ROLE OF UNESCO AND ITU IN THE PROMOTION OF FREEDOM OF MEDIA AND DEVELOPMENT OF INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY (ICT)

Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the award of the degree of

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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2009

Date- 29 July 2009

DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation entitled **"Role of UNESCO and ITU in the Promotion of Freedom of Media and Development of Information and Communication Technology (ICT)"** submitted by me for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy** of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this university or any other university.

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CERTIFICATE

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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In the Memory of Manish

One of my best friends, who always encouraged and
inspired me to do my best

AKNOWLEDGEMNTS

CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

AFP	*Agence France Presse*
AIR	All India Radio
AP	Associated Press
APT	Asia Pacific Telecommunity
BDT	Telecommunication Development Bureau
BPO	Business Process Outsourcing
CCI	Communications Commission of India
C-DAC	Center for Development of Advanced Computing
CI	Communication and Information Sector
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CIIRC	China Internet Illegal Information Reporting Centre
CMC	Community Multimedia Centers
CNN	Cable News Network
CR	Community Radio
CTD	Center for Telecommunication development
DBS	Direct Broadcast Satellite
DD	Doordarshan
DDS	Deccan Development Society
DOT	Department of Telecommunications
DTH	Direct to Home
EARC	Extraordinary Administrative Radio Conference
ECIL	Electronic Corporation of India Limited
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council
FCFS	First come, first served
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FII	Foreign Intuitional Investment
FIT	Funds-in-Trust
FM	Frequency Modulation
FPI	Free Press of India
GAID	Global Alliance for Information and Communication
GAO	General Accounting Office
GICT	Global Information and Communication Technologies Department
GII	Global Information Infrastructure
GIS	Geographic Information System
GIS	Global Information Society
GSO	Geo-stationary Orbit
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IDA	International Development Association
IDGs	International Development Goals

IFAP	Information for All Programme
IFC	International Finance Corporation
IFRB	International Frequency Registration Board
IIFA	International Indian Film Academy
IIMC	Indian Institute of Mass Communication
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INGOs	International Non Governmental Organizations
INSAT	Indian National Satellite
IOs	International Organizations
IPDC	International Programme for the Development of Communication
ISPs	Internet Service Providers
ITU	International Telecommunication Union
ITU-D	Telecommunication Development Sector
LDCs	Least Developed Countries
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
NAMEDIA	Media Conference of the Non-Aligned
NASA	National Aeronautics and Space Administration
NASCOM	National Satellite Communication Group
NBA	News *Broadcasters Association*
NCERT	National Council for Educational Research and Training
NIC	National Informatics Centers
NIEO	New International Economic Order
NITs	New Information Technologies
NWICO	New World Information and Communication Order
ODL	Open and Distance Learning
OECD	Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development
PCI	Press Council of India
PSB	Public Service Broadcasting
PTI	Press Trust of India
RCIP	Regional Communications Infrastructure Programme
RRB	Radio Regulations Board
SALIS	Society for the Advancement of Library and Information Science
SITE	Satellite Instructional Television Experiment
SMEs	Small and Medium sized Enterprises
STAR	Satellite Television for Asian Region
TRAI	Telecom Regulatory Authority of India
UN	United Nations
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme

UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNI	United News of India
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNMDG	United Nation's Millennium Development Goals
UPI	United Press of India
UPI	United Press International
UPU	Universal Postal Union
USOF	Universal Services Obligation Fund
VOI	Voice of America
VPT	Village Public Telephone
VSNL	Videsh Sanchar Nigam Limited
WARC	World Administrative Radio Conference
WARC-ST	World Administrative Radio Conference for Space Telecommunication
WEMF	World Electronic Media Forum
WFP	World Food Programme
WIPO	World Intellectual Property Organization
WPFC	World Press Freedom Committee
WSIS	World Summit on Information Society
WTDC	World Telecommunication Development Conference
WTO	World Trade Organization
WTPF	World Telecommunication Policy Forum

Chapter 1

Introduction

We are living in the 21st century—the Information and Knowledge era—characterized by the importance of science and technology as well as information. Information and Communication Technology (ICT) has become the engine of growth for the post industrial international society. ICT comprise all technologies, which are linked to information transfer. All ICT related services also come under this broader term. Anarchical society is now transforming into a wired and networked society. ICT is a basic requirement, for global governance as it is a prerequisite for socio, politico, economic and cultural development. According to Alexander (1998), we are now citizens of a "cyber-democracy". Since the 1990s, the parameters of our political lives are increasingly circumscribed by the bits and bytes of information and communication technology. The digital revolution brought about by ICT has fundamentally changed the way people think, behave, communicate, work and earn their livelihood.

In the contemporary world, knowledge is an important source of power and information is the center of this power. Communication is an important means for sharing ideas and information. There exists today a flow of information across national boundaries but access to information is not uniform. The world is divided not only on the basis of economic and military power but also on the basis of access to information and communication technology. This disparity is known as the international *digital divide*. Africa, for instance, is totally marginalized in the development of ICT. The digital divide not only separates countries but also operates within countries, with a select few in control of means of ICT and vast majorities with no access to it. While some believe that this divide is widening with the development of new ICT, others believe in trickledown theory and see the divide narrowing with the growth of ICT. The debate over the digital divide is echoing in the United Nations (UN) as well; the success of the UN Millennium Development Goals[1] is viewed as being contingent upon the bridging of this divide.

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[1] United Nations Millennium Summit (2000) set 8 goals for the year 2015; promote poverty reduction, education, maternal health, gender equality, and aim at combating child mortality, AIDS and other diseases

Media, also known as the 'fourth estate' in a Democracy, also plays a significant role in the present century. 'Media' simply refers to a medium of communication and when this activity is performed at a mass level, it is referred to as 'mass media'. Media is a powerful weapon in the contemporary era, as it produces and moulds public opinion and acts as an agent of change in society. Media has also become a dominant player in international politics as well; not only playing the game but also deciding the rules of the game. Public opinion is normally a product of powerful media institutions. People see the world through the eyes of media and assess events as the media presents them. Media includes both *print* (newspapers, magazines etc.) and *electronic* (radio, TV, internet etc). Although the term media also embraces, in a broader sense, films etc. This study uses the term media to focus upon the *news media*. The big innovation of the current times in the context of news media is the World Wide Web. This radical innovation has transformed the concept of media; as readers, viewers and audience are now not merely passive receivers of news but can actively participate in the process of information exchange (through social networking, blogs, and webcast etc.).

There was a debate in the first World Electronic Media Forum (2003) that media is influenced by three major divides; inequitable access to information, digital divide between the 'haves' and 'have-nots' and the restriction on the freedom of information. Media and information and communication technology together play a crucial role in shaping public opinion. The developed countries, who have a dominant position in the context of ICT, automatically obtain an advantage in terms of agenda setting power. Deiberts (1997) in his thesis has written that the 'hyper-media' environment is altering the conventional landscape of world politics. So, media affects international relations and is also influenced by it.

Freedom of media, in the modern political system scenario, is an essential prerequisite for promoting democratic values. Media can play an important role in situations of war, peace and humanitarian intervention, as is evident from the media reporting in Somalia and Rwanda. Governments often restrict or manipulate the flow of information. Noam Chomsky (2002) underlines some startling examples of the US government's efforts to restrict the free flow of information abroad. After 9/11, Washington asked Qatar to rein in the influential and independent editorial of *Al-Jazeera*,

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the free and open news source of the Arab world. *Al-Jazeera's* airing of Al-Qaeda video tapes became an issue of concern for the Pentagon (McPhail 2006: 4). Thus, new worries about terror attacks led to a reconsideration of the wisdom of disclosing information that once had been made routinely available. Tang (2005) highlights the role of government in forming public opinion. In China, the Communist Party has retained organizational control over the Chinese media. The party's Control Propaganda Department is the principal coordinator of media and the New China Agency (Xinhua) is the party's principal information supplier.

Although there is an explosion of information, the flow of information is in favour of the developed countries. Media in the developed countries controls the flow of news and information according to their own agenda, promoting a certain ideology and driven by market and profit oriented neoliberal policies. In the era of globalization and liberalization, the big powers indulge in cultural neo-colonialism through the use of powerful media. Further in the era of globalization, information and communication technology helps people to connect with each other, bypassing state. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have also gained strength because of the information revolution. Thus, the information and communication revolution has changed the dynamics of international relations in many ways.

The role of ICT in global governance has also become central. In many ways, ICT leads to new challenges such as cyber crime, adverse effects of internet on children, and the digital divide across nations, regions, classes, genders etc. But E-governance has huge potential for improving governance, especially in developing and underdeveloped countries.

International organizations have an important role to play in achieving free and effective communication and information exchange. Today, there is a big debate about transparency in the work of states as well as of international organizations. The United Nations (UN) has been involved in the promotion of freedom of information. Article 19 of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (UDHR) recognizes the freedom of expression as a universal human right. Since the UDHR is recognized as having the force of customary law, the application of this principle extends universally. The United Nations Conference on Freedom of Information in 1948 called the freedom of

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information a basic freedom and stressed the need for the development of mass communication. In 1958, the General Assembly called for a 'Programme of Concrete Action' to build up press and radio broadcasting and film television facilities in the developing countries as an important component of economic and social development.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) is the UN specialized agency with the mandate to ensure the safety of journalists and the freedom of media. Promoting the freedom of expression is a central activity of this agency. UNESCO also works towards ensuring the free and balanced flow of information worldwide. It helps to strengthen the capacities of communication institutions, give training to media personnel and raise awareness among the public in making the best use of communication. UNESCO's prime aim is to ensure that all countries have access to the best educational facilities, so that young people can play their roles with full potential in modern society and contribute to a 'knowledge nation'. UNESCO is working towards achieving its important goal of 'education for all' with ICT assisting member states in integrating new technologies.

After the end of the Second World War, it was felt that communication was important for cooperation, as misunderstanding creates conflict and ultimately war. UNESCO was charged with ensuring lasting peace through education and exchange of information about science and culture. Communication is the link that joins educational, scientific and cultural activities, thereby helping create an environment for cooperation. The area of communication has not received adequate attention from researchers. The more widely known debate over the *New International Economic Order* (NIEO) eclipsed a less known debate over a *New World Information and Communication Order* (NWICO). The non-aligned countries, at their summit in 1973 (Algiers), first demanded for a change in the monopoly of information held by the Western media. Subsequently the MacBride Commission appointed by UNESCO highlighted the imbalance in the flow of information in its report *Many Voices, One World* and UNESCO gave a call for a New Information Order in 1978. The *UNESCO Declaration on Mass Media*, 1978 focused on the contribution of mass media to strengthening peace and international understanding, to the promotion of human rights, and to countering racialism and apartheid.

There are many constraints within which the UNESCO functions, such as budgetary and administrative constraints. Also, within the agenda of UNESCO, the sector of communication receives less attention compared to educational, cultural and scientific activities of the organization. Further, UNESCO has only limited persuasive power to create moral pressure; it cannot exercise punitive powers in cases of violation of freedom of media. Like all other international organizations, UNESCO is also influenced by power politics of its Members. Politicization of UNESCO, like other UN agencies, has also proved to be a constraint within which this organization must function. Thus it is within various limitations that UNESCO discharges its duties to protect and promote the freedom of media.

Another UN specialized agency– the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) – works in the field of telecommunications. ITU is one of the oldest existing international organizations and Claude (1965) points out that it acted as a blueprint for other international organizations established later. ITU's work contributes to connecting the unconnected. It is a coordinating agency for the allotment of frequencies and it is also a service provider, providing technical assistance. It brings together governments and telecommunication industries and works towards the development and standardization of telecommunications. ITU does not work directly in the promotion of freedom of media but it contributes to the development of ICT and telecommunications, which are significant instruments for the media.

ITU has as a primary objective, achieving the 'digital revolution' and bridging the 'digital gap' by 'connecting the unconnected' by 2015. It works for equitable communication for everyone, availability and affordability for all, especially in low income countries. In 2000, the UN in defining the set of goals to be achieved for a more peaceful, prosperous and just world, included the goal of ensuring that the benefits of new technologies, especially information and communication technologies, reach everyone. Access to ICT can also play a part in helping to achieve the broader goals of the Millennium Declaration; it can help in development and poverty eradication, democracy and governance, sustainable development, protecting the vulnerable and meeting the special needs of developing and under developed countries.

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ITU was also a victim of Cold War politics. The developing world raised their concerns over the process of allotment of frequencies and geostationary orbit. The developing countries opposed the formula of 'first come first served', which the developed countries favoured. The World Radio Administrative Conferences (WRACs) were also fraught with political problems; so, even a technical organization like ITU is not free from political power play. The *Maitland Report* exposed the reality about the digital divide and showed how the developed nations were in an advantageous position in relation to telecommunications.

So, both organizations – UNESCO and ITU – are working for the development of ICT with the vision of an inclusive 'Information Society' leading to a knowledge based society. Both agencies coordinate with each other because their objectives overlap. The two organizations cooperated to organize two World Summits on Information Society (WSIS) held in Geneva (2003) and Tunis (2005). Both ITU and UNESCO are determined to achieve the United Nations Millennium Developmental Goals, as ICT can play a significant role in attaining these goals. The WSIS released a statement of firm political will to establish the foundations of an 'Information Society' for all. Just as the Industrial Revolution transformed the agrarian societies, the 'Information Society' is a result of a paradigm shift in industrial structures and social relations. At the *ITU Development Conference* in Buenos Aires in 1994, US Vice President Al Gore put the concept of 'Global Information Infrastructure' (GII) on the agenda.

India has long believed in multilateral cooperation; it has been a member of ITU since 1869 and of UNESCO since 1946. So there is a long history of cooperation of India with these specialized agencies. Right from the beginning, UNESCO has been extending support to programmes leading to the development of mass communication infrastructure and institutions in India. The efforts to promote ICT and develop a free media have been regular features of the development objectives pursued in India.

In a vast and populous country like India, the 'digital divide' is very pronounced and ICT has a big role to play in connecting and educating people; harnessing the full potential of ICT is an important policy objective for India. India is a leader in the field of software technology. The government is keen on establishing e-governance for the rapid distribution of public services with transparency and accountability. Health, education,

culture, communication, agriculture, tourism, commerce, trade and many other sectors are benefiting from ICT in India. But there is still a huge digital gap in India on the basis of region, sex and class.

Freedom of expression is constitutionally assured in India as a fundamental right in Article 19, which is compatible with the UDHR. Achieving freedom of opinion and expression through an independent and free media is a cherished goal of 'the largest democracy in the world' and an important component of its democratic structure. The Right to Information Act, 2005 supplemented the right to expression. In India, the media is independent from the government but not from the market. The media in India works according to neoliberal policies and profit motives and is less oriented towards social responsibilities. Lack of ethics and norms in the media is an issue of concern. In India, media is not controlled by the government and exercises restraint on itself through the Press Council of India and the National Broadcasting Association (NBA). As far as the safety of journalists is concerned, many troubled parts of India such as Jammu & Kashmir and the North East region areas are not so safe for journalists.

Functionalism and neo-liberal institutional theory is best to understand the cooperation in agencies like UNESCO and ITU but it is useful to analyze politics through the eyes of realists also. Functionalism believes in long time cooperation, as peace can achieve through the habit of cooperation and interactions are necessary for this. It is easy to cooperate in low politics, which then has a spillover in other areas of cooperation. Development of international economic and social cooperation is a major prerequisite for the ultimate solution of political conflicts and elimination of war. Mitrany (1966) says that the problem of our time is not to keep nations apart with peace but bring them actively together. ITU and UNESCO achieve this successfully as functional agencies of the UN. Thus UNESCO and ITU fit in the definition of Mitrany's 'working peace' and Frederick Schuman's (1954) notion of 'peace by pieces'. Functional organizations like UNESCO and ITU focus on common interests and build a habit of cooperation. As Claude (1965) forecasted, working international agencies will create a system of mutual advantages, which will assume too great a value in the eyes of beneficiaries. Goodrich (1976) also agrees that it is possible to bypass political rivalries of state and build habits of cooperation in non political spheres.

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There are many advantages of multilateral cooperation. But it is not true that states will forget about war when they are busy in cooperation. Security is always a primary concern for states. The neo-functionalists rightly say that political decisions decide about cooperation in technical areas and political push is important to get momentum in the field of non-political. Claude (1965) also agrees that separability of economic and social problems from political problems is provisional. A close look at the working of organizations like UNESCO and ITU shows that they are not free from political intervention. Economic, social, cultural and political dimensions are part and parcel of any attempt at cooperation.

For the realists, international organization is a process by which power is exercised and the first objective of member states is to protect their national interests. Balance of power is the main source of stability and peace in the view of realists. Through realism, we can understand the politics of big powers in international organizations such as UNESCO and ITU.

Goodrich (1976) explains that according to the liberalists, war can be eliminated through collective or multilateral action and institutional reform. Mutual interests and interdependence compel states to cooperate. According to the liberals, international organizations play a number of key roles in developing habits of cooperation and serving as arenas for negotiating and developing coalitions. They can be used by states as instruments of foreign policy. Liberal institutionalists define cooperation in international organizations. Keohane and Nye highlight the phenomenon of 'complex interdependence'. Regime theories focus on the IO's role in the creation and maintenance of regimes. The Charters of international organizations incorporates principles, norms, rules and decision making procedures. According to Goodrich (1976) these decisions making procedures may then be used by member states for further norm and rule creation for rule enforcement and dispute settlement. Collective or public goods theory along with other liberal theories sees IOs, international law and international regimes playing positive roles in facilitating cooperation and managing public goods; without collective actions there will always be a risk. UNESCO and ITU can be tested against these different theories.

On the issues of organizational 'adaptation and learning', Haas (1991) explains that there are two core elements for change and adaptation in IOs. One is by adding new activities to their agendas without examining or changing bases ('incremental change'). The second is when the organization learns something new and develops a new process. It redefines the organizational purpose, re-conceptualizes problems and articulates new ends. ITU and UNESCO have changed with time and reset their aims and objectives when needed. Both the organizations can be tested against these theoretical and conceptual backgrounds.

Media and ICT are two important tools that have the power to change the world scenario and that have wide-ranging impact. There are many debates about their roles across the world. In the era of globalization, information and communication are an indispensable part of our life, so it is very important that policy should work in favour of the disadvantaged sections of the population. Media and ICT are today an important constituent element of the processes of global governance. The UN, which has worked in the area of development, through several of its agencies has focused its attention on the developing and under-developed countries. But, the financial constraints within which these agencies and organizations work and their lack of punitive powers lead to limitations in their powers of implementation. While UNESCO's work has focused on promoting freedom of media and using ICT for education and information, ITU works towards promoting technological advancement and dissemination in the field of communication and information.

This study attempts to highlight the importance of media and ICT, and their significance in determining power in the international system, in the current world order. The study focuses on the organizational aspects, assessing the organizational strengths and weaknesses, the successes and failures and the limitations and constraints within which two relevant international organizations– UNESCO and ITU – operate in the field of ICT and media. The study seeks to identify the interrelatedness and interconnectedness of the work of these two institutions and to assess the level of coherence in their approach and outcome. More specifically, this study focuses on India's concerns in relation to media and ICT, highlighting the relevance of these issues in the Indian context and analyzing the role of international organizations from the perspective of Indian interests and concerns.

A renowned scholar of communication, Hamid Mowlana stated in his *Reports and Papers on Mass Communications* (1985) that international flow of information is another way of studying international relations. There are no comparative studies of UNESCO and ITU. It is necessary to understand these organizations by the international organizational approach. This study evaluates the development of ICT and freedom of media through the work of UNESCO and ITU. It puts to test the hypothesis that UNESCO's financial limitations and lack of implementation powers are impediments in the way of attaining its objectives of freedom of media. Also it tests whether the domination of political issues in the working of the ITU prevents it from effectively meeting its objectives of promoting ICT and bridging the digital divide.

The general research questions that this study will seek to answer are: What is the role played by the media in international relations? How relevant is freedom of media? To what extent do media shape public opinion as well as state action? What role do media play in conflict resolution and establishment of peace? What are the differences between the nature of the western media and media in the developing countries? What are the implications of free flow of information on sovereignty? What is the significance of information and communication technology (ICT) in international relations? What are the important components of the New World Information and Communication Order? How can ICT help to achieve the UN Millennium Development Goals and what is the impact of ICT in social and economical development? What are the structures, functions, and objectives of UNESCO's communication and information sector and its role in securing the freedom of expression? What are the limitations and constrains within which the UNESCO operates towards fulfilling this role? What role does the ITU play in bridging the digital divide and in the process of global governance? What political issues dominate the work of the ITU? What are the Indian concerns in relation to ICT and freedom of media? What is India's interaction and experience with the work of the UNESCO and the ITU in these fields?

The study draws on inter-disciplinary writings on the two inter-related issue areas in order to understand the nature, impact, challenges and opportunities in the field of media and ICT. The study is based on explanation, textual analysis and interpretation of UNESCO's and ITU's work in the field of media and ICT. It contains an analysis of both

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agencies separately and comparatively as well as with specific reference to the Indian context. Primary documents from these institutions are extensively relied upon. The official websites of UN, UNESCO and ITU constitute important and authentic sources of information for this study.

This work involves deductive methodology. Data is analyzed through quantitative techniques, where necessary, for interpretation. The study draws upon both primary as well secondary sources. Archival research proves useful for the historical background to understand the linkages between the past and present. The study is based on an inter-disciplinary approach, borrowing from writings from a sociological and technical (media and mass communication) perspective. This study demands sources from different areas. Apart from the political and sociological studies it cuts across communication and media studies also. It is important to study any international organization through the perspective of theory. It is necessary to see the third world perspective, especially Indian perspective apart from the western centric approach.

The study is structured in the following manner. An introductory chapter contains an overview of the scope and structure of the study. A general chapter on the role of media and ICT in international relations discusses the challenges and opportunities in these areas. There are two separate chapters on the role of international organizations, one on the role of UNESCO and media and one on that of ITU in bridging the digital gap. One chapter focuses on ICT and media in India, based on the Indian experience with ICT and media. It brings out India's concerns in relation to media and ICT and focuses on the role of UNESCO and ITU in the development of ICT as well as enhancement of media. The last chapter contains some general conclusions based on the study.

Chapter 2

Role of Media and ICT in International Relations

Today no one can imagine inter-state relations without the presence of media and information and communication technology (ICT). Both play a role in determining the nature of interstate interactions and multilateral diplomacy. Whereas the media influences the content of policy making and diplomacy, ICT has changed the nature of international interactions. The media and ICT also have increased influence on the functioning of international organizations. Organizations at the international level are also increasing the focus on the objectives of free media and promotion of ICT within their ambit of work.

Mass Media and Its Development

Bagga (2006) defines mass media in *'Encyclopedia of Mass Media'*, as non personal channels of communication that allow a message to be sent to many individuals at one time. Media is a truncation of the term 'media of communication', referring to those organized means of dissemination of fact, opinion, entertainment, and other information, such as newspapers, magazines, cinema, films, radio, television, the World Wide Web, billboards, books, CDs, DVDs, video cassettes, computer games and other forms of publishing.

'Mass media' refers to means of communication and information dissemination on a large scale. Today the media of communications are predominantly electronic. Radio, television and telephone are the most common examples of such devices. The term 'media' is commonly associated with news media. But news media, although an influential component, is only one component of mass media.

Media influences every part of our lives. It also plays the important function of providing feedback to the political system. Political communication is an important part of any political process. Means of communication provides feedback to the system and aids in decision making. Media is thus an important agent of political socialization and an instrument of change. Sussman (1979) highlights the importance of mass media. They carry news of change in the political, social, economic and cultural spheres, as well as new conceptions of old and new ideas in these and other fields. Where Legislature,

Executive and Judiciary are the three pillars of democracy, media is recognized as the fourth pillar. Media plays a watchdog role in any political system, providing checks and balances in the activities of functional units. It forms an important link between the state and its people. It is a medium of communication between government and citizens and acts as two-way traffic for the flow of information. The relation among state, media and the people reflects the nature of the political system of any country. Some scholars believe that totalitarianism could not have been possible without the mass communications that accompanied the second industrial revolution (Nye 2007: 236). In the international system, the media brings out the different national interests of countries.

Mass media has evolved over time; it has always transformed parallel with the developments in ICT. Oral media was the ancient form of media to disseminate information and knowledge. The Greek and Middle Ages were dominated by this trend. From Greek, Rome, Middle Ages to Renaissance, the study of oral and written media was prominent. Gardiner (2006) explains that in those times, means of storing information was memory and medium of transmitting information was speech. This was the 'first generation' of media. He considers print and film as 'second generation' media. In 1450, the print revolution brought radical changes in media; now information and knowledge could be disseminated speedily, permanently and to multiple sources at once. Before the invention of printing, visual art was the medium for exchange of ideas. In 19th century the telegraph became a prominent medium to connect people. In 1920, radio was first used, mostly for military purposes. In the 1950s, television brought visual communication on screen. Telephone and television are representative of 'third generation' media. Now we are in the 'fourth generation' with satellite television, multimedia, internet and digital communication. Thus the journey of media, which began with 'word of mouth' has ended in hi-tech communication through CD, DVD, pen drive, iPod; Blackberry, internet telephony, etc. No one could have imagined, at a time when messages were exchanged through horseback and pigeons, a future where words and images could be instantly transmitted across the world.

News media is now faster than ever in the transmission of news and there is no need to wait for the morning newspaper. Sussman (1979) elaborates that in the 20th century, the dynamic media, the high speed press transistor radio, computer linkage,

communication satellite, and combinations of these and other technologies have vastly increased the opportunities for the instant and worldwide sharing of news and information. This technologically advanced media has also emerged as a significant actor in international relations.

Role of Media in International Relations

In the 21st century, media has emerged as a dynamic player in international relations. In the words of Chomsky (1988), the media manufactures consent and at the international level, it plays a decisive role in the making of opinion, which can change the policy of any country. It can change the past and future of international politics through its agenda-setting and policy-making power. International relations also, in turn, influence developments in media.

Mass media shapes the views not only of the domestic public but also of the international public. Broadcasting is a type of information dissemination that has a big impact on public opinion (Nye 2007: 254). In the information age, TV transmitters are more powerful than tanks. For example, it was television coverage that created widespread popular unrest regarding the US war in Vietnam and the Russian war in Chechnya. Neuman (1996) explains how television has the ability to bring graphic images of pain and outrage into our living rooms, which heighten the pressure both for immediate engagement in areas of international crisis and immediate disengagement when events do not go according to plan.

News media have the capacity to decide the international action of any country. Balabanova (2007) explores the 'CNN effect' theory, showing how the news affects the policy making process. Non state actors also have a share in this process. The 'CNN effect' is a theory in political science and media studies that explores the role of international news channel Cable News Network (CNN) in influencing foreign policy. The Tiananmen Square massacre in 1989 in China, the fall of communism, the first Gulf war and the US intervention in Somalia are examples where CNN played an active role. CNN is like a policy and agenda setting agent in international relations. Alleyne (1995) describes that 'for millions around the globe the definition of what is news is being determined by a transnational television network, CNN, based in the United States and

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controlled by Americans'. CNN sets the news agenda for the world. The so-called 'CNN effect' makes it hard to keep items that might otherwise warrant a lower priority off the top of the public agenda (Nye 1999: 25).

In 1995, the United Nations Secretary General Boutros Boutros Ghali described the television news station CNN as the 'sixteenth member of the [UN] Security Council' (Minear and Scott 1996: 4). Jacobsen (1996) asserts that 'CNN effect' is a factor among others that contributes to determination of cases for humanitarian intervention.

Alleyne (1995) explains how former UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali exposed the power of mass media and news flows in international politics. Media plays a significant role in shaping the agenda of international relations for governments, organizations and common citizens. Ghali pointed out that 'media attention' led the UN to pay more attention to Yugoslavia in comparison to Somalia. Ghali asserted member states diverted their support and aid to Somalia only when the media started giving attention to the problem.

Jacobsen explains the impact of pressure by journalists to demand government action: process it in this way-

Media coverage (printed and televised) of suffering and atrocities

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Journalists and opinion leaders demand that government 'do something'

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The public pressure becomes unbearable

↓

Governments do something
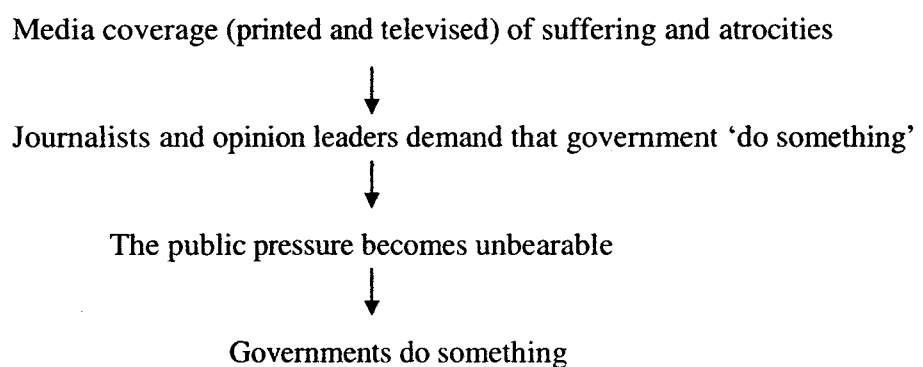
(Jackobsen 2008: 132)

Goldstein (2003) makes the point that public opinion in US was in favour of the intervention in Somalia after seeing images of brutalities of civil war and conditions of famine on television. But when TV news showed an American soldier's body being dragged through the streets by a Somali and the news came out of the murder of 18 US soldiers, public opinion shifted quickly against the operation. Neuman (1996) argues that

television can force policy makers to favour humanitarian intervention but can also force them to terminate the intervention once the military force suffers casualties, as was the case with US intervention in Somalia in 1992. She calls it the *'body bag' effect*, where the images of casualties led to public pressure that forced the US to pull out. Unlike Somalia, Rwanda did not attract adequate coverage from the US and international media.

Silver (1991) explains that in the Gulf War, TV watchers supported the war, as they only knew what the media showed them. Understanding the media's role as a player in world events becomes even more critical after the Cold War period, as there is increased indulgence by governments to mould public opinion through dehumanization and demonization of a stereotyped enemy and unbalanced coverage.

We can find many other instances of the image making power of the print media The *Washington Post* on 5 July 1990 represented Saddam's threat to Israel as an 'airborne version of Hitler's ovens'. The *New York Times* was also an important actor in the Gulf War. On 13 August 1990, it carried a front page story about the military power and chemical weapons of Iraq, also claiming that Iraq would develop nuclear weapons. The American media and CNN in particular helped to create the exaggerated fear about Iraq and weapons of mass destruction (WMD).

On the issue of foreign policy, news media and government are both dependent on each other. Goldstein (2003) explains the journalists' role as the gatekeepers of information passing from foreign policy elites to the public. Media diplomacy is also useful, where media is used as an instrument of foreign policy. Another important relationship is that between the media and the military. During the invasion of Grenada, US military censors limited media coverage. But after the emergence of the new media, things have changed. In the Kosovo crisis (1999), Internet was an active weapon; Goldstein (2003) called it 'The War of the Web'. According to Norton (1999), the Internet is creating civic pluralism in the Muslim world by organizing people in their demand for equitable treatment by the government.

It is not just a one-way relationship of media influencing governments. Governments also use ICT and mass media to disperse their ideas, messages, information, policies and directions. President Roosevelt's use of radio in the 1930s worked as a dramatic shift in American politics. This practice is still on – the President of

the United States uses radio and television media to deliver their weekly speeches to citizens. In India too, the political leaders reach the rural masses in far-flung areas through the media of radio and television. Former President Abdul Kalam had regular interactions with ordinary citizen on the internet.

New communication technology also poses new threats to international security. In the age of ICT, everyone is producer of information along with being a consumer. These technologies can also facilitate the work of anti-social elements and create challenges to security.

In India, the media tries to influence the foreign policy making process. The print and electronic media generally shows nationalistic spirit and mounts pressure on the government in times of crisis. Indian media is divided on issues of relations with other nations such as Pakistan and US. Media in India is also divided on lines of ideology. When Indian students allegedly became victims of racial attacks in Australia in 2009, the Indian media mounted pressure on the government to withdraw diplomatic ties with Australia. But the Indian government did not succumb to the pressure of the media and worked for a diplomatic solution of the problem.

Now print and electronic media are giving more space to international news. After the 1990s, with the beginning of liberalization in India, the media has been giving more attention to international relations. In the wake of globalization, at local level people can access news about international happenings. Domestic support is important for action of the government at the international level. Media (and cinema) play an active role in track two diplomacy with Pakistan. Indian cinema is popular all over the world. *IIFA*[2] *(International Indian Film Academy)* every year organizes awards ceremony in different countries. It helps to enhance relations with cultural diplomacy[3].

In the past, radio channel *Voice of America (VOA)* was an important source of news in India, during the Cold War. After 53 years it has been now closed because there is no strategic importance for US in India. VOA was the invisible weapon of the Cold War. Now its focus is Iran, Indonesia, Nigeria and Afghanistan. It is clear that media is

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[2] Started in 2000 from London.
[3] Exchange of ideas, information, art, lifestyle, traditions and value system.

one of the principal actors in international relations. Closely link to the use of media by governments as an instrument of propaganda is the question of freedom of media.

Freedom of Media

Media is generally an important non-state actor but state owned media work as a state actor. Both have a deep impact on international politics. Media can be used as an instrument of propaganda, as was rampant during the Cold War. States use media according to their interests. The superfast speed of flow of news and information has enhanced the power of media. The degree of independence of the information channel is a major test of the freedom permitted all citizens in a country (Sussman 1979: 79). An independent media has a greater say in free societies as it has greater scope for influencing the decision making process. In the US, the adversarial relationship between the press and the highest officials provides the balance of power envisioned in the Constitution (Sussman 1979: 79). Sussman explains that the mass media in free societies serves as non-governmental mobilizers of social thought. It helps people to participate in the political process. Even authoritarian states assert the existence of freedom of media in their territories although their mass media are directly harnessed to assure specific political and social mobilization. Authoritarian governments spend great effort on propaganda, the public promotion of their official line, to win support for foreign policies. States use television, newspapers, and other information media in this effort. Carr (1939) says that international politics is struggle for power and there are three sources of power in international relations, military power, economic power and power over opinion. Carr analyses propaganda as a specific means of state to get power over opinion.

Nye (2007) explains that in the 1930s, Hitler and Stalin used media to spread propaganda. Milosevic's rule was based on control in Serbia in the 1990s. In 1993, a battle for power was fought at a TV station in Moscow. Nye agreed that in Second World War, media was used as a weapon of propaganda. During the war between Serbia and NATO, a great number of Serbs were audiences of 'Radio Free Europe' and the 'Voice of America'. 'B-92', delivered western news, and after the attempt to close it by government, it continued to provide such news on the Internet. There was use of official

state radio in the 1994 genocide in Rwanda of the Tutsi minority, to spread hate campaign. Steven (2005) explains that in poor countries of the world, like Mozambique and Malawi, radio plays an important role because TV remains beyond the reach of most people.

Chomsky and Herman rightly say:

> [P]owerful sources regularly take advantage of media routines and dependency to 'manage' the media, to manipulate them into following a special agenda and framework...inundating the media with stories, which serve sometimes to foist a particular line and frame on the media, and at other times to help chase unwanted stories off the front page or out of media altogether (Chomsky and Herman 1988: 23).

Balabanova (2007) explains the '*manufacturing consent thesis*' that governments use media according to their interests. Policy makers and especially political elites compel media to show global events in a particular way. This thesis shows that media is not independent and it depends on the policymakers. This theory shows that news media is an aide of the political elite. Herman (1993) also argues that media is a supportive arm of the state. According to Goldstein (2003), during the war in Bosnia, officials in the US State Department said that the goal of US policy was often just to keep the conflict there off the front pages of US newspapers.

The term '*embedded journalism*' came into the limelight during the Iraq war (2003). After the failure of management of information in the Vietnam War, the US used new policies for the media in the first and second Gulf Wars. 'Embedded journalism' refers to news reports being attached to military units involved in armed conflict. It is used to denote the relation between media and military but it became popular after the 2003 Iraq War. International media persons were trained for war reporting. They went to Iraq with the military as embedded journalists after a signed contract. The Media showed the world what the military wanted it to show. The main source of information was the military and the security of the media also depended on the military.

The US administration learnt a lesson from the Vietnam War about the failure of mismanagement of information. Then, there was no regulation over the media. Hallin (1986) says that in the Vietnam War, news media was critical for American policies. US thinks that it was also a cause of the loss of war. During the Gulf War, American policy

was different; this time they succeeded in manipulating the media. They decided the rules for the media coverage of the war. Chomsky describes how Pentagon spread misinformation about the stock of chemical and biological weapons in Iraq. Nye (2007) says that during the Gulf War, the media did not have full freedom to access information. US military feed TV networks pictures of exactness of weapons striking their targets. The Media supported the military and played by its rules.

The Media can play a decisive role in any crisis or conflict. When state itself becomes a violator of the law, then media becomes a big hope for people. After the 11/26 incident in Mumbai, the role of Indian and Pakistani media was reactive and negative. They tried to put their country in a war like situation. Although the media is a barometer of public opinion, sometimes it can present an incident in a skewed manner according to its interest. During the Russia-Georgia conflict (2008), the Western media framed Russia as a villain and violator of international law. English speaking Georgian leader Mikhael Saakashvili got major attention by Western media. Tatliana Shaumian (Pioneer 2008) explains how CNN showed only a small byte of Russian Prime Minister Vladimir Putin and did not screen the explanations of Russian policy. BBC found evidence of Georgian war crimes. *New York Times* also published articles about Georgia's inexperienced military attack. So there were two versions of the same international incident.

Alleyne (1995) says that the awareness of the power of information has led governments to invest in means of international communications. CNN and BBC are important components of cultural diplomacy. 'Radio Free Europe' was started in 1950 for broadcasts to East Europe. 'Radio Liberty' started in 1953 within USSR in different languages. It was well known that CIA was the financer of this service. The Eastern Bloc jammed the VOA, 'Radio Free Europe' and 'Radio Liberty'. VOA gave news about the democratic movement in China in 1989. BBC was the important source for the Iran and Iraq in the period of war.

Governments can spread true and false information as a means of international influence through state controlled services. Earlier, the government dominated the television and print news. Globalization gives greater space to individuals through the flood of private electronic and print media. Goldstein (2003) explains that as the press

acts as a watchdog and critic of government policies, the government does not always favour freedom of media. What government wants to hide, media tries to publicize.

Nye (2007) argues that when Iraq invaded Kuwait in 1990, American CNN helped frame the issue worldwide as aggression. But the story of the 2003 war was different. The Qatar based news satellite TV network *Al Jazeera*, which is known as the 'CNN of Arab world', has become an important actor in the Middle East politics. Martin Shaw (2001) says that during the Gulf War media reporting, especially the CNN effect, mobilized people against Iraq. But now many internationally popular channels are balancing the effect of CNN.

In 21st century anyone can read or watch news from anywhere. News is also now made available in many languages. Authoritative governments try, unsuccessfully, to control these images and words. For example, in the case of Tibet, China tries to restrict the flow of information, but many images leak out through the internet. In June 2009, China shut down American search engine *Google* on the ground that it provides links to pornographic material. The *China Internet Illegal Information Reporting Centre* (CIIRC), a government sponsored Internet watchdog, has shut down more than 4000 websites since January 2009. The Chinese government has already announced a controversial plan to install Internet-filtering software on all computers sold in China (The Hindu 26 June 2009: 12). Another contrasting example is from Iran, where during the Presidential election in June 2009, supporters of the candidate Mir Hussein Moussavi used social networking site 'Facebook' for campaigning. After election-related violence, the Iranian government banned 'Facebook', 'Twitter' and broadcasting of BBC and VOA. In many authoritarian countries 'You Tube'[4] has also became a victim. Bassey (2000) writes about how the Yugoslav authorities crushed the media. Mengin (2004) explains how 'internet police' is working in China, and firewall has control over the so called harmful websites such as 'CNN' and *'New York Times'*. Access of banned sites is a crime. China has created an alternative for www in the form of cww. Kalathil and Boas (2003) explain that in authoritarian regimes, the state develops and controls ICT and mass media.

Now the 'global media' has its own interests and agenda. Participation of foreign media influences the agenda of news in any country after globalization. Sussman (1979)

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[4] You Tube is a video sharing website on which users can upload and share videos.

TH-17698
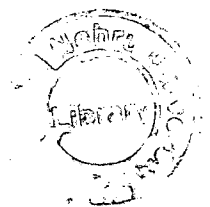
highlights the problem of concentration of ownership of the mass media and control over information. In the international arena, developed countries enjoy a monopoly over ICT and so they have the advantage of control over news through mass media. Even in countries that provide a high level of political rights and civil liberties for their citizens, the power of information dissemination is concentrated in the hands of a few. The recognition that political as well as economic power can be achieved through ownership or control over news media leads to a concentration of media management. Rupert Murdoch[5] played an active role through his newspaper in British politics to mobilize support for Mrs. Margaret Thatcher (Katyal The Hindu: 2000).

In India, media is relatively free and independent from state control. Indian media is free to express its views and comments on foreign policy and not bound to support the line of government. One big challenge is security and safety of media persons, which can be a hurdle in fearless journalism in India. In Jammu and Kashmir and North-East region, it emerges as a big problem. Some critics raise the question of *persona non grata* treatment for the Indian correspondent of 'Al-Jazeera' after the news coverage of Gujarat riots and Kashmir. Here the question of 'responsible journalism' arises. National interest is supreme for any country and media must also abide by this overarching objective.

The analysis above shows that freedom of media is at the centre of discourse of the role of media in international relations. International politics cannot ignore the role of media in shaping relations.

ICT and Its Development

ICT is an umbrella term that includes any communication device or application, encompassing radio, television, mobile, computer and network hardware and software, satellite systems as well as the various services and applications associated with them, such as video-conferencing and distance learning. ICTs are often spoken of in a particular context, such as ICTs in education, healthcare, or libraries. Here information technology and communication technology are interwoven to each other. ICTs include both traditional (radio, TV, print, video, film) and newer technologies (Internet, virtual reality, distance education applications, mind-computer interface technologies). According to

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[5] An Australian born global media mogul, started Sky television in 1989.

Wilson (2004), ICT encompasses all technologies that facilitate the processing and transfer of information and communication services.

Although communication technology has existed before, the distinguishing feature of ICT in current times is the development of multimedia devices. Now a computer also works as radio, television and telephone etc. and can be connected to a mobile phone, iPod, fax and other communication devices. Communication satellites, cellular phones, satellite phones, fax machines, and modems are important components of the new media, which enhance the power of communication.

Information technology is now closely related to communication technology and both are complementary to each other. After the innovation of the *abacus* in China and the *saraban* in Japan, the mechanical calculator came into existence. Charles Babbage (father of the computer) gave birth to the analytical engine. But in its initial days, the computer took too much energy and time in calculating and processing data. *International Business Machine* (IBM) developed electro-mechanical computer in 1931. After this, Univac developed the first electronic digital computer. Today, it is possible to connect internet to computers by wireless technology and move anywhere with connectivity. Video conferencing is also possible because of information and communication technology.

The invention of the printing press was a milestone in the development of civilization but it was followed by many other major revolutions. Around the turn of the 19th century, the first industrial revolution (application of steam) changed political and social relations. Around the turn of the 20th century the second industrial revolution (based on electricity) also changed the means of production. Lastly in the 21st century the third revolution (information) took place (Nye 2007: 235). That was the early stage of the information revolution. The current information revolution is based on rapid technological advances in computers.

Importance of ICT

Wilson (2004) describes ICT as a potentially powerful new, scarce, and desirable societal resource like capital or land. In the knowledge based economy, information is a key resource. According to Wilson (2004), rapid proliferation and diffusion of ICTs are

important characteristics of a knowledge based economy. Francis Bacon[6] stated the famous and prophetic words, "Knowledge is power". Foucault also emphasized the importance of knowledge as power. Governments always worry about the flow of information. ICTs have the potential to bring about drastic changes in the economic, political, social and cultural life of a society, resulting in a 'Communication Revolution'. So ICT is a driver of change and is relevant to all spheres of life. The information revolution has lead to dramatic decreases in the cost of processing and transforming information (Nye 2007: 234). ICTs have blurred geographical or physical boundaries. Robins (1988) says that information technologies are changing all spheres of society. Robotics, office technology, political management; policing and military activities (electronic warfare), communications, consumption (electronic funds transfer, retailing technology) are important instances. The function of the new technology is to develop the market for information goods and services.

ICT is a revolutionary power that can bring social transformation. Toffler (1980) says that technological developments determine social arrangements. Digital revolution can bring efficient healthcare, improved education, more information and diversity of culture. The new ICT creates more options in education, shopping, entertainment, news and travel. The remotest village has the possibility of tapping a global store of knowledge beyond the dreams of anyone living a century ago, and more quickly and cheaply than anyone imagined possible a decade ago (World Development Report 1998/99: 3).

Talero (1997) describes how ICT can help to eliminate poverty, bridge the gap between rural and urban areas, provide education, enhance economic reforms, protect the environment, create accountable and responsible governments and encourage small and medium sized enterprises (SMEs). The telecommunication technology is changing the environment to provide most optimal and efficient solutions to various problems facing humanity. In the view of Talero (1997), ICT is a panacea for the developing countries to solve their problems relating to poverty and underdevelopment. Internet allows people at the periphery to interact with those at the core. ICT is the master key, which can unlock all the solutions for the problems of developing countries and under developed countries. There is ICT boom in many developing countries such as India and China. Singh (1999)

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[6] His famous aphorism "knowledge is power", is found in the 'Meditations'.

says that with the help of the new ICT the developing countries can harness the advantages of global changes by bypassing old, outmoded technologies and entire economic stages. Tewari (1997) says that the advent of satellite television transmission made it possible to connect people of remote areas. Pool (1983) points out that computer, telephones, radio and satellites are technologies of freedom, as much as was the printing press.

ICT is enabling governments to interact more easily with their citizens, promoting the process of democratization and decentralization. Free flowing information is held as the means to achieve a future libertarian and communicative democracy (Robins 1988: 62). In the middle of the twentieth century, people feared that computers and the communication technologies would create the central governmental control dramatized in George Orwell's novel '1984'.[7] But now it is accepted that ICT has greater potential to achieve decentralization. E-governance can be useful in redressing grievances and getting feedback. It is also helpful for nongovernmental organizations to create a powerful network.

E-governance is helping in improving information and service delivery, encouraging citizen participation in the decision making process and making government more accountable, transparent and effective. A simple example is that of the farmer who can get advantages of forecasting of weather and access information relating to best prices of his crops. E-learning is one of the best known advantages of ICT. ICT can help in achieving universal education worldwide through delivery of education and training of teachers by promoting e-literacy skills. Wilson (2004) states that ICT presents a unique opportunity to deliver educational training to marginalized societies efficiently and in a cost effective manner. ICT also has a role to play in the health sector, with the growing potential of tele-medicine. Further, ICT is used as an instrument for environmental protection and the sustainable use of natural resources, and for forecasting and monitoring the impact of natural and manmade disasters.

Goldstein (2003) argues that information is also a source of cooperation among nations. Stonier (1983) similarly argues that material transactions can lead to competition but information transactions can lead to cooperation. Information is something that can

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[7] A classic dystopian novel, published in 1949 and focuses on a repressive, totalitarian regime.

be shared by nations in the true spirit. Internet is viewed as the most important component of 'new media'. The internet creates unlimited communication one to one, one to many, many to one, and perhaps most important, many to many. Comparing these electronic methods of communication to previous advances in communication, political scientist Pippa Norris says that internet messages have the capacity to flow farther, faster, and with fewer intermediaries (Norris 2001: 232). Castells (2002) says that internet is as important as electricity was in the industrial era.

ICT has also helped the news media. Smith (2007) states that the arrival of relatively affordable cell-phones changed the nature of news reporting radically. Coverage of wars and disasters has been transformed. The value of the wireless communication devices for photographers was never more apparent than on September 11, 2001, in New York City, when the destruction of the World Trade Center brought the wireless network down with it as well (Smith 2007: 221). The spread of ICT is undeniable. But the benefits of ICT do not accrue to all in the same measure.

Digital Divide

'Digital divide' refers to the gap between the 'information rich' and 'information poor'. It refers to the divide between the developed world and the developing countries as well as within developing nations. ICT is a scarce and desirable resource that groups and individuals contend and compete for (Wilson 2004: 40). Joseph A. Schumpeter (1943) shows that information and communication services create new 'winners' and 'losers', reshaping the distribution of wealth as communication technology becomes a necessary requirement for economic success. The gap between the North and South is not measured only according to economic conditions but also according to technological strength. Some assert that the digital divide is being bridging after the information revolution but others claim that it is widening continuously. Technology is creating a new type of marginalized class; and the 'core' is reaping benefits that elude the 'periphery'. In an earlier age the possession of territory and ample natural resources was the key to greatness. In today's world that is no longer the case; now a highly qualified labor force, access to information, and financial capital are the keys to success (Jackson 2003: 112).

According to the Human Development Report (1999) of UNDP, the Internet is contributing to an ever-widening gap between rich and poor. Wilson (2004) sees digital divide as inequality in access, distribution, and use of information and communication technologies between two or more populations. With the emergence of 'new media' and 'new ICT', the digital divide is increasing. Wilson (2004) views that, in the twenty-first century, the capacity to communicate is a key human right. Eliminating the distinction between the 'information-rich' and 'information-poor' is critical to eliminating economic and other inequalities between North and South. Only then can the information revolution become a full-fledged social revolution.

Role of ICT in International Relations

According to Nye (2007), information revolution transformed the world politics as well as the international political economy. There is a causal relation between technological development and socio-politico-economic changes. When technology takes new shape, it also changes the structure of society. ICT has brought about drastic changes in the pattern of international inter-actions. Williams (1984) points out that both, state and non state actors are affected by the revolution in ICT. Modern ICTs have enabled individuals to become international actors. Stonier (1983) states that in a postindustrial society, since information is an asset for any country, this puts ICT at the heart of international relations.

Mowlana (1997) differentiates between traditional diplomacy of the past and modern public diplomacy[8] that has become possible because of communication technology. In past shuttle diplomacy[9] was very popular. After rapid expansion of ICT, leaders are in direct touch with each other. Many leaders are also using the Internet to communicate with their citizens. US President Obama invited questions and comments on 'Facebook' before his trip to Ghana in July 2009. On this social networking site, Obama takes up questions by his citizens and responds them.

For ICT central surveillance is possible, but governments that aspire to control information flows through control of the Internet face high costs and ultimate frustration.

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[8] a term coined in the mid 1960s to describe the conduct of foreign policy by engagement with foreign publics.
[9] use of a third party to serve as an intermediary or mediator between two parties.

Rather than reinforcing centralization and bureaucracy, the new information technologies have tended to foster network organizations, new types of community, and demands for different roles of government.

Undoubtedly, ICT has changed the nature of interactions at all levels and also had a profound effect on international relations. This impact has also been sought to be explained in theoretical contexts by several scholars.

Complex Interdependence-Neo Liberal Theory

Keohane and Nye (1989) have discussed the changes in international relations in the information era, in the context of their theory of 'complex interdependence'. In their book *'Power and Interdependence'* they describe the international system as an interdependent system in which different actors are dependent on the actions of others. In interdependent systems, there are multiple channels of interaction connecting different actors. Mingst (1999) says that multiple issues and agendas exist in the international system, but the issues have no hierarchy. Under complex interdependence, States become more preoccupied with the 'low politics' of welfare and less concerned with the 'high politics' of national security (Jackson 2003: 115). A characteristic of the global information age is the increased role of transnational actors; non state entities acting across international borders. In a world of global interdependence, the agenda of international politics is broader, and everyone seems to want to get into the act (Nye 2007: 241). Nye (2007) says that world politics is not the sole province of governments. Spread of information means that power is more widely distributed and informal networks undercut the monopoly of traditional bureaucracy. After the high speed of the internet, government has less control on their agendas. Constructivists also reject the theory of the hard power of states. Realist images of sovereign states balancing and bouncing off each other like billiard balls, is not a portrait the true picture of world politics. International politics is more complex not only state to state interaction. The constructivists point out that, rapid technological changes in information flows can lead to important changes in identities and interests, which decide the actions of international actors. The Liberals acknowledges that due to technological development, there will be changes in the international system. Free flow of information is a product of liberal

democratic and free trade movement after the Second World War. Free media is viewed as an important prerequisite for any liberal democratic country.

Modern global communication system is a driving force in the process of complex interdependence. The domestic policies of different countries impinge on one another more and more. Transnational communications reinforce these effects (Keohane 1989: 26). As a result of the Information revolution, world politics has become more complex in comparison to previous world power structure. With multiple channels of interaction and explosion of information along with increased flow, the interdependence of states has grown. Nye (2007) shows how channels of contact across state borders have changed. Nongovernmental actors operating transnationally have many more opportunities to organise and propagate their views. The Liberal assertion that the information revolution will be beneficial for every nation-state in the world is flawed as there are differences in the distribution of information capabilities of actors in the international system (Nye 2007: 256).

Control over information is a source of soft power, which is now more important than hard power.[10] Neo-Liberal Institutional theory explains that international organizations (IOs) are important for cooperation. Information is important for IOs because it reduces uncertainty and generates trust among states. ICT is very useful for the functioning of IOs. Information revolution reduces the risks from uncertainty and unpredictability. Goldstein (2003) points out that the ability of governments to bargain successfully and reach mutually beneficial outcomes is enhanced by the availability of immediate communication channels. The 'hotline' between Washington and Moscow is a good example.

World System Theory

According to this theory, just as in domestic politics, there are class distinctions in international politics. The capitalist countries have the technology and capital and they occupy the center of international relations as core counties. On the periphery, are the poor countries whereas the developing countries fall in the semi-periphery. World system theory explains the relations and interactions between these two circles. There is no clear

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[10] use of military or economic coercion to influence.

distinction, which country exactly falls in which category. The level of development of ICT can be viewed as a factor in determining in which category a country falls.

The 'Dependency theory' shows how the Third World is dependent on the developed countries. The core has control over the know-how, which the poor countries lack. World system theory and Dependency theory are the Marxist perspectives, which are different from the neo-liberal interpretation of international relations. World system theory explains how in the field of mass media three entities (core, periphery and semi-periphery) relate to each other. Core defines the pattern of relation and actions. Peripheral states lack influence in defining their relations with the core. According to McPhail (2006) the world system theory is useful in examining cultural industries, mass media systems, audiovisual industries, technology transfer, knowledge, and activities of the biggest global stakeholders, which pursue interrelated strategies to maximize corporate growth, market share, revenues, and profits. Capitalist countries have the technology, marketing strategies, software, media materials, knowledge and capital.

With their advanced technologies, the core has the potential to export its popular culture to the periphery and semi-periphery. Core is the hub of modern communication channels; the major multinational media conglomerates come from core countries, particularly the US and the EU. They seek to influence, expand, and promote their range of cultural products, including books, magazines, movies, music, and so forth, in the two subordinate zones for profit (McPhail 2006: 28). Peripheral states are far from the advantages of modernization and industrialization. McPhail (2006) formulates the *electronic colonialism theory*. There are four parts of colonialism, first, military colonialism (BC-1000 AD), second Christian colonialism (1000-1600), third mercantile colonialism (1600-1950) with industrial revolution and lastly electronic colonialism (1950-afterward). Electronic colonialism aims to control ideas, values and life style. It enhances the hands of powerful multinational companies, especially media empires. Even the most innocuous, apolitical, entertainment programming has political content in the form of values, beliefs, behaviors, and attitudes that are evidenced in what Richard Merelman (1989) refers to as 'deep structures'. Neither those who produce the programs, nor the viewers, may be aware of these underlying political massages, but the messages help to structure political and non political relationships (McBride and Toburen 2000:

134). After the wave of liberalization and privatization, outsider communication forces entered in the boundaries of peripheral and semi-peripheral states, leading to *electronic colonialism* (McPhail 2006: 29).

The Italian Marxist theorist *Antonio Gramsci* gave the concept of *Hegemony*. Rulers use the superstructure to establish their legitimacy; mass media is an important component of this structure. International leaders use it to meet their national interest. Kapstein (1999) says that Hegemony is the holding by one state of a preponderance of power in the international system; so that it can single handedly dominate the rules and arrangements by which international political and economic relations are conducted. It refers to the process by which a dominant class not only enforces and maintains its power, but over a period of time, manages to gain endorsement from the subordinate class without the use of force because the power relationship is accepted as a popular ideology (Alleyne 1995: 58-59). Hall (1982) describes the structure of communication as the mechanism through which hegemony is imposed. Galtung's *Structural Theory* of imperialism places great weight on international communication. It sees control of international communication as a distinct type of imperialism. 'Communication imperialism' shows the domination of core countries over the news and means of communication. The US State Department has played a key role in facilitating the flow of US cultural products across the world (Steven 2005: 23). Nye (2007) calls the spread of American popular culture as 'soft power' for the United States. Rather than one dominant cultural force, situated as in the past in the Western Europe or the US, several regional centers now struggle for media and cultural power. World television flows are extremely complex, 'a patch work quilt rather than a one-way street' comprising 'intricate and multi-directional flows' (Steven 2005: 24).

Impact of ICT on Sovereignty

ICT has also had the effect of changing the notion of internal and external sovereignty. Some scholars argue that ICT has blurred the traditional concept of sovereignty but in the view of others, it has enhanced the power of States with greater sovereignty. Realists assert that ICT has increased the power of the state. Technological developments have enhanced the state capacity for surplus extraction, regulation, and

surveillance. Krasner argues that the capacity of state to regulate and control their societies has increased over time rather than declined. States can exploit modern science and technology as much as anyone (Jackson 2003: 282).

The neo-liberals describe how the concept of sovereignty has changed. There is a big question of dilution of state's sovereignty and autonomy because of technological advancement. Medieval merchants developed the Lex Mercatoria (Merchant Law) that governed their relations largely as a private set of rules for conducting business. Similarly, today everyone from hackers to large corporations is developing the code and norms of the internet partly outside the control of the formal political institutions (Nye 2007: 238).Thus technology is seen as undermining the power of state and shifting it to sub-state actors. Availability of internet to ordinary people at very low and affordable cost creates new non state actors and powerful individuals also. New communities and non state actors as whole create new transnational networks worldwide. People are participating in virtual communities and they are becoming citizens of the world. In civil societies, as decentralized organizations and virtual communities develop on the internet, they cut across territorial jurisdictions and develop their own pattern of governance (Nye 2007: 237). In words of the communication expert David Bollier, the Internet has been a godsend to such populations because it enables large numbers of geographically isolated people with a shared history to organize into large virtual communities. Internet connections between foreign nationals and local citizens helped spark protests in Beijing against anti-Chinese riots taking place in Indonesia in 1998. Similarly, in Zimbabwe, the internet was crucial in spreading news about government actions during disputed elections (Nye 2007: 240).

In 2000, Ghana changed regime with the help of ICT. A diaspora network mobilized support and money for the opposition. Online community networks such as the Ghana Cyber Group (1999) in New York, mobilized the Diaspora in the United States to aggressively campaign for regime change in Ghana. In 2004, activists used cell phones to organize peaceful revolutions in the former Soviet states of Georgia and Ukraine. In 2001, big protests in Philippines were organized through text messages on cell phones against the president. In Thailand in 1992, through the cellular phone revolution, military leaders lost their power. In Burma (now Myanmar) the opposition used radio transmitter

against military government. Political scientist James Rosenau has tried to summarize such trends by inventing a new word 'fragmegration', to express the idea that both the integration toward larger identities and fragmentation into smaller communities can occur at the same time (Nye 2007: 241).

Krasner explains that:

> (...) technological change has made it very difficult or perhaps impossible for states to control movements across their borders of all kinds of material things (from coffee to cocaine) and not so material things (from Hollywood movies to capital flows.

Krasner (2001), Foreign Policy

McPhail (2006) elaborates that the emergence of the electronic newspaper, interactive cable, the internet, and direct satellite broadcasting are diluting government regulatory works and changing the concept of national borders. According to James Rosenau (1990), communication technology may be diffusing power from governments to ordinary people and non state actors. As more and more communication channels carry more and more information to more places, governments become just another player in a crowded field (Goldstein 2003:401).

In some ways, ICT is also becoming a threat to national security. Many software programs and search engines provide access to sensitive information and geo-strategically important maps of any part of the world through satellites. ICT is useful to terrorist organizations like Al-Qaeda, Hamas, LTTE etc. as well. In Pakistan, Maulana Fazlullah started an illegal local FM channel in Swat Valley in 2006, to transmit broadcasts of his sermons known as 'Radio Mullah' or 'Maulana Radio'. Gunaratna (2002) pointed that an organization that has leveraged the advantages of the network is Al-Qaeda. After the loss of their central head quarters in Afghanistan, they have evolved into a looser, less hierarchical global network.

There are many problems arising from ICT like hacking, virus, networking of criminals; money laundering etc. that require cooperation between states. Although states must surrender some national sovereignty to be part of international regimes, some states control these regimes by virtue of their technical expertise and their being underwriters of the international organizations needed to maintain the regimes (Alleyne 1995: 165).

Today countries are also involved in 'cyber-warfare'. They make attempts to get secret information about other countries. Hackers can disrupt important national services and functioning of government, which is increasingly dependent on ICT. A hacker in Indonesia, who turns off the electricity in Washington, can destroy halfway around the world. Nuclear deterrence, border patrols, and stationing troops overseas to shape regional power balances will continue to matter in the information age but they will not be sufficient to ensure national security (Nye 2007: 239).

Contemporary ICT creates political awareness and it leads to a 'direct democracy' as well as decentralization. Nye and Owens (1996) say that the beauty of information is that it ineluctably democratizes societies. Internet is an important tool of 'digital democratization'. Thus ICT has changed the face of politics across the world as well as of international relations; it has also had a more direct impact on international organizations.

Impact of ICT on International Organizations

ICT has also brought transparency and accountability in the working of IOs. Online availability of the details of the functioning of IOs have made their work more transparent. ICT has contributed to the establishment of good governance within international organizations. IOs are also using ICTs to promote e-governance. United Nations as well as economic and financial organizations like World Trade Organization, International Monetary Fund and World Bank are working to make their functions more transparent through the use of ICT.

The WTO has created an online map of disputes between its members and provides updated information about trade related disputes. The WTO website provides legal text online, 'online forum' and 'chatting'. WTO arranges regular 'online discussion' with panelists of organizations and other experts and 'chat' with Director-General of WTO. IMF has also developed 'electronic discussion group'. World Bank experts are available for online chat. 'Blogs' have become another attractive initiative, where the WTO, WB and IMF experts and the heads of organizations themselves air their views. The important outcome is a closer relationship between people across the world and these organizations. ICT also helps in wider dissemination. WTO provides online information

in its three working languages-English, French and Spanish. It is possible only through the miracle of ICT.

These organizations provide resources to NGOs, parliamentarians, researchers, students and journalists separately. They not only provide news and e-mail alerts to people but special services to journalists, where media person can access news, information, photos, statistics and reports. WTO's 'service media newsroom', IMF's and World Bank's 'online media briefing center' are sources of information for the media.

The UN has its own radio and TV services, which are available on its website. Anyone can watch the live procedure of General Assembly and Security Council and press briefing of the Secretary-General. UN Radio is available in Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian, Spanish, Portuguese and Kiswahili. Information on the website is available in six official languages of UN. UN Department of Public Information is responsible for the delivery of information. It also provides news related facilities to media. UN, WTO, IMF and other international organizations provide details of conferences, meetings and other events online. UNESCO and ITU also provide information in six languages on their websites. Many organizations are using social networking sites for their objectives. For instance ITU is available on social networking site 'Twitter'.

In the meetings of these organizations, participants can now access the whole debate in different languages through digital translators. This has increased the access of many developing and developed countries, which were unable to fully participate earlier because of the language barrier. Because of ICT, the situation has changed tremendously since the Brettonwoods Conference, where many non-English speaking delegates were unable to follow the debate.

During the Cold War, it was not easy to access information but now it is not easy to hide any incident or information. The international community is able to take immediate action in the age of ICTs. Information technology, particularly the Internet, has eased the tasks of co-ordination and strengthened the human rights activists (Nye 2007: 240). Mengin (2004) thinks that information age is a benign global force for upholding human rights. For instance Amnesty International, International Committee of Red Cross, Medecins Sans Frontiers are working easily through ICTs at international

level. It is easier to contact each other through World Wide Web and other electronic mediums. They can create more legal and moral pressure on any state and international organization and mobilize widespread support.

ICT has led to a questioning of traditional ways of functioning of international organizations. Some critics raise questions about the relevance of meetings of G-8 and misuse of money. The importance of physical presence of leaders, however, remains an important part of international diplomacy.

Role of International Organizations in Development of ICT

Many international organizations are working for progress in ICT sector. UN is working through *Global Alliance for Information and Communication Technologies for Development (GAID)*, under the Department of Social and Economic Affairs. It was approved by the UN in 2006. United Nations Summits (2005) have emphasized the importance of ICT in achieving internationally agreed development goals; especially the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). ICT is very important in mobilization for the MDGs, awareness, public support, networking, connecting the public and private. Before GAID, the ICT Task Force, created by Kofi Annan in 2001, was working for the development of ICT and use of ICT in development. The mandate of the Information and Communication Technologies Task Force expired at the end of 2005 but the task of harnessing the potential of ICT for advancing development was not over GAID comprises government officials, industry experts, non-governmental organization leaders and others from every part of the world.

WTO also accords priority to the development of ICT. It promotes the expansion of trade in information technology products. It takes matter of trade and investment and ICT related services exports and outsourcing. In an era of 'information economy', it has become a platform of negotiations regarding ICT disputes. E-commerce, trade in ICT goods and services and telecom services come under the purview of ICT related WTO negotiations. There are debates over custom duty over electronic transmission and over the open source of software, which is necessary for development. Business Process Outsourcing (BPO) is also a controversial issue in WTO. In the area of telecommunication services, *WTO Agreement on Telecommunications* is important for

telecommunications liberalisation in its member states. In this agreement member countries express deepening commitments to liberalise their sectors. Telecommunications infrastructure and services are integral to, and underpin, information and communication technologies (ICTs) and the WTO therefore acts as a facilitator and forum of international ICT decision-making processes.

World Bank is also actively involved in the development of ICT. The *Global Information and Communication Technologies Department (GICT)* is a joint department of the World Bank and the International Finance Corporation (IFC), which brings together IFC's experience in private sector investment transactions and the World Bank's expertise in policy and regulatory matters. GICT promotes access to information and communication technologies in developing countries. GICT provides governments, private companies, and civil society organizations with the expertise and capital needed to develop and apply ICTs to reduce poverty and foster development. This includes close working relationships with a number of regional telecommunications associations and UN agencies such as the ITU. Apart from this, *InfoDev* is a multi-agency partnership coordinated and served by an expert Secretariat housed at the World Bank, one of its principal donors and founders. The mandate of infoDev is to help developing countries and their international partners maximize the impact of ICT on development. World Bank is especially working in the African region through Africa Regional Communications Infrastructure Programme (RCIP). East and Southern Africa is the only region in the world not connected to the global broadband infrastructure.

UNESCO and ITU are two important UN agencies, which are more actively involved in the promotion of ICT and freedom of media. Both are working towards the formation of an Information Society. The next two chapters deal with the work of these two organizations separately.

Chapter 3
UNESCO and Media

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) is an important member of the UN family, which is actively engaged in promotion of freedom of media and development of information and communication technology (ICT). UNESCO shares with the Security Council the objective of securing world peace. It has an important role to play in the attainment of the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). UNESCO works for the development of education, science, culture and the less known area of communication. The organization has faced several challenges such as politicization, and budgetary and administrative constraints etc. Nevertheless, it works for the enhancement of free flow of information and promotion and protection of freedom of expression all over world.

UNESCO is the UN agency with a mandate to defend freedom of expression and freedom of press. UNESCO's Constitution affirms a commitment, "To contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms, which are affirmed for the peoples of the world, without distinction of race, sex, language or religion, by the charter of United Nations" (Article 1). Section 2 of Article 1 highlights the importance of communication, where UNESCO asserts a commitment to "collaborate in the work of advancing the mutual knowledge and understanding of peoples, through all means of mass communication and to that end recommend such international agreements as may be necessary to promote the free flow of ideas by word and image".

UNESCO's Constitution is compatible with Article 19 of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*:

> Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Communication and information play an important role in fulfillment of the letter and spirit of UNESCO's Constitution. UNESCO recognizes the significance of freedom

of expression in its Constitution itself, as a basic human right, which underpins press freedom, is essential for democracy, good governance and rule of law. In the view of Moegiadi (1980), mutual understanding and a truer and more perfect knowledge of each other's lives is at the core of UNESCO's Constitution. Murthy (1997) sees a reassertion of the UN Charter's spirit in the declaration of UNESCO. Dialogue and sharing of ideas are important to promote understanding and cooperation in the age of 'clash of civilizations'.[11]

UNESCO's Contribution in the Field of Media and ICT

UNESCO works for the development of media and ICT through the Communication and Information Sector (CI), which was established in its present form in 1990. Its programmes are entrenched in UNESCO's Constitution, which requires the Organization to promote the 'free flow of ideas by word and image'. With its staff at UNESCO Headquarters in Paris, the CI Sector is represented in 27 UNESCO field offices. There are three divisions in this sector, the Communication Development Division, the Division for Freedom of Expression, Democracy and Peace and the Information Society Division. The Sector also provides the secretariats for two intergovernmental programmes, the *International Programme for the Development of Communication* (IPDC) and the *Information for All Programme* (IFAP). The three principal strategic objectives of the Sector's programmes are, promoting the free flow of ideas and universal access to information, promoting the expression of pluralism and cultural diversity in the media and world information networks and promoting access for all to ICTs. The CI Sector implements various inter-regional, regional and national projects with extra-budgetary funding mainly in Africa, the Arab States, Asia, the Pacific, Latin America and the Caribbean. The Sector collaborates with UN agencies, bilateral development agencies, international and regional non-governmental agencies.

UNESCO is working for the capacity building of the media for intercultural dialogue and mutual understanding; establishing ethical and professional standards in order to build models of accountability as well as effective self regulation for journalists, promoting interreligious dialogue and mutual understanding, and enhancing dialogue as a

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[11] Samuel P. Huntington's theory, about the clash of cultural and religious identities.

tool for empowering citizens through media. It provides assistance to projects for the development of communication, training of media and communication professionals, legal statutes to ensure independent flow of information, editorial independence, financial autonomy, and safety of media professionals, strengthening news agencies, public service broadcasting, development of community media, assisting media in improving the quality of their local contents by providing training, production and distribution opportunities and training in media literacy for users, particularly children and youth (www.unesco.org). UNESCO supports national level efforts to develop an enabling environment for a free and pluralistic media. It adopted Declaration of Windhoek for free and independent media in Africa (see appendix I).

Capacity building is the pillar of freedom of expression and forms the backbone of all of UNESCO's actions in communication for development. The key focus strategy is based on priority that seeks to promote, advocate, train and support an enabling environment for media development. Communication for development is obtained by nurturing an enabling environment and providing access to various traditional and new information and communication technologies. It ensures that the voice of local people is reflected through the media. It is working for the promotion of dialogue among media personnel. Its mandate to develop international standards, raise awareness and build capacities, allows it to facilitate work among member states and other participants in the development process.

According to the Moegiadi (1980), UNESCO is working for the advancement of society through the free flow of information by traditional and new electronic media. In 1993, UNESCO set up the World Radio and Television Council. UNESCO's sub-programme on 'Media and freedom of expression' (1998-99) was focused on the freedom of expression and freedom of press, promoting independent and pluralistic media, the educational and cultural mission of public service broadcasting, violence on the screen and to enhance the role of women in the media. The main programmes include expanding access to global information flows, electronic networks for increased cooperation in science, education and culture, virtual learning communities and virtual laboratory applications, training of computer specialists, trainers and users, etc.

Hussain and Ray (2000) advocate the creative use of communication for the transformation of the world. Through creative imagination and idealistic view, UNESCO can channelize peace and prosperity in the world. They advocate that UNESCO must play its role in the better use of communication revolution for human welfare and prevent its use in techno-strategic warfare. There is a need for special policies and planning at the global level. UNESCO is working towards deciding an agenda for media personnel in the reporting of conflicts and post conflict situations. It supports independent media in zones of conflict to enable them to play an active role in conflict prevention and resolution, reconciliation and the transition towards a culture of peace. Accurate and unbiased information is necessary for peace and conflict resolution.

UNESCO made a significant contribution during the *World Summit on Information Society (WSIS)* to retain the freedom of expression as a core value in using ICTs. The potential of communication and information to promote the MDGs was recognized at WSIS in 2003 in Geneva and 2005 in Tunis. The Geneva Plan of Action provides an international roadmap setting objectives to be achieved by 2015 and the implementation of the WSIS outcomes provide an essential framework for UNESCO's action in communication and information, globally and at the country level, where priority has been given to the integration of media and ICTs in national development plans especially within UN common programming processes. The strategy is also based on the recommendations of the 2005 UNESCO World Report *Towards Knowledge Societies*. UNESCO aims at fostering international debate and reflection on the impact of globalization on media products but also at exploring, in very practical ways, existing and new mechanisms to develop cultural diversity in the information society, proposing fresh ways of co-operation among governments, artists, industry leaders, broadcasters, decision makers and citizens (UNESCO 2009)[12].

Free media is significant for eliminating poverty because it serves as a vehicle for sharing information in order to facilitate good governance, generate opportunities to gain access to essential services, promote accountability and counteract corruption, promote basic human rights, assist civil society, etc. It is clear that in the attainment of MDG 1 (halving extreme poverty) by 2015, the media will play an important role in accelerating

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[12] *Source:* www.unesco.org

sustainable economic and social development by providing vital information to people and by making people participate in the public debate and development discourse. In Afghanistan, Côte d'Ivoire, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Iraq, Somalia, Sudan and other countries, UNESCO works to sensitize and build relevant institutional and human capacity among governments, media professionals and civil society to put into practice principles of freedom of expression and freedom of information; provide technical assistance to and facilitate broad-based civic and human rights education.

UNESCO is promoting the regional and sub-regional training programme on improving journalistic knowledge and research skill on the science of HIV/AIDS, which is one of the important goals of MDG.[13] UNESCO is mobilizing a worldwide network of young television producers as a capacity building exercise against stigma and discrimination resource mapping activity on HIV/AIDS communications. It emphasizes the need for dialogue within the media in order to start focusing on positive aspects of the culture, such as ICT in education. Media and ICTs is powerful catalyst for political and social and economic empowerment of women. UNESCO assists member states and other stakeholders to establish communication and information policies and practices that take into account the particular needs and potential contributions of girls and women. Therefore, UNESCO is promoting the empowerment of women and development of education, important objectives of UNMDG, through use of media and ICT. It works to promote the innovative applications of ICTs for sustainable development and to strengthen inter-agency cooperation in communication, foster the development of 'info-structures' and promotion and dissemination of science knowledge through media and ICTs.

Another area of action is the development of new approaches to knowledge dissemination and utilization, particularly through new models of Open and Distance Learning (ODL) for life-long learning. The strategy focuses on fostering the use of ICTs in teaching and learning, including the establishment of standards to strengthen ICT competences for teachers. UNESCO acts as facilitator for the implementation of WSIS Action Line C7 "E-learning". A third focus is on harnessing ICTs for facilitating access

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[13] Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases.

to scientific knowledge, supporting innovative uses of ICTs in culture, particularly in the area of preservation of cultural expression.

UNESCO is also working for E-governance capacity building programme. The project's aim is to promote the use of ICT in municipalities to enhance good governance. UNESCO gave training to local decision makers in Africa and Latin America. UNESCO sensitizes governments and public institutions to freedom of information and access to public information as components of good governance and supports the development of public service broadcasting accountability, ethical and professional standards in journalism (unesdoc.unesco.org 2009).

UNESCO is trying to use education, science, culture, media and information to create a 'knowledge society'[14]. This approach incorporates all the socio-cultural and ethnic dimensions and helps to bridge the digital divide by placing the individual at the centre of development objectives. UNESCO started extending support to *development journalism*[15] after the debate over *New World Information and Communication Order* (NWICO). In the 1990s, it released the *World Information Report*, which showed the scenario of development of ICT. UNESCO urged for the freedom of expression during the 'war against terrorism'.

In 1989, after the end of the Cold War, UNESCO further strengthened its commitments to freedom of press. To this end, it organized in all regions of the world a series of seminars on freedom of the press, independent and pluralistic media, which led to the adoption of key reference texts. These texts were subsequently endorsed by all Member States. Since the adoption of the *New Communication Strategy* by the General Conference in 1989, UNESCO has contributed to wider public awareness. This strategy was to replace the controversial NWICO and underscored the critical role of free dissemination of information in developing countries. Through the five regional seminars on promoting independent and pluralist media held between 1991 and 1997, the organization has played a key role in raising awareness among media professionals and decision-makers of the importance of these principles, as well as in elaborating specific action to address the particular needs of each region. The Declarations and Plan of

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[14] In Knowledge Society, knowledge is considered as primary resource.
[15] Journalism with the aim of development.

Actions emerging from the regional seminars have provided a unique guiding framework for UNESCO's action aimed at building a democratic media environment. In 1996 on the initiative of UNESCO, the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution on 'Communication of Development' and stressed the need to support two way communication system that enables dialogue.

In 1993, the UN General Assembly decided to celebrate *World Press Freedom Day* on May 3 every year. On this day UNESCO gives the *UNESCO/Guillermo Cano Press Freedom Prize*[16] and in this annual function recognizes the work of an individual or an organization for the promotion of freedom of expression at the risk of life. On World Press Freedom Day UNESCO creates a discourse on freedom of media and its use in the interest of common people across the globe. Establishment of an advisory group on press freedom, which includes media professionals from all parts of the world, was an important initiative (UNESCO 2009).

The annual conferences that UNESCO organizes on the occasion of the World Press Freedom Day bring together experts to discuss a variety of issues concerning a free press. Press freedom is a critical part of the human rights-based approach to development as elaborated in UNMDG. World Press Freedom Day conference 2004 in Belgrade related to the role of media in conflict and post conflict zone. UNESCO publishes detailed reports with information on the killing, assassination, torture of media persons in different regions across the world to create awareness in people as well as governments. The important theme of the World Press Freedom Day in Dakar (2005) was how free and independent media can assist good governance. Director-General of UNESCO Koichiro Matsuura (present D-G) pointed out that UNESCO is working for the WSIS action plan and knowledge society, which is based on four core principles– freedom of expression, universal access to information and knowledge, respect for cultural and linguistic diversity and quality education for all. There is a crucial role of the media and ICT in creating activities that will expand access to information, contribute to achieving the MDG and enable to bridge the digital divide (Media Development and Poverty

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[16] Sri Lankan journalist Lasantha Wickrematunge (2009), Lydia Cacho (Mexico, 2008), Anna Politkovskaya (Russian Federation, 2007), May Chidiac (Lebanon, 2006), Cheng Yizhong, (China, 2005), Raúl Rivero (Cuba, 2004), Amira Hass (Israel, 2003), Geoffrey Nyarota (Zimbabwe, 2002), U Win Tin (Myanmar, 2001), Nizar Nayyouf (Syria, 2000), Jesus Blancornelas (Mexico, 1999), Christina Anyanwu (Nigeria, 1998), Gao Yu (China, 1997) are the laureates, who received this prize.

Eradication 2006). In his message on World Press Freedom Day 2009, Matsuura stressed that, "we must strengthen our efforts to build a media that is critical of inherited assumptions yet tolerant of alternative perspectives; a media that brings competing narratives into a shared story of interdependence; a media that responds to diversity through dialogue".

UNESCO has sponsored many international conferences to discuss the problem of communication and promote research on it. In 2007 conference on 'Press Freedom, Safety of journalists and Impunity' in Medellin (Columbia), the delegations expressed concern over attacks on the freedom of expression of the press including murder, attacks, abductions, hostage-taking, harassment, intimidation, illegal arrest and detention against journalists. 29C/Resolution 29 entitled 'Condemnation of violence against journalists' was adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO on 12 November 1997, which condemns violence against journalists and calls on member states to uphold their obligations to prevent, investigate and punish crimes against journalists. UNESCO supports alert network on violations of freedom of press. International Freedom of Expression Exchange (IFEX), which allows constant monitoring and rapid reaction to these types of violations. IFEX is composed of several hundred national and international press freedom and human rights organizations, a majority of which are in developing countries. UNESCO encourages journalism school and mass communication departments to include in their curricula studies on the impact of crimes against journalists (UNESCO 2009).

Tewari (1997) explains that UNESCO is concerned about the balanced flow of cultural news and other forms of television programmes and works for the establishment of regional as well as global networks for the developing countries, so that they can transmit and receive programme with equal opportunity. Developing countries are seeking greater justice in the manner in which the world's communication resources and economic wealth are distributed. The role of the *Information for All Programme* (IFAP) and the *International Programme for the Development of Communication* (IPDC) is particularly important for mobilizing strategic partnerships and strengthening international cooperation. Effort is made to increase synergies with international mechanisms and regional initiatives, engaged in these areas, as well as in developing new

alliances, promoting South-South cooperation and building coalitions including through the organization's global facilitator role in the multi-stakeholders implementation of WSIS action lines and other similar initiatives. In its Resolution 34 C the General Conference authorizes the Director-General to foster free, independent and pluralistic communication and universal access to information and maintain UNESCO's active involvement in World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) discussions on the treaty on the protection of broadcasting organizations to ensure that the objectives of promotion of freedom of expression and access to information and knowledge are not hindered.

UNESCO contributes to fostering distance learning opportunities and further encourages the establishment of *'Community Radio (CR)'* and *'Community Multimedia Centers (CMC)'* as catalyzing tools for community 'voice' and people centered development. UNESCO's CMC and networks combine new and traditional technologies like radio and internet, linking global knowledge resources with locally suitable media. CMC combines some form of local radio with telecentre facilities, under some form of community ownership with the aim to serve as a communication and information platform for the community development needs.

UNESCO has carried out research on the use of ICT as a development tool to alleviate poverty in South Asia. In this region, the problem of poverty is linked to a lack of voice and empowerment. Community Access Centers are working with the help of the UNESCO in urban, rural and semi-rural areas. Women in mountainous region in Chamba (India) are getting satellite radio programmes produced by their own community. UNESCO has released a Community Radio Handbook for technical help. UNESCO faced many political problems when it started Community Radio because in the 80s, the world was divided on ideological lines. Governments wanted to suppress all forms of self expression that could be a potential threat to their authority. Many governments thought that a single broadcasting system is important for national unity. Kenya was the first government that started Community Radio with the support of UNESCO in 1982. UNESCO used its experience of Kenya and Sri Lanka in Ghana, Tonga, Haiti, Cape Verde, St Lucia, Trinidad and Tobago, Surinam, Jamaica, Guyana and Philippines.

Community Radio helps people by giving them a platform to air their grievances and by playing a watchdog role, making local authorities and politicians more conscious. It reflects and promotes local identity, character and culture. A partnership between UNESCO and UNDP in consultation with civil society has lent impetus to the Community radio movement. UNICEF, UNIFEM, ILO and UNFPA also joined to consolidate the partnership. Relatively inexpensive and all-pervasive, Community Radio is useful for effective delivery of programmes on health, HIV/AIDS, environment and natural disasters, education, livelihoods, agriculture and rural development, gender mainstreaming, youth, cultural heritage, capital investment, human rights and the rights of the child and drug abuse prevention. It has been used by farmers to negotiate better prices at local markets, villages to engage it the national economy and citizens to access knowledge on issues and services. According to UNESCO, media and ICT are not an end in itself but a means for achieving the goal of social inclusion. UNESCO is working for development of content in local languages and local contexts, especially the participatory content for development. It also works to bridge the knowledge divide, promote mutual understanding, and foster cultural and linguistic diversity. The Organization promotes education, research and exchanges through the improved and increased availability of content on the Internet. To this end, it collaborates with a number of partners on the creation of digital and other repositories. Promotion of languages and multilingualism lie at the very core of UNESCO's mission and objectives.

UNESCO's action in recent years has focused on improving the endogenous production and distribution of quality audio-visual programmes in developing countries and the promotion of concepts such as public service broadcasting and the educational and cultural dimensions of audio-visual media. One essential area of action is to identify and propose means to overcome existing language barriers to access information in cyberspace, including through the development and application of technologies and through widely available linguistically diverse content. This includes building the capacities of professionals and policy-makers in this field.

UNESCO supports the production, dissemination and preservation of culturally diverse content. Action targets public service broadcasters and ICT-based content producers to enable them to produce and disseminate programmes reflecting local views

on major societal issues. The 'Programme for Creative Content', launched in 2002, has been instrumental in implementing the relevant principles set forth in the *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity*. Particular attention has been given to the role of the media in promoting dialogue among cultures and civilizations as well as peoples. The strategy also includes building capacities among media professionals to create content in unreported and under-reported areas, with special emphasis on MDGs.

Language is the primary vector for communicating knowledge and traditions, thus the opportunity to use one's language on global information networks such as the internet determines the extent to which one can participate in emerging knowledge societies. Thousands of languages worldwide are absent from internet content and there are no tools for creating or translating information into these excluded tongues. The way how one accesses internet sites through domain names is also principally limited to the use of Latin script.

Huge sections of the world's population are thus constrained in enjoying the full benefits of technological advances and obtaining information essential to their wellbeing and development. By supporting the development of multilingual cyberspace, UNESCO promotes wider and more equitable access to information networks and at the same time offers possibilities through ICT for the preservation of endangered languages (UNESCO 2009).

Moegiadi (1980) explains how UNESCO played a role as a forum and clearing house for new information and communication technology. According to Jessup (1959), UNESCO's General Conference in 1958 authorized the Director-General to cooperate in stimulating research to help solve the problems involved in exploration of extra-terrestrial space. In International Geophysical Year, UNESCO played an important role in financing international scientific cooperation. UNESCO has done a lot of work for development of media and ICT it has drawn criticism for its politicization, which had peaked during the Cold War.

Politicization of UNESCO

UNESCO was in the grip of power politics during the Cold War, when many international organizations were becoming the victim of this international phenomenon.

Some allege that even today this organization is not free from politics. Debate over the control and freedom of media is still on. Authoritarian governments do not like interference of any international organizations on this issue. UNESCO tries to change the policy of those governments. Many times this forum divides on issues, which not match with the national interests of countries. Developed and developing countries have different views on freedom of information. Hufner and Naumann (1986), in their article discuss the political controversies that arose when culture, science and communication related issues were drawn into the North-South debate. They recognize that international organizations in general and UNESCO in particular is an organization of states in which governments are represented. Even lower-level activities, such as meetings of experts, studies, and so forth, are politically controlled by higher bodies such as the General Conference and the Executive Board at all stages of their preparation, execution, and publication. No Western accusations of politicization were heard when the composition of UNESCO's membership guaranteed pro-Western policies; it was only with the entry of the developing countries that the balance of power changed, eliciting criticism from the US.

The 'American attack' on UNESCO and other parts of the UN system was an expression of a wider loss of confidence by the US leadership in its capacity to cope with a series of difficult challenges at the multilateral level. The two major charges made by the US were 'politicization' narrowly defined in terms of 'organizational defect' and closely linked with 'lack of efficiency'. UNESCO is alleged to have become so politicized that it could not adequately fulfill its original functions as laid down in its constitution.

Lee (1965) states that since 'peace' and 'security' often have political overtones, it is small wonder that UNESCO has on many occasions become the arena of political and ideological battles. During the Korean War, the Executive Board decided that UNESCO should give all possible aid and assistance to the UN action in Korea. All three countries, however, won the right to retain their votes by invoking the escape clause, section 8(c) of article IV, which permits a member state to vote if the General Conference is satisfied that the failure to pay is due to conditions beyond the control of the Member

Nation. Again, membership in UNESCO of three divided States-Germany, Korea and Vietnam-became controversial issue.

According to Lyons (1978), all the UN specialized agencies are the product of a variety of political circumstances. UN agencies became multilateral forum to fulfill the national interests and UNESCO is not an exception. It is a creation of an international political organization based on the common values of Western civilization. Lee (1965) also states that these political battles are perhaps unavoidable in any international organizations. But it is significant that if UNESCO wants to effectively fulfill its purpose, the element of politics should be removed as far as possible from its arena. According to Alleyne (1995), the North produced and used UNESCO for the so-called free flow of information and world peace. They did not think that it would be used as a platform of lobbying by South. To understand the politicization of UNESCO, we should go into the history of the debate over the *New World Information and Communication Order* (NWICO).

Debate of NWICO

In the 70s, there was a demand for a New International Economic Order (NIEO) but another less known debate was that for a New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO). The Western countries were in the favour of *free* flow of information while the Third World favoured a *balanced* flow of information. The West saw interference by the state as a curb on freedom of expression and related this with the ideology of USSR. The Socialist bloc blamed the West for an unbalanced flow of information and cultural invasion. Discourse over the NWICO posed a threat to the very existence of UNESCO, when major powers left this organization. The *McBride Commission* was set up in 1977 by Director-General M'Bow for the assessment of the situation of international communications and that report spoke in favour of the Third World.

Mowlana (1997) expresses concern over the poverty of information and communication facilities. Millions of people have little or no access to means of communication. Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) in its 17th Session (April 1954), invited governments to study the enhancement of domestic information

enterprises. The General Conference of UNESCO, at 8th session in December 1954 recommended assistance for the development of communication services.

UNESCO established the *Asian News Agency* in 1962 and proposed the creation of a Union of *African News Agencies* in 1963. In 1971, USSR introduced a resolution, 'Draft Declaration of Fundamental Principles Governing the Use of the Mass Media in Strengthening Peace and International Understanding and in Combating War, Propaganda, Racialism and Apartheid'. Article 12 of this Declaration about government control over media was not acceptable to the West. In 1972 there was a controversial Soviet proposal of drafting of a declaration on fundamental principles governing the use of the mass media. The adoption of the principle of a free and balanced flow of information in 1974 by UNESCO was a victory for the Third World. There was a demand for 'decolonization of information' in the 1973 Algiers nonaligned conference. The conference chalked out an action plan for the Inter Press Services, as a news pool for contributing information services.

The 19th UNESCO General Assembly hosted in Nairobi 1976 was known for the brainstorming debate. Article 6 of '*UNESCO's Mass Media Declaration*' of 1978 expressed that-'It is necessary to correct the inequalities in the flow of information to and from developing countries and between those countries. To this end, it is essential that mass media should have conditions and resources enabling them to gain strength and expand, and to cooperate both among themselves and with the mass media in developing countries.' After the Nairobi conference, UNESCO established a new 'International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems' under the chairmanship of Sean McBride. This report explores the imbalances in flow of information and expresses a need to help the Third World. Alleyne (1995) criticized the 'McBride Report' for asserting the supremacy of the liberal-democratic values of the press. On the contrary, the West criticized the Report as being hostile to the Press. After this report, UNESCO started many programmmes for the development of communication in developing and underdeveloped countries. For the last twenty years, IPDC has played a key role in financing media development projects all over the world. Hussain and Ray (2000) clarify that the US was inactive in the creation of IPDC because it was not clear that the private sector of US would get the advantage of working in developing countries under this

programme. Public opinion was also adverse to spending tax payers' money in developing countries. According to McPhail (2006), IPDC only encouraged proposals that facilitated free and open media. IPDC is the only multilateral forum in UN designed to mobilize media development support. This grant supports projects that promote freedom of expression with a focus on community media and human resource development.

In 1980, the Non-Aligned Countries' fourth meeting of the Intergovernmental Council for Co-ordination of Information passed a resolution on the New International Information Order. Nordenstreng (1986) points out the main principle of right of the every nation to develop its own independent information system and to protect its national sovereignty and cultural identity, in particular by regulating the activities of the transnational corporations.

Alleyne analyses that Big-5 international news agencies set the global news agenda as well as configuration of international power–The Associated Press (AP), United Press International (UPI), Agence France Presse (AFP), Reuters and ITAR were in control of the flow of news across the globe. Hussain and Ray (2000) explain that colonial powers left a centralized system of communication. After that the state was the only agency to build infrastructure because the private sector was weak and the state used media as an instrument for nation building. So media had an important role to play in Third World Countries. A flood of news and images were coming from the Western world while the access of information, knowledge, entertainment and images from the third world was limited (Ali 1997: 2).

Frustrated with the debate over the NWICO, US announced its withdrawal from UNESCO, as it found the organization working against its national interest. UK and Singapore also joined US later. This was a serious blow to the organization. In December 1983, US expressed its intention to withdraw from the organization by December 1984. Hufner and Naumann (1986) analyze that after the US notice to withdraw from UNESCO at the end of 1984, wide-ranging reviews of the organization were undertaken by five working groups appointed by the Director-General and by a Temporary Committee established by the Executive Board. It seemed doubtful that there would have been such reviews without the US notice of withdrawal, but it must also be mentioned that the US

made no significant contribution to 'reform the organization from within,' as has been postulated by the other major Western member-states. On the contrary, the US neither openly articulated nor presented its specific reform proposals to UNESCO in due time nor joined the Temporary Committee. About the rejoining of the US, the Heritage Foundation made comment that it was a serious mistake. They argued that UNESCO had serious management problems, its mission lacked focus, its activities were redundant and that US had already benefited from the best of UNESCO, thus implying that UNESCO was useless for them now (Sheehy 1995: 1).

In the view of Mowlana (1997), NWICO was less known because at that time no one had the vision that it was more important than NIEO. The Western controlled news agencies saw news as a product and viewed it in commercial terms, ignoring the aspect of the cultural, economic and political progress of developing and under developed countries. Western core nations viewed NWICO as troubling, vague and harmful. On the other hand, supporters of NWICO considered it to be practical (McPhail 2006: 258).

The US media did not give much attention to the demand for NWICO. Hussain and Ray (2000) state that the US position was that NWICO would promote state and government controlled media, contrary to the objectives of liberalization and globalization. The US media, State Department and interest groups favoured the principle of free flow of information. The *New York Times* and *The Washington Post* played a negative role in the NWICO debate. The World Press Freedom Committee (WPFC) opposed the drive in the name of freedom of media. It had view that NWICO was against the spirit of free flow of information. UNESCO's demand for a responsible Press was opposed by US with the argument of the government control. WPFC formed by US group to combat NWICO was in the dilemma on this demand because responsible media was one of the main objectives of this committee. UNESCO passed resolution to get permission of national government by the satellite broadcasters. US opposed this resolution because it was against its interest. It did not want to take permission to any state. Apart from this, UNESCO was not in position to implement this Resolution. Alleyne (1995) asserts that WPFC was constructed for ideological conflict. Most of organizations from the US and private media were financing it with providing leadership. Committee spent money in South in the name of promotion of freedom of media.

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Committee was in the favour of training and transfer of technology to media of Third World but it was their values, which were getting the developing and least developed countries. President of International Organization of Journalists (IOJ) Kaarle Nordenstreng called the WPFC's 'Declaration of Talloires' another version of 'Marshall Plan' by US to counter the movement of NWICO. In fact the attempt of WPFC was not actually for the freedom of media but the intension was to dilute the spirit of NWICO, which demanded balanced flow of information.

Peter Steven (2005) highlights how the noted journalist and member of McBride Commission Joseph Mehan attributed the failure of NWICO because of the American media, which was a free, private and capitalist and did not like criticism. According to Mehan, the NWICO was a cry for help from the Third World.

There is a big debate about the role of the Director General since the NWICO discourse. In the 1978 General Assembly D-G M'Bow raised the issue of imbalance in global communication and linked the NIEO to NWICO. According to Hussain and Ray (2000), in the San Jose conference (1976) UNESCO's D-G M'Bow said that UNESCO was absolutely in favour of freedom of information but when mass communication media instill standards of values alien to any given region they threaten to eradicate or nullify that region's own values. Freedom of expression is meaningless if newspapers are controlled by small groups or by families who deny access and participation to the people in general and when the international flow of news is controlled by a few industrialized countries. M'Bow was accused of promoting and supporting an illiberal NWICO.

According to McPhail (2006), the next Director-General Mayor did not support the movement for NWICO. His priority was to bring back the US and UK and establish an environment of trust. In 1989, in his new communication plan Mayor supported the Western ideas of an independent and pluralistic media and freedom of expression. Mayor also established a new unit 'Freedom of Expression and Democracy' on the promotion of the ethos of freedom of media, which is a basic need for the democratic values.

The debate of NWICO is relevant even today but in a different form. It is no longer a debate over the restriction on media or free media but the issue of capacity building of media in the Third World. Globalization poses a threat for local cultures and languages of developing and under developed countries. In the World Conference of

Communications and Culture (2000), the member states discussed the impact of globalization on communications. Freedom of media has now become a universally accepted principle across the world. But today, Third World countries are blindly copying standards set by the Western media. India and China have become leaders in ICT but the digital divide is extreme within their borders. According to McPhail (2006), UNESCO provided help to achieve the action plan of the *World Summit on Information Society* (WSIS). Critics of WSIS argue that it is a return of NWICO in a new form, as it will again promote government involvement.

Alleyne (1995) states that global flow of news is not apolitical; it decides the configuration of international power. International news is a weapon to maintain status quo in international system. New Information Technologies (NITs) have changed the relations between the state, society and people. The theme of information 'haves' and 'have-nots', 'digital winners' and 'digital losers', those caught within the tides of the digital divide, or those surfing the web to a whole new realm of economic opportunity is a dominant one in the twenty-first century (Wheeler 2006: 54).

Very few news stories come from the periphery states. Kim and Barnett in their article explain the inequality in international news flow between the core and periphery. The Western industrialized countries are at the center and dominating international news flows (McPhail 2006: 30). Today media is not free from the market. Market has the agenda setting power and promotes liberalization, privatization and globalization (LPG) through media as an instrument. Media is supposed to be independent from market but in the contemporary era, media is working under the pressure of market.

Budgetary Restraint and Administrative Problems

Apart from political bias, the main accusations leveled against UNESCO are inefficiency, an unwieldy bureaucracy, and an unduly large budget. In UNESCO's work, the communication sector does not receive as much attention as other areas. This imbalance is visible in the fact that UNESCO's communication sector receives less than 10 percent of the agency's budget but clearly receives over 90 percent of its media coverage. The problem is complicated further because that coverage, particularly in Western nations, is overwhelmingly negative (McPhail 2006: 264). The education sector

gets the largest slice of the pie and the communication sector the smallest. UNESCO spends its 30.9 % money on education, 24.3% on natural, social and human science, 12.1% on culture and 9.2% in communication, information and informatics sector. It spends 6.2% for information and dissemination services, 6.2% participation programme, 5.8% transdisciplinary project: towards a culture of peace and 5.3% transverse activities (collaboration among several sectors).[17]

Recorded data reveal that communication and information sector is always marginalized in the allotment of budget. It also receives less extra budgetary help from different sources. Overall, UNESCO has always been facing a budgetary problem. Its staff and administrative cost is more than its activity cost, so there is clearly a need for cutting administrative costs. Some experts think that it is a mammoth organization as it is working in four different areas, each of which is important in itself. .

Communication is important for education, science and culture. According to the UNESCO Constitution's spirit, mutual knowledge and understanding and sharing of ideas in words and images by all means of communications is significant. Information and communication is important for all of its basic principles and objectives. Although communication does not appear in the name of UNESCO, it is invisible but present between education, science and culture. Communication can dilute the tension of war and it is an important component of positive peace. Yet UNESCO gives little attention to its communication sector and its meager budget allotment is a reflection of this neglect.

The withdrawals of the US, UK and Singapore in 1984-85 meant a 30% reduction of contributions and led to a general increase in the percentages of the regular budget contributions by the remaining Member States. The scale of assessments for Member States of UNESCO is based on the United Nations scale, subject to adjustments necessitated by the difference in membership. To calculate the contributions the United Nations Committee of Contributions uses the net national income as the principal measure of the capacity to pay with some other criteria such as per capita income. The withdrawal of US and UK from UNESCO was an adverse setback for the UN agency because they were the big financial contributors. At that time they were contributing one third of UNESCO's total budget. Alleyne (1995) says that US had great influence over

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[17] *Source*: www.unesco.org

UNESCO before it withdrew membership; it was contributing 25 percent of the budget. According to Hufner and Naumann (1986), the US, as a major financial contributor to the UN system introduced an ad hoc basis 'financial veto'. During the 1980s, a new strategy of strength under the Reagan administration became visible, assuming that the policy of withdrawal from international organizations would alter the nature of the policies of those organizations and that a shift from multilateralism to bilateralism could give the US greater leverage in relation to the UN system. Against this background, the withdrawal of the United States from UNESCO did not come as a surprise and indeed the American 'attack' was not restricted to UNESCO.

Hufner and Naumann (1986) highlight that the total annual volume of UNESCO's regular budget comes to about two-thirds the annual expenditures of the Free University of Berlin or two-fifths of the annual budget of Stanford University. As a result of the U.S. withdrawal, an amount equivalent to one sixth of a German university's budget went missing from UNESCO's budget for 1985. This amount was so small that any major industrial country could easily have made up the difference alone. On the other hand, an immediate reduction in UNESCO's budget as demanded by the other major Western member-states could mean the end of the organization. This demand was an example of ill-considered emulation and an endorsement of the US policy of exercising a de facto financial veto.

McBride (1980) says in his famous report *'Many Voices, One World'* that the scarcity of available resources for communication development both at national and international levels highlights the need for further studies in the area of identification of country priorities for national and international financing, evaluation of the cost-effectiveness of existing investments, the search for new financial resources. As far as new resources are concerned, several possibilities might be explored. He suggests the marshalling of resources deriving from surplus profits on raw materials, establishment of an international duty on the use of the electromagnetic spectrum and geostationary orbit space for the benefit of the developing countries, levying of an international duty on the profits of transnational corporations producing transmission facilities and equipment for the benefit of developing countries and for the partial financing of the cost of using international communication facilities.

Hufner and Naumann (1986) suggest that the rich countries should be accepting additional financial burdens in view of future gains for humanity. UNESCO is a typical specialized agency of the UN system; the compulsory contribution of each member-state to the regular budget is assessed according to a 'UN-type' scale, taking into account the absolute and relative income of the member-state concerned. To the regular budget are added two types of extra-budgetary incomes, those from voluntarily financed programs of the United Nations (the most important being the UNDP support and those from other sources). WSIS Geneva expressed concern that developed countries should make concrete efforts to fulfill their international commitments to financing development including the Monetary Consensus.

McPhail (2006) analyses the withdrawal of US and UK, which created the problem of public image for UNESCO. They accused that this agency is facing major financial and image problem. US Secretary of State Shultz declared, "for a number of years, as you know from statements we have made at the Executive Board and elsewhere, we have been concerned that trends in the policy, ideological emphasis, budget and management of UNESCO were detracting from the organization's effectiveness" (Hufner and Naumann 1986: 123).

Lyons (1978) also agrees that UNESCO is always subject to a tight budget and is often involved in ideological controversy; it has been accused for lack of focus in its programme and method of operation. Hufner and Naumann examine another target for criticism of UNESCO i.e. the 'bloated administration' in Paris and the lack of activity in the field in the Third World. It should be noted that since 1970, the number of persons employed by UNESCO has remained fairly constant at about 3,400; UNESCO 's seemingly 'bloated' administration, which is also a feature of other specialized agencies of the UN system, is a direct result of the financial policies of the Western industrial countries. The industrial countries have been trying for more than 20 years to prevent growth in field work, that is, the practical development aid activities of the UN specialized agencies, because this would entail higher compulsory contributions. In the UN system, the most important collection center for voluntary contributions for so-called technical assistance is UNDP, and the most important collection center for contributions for economic assistance is the International Development Association (IDA), an

affiliation of the World Bank. Both collection centers, but especially the UNDP, are heavily dependent on the specialist administrators of the UN specialized agencies for execution of their projects because their own administrations are engaged primarily in financial activities.

Hufner and Naumann (1986) state that UNESCO's budget and operations are still increasing by leaps and bounds, and member states are still divided over the legal-philosophical controversy. In such a setting, inefficiency and a certain amount of demoralization among staff members are bound to occur. The problem is confounded by the fact that the recruitment policy is not determined solely by the merits of the individual applicants, but also by the need for equitable geographical distribution and political considerations. Limitations of UNESCO in the communication sector have given scope to its critics for demand of a new organization for the communication and information sector.

Discourse on the Creation of New Organization

Niebuhr (1950) explains that ignorance of each other's way has been a common cause throughout the history of mankind of suspicion and mistrust between the peoples of the world which have all too often broken into war. UNESCO reflects the spiritual dimension in its vision. It has the ability to solve conflicts between the states. According to UNESCO the cause of war is duo to the ignorance of the each other's ways of lives, suspicion and mistrust. Since wars begin in the minds of man, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed (Murthy 1997: 26).

According to Murthy (1997), UNESCO is working in the issue area of low politics but the goal of international peace and security is in the purview of high politics. According to Evans (1963) democracy is necessary for peace, education is essential for democracy and for the observance of law and human rights and that communication is required for all these and for tolerance. Peace cannot be possible only through the Security Council; permanent peace depends upon the work of the UNESCO. In the field of mass communication, UN is not as preoccupied with the use of the mass media to encourage peace as it is in exchange of information about cultures.

There is an ongoing debate about a separate organization for the development of information and communication. Dexter (1947) explains how some play with the idea of putting the mass media activity in a separate organization. The Committee of Consultants to the Department of State (US), in its report of September 1946, insisted that if the mass media work were relegated to an inferior position, it should be withdrawn from UNESCO and a new body which was exclusively concerned with it should be set up. Hussain and Ray (2000) think that the Communication Division of UNESCO is not sufficient and there is need for a separate agency or organization like ITU or the Outer Space Committee of UN to deal with the problems of culture, software, utilization and exchange (Hussain and Ray 2000: 104-105).

- UNESCO deals with four sectors – education, science, culture and communication, and so it is burdened with a lot of work. UNESCO is facing a problem of focus in its programmes. In the view of Lyons (1978), UNESCO faces problems because of its pluralistic nature of activities, interaction with different organization, many missions and departments.

UNESCO is under the pressure of too much work but communication is an indispensible part of its other sectors–education, science and culture. Creation of a new agency or organization is not the solution of any problem. It is important to remove the shortcomings make it a better suited place. UNESCO promotes and publishes ample work on freedom of media and ICT and encourages research; gives training, and assists technically and financially. UNESCO's educational activity gets more attention and the organization is mainly known for educational and cultural activities, not so much for communication. UNESCO is working for the promotion of freedom of media but its activities in communication and information get little or no space in media itself. There is no major study after the McBride Commission about the situation of information and communication in developing countries.

Hufner and Naumann (1986) rightly say that UNESCO as a "thing-in-itself" does not exist; it is first and foremost an organization of member-states. Substantially increased financial and political support for UNESCO's work should be provided. Of course, this does not prevent them from pressing for reforms in UNESCO. In the opinion of Lee (1965) there is the grave danger that the original purpose of UNESCO might be

forgotten. One school maintains that the strengthening of education, science, and culture will itself promote human welfare and thus lay the foundation for peace and security in the long run. It draws as its support the preamble of the constitution of UNESCO which defines its objectives in terms of "international peace and of the common welfare of mankind," as well as section 2 (b) of article I of the constitution, which authorizes UNESCO, among other things, to "give fresh impulse to popular education and to the spread of culture; by collaborating with Members, at their request, in the development of educational activities." The second school argues that UNESCO's purpose is to contribute directly to peace and security.

The greatest challenge faced by UNESCO is to provide punishment to the killers of freedom of media. It is not in a position to prevent the violation of the fundamental human rights of freedom of expression; the agency does not have any punitive power. Its campaigning is like other organizations International Federation of Journalists, *Reporters sans Frontieres*, Inter-American Press Association. UNESCO promotes freedom of expression and freedom of the press as a basic human right, through sensitization and monitoring activities. It works only through moral pressure, campaigning and condemning. UNESCO only tries to help in the drafting of legislation to promote freedom of the press and eliminate laws that muffle the media and discourage diverse viewpoint. UNESCO makes an appeal to governments and works to create awareness about the freedom of media through training, workshops, conferences, meetings. It provides advisory services on media legislation and sensitizes governments, parliamentarians and other decision-makers. It is working to enable an environment for the safety and security of journalists. But critics emphasizes that it should pressurize the countries, where the fundamental rights are continuously violated. United Nations Security Council Resolution 1738 (23 December 2006) condemns attacks on journalists in conflict situations. International community should condemn and express concern about the violation of freedom of expression through UNESCO.

It is clears that UNESCO started with the specific mandate to establish international peace and security through international understanding. Media and ICT is facing many challenges in 21st century and UNESCO should deal them as a leading agency of UN in this field. The big challenge in front of UNESCO is to silence its critics

on the issue of budgetary constraint and administrative overload. Politicization of UNESCO is dangerous for its functioning but it is well accepted that no international organization is free from politics because its constituents are states, which are essentially political units.

Another UN specialized agency – *International Telecommunication Union* (ITU) is also a prominent name that is working with UNESCO for the development of ICT. Both institutions coordinate to achieve internationally set goals. It is important to know the role of ITU to understand the debate of media and ICT in totality.

Chapter 4

International Telecommunication Union and ICT

International Telecommunication Union (ITU) is the leading United Nations (UN) agency for information and communication technology, especially for telecommunications, where governments and the private sector coordinate for global telecommunication networks and services. It is one of the oldest international organizations in existence and has functioned successfully since its inception in 1865. The greatest challenge that it faces today is the attainment of the UN Millennium Development Goals (UNMDGs) through the use of ICT. The success of this organization will depend on the establishment of an inclusive Information Society as per the Action Plan of the World Summits on Information Society (WSIS). The target that the organization is pursuing is that of 'connecting the unconnected' by 2015. The organization will be able to work successfully only if it is de-politicized. Even in this technical organization, power politics is at play as the developed countries have an advantage over the developing and underdeveloped countries because of their technical expertise and financial power.

History and Development

The International Telegraph Union was created in Paris in 1865 with the aim of achieving uniformity in the international telegraph system in the areas of tariffs, codes and routing. The telephone was added to the interests of the Union at the 1885 Berlin Telegraph Conference. Archer (1992) says that during the 19th century, the states of Europe were, of necessity, fashioning new means for cooperation over the issues of peace and conflict and were being faced with a growing need to co-ordinate action in the socio-economic areas of life. The telegraph was introduced in 1837 and common links underlined the need for co-operation. The idea of having a group of experts and administrators performing particular functions on behalf of states was taken further by the establishment in 1868 of the *International Telegraphic Bureau*. It was a response to technological advances and the need to co-ordinate national development.

The *International Telegraph Union of 1865* and the *International Radio Telegraph Union (1906)* worked in their respective areas. The creation of the Administrative Council and the Secretariat was brought about through the decision that the Union should become a specialized agency of the United Nations. Prior to the Second World War, the Union had in effect consisted only of conferences, meeting irregularly. In its review of the world organizations in 1946, the Economic and Social Council of the UN noted that the ITU had no decision making body operational between conferences and hence no governing body. This was perceived as a defect, which would have to be remedied if the ITU were to be acceptable within the UN family. In 1934 its name was changed to International Telecommunication Union (ITU) and in 1947, it became a specialized agency of the UN. The Agreement between the two organizations retains the separate character of the ITU, while allowing it to act as a Specialized Agency of the UN for telecommunication matters. The technical independence retained by the Union was recognition of the level of involvement of the UN system with matters of space communications. The UN, lacking technical skills and capacities, has had largely to content itself with exhortation; the partial realization of some of its suggestions has been achieved by other entities, such as the ITU, INTELSAT and other telecommunications organizations.

The report of the Independent Commission for World Wide Telecommunications Development, known as the *Maitland Report (1984)* speaks of the growing digital divide. Ayish (1992) discusses the important points of this report. In the report titled *'Missing Link'* on the telecommunication situation around the world, a huge gap in telecommunications resources between the industrialized North and the developing nations of the South was revealed. In response to this report the ITU setup the *Center for Telecommunication Development (CTD)* to give technical assistance to the Third World. The Commission noted that telecommunications in the Third World is often neglected in favour of other sectors such as agriculture, water and roads. The report urged that telecommunications be regarded as a complement to other areas of investment and as an essential component in the development process raising productivity and efficiency in other sectors and enhancing the quality of life in the developing world.

The Telecommunication Development Conferences serve as forums for free discussion by all concerned with the Development Sector. In addition, they review the numerous programmes and projects of the Sector and Telecommunication Development Bureau (BDT). The World Conferences set the agenda and the guidelines for the following four-year cycle, while the Regional Conferences review 'work-in-progress' towards the overall objectives. Each Regional Development Conference brings together the countries in its region to explore and discuss their needs and the present and future projects of the Sector.

The First World Telecommunication Development Conference took place in Buenos Aires, Argentina, in 1994. That Conference approved the 'Buenos Aires Action Plan' which set the scene for four years of activity of the ITU Development Sector. The Second World Telecommunication Development Conference took place in Valletta, Malta, in 1998. That Conference reviewed the progress made worldwide over the previous four-year period, including the developments in the Global Information Society. It also examined and evaluated the implementation of the 'Buenos Aires Action Plan'; approved recommendations prepared by the ITU-D Study Groups and adopted the Valetta Action Plan. The Third World Telecommunication Development Conference (WTDC-02) was held in Istanbul, Turkey in 2002. It established work programmes and guidelines and it defined ICT development questions and priorities in view of the high-level recognition of the digital divide created by the rapid and pervasive expansion of ICTs.

The ITU World Telecommunication Policy Forum (WTPF) set the future course of action for the development and growth of information and communication technologies (ICT). It focused on key policy issues driving the current ICT environment, which guide future regulatory and standardization efforts worldwide. According to the Communication sector of UNESCO the rapid growth of ICT in recent years includes fixed and mobile telephony, internet bandwidth, and the increased convergence of devices, applications and services that facilitate seamless communications in a multi-service, multi-protocol and multi-vendor environment.

About the ITU

ITU, based in Geneva (Switzerland) with 191 Member States[18] and more than 700 Sector Members[19] and Associates, is one of the oldest organizations which has set an example and standard for the others. Many organizations follow its model, decision making process, organizational structure, strategy and activities. In ITU, there is participation of private sectors and civil society in the agenda setting and decision making process. This is a unique experience of ITU of reconciling national sovereignty with the inclusion of non-state actors.

ITU is a dynamic and inclusive global telecommunications organization based on public-private partnership. It is an international organization with mixed membership, both inter-governmental and non-governmental. It has three kinds of membership, member states, sector members and associates. ITU also allows non self governing territories to become members. The Union's decision making process is based on the consensus approach and it gives equal voice to all its members. Gorman (1996) describes ITU as a forerunner of modern international organizations with a sense of global community, and shared interests and problems. It does not have formal jurisdiction; it is only an international 'clearing house' working for global harmony in telecommunications.

Mowlana (1997) rightly says that intergovernmental organizations are important actors in the flow of data across borders. They provide an arena for regulating data communication technologies and resolving related conflicts. ITU performs planning, standard setting and coordinating work for international communication facilities. According to Soroos (1982), the ITU is a unique intergovernmental organization because it lacks a permanent Charter and is guided by conventions. ITU has no formal power of enforcement such as sanctions or coercive measures, and monitoring the actual use of the

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[18] Ministries, Responsible Telecommunication Administrations, Organizations related to the Responsible Telecommunication Administrations, Permanent Missions to the United Nations Office at Geneva.

[19] Recognized operating agencies, Scientific or industrial organizations, Financial or development institutions, Other entities dealing with telecommunication matters, Regional and other international telecommunication, standardization, financial or development organizations, Regional telecommunication organizations, Intergovernmental organizations operating satellite systems.

frequency spectrum is left to the states. Nevertheless, the rate of compliance with ITU radio rules has been remarkably high because of strong international pressures against violating them and, in some cases, because of their self enforcing nature; if one wants to communicate, one must have compatible equipment and avoid interference by not encroaching in the frequencies used by others (Soroos 1982: 670).

The structure of ITU is also responsible for its success. The *Plenipotentiary Conference* is the apex body of ITU, composed of the delegations representing both Members and Associate Members. With a vague mandate of determining the general policies for carrying out the purposes of the Union, such as maintaining and extending international cooperation for the improvement and rational use of telecommunications. It convenes every five years, and the Secretary-General and Administrative Council members are elected. An additional responsibility is the establishment of the basis for the budget[20] of the ITU and the determination of a limit for expenditures, which remains in force until the next Plenipotentiary Conference. Major criticism of the Plenipotentiary Conference is that the infrequency of its meetings results in its inability to deal with the rapidly changing problems in the field of space oriented telecommunication and other technological and politically charged matters that demand immediate attention.

The *Administrative Council* is composed of 46 members elected by the Plenipotentiary Conference. A geographical distribution criterion is used so as to accommodate global interests, which are reflected in the Plenipotentiary Conference itself. The specific duties include approving the annual budget and overseeing the day to day activities of Union and take decision on radio regulation and telecommunications. It also hears the reports of the Secretary-General on disputed urgent matters discussed by the Coordination Committee (ITU 2009)[21].

World Radio-communication Conference (WRC) is held every two to three years. It reviews and revises the radio regulations. Before this there were three kinds of

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[20] ITU operates on a biennial budget, approved by the Council every two years. The budget must remain within the limits set by the Plenipotentiary Conference for two budgetary cycles. Its primary source of financing is the contributions of its Member States, which is 67.3% of the overall budget. At each plenipotentiary conference, every member (States and Sector Members alike) selects its class of contribution. Sector Members contribute 11.4% and associates contribute 0.9% of the overall budget (*Source*-ITU)

[21] *Source*: www.itu.int.

Administrative Conferences. The Administrative Radio Conference (ARC) was responsible for the revision of the Radio Regulations and the elections of the Frequency Regulation Board members and reviews the Board activities. The Extraordinary Administrative Radio Conference (EARC) was similar to ARC except that it considers specific telecommunication problems and special revisions of the Radio Regulations. Radio regulations board determines whether the Convention and the Radio Regulations are observed in the operation of stations, which have been assigned frequencies by their respective countries. It also furnishes advice to Members regarding the maximum use of frequencies in those portions of the spectrum, where harmful interference might occur and performs other duties prescribed by the appropriate Union bodies.

Functions

ITU works not just to develop telecommunications but also to maintain the telecommunications regime. A 'regime' can be defined in terms of principles, norms, rules and decision making procedures. In the telecommunications regime maintain by ITU, the principle of 'first come, first served' is applied in the allocation of radio frequencies and satellites slots; norms are that basic international telecommunications services provided jointly by the facilities of two or more countries, and telecommunications networks and equipments should be standardized. ITU defines and regulates the internationally agreed technical norms and standards that have allowed the industry to interconnect people through ICT across the globe. It regulates use of the radio-frequency spectrum and international wireless communications around the world.

ITU was created as an international body which would oversee developments in telegraph technology, harmonize telegraph rates and tariffs, and establish Morse code as the international standard in telegraphic communication. With the development of new technologies such as telephone, mobile, fax, internet, all of these came in the sphere of ITU and they benefited from the universal telecommunication and ICT framework established by ITU. Since its birth, ITU has coordinated the shared global use of the radio spectrum, promoted international cooperation in assigning satellite orbits, worked to improve telecommunication infrastructure in the developing world, established the worldwide standards that foster seamless interconnection of a vast range of

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communications systems and addressed the global challenges of contemporary time, such as mitigating climate change and strengthening cyber-security (ITU 2009)[22].

According to the Lyall (1989), the ITU serves three major functions in regard to satellite communications, regulatory function for the use of radio spectrum, rate setting role for telecommunications and the setting of international equipment standards and lastly in the use of the geostationary orbit. The ITU Convention and Regulations which cope with the requirements of international communications have emerged over many years.

ITU also promotes the deployment of telecommunications in the developing and under developed countries. It gives specialized advice on development policies, regulatory frameworks and strategies, and provides technical assistance in the areas of technology transfer, cyber-security, management, financing, installation and maintenance of networks, disaster mitigation, and capacity building. It helps in deploying infrastructure, achieving connectivity, and providing efficient telecommunication services worldwide. For this purpose *Telecommunication Development Sector (ITU-D)* is an important sector of ITU. It gives policy and regulatory advice, advice on the financing of telecommunications and on low-cost technology options, assistance in human resource management, and the development of initiatives targeting rural development and universal access. The executive arm the *Telecommunication Development Bureau (BDT)* has partnerships with the private sector to harness the commercial drive of industry to the needs of developing nations. ITU also organizes worldwide and regional exhibitions and forums, such as ITU Telecom World, bringing together influential representatives of government and the telecommunications and ICT industry to exchange ideas, knowledge and technology (ITU 2009).

ITU's an important work is development of telecommunications and information networks worldwide and facilitation of universal access. The ambitious project is in the emerging Information Society and global economy, where everyone will be beneficiary of the information revolution. ITU also helps to strengthen emergency communications for disaster prevention and management, which is becoming significant in disaster prone areas. All the elements of ITU's work are centered on the goal of putting every human

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[22] *Source*: www.itu.int

being within easy and affordable reach of information and communication and to contribute towards economic and social development of all people (ITU 2009).

Secretary-General of ITU, Dr. Hamadoun I. Tourés says that ITU is at the forefront of this next digital revolution. ITU is working in the direction of a true knowledge society. ITU is working towards ensuring access to communications anytime, anywhere and at an affordable price. Under the Strategic Plan of the Union for 2008-11, adopted by the ITU Member States, the seven main goals of the Union are to maintain and extend international cooperation, assist in bridging the digital divide and promote global connectivity through implementation of WSIS goals and objectives, widen the Union's membership, develop tools to safeguard networks, continue to improve efficiency and effectiveness, disseminate information and know-how of ICT and promote the development of an enabling environment.

The aim of the ambitious programme of *'Connect the World'* is to mobilize human, financial and technical resources for the implementation of the connectivity targets of the World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS) by 2015. ITU, through the BDT, organizes a World Telecommunication Development Conference (WTDC) every four years and a number of Regional Preparatory Meetings (RPMs) within that same period. An important global initiative is going on in the name of Universal Service Obligations (USO), where the objective is to connecting households to public telecommunications networks. A special global fund is established for the universal service and universal access to telecommunications.

Role of ITU in Achieving MDGs

At the UN Millennium Summit (2000), a pledge was taken to achieve eights development goals by 2015. These goals relate to freedom from want and need to ensure human life with dignity and they define the global agenda for the twenty-first century. All organizations and agencies within the UN family have agreed to achieve these goals by 2015. This declaration has the vision to eradicate poverty and hunger, universal primary education, gender equality, reduce child mortality, improve maternal health, combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases, environmental sustainability and availability of safe drinking water.

ICT can be a driver in the attainment of these goals. It is helpful in data collection, assessment of poverty, exchange of information, policy making and feedback. ICT helps marginalized sections to become information rich. ICT has already proved to be an engine of economic growth in many countries; ICT has an important role to play in achieving each of the identified MDGs. For example, in achieving the goal of universal primary education, ICT plays an important role by making education available in remote areas through satellite communication. ICT can enhance the skills of women and they can get information and knowledge, empowering them to stand on equal footing with men. Many women's organizations are using ICT to organise women across the globe. ICT plays an equally significant role in providing health facilities in remote areas. It helps in the creation of awareness to combat HIV/AIDS and malaria. It is useful not only in data collection but to connect experts to control these diseases. For sustainable development and protection of environment, the concept of 'Green ICT' has been developed.

The UN recognizes the importance of ICT, identifying it as a driving engine for the attainment of UNMDGs. ITU deals with the technical aspects of ICT and therefore has a leading role in promoting ICT for the achievement of UNMDG. The United Nations Millennium Declaration serves as an overarching guide for ITU's strategy. The ITU is an appropriate forum for achieving coordination at the national, regional and global levels. Both the WSIS focused on the achievement of the MDGs as a central goal. It is clear that without sustainable development an information society is not possible.

World Summits on the Information Society (WSIS) and ITU

The ITU, in meeting its objective of attaining an inclusive Information Society, has organized two World Summits on the Information Society (WSIS) – first in Geneva (2003) and second in Tunisia (2005). ITU, UNESCO, UNCTAD and UNDP organize WSIS Forums every year in May, at the ITU Headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland and the action plans of the summits are followed up. The Forum offers participants a series of high level panels addressing critical issues to WSIS implementation and follow-up in multi-stakeholder set-ups.

It is important to understand the concept of an 'information society'. Now international society is transforming into an information society. According to Hedley

Bull, in an international society, the various actors communicate; they consent to common rules and institutions and recognize common interests. Actors in international society share a common identity, a sense of 'we-ness'; without such an identity, a society cannot exist (Mingst 1999: 91). Information society is an advanced stage of industrial society – a society where everyone has access to information and knowledge and where ICT operates in all spheres of human life; an inclusive society, where no one is ill informed or technologically marginalized.

Information society can be defined as 'a form of social and economic development where the acquisition, storage, processing, assessment, transmission, and diffusion of information leads to the generation of knowledge and the fulfillment of needs of individuals and firms and thereby plays an important role in economic activity, the generation of wealth, and the quality of life of citizens' (Wheeler 2006: 55). According to Pool (1983), Information society as new forms of participatory democracy will emerge as wired up citizens engage directly in voting and contribute to the political process. In his concept of post-industrial society, Daniel Bell (1974) says that the major source of structural change in society depends upon the character of knowledge, this change substitutes a technical order for the natural order. Toffler (1980) describes information society as a new way to organise society. Wheeler describes the new social space, where anybody, anywhere can express to the rest of humanity whatever he or she believes without fear (Wheeler 2006: 49).

Castells (1996) describes 'information society' as a network society. He identifies the importance of diffusion of ICTs for the network society. Wilson (2004) points out that participation and engagement are important in the knowledge society. An information society is a notion in which a majority of the labor force is composed of information workers, and in which information is the most important element. The main work of the information workers is producing, processing and distribution of information based on information technology. WSIS 2003 said that information society that is an evolving concept that has reached different levels across the world and reflects different stages of development. Technological and other change is rapidly transforming the environment in which the information society is developing. Wilson says that the technocrats, who control knowledge and information, have replaced the power of wealth,

military, religion and land, which were important in traditional societies. In information society, new politically active communities emerge, which are independent of geography; individuals become members of different cyber-communities, which belong to different political interests (Dyson 1997: 32-33).

May (2002) finds the origin of the concept of information society in the work of Fritz Machlup. In an information society, a new network politics emerges, which represents different political interests as well as new social movements. Information society helps civil society to confront the state. In these societies knowledge and information spread in electronic form at high speed. New developments in ICT establish new relations between time and space. This results in new organization of socio-economic relations in society. Marshall McLuhan, who gave the concept of 'global village', also called it the 'age of information'. He gives the notion of technology-driven transformation of society. A strong state is needed for the economy of information society. State will remain important in information society but in a new and changed form. Information revolution has brought to an end the monopoly of state over information. According to Mowlana (1997), in an information society, information is the driving force for economic and social development. Communication services are important for the development of rural areas in developing and under developed countries.

The information age challenges the efficacy of the sovereignty of state in the political and economic realm. May (2002) points out that state plays a significant role in the development of ICT and its use. Government uses ICT for its own capacity building. Stonier (1983) sees state investment in ICT as an important factor of the information society. A contrary view is that post industrial society would be a stateless society. State is withering away because information has increased coordination in society. Leftist writers eliminate the role of state in an information society. From the perspective of right-of-center, the information age provides a chance to avoid the government and reorganize the voluntary society, based on the importance of individuals. The technocrats would help in emergence of information and knowledge driven information society through government institutions but these institutions will be technical rather than political (Bell 1974:127).

Mowlana (1997) points out that the western countries work towards the Global Information Society (GIS) and they are at a more advanced stage than the developing countries. Development of information infrastructure leads to an Information Society. They support competition, private investment and open access to networks. ICT has the capacity to change the economic and social relationship in Information Society. This information society represents a paradigm shift just as the industrial revolution changed the agrarian societies. The idea of GIS and Global Information Infrastructure (GII) are high on the political agenda of developed nations as they seek to integrate their high speed communication networks globally. Advanced information infrastructure leads to economic growth and improved quality of life.

In Buenos Aires, the ITU Development Conference (1994) the US Vice-President put forth the idea of GII. In 1995 GII was discussed at the G8 Ministerial Conference on the Information Society in Brussels. The developing and developed countries agreed on the promotion of ICT at the *Information Society and Development Conference* (1996) in Midrand. ITU accepted African Green Paper at the Africa Regional Telecom Development Conference in Abidjan, focusing on the infrastructure development for the Information Society. The developed countries are working for this objective, also for the profit of their telecommunication industries. An information society generates many new industries, which thrive on the new markets created for them through transfer of technology.

ITU not only played a lead role in organizing the WSIS but also coordinated other bodies of UN with many international organizations, civil society, NGOs and the private sector. UN General Assembly passed the resolution for the World Summit on the Information Society on the report of the Second Committee (A/56/558/Add.3) and gave the leading managerial role to the ITU. In its resolution 56/183 of 2001 (see Appendix II), the General Assembly called for an urgent need to harness the potential of knowledge and technology for promoting the goals of the UN Millennium Declaration (see Appendix III) and to find effective and innovative ways to put this potential at the service of development for all. The Assembly expressed its concern over the need for promotion of access to information, knowledge and communication technologies for development.

At the 2003 WSIS, a Declaration of Principles – 'Building the Information Society: a global challenge in the new Millennium' was adopted. This Declaration contained commitments to build a people-centred, inclusive and development-oriented Information Society, where everyone can create, access, utilize and share information and knowledge, enabling individuals, communities and peoples to achieve their full potential in promoting their sustainable development and improving their quality of life, premised on the purposes and principles of the UN Charter respecting fully and upholding the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Plan of Action shows the common vision for the promotion of ICT to overcome the digital divide.

The Declaration affirmed the universality, indivisibility, interdependence and interrelation of all human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the right to development with expectation of democracy, sustainable development, and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms as well as good governance at all levels. Declaration emphasized on Article 19 of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* – everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; that this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers. This idea is also present in the Constitution of UNESCO. Communication is a fundamental social process, a basic human need and the foundation of all social organization. It is central to the Information Society. Everyone everywhere should have the opportunity to participate and no one should be excluded from the benefits the Information Society offers.

ICT can promote dialogue among people, nations and civilizations. In an era of so called 'clash of civilizations', ICT can be medium of 'cooperation among civilizations'. The Declaration expresses a commitment to turn the 'digital divide' into a 'digital opportunity' for all, particularly for those who risk being left behind and being further marginalized. Women empowerment and their full participation is also a basis of information society and ICT is to be used as a tool for mainstreaming a gender equality perspective. In building the information society, there is a need to pay particular attention to the special needs of marginalized and vulnerable groups of society.

The Geneva WSIS plan of action demands set up a work group for Internet Governance with the participation of governments and private sectors. Governments need

to develop national strategies for e-governance to make public administration more transparent, efficient and democratic. ITU also identified the significant role of media in the development of information society, stressing on the importance of freedom of expression and plurality of information.

The first World Electronic Media Forum (WEMF) was organized within WSIS 2003. The WEMF stressed that the role of radio and TV is important for the transformation of society and to bridge the digital gap. Secretary-General Kofi Annan highlighted the power of electronic media as vehicle of peace, progress and solidarity. He was not in the favour of more and more information but of an open and inclusive information society, where everyone is empowered with knowledge. In the framework of the WEMF, UNESCO organized a workshop on Public Service Broadcasting (PSB).

The Tunis WSIS Summit of 2005 was recognized as a unique opportunity to raise awareness of the benefits that ICTs can bring to humanity and the manner in which they can transform people's activities, interaction and lives. This Summit represents an important stepping-stone in international efforts to achieve the Millennium Development Goals. Since 2005, 17 May is celebrated as *World Information Society Day* to help raise awareness, on an annual basis, of the issues dealt with in the Summit, especially the possibilities that the use of ICT can bring for societies and economies, as well as of ways to bridge the digital divide. The date was chosen as it marks the anniversary of the signing of the first International Telegraph Convention and the creation of the International Telecommunication Union. The celebration includes the presentation of the ITU World Telecommunication and Information Society Award to distinguished laureates for their contribution towards building an inclusive and more equitable Information Society.

Thus, information society is a high priority for the ITU. The organization mobilizes human, financial and technological resources for inclusion of all in the information society, which can create a more peaceful, just and prosperous world. Bridging the digital divide and development of ICT in the developing countries remain a big challenge. The future of WSIS depends on the attainment of the UNMDGs by 2015. A 'Marshall Plan for ICT' is needed to achieve connectivity targets of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

Politicization of ITU

Even in technical organizations like the ITU, politics is never totally absent. During the Cold War, US and USSR were leading two camps at the ITU but now developing countries are able to pressurize the developed countries because of their numbers. In a way, the developed countries have control over the ITU because of their advanced technical knowledge and greater share in technical committees. In contrast, the principles of 'one state, one vote', no special right on basis of financial contribution, and absence of veto power work in favour of the developing countries.

Finkelstein (1988) points out that the visibility of politics in the ITU is a product of history itself. Napoleon held the first Conference of ITU in Paris with the motive of re-establishing the prestige of France. Functionalists argue that political matters are dominant at the ITU and members are not co-operating for common good but for political motives. Telegraphy is a complicated area and national rivalries and technical difficulties moved countries to form technical organizations. Funders of any Union have their interests to providing money and administrative help. Especially the rich countries have vested interest in helping technical agencies and organizations like ITU (Allyne 1995: 29).

Alleyne (1995) states that ITU and Universal Postal Union (UPU) are very important for the functionalists. This school believes that peace can be established in international relations through the cooperation of functional organizations. ITU is successful because it deals with non controversial issues. According to functionalists, cooperation should begin in non political issues and technical organizations are the best examples for the functionalists. In his study Kihl (1963) refutes the functionalist argument and claims that ITU and UPU are not perfect examples because they could not achieve their goals; cooperation in telegraph was not for international peace but for self interest. Every country wants to get rid of the complexity and technicality of transmission and the system was so complex and there was need for multilateral cooperation among states. So, self interest was the underlying reason for the international telegraphic regime. Another important assumption of functionalism failed when the debate over the *New World Information and Communication Order* (NWICO) took political hues.

NWICO created an ideological and political debate in ITU as well. To the Western nations, it appeared that ITU Administrative Radio and Plenipotentiary Conferences during the 1970s and early 1980s had become mired in frivolous and peripheral political considerations which impinged on the delegates' ability to complete the technical work of the conferences. Negotiations traditionally restricted to purely technical and functional considerations were now shrouded in language referring to the 'New International Information Order' or couched in demands for equitable access to resources declared to be the 'common heritage of mankind'. The conferences were subject to North-South struggles over the geostationary orbit and electromagnetic spectrum resources (Alleyne 1995: 24).

Alleyne (1995) states that the NWICO debate came to the ITU in the context of the allocation of the geo-stationary orbit (GSO). The Third World demanded equitable access and *a priori* process while the developed countries were in favour of the 'First come, first served' (FCFS) principle. When ITU became a specialized agency of the UN, *a priori* was the principle for the allotment of radio frequencies but the developed countries did not want to surrender their sovereignty, so they supported the principle of FCFS. A country that has the technology would get prime allocations of radio spectrum while those with no satellite technology would be out of this system. This principle was designed in favour of the technologically advanced developed countries. Tewari (1997) enumerates the issues raised by the Third World countries – cultural imperialism, concentration of ownership, transitional control of mass media and imbalances in new flow as well as the imbalanced allocations of broadcast spectrum. The concept of FCFS does not take into account the limited nature of resources, which has resulted in congestion. In ITU, the distribution system favoured the West and Russia, who had the satellite technology to launch rockets and thus claim orbital slots. The developing countries argued in favour of a country-by-country allotment. Developing countries saw the Direct Broadcast Satellite (DBS) as a threat to their cultural integrity, national sovereignty and security.

Soroos (1982) explains how in the decade of the 1970s, North-South confrontation also dominated the conferences and meetings of the ITU. Third World countries challenged the policies of ITU; in the General World Administrative Radio

Conference (1979), they raised their voice against the industrialized countries, where 10 percent population has 90 percent radio spectrum. The demand for change in the system made by the South met with resistence by the North. In 1979, the North and South clashed with each other at the WARC, and the ITU agreed to convene a series of Space WARC to consider access to the GSO. These developments illustrate, as pointed out by Allyene, that functionalism is not applicable here. Space WARC was held in 1988 in Geneva; the agenda was planning of the GSO for space telecommunications. Space WARC aimed to guarantee for every country equitable access to the GSO and frequency bands allocated for satellite communications. The conference was marked with stormy political debate between the developing and developed countries. A technical matter such as frequency and space allocation thus became political.

In 1979 General WARC, the developed countries wanted that additional shortwave frequencies should be alloted to international shortwave broadcasting of the type done by Voice of America, BBC, and Radio Moscow. Third world opposed this idea because they thought that it would interfere with their domestic uses of shortwave frequencies for telephone services (Soroos 1982: 675). The congestion of radio spectrum and geosynchronous orbit increased the third world awareness about the political use of ITU in the name of technical issues. Thus international organizations of a technical nature felt the political effects of the global discussion on the geopolitical distribution of power in the field of information. Wilson (2004) explains that in the developing countries the information revolution is seen as a political affair rather than technical. He says the spread of information and communication technologies is already affecting global politics and security. Most countries have an interest in promoting a smooth, conflict free transition from an industrial society to an information society. Yet by their nature, these new media destabilize traditional cultural and political practices (Wilson 2004: 7).

The General World Administrative Radio Conference (WARC) in 1959 had been dominated by the so-called old boys club – United States, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union. But the scenario in the WARC 1979 was different with many newly independent countries of the Third World in the picture. Although they still did not have enough technical knowledge, they cooperated with each other and succeed in mounting pressure on the developed countries. Hills (1990) explains that when membership

increased, the dynamics of the plenipotentiary conferences changed and East-West confrontation turned into a North-South debate. In the 1960s, the developing countries mounted pressure on the developed countries for technical assistance. The ITU technical cooperation department was set up in 1960; it administers projects financed by the UNDP. At the 1982 Nairobi plenipotentiary, technical assistance to the developing countries was adopted as a clause in the convention. Hill (1990) explains that the Maitland Report (Independent Commission for Worldwide Telecommunications Development) explores the reality of tele-density in the world. The 1982 Plenipotentiary established this Commission to examine the 'first come, first serve' rights mechanism for frequency allotment, which was in the favour of developed nations. It set out the parameters of the inequalities of telephone. According to the report more than half the world's population lives in countries with 10 million telephones and two thirds of the world population has no access. According to him, since the 1960s, telecommunication became a political issue for economic growth. ITU conducted many studies on telecommunications in different regions and these studies confirmed that the developing world is far behind the developed.

In 1985, the developing countries succeeded in the establishment of the Center for Telecommunication Development, which provided field oriented assistance based on industrial sources. Specific projects such as the Regional Satellite Project (RASCOM) in Africa is an example of such assistance. Allyne (1995) agrees that the development sector was the result of pressure from the South. Because of the NWICO debates, technical assistance became a line item in the ITU's budget. In 1990, the Telecommunications Development Bureau (BDT) came into existence (Allyne 1995: 30). Hills (1990) describes the ITU as a platform for the developing countries, where they try to get the attention of the rich countries for development in telecommunication.

The controversy about aid to the developing countries for the telecommunication sectors has existed since 1965. A 1973 proposal for funding for technical co-operation for immediate telecommunications problems was opposed by the developed countries. But the purposes of the Union had changed by the Nairobi Conference (1982) in a way that demonstrated the voting power available to the smaller and less developed countries. ITU was earlier only a clearing house through which international telecommunications is

regulated for the benefit of all. It worked as a broker and information exchange, a place where discussions were held. The Nairobi Conference extended the purpose of the Union to technical assistance. It changed the Union from being a wholly service organization, within which the interests of members can be adjusted to achieve the best international telecommunications possible, into one which also had a duty to promote telecommunications within the developing countries.

Castells (1996) points out that the membership issue in ITU was also political rather than technical. During the World Wars, international politics was reflected in the domain of ITU on the question of the membership of Japan and West Germany. ITU complied with a General Assembly recommendation of 1946 to debar Spain from its membership. Finkelstein (1988) underlines, that in 1927 Washington did not invite the USSR. USSR supported the concept of universality and tried to have the Balkan countries, East Germany, North Korea and China admitted. Exclusion of South Africa from ITU Conferences and meetings since 1965 and exclusion of Israel in 1982 were also decisions based on political rather than technical concerns. Lyall (1989) points out several other such instances – opposition by Cuba to representation of Taiwan; problem of membership of China, South Africa, Portugal, Israel etc. At the 1982 Nairobi Conference, it was clear that the US delegation had instruction from the US State Department to announce the immediate withdrawal of the US from the Union if the Israel vote were lost.

In the view of the Leine (1970), the radio frequency spectrum is a limited natural resource needed by all countries. One country's use of the spectrum affects its use by other countries; rules are needed to govern the use of the appropriate spectrum. Without the order imposed by the ITU regulatory regime, international communication would be chaotic.

The Convention and Regulations of ITU are self enforcing. The ITU regulatory regime offers an excellent example of how national self interest can be harnessed to promote compliance with international law. International Frequency Registration Board worked as mediator and provided conciliation services. The Radio Regulations Board (RRB) replaced the IFRB. RRB is a part time, 12 member body of experts that approves the rules of procedure to register radio frequency assignments and equitable utilization of

the geo-stationary orbit. In 1965, US proposed that the Board be abolished and its functions transferred to a Frequency Registration Department within the ITU General Secretariat. The proposal was rejected because of the strong opposition from the developing countries who believed that an independent Board could more effectively represent their interests in frequency matters, serving as a counterweight to the influence of the larger members. The Conference ultimately agreed to retain the Board in substantially unchanged form with no reduction in responsibility but reduction of members from eleven to five.

Hills (1990) explains about the two levels of debate at the ITU. The Plenipotentiary Conference is a forum for politics, where representatives of states participate in voting, whereas committees and working groups are more technical. Codding (1982) points out that in the work of ITU, nongovernmental agencies can also participate and make significant financial contribution. In the ITU, no single contributor is in a position of threatening the work of the Union through withdrawal as seen in the case of UNESCO. But the complex unitary system of the budget of ITU shows that withdrawal of any major contributor could be a big threat to the Union. According to Lyall (1989), ITU also faced the problem of finance like other UN specialized agencies. Like the UN financing system, the Union followed contribution on the basis of gross national product with a modifier for per capita income. This system is helpful to the developing countries. Finkelstein (1988) points out that in 1973, a provision was added to the Convention– members in arrears in an amount equal to two years of country dues would lose their right to vote in conferences and meetings.

The shadow of political constraint between the developing and developed world is visible till today and was visible during both World Summits on Information Society. Stauffacher and Kleinwachtr (2008) highlight these political games. The developing countries opposed Geneva as the venue of WSIS in 2003, which was why Tunisia was decided as the venue in 2005. The developed countries objected on the ground that in Tunis, freedom of expression was in danger and this contradicts the very principles of WSIS.

At WSIS, the developing countries especially Brazil demanded an open source of software but the US opposed this idea (some critics argue that US wanted to protect the

interests of Microsoft). Ultimately it was agreed that intellectual property matters would not be dealt with at WSIS. On the issue of digital divide, Senegal and other countries demanded 1 per cent surcharge on technical goods and services but this was opposed by the developed countries. Internet governance was another controversial issue. Stauffacher and Kleinwachtr (2008) underline Pakistan's statement to keep out civil society; dissemination of any material by civil society was not allowed. ITU always emphasizes on public-private partnership but there was no representation of Chief Executives of any major technological company. The Wall Street Journal never mentions the summits on its pages, displaying the insensitivity of the Western media towards this summit. Schachter and Joyner (1995) state that the politicization of ITU is an unwelcome development and is a continuation of the problem of allocation of orbital slots between developed and developing countries. They suggest that the ITU should focus on its primary work of regulating.

At the ITU, influence is with those states and private agencies that are technically prepared and that control the resources important in telecommunications, and extremely few meet these qualification. Of course, these actors must be sensitive to the needs of others because they could always be voted down; but there is no substitute for technical knowledge and control of the physical resources involved (Jacobson 1974: 74).

Keohane and Nye (1989) explain that although international organizations solidify rules and norms and make it difficult for even powerful states to change rules, 'organizationally dependent capabilities' such as voting power, ability to form coalitions, and control of elite networks will become the key factors determining regime change. The decision making procedures in ITU explain the organizational model that developing countries had a majority in the Union but were still under-represented in the technical bodies. Internal factors are also important for regime change. International power and communication are interrelated to each other and the powerful states decide the rules of the game. In ITU, a small number of elite countries have control because of their contribution in the budget.

Finkelstein (1988) concludes that politics has always been at work at the ITU and will remain so in the future also. ITU is prisoner of its own history; its manner of functioning was decided at a time when international cooperation on non political matters

was in a very primitive state. ITU is not a distinct entity but a sum of member states and states cannot be apolitical. A contrary view is that ITU has been known for technical and scientific decisions that are free from political considerations. Technical experts are supposed to work like custodians of an international trust and not work for their native country. They cannot get any instruction from their nation.

Reform in ITU

Mowlana (1997) makes an important point that responsibilities and power is now shifting from ITU to the WTO because communication is views as a service and comes within the purview of the WTO, which promotes free trade in the area of information and communication. Michael D. Kennedy (2000) suggests reforms at the top level in ITU, suggesting providing of decision making authority to ITU Secretariat with decentralization, as centralization is a threat to its own agenda. Secretary-General is in a very weak position and needs to be empowered. The overworked Administrative Council is a problem in itself. The quality dimension is missing in the ITU; it does not emphasize on the quality of telecommunication. Leadership of the organization has also been retained mostly by the developed countries; this problem too needs to be addressed.

An debate was going on in the Working Group on ITU Reform, set up following a decision of the Plenipotentiary Conference in Minneapolis (1998). Through this group, ITU's constituents were reviewing the management, functioning and structure of the Union, as well as the rights and obligations of the entire membership. The Reform Advisory Panel (RAP), which was set in 1999 recommend that ITU's decision-making functions should reflect the modern, competitive telecommunications environment in which the private sector plays the lead role while the regulatory agencies act as an arbitrator for the wider public interest. ITU needs to provide a forum where national regulatory authorities from around the world can discuss key issues. There is need of quicker decision-making, at lower cost. Contemporary time demands that Union should respond more rapidly to evolving policy and technical issues. At present, decision-making at ITU is largely restricted to the Member States. The traditional reliance on consensus as a basis for decisions at ITU meetings can sometimes make it difficult to provide effective or timely solutions and this often creates unfortunate delays in the

proceedings, and ultimately can result in solutions, which are only partial in scope. Procedures of a yearly cycle for obtaining approval from the membership, is shows lack of organizational flexibility to start working on urgent and new issues quickly (ITU News, 2000).

Another problem is overlapping and duplication of work. There is no mechanism to group together related areas of work that do not easily fit within one of the three Sectors or that overlap among the Sectors. The agendas of some ITU conferences, particularly those of radio-communication conferences, have become overloaded and unmanageable. The current dispute settlement mechanism of ITU is no longer adequate and is not suited to today's competitive telecommunication market where the different players have many potentially conflicting interests. ITU also faces financial problems and searches measures to gain new sources of revenue. Some Sector Members have expressed the view that they are unable to earmark the funds they contribute to specific Sectors. Personnel related problem is that staff mobility within the organization is limited. Management lacks flexibility to obtain the right competencies among the staff to be able to adjust to the new needs of the industry. While maintaining the traditional technical competence of the staff, the present framework makes it difficult to recruit or develop staff skilled in new areas so as to meet the changing needs of the membership.

Overall ITU has great responsibility to bridge the digital divide through development of ICT. As a leading agency for the creation of the ambitious vision of an inclusive Information Society, ITU requires an overhaul.

Chapter 5
Media and ICT in India

Media is a corner stone of Indian democracy. The fourth Estate has emerged as the real watchdog of democracy aided by the judiciary. The television revolution brought about a big change in Indian society. After independence, there was a renewed debate over a free, independent and responsible media. Apart from the one extra-ordinary situation of the Emergency, the Indian media has by and large been free of government control. But it has become a prisoner to the new force of the market. Information and communication technology (ICT) got a big boost after economic liberalization in 1991. ICT is now an integral part of governance in India. India has also had long and productive relationships with both the UNESCO and ITU.

Development of Media in India

Indian media has had a very long history. In the folklore of India, there is a mythical character named 'Narad' who is said to represent a 'media person' – one who communicates information and news between and within the Gods and the devils. In ancient India, news and information was shared in oral form and knowledge was transmitted orally from the '*guru*' (teacher) to '*shishya*' (student). Kumar (2002) quotes Tewari in tracing the origins of 'communication' theory to a period between second century B.C. and first century A.D. in the work of 'Bharat'. It is rooted in the concept of '*sadharanikaran*', which is quite close in meaning to the Latin term communis, commonness, from which the word 'communication' is derived.

During the freedom struggle, the print media emerged as a weapon in the hands of freedom fighters of India. They exchanged their ideas and shared information through newspapers. Media was used to create awareness against the British colonial power. Kumar (2002) sketches the history of the print media in India. The first newspaper was launched in India by William Bolts in 1776. He called Englishmen to come to his home to read news about Britain. James Augustus Hiskey started 'Bengal Gazette' in 1780 in English. But Indian journalism started with Serampore Missionaries with *Samachar Darpan* and Raja Ram Mohan Roy's Persian newspaper *Miratool Akbar*. An Indian

journalist K.C. Roy started the first news agency Press News Bureau (PNB). After this many news agencies, Free Press of India (FPI) and United Press of India (UPI) came into existence. In 1949, the Indian and Eastern Newspaper Society started its own agency Press Trust of India (PTI) and United News of India (UNI) set up by B.C. Roy.

Sound broadcasting started in India in 1927 with the proliferation of private radio clubs. The operations of All India Radio began formally in 1936, as a government organization, with objectives to inform, educate and entertain the masses. When India attained Independence in 1947, AIR had a network of six stations and a complement of 18 transmitters. The coverage was 2.5% of the area and just 11% of the population (http://www.allindiaradio.org/about1.html). In the early post-Independence days, government owned media like All India Radio (AIR) and Doordarshan (DD) dominated. Radio was a powerful source of information and news and a large section of population was influenced by it.

The first telecast in India was from Akashwani Bhawan, New Delhi on 15 September 1959. The experiment of 'Satellite Instructional Television Experiment' (SITE) was a revolution as it made it possible to send audio and visual from anywhere to anywhere by satellite. US extended help to India in this field during the Cold War and India harnessed this opportunity. The entry of television was a revolution in India in the 60s, soon reaching even the middle class.

Television was introduced in India as an experimental educational service in Delhi in 1959. Indians cannot forget the contribution of Vikram Sarabhai, who influenced policy makers for a nationwide television system that can play a major role in promoting economic and social development. At his initiative a national satellite communication group (NASCOM) was established in 1968. The Indian government approved a hybrid television broadcasting system consisting of communication satellite as well as ground based microwave relay transmitters. Until 1972, there was only one television transmitter in India (Delhi). Sarabhai and his colleagues prepared a blueprint for INSAT (Indian National Satellite) for television broadcasting and long distance telephone calls. In 1969, the Indian government approved a proposal for SITE with the help of the US National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) satellite ATS-6.

In 1968, NASA decided to provide free satellite facility to India through the SITE project. It was an experiment for television transmission through satellite to cover 2,400 villages. Its objective was to improve rural primary school education, provide teacher training, and improve agriculture, health, family planning and national integration. In these villages government installed community TV. There were two contending notions regarding satellite television at the time – one that it can combat illiteracy and bridge the gap between the rich and poor, and another that it would widen the gap between the urban elite and rural people, strengthen the power of government and destroy culture. TV programmes gained popularity, and soaps like *Hum Log* (1984) and *Buniyad* and mythological serials such as *Ramayana* (1987) and *Mahabharat* led to an increase in the sale of television sets. Colour television was introduced during the 9th Asian Games in New Delhi in 1982.

Cable (commercial television) began in the early 80s in Mumbai, when operators would shows movies on VCR, connected via a common cable in the building. When the Gulf War broke out in 1991, five star hotels bought dish antennae to allow their guests to watch the war live (Kohli 2003: 68-69). CNN heralded the satellite television in India. STAR (Satellite Television for Asian Region) first started in India in 1991. DTH TV service is a service for direct distribution of television programmes and channel by satellite to receiving subscriber homes in high frequency KU band via a small dish and a decoder set top box. In India FM (Frequency Modulation), was first introduced by AIR in 1977. In 1993, AIR started distribution of time slots to private companies. Private FM was introduced in Madras in 1997 and it became synonymous of pop music and youth culture. On private FM, Government monitors news and advertising.

As the electronic media gained more popularity and power, it also helped print media by create a demand for information and news. There are hundreds of news and entertainment channels in India now as a result of the liberal policy towards media in keeping with the general policy of liberalization after 1991. Now, media interacts with its readers and viewers through the use of modern ICT. Blogs are a revolution in the history of Indian media. Citizen journalism is becoming popular in India. Patnaik (2009) says that citizen journalism through the web changed the dynamics of news consumption; the power equation is changing, where community can decide what is important for it.

The Indian media is working to inform, educate and entertain; this is known as 'infotainment'. Through new media and new ICT, It is possible to get information and news on phones. Now information reaches people in seconds. Hussain and Ray (2000) think that the developing countries' communication model is different from that of the West, which is based on urban tradition and consumerism. Marshal McLuhan warns that audio-visual media has the capacity to destroy culture, ethos and values in the name of modernization but if used wisely, traditional culture could be revitalized (Hussain and Ray 2000: 101-102). After the wave of globalization, Indian media can access technology from the West and this has made media more powerful. It is necessary that media should remain free and independent in order to perform its duty as a watchdog of Indian democracy.

Freedom of Indian Media

Print and electronic media in India have a big share in agenda setting power. They have significant impact on the social, political, economic and cultural arena. Kohli (2003) agrees that media matters to Indians as a consumer class because of the sheer power and influence it has. The images seen on TV and the analyses in newspapers are powerful mind stimuli. According to Sawant (1998), it is the Press that sets the political, economic, social and cultural agenda and influences decision making. Indian media provide inputs of demand as well as feedback to the political system.

Freedom of media is a founding stone of democracy in India. Indian media is free from control of government but it is not free from the pressure of market, which is the driving and guiding force of some of the media industry in India, particularly we can see it in electronic media. But many newspapers and channels are free from it at some extent. Commercialization of media is a big debate and in the era of globalization and privatization, many critics see it as an instrument of the capitalist and elite class. The Indian media raises the voice of the people and works as a watchdog. But many big newspapers in India are published by capitalists and industrialists and the content of media is market-oriented. Kumar (2002) argues that *The Times of India*, *The Pioneer*, *Madras Mail* and *Amrit Bazar* came for the English speaking class after independence.

English commands premium advertising rates in print media. The business of buying and selling space in newspapers is dangerous for democracy.

Justice Sawant, who became chairman of the Press Council of India, explores the meaning of free media. If the Press publishes any matter without any legal restraint or prohibition, free from prejudice, free from executive control of government and lastly free from influence from advertisers, proprietors, pressure groups and financiers, than it can be called a free and independent media. A press that is dependent on government or its proprietors, financiers or advertisers and advertiser agencies, cannot claim to be free (Sawant 1998: 18). Over dependence on advertising also means that the freedom that financial independence is supposed to offer is endangered (Kohli 2003: 33). There is nothing wrong in a sponsored article or an advertorial which says clearly what it is but when the fact is hidden from readers, it can be dangerous for everyone.

Raghavan (1994) reminds us of Nehru's question asked at a conference of All India Newspaper Editors in 1952: does the freedom of the Press ultimately mean freedom of the rich man to do what he likes with his money through the Press? Malakar (1980) thinks of media as a weapon of the ruling class, and instruments of mass communication as a tool for the exploiting class. With the change in the political economy of states, the nature of Indian media has also changed. The Indian media creates a 'false consciousness' to divert the attention of people from the real issues. Sawant (1998) sees Press as an instrument of few rich individuals, families and corporate to fulfill their interests and he sees the emerging dominance of multimedia national and international barons as threats to democracy. It is clear that monopoly on Press is a potential threat for free flow of information (Bhatt 1994: 181). During the freedom struggle, print media had some values and mission and many great visionaries gave direction to this movement but now print and electronic media have become professional and have forgotten the spirit of social service.

The Indian Constitution provides the guarantee of freedom of expression and media also gets its power from Article 19(1) of the Constitution. The Constitution makers were aware of the importance of freedom of expression in India, having experienced British rule. But this provision has been criticized in that it does not talk about the freedom of media separately. According to Srivastva (1992) in Article 19(1)(a) Press

enjoys no special privilege other than the one which is also available to a citizen. The Constitution also imposes reasonable restrictions on this freedom. According to the Supreme Court, the right of information of media is present in Article 19.

The freedom of the Press was suppressed during the Emergency in 1975-76. It was the first incidence after independence when government tried to gag the media. During the Emergency, government suppressed transmission of news and imposed censorship on newspapers, journals, radio, TV, telegrams, news agencies and on foreign correspondents.

Regulation of Media

If the television broadcast industry had almost no regulation, Press has historically been over regulated (Kohli 2003: 81). Mostly Indian media is working under self regulations. Independent commissions and organizations are working to hear the grievances relating to the media. The Press Council of India works for the print media and the News Broadcasters Association (NBA) for electronic media. The Censor Board works for Indian cinema.

After independence, the Nehru government passed the Press (Objectionable Matters) Act in 1951 and in 1956, the first Press Commission was established. According to Nehru, the print media was fulfilling the interests of the rich because it was being run be rich persons. Kohli (2003) describes that in 1964 Indira Gandhi appointed the Chaddha committee, which recommended commercial broadcasting but on a limited scale. After the recommendation of Vidya Alankar Committee (1966), government brought TV and radio to the rural areas. In 1988, the Sarkaria Commission rejected the demand for transfer of broadcasting from centre to state in 1988.

After the Emergency in 1975-76, the demand for a free and independent media arose. Under the *Prasar Bharati* Act of 1997, AIR and Doordarashan changed into government corporations and Prasar Bharati, an autonomous statutory authority, became the monitoring body. Prasar Bharti (Broadcasting Corporation of India) is the public service broadcaster in the country with All India Radio and Doordarshan as its two constituents. Its mandate is to organize and conduct public broadcasting services to

inform, educate and entertain people and to ensure balanced development of broadcasting on radio and television.

The Press Council of India has been established for the freedom of the Press and to maintain and improve the standards of newspapers and news agencies. The Government of India established the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting to help people to have access to free flow of information and dissemination of knowledge and entertainment to all sections of society. According to Publication Division (2004), the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting (I&B) is the nodal Ministry for information broadcasting and film sectors. The activities of the Ministry are centered on the core objectives of dissemination of information relating to government policies and progarammes, providing wholesome entertainment and spreading awareness through various means of communication including the electronic media, print media and films. This Ministry is responsible for formulation of policy rules, regulations and laws relating to the information, broadcasting and film sectors, public service broadcasting, operation of cable television, private television channels and FM radio.

The MIB along with the *Indian Telegraph Act, 1885* and the *Wireless Telegraphy Act, 1933* were the two points from which any regulatory indicators came for the broadcasting industry. Government control over radio and television broadcasting is derived from the Telegraph Act. The Supreme Court of India has held that airwaves are not the monopoly of the Indian government; they are public property and have to be used to foster plurality and diversity of views, opinions and ideas.

In the year 2000, the government introduced Communication Convergence Bill, to establish a new 'converged' regulatory framework to promote and develop the communications sector, which cover broadcasting, telecommunications and multimedia. The Convergence Bill proposes to achieve objectives by establishing a new regulatory body to be known as the Communications Commission of India (CCI). CCI would replace Telecom Regulatory Authority of India (TRAI), and would become the sole regulator of the broadcasting, telecommunications and multimedia sectors. The Convergence Bill is pending in Indian Parliament for a number of years. In India the mission of TRAI is to ensure that the interests of consumers are protected and to nurture

conditions for growth of telecommunications, broadcasting and cable services in a manner and at a pace that will enable India to play a leading role in the emerging global information society.

After independence in 1955, Cabinet had passed a resolution that debarred foreign companies from launching Indian edition of their print brands and from investing. Debate over foreign money in print media started when *Anand Bazar Patrika* (ABP) gave a proposal to government for a tie up with *Financial Times*. According to Mitra (2009), 'Business Standard' newspaper in 1991, asked for the right to bring in 26 per cent investment into the newspaper. N.K. Singh committee recommended FDI for category of news, current affairs and news programme. In 2000, 'Mid Day' wanted to offer its share to public but RBI changed norms to disallow Foreign Intuitional Investment (FII) in publishing companies. But after pressure, government allowed 26 per cent Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in print media in June 2002.

ICT in India

ICT has transformed the structure of society in India and India is a leader in this field. Raghavan (1994) analyses that ICT brought a revolutionary change in India, which is fast moving towards being an 'information society'. As former Minister of Commerce Murasoli Maran (1999) said that the developing world missed the industrial revolution, but does not want to miss the ICT revolution that is sweeping the world.

In pre-independence times, the communication system helped the British in the function of administration and control over Indians. After Independence India was economically and technologically poor but after adopting policies of liberalization, it became a software leader in world. Rajeev Gandhi's government took much initiative to promote ICT. India developed its first Supercomputer PARAM 8000 in 1991. The major applications of the Supercomputer were in long-range weather forecasting, remote sensing, drug design and molecular modeling. Rajeev Gandhi brought the ICT revolution to India and introduced a new telecommunication policy in 1985, which permitted foreign collaboration with Indian private sector in making of telecommunication equipments. The high-tech PM of India created a Department of Telecommunications (DOT), which represented government monopoly over telecommunication services.

If Vikram Sarabhai was the pioneer of the satellite communication in India, Satyam Pitroda (Sam Pitroda) is architect of the telecommunication revolution in India. Pitroda started his Research and Devepoment (R&D) organ, Center for Development of Telematics (C-DOT) with a token annual salary of one Rupee. He developed EPABX system especially for the rural telephone exchange. In 1987 he became Principal Advisor to PM. He established the Center for Development of Advanced Computing (C-DAC) in Pune.

Internet reached India only by the mid-90s. When Internet came in India, VSNL was criticized for poor service and high tariffs. Now India uses 3-G technology successfully, which provides many multimedia facilities on the mobile. Information, internet and communication revolution have created a new and different society. Social networking is the new medium of interaction. In India the information and communication revolution brought cellular phone in every hand. The Indian government is working for the digital revolution in public services. E-governance is the priority of the government and it continuously engages in the process of implementing ICT in all government departments and services. ICT has enhanced transparency, accountability and decentralization in governance. ICT is working well in the area of education, health and environment. Communication is an important factor in India's economic growth and development. National Informatics Centers (NIC) develop software and work for the promotion of technology in the public sector. People can send their grievances and applications through computer with the help of ICT.

Agriculture is back bone of Indian economy and ICT can help to promote this sector through the dissemination of information to farmers. According to Thakurta (2008), ICT can improve the way in which land records are maintained with helping the farmers obtain better prices, bringing in more accurate weather forecasts and improving productivity. E-chaupal and e-marketing are helpful technological tools for farmers. In the health sector, India is the hub of medical tourism. ICT helps in tele-medicine services. Now India has started e-court, where ICT can help in speedy trials and justice in time.

In India, the advantage of ICT is not the same for all. There is dividing line between the men and women, rich and poor, urban and rural people. There is need to integrate the marginalized sections into this process. According to Mansell (2002), new

media is beneficial for all but Akuse and Cousins (2007) contend that new media and ICT access are not equally distributed in society and depend on the local power dynamics, class, caste, ethnic and gender hierarchies. Thakurta (2008) says that many analysts forecasted that internet based new media could narrow the information gap between the classes and masses. India's social and economic realities raise a number of doubts about the reality of the new media to perform this empowering role due to the lack of the telecommunications infrastructure. Modern technologies are the gateway of greater participation in the system but it also widens the existing poverty and information divide (Rice and Haythornthwaite 2006: 93). Slater and Tacchi (2004) say that political economy of communication approach explains the complexity of gender, mobility, class, caste, ethnicity and communication that is related to ICT. Thakurta (2008) thinks that bridging the digital divide is limiting its potential to democratize society and to empower the socially and economically underprivileged. As the so-called 'knowledge economy' develops, there is a distinct possibility that the digital have-nots would get further marginalized. In India, the communication policy is based on the interests of market and capitalists. It leads to the erosion of the cultural dimension, which is the identity of India. Das (1980) describes how the communication policies in India are affected by power.

Role of UNESCO in India

India supports the norms and values promoted by UNESCO. According to Yadav (1997), India has made an ideological contribution to the debate on the free flow of information. Murthy (1997) explains that the Indian view of UNESCO is that the organization would be a strong forum for promoting world peace and human values. India believes very strongly in the UN and its agencies and actively participates in all activities of these organizations. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad supported the open door policy for admission in UNESCO. India raised its voice for the representation of every region and not only the West in the UNESCO secretariat. Jawaharlal Nehru said, "Even as the United Nations General Assembly represented the political will of the world community, UNESCO tried to represent the finer and deeper sides of human life and indeed might be said to represent the conscience of the world community" (Murthy 1997: 26).

Yadav (1997) narrates that in a bid to promote ICT, the Indian government and UNESCO launched a pilot project in 1956, known as Radio Rural Forum in Maharashtra. It was based on the 1940s Canadian experience. UNESCO helped in this project to create awareness in farmers toward scientific developments in agriculture. It worked successfully and in 1969, the government extended it to other areas also. Radio has been used in mother-child healthcare programme in the 1980s and literacy mission in Lucknow in the 1960s.

From the beginning, UNESCO has helped in the development of infrastructure for mass communication in India. In 1960, UNESCO helped establish the *Indian Institute of Mass Communication* (IIMC) in Delhi. UNESCO provided two consultants for the training programmes, and equipments. Now IIMC is giving training not only to the Indians but students of many Third World countries and is known as a centre of excellence in the field of communication teaching, training and research, providing knowledge and skills to young communicators in a variety of disciplines including print journalism, photo journalism, radio journalism, television journalism, development communication, communication research, advertising and public relations.

IIMC started a major international training programme, the Post-Graduate Diploma Course in Journalism for Developing Countries and for middle level working journalists from Afro-Asian countries. To meet further requirements of the Third World Non-Aligned countries in context of the imbalance and distortion of news coverage, the Institute started an eight-month course for news agency journalists from non-aligned countries in 1978. The name of the course is Diploma in Development Journalism courses in a year for Non-Aligned and other developing countries. It shows the role of India in promotion of freedom of media in so called Third World countries, especially NAM countries.

UNESCO also started the National Institute of Audio Visual Education programme. Later it merged in the National Council for Educational Research and Training (NCERT) programme. Press Trust of India (PTI) got UNESCO's help to set the news pool. It also promotes the informatics and library science in India. International Programme for Development of Communication (IPDC) supported in the development of

infrastructure and skilled personnel. The Centre for Mass Communcation Research at Jamia Millia Islamia also got financial aid from IPDC. UNESCO's 'Learning to Be' project accepts that education ought to be regarded as lifelong learning at the choice and pace of the learner (Hussain and Ray 2000: 261).

UNESCO helps in the promotion of community media in developing nations. India is also a beneficiary of this initiative. UNESCO through the Community Multimedia Centre (CMC) programme is addressing local developmental challenges. In Uttarakhand 'Havalvani Samudayik Radio' (Chamba) and 'Mandakini Ki Awaaj' (Bhanaj) is working with the support of UNESCO. Manjula Bharathy (2009) explains the significance of community radio. Community Radio affirms the fundamental human right of persons to contribute to decisions. It is a political activity that is changing power relations. It promotes local governance and grass root democracy in the era of globalization, where we see monopoly over media.

UNESCO has helped in the creation of four Community Multimedia Centres (CMC) in India to bring to life the concepts of lifelong education for all and digital inclusion in isolated areas. It is an important component of the Information Society. These centers are helping in the eradication of illiteracy and aiding the vocational skills of people displaced by conflict. They help young women improve their ability to express themselves and articulate their opinion via community radio or community television. ICT for Development Community is second initiative of UNESCO in India. It promotes ICT as an enabler for sustainable development and as an alternative means of livelihood, especially for the grassroots community. UNESCO has also helped the Indian government to establish community radio center – *Kutch Mahila Vikas Sangathan*, Gujarat, *Deccan Development Society*, Andhra Pradesh, *Namma Dhwani*, Karnataka and *Henwal Vani*, and *Mandakini ki Awaz*, Uttrakhand are the important initiatives where UNESCO has helped in establishment of community radio. UNESCO gives training to build information literacy competency of special educators and library professionals working in special institutions for the disabled. UNESCO works for the right to information and freedom of information and betterment of information literacy.

The Government of India set targets operations of 4000 community radio stations by 2008. Akshaya, a state-wide ICT project by the Government of Kerala, with support

from UNESCO began an innovative project to create community portals in the Malayalam language, using free and open software. Bangalore Declaration on Community Radio (1996) was a milestone in the history of the movement for community radio. UNESCO's Special projects 'women speaking to women', NGO the Deccan Development Society (DDS) was supported with funds and technical expertise to establish a station in Pasthapur (Hyderabad). DDS was to utilize the women-managed community radio station to be a part of UNESCO's Learning without Frontiers (LWF) programmes. Development of the cultural identity of communities act as a vehicle for peoples self expression or serve as a tool for diagnosis of communities' problems.

Community Radio is third tier between the public service broadcaster AIR and private FM stations. Community radio programmes in local languages deal with the local issues involving ordinary people. As part of the UNESCO's cross cutting project on innovative applications of ICT for poverty reduction and achievement of the MDG, 'Narratives for the Future', a DVD containing digital stories about the MDG released. UNESCO works with many organizations for its mandate to bridge the digital divide and its vision of knowledge society. The Society for the Advancement of Library and Information Science (SALIS) and UNESCO launched an interactive e-learning portal (www.unesco.org).

UNESCO helps the member states, especially the developing countries to strengthen their communication infrastructure and capacities. It promotes independent and pluralistic media and improving media access to ICTs. *International Programme for the Development of Communication* (IPDC) is an important programme of UNESCO. India is a beneficiary of this programme and now works as a contributor. According to Alleyne (1995), India was one the 16 members of the McBride Commission. Indira Gandhi was a big supporter of the demand for NWICO and India played a leadership role in NAM for NWICO. India was in favour of a strong UNESCO when the organization was facing a problem of image. India regretted the withdrawal decision of the United States and hoped for reconsideration 'in the interest of all concerned' (Murthy 1997: 31).

UNESCO is helping India achieve the MDGs and the challenges of development highlighted by the Government in the 11th Five Year Plan. UNESCO is promoting an enabling environment for Good governance, accountability and ethics in journalism,

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reporting unreported and underreported subjects, including MDG and natural disasters, quality and quantity of culturally diverse and MDG oriented content, community access to information and knowledge, grassroots democracy and social inclusiveness. UNESCO developed an awareness programme with IIMC against HIV/AIDS. UNESCO and ITU coordinate in India also for their common programmes.

Role of ITU in India

ITU helps India in the development of telecommunications and India also supports the work of the Union. India is a member of the ITU since 1869, when it was the International Telegraph Union. Since joining India is working with ITU to harness the opportunities of ICT and its use in the achievement of MDG. India is playing a significant role in the activities of the ITU and participates in various conferences and meetings.

India doubled its financial contribution to the ITU from five 'contributory units' to ten, amounting to CHF 3.18 million per annum in 2007. India's position in ITU is that it fully supports the mission of the Union to connect the world and to develop online resources and strengthen cyber-security. India is helping in the Global Cyber-security Agenda launched by ITU in 2007. India is supporting ITU not only financially but with human resources also. In ITU Council meeting in Geneva on 12 September 2007 Secretary-General of ITU Dr Hamadoun Touré welcomed India's increased contribution. Since 1952 India has been an elected member of ITU Council and India been a leading participant, helping in bridging the gap between the developing and developed countries.

In Antalya (Turkey) at the Plenipotentiary Conference, India expressed concern over the use of the spectrum and satellite orbits for the maximization of benefits for the whole world. India has always fulfilled the commitment towards the international tele-community and got a cooperative response. India is sharing its expertise and facilities with other countries in a spirit of cooperation to ensure telecommunications for all. As an active and cooperative member of the ITU, India follows the line of the Union. India contributes their ideas and expertise to ITU.

India helped Bhutan with these specialized agencies of UN for the delivery of e-post services with a package of equipment, satellite capacity and training resources. ITU

evolved this project on the implemented model of Andhra Pradesh (India). That time Director of ITU (D) Hamadoun Touré appreciated the Indian initiative to assist Bhutan in this process by providing valuable technology, expertise and resources. In India there is a lack of communication research. Hussain and Ray (2000) also agrees that very little work has been done in India on the mass motivation research but now there is more work being carried out on the impact of print media, radio, cinema, audio-visual aids etc.

According to Mitra (2009), in 2008 Indian media has 398 daily newspapers, 98 more that appear at fixed intervals, 562 TV stations, 312 radio stations and 39.2 million cable TV subscribers. According to S. Raghavachari (2009) there are at least three hundred and fifty channels running today and 150 are in waiting. India is one of the largest users of mobile phones, with about 160 million subscribers. Patnaik (2009) gave information about nearly 50 million internet users in India. The powerful Indian media should set limits on itself with social responsibility. Although it is more or less independent from government but the control of market is no less dangerous. India is not fully free from the incidents of threats to freedom of expression.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

It is clear that media is an important player in contemporary times at the national as well as international levels. It has a significant voice in the decision- and policy-making process in national and international politics. Print and electronic media can influence public opinion and states are also wary of this power of the media of 'manufacturing consent'. The agenda-setting powers of the media are not negligible. Media plays a crucial role not only in times of war and war like situations but it can prevent crises by playing a constructive role. Media has the power to influence the policies and activities of governments. Government and media both influence each other. Media moulds the public opinion and it pressurizes governments to be accountable. Every state fears adverse public opinion. Media is a dominant actor in the multiple channels of interaction in international politics. It can change the behavior of any state and its important agenda setting power can transform the international scenario. When media plays a negative role and gets involved in emotional nationalism in a situation of crisis, it can aggravate the situation. If media plays a responsible role with ethics and honesty, without fear and favour, it can create a more peaceful world.

A free and independent media is necessary to bring out the bare facts regarding a situation. But in many parts of the world, the situation is not good for courageous journalism. Apart from the problem of security of media person, many countries have tight restrictions on the media. A bigger challenge to the freedom of media is the market. Market and profit-oriented approach make media an industry and the integrated interests of world media now works according to the capitalist philosophy rather than the concept of social responsibility.

The media of the developing countries is blindly copying the Western model, not acknowledging that their cultural values are different. News still focuses more on the developed countries. The Third World developed its own news network during the Cold War. The debate over the *New World Information and Communication Order* is still relevant today. Even today, we are far from the ideal situation of a free and balanced flow

of information. The advanced technology and knowledge possessed by the developed countries provide them with greater control over the media. They are supplying their ideology and culture to developing and least developed countries, which is like cultural invasion; some scholars call it 'neo-colonialism' with the help of neo-liberal policies.

In the age of globalization, free flow of information is weakening the single authority of state. But the concept of sovereignty has already changed and no nation is sovereign in the true sense; it surrenders some part of its sovereignty for the betterment of its people. Now flow of information is not in the control of state after the information revolution but the government can control it to some extent. The state is the ultimate authority to take any decision as a political unit in the world system although the decision will be influenced by many factors.

UNESCO has a unique mandate to protect and promote freedom of media and to enable an environment for a free, independent and pluralist media. UNESCO has the responsibility to deals with four important areas of cooperation; education, science, culture and communication but it is better known only for the first three activities. Communication, which is the basis of this institution, is not getting adequate attention. When UNESCO was formed, its founding fathers highlighted the importance of communication between countries and civilizations after two World Wars. Although communication is important for the attainment of peace, this sector gets a much smaller budget in comparison with the other areas of work.

UNESCO works for the freedom of media within its financial limitations. The agency's admirable work is helping in the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals. The overarching goals of universal education and health care, good governance and decentralization are part of the defining work of the organization which is manifested in projects such as Community Radio and Community Multimedia Centers. UNESCO's original mandate was for advancing mutual knowledge and understanding, a goal it seeks to achieve through promotion of all means of communications. UNESCO is still struggling to achieve its objective of free flow of ideas by word and image, but its overall aim of peace and security through dialogue between different cultures is being fulfilled to some extent. UNESCO needs to enhance the attention given to the communication sector in its agenda and also increase the budget for promotion of freedom of expression and

capacity building of media. There have been suggestions to establish a new organization for the development of communication and information. But a reorganization of focus within the existing structures of UNESCO could be a more appropriate option. Communication is important for all other areas of work – education, science and culture – and therefore communication is important for the fulfillment of UNESCO's mandate. UNESCO must also orient itself to meet the special interests of the underdeveloped countries. It should not play into the hands of its powerful members but should work in the interest of the large number of developing and underdeveloped countries. Despite the controversies surrounding it during the Cold War, it managed to move on and get to its functional duties. Politicization can be harmful for UN specialized agencies but unfortunately it is a reality for all agencies. Dynamic leadership would be helpful in bridging the gap and harmonizing the interests of the developed, developing and underdeveloped world.

UNESCO does not have any punitive powers. In case of a threat to freedom of media, it can only condemn and appeal to states for action. UNESCO can only work for creation of a proper environment for the free and independent media and contributes with the programmes of capacity building, organizes seminars and conferences for awareness. It is also working to develop world class media in developing and underdeveloped countries with media ethics. But it is helpless to interfere if state has control over the media and there is no freedom of expression. It does not maintain or create any regime; it works mainly like a service organization. With these limitations and apart from the attempts of the UN to maintain international peace and security, UNESCO plays a constructive role and its importance is no less than that of the Security Council.

International organizations are not only sum of states but more than that. IOs can change the behavior of states and states can change the agenda of IOs. Many scholars view the ITU as an example of failed functionalism. Although it has certainly survived for a long span of time (since 1865), many contend that it was created by the powerful nations for their interests and especially by France. The frequency problems compelled nations to cooperate with each other because common problems demand common solutions. This could represent the political push for cooperation that the neo-

functionalists talk of. Although ITU is a technical organization, it is not free from the influence of political concerns.

In the world of complex interdependence, the UNESCO and ITU both ever relevant. They are working for ICT, which is now a corner stone of the developmental process in the 21st century. Both provide significant platforms for discussion, debate and cooperation in the field of information dissemination, communication development, enhancement of media and telecommunication advancement. ITU plays a clearing house role for the controversial frequency allotment. This was its original mandate but through its evolution, it has taken over the responsibility of development of telecommunications. ITU is now better known for this activity – i.e. it acts as a middle man for private companies and governments to develop telecommunication infrastructure. A weakness of ITU is the lack of its own financial pool; it should create its own financial power.

UNESCO and ITU cooperate with each other on several fronts. The *World Summit on Information Systems* (WSIS) is an example of such cooperation. They should continue this with deepening and widening coordination. The aim of communication and information sector of UNESCO and ITU are same and many goals overlap. For the successful achievement of the UNMDGs, cooperation between the two organizations must be further fine tuned. The existing 'digital divide' is a big challenge for both these agencies, which ironically seems to be widening with the development of ICT. Implementation of the WSIS Action Plans is important for the attainment of the UNMDGs. ITU's aim to 'connect the unconnected' is also linked with this effort. The notion of 'inclusive Information Society' is possible only after the digital gap is bridged. The politicization of the ITU is also a drawback and a hindrance in its functioning. The predominance of political concerns was, for example, clearly evident during the WSIS. The powerful states may have created this organization for their own political advantage but it evolved into a powerful forum for the developing and underdeveloped countries to challenge the developed world, as was seen in the demand for NWICO.

In the Indian context, we find that media is free from government to some extent but the market has captured it for its own interests. A powerful media plays a crucial role in the government's decision making process. It also decides the relations with other countries and especially neighboring countries. Freedom of media is an important value

of Indian democracy but there are many threats to it. Many times, Indian government fails to give security to journalists and sometimes they also become victim of state suppression. Apart from the extra-ordinary situation like Emergency rule in 1975-76, the history of Indian media is based on freedom. Now government is trying to control media because of its over activism. There is demand for a code of conduct and content ethics for media. 'Sting operations' by media is also threatening to political persons. The Government tries to regulate media but media is saying that it wants to keep under self regulation and government interference can curb freedom of media. Indian media should give attention to all sections of society and not only on elite class.

ICT in India developed rapidly after the liberalization policy in 1991. India started with a limited number of computers and now it has become a world leader in the software industry. But the important challenge of the digital divide between different sections of society still remains. Both UNESCO and ITU are helping India to bridge the gap, thereby also assisting it to take steps towards achieving an 'inclusive Information Society'.

Appendix I

<u>Windhoek Declaration</u>

(Endorsed by UNESCO's General Conference at its twenty-sixth session, 1991)

We the participants in the United Nations/United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization Seminar on Promoting an Independent and Pluralistic African Press, held in Windhoek, Namibia, from 29 April to 3 May 1991,

Recalling the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,

Recalling General Assembly resolution 59(I) of 14 December 1946 stating that freedom of information is a fundamental human right, and General Assembly resolution 45/76 A of 11 December 1990 on information in the service of humanity,

Recalling resolution 25C/104 of the General Conference of UNESCO of 1989 in which the main focus is the promotion of "the free flow of ideas by word and image at international as well as national levels",

Noting with appreciation the statements made by the United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Public Information and the Assistant Director-General for Communication, Information and Informatics of UNESCO at the opening of the Seminar,

Expressing our sincere appreciation to the United Nations and UNESCO for organizing the Seminar,

Expressing also our sincere appreciation to all the intergovernmental, governmental and nongovernmental bodies and organizations, in particular the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), which contributed to the United Nations/UNESCO effort to organize the Seminar,

Expressing our gratitude to the Government and people of the Republic of Namibia for their kind hospitality which facilitated the success of the Seminar, Declare that:

1. Consistent with article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the establishment, maintenance and fostering of an independent, pluralistic and free press is essential to the development and maintenance of democracy in a nation, and for economic development.

2. By an independent press, we mean a press independent from governmental, political or economic control or from control of materials and infrastructure essential for the production and dissemination of newspapers, magazines and periodicals.

3. By a pluralistic press, we mean the end of monopolies of any kind and the existence of the greatest possible number of newspapers, magazines and periodicals reflecting the widest possible range of opinion within the community.

4. The welcome changes that an increasing number of African States are now undergoing towards multiparty democracies provide the climate in which an independent and pluralistic press can emerge.

5. The worldwide trend towards democracy and freedom of information and expression is a fundamental contribution to the fulfilment of human aspirations.

6. In Africa today, despite the positive developments in some countries, in many countries journalists, editors and publishers are victims of repression-they are murdered, arrested, detained and censored, and are restricted by economic and political pressures such as restrictions on newsprint, licensing systems which restrict the opportunity to publish, visa restrictions which prevent the free movement of journalists, restrictions on the exchange of news and information, and limitations on the circulation of newspapers within countries and across national borders. In some countries, oneparty States control the totality of information.

7. Today, at least 17 journalists, editors or publishers are in African prisons, and 48 African journalists were killed in the exercise of their profession between 1969 and 1990.

8. The General Assembly of the United Nations should include in the agenda of its next sessionan item on the declaration of censorship as a grave violation of human rights falling within the purview of the Commission on Human Rights.

9. African States should be encouraged to provide constitutional guarantees of freedom of the press and freedom of association.

10. To encourage and consolidate the positive changes taking place in Africa, and to counter the negative ones, the international community-specifically, international organizations (governmental as well as nongovernmental), development agencies and professional associations-should as a matter of priority direct funding support towards the development and establishment of nongovernmental newspapers, magazines and

periodicals that reflect the society as a whole and the different points of view within the communities they serve.

11. All funding should aim to encourage pluralism as well as independence. As a consequence, the public media should be funded only where authorities guarantee a constitutional and effective freedom of information and expression and the independence of the press.

12. To assist in the preservation of the freedoms enumerated above, the establishment of truly independent, representative associations, syndicates or trade unions of journalists, and associations of editors and publishers, is a matter of priority in all the countries of Africa where such bodies do not now exist.

13. The national media and labour relations laws of African countries should be drafted in such a way as to ensure that such representative associations can exist and fulfil their important tasks in defence of press freedom.

14. As a sign of good faith, African Governments that have jailed journalists for their professional activities should free them immediately. Journalists who have had to leave their countries should be free to return to resume their professional activities.

15. Cooperation between publishers within Africa, and between publishers of the North and South (for example through the principle of twinning), should be encouraged and supported.

16. As a matter of urgency, the United Nations and UNESCO, and particularly the International Programme for the Development of Communication (IPDC), should initiate detailed research, in cooperation with governmental(especially UNDP) and nongovernmental donor agencies, relevant nongovernmental organizations and professional associations, into the following specific areas:

(i) identification of economic barriers to the establishment of news media outlets, including restrictive import duties, tariffs and quotas for such things as newsprint, printing equipment, and typesetting and word processing machinery, and taxes on the sale of newspapers, as a prelude to their removal;

(ii) training of journalists and managers and the availability of professional training institutions and courses;

(iii) legal barriers to the recognition and effective operation of trade unions or associations of journalists, editors and publishers;

(iv) a register of available funding from development and other agencies, the conditions attaching to the release of such funds, and the methods of applying for them;

(v) the state of press freedom, country by country, in Africa.

17. In view of the importance of radio and television in the field of news and information, the United Nations and UNESCO are invited to recommend to the General Assembly and the General Conference the convening of a similar seminar of journalists and managers of radio and television services in Africa, to explore the possibility of applying similar concepts of independence and pluralism to those media.

18. The international community should contribute to the achievement and implementation of the initiatives and projects set out in the annex to this Declaration.

19. This Declaration should be presented by the Secretary-General of the United Nations to the United Nations General Assembly, and by the Director-General of UNESCO to the General Conference of UNESCO.

Appendix II

World Summit on the Information Society, 56/183

Resolutions adopted by the General Assembly

The General Assembly,

Recognizing the urgent need to harness the potential of knowledge and technology for promoting the goals of the United Nations Millennium Declaration /1 and to find effective and innovative ways to put this potential at the service of development for all,

Recognizing also the pivotal role of the United Nations system in promoting development, in particular with respect to access to and transfer of technology, especially information and communication technologies and services, inter alia, through partnerships with all relevant stakeholders,

Convinced of the need, at the highest political level, to marshal the global consensus and commitment required to promote the urgently needed access of all countries to information, knowledge and communication technologies for development so as to reap the full benefits of the information and communication technologies revolution, and to address the whole range of relevant issues related to the information society, through the development of a common vision and understanding of the information society and the adoption of a declaration and plan of action for implementation by Governments, international institutions and all sectors of civil society,

Recalling the contributions to international consensus in this field achieved by the Millennium Declaration and the agreements reached at other international conferences and summits in recent years,

Taking note of the action plan presented by the Secretary-General of the International Telecommunication Union to the Administrative Committee on Coordination/2 for the holding of the World Summit on the Information Society and the creation, by the Administrative Committee on Coordination, of a high-level Summit organizing committee, chaired by the Secretary-General of the International Telecommunication Union and consisting of the heads of United Nations bodies and other international organizations interested in participating in the process leading to the Summit,

Considering that the Summit is to be convened under the patronage of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, with the International Telecommunication Union taking the lead role in its preparation, in cooperation with interested United Nations bodies and other international organizations as well as the host countries,

Recalling the ministerial declaration concerning information and communication technologies, adopted by the Economic and Social Council at the high-level segment of its substantive session of 2000,/3 and the subsequent work done in this regard, including the creation of the Information and Communication Technologies Task Force, as well as the welcoming of the forthcoming Summit by the Council in its agreed conclusions 2001/1,/4

Recognizing the need to harness synergies and to create cooperation among the various information and communication technologies initiatives, at the regional and global levels, currently being undertaken or planned to promote and foster the potential of information and communication technologies for development by other international organizations and civil society,

1.   Welcomes the resolution adopted by the Council of the International Telecommunication Union at its 2001 session, in which the Council endorsed the proposal of the Secretary-General of the International Telecommunication Union to hold the World Summit on the Information Society at the highest possible level in two phases, the first in Geneva from 10 to 12 December 2003 and the second in Tunis in 2005, pursuant to resolution 73 adopted by the Plenipotentiary Conference of the International Telecommunication Union at its 1998 session, held in Minneapolis, United States of America;

2.   Recommends that the preparations for the Summit take place through an open-ended intergovernmental preparatory committee, which would define the agenda of the Summit, finalize both the draft declaration and the draft plan of action, and decide on the modalities of the participation of other stakeholders in the Summit;

3.   Invites the International Telecommunication Union to assume the leading managerial role in the executive secretariat of the Summit and its preparatory process;

4.   Invites Governments to participate actively in the preparatory process of the Summit and to be represented in the Summit at the highest possible level;

5.   Encourages effective contributions from and the active participation of all relevant United Nations bodies, in particular the Information and Communication Technologies Task Force, and encourages other intergovernmental organizations, including international and regional institutions, non-governmental organizations, civil society and the private sector to contribute to, and actively participate in, the intergovernmental preparatory process of the Summit and the Summit itself;

6.   Invites the international community to make voluntary contributions to the special trust fund established by the International Telecommunication Union to support the preparations for and the holding of the Summit, as well as to facilitate the effective participation of representatives of developing countries, in particular the least developed countries, in the regional meetings to be held in the second half of 2002, in the preparatory meetings to be held in the first half of 2002 and in 2003, and in the Summit itself;

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7. Invites the Secretary-General of the United Nations to inform all heads of State and Government of the adoption of the present resolution;

8. Invites the Secretary-General of the International Telecommunication Union to submit to the General Assembly, at its fifty-seventh and fifty-eighth sessions, through the Economic and Social Council, for information, a report on the preparations for the Summit.

90th plenary meeting
21 December 2001

55/2. United Nations Millennium Declaration

Resolution adopted by the General Assembly

The General Assembly

Adopts the following Declaration:

United Nations Millennium Declaration

I. Values and principles

1. We, heads of State and Government, have gathered at United Nations Headquarters in New York from 6 to 8 September 2000, at the dawn of a new millennium, to reaffirm our faith in the Organization and its Charter as indispensable foundations of a more peaceful, prosperous and just world.

2. We recognize that, in addition to our separate responsibilities to our individual societies, we have a collective responsibility to uphold the principles of human dignity, equality and equity at the global level. As leaders we have a duty therefore to all the world's people, especially the most vulnerable and, in particular, the children of the world, to whom the future belongs.

3. We reaffirm our commitment to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, which have proved timeless and universal. Indeed, their relevance and capacity to inspire have increased, as nations and peoples have become increasingly interconnected and interdependent.

4. We are determined to establish a just and lasting peace all over the world in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter. We rededicate ourselves to support all efforts to uphold the sovereign equality of all States, respect for their territorial integrity and political independence, resolution of disputes by peaceful means and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, the right to self-determination of peoples which remain under colonial domination and foreign occupation, non-interference in the internal affairs of States, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, respect for the equal rights of all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion and international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character.

5. We believe that the central challenge we face today is to ensure that globalization becomes a positive force for all the world's people. For while globalization offers great opportunities, at present its benefits are very unevenly shared, while its costs are unevenly distributed. We recognize that developing countries and countries with economies in transition face special difficulties in responding to this central challenge. Thus, only through broad and sustained efforts to create a shared future, based upon our common humanity in all its diversity, can globalization be made fully inclusive and equitable. These efforts must include policies and measures, at the global level, which correspond to the needs of developing countries and economies in transition and are formulated and implemented with their effective participation.

6. We consider certain fundamental values to be essential to international relations in the twenty-first century. These include:

• **Freedom.** Men and women have the right to live their lives and raise their children in dignity, free from hunger and from the fear of violence, oppression or injustice. Democratic and participatory governance based on the will of the people best assures these rights.

•. **Equality.** No individual and no nation must be denied the opportunity to benefit from development. The equal rights and opportunities of women and men must be assured.

• **Solidarity.** Global challenges must be managed in a way that distributes the costs and burdens fairly in accordance with basic principles of equity and social justice. Those who suffer or who benefit least deserve help from those who benefit most.

• **Tolerance.** Human beings must respect one other, in all their diversity of belief, culture and language. Differences within and between societies should be neither feared nor repressed, but cherished as a precious asset of humanity. A culture of peace and dialogue among all civilizations should be actively promoted.

• **Respect for nature.** Prudence must be shown in the management of all living species and natural resources, in accordance with the precepts of sustainable development. Only in this way can the immeasurable riches provided to us by nature be preserved and passed on to our descendants. The current unsustainable patterns of production and consumption must be changed in the interest of our future welfare and that of our descendants.

• **Shared responsibility.** Responsibility for managing worldwide economic and social development, as well as threats to international peace and security, must be shared among the nations of the world and should be exercised multilaterally. As the most universal and

most representative organization in the world, the United Nations must play the central role.

7. In order to translate these shared values into actions, we have identified key objectives to which we assign special significance.

II. Peace, security and disarmament

8. We will spare no effort to free our peoples from the scourge of war, whether within or between States, which has claimed more than 5 million lives in the past decade. We will also seek to eliminate the dangers posed by weapons of mass destruction.

9. We resolve therefore:

• To strengthen respect for the rule of law in international as in national affairs and, in particular, to ensure compliance by Member States with the decisions of the International Court of Justice, in compliance with the Charter of the United Nations, in cases to which they are parties.

• To make the United Nations more effective in maintaining peace and security by giving it the resources and tools it needs for conflict prevention, peaceful resolution of disputes, peacekeeping, post-conflict peace-building and reconstruction. In this context, we take note of the report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations and request the General Assembly to consider its recommendations expeditiously.

• To strengthen cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations, in accordance with the provisions of Chapter VIII of the Charter.

• To ensure the implementation, by States Parties, of treaties in areas such as arms control and disarmament and of international humanitarian law and human rights law, and call upon all States to consider signing and ratifying the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court.

• To take concerted action against international terrorism, and to accede as soon as possible to all the relevant international conventions.

• To redouble our efforts to implement our commitment to counter the world drug problem.

• To intensify our efforts to fight transnational crime in all its dimensions, including trafficking as well as smuggling in human beings and money laundering.

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• To minimize the adverse effects of United Nations economic sanctions on innocent populations, to subject such sanctions regimes to regular reviews and to eliminate the adverse effects of sanctions on third parties.

• To strive for the elimination of weapons of mass destruction, particularly nuclear weapons, and to keep all options open for achieving this aim, including the possibility of convening an international conference to identify ways of eliminating nuclear dangers.

• To take concerted action to end illicit traffic in small arms and light weapons, especially by making arms transfers more transparent and supporting regional disarmament measures, taking account of all the recommendations of the forthcoming United Nations Conference on Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons.

• To call on all States to consider acceding to the Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-personnel Mines and on Their Destruction, as well as the amended mines protocol to the Convention on conventional weapons.

10. We urge Member States to observe the Olympic Truce, individually and collectively, now and in the future, and to support the International Olympic Committee in its efforts to promote peace and human understanding through sport and the Olympic Ideal.

III. Development and poverty eradication

11. We will spare no effort to free our fellow men, women and children from the abject and dehumanizing conditions of extreme poverty, to which more than a billion of them are currently subjected. We are committed to making the right to development a reality for everyone and to freeing the entire human race from want.

12. We resolve therefore to create an environment – at the national and global levels alike – which is conducive to development and to the elimination of poverty.

13. Success in meeting these objectives depends, *inter alia*, on good governance within each country. It also depends on good governance at the international level and on transparency in the financial, monetary and trading systems. We are committed to an open, equitable, rule-based, predictable and non-discriminatory multilateral trading and financial system.

14. We are concerned about the obstacles developing countries face in mobilizing the resources needed to finance their sustained development. We will therefore make every effort to ensure the success of the High-level International and Intergovernmental Event on Financing for Development, to be held in 2001.

15. We also undertake to address the special needs of the least developed countries. In this context, we welcome the Third United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries to be held in May 2001 and will endeavour to ensure its success. We call on the industrialized countries:

• To adopt, preferably by the time of that Conference, a policy of duty- and quota-free access for essentially all exports from the least developed countries;

• To implement the enhanced programme of debt relief for the heavily indebted poor countries without further delay and to agree to cancel all official bilateral debts of those countries in return for their making demonstrable commitments to poverty reduction; and

• To grant more generous development assistance, especially to countries that are genuinely making an effort to apply their resources to poverty reduction.

16. We are also determined to deal comprehensively and effectively with the debt problems of low- and middle-income developing countries, through various national and international measures designed to make their debt sustainable in the long term.

17. We also resolve to address the special needs of small island developing States, by implementing the Barbados Programme of Action and the outcome of the twenty-second special session of the General Assembly rapidly and in full. We urge the international community to ensure that, in the development of a vulnerability index, the special needs of small island developing States are taken into account.

18. We recognize the special needs and problems of the landlocked developing countries, and urge both bilateral and multilateral donors to increase financial and technical assistance to this group of countries to meet their special development needs and to help them overcome the impediments of geography by improving their transit transport systems.

19. We resolve further:

• To halve, by the year 2015, the proportion of the world's people whose income is less than one dollar a day and the proportion of people who suffer from hunger and, by the same date, to halve the proportion of people who are unable to reach or to afford safe drinking water.

• To ensure that, by the same date, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling and that girls and boys will have equal access to all levels of education.

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• By the same date, to have reduced maternal mortality by three quarters, and under-five child mortality by two thirds, of their current rates.

• To have, by then, halted, and begun to reverse, the spread of HIV/AIDS, the scourge of malaria and other major diseases that afflict humanity.

• To provide special assistance to children orphaned by HIV/AIDS.

• By 2020, to have achieved a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers as proposed in the "Cities Without Slums" initiative.

20. We also resolve:

• To promote gender equality and the empowerment of women as effective ways to combat poverty, hunger and disease and to stimulate development that is truly sustainable.

• To develop and implement strategies that give young people everywhere a real chance to find decent and productive work.

• To encourage the pharmaceutical industry to make essential drugs more widely available and affordable by all who need them in developing countries.

• To develop strong partnerships with the private sector and with civil society organizations in pursuit of development and poverty eradication.

• To ensure that the benefits of new technologies, especially information and communication technologies, in conformity with recommendations contained in the ECOSOC 2000 Ministerial Declaration, are available to all.

IV. Protecting our common environment

21. We must spare no effort to free all of humanity, and above all our children and grandchildren, from the threat of living on a planet irredeemably spoilt by human activities, and whose resources would no longer be sufficient for their needs.

22. We reaffirm our support for the principles of sustainable development, including those set out in Agenda 21, agreed upon at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development.

23. We resolve therefore to adopt in all our environmental actions a new ethic of conservation and stewardship and, as first steps, we resolve:

• To make every effort to ensure the entry into force of the Kyoto Protocol, preferably by the tenth anniversary of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in 2002, and to embark on the required reduction in emissions of greenhouse gases.

• To intensify our collective efforts for the management, conservation and sustainable development of all types of forests.

• To press for the full implementation of the Convention on Biological Diversity and the Convention to Combat Desertification in those Countries Experiencing Serious Drought and/or Desertification, particularly in Africa.

• To stop the unsustainable exploitation of water resources by developing water management strategies at the regional, national and local levels, which promote both equitable access and adequate supplies.

• To intensify cooperation to reduce the number and effects of natural and man-made disasters.

• To ensure free access to information on the human genome sequence.

V. Human rights, democracy and good governance

24. We will spare no effort to promote democracy and strengthen the rule of law, as well as respect for all internationally recognized human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the right to development.

25. We resolve therefore:

• To respectfully and uphold the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

• To strive for the full protection and promotion in all our countries of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights for all.

• To strengthen the capacity of all our countries to implement the principles and practices of democracy and respect for human rights, including minority rights.

• To combat all forms of violence against women and to implement the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women.

• To take measures to ensure respect for and protection of the human rights of migrants, migrant workers and their families, to eliminate the increasing acts of racism and

xenophobia in many societies and to promote greater harmony and tolerance in all societies.

• To work collectively for more inclusive political processes, allowing genuine participation by all citizens in all our countries.

• To ensure the freedom of the media to perform their essential role and the right of the public to have access to information.

VI. Protecting the vulnerable

26. We will spare no effort to ensure that children and all civilian populations that suffer disproportionately the consequences of natural disasters, genocide, armed conflicts and other humanitarian emergencies are given every assistance and protection so that they can resume normal life as soon as possible.

We resolve therefore:

• To expand and strengthen the protection of civilians in complex emergencies, in conformity with international humanitarian law.

• To strengthen international cooperation, including burden sharing in, and the coordination of humanitarian assistance to, countries hosting refugees and to help all refugees and displaced persons to return voluntarily to their homes, in safety and dignity and to be smoothly reintegrated into their societies.

• To encourage the ratification and full implementation of the Convention on the Rights of the Child and its optional protocols on the involvement of children in armed conflict and on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography.

VII. Meeting the special needs of Africa

27. We will support the consolidation of democracy in Africa and assist Africans in their struggle for lasting peace, poverty eradication and sustainable development, thereby bringing Africa into the mainstream of the world economy.

28. We resolve therefore:

• To give full support to the political and institutional structures of emerging democracies in Africa.

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• To encourage and sustain regional and subregional mechanisms for preventing conflict and promoting political stability, and to ensure a reliable flow of resources for peacekeeping operations on the continent.

• To take special measures to address the challenges of poverty eradication and sustainable development in Africa, including debt cancellation, improved market access, enhanced Official Development Assistance and increased flows of Foreign Direct Investment, as well as transfers of technology.

• To help Africa build up its capacity to tackle the spread of the HIV/AIDS pandemic and other infectious diseases.

VIII. Strengthening the United Nations

29. We will spare no effort to make the United Nations a more effective instrument for pursuing all of these priorities: the fight for development for all the peoples of the world, the fight against poverty, ignorance and disease; the fight against injustice; the fight against violence, terror and crime; and the fight against the degradation and destruction of our common home.

30. We resolve therefore:

• To reaffirm the central position of the General Assembly as the chief deliberative, policy-making and representative organ of the United Nations, and to enable it to play that role effectively.

• To intensify our efforts to achieve a comprehensive reform of the Security Council in all its aspects.

• To strengthen further the Economic and Social Council, building on its recent achievements, to help it fulfil the role ascribed to it in the Charter.

• To strengthen the International Court of Justice, in order to ensure justice and the rule of law in international affairs.

• To encourage regular consultations and coordination among the principal organs of the United Nations in pursuit of their functions.

• To ensure that the Organization is provided on a timely and predictable basis with the resources it needs to carry out its mandates.

• To urge the Secretariat to make the best use of those resources, in accordance with clear rules and procedures agreed by the General Assembly, in the interests of all Member States, by adopting the best management practices and technologies available and by concentrating on those tasks that reflect the agreed priorities of Member States.

• To promote adherence to the Convention on the Safety of United Nations and Associated Personnel.

• To ensure greater policy coherence and better cooperation between the United Nations, its agencies, the Bretton Woods Institutions and the World Trade Organization, as well as other multilateral bodies, with a view to achieving a fully coordinated approach to the problems of peace and development.

• To strengthen further cooperation between the United Nations and national parliaments through their world organization, the Inter-Parliamentary Union, in various fields, including peace and security, economic and social development, international law and human rights and democracy and gender issues.

• To give greater opportunities to the private sector, non-governmental organizations and civil society, in general, to contribute to the realization of the Organization's goals and programmes.

31. We request the General Assembly to review on a regular basis the progress made in implementing the provisions of this Declaration, and ask the Secretary-General to issue periodic reports for consideration by the General Assembly and as a basis for further action.

32. We solemnly reaffirm, on this historic occasion, that the United Nations is the indispensable common house of the entire human family, through which we will seek to realize our universal aspirations for peace, cooperation and development. We therefore pledge our unstinting support for these common objectives and our determination to achieve them.

8th plenary meeting
8 September 2000

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