

**COMMUNICATION MEDIA AND THIRD WORLD DIPLOMACY**

**B. R. CHAUDHAN**

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## P R E F A C E

Ours is the electronic era of the satellite, the computer and the laser beam. The communication explosion stemming from the advent of electronic era has turned the mass media into a powerful apparatus which is capable of radically influencing the life and fate of nations. The West holds the monopoly of modern communication technology and international information media. This has resulted in denial of a fair deal and utter disadvantage to the Third World countries.

Man today learn almost everything they know through some medium of mass communication - television, radio, newspapers, magazines, books and films. The person-to-person contacts have lessened in importance as means of effecting either social stability or social control.

The approach of the study is analytical and conceptual. This study is an attempt to examine the nature and efficacy of communication media at the disposal of the Third World countries, and their impact on the Third World diplomacy. The point of reference for this study is the communication axis of the developed countries with reference to international diplomacy.

I wish to thank the many persons who have assisted me, with encouragement and actual help, in preparing this dissertation. I must make special mention of my indebtedness to my guide and teacher Prof. Satish Kumar without whose help and guidance it was impossible to complete this work.

NEW DELHI

*B.R. Chauhan*  
( B. R. CHAUHAN )

## CHAPTER - I

### INTRODUCTION

Communication is the basis of meaningful existence. In a world characterised by incredible mobility, it is more a passive agent of inter-social transactions than of intra-social interaction. It has become a barometer of social progress, cultural enlightenment and economic development. It is only axiomatic to say that it is the ambassador of change. But in a changing world, where manners and morals, principles and practices outpace the change itself, it has gained added dimension - a dimension which is both tangible and intangible, palpable and impalpable. Thus, communication has transcended from a safe social phenomenon to a frighteningly complex reality. Nowhere is this phenomenon more manifest than in the "do-or-die" arena of commercial world - a world even if it is not different from the one we inhabit, is different in its working, which is as complex as human mind - brutally ugly and deadly sublime.

### INFORMATION AS POWER

The debate on the practice of communication or the fundamental nature of information - whether information is a social good to be treated with moral or social

responsibility or whether it is a marketable commodity whose production and circulation should be out of national and international control has attracted worldwide attention. In fact, it is no more the subject of academic exercise of highest calibre; it has become an international movement. The simple question that arises out of this observation, is that, why is this so? Is it due to the in-built limitations of the process or the wrong practices ?

The answer to the questions might vary, but what would not vary is the unique importance and the immediate practice of the subject. Further, the subject would not receive justice if it is not evaluated in its historical perspective. The present era is said to be an era in which "information is power" (sometimes forgetting that information has always been power) or an important component of power. In the past, just as today, the control and near monopoly of information by certain States and commercial entities vastly added to their ability to achieve their economic, political and other goals. But that was a period when time and space had still remained unconquered. Success depended more on the speed of the movement of the message.

Considering all these aspects, a brief discussion has been made in the following pages dealing specially with the existing international information order and the struggle of the Third World countries for a new international information order. The commitment of developing countries to a fair communication and information flow is much deeper than it is acknowledged.

What then is so special about information today? Why should it be legitimately regarded as an expression of power in a way which is qualitatively different from the past? The Mac Bride report refers to information as being a "key-resource, on par with energy or raw material." Information has not always been regarded in these terms; why now?

The heart of the explanation is the realization of the hidden power of communication, as complement in development and a concomitant of social change to the countries that are not developed. Another explanation would be that the widespread application of new technologies is indeed, changing information into a resource, analogues to raw material, and no other raw material perhaps with the exception of crude oil has the same

potential for establishing the power and characterising the sovereignty of a State. Access to information, control over information and the research and development capacity to stay in the information technology are among the keys to what is now the prime target of the modern State, namely economic growth. Economic competition between States is intense and so are discussions over the international rules controlling the flow of information. Since it has direct relationship with the national and international economic development, it has assumed increasing importance in the foreign relations of a country. Issues related to information flows, once thought to be technical are clearly seen as economic, cultural and political. And the fact that the information flows across the national border have the potential for exerting a major influence on the political, economic, social and cultural direction of a country's development, has served to focus real international attention on this issue. It is no longer a technical question seen as having a largely one-dimensional impact. Finally there is also a growing recognition that communication and information infrastructures tailored to a country's



particular needs, and the software and cultural products to fuel them are essential to safeguard the cultural identity and the economic development of a State.

MASS-MAN AND MASS MEDIA

All this provides eloquent testimony to the new awareness that has been generated among the nations deprived of the control of information. But how has it affected the individual man? Here no comment is more precise than that of Marshall McLuhan. McLuhan says before writing was invented, "man lived in an acoustic space: boundless, directionless, horizonless, in the dark of the mind, in the world of emotion, by primordial intuition, by terror". Print technology created the public. Electronic technology created the public. Electronic technology created the mass. Thus individual man became a mass-man. Everything in his life, from what he eats and wears to what he knows about the passing events comes packaged from some distant, impersonal source. Clearly the source has the potentiality to shape the individual. It is a rare power and the agent is the mass-media. Man's image of the world is shaped by his experience and his environment, and the limited offering it provides. Mass media has widened the horizon to a measureless extent holding irresistible enchantment for things unseen and unheard of. It is

not purely an economic phenomenon. It, even, does not have any hold on race, creed, colour, religion or belief. Thus mass media has created the mass-man. If that is so, information is not a social practice, but a force.

### INFORMATION AND THE MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS

Development today is regarded more as an economic development. The developing countries are plagued by high illiteracy, low per capita income and fast population growth, all of which create great obstacles to rapid social and economic development. To these countries, investment in capital and technology is a boon. But where from they get the assistance for investment? Multinational corporations hold an irresistible charm for these countries. The question now arises is, how do they operate and communicate information?

Most Third World nations are inserted in a world system whose rationale has been laid down by the industrialised countries and whose operations inevitably favours the latter. Its origins are to be found in various forms of colonial domination and exploitation that historically characterised relations between the

centre and the periphery. Today the system is operated to a set of principles and practices that were elaborated after the Second World War. This arrangement has been perfected and adopted over the years, to form a cohesive whole, in which the central instrument of domination emerges clearly, namely, the transnational power structure, which acts internationally, and operates internally in nearly every Third World country.

This power structure manifests itself through operational forms with different functions which, taken together, constitute a complete apparatus whose central objective is to consolidate and expand its capacity to act and exert influence throughout the world. As its letter of introduction it invokes a combination of values and aspirations which it is supposed to stand for : political stability, economic efficiency, technological creativity the 'logic of the market', the virtues of consumerism, the defence of freedom and others.

In practice, the way in which the transnational power structure actually behaves is quite different to what it claims. In the name of political stability, it defends the status quo and those regimes which ever change. In the name of efficiency, it promotes the expansion of transnational enterprises. In the name of technological

creativity, it concentrates vast resources on research and development related to its requirement of industrial apparatus. In the name of the 'logic of the market', it advocates abdication by governments of their basic responsibility, that of setting the guidelines for mass development. In the name of the virtues of consumerism, it directs production only towards those who have the income available to consume. Last but not the least, in the name of freedom, it blocks, intervenes in and destabilises the actions, policies and programmes of progressive governments by weakening or supplanting them and by backing regimes based on systematic repression and the violation of human rights. The new world information order, and the new world economic order (the North-South dialogue) speak of the existence of this phenomenon and its operation.

To attain these objectives it disposes of an arsenal of diverse but converging instruments which reflect the various dimensions of their power structure.

- (a) The political-military intelligence service dimension (example NATO, SEATO, etc.) expresses itself in the form of overt and covert attempts to promote changes in its interest or prevent changes adverse to its interest in power relations

within Third World countries, in different forms of military intervention and political penetration, and the implementation of policies to ostracise certain progressive governments internationally.

- (b) The economic-industrial trade dimension : The controlling of world financial institutions like I.M.F., World Bank gives a leverage to the developed countries to block or weaken policies of progressive governments.
- (c) Communication-advertising-cultural dimension has begun to make itself evident as an integral part of the transnational instrumentality. The communication system has developed with the support and at the service of the transnational power structure. It is an integral part of the system which affords the control of that key instrument of contemporary society : information. It is the vehicle for transmitting values and life-style to Third World countries which stimulate the type of consumption and the type of society necessary for the transnational system as a whole.

Politically it defends the status quo, where it is in its own interest, economically it creates the conditions for

the expansion of their capital. Loss of control over the communications structure by the transnational system would mean the loss of one of its most powerful weapons.

Multinational Communication System :

The communication system of the developed countries has been developed to such an extent that it could only be termed, as Daniel Boor, a Harvard Sociologist called it, as "post industrial society communication in which services eclipses agriculture and manufacturing, as a force of development". To illustrate this point, the comment of Mrs. Sarah Goddard Power, the former Deputy Assistant Secretary for Human Rights and Social Affairs would be worth quoting. While speaking on the subject "The U.S.A. takes up the communications challenges," she remarked "satellites now manoeuvre in the atmosphere to look for oil in Mozambique, uranium in Zimabwe, and manganese in Paraguay, to name only a few. They keep tabs on the progress of Soviet grain harvests and the Brazilian coffee crop, helping to avoid nasty surprises in commodity markets. Their communications system as a whole, comprising news agencies, advertising agencies and data banks, and supplying information retrieval services, radio and television programmes, films, radiophotos, magazines, books, novelettes with worldwide circulation. The various

components, originating mainly in the industrialised countries, reinforce each other stimulating it to the consumer's desire to attain forms of social organisation and life-style imitative of the industrialised capitalist countries, which, experience has been applied in the Third World on the basis of high and increasing concentration of income in the hands of a few and of untenable social equality".

#### Information Pressure :

The communication system of multinational power structure utilises information not only to guide but also to guard their active interest. At the same time, the "information pressure" from so many seemingly unrelated yet substantively coherent different sources gradually vitiates the ability to react to the message, slowly converting the individual into a passive receptor without critical judgement. The communications process almost becomes for people something like "theatre-watching". The public thus becomes convinced that the transnational consumption and development model is historically inevitable. In this manner the communication system fulfils its main function : the cultural penetration of the human being, to condition him or her to accept the political, economic and cultural values of the transnational power structure.

Within the complex ramifications of the transnational

communication system, the news agencies of greatest penetration in the Third World play a special role and deserve particular study. The main agencies of importance in Third World countries, viz. United Press International (U.P.I.), Associated Press (A.P.), Reuters and Agence France-Press (AFP) are not in any real sense international enterprises; they are transnational enterprises, each operating out its headquarters in an industrialised capitalist country. The nature of their activities is that they have to operate outside their own country and exercise an immense impact and influence on the very many countries in which operate. Their operations are linked with other branches of the transnational production system - advertising, magazine and television programme production in particular - and also with transnational enterprises.

International information today is a commodity sold in the market. The agencies deal in the observation and evaluation of events. In a sense, they 'appropriate' reality and its characteristics, simply because only they possess the infrastructure and the technical know-how for its publication. Their marketing modifies the nature and relative importance of events, which do not in fact 'happen' for the wider public unless they are chosen for publication by new outlets. The agency thus takes an event, whose scope and specific meaning are given by its context



and the circumstances surrounding it, and converts it into 'news' which to be such requires a presentation that will make it a saleable commodity.

The information thus created percolates down to the Third World countries which are the users of the same. So the circle comes to an end. Information originates in a few agencies, all from the developed countries, received in the Third World countries, mainly by primary users, who are related to the transnational power structure and is, finally placed on a market dominated by consumption styles defined by the needs of only a minority of the population. In the process, information as a social good, significant in terms of its roots and framework of origin, is lost and it becomes a commodity stripped of all social values. Thus providing information which is a social function has been changed into a business transaction for the benefit of global business of the developed countries. If that is so, how do they operate in the developing countries within the legal frame work.

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CHAPTER II

ROLE OF COMMUNICATION IN DIPLOMACY

The ever growing strength and uses of mass media along with its continuous impact on important political, economic and even military matters facing the humanity has gained a remarkable place for it in international relations and their study.

Continuous flow of information through all the means is essential for a State to understand and evaluate and formulate foreign policies. It keeps a State to know the qualities of existing international system so that it could act accordingly. A State has to create, establish and continue relations both in bilateral and multilateral matters with other States and hence accurate information along with clear data on economic and military capacities of other nations are required by a State. There are two types of sources of information: firstly, the information that a State supplies through public statements, secondly, communications received from a State's diplomatic and intelligence sources.

Irrespective of the political system of country, the various statements made on behalf of a country by its officials regarding foreign States, one can see,

have concrete purpose and aim. It can be partial truth or rarely truth. Might be it has been formulated for local belief or for misleading other states or even to know the reactions from other States. Public statements made during peace or war are always purposeful. In the same manner public statements made by an aggressor may contain a theme giving a colour to its action as steps towards defensive compulsions. In diplomacy, it is well recognised that information coming from public statements is not to be taken as actual and dependable one.

In his famous work Storia de Italia, Guicciardini states diplomats as the eyes and ears of States. Accurate information collected and transmitted to the foreign office, by diplomatic establishments abroad, constitutes important source material for purposes of formulation and determination of foreign policy and diplomatic strategies. Under article 3(d) of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, 1961, a diplomatic mission is required to ascertain by lawful means, conditions and developments in the receiving State and report thereon to the Government of the sending State.

Usually the States involve themselves in the gathering

of intelligence even of secret ones through adopting many means including objectionable ones. While doing so they employ electronic bugging equipments and many other secret sensitive systems. In the history of diplomacy it has been common employing missions for spying and espionage.

### Media and Diplomacy

Besides the diplomatic intelligence sources of informations the news through mass media is very useful in moulding the foreign policy aims.

Information through mass media has an important role to play in the framing of diplomatic strategies particularly with the advancement in communication technology devices and their practices in modern international relations.

The use of mass media is so indispensable that it is essential to study its effect on modern diplomacy. The increasing use of Governments in modern days of the mass media as an instrument of their foreign policies, the importance of diplomatic establishments and agents, to certain extent, have to certain extent decreased.

Communication diplomacy is essential in international relations which needs to be studied.

Press agencies play a vital role in gathering and circulating news inside and outside the country. Most of the countries have their own news agencies either as autonomous or Government agencies. These agencies use many international languages and the national languages depending on the news and their demands. Press is the most common medium of communication.

In the past two centuries the press has grown remarkably. But in the third world the growth is of undeveloped nature. While eight African countries and three Arab States have no daily newspaper, 13 countries of Africa have only one newspaper each. These statistics go to prove that the role newspapers play as a media in the Third World nations, is relatively very poor.

In many of the democratic Governments, freedom of press is guaranteed. The impact of press on public is very strong. Hence the demand for unbiased information. The role of press in modern diplomacy is not only valuable but more significant also. Besides

moulding public opinion the press could considerably influence the economic and political thinking of Government in rule. Diplomacy expects keen observations of the trends of press on national and international level. One of the main function of a diplomatic missions stationed in a country is to gather information on developments and many other activities and report them as they are to the sending State and while doing it modern diplomats are to be ever vigilant and be in touch with the press.

#### Radio and T.V.

In international policies, relations and diplomacy, Radio & TV medias have revolutioned communication area. Countries have come closer with other with the invention and advances in television technology through satellite system. TV has come to occupy a predominant place in moulding international relations and has been used as the medium of propoganda like radio.

With the advent of electronic media, a state need not depend on their diplomatic agents to communicate with other states or people but could directly communicate with them. The diplomatic agents are expected to carefully record and analyse the information

and data received via mass media. The foreign offices have been concentrating their units of external publicity to increase diplomatic ties. These units in coordination with other Governmental agencies are engaged in analysing the feedback received by them from many sources and States to prepare counter measures to far long and short-term objectives.

#### Propaganda:

Propaganda remains from the beginning a strong weapon in diplomacy. If propaganda activities are used along with military strength, foreign aid and diplomatic skills they would result in more fruitful results. Propaganda is utilisation of facts for distortion of concepts with a dishonest intention of consciously and deliberately falsifying messages in the larger interest of a state.

Democratic set-ups normally do not practice propaganda. If at all they use propaganda they are cautious in telling the truth. Propaganda continues to be a powerful weapon with dictatorial and totalitarian countries, even in their normal daily dealings.

Whatever has been said, propaganda continues to be an important and necessary weapon in diplomacy and is being used increasingly by all forms of Governments.

In peace or war time the major vehicle for propaganda is the system of communications. High intensity radio transmitters, satellite system and TV, press and films, cultural exchange programmes, military and economic aids and demonstrations are the mass media.

Even today there are States where free press has no place to exist. In modern times pamphlets, periodicals etc. are used by States through diplomatic channels in foreign States. Circulating underpriced literature in targetted states and propagating particular ideology is yet another technique.

Cultural exchanges are healthy in modern days for the exchange of ideas and experiences.

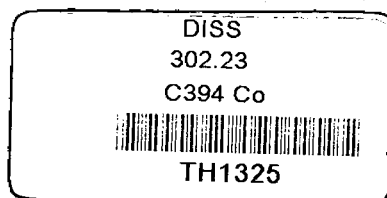
### Third World Diplomacy

Right from the early years of this century people in various countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America started making a concerted and determined effort to put an end, once and for the various continuous economic and political exploitation by the various European Powers. They organised themselves into political groups to root out colonialism and to achieve independence at any cost. Determined and organised revolutions started in various countries in Asia and Africa to achieve their common



objectives. With the large scale destruction caused by the World Wars and growing revolt in the subject countries, imperialist powers were compelled to give up their colonies either abruptly or gradually but at any rate once and for all. The increasing determination of the people of Asia and Africa in gearing up independent movements with the support and encouragement of the world's most powerful and influential nations like the United States and the Soviet Union, culminated in a large number of countries becoming independent in the present era.

The emergence of Afro-Asian nations as an independent group and their role in world affairs from the middle of this century brought about new equations in international relations. At the time of the signing of the United Nations Charter, two-thirds of the nations of the world were under the yoke of imperialism and were struggling to achieve independence and self-determination. The imperialism of the European nations, which could be said to have begun from the beginning of the 16th century, reached its high water mark before the First World War. By the end of the Second World War its decline and dis-integration started and the circle was complete in the next two decades.



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By the time the Second World War ended a new power structure with greater polarisation between the two Super Powers began to emerge. While the East European Nations came within the sphere of influence of the Soviet Union, the Western European Powers and some of the Latin American countries continued to operate under the influence of the United States.

In the latter half of this century, nations which achieved independence were compelled to do some serious re-thinking on the question of aligning themselves with the power groups headed by the Super Powers. Those countries which achieved independence fought vigorously for liberation of other colonies at the United Nations Organisation and other international forums.

With the emergence of Third World as a political group with common aspirations, objectives and approaches, some leaders of this bloc contributed greatly to make its presence and impact felt at the World forums. India which launched its valiant and continuous fight on all fronts for liquidation of colonialism and achievement of independence by all other colonies in the world, has played a pioneering role in organising forces of the Third World countries. Advocating certain pivotal approaches by

the Third World, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of free India, observed :

"We shall take full part in international conferences as a free nation with our own policy and not merely as a satellite of another nation. We hope to develop close and direct contacts with other nations and to cooperate with them in the furtherance of world peace and freedom. 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 two World Wars and which may again lead to disasters even on vaster scale. We believe that peace and freedom are indivisible and the denial of freedom anywhere must endanger freedom elsewhere and lead to conflict and war. We are particularly interested in the emancipation of colonial and dependent countries and people, and in the recognition in theory and practice of equal opportunities for all races"<sup>1</sup>.

Certain basic tenets are accepted as suitable for all independent countries which suffered under imperialism of Western countries. Some of the basic principles are : non-alignment with power blocks, fight against imperialism, opposition to racial discrimination, support to the United Nations organisation and adoption of Panch Sheel in

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1. Jawaharlal Nehru, text of broadcast on All India Radio, 7th September 1946.

relations among nations.

On 29th April 1954, when India and China entered into a treaty over Tibet, the five cardinal principles of co-existence known as Panch Sheel were evolved. These peace-oriented principles came to be accepted as basic principles of non-alignment by nations of the Third World. They are : (i) Mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty; (ii) Non-aggression (iii) Non-interference in internal affairs; (iv) Mutual benefits and equality; and (v) Peaceful co-existence. These were subsequently expanded at the Bandung Conference in 1955. Those added are - (i) Respect for fundamental human rights; (ii) Right to defend singly as well as collectively; (iii) Joining of the pacts for the sake of benefits; (v) settlement of disputes peacefully, and (vi) Respect for justice. Nearly 29 countries represented by their Prime Ministers, Foreign Ministers and other delegates gathered at Bandung <sup>to</sup> discuss their common problems.

Non-alignment not only has been accepted as the basic philosophy for Afro-Asian countries which got freed from the domination of imperialist powers but became a cementing force directed towards achieving certain positive objects and well-defined goals.

### Non-alignment and Third World

Boundaries of non-alignment came to be extended fast, as more and more countries committed themselves to this philosophy. Subsequently reaffirmation of the principles of co-existence, as outlined by non-aligned countries in 1955 was made through the declaration of Belgrade Conference of Non-aligned countries in September 1961 and the Charter of the organisation of African Unity, 1964 and the second conference of Non-aligned countries held in Cairo in 1964.

Forty seven countries and observers from eleven countries including those from latin America participated in the conference. Non-alignment was accepted as a basic philosophy with commitment for joint action to achieve greater degree of economic independence and prosperity. Non-alignment has also become a depolarising factor in international relations. In the Cairo Declaration specific reference was made to internal problems of economic development, cooperation between developing countries, problems relating to international trade and economic aid. This was a new emphasis. Subsequently at Lusaka in 1970 this was further elaborated underlining the need for coordination in economic planning and projections, trade, cooperation and development in application of science and technology.

President Tito of Yugoslavia, one of the founders of the movement of non-alignment, addressing the UN General Assembly in October 1963, explained the philosophy and efforts of the Third World countries in bringing out a new diplomatic dimension to the approach. He observed :

"The question of non-alignment is posed today in a far broader sense, in view of the growing number of States and peoples that are participating in the active struggle for peace. The polarisation of the forces of peace, on the one hand, and of the forces of cold war on the other, is taking place at an accelerated pace, practically in all the countries of the world, with the forces of peace in ascendancy. Non-alignment is thus changing both in quantitative and qualitative terms, and is transforming itself into a general movement of peace and for the finding of peaceful and constructive means for the settlement of various problems among nations. Active 'non-alignment' is thus becoming an increasingly broad and active participation in the struggle for the triumph of the principles of United Nations Charter....."

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1. Leo Kates, Non-alignment, 1972. pp. 344, 345

At the subsequent conferences held at Algiers (1973), Colombo (1976) and at Havana (1979) a number of countries joined the block which strengthened the base of the non-aligned movement. The Havana conference highlighted the urgency of establishing a new international economic order, as outlined by the General Assembly, and also to ensure greater degree of cooperation in trade, commerce and economic development among Third World Nations.

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At a ministerial conference held in New Delhi/July 1976 on the question of non-aligned press agency pool, it was decided to bring about a radical change in the field of information which is as vital as establishing a new international economic order. The non-aligned countries reaffirmed the imperative need for the emancipation and development of national information media from the domination of news agencies of advanced countries. It was thought that the continuing struggle for political, economic and social independence for a large majority of the people of the world should not be denied the right to inform and be informed objectively and correctly.

Today one hundred strong countries accept the philosophy of non-alignment as the best way for joint and concerted action, to operate as a balancing force in the interest of peace. Thus the non-aligned bloc has adopted a definite diplomatic posture in global affairs.

The growth and consolidation of the forces of the Third World is a tribute to the efforts of the founder leaders. At the time of the birth of United Nations there were nearly 120 colonial territories accounting for one third of the world's land and population. On account of the continuing pressure of the non-aligned group at the UN on ideological and political planes, the colonial powers were compelled to grant independence. Nearly 100 countries became free in the past 30 years and they enjoy independent membership at the U.N. on <sup>an</sup> equal footing with the major powers of the world.

One of the most significant trends in the past two decades in the United Nations has been that the Afro-Asian bloc could pull its whole weight against colonialism and no longer could any imperialist country turn a deaf ear to the combined voice of this bloc. By consolidating their voting power, the Third World countries could exercise considerable pressure on the Big Powers to observe restraint and promote detente.

The proposal of the Indian Government in November 1979 to enlarge and strengthen the Security Council on the ground that there is growing necessity to provide a more equitable and balanced representation consistent with the increased membership of the UN, won the first round in the General



Assembly when it was agreed to be placed on the agenda of the General Assembly. Such a move is likely to ensure a greater degree of bargaining power for the Third World countries in respect of political, economic and other issues in the world today.

### Economic Development - Diplomatic Pressures

The well-coordinated and joint measures of the Third World have brought about certain fundamental changes in the postures of major powers. The vast natural resources owned by the Third World countries and the dependence of major powers, on those resources came to be utilised as a check over the actions of the super and major powers. Today the Super Powers, notwithstanding their basic divergencies in political ideologies, governmental structures, socio-economic priorities and military interests, are extending considerable cooperation in implementing the economic programmes of the UN organised in the interest of the developing world.

The first and second development decades of the United Nations were devoted to increase the per capita income in the developing world and to assist the establishment of a new international economic order.

The Third World countries repeatedly pointed out the need for liberal trade policies and transfer of technology from the developed to the developing countries. Equitable

pricing policies, compensatory financing schemes, greater use of natural resources in preference to substitutes, expeditious commodity agreements, etc. contemplated by the U.N. Declaration, greatly helped to increase the share of the developing countries in international trade and commerce. In other words, the sixth special session of the General Assembly discouraged the practices of advanced nations in securing raw material and energy at cheap prices from the developing world. It would be of interest to have an idea about the potential of the Third World in respect of raw materials. The estimates are follows :

Approximately, 25 developing countries possess between 80 to 90 per cent of the total reserves of basic raw materials required by the industries of rich countries. The export of these commodities accounted for more than seventy five per cent of their total export value in 1970. The developing countries, which represent seventy per cent of the world's population, however, derive only thirty per cent of the world's income.

The multi-national corporations, which are the economic instruments of advanced countries, resort to various exploitative mechanisms for the purpose of catering to the needs of advanced countries. The degree of control which

multi-nationals exercise over trade and commerce of raw materials is enormous.

The price paid for the raw materials is dictated by the developed world. The price mechanism adopted by the multinationals in collusion with industrial nations which levy heavy taxes on import of primary products, shows the extent to which advanced nations continue to exploit the resources of the developing countries.

In spite of the opposition from rich countries on account of pressure exerted by the Third World, the 'Charter of Economic Rights and Duties' was adopted in December 1974. The Charter, while upholding the right to expropriate the foreign property and to organise commodity cartels to the developing countries, also called for cooperation in making ~~the~~ necessary adjustments in the price of exports of the developing countries in relation to their imports.

The reaffirmation at the Havana Summit, of non-aligned countries to evolve a coordinated commodity policy, liberalisation of trade, and equitable distribution of the World's natural resources, ocean as well as land, ensures greater degree of concerted efforts to reduce the gap between the rich and poor countries. The resolutions passed in respect of exploration and exploitation of ~~the~~ sea-bed and also to declare ~~the~~ Indian Ocean as 'a free zone' goes to the credit of the Third World's diplomacy in the economic field.

The above survey of the economic front throws ample light of the benefits already achieved, however meagre, and the need for continued and concerted action by the developing countries, planning and implementation of such coordinated action falls in the domain of diplomacy projecting a new dimension.

Communication may well qualify as the most elaborate single element in men's social happenings. In the verbal arena, everything is in a state of flux - the participants, their language, and the nature of their immediate physical surroundings. This quality of elusiveness in the communicative act makes our study more interesting but it also creates a problem. With so much going on at once it is difficult to know what to study. Since we cannot possibly consider all the subtleties of any given act of communication, we need guidelines - or perspective - on what is significant and what can be ignored.<sup>1</sup>

Probably the major phenomenon in the second half of the 20th century has been the independence gained by 80 nations, thanks to which over two billion people have been liberated from colonial domination. Despite this, present day world conditions - political, economic, scientific, technological, military, social and cultural - tend to foster the position and influence of certain countries and

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1. C. David Mortenson, Basic Readings in Communication Theory (Harper & Row, New York - 1975), page 53

perpetuate the dependence of a large number of other countries. Political independence is thus restricted and even undermined by economic dependence, especially by the nature of relations and the institutional division of labour between developed and developing countries. Moreover, it has become increasingly clear that the effect of intellectual and cultural dependence are as serious as those of political subjection or economic dependence. There can be no genuine, effective independence without the communication resources. The agreement has been made that a nation whose mass media are under foreign domination cannot claim to be a nation. Unfortunately in today's world, communication has all too frequently become an exchange between unequal partners, allowing the predominance of the more powerful, richer and the better-equipped. Discrepancy in power and wealth, by its own weight or by deliberate action, has an impact and influence on communication structures and communication flows. Herein lie many of the underlying causes of the inequalities, disparities and imbalances so characteristic of international communications, particularly between industrialised and developing countries.

The role of communication in international relations is also important as it governs the ability of international opinion to come fully to grips with the problems

which threaten mankind's survival, problems which cannot be solved without consultations and cooperation between countries : the arms race, famine, poverty, illiteracy, socialism, unemployment, economic injustices, population growth, destruction of environment, discrimination against women. These are but the principal problems, and it is essential to highlight how serious, deep-rooted and far-reaching. The mass media have a vital role to play in alerting the international public opinion for generating the will to solve such problems and making the ordinary people put pressure on the authorities to implement appropriate solutions.

"The main media for modern communication are the sound radio, television, the film and the press, apart from the traditional media which operate in a feeble form mainly in the rural areas. The sound radio and television are the most modern and the other media cannot compete with them in speed and vividness. But the press or print medium has still its hold; it has a permanent form; people like to preserve, read and reread what they hear on the radio or see and hear on television - what applies to one medium about its role in developing countries applies to other media, in spite of their differing techniques, and while the traditional media are important in developing countries and can be further developed, it is with the message that we are more concerned here and not with the medium and its techniques"<sup>2</sup>

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2. RAU, CHALAPATHI : Role of Media in Developing Countries Communication, Communicator (April-July 1982) Vol. XVII, No. 2 & 3, page 1.

For developing countries, development is the main thing, and though it is not sensational in the ordinary sense, the changes big or small, that take place all round are news, and lack of changes also is news. The most lasting changes are always slow and quiet. History, which is a more permanent and unhurried form of recorded happenings, is no longer the history of the follies and crimes of mankind, as Gibbon saw it or as Herodotus had recorded it in a crude form from contemporaries. The main task of the present-day historian is to present the social and economic development of countries, the background against which kings, proconsuls, Presidents and Prime Ministers prance. Britain won an empire spectacularly, though in a fit of absentmindedness, but emphasis is not given to how Britain developed not only politically but socially and economically and in science and technology.<sup>3</sup>

In Third World countries, the media, which records history in a hurry, find that socio-economic development provides the greatest amount of news. There are no wars or landings on the moon to report, and as chroniclers and interpreters, media men will find much of interest for readers to speak or write about. For this, they require

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3. Makganser, Madaminem, UNESCO & World-Problem of Communication UNESCO COURIER, April, 1977 - page 4.

more and more means of communications, more and more newspapers, more and more radio and T.V. Stations, more films. The development of the means of communication is also important, but the stress has to be laid on the content, and preference should be given to the performance rather than the performer. Some part of society is always changing, and as there is greater awareness of the importance of communication to society, ministers become less important than common man.<sup>4</sup>

The media are now not well organized in developing countries where they are more important for results than in the developed countries, where they serve curiosity or the need for entertainment more. In developing countries, there is need for more and more information and for more and more explanation. If society as a whole has to share in communication, society must have a share in the ownership, control and management of the means of communication, but it is the opinion of experts that in developing countries, where the sound radio and TV are under state control, they need not be converted into corporations, till the proficiency of those who run the media is raised to a high level. The State can run those media more purposefully, if it has social needs in view than private media with profit motive

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4. Mehta, B.S., Public Relations in India, New Delhi, 1980, page 252.



and uncertain aims. The political opposition can be given its due share even with State-run media, and that is a small part of their coverage. The film is to some extent under State control and the press is mainly in the private sector, with the newspaper industry owned by other industries in this country. But (the needs of communication between various segments of the community and participation in communication by the maximum number of people must be kept in view.<sup>5</sup>)

The social aims are important, whether they are served by the State or by organisations<sup>or</sup> by society. There must be a more even flow of information between the several countries of the world, and between the several areas of a country itself and between different sections of society. In the nation-building process in which developing countries are absorbed, the infrastructure of communication is necessary, but that must be used for better and closer communication.<sup>6</sup> To generate and to foster freedom and free flow of information various international bodies dealing with human right and fundamental freedom had set themselves to certain objectives. Important among them are Universal Declaration

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5. Ibid.

6. News Flow Around the World : Unequal Give and Take, UNESCO Features No. 716, 1977, Page 6.

of Human Rights, 1948, International Convention of Civil and Political Right 1966, and the Declaration of Principles of International Cultural Cooperation as adopted by the general conference of UNESCO(1966).<sup>7</sup> It was around 1970 that concepts upon which today's international debate is focussed, begin to be formulated. The problems raised by the one way information flow and by the existence of monopolistic trends in international flows have widely been discussed in many international gatherings.<sup>8</sup>

At the 1978 General Conference of UNESCO and general agreement of United Nations, two resolutions have been adopted. They agreed upon the need for more just and more efficient world information and communication order.<sup>9</sup>

The conference organised by UNESCO on communication policies (Costa-Rica, July 1976) recommended the formulation of new national and international communication policies. National communication policies should be conceived in the context of national realities and

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7. Mankekar, D.R., Media and Third World Countries, LINC, 1980, Page 51

8. The General Conferences of UNESCO (Nairobi, 1976, Paris 1978) discussed the main communication problems.

9. Mehta, Public Relations in India, New Delhi, 1980, Page 192.

respect for individual and social rights. The Kaulalumpur Conference (1979) studied all aspects of communication policies, with special reference to Asia and Oceania. These trends of discussing major problems in international dimension have received several valuable ideas related to communication. It is now being realised that sovereignty, identity and independence do not only arise from formal political decisions but are also contingent upon the condition of cultural and economic life.

The emergence of the News Agencies Pool of the non-aligned countries, which are almost all developing countries, was an effort to build a new world information order as a part of a new international economic order. The pool has shown several insufficiencies, like lack of transmission facilities, lack of news media within certain countries, and lack of sufficient development itself within some countries. Unless each country is engaged in the task of ensuring sufficient and even development within itself, there is little information to transmit except occasional change of regimes.<sup>10</sup>

If India's coverage of Asia is considered, it is still thin in quality, most of the coverage is about external relations, even India's close neighbours like

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10. Spasic, Aleksander, News Agencies Prof. of the Non-Aligned Country, The Democratic Journalist, 1977, Page 1.

Burma, Thailand, Indonesia and Ceylon are not sufficiently covered. Nepal is, but for good neighbourly reasons, much cannot be covered and from Pakistan there can be only diluted news. The case of African countries is worse, not to speak of the Caribbean countries. Much of the Asian and African news even now emanate from Europe or America, not from Asia or Africa. To report Asia or Africa is different from reporting Europe or America. It requires more sympathy and understanding, less of sensationalism and more of the dull news of development.<sup>11</sup>

of The cult of personality has added to the difficulty of reporting non-personal themes of development. There is need for leadership in developing countries more than in developed countries, but the person is not as important as changes among the lives of the people. "We are all men and women of destiny," said Jawaharlal Nehru, "and the millions are more important than what some persons do." The so-called investigative reporting has also meant investigation of crime and corruption, which should be uncovered, but in concentrating on the Malkan Singhs, the magazines and other publications concentrate more on the romantic and sensational aspects of crime or corruption, not on its social and economic causes.<sup>12</sup>

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11. Ibid.

12. Marks John "Media to the Third World" in The Washington Post, Aug. 27, 1976.

Through an examination of the world picture of international communication, it is found that some nations of the world have been deprived of communication it is found that some nations of the world have been deprived of communication with others through lack of means of communication.<sup>13</sup> In recent years, however, others observed that the development of communication technologies, such as intercontinental submarine cables and communication satellites, has opened new channels for international communication.

The flow of information and informational materials between countries is also governed to a considerable extent by certain basic realities. For one thing, the great avenues of exchange are mostly owned by a few countries.

Flow of information and the problems of international communication have, in the recent years, become one of the most controversial topics in the international community, yet another area of North-South confrontation and deadlock.

Control of information was one of the most vital factors in the historical processes that led to the

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13. Smith, Bruce Lanner & others - International Communication and Political Opinion. A Guide to the Literature, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1956, page 81.

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division of the world into a handful of rich countries and a vast majority of the poor nations.

The poor nations' awareness and desire to alter the existing unfavourable and unjust conditions are reflected in their call for a NIIO, and for increased flow of information about and between the developing countries struggling for economic emancipation. The New International Information Order is the Third World alternative to the present information imbalance.

The Third World has no possibilities of being heard, as the change of information structure has not followed political decolonization. That is why the Third World countries frequently accuse the developed countries of providing them with distorted, subjective and incomplete information which does not reflect the needs, the real interests or the national realities in the Third World. The U.S. itself expressed similar concern in the early forties when the European countries controlled the global stage.

The international discussion of communication issues has its origins in the realities of the new world situation. More particularly, the concerns, claims and conflicts, which generate the current international debate, stem from certain negative repercussions of principles adopted long ago, which led to inequalities between different countries.

At the time of the foundation of the UN and the UNESCO, the International Communication set itself certain objectives : to guarantee and foster freedom and free flow of information. This principle is solemnly proclaimed in various international instruments dealing with human rights and fundamental freedom.<sup>(1)</sup> This validity deserves to be re-emphasised and reaffirmed.<sup>14</sup>

However, the obvious imbalances in communication supported the view that "free flow" was nothing more than "one way flow" and that the principle on which it was based should be re-stated to guarantee "free and balanced flow". The hazy origins of these concepts date back to the 1950s, they become more clearly defined between the late 1960s and the early 1970s. By that time, the imbalance in the flow of news and information between the industrialised and developed countries was a major topic at international meetings and debates on fundamental political and economic issues in the contemporary world. Today, virtually no one disputes the reality of this imbalances. However, there is no general agreement on concrete applications of the concepts, remedies to the problem and on desirable policies. It is for this reason that the concepts

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14. "A World Debate on Information : Flood Tide or Balanced Flow"? The UNESCO publication (April, 1977) p-3.

of free flow and one-way flow, balance and imbalance have become topics of the debate in the world forums.<sup>15</sup>

The imbalance in news circulation is a complex and varied phenomenon. Alike quantitative and qualitative, it may occur at different levels and in different forms:

- (a) between developed and developing countries, in so far as the international flow is governed by the existence or non-existence of a appropriate infrastructures;
- (b) between countries having different political and socio-economic systems;
- (c) between developed countries belonging to the same political system, especially between smaller and bigger ones;
- (d) between the Third World countries themselves;
- (e) between political news and news concerning the social, economic and cultural life of countries battling with the ills of underdevelopment;
- (f) between what is conventionally called 'good' news and "bad" news, i.e. news of catastrophes, failures, conflicts, set-backs, excesses; and
- (g) between burying news on current events and information dealing with the burning problems the people

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15. Communicator, I.I.N.C. Publications, April & July, 1982, Vol. XIVII, No. 2 & 3.

16. Ibid.



and nations face. Doubtless there is no single, universal criterion being adopted to measure these imbalances and disparities, since news values differ from country to country and from culture to culture. Hence any generalisation on news values is bound to remain rather loose, even if professional communicators do frequently agree on a number of factors considered to make for news!<sup>17</sup>

Such imbalances are today not only limited to news flow in the usual sense. They also affect to a great extent, the collection and diffusion of data necessary for scientific purposes, technological innovations, communal needs, trade development, exploitation of natural resources, meteorological forecastings and military purposes. In short, there is an imbalance regarding strategic information for political and economic decision making!<sup>18</sup>

The gap between the full informed and the under-informed continues to widen as the imbalance between the news importers and receivers becomes acute. Although it is only fair to recognise that the international news flows have enormously increased and that communication

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17. Harton Philip C., The Third World & Press Freedom, Praeger Publishers, 1981 p. 39

18. Hartman, Paul, "Cultural Identity and media Dependency", Journal 25( Jan 1978) p. 2-4

sources pushed up their output, it is necessary to stress that communicators have strengthened their power to control the impact of the messages transmitted, as well as the selection of information available. Also, the attendant distortion and imbalance reflect in some way the dominant interests of the societies from which they emanate.

This situation cannot continue without detriment both to international understanding and to co-operation between nations, without affecting the socio-political and socio-cultural conditions prevailing in different countries and without prejudicing the efforts to satisfy the basic needs, solve the essential problems of the world's populations and to safeguard world peace.<sup>19</sup>

For better international relations co-existence is the concept which makes us believe that all the nations of the world should live in perfect peace and should tolerate their differences because as we have our own right to follow a particular policy, the others too have similar right to follow a policy they like to follow. This obviously means that all the States can have been different ideologies and political, social and economic systems can live together in perfect peace and harmony.

In actual world we find that the States having

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19. Varis, T. "World Information Orders", Instant Research on Peace & Violence, Vol.4, 1976, p.144

different political ideologies and economic systems are engaged in a cold war. For them the peace is simply an interval between two wars and a warfare in one form or the other form is going on. The governments as well as the people are being approached in one way or the other to accept their view-point and economic systems. This has divided the world in two power blocs. Both the power blocs instead of living together in perfect harmony are drifting away from each other. In the present circumstances it will perhaps be difficult to believe or even think that both the power blocs will sincerely make effort for co-existence.

Today the nations are co-operating with each other only to the extent to which their purpose is served and is given to a nation only when it is felt that the nation is politically inclined towards a particular ideology. At international forums instead of cooperation and viewing the things impartially the decisions are taken only on the basis of following a particular type of political ideology.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) proclaimed "everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression, this right includes freedom to hold opinion without interference and to seek, receive and impart informations and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers".<sup>20</sup> Since ... then much water

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20. Many Voices, One World, UNESCO, 1981, P-150

has flowed under the bridge. Several conferences, seminars and other international meets have further developed and defined the idea. The fast developing technology and the advent of electronic revolution have created new conditions and shaken up the very concept of the doctrine of freedom of information.

Diplomacy from time immemorial has been considered as a valuable instrument of inter-state relations. It has a long and fascinating history to its credit. In ancient India, China and Islamic States in the Orient and the West, particularly during the Greek and Roman Civilisations and during Latin periods of history, diplomacy was practised and developed to suit the necessities of the time. While nations all over the world continue to engage in the never-ending struggle for accumulation of power by framing the channels of foreign policy, the ultimate responsibility of achieving the national objectives rests on the factionary of diplomacy. A well formulated foreign policy could gain the desired results only if highly qualified and efficient diplomatic agents are employed. But at the same time it must also be kept in mind that apart from information received from diplomatic hannels, the other channels i.e. mass media also contribute a very useful channel in shaping and framing foreign policy objectives of a State. With sensational achievements in the communications technology information received through mass media has a vital role in formulating of diplomatic strategies.

Mass media, traditionally are the disseminators of information and news, besides playing the role of entertainment. Media have now assumed a new dimension in the present world. They can also play a role in the development and education. Some countries with the help of the UNESCO and other international agencies and some with their own initiative, conducted many experimental studies in the '60s<sup>21</sup> to determine the impact of communication, particularly through mass media, on the process of development. Most of these studies came out with their findings stressing on the positive role of media in development.

The overall development in the field of mass media, including the availability of a large number of radio and television sets, newspapers and cinema halls, in Third World countries is very dismal.<sup>21</sup>

With almost two thirds of the world's population, the developing countries publish less than half the world's dailies, and these have a total circulation of 1/6th of the total in industrialised nations.<sup>22</sup> In the developed world, there is one copy of a daily in circulation for approximately every three inhabitants. In the poorer regions it is one for every 30 persons. In Asian countries, the figure is one for every 50. India with 835 newspapers ranks third in the world

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21. Mc Quail Dents, Sociology of Mass Communication. Penguin (Middlesex & U.K.-1972) p.29

22. UNESCO (Geneva), November 1976.

in the number of dailies. The circulation is only 16 copies per thousand people and is almost exclusively limited to cities and large towns. Eight African countries and three Arab States have no daily newspapers at all, while 13 countries in Africa have only one.

While the Third World countries have for years been seeking better trade terms, including preferential treatment from the richer nations, the latter have all along been avoiding the issue, or adopting evasive tactics. It is on these grounds that the Third World countries are demanding the implementation of a new international information order.

The world needs communications for diplomacy and defence. Over the past 30 years, the hotline between USA and USSR is what has ultimately stood between survival and a nuclear holocaust, a frightening thought. The world clearly needs more and better communications for peace and understanding, for the equality and fraternity that invest liberty with greater meaning.

Development communications has a prime role to play in the fulfilment of this larger task, for the foundations of equity, human dignity and enriched living must be laid at home within each developing society. Communications can be a liberating and humanising force if wisely used through participatory structures on the

principle of sarvodya or the welfare of all. Many paths might conceivably lead to this desired objective. Whichever the route chosen, it will need a philosophy of communications to get them.

Both in its structures and its content, communication inter~~meshes~~<sup>meshes</sup> with, and is dependent on, the economy in many ways. A constant flow of information is vital for economic life. It, being a great economic force with incalculable potentialities, is a decisive factor in development. As an element of increasing importance in all national economies, communication represents a growing segment of a country's gross national production and has direct repercussions on productivity and employment. In particular, advances in telecommunications bring about instant transmission of information. It is communication that now holds out the best prospects of growth in industrial societies resulting in the overall growth of the economy. Modern communication means make the site of enterprises often irrelevant, permit transfers to many factories in distant areas or a freer choice of locations for different industries and other sorts of activities.

True, various forms of communication and information have always been linked, at least implicitly to work and production, but now it has become easier to

and out the connections.<sup>23</sup>

In developed countries, the introduction of the new technology followed the industrial revolution with an ample breathing space. But developing countries can not repeat this sequence, partly because they have a pressing need to speed up their development. Many countries have strong reasons to work out concrete development strategies for communication, and to contribute additional resources to the creation of appropriate infrastructures.

Development in this field demands a better utilization of resources which are at present under employed. As things stand, there is no doubt that communication resources are unequally distributed on a world scale. Some countries have a full capacity to collate information regarding their needs, many have little capacity to do so, and this is a major handicap in their development.<sup>24</sup>

These disparities will have the most serious consequences in scientific and technological spheres. Problems of information about scientific research and its application have assumed a new dimension, because of the experimental growth in the volume of information available and also because of its increasing complexity, which gives so many research projects and potentialities a broad

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23. Lant, Joh A, Asian Mass Communications : A comprehensive Bibliography, Philadelphia : Temple University, School of Communications (1975), Page 7
24. Herton Philip, C, The Third World Press Freedom, Praeger Publishers, 1981, p. 29



interdisciplinary character. STI ("the current abbreviation for scientific and technical information") is today a vital economic resource. It is the product of consistent efforts and the thinking of eminent personalities of the world. STI is the key to the independent national development. It is also a basic factor in the co-ordinated progress of mankind.<sup>25</sup> Information obviously governs the gathering, classification and analyses of scientific data. However, although it is a guarantee of speed and often of reliability, it does not always guarantee the relevance of the states. So the STI requires some guidelines to be followed by the users of information, devoted to the evaluation and synthesis of information related to the solving of concrete problems. But again some question arises who will control the STI? How the process of selection and distribution of information can be carried out? There is a special need to concentrate on the development of national infrastructures with access to world resources of the STI. To the global store of information, they can add knowledge of local origin, for this is one of the factors that will contribute to the independent national development.<sup>26</sup>

These problems are compounded by the fact that although unit costs of many communication products have

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25. Naesselland, Ganner R. "Introduction to a New Order of Information", Africa Mass Media, Vol. No. 5, No date. p-51

26. Porat, Mare U. "Global Implications of the Information Society", Journal of Communication, Vol. 28 (Winter 1978) pp. 69-80

tended to decrease, the investments necessary to produce them are increasing. Rich nations have, for this reason, a built-in structural advantage for the future. This economic reality links communication problems to the new International economic order. Changes are necessary in the field of economic and communications. These issues have a practical as well as a theoretical value.<sup>27</sup>

Communication, whether considered as a tool in economic development or as a subject of economic research, calls for new and relevant studies, which should be made, as far as possible, on comparative lines. But these studies should lead to political actions. There is no more room for uncertainty either over the role that communication should play in economic planning or about its place in development strategy, and over the need for the resources that should be devoted to it by every nation and by the international community.

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27. Sussman, Leonard R. "The March Through the World's Mass Media" Orbis (Winter 1977), pp. 857-879.

CHAPTER IIIMASS MEDIA AND THE THIRD WORLD

Wilbur Schramm, in Mass Media and National Development defines a developing country as one in which the annual per capita income is 300 dollars or less.<sup>1</sup> This definition, or something like it, is generally accepted and it designates as 'developing' the whole of Africa except South Africa, whole of Southern Asia except Singapore, whole of East Asia except Japan, whole of Central Asia except USSR. It also includes China and India and most of the countries in Latin America, almost all the Middle East, and in Europe, Albania, Bulgaria, Portugal and Yugoslavia. It is usually agreed that some two-thirds or more of the world's population comes into the category of developing, or under-developed and in most areas they have not reached the stage which in Europe was called the Industrial Revolution.

Most of the people in developing countries live in rural areas which are still less privileged compared to urban areas in terms of the availability of mass media.

The values that foreign media force down on developing countries have tended to undermine people's confidence in themselves. Even for exchanging information, developing

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1. Wilbur Schramm, Mass Media and National Development - 1976, Paris, page 18.

countries have had to depend on western media which transmit information with a slating colours, thus giving rise to apprehensions.

The<sup>2</sup> Third World Countries largely share the problem of poverty, hunger and population explosion. Many are not devoid of natural resources and manpower. But they have not been able to exploit these to their advantage. Some of them doubtless, also have a glorious history and can legitimately be proud of their old civilization and cultural tradition. The industrial revolution, which started in England and later spread over to other European countries, including the United States, could not make much impact on the Third World countries. The industrialised nations found in the third world nations treasures of raw material for their factories and also a readily available market for their finished products. This brought all the riches in the fold of the Empire and spelt disaster for a fairly well-grown cottage industry of Asian and African nations.<sup>3</sup> The countries, which underwent the process of industrialisation, came to be recognised as developed nations and others as under developed.

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2. Mountjoy - The Third World : Problems and Perspectives, 1980, page 24.

3. Wilbur Schramm, Mass Media and National Development, 1976, Paris, page 18.

To study mass media in the Third World countries is to encounter numerous problems, offering no easy solutions.<sup>4</sup> Despite the size of their population and territory, developing countries get hardly any notice in the world media. Whatever is reported is lopsided and projects a distorted picture. The values that foreign media impose on developing countries have tended to undermine people's confidence in themselves. Even for exchanging information, developing countries have had to depend on the Western media. This gives rise to inadequate understanding and sometimes needless apprehensions.

Developing countries recognise that the most effective way to overcome this legacy is to establish their own means of exchange of news by building national news agencies and other media of information. In recent years, considerable progress has been made in this respect through bilateral and multi-lateral systems for exchange of news among the developing countries. Their determined efforts have succeeded in changing slightly the initial Western resistance to their demands.<sup>5</sup>

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4. I.O.J. Publications - Prague - 1975  
"Developing World and Mass Media - p.3
  5. D.R. Mankakar, Media & the Third World,  
(Indian Institute of Mass Communications),  
New Delhi, 1979, p. 48.

The problems that the developing countries face are; (1) financial constraints in building of an information infrastructure necessary for a new agency, and (2) paucity of cadres capable of organising and running news organisations. These two difficulties affect all developing countries in various degrees, including those where news agencies have been functioning for many years.

The non-aligned movement, which embraces a majority of developing countries, has sought to overcome these difficulties by a programme of self-help, to be supplemented by assistance from international bodies in the way of "hardware" for information infrastructure.

In the seventies, opinion gathered momentum within the developing world in favour of bilateral, multi-lateral, regional as well as inter-continental co-operation in the sphere of news exchange. The non-Aligned News Pool, whose operations cover the continents of Asia, Africa, Europe and Latin America, provides a most striking example of such an exchange.<sup>6</sup>

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6. Ibid

Non-Aligned News Pool is the outcome of voluntary efforts made by non-aligned countries to promote the free flow of news and information.<sup>7</sup> Its intention is not to set up another transnational news agency, or to supplant the existing organisations that collect and discriminate news, but to supplement and correct the imbalance in the flow of news. This will help the non-aligned countries exchange information among themselves and project a more realistic image of their<sup>5</sup>. Its membership has now reached more than 50. The scope and content of news exchange conceived under the pool arrangements are expanding from year to year.

Developing countries are unable to influence the balance in the information flow which had been weighted in favour of the developed West. Two-thirds of the world population living in the developing countries get only marginal notice in the international media.<sup>8</sup>

It is not only a matter of volume but also the contents that have made developing countries unhappy and even indignant about the current pattern of news flow.

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7. Ibid

8. From Freedom of Information to the free flow of information - (UNESCO - 1978), page 1-2.

Economic and technical constraints stood in the way of developing countries for surmounting this imbalance, while they have come to realise that except on the basis of self-reliance their problem cannot be resolved satisfactorily.<sup>9</sup>

A preliminary view seems to indicate that the theme of a 'New informal order' is not directly related to the questions of economic development and social justice. The relationship between the two becomes obvious; one may even state that the New International Economic Order and the New Informal Orders are closely interdependent, as both englobe the problems posed by the imbalance and injustice that characterise relations between developed and developing countries. The dependance of the development countries on the industrialised world has increased due to the development strategy applied in the Third World. The "quality of life" has also become a major concern for politicians the champions of public opinion. If the aspirations of the Third World peoples are ignored, prosperity cannot last and world-peace cannot be maintained. According to the transformation of the present order of international economic relations is a fundamental one which requires

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9. "The Volume of Information Flow and the Quantum Evaluation of Media". Tekom. Journal, Vol.42, No. 6 (1979), p.6.



profound changes in the development strategies and social and economic policies within the country concerned.

Relations established by different states in economic and information fields reflect a high degree of interdependence. Therefore, it is only natural and that the installation of a new international economic order would prompt to study its implications with regard to communication and information.<sup>10</sup> Before outlining the basic characteristics of the new information order, we should examine the present situation and its major contradictions. The contradictions not only include those which exist between the developed and developing countries, but also those existing within the developed and developing countries. The majority of those who have studied the present information order have been particularly concerned with examining its deficiencies through an analysis of relations between developed countries, taken on a global scale, and developing countries, without mentioning the problems that can arise with regard to freedom and balance in the flow of information between two advanced

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10. Gamal El-Oleifi : Call for a New International Information Order - (UNESCO 1978), p. 3.

countries, like the United States and the Soviet Union, or between the latter and China. The same holds true for two developing countries, for the information and messages they exchange can also be distorted and facts misrepresented. Nonetheless, it should be recognised that while discussing the imbalanced flow of information, relations between developed and developing countries present the most serious problem.

If we take the example of the information media, we observe that all these, whether they be printed or electronic, depend on five world agencies for news that are published or disseminated.<sup>11</sup> These agencies with their enormous fascination for new collection and discrimination, continue to thrive the same role as in the colonial period, when they promoted economic and commercial exchange and supported political and economic systems that were within the sphere of the colonial powers' influence. Developing countries are especially critical of the international agencies as they do not provide sufficient coverage of events that take place outside the Western World. They only present events in the Third World that are sensational or exotic or that tend to undermine the developing

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11. D.R. Mankekar, Media and the Third World, I.I.M.C. New Delhi 1980, p. 26.

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countries. They deliberately avoid filing reports about the efforts the developing countries make to achieve development. In most cases, the agencies provide a distorted image of the Third World. It has been even stated that the world press agencies; transmission of information to the developing countries is <sup>an</sup> one way traffic only and that opinion and news are imposed, in view of the means employed on the Third World mass media.

However, the position of many Third World countries has been challenged by those who claim that it is unfair to state that the world press agencies are responsible for the imbalanced flow of information between developed and developing countries.<sup>12</sup> This school of thought stresses that the information transmitted by these agencies can not be imposed on Third World countries as they are always free to accept or reject it. To support this argument, they cite a sample of 85 non-aligned countries, the majority of which subscribe to the world agencies through their governments. Reuters, supply 73 per cent of news to the non-aligned countries exclusively through their

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<sup>12</sup>. Wilber Sehramm, Mass Media and National Development 1968, p. 4.

governments, or government controlled channels. Associated Press transmits 77 per cent of news to the Third World and United Press International 82 per cent. Therefore, according to this study, it is not possible to maintain that the Third World citizens are mere "passive receivers" of information received from the world press agencies.

No matter how much value is accorded to these two views, it cannot be denied that most developing countries depend on world press agencies for getting news and information. Developing countries receive more information on developed countries than on neighbouring regions. The American magazine, Time, circulates not less than four million copies within the United States, whereas it circulates five million copies abroad. READER'S DIGEST published 25 editions in 13 different languages. Its circulation comes to one million in the United States and 11 million in foreign countries.<sup>13</sup>

What these figures convey is quite simple. The Western Press controls the ideas and information of Third World intellectuals. If we add to this the fact

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13. Problem of Communication in Developing Countries  
UNESCO, 1979, p.9.

that many Third World countries are faced with a serious problem of language, either because they have been forced to retain the language imposed by a colonial power or because of the multiple languages spoken in the country, then we are confronted with the awesome dimensions of the gap which separates the industrialised countries from the Third World.

In each country, the phenomenon of concentration of press ownership and management, has caused due concern. This phenomenon, whether it is the result of state control or domination by trusts, is compounded by the risk of standardisation of opinions and restrictions of choices, which sharply contrast with freedom of choice, the veritable foundation of free information. Concentration has also been extended to the international level by translation corporations.

The phenomenon of monopolistic concentration has been extended from the press to the book publishing industry. In Italy, the car firm FIAT owns a group of publishing houses. In Britain, the Longman Publishing House is owned by the Financial Times group, which in 1972 took over Penguin Books. Six European publishing houses joined together to invest in video systems. Most European publishing houses have subsidiaries in

developing countries, like Macmillan in India and Langmans in Africa, export 80 per cent of their production. Hachette carries out similar operations in Francophone countries. It is apparent from this information that the developing countries purchase almost all their books from the developed world. This situation affects the cultural identity of the Third World, which may become vulnerable to what we can only term cultural aggression, given the unequal exchange and absence of dialogue between culture and civilization as well as the tendency to impose on these peoples a completely alien cultural order.

The influence exerted by the developed countries in the field of information is intensified by radio. Short-wave broadcasting is capable of reaching listeners in every corner of the globe. Transnational broadcasting, which is now done through artificial satellites, permits the exportation of millions of cinematographic and photographic products, destined for local use by cinema and television.<sup>15</sup> The developed countries are able to export approximately 98 per cent of these products to

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<sup>15</sup>. Daniel Lerner and Wilbur Schramm, *Communication and Change*, Paris, 1968, p.3.

developing countries. / This figure does not even take into account the export of radio and television sets, whose production is almost completely monopolised by the developed countries.

The communication media, in general which include telecommunication (the telegraph, telephone and telex) assure the developed countries of control over all information media. To cite an example of the 400 million telephones in use throughout the world, 80 per cent are found in only two countries.<sup>16</sup>

Furthermore, sophisticated communication media which rely on computers, data banks and telecommunication networks play a very important role in foreign trade.

In addition to the wide gap in material facilities between developed and developing countries, the content of the media messages, has posed serious problems restricting the freedom of information. The content of information often appears to be one of the factors which increases tension in the international arena, rather

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16. UN Yearbook of Industrial Statistics - 1976.

then contributing to understanding between peoples. Certain media have been separately accused of inciting to war and others of promoting racial discrimination. One of the most important accomplishments of the UNESCO in the field of information was achieved at the last session of the General Conference in Paris when an agreement was reached on the "Declaration on Fundamental Principles concerning the contribution of the media to strengthening peace and international understanding, to the promotion of human rights and countervailing racialism, apartheid and incitement to war". This declaration, which was adopted after spirited debates, clearly demonstrates that the General Conference realised the great complexity of the problems raised by the question of information in modern society. It also underscored the need to pay heed to the aspirations and cultural identity of all peoples, particularly to the desire of the developing countries to achieve a more just and effective new world information and communication order.

Many individuals have noted that the information media do not give a correct image of life in Third World countries, and that they do not give adequate coverage to Third World projects and efforts undertaken for promoting development, reinforcing national unity,



and affirming cultural identity.<sup>17</sup> On the contrary, the information disseminated by these media exaggerates the role of industrialised countries and minimises the increasingly significant role of the Third World. In short, they tend to provide a distorted image of these countries. Consequently, the information on the Third World transmitted by the Western press agencies to their public gives a negative picture of a region of the world that is not only vast, but increasingly important.

The development of the media is one of the reasons for the increasing domination of advertising over the contents of media messages. This domination has been strengthened by concentrations in production and by the emergence of world-wide industrial monopolies. Therefore, a new world information order must take into account the commercial methods used by these large monopolies for the promotion of their products. The total billings spent by the industrialised countries on foreign advertising are more than \$1 billion a year for every country. Most of advertising messages presented by the majority of Third World information media concern imported goods for consumption.<sup>18</sup>

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17. Sean Macbride, *Many Voices, one World*, (UNESCO Publication) 1980-18, p. 113.

18. See Hooper, New York - 1976, Prof. Herbert Schiller, Communication Accompanies Capital Flow, CIC Document No. 47, 1978, p. 17

Certain information authorities in the developed countries have voiced their own criticism. They maintain that the deficiencies in information on Third World countries are primarily due to the local Government control over the information media. The result is what journalists can only transmit official information, as the presentation of divergent opinions is prohibited. It is pointed out that to provide accurate information, a journalist must have access to information sources. Finally, it is alleged that correspondents for newspapers and press agencies are not given sufficient protection in most of these countries.<sup>19</sup> Some delicate problems dealing with the absence of "balanced information" in the Third World have arisen: How should news be "filtered". How can the news, worth publishing be selected: what criteria should be used for this "filtering" and choice? Does it mean that such a selection will be transformed into a kind of censure or will lead to state intervention, a phenomenon which can only have negative consequences for the transmission of information.

In many countries, besides the imbalance in the dissemination and circulation of news, there are obstacles to the "flow of information". This issue was

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19. Thomas Hammarberg, *New Information Order - Balance and Freedom* (UNESCO - 1978) p. 6.

treated in the Final Act of Helsinki, August, 1975. Nevertheless, this question has led to a great controversy with regard to the rights and responsibilities of journalists. How much protection should be provided for information personnel? Should the journalists right not be related to his mission, which is to keep the public opinion better informed, and to a necessary professional code of ethics? The latter preoccupation has been particularly evident in the reservations expressed by certain developing countries on the foreign correspondents assigned to them. These countries feel that there has been an abuse of the principle of free flow of news. It is the duty of the state to protect society against any harmful effect which may be dissimulated by this freedom.

Just as in the field of information, it is not possible to separate international problems from the local ones, it is inadmissible that developing countries proclaim the need for a new international information order, based on the free and balanced flow of information, when at the national level they provide hardly any guarantees for the exercise of this freedom.<sup>20</sup>

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20. Anthony Smith, The Politics of Information 1958, p. 9.

In developing countries, there is an imbalance between urban and rural areas and between different majority and minority groups.<sup>21</sup> We can say that there is an imbalance between those who have the possibility of gaining access to the media, and those who do not, because of widespread poverty and illiteracy.

It is obvious that one should enquire and look into the pressures exercised by the Third World countries and also the needs of New International Information Order with special reference to news flow between developed and under developed countries. In the current scene of international relations the origin, nature and objective of pressure exercised by Third World countries should also be studied to pursue their jointly agreed objections. An exercise of this kind of collective pressure: economic, political or military, for the purpose of managing and adjusting international relations may be termed as Third World diplomacy.

The Afro-Asian and Latin American countries have been making a determined efforts for quite some time to put an end once and for all to the continuous economic

21. G.E. Oleifi, Call for a New International Information Order, 1979, UNESCO, p. 1.

and political exploitation by the various European powers. With the emergence<sup>e</sup> of Third World countries as a political group with common aspirations, objectives and approaches, some countries tried their best to make their presence and impact felt in the world. India played a pioneer role in this direction by organising forces of Third World Countries. Non-alignment not only has been accepted on the basic philosophy but became a commanding force directed towards achieving certain positive efforts and well-defined goals.

The polarisation of the forces of peace on the one hand and the forces of cold war on the other is taking place at an accelerated pace practically in all the countries of the world with the forces of peace in ascendency. Non-alignment is thus changing both in quantitative<sup>^</sup> and qualitative<sup>^</sup> terms, and is transforming itself into a general movement of peace and for the finding of peaceful and construction means for the settlement of various problems among nations.

In July 1976, a ministerial conference was held in New Delhi on the question of non-aligned press agency pool. The non-aligned countries re-affirmed the imperative need for the emancipation and development of nation information media from the domination of news agencies of advanced countries. It was earnestly felt that the large majority of the people of the world

should not be denied the right to inform and be informed objectively and correctly.

Today the one hundred strong countries of non-aligned bloc have adopted a definite diplomatic posture in global affairs. On the account of the continuing pressure of the non-aligned group at the UN on the ideological and political plans, the colonial powers compelled to grant independence to nearly 300 countries in past thirty years. The most significant trend in last 25 years in the UN has been that the Afro-Asian bloc could pull its whole weight against colonialism. No imperialist country can ignore the voice of this bloc.

Much disproportionate attention has been paid by Western media to the struggle these emergent/new countries have been facing. The developing countries, infact, have been at the receiving end of the inflow of selective foreign news or victims of a free out flow of unsympathetic destructure reporting of events in their led. The monopoly of the transitional news media enjoyed by these Western powers headed by USA has to decide what kind of international and national news the world shall read, and thus influence world opinion on crucial international issues.

The modern science and its inventions and achievements in the field of electronics, the electronic "eyes and ears" are threatening to strip the countries of all privacy, as if a family living in a house without walls is fully exposed to the gaze of all passersby. This new set of circumstances gives a <sup>1</sup>olt to the doctrine of freedom <sup>2</sup>information.

This calls for a reorientation and retraining of Third World journalists into the other names values, concepts and definitives, since the man biting dog type of news have to be eschewed. Indian and other delegation from the Third World countries have raised the question at the UNESCO and have demanded the formulation of an international code of ethics to be observed by the operators of news media at the world level. This would discipline the free flow of information and prevent misuse.

The New Delhi Declarations of July 1976 by non-aligned states took note of the persistent and serious imbalances in the current global information situations and its adverse effects "on the developing countries". The Colombo summit of Non-aligned countries held in August 1976 ratified the New Delhi Declarations. The Non-aligned News Agencies Pool is already functioning in a number of Afro-Asian and Latin American countries.

The pool has brought about some qualitative improvement in the coverage of news for Asia, Africa and Latin America. Events are now projected as they are seen by the countries intimately connected with them, which imports a right perspective reports of some political developments. The pool is also supplying news in depth about each other, all of the kind they want to read about each other. The very outcry raised by the Third World against the indifferent quality and content of their news service has alerted the Western transnationals, and put them on their best behaviour.



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CHAPTER - IV

NEED FOR A NEW INFORMATION ORDER

The Third World nations have played an important role in the evolution of ideas concerning the dependence of the media, the imbalances in news flows and global communication patterns and the negative effects of this imbalance.

It was around 1970 that the concept upon which today's international debate is focussed first began to be formulated in clear-cut terms.<sup>1</sup> Without retracing every stage in the history of this debate, it may nevertheless be useful to recall the major themes on which large number of protagonists are now joining issue; Governments, and non-Governmental organisations, specialised agencies, regional organisations, research centres, political movements, professional associations, mass media, journalists and politicians.

In the beginning, the criticisms formulated in many Third World nations reiterated by certain socialist

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<sup>1</sup>. Many Voices, One World - UNESCO, New York, 1980, p. 39.

countries and supported by many scholars and journalists in Western bloc, start from the observation that certain powerful and technologically advanced states exploit their advantages to exercise a form of cultural and ideological domination which jeopardizes the natural identity of other countries.<sup>2</sup> The problems raised by the one-way information flows and by the existence of monopolistic and oligopolistic trends in international flows have been widely discussed at many international forums, gatherings and seminars. It has been frequently stated that as the content of information is largely produced by the main developed countries, the image of the developing countries is frequently spoiled. The fears created by the potentialities of direct satellite broadcasting stimulated the demand for a balanced flow of information. It was when these questions first came up for discussion that the increasing anxiety arose over the content and quality of the information transmitted and the lag in developing countries in news production and transmission.

The debate on new information order, the role played by the transnationals has become crucial.<sup>3</sup>

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2. Setiller, Herbert, Communication & Cultural Domination, White Plains, New York, N.E. Sharpe, Inc; 1976.
  3. Communicator, Vol. XVI, No. 1 (1981), Indian Institute of Mass Communication, New Delhi, p. 23.

Not only do these conglomerates mobilise capital and technologies and transfer them to the communication market, they also market countless socio-cultural consumer goods which serve as a vehicle for an amalgam of ideas, tastes, values and beliefs. The transactions exert a direct influence on the economic production apparatus of the countries in which they operate, and also play an unique role in commercialising their culture. They can thus modify only the socio-cultural focus of the entire society.

The non-aligned countries have played a major role in the evolution of ideas concerning the dependence of the media, imbalance in news flows, global communication patterns and the negative effects of this imbalance. They have advanced the view that the vast majority of countries are reduced to a state of passive receivers of information put out by a few centres.<sup>4</sup>

This is how the call for a 'new information order' as distinct from the 'old order' in the field of communication and information came forth. The feeling that such a new order is today a necessity stems from

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4. Ribin, Bernard. "A News Pool for the Third World." Christian Science Monitor, May 4, 1978, p. 29.

the conviction that information and communication are an essential factor of international relations in all fields and particularly in the establishment of a new system founded on the principle of equality of rights and the independence and unfettered development of countries and peoples. Thus, transformations in communication are related to the conceptual foundations of the new international economic order.<sup>5</sup>

In certain respects, development and communication are based on the same principles. It is vital that the present state of dependence of the developing world, in its economy and its communication alike be replaced by relations of interdependence and cooperation between national systems as they become progressively autonomous and capable of endogenous development. The new communication order must be considered as an element of the new economic order, and the same methods of analysis may be applied to both. There is a coherent correlation between these two orders stemming from the fact that information is now a specific kind of basic economic resource (and not just a commodity) which performs an essential social function but which is today unequally distributed and badly used.

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5. New International Economic Order, Report Law Association (Lucknow, Indore, New Delhi), p. 51.

In some other respects, the new communication order is a precondition of the new economic order, just as communication is the sine qua non of all economic activities between groups, peoples and nations.<sup>6</sup>

The famous meet on communication policies was held in Costa Rica. The Costa Rica (1976) Declaration highlights the fact that communication has now come to be accepted as a pre-eminent factor of national renaissance, and at the same time serves as a peaceful force in relation between nations. It suggested that national communication policies should be conceived in the context of national realities, free expression of thought and respect for individual and social rights. A similar conference held in Kuala Lumpur in February, 1979, studied, in the context of Asia and Oceania, all aspects of communication policy and stressed that communication, considered both as a means of affirming a nation's collective identity and as an instrument of social integration has a decisive role to play in the democratisation of social relations in so far as it permits the multidirectional flow of both horizontal and vertical messages, both from the media to their public and from the latter to the media. This

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6. Rubin, Bernard, "A News Pool for the Third World", Christian Science Monitor, May 4, 1978, p. 28.

effort to define overall, coherent communication policies at the national and regional levels is to be extended in the coming years to the other regions of the world.<sup>7</sup>

UNESCO has long taken a keen interest in communication development. It has carried out a number of projects concerned with communication in Third World countries. Although most of the decisions taken at the UNESCO on communication matters were reached by consensus, their actual formulation was a painful process. Sharp controversies arose over certain initiatives taken concomitantly over the same period to draw up general norms and principles which may help to inspire the mass media to play a more positive role in alerting the public opinion to the major problems of facing the mankind and to their possible solutions. The idea was to adopt a normative instrument which, while not legally binding upon the member States, would comprise a set of principles constituting a statement of the intellectual and moral unity of the international community. The process of preparing this document was a lengthy and arduous one.

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7. Lent, John A. "Development Communities - Watch Dog or Lap Dog". Development Communication Report (19), July 1977, pp. 1-3.

Many objections and new suggestions have been made by governmental representatives and professionals, both in the developed and developing countries. Many professionals, especially journalists in Western countries expressed misgivings and criticised the trend of thought embodied in the Draft Declaration (Costa Rica - 1976). They were concerned lest certain governments, openly or covertly opposed to press freedom, may take measures -- in the name of correcting imbalance -- which would amount to taking the control of information and the media, by establishing censorship and, sometimes by terminating the foreign correspondents from their serving. These critics objected to references to the responsibilities of journalists, which could enable governments to discriminate against those arbitrarily labelled irresponsible.<sup>8</sup> They found that the Draft Declaration lacked any positive reference to human rights, did not guarantee a free access by journalists to diverse news sources and failed to mention the desirability of a multiplicity of news outlets. Finally, they opposed the role assumed by the UNESCO and interpreted its aims as a desire to control the news flow, and charged the UNESCO with confusing the real issues.

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8. Many Voices, One World, UNESCO, New York, 1980, p. 213.

The International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems specified the four main lines of inquiry and discussion to be pursued, namely:<sup>9</sup>

(a) to study the current situation in the field of communication and information and to identify problems which call for fresh action at the national level and a concerted, overall approach at the international level. The analysis of the state of communication in the world today, and particularly of information problems as a whole, should take account of the diversity of socio-economic conditions and levels and types of development.

(b) to give particular attention to problems relating to the free and balanced flow of information in the world, as well as the specific needs of developing countries, in accordance with the decision of the general conference;

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9. Many Voices, One World, UNESCO, New York, 1980, p. 14.



- (c) to analyse communication problems, in their different aspects, within the perspective of the establishment of a new international order and of the measures to be taken to foster the institution of a "new world information order".
- (d) to define the role which communication might play in making public opinion<sup>is</sup> aware of the major problems besetting the world, in sensitising it to these problems and helping gradually to solve them by concerted action at the national and international levels.

### Towards a New Information Order

In the developing countries, the development of the communication media assumes greater importance in view of the fact that the developed countries are ahead of them in terms of physical plant and techniques of communication. A critical assessment of the present situation allows us to draw conclusions with regard to the principles on which a new international order in the field of information and mass communication should be established and the measures to be taken to this end.

It is a well accepted fact that a new and equitable relations in the field of information is interlinked with new leaps in international economy.<sup>10</sup> Only far-reaching changes in international economic relations can ensure the developing countries the material and technical conditions needed for the development of their own information and communication systems. This is a long-term task and a difficult one, in which the information media themselves have an exceptionally important role to play. They must make their contribution in the struggle

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10. Corea, Gemini, Towards the New International Economic Order, New York, 1981, Pergamon Press, p. 33.

to change the pattern of international relations on the North-South axis, to create world consciousness of the necessity of such change, to overcome opposition and prompt understanding. The new international information order is not only in the interest of the developing countries but ultimately a matter of universal interest.

In this respect the media of the developed countries have a particularly important task, they must encourage recognition of the fact that the industrialized countries must contribute more than they do at present to the harmonious development of all mankind, because one part of the world cannot develop at the cost of the other, and because the peoples of the world are in ever closer dependence on each other and their fate is inextricably linked.<sup>2</sup> The developed countries must recognize that, as in other areas, in the field of information too the future can lie only in cooperation among equal partners and that it is on this new basis that more can be achieved in the interest of all the nations of the world. The New International Information Order must therefore include the democratisation of the

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2. Hoskins, Linas, "The NIEO : A Bibliography Essay"  
Third World Quarterly, July, 1981, Vol. 3,  
pp. 13-14.

news and informations functions as a prerequisite for the realisations of human rights and democratic and social development in every country and for the participation of all in peaceful international cooperation.<sup>3</sup>

Since the mass media widely affects international relations and public opinion, the need to alter some general rules of international behaviour in the field of communications has started assuming more importance.<sup>4</sup> This is a very difficult and delicate question because in some circles the possibility of intervention of any kind in this area is rejected in the name of freedom of information. Ideological and other differences between countries also make a universal agreement difficult to reach.<sup>5</sup> But on the other hand, it is because of the division of the modern world, because of the danger to peace and to the survival of humanity that there is growing recognition of the fact that peaceful coexistence and the common advancement of all mankind can only be

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3. Two International Orders : East West Centre, Honolulu Paper, Series No. 19.

4. Minhas, B. S. 1979, "The Current Development Debate Towards a New Strategy of Development, Edited by Albert Hirschman, New York: Pergamon Press.

5. Rogess, Evesett H., 1976, Editor, Communication and Development Critical Perspectives. Beverly Hills: Sage.

achieved if in the field of international communication too, principles are accepted, which will in time become part of international law or at least unwritten norms of international relations and the professional ethics of all those who work in this area.<sup>6</sup> Unfortunately this field has been completely neglected because the concept of freedom of information and of the free international flow of information had been so generally accepted as an absolute value that any discussion on responsibilities in international relations in the field was ~~impossible~~ impossible.<sup>7</sup> UNESCO was the first agency to bring out certain new proposals in the field of information which are likely to occur because of the revolutionary changes brought about by satellite broadcasting.

The "Declaration of Guiding Principles for the Use of Satellite Broadcasting" - adopted in 1972 - stress: The equality and sovereignty of all states will be carefully observed by the satellite broadcasting. The objective of satellite broadcasting for the free flow of information is to ensure the widest possible

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6. Ibid.

7. Galtung, Johan, The True Worlds. A Transnational Perspective, New York, 1980, Free Press.

dissemination, among the peoples of the world, of news of all countries, developed and developing alike .... Cultural programmes, while promoting the enrichment of all cultures, should respect the distinctive character, the value and the dignity of each, and the right of all countries and peoples to preserve their cultures as part of the common heritage of mankind". Satellite broadcasting stresses both the principle of the free flow of information and the need for the respect of certain international norms of behaviour.<sup>8</sup> This declaration contains the principle that the States must "reach or promote prior agreements concerning direct satellite broadcasting to the population of countries other than the country of origin of the transmission". The United Nations General Assembly in November 1972, by a vote of 102 for and only one against - that of the United States of America - requested the Committee on the peaceful uses of outer space to undertake the elaboration of principles governing the use of satellites for direct television broadcasting with a view to concluding an international agreement or agreements. The doctrine of the free flow of information has in recent years been slightly broadened in UNESCO, which began to propagate the principle of "the free and balanced flow of information".<sup>9</sup> The formula of the free and balanced flow

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8. Mankekar, D. R., Media and The Third World, Published by I. I. M. C., New Delhi, 1978, pp. 75-95.

9. Source: United Nations Resolution, A/RES/2916 XXVII - 9 November, 1972.

is shrouded by ambiguities. It lacks clarity. What does the qualification "balanced" flow mean? Is it a question of quantitative balance or balance with regard to content? What were the criteria in this regard and in particular; how can this balance be achieved and what measures should be taken and who is to intervene when the given conditions in themselves do not permit balance?<sup>10</sup> The growth of international communications requires a more comprehensive definition of the principles which must regularise media operation and check its abuse. What elements would have to be incorporated in a definition of the principles of international communication? We have the basis for this in the international legal order, drawn up on the principles of the United Nations, and the role which communication should play as a factor promoting peaceful cooperation, democratic development and the general progress of mankind.

We should therefore stress the following points:<sup>11</sup>

- A. Respect for the equality of all nations and all cultures; the provision of equal opportunities which will enable them to assert themselves in

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10. Nordenstreng K., The Struggle Around the New International Information Order, Communication Vol. XVII, No. 283, April-July, 1982, p. 6

11. New Voices. One World - UNESCO, New York, 1981-82.

- international communications in a multi-directional and multi-dimensional flow of information;
- B. recognition of a pluralism of values and interests, of the need to respect their variety as a reality of the modern world;
- C. recognition of the responsibility of all those who in any way participate in international communications to realize the principles of the United Nations - especially those of peaceful coexistence, respect for the sovereign equality of nations and their right to self-determination, non-intervention in the inner development of other countries, etc.;
- D. respect of the right of any country to protect its sovereignty and independence by also adopting a policy in the field of culture and information and of its responsibility in this connection to refrain from procedures which are in contravention to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and international law.

Guided by these principles, we must formulate a code of conduct for all those involved in the process of international communications.<sup>12</sup>

Particularly concerned here are the institutions which are active in international communications,

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<sup>12</sup>. Communicator, Vol. XVII, No. 2 & 3, April-July 1982, New Delhi, p. 3-5.



the people who work in them and their professional associations.<sup>22</sup> And a share of the responsibility, which cannot be evaded, also lies with those countries which directly or indirectly interfere - in some areas more, in others less - in communications, not only with their general policies, but also directly through participation in the operation of various services and agencies, especially those concerned with informing foreign countries. The assertion that States cannot accept any obligations in the field of information because they have no competence in this area is unacceptable.

Such an opinion is suitable to them who monopolise this 'freedom' in order to fulfil their pecuniary and political interests. In fact, the solution lies not in trying to force the media to accept censure or State controls of some kind, but in various forms of social compacts and other measures designed to promote a sense of responsibility towards the national and international public among all those who work in the media.<sup>23</sup> The responsibility is not only reflected in the attitude to the State and its laws, but above all in the level of

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22. Hoskins Linus, "The NIEO : A Bibliographic Essays" Third World quarterly, July Ist, 1978, Vol. 3, pp. 507-13.

23. Rogers, Everett M., Communication and Development : Critical Perspectives, Beverly Hills : Sage, 1976, P. 219.

consciousness of social and other implications of public speech. That is why a doctrine which subjects the work of the communication media to the monopoly of the State or its administration, which suppresses all pluralism and the individual's opportunity to get information from various sources and to choose freely between them, to check the objectivity of the information and to participate personally in the communication process is equally unacceptable.

The UNESCO can do the pioneering work in this field. It must evolve a new doctrine for international communication which could become the bed-rock for a new information order on international front. The slogan-shouting alone will not serve the purpose. What is the new world information and communication order based on? It is best to quote from the UNESCO resolution.<sup>24</sup>

(a) "this new world information and communication order could be based, among other considerations, on:

- (i) elimination of the imbalances and inequalities which characterize the present situation;
- (ii) elimination of the negative effects of certain monopolies, public or private, and excessive concentration;

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<sup>24</sup> Many Voices, One World - UNESCO, New York, 1980-81.

- (iii) removal of the internal and external obstacles to a free flow and wider and better balanced dissemination of information and ideas;
- (iv) plurality of sources and channels of information;
- (v) freedom of journalists and all professionals in the communication media; a freedom inseparable from responsibility;
- (vi) the capacity of developing countries to achieve improvement of their own situations, notable by providing their own equipment, by training their personnel, by improving their infrastructures and by making their information and communication means suitable to their needs and aspirations;
- (vii) the sincere will of developed countries to help them attain these objectives;
- (viii) respect for each people's cultural identity and the right of each nation to inform the world public about its interests, its aspirations and its social and cultural values;
- (ix) respect for the right of all peoples to participate in international exchanges of information on the basis of equality, justice and mutual benefit;
- (x) respect for the right of the public, of ethnic and social groups and of individuals to have access to information sources and to participate actively in the communication process;

- (b) this new world information and communication order should be based on the fundamental principles of international law, as laid down in the United Nations Charter;
- (b) diverse solutions to information and communication problems are required because social, political, cultural and economic problems differ from one country to another and, within a given country from one group to another".

The operative part of the UNESCO resolution also underlines the fact that different social cultural and economic circumstances call for a variety of approaches to national communication policies and systems. The fundamental point is to safeguard freedom of opinion expressions and informations ensuring democratic access to the people in the function of the mass media.

The International Programme of Development of Communication (IPDC) envisages assistance to developing countries in the elaboration and implementation of their information and communication development plans. It seeks to promote the creations and extensions of infrastructures for the different communication sectors. It envisages effective coordination among the countries interested in the development of communication by undertaking analyses of technical and financial needs and resources.

The UNESCO resolutions have provided the infrastructure for the New Information Order, the fundamental need is of developing and strengthening it. The IDPG and the inter-Governmental council are a part of the machineries for cooperation in the exchange of experience and expertise.

The non-aligned countries are committed to cooperation in the development of information media. After Colombo (1976) it was re-affirmed in Havana (1979), and was again looked into in New Delhi (1983). India has always subscribed to cooperation among the non-aligned countries. It has to play a significant role in this area, although it may not benefit her more directly, because India has a good communication infrastructure of her own among other non-aligned countries; but India can share the technological know-how with a number of developing countries.

CHAPTER - VCONCLUSION

Diplomacy is the art of managing international relations. And communication is very vital to it. Ours is an electronic age in which diplomacy has made tremendous strides since the olden days. Science, with its 'Aladdin's lamp', has performed impossible feats overnight. It has brought the world nearer and together. It has scanned the sky, measured the ocean, flown over the Himalayas. It has annihilated the distance. The revolution brought by it in the field of communication has given a new shape to modern diplomacy. A nation is no more inaccessible by the barrier of 'distance'. Today, the electronic "eyes and ears" are threatening to strip the countries of all her privacy, as if a family living in a house without walls is fully exposed to the gaze of all passersby.

Without communication or unbroken channel of information, the evaluation and formulation of foreign policies become well-nigh impossible. A state has to establish and maintain relations with other states both in bilateral and multilateral matters. It, therefore, requires accurate information on economic and military capabilities of other nations. It can be gathered mainly by two sources - through public statements and through diplomatic and intelligence sources.

In diplomacy, it is a well-recognised fact that information coming from public statements should not be taken seriously. It mostly aims at misleading other states or gauging their reactions. But such statements made during warfare or peace time are meaningful. A statement made by an attacking country indicates its nature of relation.

Similarly, the collection of accurate information by diplomats constitutes an important source material in order to formulate foreign policies and diplomatic strategies.

States go to the extent of adopting objectionable means for gathering secret intelligence, electronic bugging equipment and many other secret sensitive devices are used. In the history of diplomacy, spying and espionage by diplomatic missions are very common.

In addition to diplomatic sources of information, the news through mass-media is very fruitful in shaping and moulding foreign policy. With the advancement in communication technology devices, the information through mass-media has started playing a significant role in framing diplomatic strategies. The use of mass-media is so indispensable that it is essential to study its impact on modern diplomacy.

Press is the most common medium of communication. Press Agencies play a very important role in collecting and disseminating information both inside and outside the country. Most of the countries have their own news agencies.

But the role of newspapers as a media is relatively poor in Third World countries. Eight African countries and three Arab countries have no dailies. Thirteen African countries have only one newspaper each. The role of press in modern diplomacy is very valuable for the impact of press on public is very strong. Besides moulding public opinion, the press can considerably influence the economic and political thinking of a Government in power. Diplomacy expects keen observations of the trends of Press on national and international level. One of the main jobs of the diplomats in foreign countries is to gather information on multifarious activities and report them back to their parent countries and in doing so they have to be in constant touch with the press.

Electronic media has further revolutionised communication in diplomacy. Radio and T.V. have come to play a predominant role in shaping international relations. They are being used as medium of propaganda. With the advancement in satellite Television technology

role



countries have been brought closer with one another. Today a state need not depend on their diplomatic agents to communicate with other states but can directly communicate with them with the help of electronic media.

Propaganda continues to be a strong and necessary weapon in diplomacy. Democratic countries normally do not practice propaganda. But in totalitarian and dictatorial countries it acts as a powerful weapon. It is made with dishonest intention in the large interest of a state by distorting facts and falsifying messages. During peace or war time the major vehicles of propaganda is the system of communication. Satellite TV; high intensity radio transmitters; press and films; cultural exchange programmes; military and economic aids are used for this purpose. Circulation of low-priced literature in strategic places and propagating particular ideology is another technique which plays significant role in modern diplomacy.

Communication, thus, plays a pivotal role in diplomacy. But there is no real and balanced communication among the various countries of the world. Latest communication systems have become a monopoly of a few developed countries. Political independence is meaningless without economic independence. Communication in today's world has become an exchange

between unequal partners, guaranting the predominance and supremacy of the more powerful, richer and the better equipped. In the second half of the 20th century nearly eighty nations with a combined population of more than two billion have been liberated from foreign yoke. But this independence is merely for a name-sake. In economic, scientific, technological military, social and cultural fields, few well-to-do countries foster their own influence and perpetuate the dependence of a many other countries. Political independence is, thus, swamped by economic dependence. Further more, the results of cultural and intellectual dependence are not less serious than those of political and economic dependence. There can be no real and effectige independence without the communication resources. And the latter has been a monopoly of the few affluent nations. A nation whose mass-media are foreign-controlled is not considered to be a full-fledged nation. The yawning gap, therefore, between the affluent and the poor have to be bridged up because discrepancy in power and wealth deeply influences communication flows and communication structures. These are the main causes of the disparities, imbalances and inequalities which are remarkable in international

communications chiefly between developed and developing countries.

The part played by communication in international relations is also important because it has got the capability to govern international opinion for coping with the problems which hold out a threat to the survival of mankind. These problems cannot be solved in isolation without consultation and cooperation between countries. Such problems are : arms race, environment pollution, famine, cyclones, poverty, illiteracy, socialism, unemployment, economic injustice, population growth, women exploitation, etc. The mass-media have a serious role to play in alerting the international public opinion for generating the will and enthusiasm in order to solve such problems and exhorting the common public to exert pressure on the authorities to implement appropriate solutions.

The principal media of modern communication are television, radio, the film and the press. T.V. and the sound radio are the most modern and the other media can not compete with them in vividness and speed. But the print medium still stands on a strong footing. People prefer to preserve, read and re-read what they hear on radio and see on T.V. In developing countries, development is the main factor. The changes that take place - whether

big or small become news and lack of changes is also news. The history has been interpreted differently in modern times. History is no more the history of absurdities and crises of mankind as Gibbon Viewed it or it is no longer in a crude form unrealistic contemporaries as Herodotus recorded it. The main work of the present day historian is to present the social transformation and economic development of the countries.

In third world countries the media find that socio-economic development provides the largest portion of news. There are no wars or landings on the moon which which can be reported. Moreover, to report such happenings they require more and more means of communications, more and more newspapers, more and more radio and T.V. Stations. The development of the means of communication is also important but the content has to be given more stress.

In developing countries there is the necessity of more and more information and for more and more explanation. If society as a whole has to share in communication, it must have a share in the ownership, control and management of the means of communication. But in developing countries, the sound radio and T.V. need not be converted into corporations unless the ability of media men is raised to a high pedestal. The state can

run those media more purposefully than private media which are profit oriented and have undefined goals. But, while in government control, the needs of communication between various segments of the community and the participation of maximum number of people in communication must always be kept in view.

A new world information order is the need of the hour. There should be more even flow of information among the countries of the world; among the several areas of a country itself and among different sections of society. In the national building process in which the developing countries are engrossed, the infrastructure of communication is necessary. But it must be used for better and closer communication. To generate and to ensure free flow of information, various international agencies have set themselves to certain objectives. Some of them are Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948; convention of Civil and Political right, 1966 etc. The problems raised by one way information flow and by the existence of monopolistic trends in international flows have widely been debated in many international forums. At the 1978 General conference of UNESCO and general agreement of united nations, two resolutions have been adopted. They agreed upon the new just and more efficient world information order.

The Costa-Rica UNESCO conference in 1976 recommended

the formulation of new national and international communication policies. It was decided that national communication policies should be framed in the context of national realities and respect for individual and social rights. The Kuala Lumpur conference (1979) studied all aspects of communication policies particularly with reference to Asia and Oceania. These trends of discussing major problems in international dimension have resulted into several valuable ideas in relation to communication. It is now being felt that sovereignty and independence do not arise from merely formal political decisions but also from cultural and economic life.

Developing countries are unable to influence the balance in the information flow which had been weighted in favour of the developed West. Two thirds of the world's population living in the developing countries get receive only marginal notice in the international media. With almost two thirds of the World's population, they publish less than half the world's dailies and these have a total circulation of 1/6th of the total in industrialised nations. In the developed world there is one copy of a daily in circulation for approximately every three inhabitants. In the poorer regions it is one for every thirty persons. In Asian countries, the figure is one for every fifty. India with 835 newspapers ranks third in the world in the number of dailies. The

circulation is only 16 copies per thousand people and is almost exclusively limited to cities and large towns. While the third world countries have been seeking better trade terms from the richer nations, the latter have all along been avoiding the issue or adopting evasive tactics. It is mainly on these grounds that the third world countries are demanding the implementation of a new international information order.

✓ The emergence of the News Agencies Pool of the non-aligned countries, which have as members, almost all developing countries, was an effort to build a new world information order as a part of a new international economic order. Its intention was not to set up another transnational news agency or to supplant the existing organisations that collect and discriminate news, but to supply, and correct the imbalance in the flow of news. This will help the non-aligned countries exchange information among themselves and project a more realistic image of theirs. Its membership has now gone beyond 50. The scope and content of news exchange conceived under the pool arrangements are expanding from year to year. It is not only a matter of volume but also the contents that have made developing countries unhappy and even indignant about the current pattern of news flow. Economic and technical constraints stood in the way of

developing countries for surmounting this imbalance. They came to realise that except on the basis of self-reliance their problems cannot be resolved satisfactorily.

The non-aligned news pool has shown several insufficiencies e.g., lack of transmission facilities, lack of news media within certain countries and lack of sufficient development itself within some countries. Unless each country is engaged in the task of ensuring sufficient and even development within itself, there is little information to transmit except occasional change of regimes.

To quote, if India's coverage of Asia is considered it is still thin in quality, most of the coverage being about external relations. Even India's close neighbours like Burma, Thailand, Indonesia and Sri Lanka are not sufficiently covered. From Nepal much cannot be covered and from Pakistan there can be only diluted news. The case of African countries is worse, not to speak of the caribbean countries. Much of the Asian and African news even now emanates from Europe or America, not from Asia or Africa. To report Asia or Africa is different from reporting Europe or America. It requires more sympathy and understanding, less of sensationalism and more of the dull news of the development.



The communication and diplomacy are closely linked with each other. The universal declaration of Human Rights (1948) proclaimed "Everyone has the right to freedom and opinion and expression, this right includes freedom to hold opinion without interference and to seek, receive and impart informations and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers." The fast developing technology and the advent of electronic media have created new conditions and shaken up the very concept of the doctrine of information.

Communication, in modern times, must aim at better international relations, co-existence is the concept which makes us believe that all the nations of the world should live in perfect peace and should tolerate their differences. As we have our own right to follow a particular policy, the others too have similar rights to follow a policy they like to follow. This obviously means that all the states with different ideologies and with different political, economic and social systems can live together in perfect peace and harmony.

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APPENDIX - ITHE NEWS POOL

The non-aligned countries, numbering about 100 and comprising almost entirely the less developed regions of the world, felt concerned about the media situation. (Seventy per cent of the world population lives in Asia, Africa and Latin America but only 26 per cent of world's daily newspapers are bought in these regions). Also, 70 per cent of the news served by transnational agencies is about the industrialized West.

The conference of Foreign Ministers of non-aligned countries held in Lima in August, 1975, decided that a constitution for the news agency pool of non-aligned countries should be framed. A special conference for this purpose was held at New Delhi in July, 1976, in which the Information Ministers and News Agency representatives from 62 countries participated. The decisions were ratified at the Summit Conference of the non-aligned countries in Colombo in August, 1976.

The New Delhi conference prepared a broad constitution for the Press Agencies Pool. The underlying principles were:

1. The aim is not to restrict but to supplement and expand the existing flow of news.

2. The pool is not to acquire hard contours and become a supra-national news agency : the pool would imply a set of arrangements.
3. Following from the above : there would be no need for the pool to have either a secretarial or a fixed headquarters.
4. The utilization of the wordage received by an agency would be fully within its discretion.

Before the initiation of the non-aligned pool idea, Samachar relied for the bulk of its international news on Reuters (U.K.), AP (USA) and AEP (France). In addition, it had bilateral agreements with 12 news agencies. Out of these, five were from non-aligned countries.

After the acceptance of the news agency pool scheme, Samachar finalised arrangements for exchange of news with 16 news agencies from the non-aligned world. As such, arrangements existed with a total of 28 news agencies including 21 from non-aligned countries, namely, Cuba, Indonesia, Vietnam, Yugoslavia, Bangladesh, Iraq, Sudan, Algeria, Qatar, Morocco, Kenya, Ethiopia, Zambia, and Malaysia. The other countries were USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Japan, Romania, and Italy.

The arrangements visualized a two-way flow of news on a selective basis between Samachar and these

agencies. The exchange of news between Samachar and a number of national news agencies in the non-aligned world began on 3 August, 1976. Samachar provided 300 to 400 words a day to each of its pool partners, comprising four or five news items drawn from its domestic files, as also despatches from its own staff overseas. To most of these agencies, Samachar provided news by international telex. Samachar and Bangladesh, however, exchanged news on their jointly leased teleprinter link between Calcutta and Dacca, while the Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation received news from Samachar's Madras-Colombo teleprinter link. Samachar exchanged news with the RSS of Nepal by telegram to and from Kathmandu. Consequent on the winding up of Samachar, PTI took over this work.

The non-aligned news pool is a self paying project in the sense that the sender of the news pays the cost of the transmission. There is no special investment involved on staff or central headquarters. The recipient is also free not to use the news material received if it decides that it is unsuitable for circulation among its constituent newspapers.

INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION FOR THE STUDY OF  
COMMUNICATION PROBLEMS

The International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems (MacBride Commission), set up by UNESCO, has set our major guidelines for the development of a new world information and communication order.

Its appraisal on the communication problems and conclusions reflect the consensus of the 16-member commission presided over by Mr. Sean MacBride, former minister for foreign affairs of Ireland and president of the International Peace Bureau.

The commission was set up in November 1977 in pursuance of the UNESCO conference in Nairobi in 1976 and the final 484 page report, together with the director-general's comments, will go to the forthcoming session of the UNESCO general conference in Belgrade in September-October this year. The members of the commission included Mr. E.G. Verghese from India. The full report has just been made available in India.

Mr. MacBride says in a foreword to the report that his concern was how to achieve "a balanced, non-partisan, objective analysis of today's communication scene". Despite the large area of consensus reached on most major issues, many questions remained open and required further analysis, he noted.

Following is a summary of the commission's recommendations:

A better, more just and more democratic social order in the realisation of fundamental human rights can be achieved only through understanding and tolerance, gained in large part by free, open, and balanced communications.

Utmost importance should be given to eliminating imbalances and disparities in communication and its structures, particularly in information flows. Developing countries need to reduce their dependence, and claim a new more just and more equitable order in the field of communication.

Communication is a basic individual right, and freedom of information a fundamental human right. It is essential to develop comprehensive national communication policies linked to overall social, cultural and economic development objectives. National governments should recognise the urgency of according communications higher priority in planning and funding.

Communication can no longer be regarded merely as an incidental service and its development left to chance. Recognition of its potential warrants the formulation by all nations, and particularly developing countries, of comprehensive communication policies linked to overall social, cultural, economic and political goals.

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