is in light of these realities that efforts are being made to democratise communication system. The underlying concept is complex. The need is not merely to reduce the inequalities and privileged positions but the variety of information has to increase. There is a need to create conditions that would enhance reciprocity of news and make freer access to information. Furthermore, not only there has to be self-reliance in the media sector, but a fairer and more effective participation by the people.

The first attempt in this direction was taken by the non-aligned countries in 1973. The non-aligned summit conference held in Algiers took up the question of the need to treat information in such a way that its shape would logically lead to aiding development in the non-aligned countries. The scope and field of discussions was widened and the question reached

the United Nations forum. Afterwards, in 1975 the non-aligned countries' Foreign Ministers met in Lima and followed up the discussions which resulted in a special symposium of media-related governmental agencies which was held in Tunis in March 1976 in New Delhi. It was at the Colombo summit in 1976 that a formal political Declaration launched off the campaign for just information order.

The non-aligned countries were concerned over the fact that there was an ever increasing gap between the communication capacities of the non-aligned countries and the advanced countries.

In conformity with the decisions taken at New Delhi and Colombo, a detailed action programme was chalked out; which was implemented in 1977. As early as 14 November 1976, the Coordinating Bureau of the non-aligned countries in New York set up a council for coordination of information.

It was in 1977, that the non-aligned news pool was established with a view to expand and improve mutual exchange of information and enhance the flow of objective information. This was one of the concrete measures taken to facilitate the reconstruction of the existing information order.

This brief resume of the inauguration and development of the concept of non-alignment denotes the dynamism and flexibility of the policy. The perspectives and priorities

may have changed in the past and would change in the future, but the main thrust of the movement would remain unchanged. In its infancy the concept was anti colonialism in the real sense of the term, today at the end of the Seventies and in early 1980s it is relentlessly struggling to get out of the yoke of neo-colonialism and monopoly of media. Thus, with the complexities of modern age the concept of nonalignment has not only gained firm roots but has also become a movement of force and significance.

PART II

FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

PRELUDE TO PART -II

'FINDINGS OF THE STUDY'

This study attempts to analyse the extent of coverage given by the four selected newspapers, to the conference of the nonaligned nations during the year 1979. The reporting done by these newspapers (i.e. The Times of India (Delhi), the Patriot, The New York Times and the Daily Telegraph (London), show different trends, attitudes, relative importance and the understanding of non-alignment as a movement.

The analysis of the meetings has been divided into separate chapters, as per the periods of the meetings. Hence this section on 'The Findings of the Study' makes an indepth study of the coverage by each newspaper for each meeting viz.,

- (i) The Extraordinary Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Nonaligned Countries (Mozambique).
- (ii) The Ministerial level Preparatory Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Nonaligned Countries (Colombo).
- iii) The Sixth Summit of the Heads of States/Governments of the Nonaligned Countries (Havana).

This study has been done keeping in mind the nature and extent of the reporting of each news item.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS OF THE STUDY OF:

THE EXTRAORDINARY MEETING OF THE CO-ORDINATING BUREAU OF THE NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES (MOZAMBIQUE)

(26 January - 3 February 1979)

The flow of information with regard to the Mozambique Conference may be categorized into four broad groups:

- (1) The basic objectives of the movement
- (2) The political and security issues
- (3) The structure and membership of the Bureau
- (4) The economic issues.

All the four newspapers covered one or all of these categories.

A scrutiny of individual newspapers reveal the following:

(a) The Times of India

In its coverage of the Mozambique conference it reported on all issues that were under consideration. However, greater stress was laid upon the political-security issues confronted by the members. As this was an extraordinary meeting that had been convened to consider the problems of South Africa, and the state of liberation

movements within the region; the nature of the issues was primarily political. The deliberations too, had a political trend, which was naturally carried to its readership by the newspaper.

The coverage of the paper reflected the general opinion of the members of the nonaligned forum that the liberation movements in Rhodesia, Namibia and other areas were at its peak, and there was a need for the members to take a united stand on this issue. As one of the major steps in this direction was to give an all round support in form of economic, military and technological aid to the liberation movements and the frontline African states; adequate reporting was done. Various stands and viewpoints of the participants were given by the paper. Similarly, the need for oil and economic embargo against the racist regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia was projected.

The Times of India, effectively brought home the point that apart from these economic measures to strengthen the movement, the need of the day was to rebuild the shattered structures in Africa, so as to facilitate and accelerate the process of development within the region. This could be done only through international cooperation.

The newspaper highlighted the role of nonaligned countries within the United Nations in activating the

developed countries to adopt these political and economic measures against the minority regimes of South Africa and Zimbabwe. Apart from these issues the paper mentioned the question of recognising the Patriotic Front as the sole representative of the peoples of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and support to S.W.A.P.O. (South West African People's Organisation) and to accelerate the process of conducting free and fair election in Namibia.

It is essential for any newspaper to project the basic principles of the movement, so as to present a proper perspective on the subject.

The Times of India gave a fair coverage to the objectives of the movement, which guide the members in taking decisions. The theme of nonalignment movement being strongly opposed to colonialism, imperialism, racism, neo-colonialism and zionism, was given maximum coverage. This was done in order to expressly indicate the crux of the stand taken by the nonaligned countries with regard to Southern Africa, which was a classic example of colonialism, imperialism and exploitation of the majority of masses by the minority rulers. Furthermore, the moral, political and diplomatic support given by the nonaligned countries to all the liberation movements found an important place in the coverage. This policy of support from all sides was projected by the paper, keeping in mind the evolution of the

two-level policy, in which support at the diplomatic and material level was to be advanced for the liberation movements. Apart from these, the principles of the need to eliminate foreign intervention and interference, imperialist, hegemonist policies and all forms of expansionism and foreign domination were covered by the paper.

The content analysis of the news items shows that the newspaper gave fair coverage to the meeting and informed its readers about the crucial issues of the meeting. However, we find that there is lack of deep insight or an analytical approach while reporting the events of the meeting. Very brief and sketchy reporting was done, which at times covered very little space, though the meeting was of great significance from the point of view of solidarity of the movement. For the first time it considered the situation in South Africa, Rhodesia and Namibia, though no editorial or for that matter even a special article was written. It was treated as a routine meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau.

This trend is far more apparent when we look at the other side of the coin i.e. the quantitative aspect. In a sample of 23 issues of The Times of India beginning from 19 January to 10 February 1979; news concerning the Mozambique conference was given in 4 issues.

In the following table the extent of coverage is shown:

Table 2
SPACE ALLOCATION TO THE MOZAMBIQUE CONFERENCE BY THE TIMES
OF INDIA (29)

Sl. No.	Date	Day	Total coverage of the Meeting			Source	Display
			Column	Length cms	Words		
1	27.1.79	Saturday	1/4	13	174	PTI	p.15, foreign affairs, first story on left hand
2	1.2.1979	Thursday	3/4	30	319	PTI	-do-
3	2.2.1979	Friday	1/9	17	219	UNI	-do-
4	3.2.1979	Saturday	3/4	48	852	PTI	p.15, second last item, left hand columns

The above table denoting the amount of space devoted in terms of columns, length and words shows that there is no uniform pattern of coverage. The first coverage which is apparently less, appeared when the conference was about to start, and nothing very important or noteworthy was taking place.

(29) For detailed tabulation, see Appendix Number 1, Table Number 1, n.p.

However after about a gap of four days the coverage begins. The three days of reporting denote the period when actual deliberations were taking place. Here again we find, that on 1 February 1979, when the meeting was inaugurated the coverage is more than the next day, which was continuation of the proceedings. But the last coverage that was done, was again more than before. This was naturally due to the fact that the newspaper was covering the final resolution adopted by the meeting.

When we view this coverage, keeping in mind the fact, that The Times of India, in its daily issue covers 50 columns of news, and on Sunday it increases to 80 columns, this coverage is meagre. The paper did not give lot of space to cover the meeting of such an importance.

The negligibility of the news items is more noticeable in terms of percentage of the coverage done in terms of total publication of the news.

Table 3
PERCENTAGE OF COVERAGE

Date	% of columns	% of length	% of words
27.1.79	0.6	0.45	0.3
1.2.79	1.5	1.04	1.5
2.2.79	0.2	0.60	0.4
3.2.79	1.6	1.70	1.4

The ratio of percentage corresponds with the actual coverage done, which itself is very little.

From the display of the news point of view we find that no special treatment was given. No matter what the coverage was, the meeting failed to hit the headlines or the front page. All the news was printed on the regular page devoted to foreign news. Even on this page, no noteworthy display was made. This gets further substantiated by the fact that the paper relied on the Indian news agency services for its news; and did not even depute a special correspondent for this purpose.

It is important from the stand point of Indian newspaper coverage, that the paper did not really give great coverage to the meeting either in terms of content or space. For that matter it was perhaps less than a modest coverage.

This kind of reporting by The Times of India can be viewed as either an overcautious-deliberate-effort to play down a meeting which was a conscious move to consolidate the stand of the non-aligned countries on one of the burning issues; which has defied the human rights over a century and where people are still struggling for freedom; or a policy of giving an equal treatment to all news regarding international relations.

(b) The Patriot

The Patriot gave a lot of coverage to this meeting, the substantiality of which can be seen both in the information richness of the content as well as the amount of space devoted. The main thrust of the news coverage was primarily the political and security issues discussed at the Bureau meeting. This varied from the question of giving support at all levels to the liberation movements in Southern Africa and to the analysis of Western attitude on this question. The news items gave an all round and balanced report of the meeting.

The pivotal question for which the meeting was held was to review the situation in Southern Africa and take measures of solidarity and mutual assistance to strengthen and intensify concrete action by the nonaligned countries. This theme was emphasized in all the news coverages by projecting different steps taken in this direction. Thereby informing the readership about the deliberations at the meeting.

As a result of this, support to national liberation movements in Zimbabwe/Rhodesia; Namibia and South Africa was covered by the paper. Not only was this issue repeated time and again, but different angles, and methods of rendering support like - an all out armed struggle; or support both at diplomatic and military levels - were published in detail.

The support to the liberation movement was to be given by strengthening and consolidating the stand of non-aligned countries in their functioning within the UN and OAU. Due to the international nature of the problems of Southern Africa mobilization of world public opinion was necessary. This aspect was also covered by the paper.

The policy of apartheid and of creating Bantustans in South Africa was criticised in all international forums. The nonaligned countries too, equivocally condemned this policy and sought help to correct it. The coverage on this issue reflected the views of the Afro-Asian leaders which got wide circulation among the people.

Due space was given to the question of recognising the Patriotic Front as the sole representative of peoples of Zimbabwe and the necessity of increasing support to SWAPO and to conducting fair elections in Namibia.

Besides all major political issues, the Patriot gave coverage to the attitudes of the Western countries towards the whole question of South Africa. The news item not only entailed the new strategy of the westerners but also included the measures taken by them like strengthening the oppressive mechanism of the racist regimes of South Africa. The account further mentions the behaviour of the western countries in the United Nations.⁽³⁰⁾ This coverage mirrored the understanding of the paper on the question of Southern Africa.

⁽³⁰⁾ Patriot, 3 February 1979, p.3

It gave detailed coverage to the role played by India at the meeting and its stand on Kampuchea.

It was felt that the political measures of diplomatic manoeuvring, military embargo become effective when it is duly supported by economic sanctions. The Bureau Meeting had insisted on the economic sanctions including an oil embargo against the racist regime in South Africa. Substantial stress was given in the coverage to the economic issues. Not only was this need highlighted but simultaneously an effort was made to explain the behaviour of Western bloc, which benefitted from non-approval of the economic sanctions.

It was also pointed out that an economic pressure was to be made effective through embargoes and sanctions on the minority regimes. In order to strengthen the liberation movements, redoubled aid economic, military and technological - has to flow into the liberation movements and to the front line states. This point was well taken by various news stories in the Patriot.

It was felt that the African economic and social development, which has remained underdeveloped due to the colonial rule, has to be activated through international co-operation. This plea for co-operation echoed in the news coverage.

The non-aligned movement has a very loose organisational structure. Information regarding the members of the

Co-ordinating Bureau, and its functions was given through the first few coverages. Similarly, the question of Kampuchean representation - was a potential fireball and was to be kept under damp cloth. The newspaper reported the efforts made to keep this question shelved as far as this meeting was concerned.

The entire movement of non-alignment is based on certain principles. The conference reiterated these principles and highlighted those regarding anti-imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism and racism. Giving detailed report of these principles, the news items also emphasised on keeping non-alignment beyond the narrow ideological strings and inclinations. It stated the fact that non-alignment was and would remain an independent bloc factor. It was only then that it could effectively lend support to the liberation movements and oppose foreign intervention or interference and domination. This would also help the countries to maintain their independence and sovereignty.

This shows that not only did the Patriot give large coverage to the meeting, but also tried to project the significant factors. In order to provide a deeper understanding of the problem of Southern Africa it also gave an account of western attitude, the causes motivating such an attitude, and the net economic advantages gained by individual western countries through continued relationship.

Apart from the detailed and exhaustive coverage, the newspaper went on to analyse the final resolution of the meeting through its editorial which thus assessed the meeting. "The unanimity of the views of the Bureau Meeting is a significant success in the context of the distortions and observations which are being injected slyly in the nonaligned movement". (31)

The extensive coverage done by the newspaper is evident from the amount of space given to the news items. Even the frequency of the appearance of the news on the Bureau conference is higher than the Times of India. Out of the 23 sample issues of the Patriot, 11 issues covered the meeting. The following table shows coverage in terms of columns, length and words. (page 58)

The Patriot did full justification to this extraordinary Bureau meeting, not only in terms of conveying the message but also in terms of area. The above table shows that the coverage varied from 1/4th of a column to 1½ columns. We find that when the meeting was about to start i.e. from 31 January onwards the coverage was not less than 3/4th column, had a length of 32 cms or more and was written in 422 words or more.

(31) Patriot: 'Editorial', February 5, 1979.

Table 4

SPACE ALLOCATION FOR THE MOZAMBIQUE CONFERENCE BY THE PATRIOT ⁽³²⁾

1. 0.	Date	Day	Total coverage of the meeting			Source	Display
			Columns	Length cms	Words		
	25.1.79	Thursday	3/4	41.4	581	Special corres- pondent	Front page, second lead*
	26.1.79	Friday	1/4	16.5	224	PTI	Page 3, centre
	30.1.79	Tuesday	less than 1/4	7.8	120	PTI	page 3, column 7
	31.1.79	Wednesday	3/4	32	422	PTI/AFP	page 3
5	1.2.79	Thursday	3/4	33.8	502	PTI	page 3, left hand top
6	2.2.79	Friday	3/4	45.2	685	PTI/AFP	page 3, right hand top
7	3.2.79	Saturday	1½	68.9	1247	PTI	page 3, headline; 4 columns
8	5.2.79	Monday	1	58	622	PTI, Press	
9	6.2.79	Tuesday	1	60.5	876	Dept. Iraq	Editorial
10	7.2.79	Wednesday	1/4	25	380	UNI	
11	8.2.79	Thursday	less than 1/4	11	186	Tanjung Pool	

(32) For detailed tabulation see Appendix II, Table 4.

However, the maximum coverage, and information was given on the 3 February, when the final declaration was adopted. In order to report in detail we find that the paper in total has given a space of $1\frac{1}{2}$ columns, covering 68.9 cm and published 1247 words. This trend was followed up for the next two days, when reactions from other countries on this declaration were given to the Press.

It is but natural, to have less coverage after the event is over and before it recedes into the pages of history. It is for this reason that there is a sudden fall in the coverage which at the end of that last day is merely 11 centimetres in length and carried about 186 words.

From display point of view, the newspaper has got its own method of treatment. By and large, most of the news was given on the foreign affairs (p. 3). But the story was placed according to its importance. The news on 25 February hit the headlines and was displayed on the front page as the lead story. Moreover special treatment was done by giving the headline a caption. (33)

The extent of coverage of the meeting and the amount of area occupied by the news becomes very clear when it is seen in terms of the percentage of the coverage. The newspaper, while giving space for this purpose, really devoted a considerable percentage.

(33) Captions are generally given under pictures and to classify a set of news items like the news published under "Today in Parliament". However, this particular item read: "MAPUTO NONALIGNMENT MEET - (Caption) "India to Oppose Polpot Move" (Headline of Two columns).

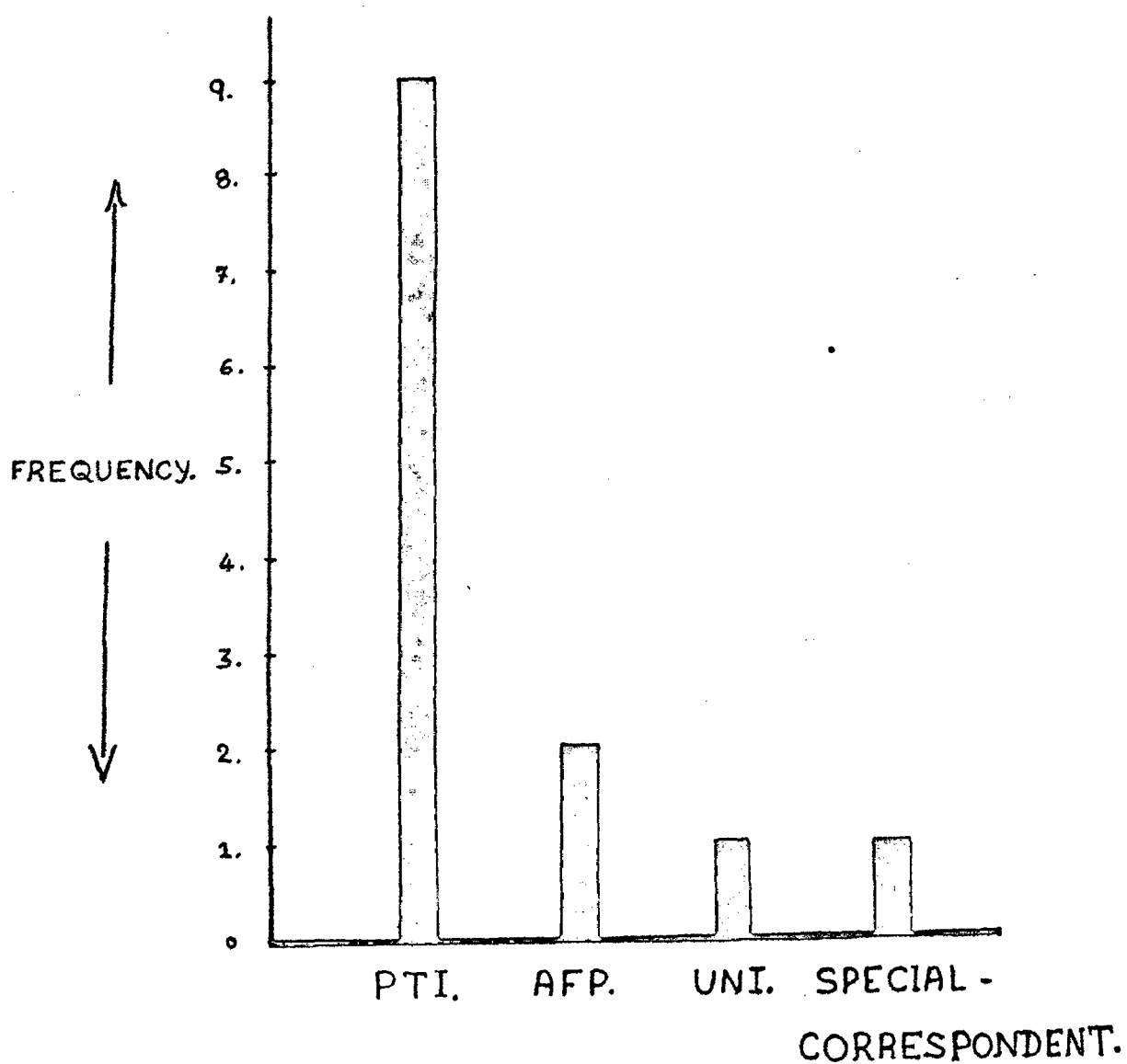
The following table gives an idea of the total percentage of space shared by the news on nonaligned meeting on a particular day.

Table 5

THE PERCENTAGE OF COVERAGE

Sl. No.	Date	% of columns	% of length	% of words
1	25.1.79	1.5	2.09	1.5
2	26.1.79	0.5	0.5	0.4
3	30.1.79	less than 0.5	0.25	0.3
4	31.1.79	1.5	1.6	1.3
5	1.2.79	1.5	1.8	1.6
6	2.2.79	1.6	1.5	1.7
7	3.2.79	4.5	3.5	3.3
8	5.2.79	2.7	3	2
9	6.2.79	2.7	3.05	2.2
10	7.2.79	0.4	0.12	0.4
11	8.2.79	0.05	0.05	0.05

The Patriot is perhaps the only Indian national daily that gave such a great coverage to the nonaligned Bureau meeting. The reporting was not just detailed and exhaustive

FIGURE: 3.THE SOURCES OF
INFORMATION.

but also revealed the complex factors in a comprehensible manner. Naturally, all this required a lot of space, and we find that the paper has done full justice - even area wise to the subject.

The variety of sources also indicates the efforts made for such a coverage. The main sources were the Indian and the foreign news agencies. Maximum news items were taken from the Press Trust of India (PTI), as is shown in the figure (number 3, page 61).

Apart from the news agencies, an item was covered by a special correspondent and an editorial was published.

This kind of treatment of the subject, in which full respect and importance was given through placing it on front page and making an indepth review through an editorial denotes the degree of recognition given to the meeting by the Patriot. The coverage did not just give the proceedings or the final resolution passed by the co-ordinating Bureau but also projected the Western view on the subject and at times highlighted such issues as the need for a military embargo on the minority regime. These are some of the points which may not have been brought to public notice, but for the coverage done.

Therefore, one can safely say that the Patriot has championed the cause of the nonaligned movement. It asserted and applauded the relevance of the policy of non-alignment

and the attempts to support the liberation movements of the world through its reporting of the meeting of the co-ordinating Bureau of the nonaligned countries.

(c) The New York Times

The New York Times, being one of the leading American newspapers was chosen for comparative analysis. The newspaper in its solitary report on the co-ordinating Bureau Meeting just gave coverage to the attempts made by the Heng Samarin Government to secure recognition at the nonaligned meeting. The recognition of either of delegations - the one sent by the ousted Polpot regime, and the other by Heng Samarin - was a question that was crucial and full of controversies which had all the potentialities to divide the nonaligned movement.

Only this point was given in the news item and the efforts made to put the issue in cold storage by giving 'observer status' to both the delegations found place in the newspaper.

Thus the New York Times not only had an indifferent attitude towards the meeting but also focussed attention on an issue which was being labouriously avoided at the Bureau meeting which was primarily called to consider the problems of South Africa.

This can be clearly seen even in the quantitative aspects of the coverage. Out of a sample of 23 issues, the New York Times covered the Mozambique conference in only one issue.

Prior to the single coverage done on 28 January no news or any mention of nonalignment was made.

The coverage on 28 January 1979 was very little. It occupied about 1/4th of a column or 39 cms and was written in 760 words.

Keeping in mind the fact that it was a Sunday Edition, consisting more sections and coverage than the week days this news item becomes insignificant and goes in the background. It is 0.12 per cent of the total columns, or 0.14 per cent of the total length and is about 0.17 per cent of the total printed words.

However, the news was printed on the sixth page on the right hand side top columns (5-6) and was filed by a special correspondent and only the question on which there was some difference on opinion was projected. The absence of all other crucial aspects of the meeting speaks for itself. It clearly indicates the attitude of the paper and perhaps of the United States of America on the issue of Southern Africa. This attitude is similar to the one when it is prudent not to express anything in print or through similar gesture, when even a nod would have wide implications.

(d) The Daily Telegraph (London)

The British daily newspaper, the Daily Telegraph which had during the period of the lock out of the London Times, occupied a more important place. It gave considerable coverage to the political issues under debate at the meeting. As Britain was more concerned about the deliberations over Southern Africa, and particularly Zimbabwe, the reporting revolved around these only.

The paper like the American newspaper, was greatly concerned about the fate of the Kampuchean delegation at the meeting and viewed it as a "sizeable spanner" that was hurled by Peking into the works of nonaligned states, meeting in forms of the delegations from the vanquished Polpot regime"⁽³⁴⁾ The newspaper gave a detailed report on this issue. Giving this much importance to an issue which was painstakingly being shelved, as it did not form the part of agenda, reflects the attitude of the paper towards the main theme of the Bureau meeting.

It also highlighted the efforts and the steps taken by the nonaligned countries to support the liberation movements of Southern Africa, and covered the basic principles of the movement that referred to fight against colonialism, imperialism, racism and zionism. The coverage also mentioned the membership structure of the Coordinating Bureau, and the question of recognizing the Patriot Front as the sole

⁽³⁴⁾ The Daily Telegraph (London) 30th Jan. 1974, p. 4 col. 'd'

representative of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and the issue of Namibian election.

Yet there is difference between mere mention of issues, and an extensive report on them. The Daily Telegraph just gave lot of importance to Kampuchea and ignored other issues.

The paper clearly blocked out all the economic issues and the question of applying economic sanction against the racist regime of Zimbabwe and South Africa. For that matter, it did not write even a line on the demands made by the non-aligned countries, in which they urged Britain to shoulder responsibility to resolve the problem of Zimbabwe.

Not only was the coverage poor, but was even distorted, as is clearly seen from the letter that was written to the editor of the Daily Telegraph from Yugoslav Embassy clarifying and correcting the report of the newspaper. This letter published on 8 February 1979, is a classic example of how the news about the nonaligned countries is distorted by the Western media. The statement in the 26 January issue described the meeting as a "Cuba orchestrated campaign to mobilize third world support to black guerilla movement in South Africa";⁽³⁵⁾ whereas the Embassy notified, 'the meeting was a regular event of the nonaligned countries to keep up their tradition of anti-colonialism, imperialism, and neo-colonialist tendencies.'⁽³⁶⁾

⁽³⁵⁾ The Daily Telegraph (London), 26 January 1979, p.4, col.'d'.

⁽³⁶⁾ The Daily Telegraph (London), 8 February 1979, "Letter to the Editor".

This kind of reporting focusses attention on the fact that the British newspaper, so worded the news story, as to change the entire meaning and thrust of the meeting.

The coverage done by the newspaper corresponds with the space devoted to the conference. Out of the sample of 23 issues; the news on the meeting appeared in just 3 issues of the paper. As is seen from the table:

Table 6

SPACE ALLOCATION FOR THE MOZAMBIQUE CONFERENCE BY THE
DAILY TELEGRAPH ⁽³⁷⁾

Sl. No.	Date	Day	Total coverage of the Meeting			. Source	Display
			Cols.	Length cms	Words		
1	26.1.79	Friday	Less than 1/4	7.1	120	Diplomatic correspondent	p.4 col.4
2	30.1.79	Tuesday	Less than 1/4	24.1	389	-do-	-do-
3	7.2.79	Wednesday	-	9	115	Letter to Editor	

It is indicated from the above table that the coverage by the newspaper was little. In fact, only two news items were related to the actual conference. The

⁽³⁷⁾ For detailed calculation see Appendix No. 4, Table No.10.

reporting in terms of space was negligible to the extent of receding into oblivion. Even the display was not noteworthy, and no attempt was made in this direction.

Even when we compare this coverage with the total coverage done on that day, in terms of percentage we find that:

Table 7
PERCENTAGE OF COVERAGE

Sl. No.	Date	% of column	% of length	% of words
1	26.1.79	0.1	0.1	0.2
2	30.1.79	0.2	0.2	0.2
3	7.2.79	0.09	0.09	0.1

Thus the Daily Telegraph did not give much importance to the meeting. Though a special correspondent had been deputed for this purpose, all the aspects of the meeting were not reported. The fact of not even mentioning the economic issues can be an indicator of turning a deaf ear to the plea of economic sanctions against the minority regimes. The Daily Telegraph, not only distorted the news to some extent, but also failed to create a clear or positive picture of the nonaligned Bureau meeting.

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

The individual content analysis of the four newspapers leads us to the conclusion that all of them highlight some or other aspect of the working of the conference. However, when we try to put one against the other in order to compare them it seems that the Times of India and The Patriot together imparted greater news on the conference than the American or the British newspapers.

In terms of contents the Times of India in its precise and compact coverage dealt with all the important politico-economic issues and the basic objectives that were being sought. The Patriot not only gave an exhaustive and indepth coverage but keeping in tune with its policy also projected the Western attitude towards the question of South Africa. This is something that was not done by the Times of India. The Patriot had an editorial on this subject and through it revealed different angles of the meeting hitherto not mentioned. The Indian newspapers jointly and individually attributed considerable importance to the need for increasing the aid to the liberation movements in Africa and to provide moral, material and military assistance to them and the frontline states.

As a contrast to this the New York Times adopted an indifferent attitude towards the movements and the issue of Southern Africa and just mentioned the problem of Kampuchean delegation.

The Daily Telegraph not only gave more coverage to the Bureau meeting but also emphasized the attempts of the non-aligned countries to increase support to the liberation movement. However, not a word was written on the question of the economic embargo or sanctions that were sought to be imposed by the nonaligned countries.

The coverage of the four newspapers qualitatively varied according to the primacy given to the issues. Yet there is a clear inadequacy and insufficiency on part of the western media. Certain important issues were ignored. It is noteworthy that the Indian papers obtained news from the international news agencies controlled by these two countries, but this news found no place in newspapers of their own countries.

The Indian national dailies relied on the national and international news agencies to gather information and gave fair coverage. On the other hand the Western papers used special diplomatic correspondents who ignored or minimised the importance of the news about the meeting and its advantages.

All in all, the pattern of coverage seems to be very clear. India being a leading members of the nonaligned movement is naturally more concerned about and interested in, the proceedings of the Co-ordinating Bureau, and the decisions taken there. On the other hand, the Western bloc

was indifferent towards the very questions under consideration. This got amplified in the treatment of coverage by the respective newspapers. Thus there is a discrepancy in the amount of news given by all the four newspapers.

CHAPTER - V

THE PREPARATORY MEETING OF THE CO-ORDINATING
BUREAU OF THE NONALIGNED COUNTRIES : COLOMBO
(6-9 June 1979)

The news coverage of the preparatory meeting of the co-ordinating Bureau of the nonaligned countries held at Colombo, revolved around four major factors that formed the working agenda of the meeting. These were:

- (1) The basic principles
- (2) The political and security issues
- (3) The economic issues
- (4) The membership and structural issues.

The newspapers under study highlighted either some or all of these issues, depending upon the degree of importance they attached to them. However, the study got circumscribed due to the fact that this meeting was held during the period in which The Times of India was on strike.⁽³⁸⁾ Hence, the content analysis was restricted to the remaining three newspapers, i.e., the Patriot, The New York Times and the Daily Telegraph.

The study of each newspaper indicates the following:

(38) The Times of India was on strike from 30 May to 22 August 1979.

(a) The Patriot:

The Patriot as earlier, covered the meeting in great detail. The extent of coverage is clearly indicated from the amount of information it imparted through various news items and editorials published on this subject.

As the Colombo Conference was a prelude to the Havana Summit, which was scheduled to be held in September 1979, it had on its agenda some of the most controversial and explosive issues; which were primarily political in nature. The most important issue that led to prolonged discussions and thereby a lot of coverage in the paper was the Arab move to expel or suspend Egypt from the nonalignment movement, for its unilateral peace treaty with Israel. This threatened the very integrity of the movement. The newspaper not only focussed its attention on this issue, but, also projected various view points taken by the member countries. The Indian stand, of supporting Egypt and taking all steps to avoid any move of expulsion or suspension was covered in detail. It was felt that as Egypt was one of the founder members of the movement, it could muster enough support to defeat the Arab stand.

The Kampuchean question, which had been shelved at the Mozambique Conference of the Co-ordinating Bureau, figured prominently in the preparatory meetings at Colombo. The problem of giving credentials to either of the Kampuchean delegations sent by the ousted Polpot regime and the other

by the Heng-Samarin government tended to split the movement into two clear camps. The paper highlighted various aspects of the issue and also gave its historical background and the present political situations within the country. It recounted the difficulties faced by the nonaligned countries in dealing with this recognition problem.

Besides these two major issues, which found lot of coverage, the issues of the right of the Palestinian people to have an independent state was reported. Most of the problems of international relations, may they be political, security, or economic in nature, are not just limited to the nonaligned forum; but are also dealt in the United Nations. Hence the paper stressed the need of a unified action by the nonaligned nations within the United Nations. It felt that instead of having divergent opinions, a united movement could do more constructive job for development.

The nonaligned countries felt that dispute between the members of the movement should be settled peacefully and amicably within the movement. It was proposed that some sort of mechanism for the Pacific settlement of disputes and differences should be established for this purpose. The news story pointed out to the need for such an attempt on the part of the member countries, which would help in reducing tension among nations.

India is not only a founding member of the movement, but has right from its inception guided the course of the

nonaligned movement. The Colombo meeting was faced with a number of crucial problems that were going to be decisive factors for the movement. The Patriot gave ample importance to the Indian efforts in averting the preempted split in the movement at the preparatory meeting itself. The success of the attempts lay in shelving the Kampuchean issue for the Havana Summit and diffusing the Arab efforts to suspend, if not expell, Egypt from the movement.

The entire movement of the nonaligned countries is bound together by certain basic principles that follow the policy guideline for the member countries. At the meeting, with the threat of a split looming large, the prime concern of the Bureau members was to enhance unity, solidarity and cooperation among the members. These principles, were emphasized and reiterated by the participants. This was mirrored in the paper. The news coverage pin-pointed the need for unity and solidarity. The thrust of the movement has been constant opposition to imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, racism and zionism. As a direct result of this, the movement has supported all the liberation struggles, and, struggles against foreign domination and interventions. The paper put focus on these principles and their importance in the present day international relations. It was pointed out that nonalignment was conceived as an independent non-bloc policy to preserve and protect their national independence.

This independence has to be not just in the political sense of the term, but has to ensure self-sufficiency in the economic sector too. It was felt that there was a need to formulate a new developmental strategy for the developing countries of which the nonaligned countries were an integral part. This call for a new international strategy got emphasized in the reports of the newspaper though the importance of indigenous developmental schemes was realized, manipulations at the global level were also discussed. The Bureau reviewed the international economic situation and the state of negotiations within the United Nations. The failure of UNCTAD V was also deliberated upon in the meeting. All the factors were highlighted by the paper.

The movement, which has over the years enlarged in its number, has its own criteria of membership and its own informal patterns of functioning. The Patriot in addition to this, also enlightened its readers about the managerial aspects of the nonaligned movement.

When we take stock of the contents of the news items we find that all the major issues, may they be political or economic regarding basic objectives or membership, found place in the newspaper in accordance to their importance.

The detailed account of the Bureau meeting by the newspaper called for greater space allocation. We find that out of 19 sample issues of the Patriot, 13 issues carried

news on the meeting. The coverage occupied space in terms of columns, length and words printed by the paper. The following table of space allocation reveals that:

The coverage in table 8 indicates, that the Patriot did not publish any news on 2 and 3 of June, otherwise there was a steady coverage which extended beyond the actual period of the meeting.

If we make a detailed study, we find that the coverage for the first few days, before the meeting began, vacillated between 1/4th of a column to 1½ columns. However, from the day of the inaugural session till the closure of the meeting there is an increase in the coverage.

The space allocation reached its maximum on 7 June, the day when the deliberations at the meeting were at its peak. The coverage was 4-1/4 columns. Not only did the paper give the news report but also published a detailed article dealing with the uphill task faced by the nonaligned group. After this massive coverage there was a reduction in space which varied between 2 to 3 columns. This variation was during the period when the meeting was in session and attempts to arrive at a common consensus were being made.

But on 11 June 1979, the paper gave an exhaustive report on the final action programme and the agenda for the Havana Summit. This needed a greater area in terms of columns and the paper gave 3 columns for it.

Table 8

SPACE ALLOCATION FOR THE COLOMBO CONFERENCE BY THE PATRIOT(39)

Sl. No.	Date	Day	Total coverage of the Meeting			Source	Display
			cols.	Length cms	Words		
1.	30.5.79	Wednesday	1	54.1	841	PTI, UNI	Front page
2.	31.5.79	Thursday	1/4	17.4	226	AP	'Foreign News' p. 3
3.	1.6.79	Friday	1½	86.7	867	PTI, UNI, AFP, Edit	Editorial p. 3
4.	4.6.79	Monday	3/4	40.4	655	Correspondent	page 3
5.	5.6.79	Tuesday	1¼	68.5	1083	PTI, UNI	page 3, col. 4-5*
6.	6.6.79	Wednesday	1¼	69.7	1119	PTI, UNI	page 3
7.	7.6.79	Thursday	4¼	228.5	3296	PTI, Article	Front page
8.	8.6.79	Friday	2	73	1125	UNI, PTI	Front page* (below 2 col. picture)
9.	9.6.79	Saturday	2½	77.6	1147	PTI	Front page*
10.	10.6.79	Sunday	2½	81.2	1221	UNI, PTI	Front page*
11.	11.6.79	Monday	3	153.8	1790	UNI, PTI	Lead story*
12.	12.6.79	Tuesday	1	61	528	Edit.	Editorial
13.	13.6.79	Wednesday	1/4	37.9	550	UNI-Tass	page 3

(39) For details see Appendix II, Table 5.

*The Heading had a caption, classifying the news.

It is usual for any newspaper to lessen its coverage towards the end. In the case of the Patriot it gave an editorial, of one column, that gave a resume of the conference and ended its coverage on the 13 June 1979, by a small news item of 1/4 column, dealing with the impressions of the External Affairs Minister of India on the Colombo Conference.

From the display point of view, the Patriot gave the news either on its regular page of 'foreign news' or on the front page. By and large, the conference news was displayed on the front page after 7 June 1979. It always gave news under a captioned headline classifying the information of the nonaligned meeting.

The magnitude of the coverage becomes clear when seen in comparison with the total coverage done on that day. In terms of percentage share the Patriot gave more space to the Bureau meeting than any other news.

The Table on percentage of coverage shows that:

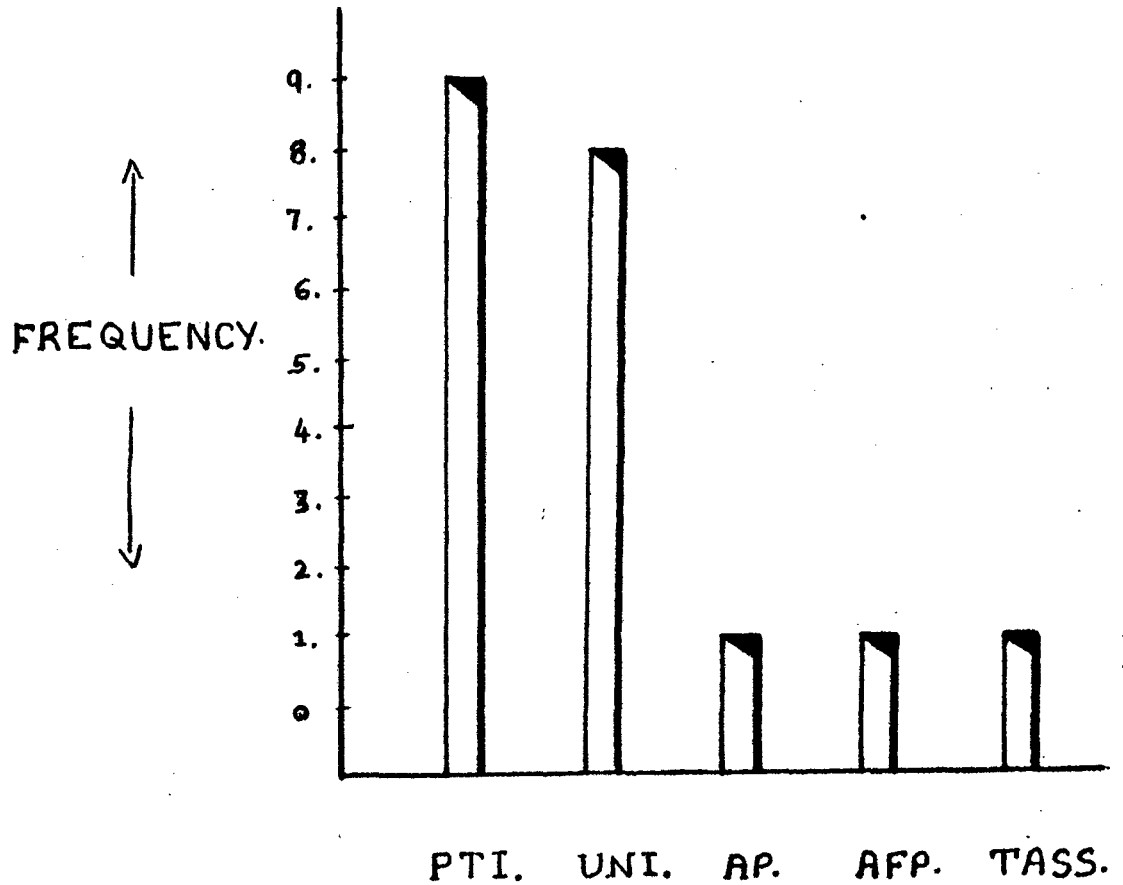
Table 9

PERCENTAGE OF COVERAGE

Sl. No.	Date	% columns	% length	% words
1	30.5.79	2.7	2.7	2.1
2	31.5.79	0.6	0.8	0.5
3	1.6.79	4.0	4.3	3.2
4	4.6.79	2.0	2.0	1.7
5	5.6.79	3.8	3.5	2.7
6	6.6.79	3.8	3.5	2.8
7	7.6.79	11.5	11.5	9.3
8	8.6.79	5.5	4.0	2.8
9	9.6.79	3.2	3.9	2.4
10	10.6.79	3.6	3.9	2.9
11	11.6.79	8.1	7.8	6.5
12	12.6.79	2.7	3.08	2.5
13	13.6.79	0.6	1.9	1.3

Not only was the coverage indepth but it highlighted all the aspects under consideration. It also dealt with pros and cons of different issues, their impact and the kind of herculeian task faced by the participants of the conference. It is not just enough to write a factual account

FIGURE: 4.
THE SOURCES OF
INFORMATION.



of an event, but also one has to analyse various angles of a particular issues. The Patriot had done indepth study of the conference in two editorials and had given special importance to the Kampuchean question by publishing a feature article written by an eminent diplomat.

The thoroughness of the coverage is indicated by the sources of news which varied from national news agencies to international western and eastern news agencies. The frequency of derivation from a particular source is indicated in the figure (Number 4, page 82). Apart from the news agencies a news item dealing with an interview was sent by the correspondent, two editorials were written and a special feature was published.

Hence from all angles - content, display and coverage - the Patriot did a substantial justice to the crucial preparatory meeting of the coordinating Bureau, held at Colombo.

(b) The New York Times

As compared to the coverage of the Mozambique conference done by The News York Times, the Colombo conference was better reported by the paper. The Bureau meeting faced major issues that were political in nature, and hence, found place in the American paper.

In fact, the entire reporting revolved around just those two issues that endangered the very continuation of the nonaligned movement. These were - The Arab move to expell or suspend Egypt for signing the 'Camp David Accord' with Israel; and the fate of the Kampuchean delegations.

The coverage on the question of the Kampuchean delegations not only gave the stands taken by the Asian and Southeast Asian states, but also a detailed account of the views expressed by those who were anti-Communist, while justifying their support to either the Polpot or the Heng-Samarin delegations. The paper went ahead to publicise the differences and disputes within the movement, which might have led to a break in the united forum.

The Egyptian question was perhaps more delicate and crucial, than the Kampuchean issue, which would have solved itself between now and September. (40)

(40) The New York Times, 9 June 1979, p. A-5 (1-2).

The Arab move to expell or suspend Egypt from its membership of the movement for its peace treaty with Israel, met with great opposition and sparked off heated debate among the participants.

These two issues not only consumed a lot of time and attracted considerable attention, but also deadlocked the proceedings for a long time. There was a great controversy over the wordings of the final communique. The main difference of opinion being on the problem of referring back the Egyptian and Kampuchean questions to the Havana Summit for final decisions. The New York Times gave coverage to the differences that sprang up at this juncture.

As a matter of fact the paper took upon itself to report only the diversities that were existing within the movement. The news stories regarding the meeting said nothing else but the internal fractions and frictions of the member states. The analysis indicates, that all other matters that were under discussion were ignored by the paper. Not even a inkling was written on the constructive economic and political moves of the nonaligned movement.

This kind of a negative attitude is also mirrored through the amount of area covered by the paper in reporting the Colombo Conference. A sample of 19 issues of The New York Times was taken for analysis, out of which only 5 issues carried news about the coordinating Bureau

Table 10

ALLOCATION OF SPACE FOR THE COLOMBO CONFERENCE BY THE NEW YORK TIMES⁽⁴¹⁾

Sl. No.	Date	Day	Total coverage of the Meeting			Source	Display
			Columns	Length cms	Words		
1.	1.6.79	Friday	1 $\frac{1}{8}$	75.7*	1423*	Special correspondent	Front page lead
2.	8.6.79	Friday	1/4	27.6	497	-do-	page 11
3.	9.6.79	Saturday	1/4	28.4	522	-do-	page 5, main story
4.	10.6.79	Sunday	1/4	31.4	571	Special correspondent and Reuters	-do-
5.	11.6.79	Monday	1 $\frac{3}{8}$	96.5	812	Special correspondent	page 4

(41) Details see, Appendix III, Table 8.

meeting. The table gives a detailed picture of area coverage in columns, length and words.

The coverage of the New York Times in terms of the space has to be compared with its total number of pages. As the paper is voluminous, the news about the meeting is really negligible. The paper has devoted very little space, and it is interesting to note that though the coverage on 1 June was $1\frac{1}{8}$ of a column and 75.7 cms in length, the actual part dealing with the nonaligned conference was just 11 lines i.e. a total of 79 words were published.

Even during the time when the meeting was actually in session the coverage did not go beyond $1/4$ th of a column. It is perhaps due to the fact that the paper only published the clashes that occurred at the debates. It is only the last coverage which was maximum and shared $1\frac{1}{2}$ of columns.

When this entire coverage is seen in terms of percentage of coverage its insignificance becomes more glaring. It is at this point that the indifference of the paper is seen, as is clearly indicated by the percentage table.

Table 11
PERCENTAGE OF COVERAGE

Sl. No.	Date	% of column	% of length	% of words
1	1.6.79	0.7	0.8	0.4
2	8.6.79	0.2	0.3	0.2
3	9.6.79	0.2	0.3	0.2
4	10.6.79	0.2	0.3	0.2
5	11.6.79	3	4	2.2

Neither in terms of display nor in terms of coverage The New York Times gave any importance to the co-ordinating Bureau meeting.

If we take an overall view of the contents and extent of coverage by The New York Times we find that it gave stress on, and projected only those two issues that had raised lot of storm in the Bureau meeting. The reporting went on to describe the hot words and comments that were exchanged among the delegates; and the threat of violence that were given.

It shows the one track attitude and hostility towards the non-aligned movement. Surprisingly enough,

though most of them were dispatches of a special correspondent, not a word was written on economic and other decisions that were taken. Thus the New York Times did not do full justice to the meeting and put forward the negative aspects and evaded the positive ones.

(c) The Daily Telegraph

The British attitude of indifference and negativism towards the movement is clearly manifested by the fact that the Daily Telegraph did not report about the meeting. Perhaps, it did not regard the preparatory conference of the nonaligned nations of any particular significance. It went ahead and blocked all the information about this event.

Comparative Analysis

Flow of news regarding an important international event is not just restricted to one region or the other, but forms an integral part of the international communication system. The coverage of the nonaligned preparatory meeting that was held at Colombo was done by two newspapers. One Indian and the other representing the Western world.

When we compare the two newspapers we find that The Patriot gave a detailed indepth report of the meeting - whereas the New York Times coverage was inadequate. In terms of contents of the newspapers the Indian daily covered all the important political, economic and issues related to the basic principles of the movement, gave clear cut, precise news about the events and analysed their implications. On the other hand, the American newspaper just highlighted the discussions on Kampuchean and Egyptian issues and ignored other positive subjects on agenda. This kind of coverage creates an impression that the nonalignment movement is no longer unified but is on the verge of a break up.

The Bureau meeting was of immense importance as it was to decide the course of the Havana Summit and was faced with questions that were to set the fate of the movement in general. The Patriot, besides giving factual account wrote editorials and special articles to weigh the pros and cons

of various issues, and brought to light different policy options left open for the delegates. But The New York Times made no such effort and just conveyed the bitter exchanges to its readers.

This unfavourable and negative approach of The New York Times is reflected in the space devoted for this meeting. With an exception of one coverage all the rest were either one column or 1/4th of a column. Naturally in this limited space not much could be written on the meeting. But the Patriot gave sufficient space and its maximum coverage was worth $4\frac{1}{4}$ columns.

Though the American newspaper had sent a special correspondent to cover the meeting, the despatches lacked all round treatment of the subject and had a biased and one way angle of presentation. On the other hand Indian newspaper did not leave any source unexplored and drew news from both national and international news agencies.

One cannot but remark that at least The New York Times gave coverage to the meeting - may it be positive or negative stand - but the British newspaper, ignored the meeting to the extent of not printing a line on it.

Thus the decisions of the coordinating Bureau meeting were adequately conveyed to the Indian readership and its own non-appraising manner to the Western World by the American paper.

CHAPTER - VI

THE HAVANA SUMMIT

(3 to 9 September 1979)

The crucial and the most important summit conference of the non-aligned countries, held in Havana in September 1979, was widely covered by the selected newspapers. The quantity and message varied according to their respective national preferences. The information communicated by them can be divided into four broad categories:

- (1) The basic principles of the movement
- (2) The political and security issues
- (3) The membership and structural issues
- (4) The economic and developmental issues

Each newspaper under consideration covered all or some of these categories in their news items; separate content analysis of the four newspapers, i.e. The Times of India, Patriot, The New York Times and the Daily Telegraph (London) indicates that:

- (a) The Times of India (Delhi)

The Times of India, gave a large coverage to the Havana Summit during the period of the conference. The

major focus of the news items was on the political and security issues faced by the summit delegates. Right from the preparatory stages of the conference political diversities and controversies loomed large. The coverage of the meeting had four basic points around which the news items were woven.

The most ticklish and thorny issue that attracted the maximum attention of the leaders was the Arab move to suspend Egypt from the movement, for signing a peace treaty with Israel. The Camp David Accord was labelled as "selling of the interests of the Palestinian people". The West Asian question sparked off a controversial issue of suspending the membership of an original member of the movement. The Arab attempts against Egypt were not just restricted to condemn the Peace Treaty, but went to the extent of taking an action against it. The Times of India gave a lot of coverage to various positions taken by different members states. The feverish attempts by the moderate nations led by Yugoslavia and India to tone down the wrath of the extremists seemed to occupy the major part of the proceedings. The coverage by the newspaper dealt in great detail different dimensions and at times different flavours of attitudes of the speakers at the Summit.

The divisive regional issues and disputes threatened to narrowly circumscribe the functioning of the summit.

There was greater emphasis on inter-state disputes resulting in scant attention to global issues. The Kampuchean issue was yet another potential explosive that endangered the very spirit of the movement. The debate over the legitimacy of either of the Kampuchean delegation i.e. one sent by the ousted Pol Pot regime, and the other by the Heng Samarin Government, tended to surface the ideological diversities within the movement. The newspaper not only highlighted the delicacy of the issue, but also forewarned about the very existence of a united movement. The Kampuchean issue tended to vertically split the movement, into pro-Soviet (led by Vietnam) and the moderate camps (led by India and Yugoslavia). Furthermore, the reporting on this issue, weighed the pros and cons and the attempts that were being done. It dealt in detail the steps that could be taken to avoid such a catastrophe in future.

Perhaps the entire Summit, was right from the beginning, engulfed in an ideological apprehension. Never before had the member states struggled so hard to maintain an ideological identity. This generalization is based on the reporting of the newspaper. The very fact that the summit was being held in Castro's Cuba - a staunch pro-soviet nation - and its remark in the draft treaty declaring all the socialist states as "natural allies" of the movement - time and again brought ideological stand to the forefront. The proceedings of the summit - from the first day to the

concluding session were marked with occasional anti-American-China, and pro-Soviet remarks. The paper effectively dealt with the issue and gave a detailed account of the plight of the moderate nations led by Yugoslavia and India, to bring back the movement to its original track of non-alignment and non-bloc policy.

The leaders of the non-aligned nations were greatly concerned about the rapid expansion in the field of nuclear armaments, and the accelerated arms race even in the conventional weapons sector. They were worried about the super power encroachment in the Indian Ocean and reiterated their demand for declaring it as a zone of peace, thereby, freeing the area from the Super Power rivalry. The news items on the proceedings of the summit laid adequate significance on this very vital security issue.

Keeping in mind the above controversies and the call for a New World Order based on democracy, equality and justice, it was emphasized that the non-aligned nations should participate in the movement on the basis of equality in solving the international problems, and that there was a need to democratise the entire international system in order to restructure the existing patterns of international relations.

An important document of the Havana Summit in particular and the non-aligned movement in general, was the

declaration by the members of the movement, regarding various issues and international problems. The draft declaration circulated by the host country, Cuba, evoked lot of divergent reactions among member states and the non-member nations. The Times of India gave the political issues and their amendments in its coverage. It laid emphasis on the changes that were made in order to retain the non bloc policy of the movement, and make the document more neutral.

The South African region, even in the post-colonial era, is still in the yoke of imperialism and racism. It is an example of exploitation of the majority population by the minorities. The non-alignment movement, right from its inception has been supporting the cause of liberation movements and acquisition of self-rule by the majority population. The Times of India reported the attempts by the non-aligned countries to strengthen the hands of the struggling peoples of Zimbabwe, the front line African states and to accelerate the process of free and fair elections in Namibia.

India, as an original member of the movement has been playing and would continue to have an important role in guiding the course of the movement. Yugoslavia and India took up the responsibility of moderating the controversies and striking a balance on various issues so as to maintain the unity and solidarity of the movement. The Times of India brought to light the efforts of these two

countries and lauded their mediatory roles.

The Havana Summit was held at a critical juncture, where a wrong step would have led to split within the movement. The non-alignment movement represents a protest against colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and Zionism. It has raised relentless opposition against the all forms of expansionism and foreign intervention. However, this time the regional and inter-state disputes came to surface thereby setting up a trend that did not augur well for the future of the movement. The stalwarts of the movement time and again emphasised the necessity of enhancing the cohesiveness and solidarity of the movement. The Times of India in its reporting highlighted the basic tenets of non-alignment, and pointed out the consequences of deviating from them. It was noted by the paper that the movement should shun bloc pressures and remain a non-bloc factor of the international system to continue as a powerful force of the international politics.

The movement stands for progressiveness and development. The increasing economic imbalances, and the accelerated oil prices have given rise to grave energy crisis. The worst hit nations are the non-oil-producing countries particularly the developing countries. The non-aligned nations debated over the possibilities of acquiring concessions from the oil producing countries. The coverage of the economic draft gave priority to this matter. Once

again the call for reconstruction of the international economic system was reiterated. It was felt that the New International Economic Order should be based on equality and justice. However, mutual co-operation and transfer of technology among the member states would lead to rapid development, as all of them were in transit phase of development. The paper gave a lot of information on the deliberations on the economic matters at the summit and the efforts that were being made to establish a common fund for the non-oil-producing countries.

Thus, The Times of India, did a balanced coverage - giving due importance to various aspects of the proceedings. The same balance and proportionate trend is amply seen in the allotment of space to the reporting of the summit.

When we consider the quantitative angle of the reporting we find that a considerable amount of space has been allotted to deal with the Havana summit. Out of total 35 samples, 16 issues dealt with the meeting, and three issues were not published as the paper was on strike⁽⁴²⁾ (Table 12).

(42) The Times of India was on strike from 30 May to 23 August 1979

Table 12

ALLOCATION OF SPACE FOR THE HAVANA SUMMIT BY THE TIMES OF INDIA⁽⁴³⁾

Sl. No.	Date	Day	The total coverage of the Summit			Display	Source Spl. corr.	News agency
			Columns	Length cms	Words			
1	24.8.79	Friday	3/4	27.4	503	p.2 - centre	Spl. corr.	PTI, INA, POOL
2	26.8.79	Sunday	1	59	1070	p.2 - centre		Reuter, PTI AP
3	27.8.79	Monday	1	58.5	1060	p.9		PTI, UNI
4	29.8.79	Wednesday	1	56.7	822	p.11, col. 6		UNI+AFP, IPS+PTI
5	30.8.79	Thursday	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	71.2	1469	Lead story	Staff corr.	INAC Pool Reuter
6	1.9.79	Saturday	2	104.1	1668	p.11, Banner headline		PTI, UNI, Reuter, INA Pool
7	2.9.79	Sunday	3/4	46.9	826	Front p. col. (6-7)		PTI, PTI-IPS
8	3.9.79	Monday	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	76.0	1403	Front page centre		PTI, UNI, AP, IPS, Tangung

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Table 12 (Contd.)

Sl. No1	Date	Day	The total coverage of the Summit			Display	Source Spl. corr.	News agency
			Columns	Length cms	Words			
9	4.9.79	Tuesday	3	171.1	2856	Front page, Banner headline, lead story	Spl. corr.	Pool, PTI, UNI, INA, POOL, AP, Reuter
10	5.9.79	Wednesday	2	110.4	1984	Front page, second lead		Reuter, PTI, UNI
11	6.9.79	Thursday	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	128.5	2268	Front page, lead story		Tass, PL, Pool
12	7.9.79	Friday	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	132.6	2341	Front page		PTI, IPS, AP
13	8.9.79	Saturday	$\frac{1}{2}$	33.8	579	Front page		PTI, AP
14	11.9.79	Tuesday	1/4	18	463	page 13		Edit
15	12.9.79	Wednesday	1	60	1110	page 13		PTI, IPS
16	15.9.79	Saturday	1/4	26	422	page 11		Reuter

Table 12 shows that The Times of India did a uniform coverage of the Summit. The reporting began well in advance and started as soon as the paper resumed its publication i.e. 24 August 1979. The paper devoted space that varied between $\frac{3}{4}$ of a column to $1\frac{1}{4}$ of column. As it covered the pre-Summit meetings of the Ambassadors and the foreign Ministers of the non-aligned countries, which were being held to finalize papers for the Heads of States/Governments' summit the space given was adequate.

The paper covered the Havana summit in great detail. The space allotment varied between $1\frac{1}{2}$ and 3 columns when the meeting was in session. The maximum coverage was on the 4 September 1979, when the deliberations at the meeting were at its height. We find that there is fluctuation on the table and there is a sudden fall in coverage after 8 September, which is quite natural. The reporting after this period really dealt with the reactions of different world powers on the final resolution of the Havana summit. The paper towards the end gave an editorial of one column, providing a deeper insight in the implications of the various decisions that were taken.

The Times of India, right from the inauguration till the end of the Summit, displayed the news on the front page. The coverage of 4 September had a banner

headline covering 5 columns. Most of the time, during this period (i.e. 2 to 8 September) the news items on the Havana summit formed the lead story for the day.

When this daily coverage is seen in proportion to the percentage of total coverage, we find that Times of India has given full importance to the summit and did not undermine its significance as is seen from the table on the percentage of coverage shared in terms of columns, length and words.

Even from the percentage table we can say that the Times of India has done full justice to the event. In terms of the contents too, the paper tried to maintain neutral attitude in reporting. At a glance, we find that the weightage in terms of analysis and indepth reporting was given in accordance with the importance of the issue. Furthermore, all views, may they be of member-states, or great powers, on different issues was projected. In order to present all dimensions of various issues the paper published feature articles and editorials, and went on to assess India's role in the summit conference. It also devoted space to various comments and views expressed by America and China with regard to the Havana Summit.

The efforts to give a complete picture of the summit from all angles becomes clear when we see the sources from where the news was taken. In fact, the paper did not leave any stone unturned to acquire news

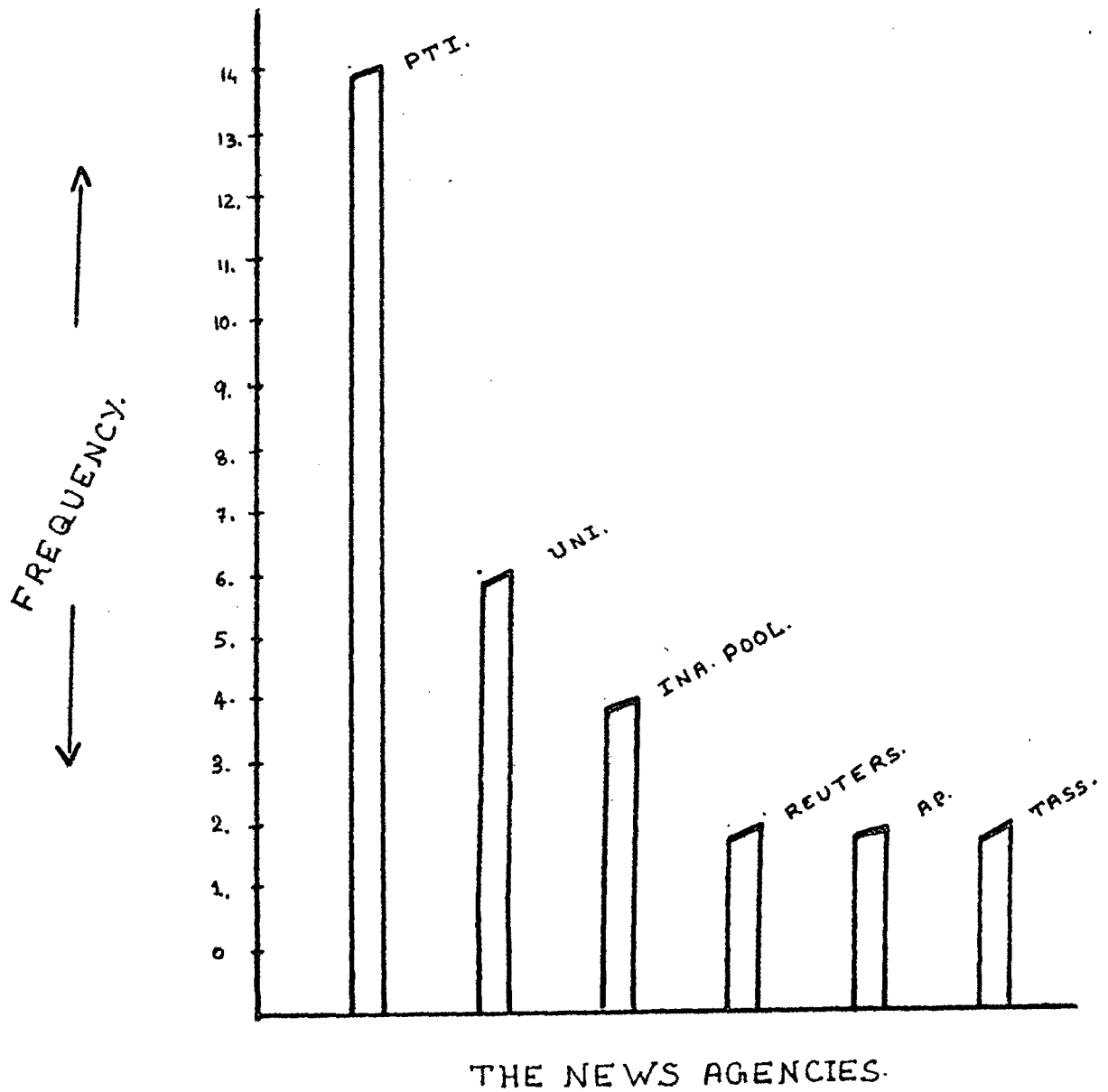
Table 13

THE PERCENTAGE OF COVERAGE

Sl. No.	Date	% column	% length	% words
1	24.8.79	1.5	0.9	0.9
2	26.8.79	2.0	2.0	1.5
3	27.8.79	2.0	2.0	1.5
4	29.8.79	2.0	1.9	1.4
5	30.8.79	2.5	2.7	2.4
6	1.9.79	4.0	3.0	3.6
7	2.9.79	0.9	0.8	0.8
8	3.9.79	3.0	2.6	2.7
9	4.9.79	6.0	5.1	4.5
10	5.9.79	4.0	3.8	3.3
11	6.9.79	4.5	4.4	4.0
12	7.9.79	5.0	4.8	4.8
13	8.9.79	1.0	1.1	1.0
14	11.9.79	0.5	0.5	0.5
15	12.9.79	2.0	1.5	1.5
16	15.9.79	0.5	0.4	0.4

FIGURE : 5.

THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION.



on the summit. The sources vary from special correspondents to the Indian and international news agencies. The frequency of which is shown in the figure (number 5, page 104).

The diagram indicates that the Indian news agencies and the international nonaligned pool were the major sources of news followed by the Western and Eastern news agencies. Besides these there were three dispatches sent by the special correspondent.

Thus we can say that The Times of India has done an adequate, objective, detailed and critical coverage of the Havana Summit.

(b) The Patriot

The Patriot has been perhaps one of those few newspapers which consistently gave large coverage to the nonaligned countries' meetings throughout 1979. This holds true, for the reporting of the Havana Summit too. It is not just in terms of numbers of columns or words written, but also in the amount of information communicated, that the newspaper surpasses all others.

The proceedings of the Summit, from its inaugural till its concluding session was dominated by tensions, dramatic and vociferous speeches, covert diplomacy and a frantic attempt to maintain the solidarity of the movement. The paper in its reporting made an all-round assessment of these trends. The political and security issues were the centre of deliberations. Moreover, two most significant questions attracted special attention of the participants.

The Southeast Asian region as a whole has been the area of tensions and conflicts. The latest and most important one has been the change of regime in Kampuchea. Naturally the question of formal recognition arose. The non-aligned countries faced the greatest problem of legitimizing one of the delegations i.e. the one sent by the exiled Polpot regime and the other by newly established Heng Samarin government. This was an issue that brought the nonalignment movement on the brink of split into two camps - one led by the pro-Soviet Vietnam and the other by the moderates led by Yugoslavia and India. The Kampuchean question brought to the forefront

all the differences within the movement. The paper in its reporting dealt in depth the genesis and the development of the problem and tried to assess India's role in its resolution.

The nonaligned forum, for years together has been discussing the perennial dispute over the right of the Palestinian people. Together with this issue, the Havana, Summit was thrown into turmoil by the Arab move to suspend or expell Egypt from the movement. The 'Camp David Accord' was seen as an American sponsored treaty, that had made the Palestinian a scapegoat. As Egypt was an original member of the movement, the moderate nations did not like to take such a radical move. The tussle between the 'so-called progressive-radicals' and the 'middle coursers' was at its peak over this issue. The newspaper in its news stories gave the various views and reactions on the issue, and described the diplomatic moves by Marshal Tito and others in piping down the steam to the level of mere reference of the issue in the final draft communique.

The Patriot in its news, brought home the urgency of enhancing help to the liberation movements. The summit delegates expressed their whole hearted support to the liberation struggle of Zimbabwe and extended all kinds of help - moral, political, monetary and military - to the Patriotic Front, SWAPO and the frontline African states. Emphasis was laid on the need to conduct free and fair elections in Namibia.

The UN mechanism has been trying to effectly implement the policy of removal of apartheid and the minority regime of Zimbabwe. The paper enlightened upon the role of the nonaligned nations in facilitating the functioning of the United Nations as a viable international organization.

The Havana Summit, was a landmark for the movement, in more than one respect. It was here that the nations rather sharply showed their ideological leanings. The pro-Moscow, pro-Washington, controversy played havoc. It became evident that there were internal pulls and counter-pulls that were working to tilt the movement in appropriate direction. There was yet another group of nations which can be called as the neutralizers, who tried to and were successful in, steering the movement in its old middle path of non-blocism and independent ideology. The coverage effectively brought out all these aspects.

The newspaper, apart from these political issues, gave importance to the security issues. As the increasing stock-pile of nuclear weapons and conventional armament has created an acute awareness of insecurity, the paper highlighted the measures that were proposed at the meeting to contain this race of arms. The summit stressed the need to declare Indian Ocean as a zone of peace.

The national and international security could be safeguarded only when the military intervention is stopped

and the military pacts are dissolved. The paper re-echoed the concern of the nonaligned nations regarding the new military bases that were being constructed in the region.

The nonalignment movement emerged with the basic objective of creating a new world order, that would redefine relations among nations based on equality and justice. In order to forward this goal the nonaligned nations would democratize the international system and participate on equal basis in solving international problems. The Patriot's news items covered this call for a new world order and new information order.

India, has played an important role in building up the movement and did contribute in guiding the course of the Havana Summit in the desired direction. The paper highlighted India's efforts at the summit. In addition a special feature article dealing with the tasks that lay ahead of India were discussed in detail.

The paper projected the basic principles of the movement, which stood for anti-imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. Looking at the atmosphere of the summit the main principle of non-bloc stand was reiterated. The paper treated with great respect these guiding principles and gave adequate coverage wherever and whenever their relevance was seen.

Non-alignment is a progressive movement and stands for development and all round advancement of the developing nations. Keeping in view the increasing inflation and the energy crisis, the leaders at the summit were gravely concerned about the fate of all the non-oil-producing developing countries who were hard hit by the hike in oil prices. Attempts were made to protect the national interest of these nations. The gravity of the situation was indicated from the news reports of the summit by the Patriot. The proposal to establish a fund from the surplus gain due to raised oil prices was advocated. This fund would help the developing countries to rebuild their deteriorating economies.

The imbalance in the economies of the developing and the developed countries is rapidly increasing. It is only through sharing the wealth that a balance could be created. The demand for a New International Economic Order was greatly emphasized and the paper put forth various aspects of this.

However, the summit recognized the importance of mutual co-operation for faster development. Lot of attention was paid at the summit on mutual co-operation among nations and transfer of technology to the developing countries. The paper dealt in great detail the economic considerations and the economic draft of the summit.

The Patriot in its coverage of the much awaited Havana Summit, critically viewed and analysed different aspects, issues and attitudes of the summit as a whole. It is with a

sense of involvement that the reporting was done. We find that the paper tried to maintain a neutral stance in its coverage and gave an all angled analysis.

On the quantitative side of the coverage we find that a considerable amount of space was allotted to the summit. It is obvious, that in order to do an objective and exhaustive coverage proportionate columns and space has to be given. Out of a total sample issues of 35 days, 17 issues carried news on the Havana summit.

The frequency and coverage in terms of columns, length and words is given in Table 14.

Table 14 clearly indicates that the Patriot not only gave a consistent, day to day coverage to the Havana summit, but with an exception of first three days the coverage modulated between 1 to 3 columns.

The 3 September 1979 was a landmark in the coverage of the Havana Summit, or for that matter any of the meetings held during the year. Very large space and great importance was given to the summit. The coverage in terms of space was 25 columns, it covered about 1267.9 cms, of length and consisted about 25,300 words. This can be called as a special issue on nonalignment, for it consisted separate supplement on the nonalignment movement, and had a feature article analysing the Havana Summit.

Table 14

ALLOCATION OF SPACE FOR THE HAVANA SUMMIT BY THE PATRIOT
(Total total coverage of the Summit)⁽⁴⁴⁾

Sl. No.	Date	Day	The total coverage of the Summit			Source		Display
			Columns	Length cms	Words	Special correspondent	News Agency	
1	21.8.79	Tuesday	1/4	28.1	410		Reuters	Page 3
2	22.8.79	Wednesday	1/4	20.2	308		AFP, AP	Front page (col.6)
3	24.8.79	Friday	1/4	38.4	570	Spl. Corr.		Front page, feature article*
4	25.8.79	Saturday	2½	138.7	2178	Spl. Corr.		page 3
5	27.8.79	Monday	1/4	24.9	567		PL-Pool	Front page
6	28.8.79	Tuesday	3	165.9	2906	Spl. Corr.	AP	Front page - -
7	29.8.79	Wednesday	1/4	40.5	652		UNI, Tanjung, Pool	Front page
8	30.8.79	Thursday	3	169.5	3081		PTI	Front page
9	31.8.79	Friday	3½	172.5	3386	Spl. Corr. R.K. Mishra	PTI, IPs	Front page + 2 column picture

contd..... 112

Table 14 (Contd.)

Sl. No.	Date	Day	Total coverage of the Summit			Source		Display
			Columns	Length cms	Words	Special correspondent	News Agency	
10	2.9.79	Sunday	3½	189.0	4052	Spl. Corr. R.K. Mishra	PL, AP	Front page* centre, picture
11	3.9.79	Monday	25	1267.9	25,300			Lead + Supplement
12	5.9.79	Wednesday	3½	186.7	3860	R.K. Mishra	UNI	Front page, edit.*
13	6.9.79	Thursday	1½	81.7	1635	R.K. Mishra	Reuter, PTI	Lead
14	7.9.79	Friday	6	287.9	5690	R.K. Mishra		Lead + (4 column) picture
15	8.9.79	Saturday	1½	92.5	1800	R.K. Mishra/ Spl. Corr.		Front page, three col- headline
16	9.9.79	Sunday	1½	72.5	1450	RKM/Spl. Corr.		Front page pic- ture, 3 col. headline
17.	10.9.79	Monday	3½ 7	200.5	3960	RKM/Spl. Corr.		Front page

*Items were captioned and classified as 'Havana Summit' news.

(44) For details see Appendix II. Table 6.

After this massive coverage, the paper returned to its normal coverage of 3½ columns that covered the economic aspects of the deliberations at the Summit. The issue of 7 September, devoted 6 columns, and reported on the draft declaration of the Havana Summit. Even the last coverage by the paper was 3½ columns, which rounded off the summit and reviewed the events and the achievements of the movement.

From the display point of view, with the exception of the first three days, the rest of the days the news was displayed on the front page. At times it had special treatment like banner or captionized headlines. The paper printed pictures on the proceedings of the summit, so that cosmetic effect of the page is enhanced.

The space allocation when seen in ratio with the daily coverage, is greater than other news printed. As is indicated by the percentage Table, the Patriot gave a considerable percentage of area to the Havana Summit.

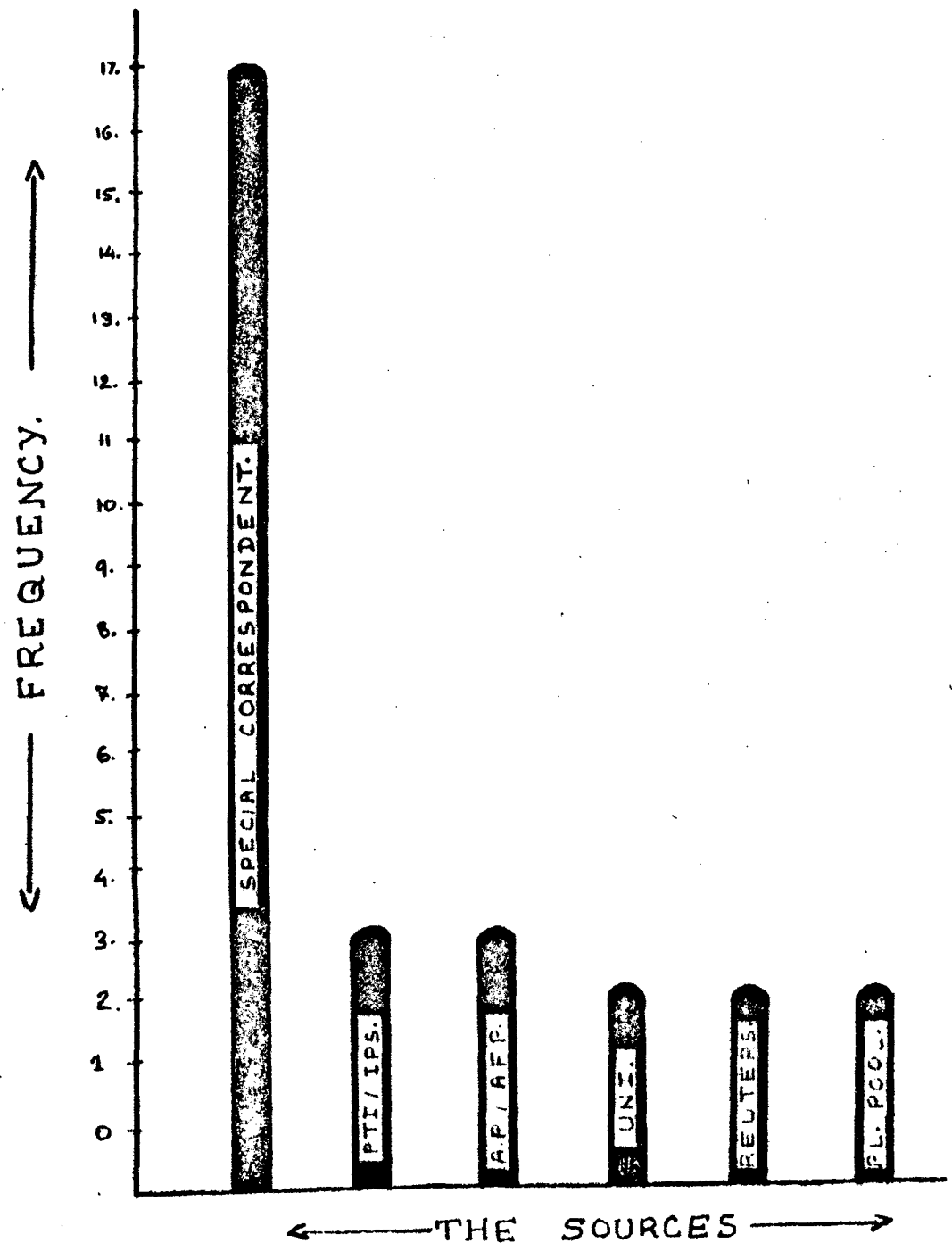
The flow of information through The Patriot was not just in terms of news items but it also had feature, articles, supplements and editorials on the subject, giving an indepth analysis. The elaborate arrangements that were made to get full and first hand information is seen from the fact that a special correspondent was sent by the paper for this mission. Apart from the despatches from the correspondent,

Table 15

THE PERCENTAGE OF COVERAGE

Sl. No.	Date	% of column	% of length	% of words
1	21.8.79	0.6	1.4	1.0
2	22.8.79	0.6	1.0	0.7
3	24.8.79	0.8	1.9	1.4
4	25.8.79	6.7	6.7	5.5
5	27.8.79	0.6	1.2	1.4
6	28.8.79	8.1	8.3	7.3
7	29.8.79	0.6	1.5	1.6
8	30.8.79	8.5	8.4	7.8
9	31.8.79	9.5	9.5	8.9
10	2.9.79	9.5	9.6	10.0
11	3.9.79	67.0	64.1	64.5
12	5.9.79	9.5	9.4	9.7
13	6.9.79	4.0	4.1	4.1
14	7.9.79	16.2	14.5	14.4
15	8.9.79	4.7	4.6	4.5
16	9.9.79	4.0	3.7	3.7
17	10.9.79	8.5	9.8	9.8

FIGURE : 6.
THE SOURCES OF
INFORMATION.



news was also taken from Indian and foreign news agencies. The frequency is shown in the figure (number 6, page 116).

Thus we can say that the Patriot did fair justification to the most important event of the nonalignment movement.

(c) The New York Times

The coverage of the Havana Summit of The New York Times is a classical case of neglecting and undermining the reporting by the Western media. The quantum of information communicated reflected the percentage of the interest of the United States of America in the nonalignment movement.

The Havana summit was not only of great importance for the nonaligned movement, but was equally watched with interest by the Western observers. The political security issues were most crucial at the summit. If we analyse the news given by The New York Times for the period of the summit, we find that there is a definite pattern that emerges. The reporting adhered to its national attitude of scepticism toward the socialist countries and indifference for the nonaligned movement.

The main thrust of the coverage was to highlight the internal differences of the members of the nonaligned movement. It was felt that with the expansion of the movement, disputes had proliferated. The Arab move to expel or suspend Egypt from the membership of the movement for its peace treaty with Israel was widely reported. The controversy over this issue and the extreme views were given full coverage. It seemed as though the Egyptian question was factionizing the movement along the lines of moderate and radical nations.

The divisive issue of the Kampuchea which had given rise to a conflict situation attracted lot of publicity by the newspaper. It dealt at length with the question of which^{of} the delegations was rightful claimant to the seat. The news despatch opined that this question apart from being a protocol and legal in nature, was an attempt on Cuba's part to bring the movement closer to the Soviet Union. It went on to highlight the contrast in the reception to the two delegates by the Cubans. The Pol Pot regime's delegation was quietly taken to an isolated resort, and the Heng Samarine's delegation was received with great honour. This was interpreted as a partial treatment on the part of the host country. The American newspaper regarded it as a key test of measuring the strength of the two factions led by Castro and Tito.

In fact the reporting of the Summit by the paper was very subjective one. All the issues, may they be political or dealing with the principles of nonalignment were seen with coloured glasses. Only those speeches and issues were reported that either pointed towards a probable tilt to Moscow or surfaced the differences within the movement. Perhaps no other paper so much played up the role of ideological and other differences. It was of paramount importance for the paper that the leadership of the movement was taken over by Cuba. It was viewed as an open move towards

Soviet Union. This was further sought to be substantiated by the mention of the 'natural ally' in the draft communique circulated by Cuba. A major part of the reporting was devoted to the Cuban and Vietnamese pro-Soviet statements. The fact that some of the delegates bid farewell to the set norms and made direct references and attack on America and China was seen as an attempt to jettison the idea of balance between the two blocs.

The paper openly criticized the Cuban organisation of the summit and the lack of facilities given to the reporters. The Cuban attempt to manipulate and alter the order of speakers was commented upon. Castro's struggle to maintain a superior position and dominate the parley was regarded as creating a parallel or perhaps an alternative leadership to Marshal Tito, both as a magnetic personality and an ideological guide. According to the paper there was an open personality clash between the two leaders which spilled over both the specific issues and the basic thrust of the communique.

The paper also expressed grave concern over the South African situation, where the oppression of the majority black peoples knew no limits. It was a regime that was strongly condemned by President Kenneth Kaunda (as primitive, uncivilized, uncouth and uncultured).

Referring to the policy of apartheid, the paper quoted President Kaunda's remarks that this was a policy where

"a black philosopher with a flat nose like mine is inferior to a white taxi driver." (45)

It was pointed out that the movement had constructive role to play in the United Nations. Similarly, the bid by the nonaligned nations to dissolve the great power pacts and dismantle the foreign bases was given coverage.

The moderate nations, which firmly believed in the principle of maintaining a posture of equi-distance from the power blocs, was faced with the gigantic task of steering the entire movement back to its course of middle path. The paper amply covered the attempts of these countries to preserve the essence of nonalignment and resist pressures from outside. Due to the overwhelming ideological hang ups and the Cuban attempt to swing the movement closer to the socialist bloc, the basic Principles of the movement became an important issue.

It was felt that there was a need to really rededicate oneself to the basic principles rather than redefining them. (46)
In order to preserve national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and security, it is necessary to be

(45) The New York Times, 3 September 1979, p. 3 (cols. 4-5).

(46) The New York Times, 31 August 1979, p. A-3 (cols. 1 and 2).

away from the domination of either of the power blocs. The New York Times mentioned the significant basic principles and emphasised Marshal Tito's efforts to preserve the traditional principles of nonalignment.

In the economic sector the paper reported on the consequences of the increased oil prices on the developing countries and mentioned about the deliberations that were being conducted with the OPEC countries to gain concessions for the non-oil-producing developing countries.

The draft resolution prepared by the host country, Cuba, in its original form was clearly leaning towards the socialist bloc. However the final document that was adopted by the summit was considerably toned down. The paper gave in detail some of the excerpts of the final resolution and referred to the extensive amendments that were made both in the economic and political sections. The paper said that the amendment to the economic draft aimed at:

rewriting the entire section of the document to remove it from the context of world class struggle and to place it in the United Nations development efforts.(47)

It also dealt with the question of human rights, and the attempts to enhance them. The paper also included

(47) The New York Times, 6 September 1979, p. A-4 (cols. 1-2)

various reactions to the final communique and re-echoed the applause for averting the split within the movement.

When we critically analyse contents of various news items on Havana Summit published by The New York Times, we find that all of them were bound together by a common string - an attitude that is critical of Soviet Union and its allies. The coverage carried comments only on Cuba, Vietnam and all those matters that gave rise to ideological differences.

Though nonaligned movement has become a reality in contemporary international politics, the paper consistently called it as 'so-called non-aligned movement' and predicted an inevitable split in it, with Kampuchean question serving as a pretext. It is amazing to note that days together the paper continued to report with a biased attitude. The imbalanced reporting went to the extent of blacking out certain crucial issues. In fact all those issues which were directed against the American actions were omitted. There was no mention of the call for speeding disarmament and declaring Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. The primary objective and concern for the nonaligned nations is the growing gap between the industrialized and developing nations. Not a line was written on the call for a New International Economic Order, and about the transfer of technology. For that matter all those deliberations that took place on restructuring of the international system and information

order found no place in the reports. The whole coverage revolved around ideology and the danger of the movement moving nearer to Soviet Union.

The trend of the contents indicates that not many words were written on the Havana Summit by The New York Times. This is substantiated when we look at the quantitiveness of the coverage. Out of a total sample of 35 issues only 13 carried news on the summit. The Table of coverage by the paper shows total coverage of the Summit by The New York Times.

Table 16 denotes the quantum of area given by The New York Times for the coverage of the Summit. We find that the area varied between $1/2$ to $3/4$ of columns, which is insignificant as the paper is voluminous. However on the day of the opening of the Summit the coverage rose up to 2 columns, as it had to deal with the inaugural session. The extent of coverage during the period of the Summit vacillated from $1/4$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$ columns. The maximum coverage was done on 10 September 1979, which was $2\frac{1}{2}$ columns and entailed the final resolutions.

The paper ended its coverage on the Summit by giving a 'News Analysis' of $1\frac{1}{4}$ columns on the 12 September 1979.

The New York Times did not show great enthusiasm over the coverage of the Havana Summit. When this reporting is compared with the daily output of news printed by the paper,

Table 16

ALLOCATION OF SPACE FOR THE HAVANA SUMMIT BY THE NEW YORK TIMES
(The Total Coverage of the Summit)⁽⁴⁸⁾

l. o.	Date	Day	The Total Coverage of the Summit			Source		Display
			Columns	Length cms	Words	Special correspondent	News Agency	
	26.8.79	Sunday	$\frac{1}{2}$	39.2	984	Alan Riding Spl. Corr.		page 15, left hand page 3*
	31.8.79	Friday	$\frac{1}{4}$	31.6	594	Spl. Corr.		page 3, left hand
	1.9.79	Saturday	$\frac{1}{4}$	37.0	615	Spl. Corr.		page 3, centre
	3.9.79	Monday	$\frac{3}{4}$	48.5	931	Spl. Corr.		page 3, centre
	4.9.79	Tuesday	$\frac{1}{4}$	39.0	791	Spl. Corr.		page 3, centre
	5.9.79	Wednesday	2	110.0	2155	Spl. Corr.		Headline*
	6.9.79	Thursday	$\frac{1}{4}$	32.5	577	Spl. Corr.		Edit, page 14*
	7.9.79	Friday	$\frac{1}{2}$	64.6	1170	Spl. Corr.		page 3, centre
	8.9.79	Saturday	$\frac{1}{4}$	40.0	770	Spl. Corr.		page 6
	9.9.79	Sunday	$\frac{1}{2}$	70.0	1314	Spl. Corr.		Front page centre fourth lea
	10.9.79	Monday	$\frac{2}{3}$	137.0	2775	Spl. Corr.	Reuters	Front page
	11.9.79	Wednesday		24.0	472			Edit, page 20
	12.9.79	Thursday	$\frac{1}{4}$	73.6	1563	Flora Lewis		News Analysis, page 2*

(48) For detailed calculations see Appendix III, Table 9.

the Summit seems to fade into the background. The percentage of space shared by the nonaligned news is insignificant as seen in the percentage table.

The news on the Havana Summit was usually displayed on the page devoted for foreign news. Yet there were certain issues in which there was special display technique used (days with marks*).

The 31 September issue carried the news on the third page, under a two column picture on the Havana Summit. (49) It was on the 5 September that the news hit the headlines, and was given due importance.

Again the coverage of the 6 September was noteworthy. Though the news was displayed on the 14 page, it was given along with a world map showing the members of the movement. (50)

(49) It was a very peculiar display. General Zia's picture was printed on the left hand column having 13 x 11 cms dimensions and in the centre of the page. (Columns 2 and 3) a picture on Marshal Tito's arrival was published. It was 12 x 11 cms in dimension. Source: The New York Times, 31 August 1979, p. A-3.

(50) The world map had a caption reading: "The meeting which calls itself non-aligned is composed of 92 countries and PLO, Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe and SWAPO". The dimensions of the map were 15.5 x 22.9 cms. Source: The New York Times, 6 September 1979, p. A-14.

Table 17

THE PERCENTAGE OF COVERAGE

Sl. No.	Date	% of column	% of length	% of words
1	26.8.79	0.25	0.37	0.37
2	31.8.79	0.15	0.15	0.15
3	1.9.79	0.15	0.18	0.18
4	3.9.79	0.45	0.50	0.30
5	4.9.79	0.15	0.15	0.18
6	5.9.79	1.20	1.25	1.25
7	6.9.79	0.15	0.18	0.15
8	7.9.79	0.77	0.62	0.52
9	8.9.79	0.15	0.18	0.25
10	9.9.79	0.77	0.79	0.65
11	10.9.79	1.50	1.56	1.50
12	11.9.79	0.10	0.10	0.10
13	12.9.79	0.76	0.83	0.75

Similarly the 'news analysis' of 12 September was along with a two column picture.

Though there were editorials and news analysis on the Havana summit the coverage was far from being satisfactory. The New York Times got all its news from a special diplomatic correspondent deputed on this mission. Only on one occasion it took news from the Reuters.

The New York Times, which is a leading newspaper of the United States, did not give full coverage to the most important nonaligned meeting. Though a special reporter was covering the meeting certain very significant issues were missing. In fact, the whole reporting was a one-sided interpretation, and was seen as an attempt to move closer to the Soviet Union. Every incident of the summit was written through this angle. Much ado was created about the controversial Kampuchea and Egypt. Maximum propaganda was made about the verbal exchanges among the delegates, creating an impression that the non-alignment movement was a futile exercise and was destined to shift its ideology. Some of the editorial and analytical comments make a very interesting reading, and makes a good example of how the facts could be twisted. The editorial entitled: "The Blowing Smoke in Havana" on the conclusion of the summit, commented upon the final communique as: 'The nonaligned meeting in solemn conclave have decided that:

They are against all forms of domination except those promoted by the Soviet Union. They are four-square against racism except when it is an anti-Zionist crusade to eliminate the state of Israel. They unequivocally support Human Rights except when those rights are violated by one of their sovereign members. (51)

Thus The New York Times has done a very subjective and biased portrayal of the Havana Summit.

(51) Editorial, "Blowing Smoke in Havana", The New York Times, 11 September 1979, p. A-20.

(d) The Daily Telegraph

The Daily Telegraph's reporting of the Havana Summit was in tune with that of its American counterpart. Together they managed to paint a red coloured picture. This British daily individually too, gave a one-sided report of the Summit.

The main focus of attention of the paper was the so-called increasing domination of Cuba and the socialist bloc. It was felt that during the Cuban tenure of presidency of the non-aligned movement it would move to the Soviet bloc. All the burning questions were linked to a presumed move towards the East. The most reported issue was the draft declaration prepared by the host country. As the document was heavily seasoned with pro-Soviet remarks and was critical of the Western world, it was interpreted as the first step taken to go nearer to the USSR.

The most crucial question of the acceptance of the Kampuchean delegation which tended to polarize the movement was widely reported. The reports highlighted the bitter controversy that arose on the issue; thereby, brought the dis-harmony within the movement to the surface.

Similarly, the Arab move to expel or suspend Egypt from membership for signing the peace treaty with Israel saw the Summit flare into heated exchanges. Insults were hurled at each other and what followed was a chaos due to

temper tantrums. The Daily Telegraph gave a graphic description of this scene and went to the extent of quoting some words exchanged. It created an impression that the summit was a gathering that was full of bitterness and disunity.

The greatest concern of the moderate nations was to maintain the unity of the movement and to keep it away from the ideological controversies. Hence the paper reproduced the reaffirmation of the Charter of the basic principles of the movement.

The paper gave coverage to the call for the New World Order based on democratization of the existing system; free flow of information and a New International Economic Order based on equality and justice.

The newspaper voiced the proposal of the nonaligned nations to set up a tribunal which would resolve the mutual controversies of the member states before it escalated into an armed conflict. The paper viewed this as a positive step, that was conducive to the national development of these countries.

The information provided by the Daily Telegraph was not complete and was underlined by a contempt for Cuba and the Soviet bloc. Right from its first coverage there was a direct attack on the Cuban draft declaration. The changes that were made after getting various reactions from the

member states were called as 'cosmetic'. The paper briefly gave the salient features of the declaration. It however commented that despite efforts of Marshal Tito the communique was still pro-socialist and was critical of the Western bloc.

This kind of understanding and reporting by the newspaper reflected its attitude towards the movement. A systematic elimination of certain very important issues like the struggle of Zimbabwe and the need for economic sanctions, can be seen as an attempt to shirk responsibility by the British government and the fourth estate. It was critical of the entire summit and its functioning. The paper commented upon Castro's dealing of the whole summit and his success in getting more than what he intended.

However, the reporter opined that due to the increase in the membership, the basic aims and objectives began to water down. It was further said that -

It was madness for the movement to have ever agreed to hold meeting in Cuba. The best thing that could happen now would be for the movement to split.(52)

This wishful thinking arose out of an understanding that many countries, especially Africans' would welcome 'return to rather dewy but non-the-less respectable original ideals.'(53)

(52) Editorial, "Non-aligned for Moscow", The Daily Telegraph, 11 September 1979, p. 18.

(53) Ibid.

Thus the whole coverage was highly subjective and incomplete.

The newspaper along with less coverage in terms of content devoted very little space for the news. Out of 35 sample issues only 11 carried news on the Havana Summit. The table shows the space allocation in terms of columns, length and words.

Table 18 indicates that the Daily Telegraph did not allocate great space to the Havana Summit prior to the foreign minister's meeting, that was held to prepare the papers for the final Summit the coverage was just $1/9$ th to $1/2$ column. However the 3 September issue carried a considerable amount of news that occupied $2\frac{1}{4}$ columns. Yet during the actual Summit period the reporting varied between $1/4$ th of a column to $1\frac{1}{2}$ of a column. This was on 10 September 1979, that the paper gave coverage to the declaration of the Summit.

The insignificance and meagreness of the area occupation comes to lime light, when seen in terms of the percentage shared by the news on Havana Summit, with the daily news coverage.

Like the American paper, this British newspaper too, has lot of pages and is an voluminous issue. Naturally

Table 18

ALLOCATION OF SPACE BY THE DAILY TELEGRAPH⁽⁵⁴⁾

Sl. No.	Date	Day	The total coverage of the Summit			Source	Display
			Columns	Length cms	Words		
1	28.8.79	Tuesday		5	100	Spl. Corr.	p. 6, centre
2	30.8.79	Thursday	½	60.0	941	Spl. Corr. & Reuters	p. 5, top
3	31.8.79	Friday	1/4	35.4	569	Spl. Corr.	p. 4, centre
4	1.9.79	Saturday	1/4	40.1	620	Spl. Corr.	page 6, centre
5	3.9.79	Monday	2½	144	2344	Spl. Corr.	feature, p. 28
6	4.9.79	Tuesday	1/4	25	400	Spl. Corr.	page 32
7	5.9.79	Wednesday	3/8	50.8	812	Spl. Corr.	page 36
8	6.9.79	Thursday	1/4	46.2	800	Spl. Corr.	p. 6
9	8.9.79	Saturday	1	56.2	926	Spl. Corr.	p. 5
10	10.9.79	Monday	1½	71.2	1160	Spl. Corr.	page 5
11	11.9.79	Tuesday	2/3	475	453	Editorial	

(54) For further details see Appendix No. IV, Table 12.

the reporting on the Summit is very little and ignorable as is clearly seen from the percentage table.

Table 19

THE PERCENTAGE OF COVERAGE

Sl. No.	Date	% of column	% of length	% of words
1	28.8.79	0.06	0.06	0.06
2	30.8.79	0.77	0.73	0.73
3	31.8.79	0.16	0.15	0.15
4	1.9.79	0.16	0.20	0.20
5	3.9.79	1.78	1.74	1.77
6	4.9.79	0.16	0.14	0.15
7	5.9.79	0.24	0.30	0.30
8	6.9.79	0.16	0.20	0.20
9	8.9.79	0.60	0.60	0.50
0	10.9.79	1.13	1.00	1.10
1	11.9.79	0.43	0.50	0.50

Thus we find that the Daily Telegraph said and wrote very little on the Havana Summit. May be, the paper and its readers were not quite keen and enthusiastic to know about

the happenings at the Summit, but the total disinterest is sharply mirrored through the display of news.

There was not a single day when the Havana Summit could manage to hit the headlines. The news kept on shunting from page 5 to 6 and to 36 and 38. This shows that no particular importance was given.

Though the paper had a special correspondent covering the Havana Summit, the only news that was given revolved around ideological differences, Kampuchea and Egypt, and the valient attempts by the moderate nations to maintain an equilibrium of the principles. None of the issues like disarmament, South Africa, military alliances and the Palestinian question were mentioned.

The reporting of the Daily Telegraph has been marked by preconceived notions and ideas on the movement. It was this that made the coverage unfair, twisted and led to the projection of a dark picture wherein the entire nonaligned movement was seen as tilting towards Soviet Union.

COMPARATIVE STUDY

The Havana Summit of the nonaligned nations was awaited with expectations and apprehensions by the nonaligned nations themselves and the other observers. This gathering of the leading men of the developing nations was to be a trend setter for the future.

The politico-economic issues that were destined to be thrashed out at the conference, were going to affect the patterns of relations among nations. The ideological identities that were hitherto veiled from direct exposure, were going to play a dominating role. All these preconceived notions about the Havana Summit made it the most reported meeting of the nonaligned nations in 1979.

If an overall assessment is done for the coverage of the Summit, we find, that it segregates the reporting of the Indian newspapers from that of the West. There are distinct styles of reporting, each representing their national attitudes.

The Indian newspapers jointly as well as individually gave an all round, detailed and analytical coverage. All the issues were given coverage in accordance with their importance. Though certain questions had greater weightage due to their importance, all others were given due treatment. The reporting of the Indian newspapers indicated the national involvement

and concern for the movement. The display and various editorials and the feature articles indicated the significance of the movement. The information rendered by the newspapers projected all aspects of the Summit and enlightened the readership on different events that took place - starting from the organisation to the dispersal of the conference.

On the other hand the media of the industrialized countries - America and Britain, presented an altogether different picture. There was no similarity between the reporting of the Indian and the foreign newspapers. The Western newspapers mirrored the attitudes of their countries towards the nonalignment movement. They played up the ideological differences among the delegates. All the reporting revolved around the controversial issues, of the Kampuchean delegation and the Egyptian suspension, as they were sceptical and prejudiced towards the movement.

It was more or less with an eagerness of a prophet awaiting to see the accuracy of his prophecy, that the two Western newspapers loudly decried a split in the movement, and close linking up with the Soviet Union. The other burning problems of the day and the economic crisis receded into oblivion and were completely overlooked by these papers.

Naturally, not much space is required to present such a biased and subjective news. The imbalance in information

in terms of inadequate coverage is clear, when one finds the certain items were totally omitted by the newspapers. An impression was created that the parley of the nonaligned nations was a forum where internal disputes were discussed and ideological affinities given vent to. The creative and cooperative angle of the summit got lost somewhere in the maze of the reportings on the heated debates.

Thus the Havana Summit apart from bringing out diversity within the movement, has been a classical example of the diversified reporting by the newspapers of the Two Worlds.

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE COVERAGE OF THE NONALIGNED
NATIONS' MEETINGS DURING THE YEAR - 1979

The critical survey of the four selected newspapers shows that the year 1979 has been very eventful and colourful as far as the meetings of the nonaligned countries are concerned. Throughout the year, with some time lag, there has been news related with the nonalignment movement. The newspapers in general, have given coverage to some, or most of the aspects of each meeting under consideration.

When we make a resume of the contents of each of the newspapers for each of the meetings we find that there is a distinct difference in the reporting of the Indian and the Western newspapers. This discrepancy is not just in the quality, attitude and trend of reporting; but also in the style of presentation of the news. The Indian newspapers gave a detailed, exhaustive and critical report on the proceedings at these meetings. As the concept of non-alignment is the basis for foreign policies of various new nations, most of the issues on the agenda of the Co-ordinating Bureau Meeting and the Havana Summit were political in nature. However, one cannot overlook the fact that the nations function within an international system, which has its own economic, social and ideological sub-systems. The nonalignment movement attempts to react and co-ordinate all these sub-systems. Hence the meetings

dealt with the crucial issues of economic crisis, ideological identities, and various principles guiding the movement in addition to regional and local problems.

The multi-dimensional approach of the Indian newspapers gave a complete understanding on the present trends in the movement. An insight on different facts of the meetings was given through the editorial comments and feature articles at different points of time. India, has been playing an important role in consolidating the movement and expanding the avenues of co-operation. The newspapers of India contributed in these efforts by giving a wide coverage to the events at the meetings and created a mass awareness on the subject.

On the other hand, the Western media took an indifferent attitude towards the Co-ordinating Bureau meetings. The American press at least gave some coverage, but the British newspaper was least affected to take any notice of these meetings. The Havana Summit was, of course, given a lot of coverage. It is at this point that the claims of the Third World nations with regard to mis-information, and wrong propaganda by the developed nations seems to be true. It is the manner in which facts are put and the events highlighted that makes a news item accurate, objective and to the point. It has been often felt by the developing countries that a distorted and an imperfect image of their activities is being projected to the readers of the First and Second Worlds.

The news items of the American and British newspapers were highly unfavourable, biased and one sided. A great hue and cry was there on the presupposed and wishfully awaited break in the movement. The reports painted a shattered and near-crumbling picture of the movement. The controversies and heated debates no doubt added flavour to the news stories, but was not quite complimentary for the movement. As no significance was attached to the developmental programmes of the movement by the Western media, an impression of futility and vanity of the movement was created.

Throughout the year, all the four newspapers devoted space to the coverage of the nonaligned meetings. The overall sum total of the coverage for the span of twelve weeks, and different meetings as shown in the table indicates the vast difference in space allocation by the newspapers. We find that the maximum coverage has been done by the Indian newspaper Patriot. The quantitiveness of the coverage in terms of columns, length, and words by the selected newspapers show the relative importance given to the meetings. The percentage of coverage over a period of twelve weeks, there is an apparent fluctuation in different meetings and the newspapers. They clearly show the amount of interest of the respective countries.

Thus, we can say that the coverage and the contents of the four newspapers have not only reflected their respective

Table 20

THE TOTAL COVERAGE BY THE SELECTED NEWSPAPERS DURING THE YEAR 1979⁽⁵⁵⁾

The Newspaper	Co-ordinating Bureau Meeting (Mozambique)			The Preparatory Meeting (Colombo)			The Havana Summit		
	Column	Length cms	Words	Column	Length cms	Words	Column	Length cms	Words
<u>The Times of India</u> (Delhi)	2.61	108	1564	No coverage			20	1186.2	20844
<u>The Patriot</u>	7.3	399.6	5845	21.5	1049.8	14445	49	3177.4	61805
<u>The New York Times</u>	1/4	39	760	3.4	259.6	3825	9.2	746.9	14771
<u>The Daily Telegraph</u> (London)	0.8	40.2	624	No coverage			7.7	581.4	9725

(55) Source: Generalizations made from the Appendices Number I to IV, Table 1 to 12.

national involvement and concern for the movement, but have also prominently surfaced the gap in the reportings of the two medias. The demarcation line between the two begins where the question of economic changes begins and political differences end. The imbalance in coverage gradually increased from the first meeting and reached its peak by the time the Havana Summit commenced.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

The art of communicating with each other has been a salient feature of human civilization. Over the centuries, the simple process of informing others has become complex. The modern electronic communication media has joined every nook and corner of the world. Relations among men and nations at social, political and economic levels are based on communicating with one another.

The process of communication at the international level becomes very intricate and refined. The international communication, along with all its channels of transmission of messages, functions at a supra-national level. It tries to establish and enhance understanding among nations. The patterns of relations are woven through the network of communication systems, the efficacy of which determines the intensity of friendship or animosity among countries.

The overt and covert diplomatic manipulations are done through the skillful handling of the mass media. The channels of communication, apart from being the bearers of information, also act as pressure groups. The radio, television and newspapers, jointly function as barometers of public opinion.

It is through them that the public reaction relating to the performance of the government at the international level is judged. The policy makers, to a certain extent, are influenced by the voicing of views of its citizens through various media. The media of a country, not only serves as information transmitters but also act as creators of images about other countries.

It is perhaps in this field that the newspapers play an important role. The manner of presentation of news relating to a particular country - the choice of the event and the use of words - all put together project a favourable or unfavourable picture.

It is at this particular point of projection of images that a number of differences, mal-functioning of the communication system and the inappropriate use of the mass media by the vested interests is clearly seen.

We find, that, the world today is not only divide in terms of economic advancement and standards of living, but even in the field of communication it is polarized into the media giants and the media dwarfs (i.e. the third world countries). The entire international communication system is controlled and run by a few developed nations.

The dependency of the third world on the industrialized world is rooted in the era of colonialism and imperialism. It was then, that these erstwhile colonies acquired either nominal or somewhat complete communication systems. However, they were

joined with the metropolis; to facilitate the ruling of the peripheries. Even in the decolonized world, this structural weakness of the communication system has remained and the third world suffers from an undeveloped and dependent communication systems.

It is in this background, that, the nonaligned countries raised voice for independence in, and free acquisition of, the information. The world of information is being dominated by the Western media through their news agencies. This has given rise to a kind of communication pattern that is harmful for the developing countries. Most of the developing world has just begun to sophisticate its communication mechanism, as a result, they depend for the international news on the pre-established international news agencies. As has already been discussed, these agencies are like the multinational co-operations that sap the energies of the developing world.

Besides this basic problems of 'trying to develop one's communication under, the shadow of the international umbrella of the West', the greatest anxiety of the third world is related to the distortions of news, inaccuracy and imbalance in the flow of information from the developing to the developed world.

It has been often claimed by the nonaligned countries that a complete overruling of the present information order is needed to remedy the lacunas of the present order.

This study aimed at empirically analysing these claims and to find out the extent of imbalance in the flow of information. The part of the 'Findings of the Study' clearly indicates that.

The Indian newspapers, The Times of India and the Patriot gave a detailed and exhaustive coverage to the meetings of the nonaligned countries held in 1979.

The amount of information transmitted by these newspapers is the indicator of the national interest in the movement. We find that the papers gave an all round, analytical coverage of the meeting. All the dimensions and angles of all the issues were effectively dealt with. The efficacy of Indian newspapers in terms of reporting of the nonaligned meetings is seen from the fact that the news items were taken from the news agencies and special correspondents.

Similarly, these two papers gave maximum space to the news on the meetings. As has already been analysed, the Indian papers were far ahead of their foreign counterparts in respect of the coverage.

The western media, all round the year not only adopted an indifferent attitude towards the nonaligned meetings in general, but whenever they did report something, they chose to be cynical, critical and biased towards the whole movement.

The New York Times and the Daily Telegraph, projected a distorted view of the nonaligned meetings. The whole world

of Western newspapers jointly and separately managed to play up the internal differences within the movement. It was a real picture of dismay and futility that was painted.

Naturally the space devoted by these foreign papers was very little and when seen in terms of their daily output, looked like a drop in the ocean. As has already been discussed the Western newspapers reflected the general national attitude of their countries towards the movement. They reported only those events that could have led to the collapse of the movement.

The study of the selected Indian and foreign newspapers substantiates the claims of the third world countries. We find that there is a great gap in the quantum of flow of information from the third world to the first and second worlds. The blockage of information and distortion is the net product of the domination of the media.

The colonialism through communication is clearly manifested in the manner in which the reporting of the nonaligned meetings was done. The distortion of news was at its peak at the time of the Havana Summit. The twisting, turning and changing of the news naturally tended to create a negative picture of a on the whole positive force of the present international relations.

Keeping in mind the fact that international relations today, is sensitively modulated through the communication media,

the need is to redefine and remodel the techniques of communication. On one hand, the revolutions in the media field are advancing nations from wireless communication to satellite communication, and, on the other hand, some countries in the African continent are still struggling to establish the basic communication system. In this kind of transitory phase the subservience to the developed world would lead not only to a dependent system but would have wide ranging cultural impacts.

The role of communication is not just limited to give and take of information, but directly and indirectly creates a great impact of a general nature on its readership.

Hence the time has now come, when the information order has to modify itself to cater to the needs of the changing world politics. It is from all points of view that a new communication order has to be set up, or, the delay might lead to misunderstandings, wrong communication, and finally a fragmented world in terms of communication systems. The task is difficult but worth attempting.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX - ITHE TIMES OF INDIA
(New Delhi)

The total length of the column = 57.5 cms

Formula for counting total words:

If 5 cms covers = 106 words (approx.)

∴ 'n' cms covers = $\frac{106}{5} \times 'n'$

(This would include the Headlines and subtitles)

But for counting total printed words of
News on Nonalignment Movement the formula would be:

5 cms covers = 106 words

∴ 'X' cms covers = $\frac{106}{5} \times 'X' = Z$

(Here 'X' represents the actual length of the news item minus the Headlines and subtitles. The words of the Headlines and subtitles (Y) would be added to the total words obtained).

The final formula thus evolved is:

$$\frac{106}{5} \times X = Z$$

∴ Total words = Z + Y = TW

Table 1

MINISTERIAL LEVEL MEETING OF THE COORDINATING BUREAU OF THE NONALIGNED COUNTRIES (MOZAMBIQUE)
(27 January - 3 February 1979)

Code No.	Date	Day	Total News Coverage			Total Nonaligned News Coverage			Source	
			Columns	Length cms	Words	Columns	Length cms	Words	Special correspond- ent	News Agency
T.I. 1	19 Jan.	Friday	50	2875	60950	-	-	-	-	-
T.I. 2	20 Jan.	Saturday	50	2875	60950	-	-	-	-	-
T.I. 3	21 Jan.	Sunday	80	4600	96670	-	-	-	-	-
T.I. 4	22 Jan.	Monday	50	2875	60950	-	-	-	-	-
T.I. 5	23 Jan.	Tuesday	50	2875	60950	-	-	-	-	-
T.I. 6	24 Jan.	Wednesday	50	2875	60950	-	-	-	-	-
T.I. 7	25 Jan.	Thursday	50	2875	60950	-	-	-	-	-
T.I. 8	26 Jan.	Friday	50	2875	60950	-	-	-	-	-
T.I. 9	27 Jan.	Saturday	50	2875	60950	1/4	13	1740	-	PTI
T.I. 10	28 Jan.	Sunday	80	4600	96670	-	-	-	-	-
T.I. 11	29 Jan.	Monday	50	2875	60950	-	-	-	-	-
T.I. 12	30 Jan.	Tuesday	50	2875	60950	-	-	-	-	-

contd.....

Table 1 (Contd.)

Code No.	Date	Day	Total News Coverage			Total Nonaligned News Coverage			Source	
			Columns	Length cms	Words	Columns	Length cms	Words	Special correspon- dent	News Agency
P.I. 13	31 Jan.	Wednesday	50	2875	60950	-	-	-	-	-
P.I. 14	1st Feb.	Thursday	50	2875	60950	5/4	30	319	-	PTI
P.I. 15	2 Feb.	Friday	50	2875	60950	1/9	17	219	-	UNI
P.I. 16	3 Feb.	Saturday	50	2875	60950	3/4	48	852	-	PTI
P.I. 17	4 Feb.	Sunday	80	4600	97520	-	-	-	-	-
P.I. 18	5 Feb.	Monday	50	2875	60950	-	-	-	-	-
P.I. 19	6 Feb.	Tuesday	50	2875	60950	-	-	-	-	-
P.I. 20	7 Feb.	Wednesday	50	2875	60950	-	-	-	-	-
P.I. 21	8 Feb.	Thursday	50	2875	60950	-	-	-	-	-
P.I. 22	9 Feb.	Friday	50	2875	60950	-	-	-	-	-
P.I. 23	10 Feb.	Saturday	50	2875	60950	-	-	-	-	-

Table 2

MINISTERIAL LEVEL MEETING OF THE COORDINATING BUREAU OF THE NONALIGNED COUNTRIES (COLOMBO)

(6-9 June 1979)

Code No.	Date	Day	Total News Coverage			Total Nonaligned News Coverage			Source	
			Columns	Length cms	Words	Columns	Length cms	Words	Special correspon- dent	News Agency
T.I. 23	30 May	Wednesday								
:	:									
:	:									
:	:									
:	:									
:	:									
T.I. 40	17 June	Sunday								

NEWS PAPERS ON STRIKE

Table 3

THE SIXTH SUMMIT CONFERENCE OF THE HEADS OF STATE/GOVERNMENTS OF THE NONALIGNED COUNTRIES (HAVANA)
(6-9 September 1979)

Code No.	Date	Day	Total News Coverage			Total Nonaligned News Coverage			Source	
			Columns	Length cms	Words	Columns	Length cms	Words	Special correspon- dent	News Agency
P.I. 54 to P.I. 56	20 Aug. to 22 Aug.	Monday to Wednesday	NEWS		PAPER'S	ON		STRIKE		
P.I. 57	23 Aug.	Thursday	50	2875	60950	-	-	-	-	-
P.I. 58	24 Aug.	Friday	50	2875	60950	3/4	27.4	503	Spl.Corr.	PTI, INA Pool
P.I. 59	25 Aug.	Saturday	50	2875	60950	-	-	-	-	-
P.I. 60	26 Aug.	Sunday	80	4600	97520	1	59	1070	-	Reuter, PTI, AP
P.I. 61	27 Aug.	Monday	50	2875	60950	1	58.5	1060	-	PTI, UNI
P.I. 62	28 Aug.	Tuesday	50	2875	60950	-	-	-	-	-
P.I. 63	29 Aug.	Wednesday	50	2875	60950	1	56.7	822		UNI + Edit.
P.I. 64	30 Aug.	Thursday	50	2875	60950	1 1/4	77.2	1469	Staff Corr.	AFP, IPS, PTI INA(Pool), Reuter

contd.....

Table 3 (Contd.)

Code No.	Date	Day	Total News Coverage			Total Nonaligned News Coverage			Source	
			Columns	Length cms	Words	Columns	Length cms	Words	Special correspon- dent	News Agency
T.I. 65	31 Aug.	Friday	50	2875	60950	-	-	-	-	-
T.I. 66	1 Sept.	Saturday	50	2875	60950	2	104.1	1668	-	PTI, UNI, Reuter, INA (Pool)
T.I. 67	2 Sept.	Sunday	80	4600	97520	3/4	46.9	826	-	PTI
T.I. 68	3 Sept.	Monday	50	2875	60950	1½	76	1403	-	PTI, IPS
T.I. 69	4 Sept.	Tuesday	50	2875	60950	3	171.1	2856	Spl. corr.	PTI, UNI, AP, IPS, Tanjug Pool
T.I. 70	5 Sept.	Wednesday	50	2875	60950	2	110.4	1984	-	PTI, UNI, INA, (Pool), AP, Reuter
T.I. 71	6 Sept.	Thursday	50	2875	60950	2¼	128.5	2268	-	PTI, UNI, Reuter, TASS, PL. Pool
T.I. 72	7 Sept.	Friday	50	2875	60950	2½	132.6	2341	-	PTI, IPS, AP
T.I. 73	8 Sept.	Saturday	50	2875	60950	½	33.8	579	-	PTI, AP

contd.....

Table 3 (Contd.)

Code No.	Date	Day	Total News Coverage			Total Nonaligned News Coverage			Source	
			Columns	Length cms	Words	Columns	Length cms	Words	Special correspondent	News Agency
T.I. 74	9 Sept.	Sunday	80	4600	97520	-	-	-	-	-
T.I. 75	10 Sept.	Monday	50	2875	60950	-	-	-	-	-
T.I. 76	11 Sept.	Tuesday	50	2875	60950	1/4	18	463	-	- Edit.
T.I. 77	12 Sept.	Wednesday	50	2875	60950	1	60	1110	-	PTI, IPS
T.I. 78	13 Sept.	Thursday	50	2875	60950	-	-	-	-	-
T.I. 79	14 Sept.	Friday	50	2875	60950	-	-	-	-	-
T.I. 80	15 Sept.	Saturday	50	2875	60950	1/4	26	422	-	Reuter
T.I. 81	16 Sept.	Sunday	80	4600	97520	-	-	-	-	-
T.I. 82	17 Sept.	Monday	50	2875	60950	-	-	-	-	-
T.I. 83	18 Sept.	Tuesday	50	2875	60950	-	-	-	-	-
T.I. 84	19 Sept.	Wednesday	50	2875	60950	-	-	-	-	-
T.I. 85	20 Sept.	Thursday	50	2875	60950	-	-	-	-	-
T.I. 86	21 Sept.	Friday	50	2875	60950	-	-	-	-	-
T.I. 87	22 Sept.	Saturday	50	2875	60950	-	-	-	-	-
T.I. 88	23 Sept.	Sunday	80	4600	97520	-	-	-	-	-

APPENDIX - IITHE PATRIOT

(Delhi)

The total length of a column = 53.5

Formula for counting total words:

If 5 cms covers = 100 words

∴ 'n' cms covers = $\frac{100}{5} \times 'n'$ words

(This would include the Headlines and subtitles)

But for counting total words printed of the news on

Nonalignment Movement. The formula would be:

If 5 cms covers = 100 words

∴ X cms covers = $\frac{100}{5} \times 'X' = Z$

(Here 'X' represents actual length of the news item

excluding the Headlines and subtitles. The words of

the Headlines and subtitles = Y would be added to the

total words obtained).

The final formula thus evolved:

If $\frac{100}{5} \times X = Z$

∴ Total words = $Z + Y = TW$

Table 4

THE MINISTERIAL LEVEL MEETING OF THE COORDINATING BUREAU OF THE NONALIGNED COUNTRIES (MOZAMBIQUE)

(27 January to 3 Feb. 1979)

Code No.	Date	Day	Total News Coverage			Total Nonalignment News Coverage			Source	
			Columns	Length cms	Words	Columns	Length cms	Words	Special correspon- dent	News Agency
P.1	19 Jan.	Friday	37	1979.5	39590	-	-	-	-	-
P.2	20 Jan.	Saturday	37	1979.5	39590	-	-	-	-	-
P.3	21 Jan.	Sunday	47	2514.5	50290	-	-	-	-	-
P.4	22 Jan.	Monday	37	1979.5	39590	-	-	-	-	-
P.5	23 Jan.	Tuesday	37	1979.5	39590	-	-	-	-	-
P.6	24 Jan.	Wednesday	37	1979.5	39590	-	-	-	-	-
P.7	25 Jan.	Thursday	37	1979.5	39590	3/4	41.4	581	Spl. Corr.	-
P.8	26 Jan.	Friday	53.5	2862.25	57245	1/4	16.5	224	-	PTI
P.9	27 Jan.	Saturday	37	1979.5	39590	-	-	-	-	-
P.10	28 Jan.	Sunday	47	2514.5	50290	-	-	-	-	-
P.11	29 Jan.	Monday	37	1979.5	39590	-	-	-	-	-
P.12	30 Jan.	Tuesday	37	1979.5	39590	less than 1/4	7.8	120	-	PTI

contd.....

Table 4 (Contd.)

Code No.	Date	Day	Total News Coverage			Total Nonalignment News Coverage			Source	
			Columns	Length cms	Words	Columns	Length cms	Words	Special correspon- dent	News Agency
P.13	31 Jan.	Wednesday	37	1979.5	39590	3/4	32	422	-	PTI, AFP
P.14	1 Feb.	Thursday	37	1979.5	39590	3/4	33.8	502	-	PTI
P.15	2 Feb.	Friday	37	1979.5	39590	3/4	45.2	685	-	PTI, AFP
P.16	3 Feb.	Saturday	37	1979.5	39590	1½	68.9	1247	-	PTI
P.17	4 Feb.	Sunday	47	2514.5	50290	-	-	-	-	-
P.18	5 Feb.	Monday	37	1979.5	39590	1	58	622	-	Press Edit. Dept. Iraq Embassy
P.19	6 Feb.	Tuesday	37	1979.5	39590	1	60.5	876	-	PTI
P.20	7 Feb.	Wednesday	37	1979.5	39590	1/4	25	380	-	UNI
P.21	8 Feb.	Thursday	37	1979.5	39590	Less than 1/4	11	186	-	Tanjung Pool
P.22	9 Feb.	Friday	37	1979.5	39590	-	-	-	-	-
P.23	10 Feb.	Saturday	37	1979.5	39590	-	-	-	-	-

Table 5

THE MINISTERIAL LEVEL MEETING OF THE COORDINATING BUREAU OF THE NONALIGNED COUNTRIES (COLOMBO)
(6-9 June 1979)

Code No.	Date	Day	Total News Coverage			Total Nonalignment News Coverage			Source	
			Columns	Length	Words	Columns	Length	Words	Special correspondent	News Agency
P. 24	30 May	Wednesday	37	1979.5	39590	1	54.1	841	-	PTI, UNI
P. 25	31 May	Thursday	37	1979.5	39590	1/4	17.4	226	-	AP
P. 26	1 June	Friday	37	1979.5	39590	1½	86.7	867	-	PTI, UNI, AFP Edit.
P. 27	2 June	Saturday	37	1979.5	39590	-	-	-	-	-
P. 28	3 June	Sunday	47	2514.5	50290	-	-	-	-	-
P. 29	4 June	Monday	37	1979.5	39590	3/4	40.4	655	Spl. Corr.	-
P. 30	5 June	Tuesday	37	1979.5	39590	1½	68.5	1083	-	PTI, UNI
P. 31	6 June	Wednesday	37	1979.5	39590	1½	69.7	1119	-	PTI, UNI
P. 32	7 June	Thursday	37	1979.5	39590	4½	228.5	3296	-	PTI Art. in Kav.
P. 33	8 June	Friday	37	1979.5	39590	2	73	1125	-	UNI, PTI
P. 34	9 June	Saturday	37	1979.5	39590	2½	77.6	1147	-	PTI
P. 35	10 June	Sunday	47	2514.5	50290	2½	81.2	1221	-	UNI, PTI
P. 36	11 June	Monday	37	1979.5	39590	3	153.8	1790	-	UNI, PTI
P. 37	12 June	Tuesday	37	1979.5	39590	1	61	528	-	- Edit.
P. 38	13 June	Wednesday	37	1979.5	39590	1/4	37.9	550	-	UNI, TASS
P. 39	14 June	Thursday	37	1979.5	39590	-	-	-	-	-
P. 40	15 June	Friday	37	1979.5	39590	-	-	-	-	-
P. 41	16 June	Saturday	37	1979.5	39590	-	-	-	-	-
P. 42	17 June	Sunday	47	2514.5	50290	-	-	-	-	-

Table 6

THE SIXTH SUMMIT CONFERENCE OF THE HEADS OF STATE/GOVERNMENTS OF THE NONALIGNED COUNTRIES (HAVANA)

Code No.	Date	Day	Total News Coverage			Total Nonaligned News Coverage			Source	
			Columns	Length cms	Words	Columns	Length cms	Words	Special correspondent	News
P.43	20 Aug	Monday	37	1979.5	39590	-	-	-	-	-
P.44	21 Aug	Tuesday	37	1979.5	39590	1/4	28.1	410	-	Reuters
P.45	22 Aug	Wednesday	37	1979.5	39590	1/4	20.2	308	-	AFP, AP
P.46	23 Aug	Thursday	37	1979.5	39590	-	-	-	-	-
P.47	24 Aug	Friday	37	1979.5	39590	1/4	38.4	570	Spl.Corr.	-
P.48	25 Aug	Saturday	37	1979.5	39590	2 1/4	138.7	2178	Spl.Corr.	- Feature
P.49	26 Aug.	Sunday	47	2514.5	50290	-	-	-	-	-
P.50	27 Aug.	Monday	37	1979.5	39590	1/4	24.9	567	-	PL.Pool
P.51	28 Aug.	Tuesday	37	1979.5	39590	3	165.9	2906	Spl.Corr.	AP
P.52	29 Aug.	Wednesday	37	1979.5	39590	1/4	40.5	652	-	UNI, Tanjung Pool
P.53	30 Aug.	Thursday	37	1979.5	39590	3	169.5	3081	-	PTI Art.Heren Mukherjee

contd.....

Table 6 (Contd.)

Code No.	Date	Day	Total News Coverage			Total Nonaligned News Coverage			Source	
			Columns	Length cms	Words	Columns	Length cms	Words	Special correspondent	News Agency
P.54	31 Aug.	Friday.	37	1979.5	39590	3½	172.5	3386	Spl. Corr. R.K. Mishra	PTI, IPS
P.55	1 Sept.	Saturday	37	1979.5	39590	-	-	-	-	-
P.56	2 Sept.	Sunday	47	2514.5	50290	3½	189	4052	Spl. Corr. R.K. Mishra	PL, AP
P.57	3 Sept.	Monday	37	1979.5	39590	25	1267.9	25300	Spl. Corr.	Feature Supplement
P.58	4 Sept.	Tuesday	37	1979.5	39590	-	-	-	-	-
P.59	5 Sept.	Wednesday	37	1979.5	39590	3½	186.7	3860	R.K. Mishra	UNI Edit.
P.60	6 Sept.	Thursday	37	1979.5	39590	1½	81.7	1635	R.K. Mishra	Reuter, PTI
P.61	7 Sept.	Friday	37	1979.5	39590	6	287.9	5680	R.K. Mishra/ Spl. Corr.	
P.62	8 Sept.	Saturday	37	1979.5	39590	1½	92.5	1800	R.K. Mishra/ Spl. Corr.	
P.63	9 Sept.	Sunday	47	2514.5	50290	1½	72.5	1450	R.K. Mishra	
P.64	10 Sept.	Monday	37	1979.5	39590	3½	200.5	3960	R.K. Mishra/ Spl. Corr.	

contd.....

Table 6 (Contd.)

Code No.	Date	Day	Total News Coverage			Total Nonaligned News Coverage			Source	
			Columns	Length cms	Words	Columns	Length cms	Words	Special correspondent	News Agency
.65	11 Sept.	Tuesday	37	1979.5	39590	-	-	-	-	-
.66	12 Sept.	Wednesday	37	1979.5	39590	-	-	-	-	-
.67	13 Sept.	Thursday	37	1979.5	39590	-	-	-	-	-
.68	14 Sept.	Friday	37	1979.5	39590	-	-	-	-	-
.69	15 Sept.	Saturday	37	1979.5	39590	-	-	-	-	-
.70	16 Sept.	Sunday	47	2514.5	50290	-	-	-	-	-
.71	17 Sept.	Monday	37	1979.5	39590	-	-	-	-	-
.72	18 Sept.	Tuesday	37	1979.5	39590	-	-	-	-	-
.73	19 Sept.	Wednesday	37	1979.5	39590	-	-	-	-	-
.74	20 Sept.	Thursday	37	1979.5	39590	-	-	-	-	-
.75	21 Sept.	Friday	37	1979.5	39590	-	-	-	-	-
.76	22 Sept.	Saturday	37	1979.5	39590	-	-	-	-	-
.77	23 Sept.	Sunday	47	2514.5	50290	-	-	-	-	-

APPENDIX IIITHE NEW YORK TIMES

One page = 6 columns

The total length of a column: 53.5 cms

Formula for counting total words:

If in 5 cms words covered = 114

$$\therefore \text{'n' cms covers} = \frac{114}{5} \times n$$

(This includes Headlines and subtitles)

But for counting total number of words printed

on Nonalignment Movement The Formula would be:

If 5 cms covers = 114 words

$$\therefore \text{'X' cms covers} = \frac{114}{5} \times X = Z \text{ words}$$

(Here X represents actual length of the news item excluding the Headlines and subtitles. The words of the Headline and subtitles = Y would be added to the total number of words).

The Final Formula thus Evolved:

$$\text{If } \frac{114}{5} \times X = Z$$

$$\therefore \text{Total words} = Z + Y = TW$$

Table 7

MINISTERIAL LEVEL MEETING OF THE COORDINATING BUREAU OF THE NONALIGNED COUNTRIES (MOZAMBIQUE)

Code No.	Date	Day	Total News Coverage			Total Nonalignment News Coverage			Source	
			Columns	Length cms	Words	Columns	Length cms	Words	Special correspondent	News Agency
NY 1	19 Jan.	Friday	164	8774	374000	-	-	-	-	-
NY 2	20 Jan.	Saturday	164	8774	374000	-	-	-	-	-
NY 3	21 Jan.	Sunday	194	10379	442400	-	-	-	-	-
NY 4	22 Jan.	Monday	164	8774	374000	-	-	-	-	-
NY 5	23 Jan.	Tuesday	164	8774	374000	-	-	-	-	-
NY 6	24 Jan.	Wednesday	164	8774	374000	-	-	-	-	-
NY 7	25 Jan.	Thursday	164	8774	374000	-	-	-	-	-
NY 8	26 Jan.	Friday	164	8774	374000	-	-	-	-	-
NY 9	27 Jan.	Saturday	164	8774	374000	-	-	-	-	-
NY 10	28 Jan.	Sunday	194	10379	442400	1/4	89	760	Spl-Corr.	-
NY 11	29 Jan.	Monday	164	8774	374000	-	-	-	-	-
NY 12	30 Jan.	Tuesday	164	8774	374000	-	-	-	-	-

Table 7 (Contd.)

Code No.	Date	Day	Total News Coverage			Total Nonalignment News Coverage			Source	
			Columns	Length cms	Words	Columns	Length cms	Words	Special correspondent	News Agency
NY 13	31 Jan.	Wednesday	164	8774	374000	-	-	-	-	-
NY 14	1 Feb.	Thursday	164	8774	374000	-	-	-	-	-
NY 15	2 Feb.	Friday	164	8774	374000	-	-	-	-	-
NY 16	3 Feb.	Saturday	164	8774	374000	-	-	-	-	-
NY 17.	4 Feb.	Sunday	194	10379	442400	-	-	-	-	-
NY 18	5 Feb.	Monday	164	8774	374000	-	-	-	-	-
NY 19	6 Feb.	Tuesday	164	8774	374000	-	-	-	-	-
NY 20	7 Feb.	Wednesday	164	8774	374000	-	-	-	-	-
NY 21	8 Feb.	Thursday	164	8774	374000	-	-	-	-	-
NY 22	9 Feb.	Friday	164	8774	374000	-	-	-	-	-
NY 23	10 Feb.	Saturday	164	8774	374000	-	-	-	-	-

Table 8

MINISTERIAL LEVEL MEETING OF THE COORDINATING BUREAU OF THE NONALIGNED COUNTRIES (COLOMBO)

Code No.	Date	Day	Total News Coverage			Total Nonaligned News Coverage			Source	
			Columns	Length cms	Words	Columns	Length cms	Words	Special correspondent	News Agency
NY 24	30 May	Wednesday	164	8774	374000	-	-	-	-	-
NY 25	31 May	Thursday	164	8774	374000	-	-	-	-	-
NY 26	1 June	Friday	164	8774	374000	$1\frac{1}{8}$	75.7*	1423	Spl. Corr.	-
NY 27	2 June	Saturday	164	8774	374000	-	-	-	-	-
NY 28	3 June	Sunday	194	10379	442400	-	-	-	-	-
NY 29	4 June	Monday	164	8774	374000	-	-	-	-	-
NY 30	5 June	Tuesday	164	8774	374000	-	-	-	-	-
NY 31	6 June	Wednesday	164	8774	374000	-	-	-	-	-
NY 32	7 June	Thursday	164	8774	374000	-	-	-	-	-
NY 33	8 June	Friday	164	8774	374000	1/4	27.6	497	Spl. Corr.	-

contd.....

Table 8 (Contd.)

Code No.	Date	Day	Total News Coverage			Total Nonaligned News Coverage			Source	
			Columns	Length cms	Words	Columns	Length cms	Words	Special correspondent	News Agency
NY 34	9 June	Saturday	164	8774	374000	1/4	28.4	522	Spl. Corr.	-
NY 35	10 June	Sunday	194	10379	442400	1/4	31.4	571	Spl. Corr.	Reuters
NY 36	11 June	Monday	164	8774	374000	1/4	96.5	812	Spl. Corr.	-
NY 37	12 June	Tuesday	164	8774	374000	-	-	-	-	-
NY 38	13 June	Wednesday	164	8774	374000	-	-	-	-	-
NY 39	14 June	Thursday	164	8774	374000	-	-	-	-	-
NY 40	15 June	Friday	164	8774	374000	-	-	-	-	-
NY 41	16 June	Saturday	164	8774	374000	-	-	-	-	-
NY 42	17 June	Sunday	194	10379	442400	-	-	-	-	-

*Out of this total length only 11 lines were on Nonalignment.

i.e. Total words = 79.

Table 9

THE SIXTH SUMMIT CONFERENCE OF THE HEADS OF STATE/GOVERNMENTS OF THE NONALIGNED COUNTRIES (HAVANA)
 (6-9 September 1979)

Code No.	Date	Day	Total News Coverage			Total Nonaligned News Coverage			Source	
			Columns	Length cms	Words	Columns	Length cms	Words	Special correspondent	News Agency
NY 43	20 Aug.	Monday	164	8774	374000	-	-	-	-	-
NY 44	21 Aug.	Tuesday	164	8774	374000	-	-	-	-	-
NY 45	22 Aug.	Wednesday	164	8774	374000	-	-	-	-	-
NY 46	23 Aug.	Thursday	164	8774	374000	-	-	-	-	-
NY 47	24 Aug.	Friday	164	8774	374000	-	-	-	-	-
NY 48	25 Aug.	Saturday	164	8774	374000	-	-	-	-	-
NY 49	26 Aug.	Sunday	194	10379	442400	1/2	39.2	984	Spl. Corr. Alan Riding	-
NY 50	27 Aug.	Monday	164	8774	374000	-	-	-	-	-
NY 51	28 Aug.	Tuesday	164	8774	374000	-	-	-	-	-
NY 52	29 Aug.	Wednesday	164	8774	274000	-	-	-	-	-

contd.....

Table 9 (Contd.)

Code No.	Date	Day	Total News Coverage			Total Nonaligned News Coverage			Source	
			Columns	Length cms	Words	Columns	Length cms	Words	Special correspondent	News Agency
NY 53	30 Aug.	Thursday	164	8774	374000	-	-	-	-	-
NY 54	31 Aug.	Friday	164	8774	374000	1/4	31.6	594	Spl. Corr.	-
NY 55	1 Sept.	Saturday	164	8774	374000	1/4	37	675	Spl. Corr.	-
NY 56	2 Sept.	Sunday	194	10379	442400	-	-	-	-	-
NY 57	3 Sept.	Monday	164	8774	374000	3/4	48.5	931	Spl. Corr.	-
NY 58	4 Sept.	Tuesday	164	8774	374000	1/4	39	791	Spl. Corr.	-
NY 59	5 Sept.	Wednesday	164	8774	374000	2.1	110	2155	Spl. Corr.	-
NY 60	6 Sept.	Thursday	164	8774	374000	1/4	32.5	577	Spl. Corr.	-
NY 61	7 Sept.	Friday	164	8774	374000	1 1/2	64.5	1170	Spl. Corr.	Edit.
NY 62	8 Sept.	Saturday	164	8774	374000	1/4	40	770	Spl. Corr.	-
NY 63	9 Sept.	Sunday	194	10379	442400	1 1/2	70	1314	Spl. Corr.	-
NY 64	10 Sept.	Monday	164	8774	37400	2 1/2	137	2775	Spl. Corr.	Reuters
NY 65	11 Sept.	Tuesday	164	8774	37400	-	24	472	-	Edit.

Contd....

Table 9 (Contd.)

Code No.	Date	Day	Total News Coverage			Total Nonaligned News Coverage			Source	
			Columns	Length cms	Words	Columns	Length cms	Words	Special correspondent	News Agency
NY 66	12 Sept.	Wednesday	164	8774	374000	$1\frac{1}{4}$	73.6	1563	Flora Lewis	- News Analys
NY 67	13 Sept.	Thursday	164	3774	374000	-	-	-	-	-
NY 68	14 Sept.	Friday	164	3774	374000	-	-	-	-	-
NY 69	15 Sept.	Saturday	164	3774	374000	-	-	-	-	-
NY 70	16 Sept.	Sunday	194	10379	442400	-	-	-	-	-
NY 71	17 Sept.	Monday	164	3774	374000	-	-	-	-	-
NY 72	18 Sept.	Tuesday	164	3774	374000	-	-	-	-	-
NY 73	19 Sept.	Wednesday	164	3774	374000	-	-	-	-	-
NY 74	20 Sept.	Thursday	164	3774	374000	-	-	-	-	-
NY 75	21 Sept.	Friday	164	3774	374000	-	-	-	-	-
NY 76	22 Sept.	Saturday	164	3774	374000	-	-	-	-	-
NY 77	23 Sept.	Sunday	194	10379	442400	-	-	-	-	-

APPENDIX - IVDAILY TELEGRAPH (LONDON)

The total length of a column = 53.5 cm

The formula for counting total number of words:

If in 5 cms total words printed = 100
 ∴ in 'n' cms total words printed = $\frac{100}{5} \times n$

(This includes the Headlines and subtitles)

But for counting total number of words printed
on Nonalignment Movement the formula would be:

If 5 cms covers = 100 words
 ∴ X cms covers = $\frac{100}{5} \times X = Z$

(Here 'X' stands for the actual length of the News item excluding the Headlines and subtitles. The total words of the Headlines and subtitles = Y would be added to the total words obtained).

The Final Formula thus Evolved:

If $\frac{100}{5} \times X = Z$

Total words $Z + Y = TW$

DAILY TELEGRAPH is printed only for six days - Monday to Saturday. There is no daily Newspaper on Sunday.

Table 10

THE MINISTERIAL LEVEL COORDINATING BUREAU MEETING OF THE NONALIGNED COUNTRIES (MOZAMBIQUE)

Code No.	Date	Day	Total News Coverage			Total Nonaligned News Coverage			Source	
			Columns	Length cms	Words	Columns	Length cms	Words	Special correspondent	News
DT 1	19 Jan.	Friday	154	8239	16480	-	-	-	-	-
DT 2	20 Jan.	Saturday	154	8239	16480	-	-	-	-	-
DT 3	21 Jan.	Sunday*								
DT 4	22 Jan.	Monday	154	8239	16480	-	-	-	-	-
DT 5	23 Jan.	Tuesday	154	8239	16480	-	-	-	-	-
DT 6	24 Jan.	Wednesday	154	8239	16480	-	-	-	-	-
DT 7	25 Jan.	Thursday	154	8239	16480	-	-	-	-	-
DT 8	26 Jan.	Friday	154	8239	16480	-	7.1	120	DIP Corr.	-
DT 9	27 Jan.	Saturday	154	8239	16480	-	-	-	-	-
DT 10	28 Jan.	Sunday*								
DT 11	29 Jan.	Monday	154	8239	16480	-	-	-	-	-
DT 12	30 Jan.	Tuesday	154	8239	16480	-	24.1	389	DIP Corr. David Adamson	-

contd.....

Table 10 (Contd.)

Page No.	Date	Day	Total News Coverage			Total Nonaligned News Coverage			Source	
			Columns	Length cms	Words	Columns	Length cms	Words	Special correspondent	News Agency
P 13	31 Jan.	Wednesday	154	8239	16480	-	-	-	-	-
P 14	1 Feb.	Thursday	154	8239	16480	-	-	-	-	-
P 15	2 Feb.	Friday	154	8239	16480	-	-	-	-	-
P 16	3 Feb.	Saturday	154	8239	16480	-	-	-	-	-
P 17	4 Feb.	Sunday*								
P 18	5 Feb.	Monday	154	8239	16480	-	-	-	-	-
P 19	6 Feb.	Tuesday	154	8239	16480	-	-	-	-	-
P 20	7 Feb.	Wednesday	154	8239	16480	-	-	-	-	-
P 21	8 Feb.	Thursday	154	8239	16480	-	9	115	-	- Letter to the Edit.
P 22	9 Feb.	Friday	154	8239	16480	-	-	-	-	-
P 23	10 Feb.	Saturday	154	8239	16480	-	-	-	-	-

*No Newspaper is printed on Sundays.

Table 11

MINISTERIAL LEVEL MEETING OF THE COORDINATING BUREAU OF THE NONALIGNED COUNTRIES (COLOMBO)

Code No.	Date	Day	Total News Coverage			Total Nonaligned News Coverage			Source	
			Columns	Length cms	Words	Columns	Length cms	Words	Special correspondent	News Agency
DT 24	30 May	Wednesday	154	8239	16480					
DT 25	31 May	Thursday	154	8239	16480					
DT 26	1 June	Friday	154	8239	16480					
DT 27	2 June	Saturday	154	8239	16480					
DT 28	3 June	Sunday*								
DT 29	4 June	Monday	154	8239	16480					
DT 30	5 June	Tuesday	154	8239	16480					
DT 31	6 June	Wednesday	154	8239	16480					
DT 32	7 June	Thursday	154	8239	16480					
DT 33	8 June	Friday	154	8239	16480					

NO
COVERAGE
OF THE
MEETING WAS DONE
DURING THIS
PERIOD

contd.....

Table 11 (Contd.)

Code No.	Date	Day	Total News Coverage			Total Nonaligned News Coverage			Source	
			Columns	Length cms	Words	Columns	Length cms	Words	Special correspondent	News Agency
DT 34	9 June	Saturday	154	8239	16480					
DT 35	10 June	Sunday*								
DT 36	11 June	Monday	154	8239	16480					
DT 37	12 June	Tuesday	154	8239	16480					
DT 38	13 June	Wednesday	154	8239	16480					
DT 39	14 June	Thursday	154	8239	16480					
DT 40	15 June	Friday	154	8239	16480					
DT 41	16 June	Saturday	154	8239	16480					
DT 42	17 June	Sunday*								

*No Newspaper is printed on Sundays.

Table 12 (Contd.)

Code No.	Date	Day	Total News Coverage			Total Nonaligned News Coverage			Source	
			Columns	Length cms	Words	Columns	Length cms	Words	Special correspondent	News Agency
DT 53	30 Aug.	Thursday	154	8239	16480	1.2	60	941	Spl. Corr.	Reuters
DT 54	31 Aug.	Friday	154	8239	16480	1/4	35.6	569	Spl. Corr.	-
DT 55	1 Sept.	Saturday	154	8239	16480	1/4	40.1	620	Spl. Corr.	-
DT 56	2 Sept.	Sunday*								
DT 57	3 Sept.	Monday	154	8239	16480	2 1/2	144	2344	Spl. Corr.	- Feature
DT 58	4 Sept.	Tuesday	154	8239	16480	1/4	25	400	Spl. Corr.	-
DT 59	5 Sept.	Wednesday	154	8239	16480	3/8	50.8	812	Spl. Corr.	-
DT 60	6 Sept.	Thursday	154	8239	16480	1/4	46.2	800	Spl. Corr.	-
DT 61	7 Sept.	Friday	154	8239	16480	-	-	-	-	-
DT 62	8 Sept.	Saturday	154	8239	16480	1	56.2	926	Spl. Corr.	-
DT 63	9 Sept.	Sunday*								
DT 64	10 Sept.	Monday	154	8239	16480	1 1/2	71.2	1160	Spl. Corr.	-
DT 65	11 Sept.	Tuesday	154	8239	16480	2/3	47.5	453	Spl. Corr.	- Edit.

contd.....

Table 12

THE SIXTH SUMMIT CONFERENCE OF THE HEADS OF STATE/GOVERNMENTS OF THE NONALIGNED COUNTRIES (HAVANA)

(6-9 September 1979)

Code No.	Date	Day	Total News Coverage			Total Nonaligned News Coverage			Source	
			Columns	Length cms	Words	Columns	Length cms	Words	Special correspondent	News
DT 43	20 Aug.	Monday	154	8239	16480	-	-	-	-	-
DT 44	21 Aug.	Tuesday	154	8239	16480	-	-	-	-	-
DT 45	22 Aug.	Wednesday	154	8239	16480	-	-	-	-	-
DT 46	23 Aug.	Thursday	154	8239	16480	-	-	-	-	-
DT 47	24 Aug.	Friday	154	8239	16480	-	-	-	-	-
DT 48	25 Aug.	Saturday	154	8239	16480	-	-	-	-	-
DT 49	26 Aug.	Sunday*								
DT 50	27 Aug.	Monday	154	8239	16480	-	-	-	-	-
DT 51	28 Aug.	Tuesday	154	8239	16480	-	5	100	Spl. Corr.	
DT 52	29 Aug.	Wednesday	154	8239	16480	-	-	-	-	-

contd.....

Table 12 (Contd.)

Code No.	Date	Day	Total News Coverage			Total Nonaligned News Coverage			Source	
			Columns	Length cms	Words	Columns	Length cms	Words	Special correspon- dent	News Agency
DT 66	12 Sept.	Wednesday	154	8239	16480	-	-	-	-	-
DT 67	13 Sept.	Thursday	154	8239	16480	-	-	-	-	-
DT 68	14 Sept.	Friday	154	8239	16480	-	-	-	-	-
DT 69	15 Sept.	Saturday	154	8239	16480	-	-	-	-	-
DT 70	16 Sept.	Sunday*								
DT 71	17 Sept.	Monday	154	8239	16480	-	-	-	-	-
DT 72	18 Sept.	Tuesday	154	8239	16480	-	-	-	-	-
DT 73	19 Sept.	Wednesday	154	8239	16480	-	-	-	-	-
DT 74	20 Sept.	Thursday	154	8239	16480	-	-	-	-	-
DT 75	21 Sept.	Friday	154	8239	16480	-	-	-	-	-
DT 76	22 Sept.	Saturday	154	8239	16480	-	-	-	-	-
DT 77	23 Sept.	Sunday*								

*No Newspaper is published on Sunday.

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