

THE UNITED STATES AND THE NEW INFORMATION
ORDER : 1969 - 1979

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Preface

America emerged as one of the leading economic and political giants in the post Second World War era. It maintained its lead in the field of information as well. Today, the U.S. is the world's most communicating nation. It is the largest producer, consumer and exporter of information of all kinds. It is the most advanced information based society in an "information age" and exerts maximum influence over much of the rest of the world. In contrast, the vast number of developing countries are still grappling with the problems of development and are dependent on the industrialized nations of the North.

With the growing awareness of global interdependence and realization of communication as a national resource vital to the development of a nation, the Third World countries have begun to protest against the imbalances that exist. Their protest crystallized in the passing of a new world information order. The necessity to communicate to an evercrowded inter connected world has made America realise the need to seek multilateral and even global solutions for problems that confront the international community.

I have tried to study in the following pages, the emergence of the new world information order and how the U.S. response to it evolved. I have tried to link up the ideological, economic

and political interests or stakes America has in international communications with the response it gave to the new order. In particular, I have stressed the role of the U.S. media as they are a vital factor in U.S. communication priorities.

Critical communication problems still confront the world. Despite much debate on the issue of communications over the last ten years, the crisis is not over. The need for research and planning are evident. The key question is how the United States will manage its predominant share in global communications for it is the very "hub" of a vast international communication system.

This work attempts no quick answers to so complex an issue. It is a preliminary effort which I hope to elaborate in the course of further research.

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Chapter I

EMERGENCE OF THE NEW WORLD INFORMATION ORDER

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 regardless of frontiers.

- Article 19 of the UN Declaration of Human Rights (1948)

In December 1948, the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It incorporated in it, the principle of free flow of information which was considered to be absolutely essential by a world which had faced the trauma of the Second World War. Exactly thirty years later, in December 1978, the UNGA adopted another declaration called the "New World Information Order" (NWIO), asking for "a new, more just and effective world information and communication order, intended to strengthen international peace, understanding and based on free circulation and wider and better balanced dissemination of information".¹ While the principle of "free flow" was still present, the focus had shifted to "better and balanced flow". Thus, despite the change concerning the dissemination

1. UNGA Res. 33/115B, 18 December 1978.

of information, the new order still continued to emphasize the need for free circulation.

The intervening thirty years has seen changes in the world mood regarding communication as the shifting emphasis of the new order indicates. Many factors were involved in this change, including a profound distrust of liberalism of the Western variety in a very large segment of Third World elites. The post Second World War enthusiasm for democratic principles, which caused the ideals of a free press to be enshrined almost universally, has abated with the emergence of the "Third World" and its acquisition of "international class-consciousness". The "free flow of information" felt to be a fundamental democratic principle by the West, has come to be challenged by many of these countries not because it is unsupportable by itself, but because it is seen as masking the reality of a one-way flow from the developed countries to the developing - with ill effects on the latter's economic, political and cultural independence.

The end of colonialism, most of the Third World spokesmen argue, has not changed the hierarchical nature of the transnational power structure. The developed West is still dominant and newly liberated former colonies, are yet to be free of economic dependence. These disparities extend

to information field as well. The Third World critics, feel that these disparities, fostered in the colonial period, are perpetuated today through elements of transnational system. For example, some of the Western transnational news agencies, like Reuters and Associated Press built up in the colonial era, continue to dominate the international news flow and have achieved remarkable penetration into the Third World.

After the emergence from their colonial yokes, the Third World countries are engaged in an effort to assert their new political identities, thereby transforming the inter-state relations. Ideological diversities notwithstanding, the Third World countries are united by their common plight of underdevelopment, the demands it generates and the conditions it imposes. They are making their voices heard and weight felt in world politics as well as in international communications. The Third World membership in the United Nations has gone up and when they vote en bloc, they are a force to be reckoned with.

However, these countries are in the "early stages of grappling with the political, legal, economic and social ramifications of the informatization of society"² in contrast

2. G. Russel Pipe, "National Policies, International Debates", Journal of Communication (Philadelphia), 29 (Summer 1979), p. 114.

to the developed, most of whom are in the "information age". Realising that the present "information" situation is overwhelmingly biased in favour of the industrialized and developed nations, the concern of the Third World over information issue has grown rapidly in recent years. "Informatization" of society has become "sine qua non" for development.

Since the advanced industrialized nations dominate in practically all the fields of communications, the less developed countries which are engaged in the uphill battle for development and change are unable to compete with the former. This has led to a sense of insecurity in the Third World and made "interdependence" something of a myth. Particularly, the emergence of two Super Powers after the Second World War and the resulting rivalry between them and a tendency to use other nations as allies or pawns has heightened the tension. In fact, the "Cold War" has significantly affected the course of relations between nations. The Non-Aligned Movement began as a measure of protection of national interests of the new nations in the struggle between the two Super Powers. One fundamental idea the movement stressed was the independence of new nations by refusing to be part of the power bloc. Further efforts were made to redress the existing inequalities and imbalances by organizing Summit Conferences of Heads of the State or

Government of member nations, expressing deep concern over the Third World's undue dependence on the industrialized nations.

The non-aligned countries expressed their concerns in several forums including various international organizations. From expressing their desire for a non-involvement in the Cold War in 1961 through a second stage of economic self-assertion at U.N. in 1974 to the insistence on cultural integrity of the non-aligned Summit in Sri Lanka in 1976, they have utilised international organizations to bring about the desired change in world opinion. Thus the growth in the number of Third World countries and their increasing participation through non-aligned movement and various international organizations can be considered as ushering in a major change in the international system.

In their desire to end their economic dependence, the underdeveloped countries of the Third World, called for a "new international economic order" (NIEO). They came to realize that this NIEO would involve international communications as well, as communication has become an important economic activity. Information/communication has long been understood as the main factor in animating life. It has provided the vital link between individuals, later among societies and then between nation-states. It was a sociologi-

cal need, from the primitive society to the modern one. However, the nature of communication and its tools underwent changes corresponding to the changes in society from agricultural to industrial. Particularly in societies where industrialization had taken place, communication became more vital and complex than ever before. Today, as many of the industrialized nations have entered what has come to be called the "post-industrial"³ phase, the central focus of economic activity is shifting from the manufacturing of objects to the handling of information and knowledge. The power of major transnational firms rest as much upon their capacities to marshall information and knowledge as upon their traditional role in directly productive activities. There is every indication that sharpest aspect of competition in the future may be based more on the efficient use of specialized knowledge, information and new technological capacity for its communication and use than on more traditional factors.

Information handling capacity already offers industrialized countries considerable economic and political leverage in North (comprising mostly of industrialized

3. This term was made popular by Daniel Bell in his book The Coming of the Post-Industrial Society (London: Heinmann, 1974). His argument stresses the growth and importance of the tertiary sector (apart from the agricultural and industrial) which is the "information" sector.

advanced nations) South (comprising of underdeveloped countries) interaction. Information vital to the developing countries is frequently concentrated in the capitals of the North.

With information becoming a major economic activity, the amount of international business that can accrue from exchange of information has come to limelight. The "information issue" gathered momentum as the Third World began to comprehend the imbalances that exist in information by way of access, ownership or returns. Negotiators and market participants from developing countries are thereby placed at a relative disadvantage. What is known or can be readily found out by firms and governments in industrialized countries about resources, weather, technology, market conditions or indeed about information itself, far exceeds such knowledge in developing countries. This can be called the economic factor of the present "information issue" raised by the Third World.

Another contributing factor has been the changes in communication technology itself. There was a swift and spectacular rise in the growth of communication facilities in the post Second World War era. Along with the "acceleration effect" in scientific fields, where the time gap between each invention is lessening, communication technology

made rapid strides from printing press, radio, T.V. to space communications. Termed rightly as the "communication Revolution" or "communication explosion", the growth of communication facilities first occurred predictably in the Western nations. Britain played a decisive role in world wide communications network in the early years of the twentieth century, by virtue of its control of the physical hardware of oceanic cables and its administrative and business organization of news and information. As a result, it could hold its Empire together, promote advantages and provide security. However, the economic giant of the post war was the United States. A rapid expansion of American communication media began and soon overtook Britain, emerging as the leading country in communication. This dominant American influence explains why much of the underlying thrust of criticisms from various quarters are unmistakably directed against it.

Thus the expansion and reduction of the cost of facilities for communication due to the technological advances (the technological factor) has broadened the character and pace of global interaction and thereby altered the environment of international politics. The question of information access, which was formerly quite distinct from political calculation of the countries who lacked it, has acquired major political importance in the new environment. Increasing effort to get a better bargaining position in the world

market in which information plays a pivotal role has led to a serious debate in the Third World on the disequilibria that exists in the structures of communication between the North and the South, culminating in the call for a new and more "just" information order.

As Western, particularly the American influence, is preponderant in this field, various attempts have been made to analyse the forces behind it. Though different interpretations have been offered according to contexts, there nevertheless exists some basic agreement that (a) it is the most advanced information based society (b) it is the world's largest producer, consumer and exporter of information of all kinds and innovating genius in equipment and information management as well and (c) it is the biggest influence by way of style and promotion of English as the lingua franca of the world.

Since this domination extends to other spheres as well, many have suggested that there is a link between the existing economic order and information order, both perpetuating the inequalities in favour of the advanced nations. Similarly, one can call the new information order a corollary to the new economic order, both of which would try to overcome the imbalances of the earlier system. A most apt illustration can be provided by a look at Jan Pronk's

document⁴ presented to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization's International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems. He listed the following reasons for a new system of economic management for a better international society: (a) The failure of the present system and creation of ever increasing inequalities between and within societies; (b) The need for a really world wide system as the problems faced like scarcity, pollution, economic, political and military insecurity can be solved neither by individual countries nor by specific country groups; (c) Need for a real new world order or system of decision-making and not just a new set of policies. Thus a new economic order would be characterized by three basic elements : a set of norms and values, a set of policies and a set of institutions determining the structure of decision making. The same would apply to new information order.

The new economic order called for measures to transform economic policies, institutions and structures. The proponents of the new information order felt that changes are also necessary in international social and cultural relations as complementary to the economic measures. This

4. Jan Pronk, "Some Remarks on the relation between the New International Information Order and the New International Economic Order", Document presented to International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems (Paris: UNESCO, 1978), p. 3.

is evident from the definition of information as an "economic activity" which has definite political implications.⁵ In other words communication is an economic process by which "information" being a scarce economic good or service, is being produced exchanged or consumed. It also has distinguishable economic dimensions; investments to produce more information, research to improve production and marketing techniques of information, the market structure for supply and demand for information, the cost of information.

In this way, the economic process of information can be described by using the same model by which one might describe the process of production and consumption of oil or textiles. The essential point to note is that communication is an economic process. Hence one may call it a sub-system or a corollary to the concept of NIEO which deals with scarcities in economic goods and services in general.⁶ It is also clear then that the basic value systems and norms of NWIO are similar to that of NIEO.

As in the case of building a new order in economics, the need for new information order has been felt because

5. Marc Uri Porat defines information as "data that have been organized and communicated. The information activity includes all the resources consumed in producing, professing and distributing information goods and services" in The Information Economy, Report for the U.S. Dept. of Commerce/Office of Telecommunications (Washington D.C., Govt. Printing Office, 1977), pp.1-3.

6. n. 4, p. 11.

the present order is not equitable. As compared to the actual needs for information, there is over and under information. There is a bias towards specific regions. And the current order is unsystematically related to international decision making in other fields. The importance of information whether political, economic, social or cultural has claimed increasing attention in international meetings. The changing information and communication environment is drawing the attention of national governments, particularly because the movement of information and knowledge is not restricted by territorial boundaries and because the media of communication are becoming major instruments for promoting development.

The non-aligned movement played a major role in focussing the discontent of the Third World. This started largely as an attempt to protect the interests of the new nations in the context of East West struggle. With the thawing of the Cold War however, the emphasis of the movement shifted from protecting any encroachment on their freedom by the Super Powers to defining common goals and strategies for development in the Third World and finishing the process of decolonisation. Linked by similar historical experiences and ideas, these countries have sought avenues for change through concerted efforts to redress the imbalances both economic and informational. Despite ideological diversities

that have developed within the movement, members project their varied demands under the banner of the movement giving it an institutional framework.⁷ In fact, much of the movement is now directed towards practical cooperation to promote economic development of the Third World and in mounting challenges to the richer more powerful nations.

In the area of economics, the leaders of non-aligned countries have called for redistribution of wealth through basic changes in the current international economic order, which is viewed as a mechanism for perpetuating the inequalities. In cultural affairs, they have stressed the importance of preserving cultural integrity of the Third World nations while undergoing the developmental changes. It is partly along these lines that non-aligned countries have become involved in communication issues.

Corresponding to the wave of independence in Africa and Asia, the non-aligned meetings over the years have grown

7. Peter Willetts, The Non-Aligned Movement: Origins of a Third World Alliance (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1978). The movement functions through meetings of Heads of State or Governments of non-aligned countries, otherwise known as Summits, occurring every three years. At the Summits, resolutions and proposals are considered and approvals are given for interim activities, such as ministerial conferences (of Foreign Ministers, Information Ministers etc.). Between the Summits the Coordinating Bureau conducts the business of the movement. Willetts presents an excellent organizational chart of the non-aligned movement in Fig. 1.1, p. 40.

significantly in membership.⁸ In the early seventies, the frequency of meetings increased as a part of an effort to formulate a coherent non-aligned policy. Among the many issues the non-aligned meetings took up, communication came to the fore by September 1973 in the Fourth Conference of Heads of State at Algiers. Under the topic, "Preservation and Development" the Conference stated that "it is an established fact that the activities of imperialism are not confined only to the political and economic fields, but also cover the cultural and social fields", and stressed the need to reaffirm national cultural identity and "eliminate harmful consequence of the colonial era".⁹ Articles 13 and 14 of their "Action Program for Economic Cooperation" specifically referred to communication: promoting a greater exchange of ideas among themselves partly through reorganization of existing communication channels and by revising the existing multilateral agreements (stressing on collective ownership of communication satellites in particular). They further stated that the non-aligned countries should exchange and disseminate information concerning their mutual achievements through the mass media of their respective coun-

8. The Summit Conferences have remained broadly based but have steadily increased in size: from 25 members in 1961 to 47 in 1964, 53 in 1970, 75 in 1973 and 86 in 1976. Ibid., p. 17.

9. Tran Van Dinh, "Non-Alignment and Cultural Imperialism", The Black Scholar (California), 8 (December 1976), p. 42.

tries.¹⁰

Following the Algiers Summit of 1973, the non-aligned press pool was established by "Tanjug", the Yugoslav news agency. While the impact of this pool on "international news flow" was minimal, the fact remains that with this, the coordination and implementation structures of the non-aligned movement began to function.

In August 1975, the fifth Conference of foreign ministers of non-aligned countries met in Lima and the resolution adopted there gave its support to the Tanjug pool. By March 1976, the non-aligned symposium on information in Tunis submitted a report having critically evaluated the immense problems faced by the non-aligned countries, especially at the operational level of communication development. Both the topic and the timing of the report were significant. Titled, "The Emancipation of the Mass Media in Non-aligned Countries", the report stressed the need for self-reliance by creating regional exchange centres for journalists and technologies and by providing an appropriate infrastructure for future development. The timing of this symposium was also significant as the UNESCO had already

10. Proceedings of the IV Conference of Heads of State of Governments of Non-Aligned countries, Articles XIII and XIV of the "Action Program for Economic Cooperation", in A.W. Singham and Tran Van Dinh (eds.), From Bandung to Colombo (New York: Third Press Review Book, 1976), pp. 163-165.

begun to show a keen interest in the global news flow controversy. Since the non-aligned countries often met at UN forums to express their views with the object of gaining popular support, the UNESCO involvement became a vital link.

At the fifth non-aligned Conference of Heads of State held at Colombo in August 1976, the New Delhi declaration of July 1976 and earlier proposals were considered (the New Delhi Conference had highlighted the information imbalance and affirmed the non-aligned countries' commitment to change the situation by drafting a constitution of Press agencies Pool).¹¹ The Colombo Summit which had 84 participating nations, endorsed the recommendations made at New Delhi and other earlier Summits. It produced 3 major documents: "The Action Program for Economic Cooperation", "The Political Declaration" and "The Economic Declaration". The Political declaration stated that "a new international order in the fields of information and mass communication is as vital as a new economic order", and noted with concern "the vast and ever growing gap between communication capacities in non-aligned countries and advanced nations". Further, it felt that "the emancipation and development of national media is an integral part of the overall struggle for political, economic and social independence for a large majority of

11. For the details of the Delhi meet see Tran Van Dinh, n. 8, p. 43.

the peoples of the world who should not be denied the right to inform and be informed objectively and correctly".¹² Tunisia was given a mandate by the Summit to take the "international information order" question to the upcoming 19th General Conference of the UNESCO in Nairobi, and seek the support for some of the positions of the non-aligned countries regarding information.

Responding to the developments of the non-aligned movement, and its expanding "Third World" membership, the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), which in the past had defended the "free flow of information" replaced it with the concept of "balanced flow of information". Prior to the Nairobi General Conference, the UNESCO sponsored in July 1976 a 9 day conference in San Jose, Costa Rica for 21 Latin American countries to draw up communication policies for that region. The final suggestions of that conference closely resembled those of non-aligned summit.¹³ In late fall of 1976, Amadou M' Bow, Director General of UNESCO, accused the international agencies of seeking to emphasize the negative side of news from developing nations and declared that "one of the greatest forms of inequality in

12. A.W. Singham, "The Fifth Summit Conference of the Non-aligned Movement", The Black Scholar (California) 8, (December, 1976), pp. 2-7.

13. New York Times, 2 August 1976.

the contemporary world is that involving information".¹⁴ The Nairobi conference predictably, supported the non-aligned news agencies press pool and directed the UNESCO to aid it. However, it was not until January 1977 that the organization participated for the first time as an observer at the first meeting of Pool Coordination Committee in Cairo. The Cairo meeting noted that the number of news agencies had risen to more than 40 and stressed the point that pool was not an organization set up to declare an all-directional hostility, but a working organization which could unite efforts in the field of communication.

With the momentum building, the inter governmental Co-ordinating Council of the non-aligned countries asked Yugoslavia to host the first conference of Radio and T.V. organizations of non-aligned countries. The conference was held at Sara Jevo. It stressed that equal access to and equitable distribution of technology were prerequisites for a balanced flow of information. The details of the plans outlined were further elaborated by meetings held at Jakarta and Havana in 1978.

Thus the non-aligned movement has taken an increasing interest in international communications. Though many

14. Report on the United States and the Debate on World Information Order (New Delhi: American Center, 1978), p. 51.

westerners had dismissed it as more rhetoric than action, the movement was able to successfully question the role of Western countries in the Third World and initiate investigations on the global information flow and role of transnational corporations in international communications. It was able to highlight the political dimension of the information process by pointing to the increasing penetration of major western communication agencies like ^{Reuters,} Associated Press, United Press International and Agence France Press into the Third World. It viewed this as an attempt to reassert the domination by some of the former colonial powers. Specifically, the attack was directed against the U.S. as it holds the preponderant position in communication/information field today.

Though the ending of the colonial impact and prevention of neo-colonial expansion has been an important feature of the present controversy, it forms only a part of the argument. Equally important is the pace of international relations which has reduced the international community to a "global village". In such a world made progressively smaller due to the rapidity and ease of the modern means of communication, the importance of information "resources" has forcefully brought home the need to redress the disequilibria that exist.



The reasons why the demand for NWIO arose in the seventies and developed so rapidly are not far to seek. The Third World became acutely conscious of the inequity inherent in the access, use and ownership of the means of information, which instead of lessening was growing rapidly. It manifested in several ways. Firstly, the great avenues of exchange of information are owned by a few countries. The five major news agencies in the world are owned either publicly or privately by four nations: AP and UPI (private) by America, Reuters (private) by Britain, AFP (private) by France and Tass (public) by Soviet Union. Secondly, ownership of long distance telecommunication is also restricted to a few. Major share of this is again handled by American companies like AT and T, RCA Globcom, ITT Worldcom and some British firms like Cable and Wireless Limited.¹⁵ Thirdly, less than one third of the modern world are producers and custodians of the technology and technical knowledge that modern society depends upon. The concentration of ownership of technology and thereby its power in a relatively few countries makes any of their policies and actions important to the receiving countries. It ensures that those nations who hold the power of technology are able to produce the lion's share of useful technological information. Finally,

15. The transnational character of these American companies is well discussed in William H. Read, America's Mass Media Merchants (Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, 1976), p. 12.

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the concentration of wealth in certain countries makes it easier for their people to travel, support the industries and enterprises of communication, and to produce the equipment which an efficient flow of information requires. All these inequities are reflected in the pattern of information flow between countries.

Empirically, the example of news flow can be taken as an indicator of information imbalance. Tables 1 and 2 reveal this.

These figures clearly indicate that the world flow of foreign news deals chiefly with a group of highly developed countries which are also dominant in world politics. Further, it makes apparent the fact that news flows from the highly developed to the less developed. It flows from Europe and North America to other countries and continents, from the US and the Soviet Union to other countries.

The conclusion that seems to be inescapable is that the flow of news among nations is thin, that it is unbalanced, with heavy coverage of a new highly developed countries and light coverage of many less developed ones, and that in some cases at least there is distortion of realities.¹⁶

16. Wilbur Schramm, Mass Media and National Development (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1964), pp. 65-66.

Table 1 : Proportion of Foreign News in Representative Newspapers of
13 Countries devoted to the other 12 countries during
one month in 1961

	Argentina	Australia	Brazil	Egypt	France	India	Italy	Japan	Poland	Pak	U.K.	U.S.	U.S.S.R.
Argentina			6		15	3	6	2			11	43	12
Australia					13	2		2			32	41	12
Brazil	6			2	14	2	4	2			9	43	18
Egypt			2		30	2	2	2		2	12	34	15
France	2		3	2			12	2	2		21	49	20
India		2		3	10		2	4		11	19	35	15
Italy					29						24	29	13
Japan					16	4					12	49	23
Pakistan					16	13		2			17	33	13
Poland					26		3				8	26	30
U.K.	2	2		2	22	3	2	2		2		43	33
U.S.	3	3	3	2	20	8	3	3	3	2	22		25
U.S.S.R.			3	3	22	3	6	6	8	3	17		

Source: Wilbur Schramm, Mass Media and National Development, p. 60
Note : A blank indicates less than 1.5 per cent.

Table 2 : Proportion of Asian News Wires of Five World News Agencies
Devoted to 13 countries during two days in 1961

	Argentina	Australia	Brazil	Egypt	France	India	Italy	Japan	Poland	Pak U.K.	U.S.	U.S.S.R.
AP	2				5			5		12	64	6
UPI					3	2		10		12	64	7
Reuters		4		2	14	2		2		30	36	8
AFP		8		2	8	5		3		24	37	10
TASS						3		3		9	13	65

Source : Wilbur Schramm, Mass Media and National Development (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1964), pp. 60 and 62.

Note : a blank indicates less than 1.5%.

With regard to the flow of persons and personal messages into and out of developing countries, it is found to be relatively less than for highly developed nations. This is not surprising as in most cases the mechanisms and facilities of tourism and travel are better developed in the advanced countries and well developed systems of commerce and industry provide adequate reasons to visit any country on business. Some of the differences are as large as in the case of India and the U.S. For example in 1979, India was receiving annually about 7,64,781 tourists.¹⁷ America on the other hand received 7.2 million visitors.¹⁸ However, there may be some countries who may despite their economic underdevelopment attract tourists or foreign mail far more than others in the same situation like UAR and Morrocco who have strong economical or political ties abroad. Yet the general pattern is that the well-developed nations have developed wider horizons of personal contact. The less developed are still in the process of doing so.

Considering the informational material flow between countries, the same imbalances are to be found. Informational

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17. Government of India, Ministry of Tourism and Civil Aviation, Tourist Arrivals in India: Highlights, 1980 (New Delhi: India Tourism Development Corporation, 1980), p. 3.
18. U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1980 (Washington D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1980), Figure 8.2, p. 234 and Table 427, p. 252.

materials can be characterized in two ways: communication "hardware" i.e. technological equipment like computers, television receivers, parts, transmitters etc., raw materials like pulp for making paper, raw film etc. and communication "software" like books, films for entertainment, music etc. In the case of communication hardware, the flow is certainly from the developed to the less developed as the technological advancements occurred there first.

Consequently, the western nations were able to supply information software to the rest of the world. But mere ability to supply to the demands of the emerging Third World was not enough. Most of the western or advanced nations following the capitalist path of free enterprises, found themselves leaving the information industry to private enterprise. As can be expected, these businessmen only sell at an attractive price. Thus, there is some difficulty in the way of supplying them to the less developed nations. The effect of these imperfect links between the countries is to perpetuate the already existing imbalances.

The informational difficulties of the underdeveloped countries indicated were developed by Mustapha Masmoudi, the Tunisian Secretary of State for information and permanent¹⁹

19. Mustapha Masmoudi, "New World Information Order", Document presented to the UNESCO's International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems (Paris: UNESCO), 1978.

delegate to the UNESCO. His document titled the "New World Information Order" compiled together the various needs of the Third World and set forth a series of demands to redress them. It outlined succinctly and analysed the problem from the political, legal, cultural, economic and technological standpoints. Politically, the main imbalances were outlined in the following manner; quantitative imbalance in news flow between north and south, an inequality in information resources, a lack of information on developing countries due to bias in reporting, furtherance of the colonial era through western communication industry penetration into the Third World and the alienating influence in the economic, social and cultural spheres. The document pointed out that the disaffection towards western media in general and U.S. media in particular, was part of the overall criticisms of the existing information situation. All such political shortcomings, according to Masmoudi, are worsened when they are not actually justified by inadequate legal structures. Further, the developed countries are enabled to benefit from monopoly situations and prerogatives due to their technological lead and expertise and the tariff system they have instituted for international communications.

The document also emphasized another method of control, namely the near-monopoly of world publicity. This is wielded by the great publicity agencies who operate through communi-

cation transnationals and earn their incomes serving the interests of the transnational industrial and commercial corporations dominating the world business. For example, Masmoudi pointed out that in 1975, 22 of the 25 largest advertising agencies of the world were American or closely associated with American investment.²⁰ Hence marketing any product like the media product itself was easy for America.

These complaints form the rationale for a series of demands. The main ones called for:

- (a) throwing off the dominance of transnational corporations as vestiges of colonialism and as threats to sovereign and cultural integrity;
- (b) establishing independence and equitable access to the global communication resources;
- (c) expansion of assistance programs to spread communication development;
- (d) promotion of non-aligned press pool;
- (e) imposition of duties, encumbrances and responsibilities upon the media; a mandated right of reply when inaccuracies in the media are alleged;
- (f) legitimizing the limitation of access to news sources; and

20. Ibid., p. 6.

- (g) finally, the right to censor or restrict flow of information across national borders and establishment of a supranational tribunal to monitor media behaviour.

Thus, the major issues were, in sum, in the following areas: the one-way flow of news and mass culture, monopoly in advertising, technology transfer of communication hardware by Multinational Corporations (MNCs) which in turn perpetuate dependence on communication software and the threat to national sovereignty through satellite technology.

The question of news flow has perhaps gained the maximum attention in the controversial debates regarding the NWIO. As Masmoudi stated, "they (the great mass communication media) cover events only according to the needs of the home countries".²¹ The events in developing countries are reported to the world through these media and it is they who "tell" the developing countries about news items which they have distorted, filtered or cut, imposing their own way of seeing the world on the developing nation. In other words, the Third World critics are unhappy about world's dependence for news on the four western wire services (AP, UPI, Reuters and AFP). According to them, the flow of news

21. Ibid.

is one way from North to South. While the heads of all four news agencies would claim significant differences among their services, to representatives of non-western cultures and different ideologies, the four western services often seem very much alike, with similar news getting techniques, criteria for news and coverage emphasis. The western wire services tell the rest of the world not only what is happening in the West, but also in the communist countries, and the Third World. UPI for instance, is represented in 49 countries, circulates 6 million words a day and translates into 43 languages, has 200 bureaus and has more than 6,900 subscribers.²²

The Third World spokesmen are disturbed too, because the West relies on these agencies for news about the world. Third world does not have a chance to talk about its problems by itself. The decisions made by western business and government leaders about aid, trade and on military and foreign policy issues, based on the news from these agencies can have great impact on the developing world. Since public opinion can play an important part in these decisions, the dependence of the public on the news agencies is equally worrisome.

From a psychological viewpoint, it was also irritating

22. Shahsi Tharoor, "The global News Flow Controversy", Atlas, 24 (December 1977), p. 32.

that the primary news and information link among the developing nations is in the hands of westerners, representing in the case of AFP and Reuters, nations which were until recently, colonial overlords. It is in this light that the non-aligned press pool statements stress that Africans speak for Africans and Asians for Asians, though their objectivity is yet to be established.

Ironically, there is a historic parallel between the current preeminence of the western news agencies and the structures of international news dissemination over 60 years ago. Reuters, through the European news cartel it had formed with French Havas and German Wolff agencies, controlled all foreign news sent into the U.S., and all American news to the world. Kent Cooper, the Executive Director of A.P. who was trying to break up the cartel described the situation thus:

So Reuters decided what news was to be sent from America. It told the world about Indians on the war path in the West, lynchings in the South and bizarre crimes in the North. The charge for decades was that nothing creditable to America was ever sent. (23)

He added that

Their (Havas' and Reuters) own countries were always glorified. This was done by reporting great advances at home in English and French

23. Kent Cooper, Barriers Down (New York: Farrar and Rhinehart, Inc., 1942), p. 12.

civilizations, the benefits of which would, of course, be bestowed on the world. Figuratively speaking, in the United States, according to Reuters and Havas, it was not safe to travel on account of the Indians". (24)

The Third World spokesmen argue that if you substitute the terms "USA" with "developing countries" the complaints would appear to be speaking most effectively for the developing countries in the present era.

The AP eventually seceded from the cartel, joining the never included UPI and precipitated the break-up of the cartel in the 1930s. The present system of four competing international news services, stems from AP's complaints earlier.

Another parallel which Cooper drew was the link between the economic ascendancy of England with the control of information. "With Reuter at the head of its world news dissemination, England strove for world trade. It is not difficult to see that, holding control of world news communications and with the genius of Reuter, it had the means for success."²⁵ The advocates of the NWIO draw the same link between the existing economic order and information order.

Another charge was on the flow of mass culture from these countries through their media. As Masmoudi stated

24. Ibid., p. 43.

25. Ibid., p. 12.

"... publicity advertising, magazines and televisions are themselves instruments of cultural domination. They transmit towards developing countries, messages which are harmful to their cultures, contrary to their own system of values and detrimental to their aims and developmental efforts".

It is in this context that the media question assumed prominence and significance in the new order. The Third World concern regarding the media was not merely the "imperialistic" nature of the developed nations communications, but the continued dependence of the importing countries. Masmoudi voiced this feeling when he said :

Such hegemony and domination are evident in the marked indifference of the media in the developed countries ... to the problems, concerns and aspirations of the developing countries. They are founded on financial (through direct investment), cultural (through the flow of media products) and technological power (communication hardware) and result in most of the developing countries being relegated to the status of mere consumers of information sold as a commodity like any other.

The fact cannot therefore be blinked that the present information order, based as it is on a quasi-monopolistic concentration of power to communicate in the hands of a few developed nations, is incapable of meeting the aspirations of the international community, which stands in great need of a system capable of hastening more satisfactory dialogue, conducted in a spirit of mutual respect and dignity. (26)

26. Masmoudi, n. 19.

The dependence of the Third World in particular on the media essentially stems from the fact that most of them lack the economic base that would enable them to have a private media to serve social needs. Usually, vast expansion of communication was through broadcasting media, often government initiated and controlled. In the first development decade, the 1960s, creation of communication infrastructure for cultural communication (cinema, TV and radio stations) was accorded importance equal to that of newspaper. Indeed as the limitations upon the print media were recognized due to illiteracy and distribution problems, development of news media increasingly meant development of broadcast media whose prime emphasis is on music, entertainment and culture. To the less developed, all this was easily made available through government production. What little private sector operated had a tendency to import material, for it was an economically attractive option, particularly as television programmes and films in the U.S., could and can be rented at a cheaper cost than the cost of producing them domestically.²⁷ Thus the question of "media imperialism" and "cultural domination" were increasingly the focus of the debates on the NWIO.

27. Jeremy Tunstall, The Media are American (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), pp. 40-44. According to Thomas H. Guback, "in the 70s, though American films constituted only 5 per cent of the world production, they, occupied 50 per cent of the screen time of the free world," "The National and International Film Industry," in George

The debates on technology transfer has usually been carried out by specialists and received less attention in international organizations. However, many questions have been raised recently about technologies which were transferred rather uncritically during the "first development decade". Do western technologies benefit elite groups more than the Third World masses? Are capital intensive technologies appropriate in labour rich countries? These and other questions are applied to western media, MNC products and to communication technologies ranging from radio, film, TV to telephone, computers and satellites.

Transfer of all types of technology has a major communication component. International consultancies and management fees often follow hardware. Training of Third World nations in Western Universities and the importation of western methods through patents and royalties are also common features. These are all vehicles for communication of information.

The debate on information aspects of technology transfer is different from that on other information issues - such as mass culture or national sovereignty. In these

Footnote 27 Cont'd...

Gerbner (ed.), Mass Media Policies in Changing Cultures (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1977), p. 21.

areas, critics seek to limit flows of information and tend to complain of "dumping" by the West. The criticism regarding technology is that too little technical information is flowing, costs should be lowered, and the flows should be made easier and "freer" from regulation. Whereas the U.S. government favours the "free flow" of news and cultural information, the U.S. emphasis in technology transfer is upon the rights of corporations to regulate the flow of proprietary information, to insist upon adequate compensation and to restrict exports of technology deemed strategic.²⁸ What is important to note here is that the flow of messages through the media have been seen as contributing to the social appetite for more technology of all types. This point is proved, if the links between the media and MNCs are recalled.

Another allegation against the principle of free flow is that it is a pretext used by the U.S. to influence other countries development and to undermine national sovereignty.

The narrow interpretation of national sovereignty merely refers to the nation state's right to protect its borders from military aggression. The broadest interpretation of it grants governments the right to control not only the borders of the state but the physical, economic, social and information environment within those borders. The basis for caution over the

28. Report, n. 14, p. 86.

international flow of information is that "social change begins with welcomed or uninvited ideas which inevitably accompany the technical communications evolution".²⁹ Therefore, all societies try to channel social change by regulating the creation and distribution of information.

The traditional preoccupation with alleged infringement of national sovereignty was related to international shortwave broadcasting.³⁰ Today, the concerns are expressed by the West European, Canadian and Third World spokesmen over the capabilities of new satellite technologies. The U.S. is the focus of the attack as it leads the world in these areas. The main issues raised were the Direct Broadcast by Satellites to televisions in other countries, data about resources collected through remote sensing satellites and international movement of computer data through satellite channels. These are seen as challenging the national sovereignty of receiver countries. Hence, the new order alleges that Direct Broadcast by Satellites, using of remote sensing satellites for gathering information about resources and transborder computer data flows without prior consent of the receiving country is a violation of national sovereignty.

29. Ibid., p. 96.

30. For detailed information on international shortwave broadcasting issue, see Ibid., section on "International Telecommunications Union", pp. 35-43.

The critics of the present information order have in recent years used the UNESCO as a forum to present their views on the NWIO. The organization from its inception, had promoted the free flow of ideas through the mass media as a means for better understanding among peoples and mutual exchange of knowledge. This reflected the influence of Western powers in the UNESCO that was enhanced by the boycott of the Soviet Union of the organization till 1954.

In the early years, the main emphasis of the UNESCO programme were in building communication infrastructures in the developing world. Behind this was the tacit assumption that the exposure to mass media would create attitudes, favourable to modernization and development. In other words, the communication content was given much less emphasis by the organization than the development of communication infrastructure in the 50s and 60s.

Although it was not until the 1970s that dependence upon western models became a major issue, there were inklings of what was to come in the 60s. Regional meetings on news and information³¹ were convened by the UNESCO where problems of regional information flow came to the fore. However, the focus was on the quantity rather than quality of news dissemi-

31. The meetings were held at Bangkok in 1960, in Santiago 1961 and in Paris 1962. Ibid., p. 27.

mation. Further, it was contended that there was no contradiction between freedom of information and communication policies which tend to integrate the development of the media with the overall planning of national development. Interpreted, this could mean that despite certain common aspects in all communication systems, their functions and objectives will vary according to the social system and political philosophy of a given country and its degree of development. It is because of this diversity that there is so much controversy about the UNESCO's efforts at developing guidelines governing the behaviour of nations in the field of communications.

The debates over the world information order rose to a high pitch at the 19th General Conference of UNESCO in 1976 in Nairobi. The Conference focussed its attention on the draft of the mass media declaration discussed in the earlier conferences. Again, as in the previous meetings of the UNESCO, the clause mandating governmental responsibility "for the activities in the international sphere of all mass media under their jurisdiction", stirred up a big controversy. The proponents repeated and intensified the criticisms voiced at the earlier meetings of the UNESCO which pointed to imbalance in information flow and to distortion and cultural bias in reporting and in cultural products from the West. The opponents of the draft concurred in the view that there was an imbalance in the world information flow and a need to correct it. But, they were

nation.

Thus, support for the basic tenet of "free flow" continued to characterize most UNESCO statements throughout the 1960s. By 1970s, however, the situation changed. In 1970, the Sixteenth General Conference of the UNESCO, directed the UNESCO Secretariat to assist member states in formulating mass communication policies in such a way as to integrate communication in the national development process. The next General Conference in 1972 called upon the major communicating countries to recognize their international responsibilities to prevent mass media from becoming vehicles for "the domination of world public opinion or the source of moral and cultural pollution". Further it warned that the one-way flow from only countries with dominant influence over international communications might seriously harm the cultural values of other countries and called for a code of ethics for communication.

The first issue which the UNESCO took was of Direct Broadcasting by Satellites (DBS). This was a future possibility at that time, but it alarmed many countries particularly the Soviet Union and the Third World, who feared the massive incursion of foreign ideas and influence into their countries. The criticism focussed on the U.S. media power and

technology (symbolized impressively by the U.S. lead in communication satellites) which would harm local ethics aims, cultures and media institutions. Accordingly, in 1971, the UNESCO developed draft declaration governing the use of DBS and provided that DBS signals must not be transmitted without prior consent of receiving countries. At the 17th General Conference it was adopted by consensus.³²

At the 1974 general conference, the theme of "free flow" was again discussed. The view was expressed that free flow had little meaning for those who lack the means to communicate. It was felt that before states could participate equally in the flow, they would have to be on a "free and equal footing". Thus, there was a call for practical action which would strengthen and expand communication capabilities and help correct imbalances. The conference also discussed the first draft of the media declaration, and mandated a series of regional inter-governmental meetings on communication policies. The first two were held - one at San Jose in Costa Rica, and the other in Kuala Lumpur in Malaysia. Both the San Jose and Kuala Lumpur conferences insisted that a free flow of information would really exist when all the countries have equal access to all sources of information, and take part on an equal footing in the control over and use of international channels of infor-

32. Ibid.

not prepared to accept what they perceived as an overly restrictive order.

The conference deferred any decision on the mass media draft declaration due to a lack of consensus. In its place, a resolution inviting the Director General to hold further consultations with the goal of preparing a final draft of mass media declaration which would be generally acceptable was adopted.

The Nairobi Conference also accepted unanimously a resolution offered by Tunisia. This resolution grew out of the 1976 Colombo Conference of Heads of State of the non-aligned in which Tunisia was given mandate to present the UNESCO with a new information order. It made specific mention of the Non-Aligned New Agencies Pool and called upon the Secretary General to give assistance to it. Since Nairobi, efforts have continued to develop a satisfactory draft of a mass media declaration.

Another important outgrowth of Nairobi Conference was the constitution of an International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems with Sean McBride as its President. The Commission comprised of 16 members, all eminent in the field of communications and representatives of a wide spectrum of ideas. The Commission was directed to conduct a two-year study "of the totality of communication problems in the modern

world". After submitting an 'interim report' in 1978, the Commission submitted its Final Report to the 21st General Conference of UNESCO in October 1980 in Belgrade. McBride concluded that the Commission should answer four questions:

- What is meant by free and balanced flow of information?
- What does the 'new information order' mean and what is its relationship to the 'new economic order'?
- How can the "right to communicate" be achieved?
- How can objectivity and independence of the media be assumed?

At the 20th General Conference of the UNESCO in 1978, the revised draft declaration on the use of media was again discussed. After strenuous negotiations, the conference succeeded in producing a revised draft that gained broad support and was eventually adopted by consensus.³³ At the same conference, three resolutions were adopted which recognized the aspirations of the developing nations to seek "a more just and effective world information order". Subsequently, in the UN General Assembly recognition was accorded in the passing of a "new world information order" in December of

33. The Declaration of Fundamental Principles concerning the contribution of the Mass Media to strengthening peace and international understanding, the promotion of Human Rights and the countering Racialism, Apartheid and incitement to war, UNESCO's Mass Media Declaration adopted on 22 November 1978, by UNESCO Conference.

the same year.

The new order thus sought to establish relations of equality in the communication field between developed and developing nations and aimed at greater justice and greater balance. However, far from questioning the principle of freedom of information, it proposed to ensure that this principle is applied fairly and equitably to all nations and not only to the more developed among them.

The debate is by no means over yet. The submission of the McBride Commission Report to the 21st General Conference at Belgrade in 1980 has provided some concrete proposals for redressal of the Third World information problems. The Conference which tabled the Report for consideration reiterated support for "freedom of the press and information" but also suggested measures acknowledging the principle of media control. It clearly suggested that the UNESCO has a legitimate role in setting press standards. Not surprisingly, it was not agreed to by the countries supporting free flow and free media.

Chapter II

THE US ROLE IN WORLD WIDE MASS COMMUNICATIONS

As the Second World War was nearing its end, it was evident that the United States would emerge from the war as a dominant economic and political power. In the years following the war the economy and media of the Western Europe were slowly rebuilt and many of the colonies of Europe became independent. In the new international system that emerged, the U.S. became a major source of influence. However, the appearance of the Soviet Union as a rival was the most important factor which conditioned its foreign policy in the post war period.

In the quarter century after the Second World War, the U.S. was able to expand its trading capacity to the maximum and retain its position as an economic giant. America's success was partly due to the great flow of its media goods to the rest of the world. American publishers, press agencies, news services, film makers and broadcasters offered their products on an unprecedented scale to a largely receptive world except to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Neither did America have any significant competitors (barring Britain) in the international media market. The wide reception to its media products and the phenomenal increase in its audience seemed to create an empathy among nations for the system of

values espoused by America generally. Perhaps the words of Henry Luce in a Life editorial as early as 1941 were prophetic, urging the Americans to "accept wholeheartedly our duty and opportunity as the most powerful and vital nation in the world and in consequence to exert upon the world the full impact of our influence for such purposes as we see fit and by such means as we see fit".¹

It was appropriate too that the looming "American Century" should have been announced by the controller of one of the most powerful communication complexes in the United States. As the Director of Life-Time chain, Luce understood earlier than others that the fusion of economic strength and information control was the new quintessence of domestic and international power. But the recognition that economic power coupled with information control could further the creation of an American century came slowly. America's economic power as an instrument of international influence came first, communication possibilities were appreciated later. Today, however, media products are among the biggest exports of America, The sale of Boeing Aircraft to China, wheat to Russia, multinational corporation products etc. were prominent symbols of trade; to these were added news services, magazines, films and TV programmes. As the American media expanded globally, they were able to promote

1. Quoted in Herbert I. Schiller, Mass Communications and American Empire (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1969), p. 1.

the sales of various products through a variety of marketing techniques primarily through advertising. Despite being the largest supplier of media goods to the rest of the world, America uses very few foreign media products itself. International news for instance is given largely by Associated Press and United Press International (AP and UPI), two of the world's major wireless agencies owned by American enterprises. American TV system is perhaps the most closed to foreign programming (excepting China).²

It is not surprising therefore that the American dominance of the flow of information/communication has come under severe attack. Critics from the Third World, Eastern bloc and some western allies like Canada, are profoundly uneasy at the overwhelming influence of the American media. The Third World spokesmen argue that it is in fact a "one-way-flow" rather than "a free flow" of goods and that this dominance in the information system is a corollary to the American dominance of the world economic system. It is important therefore to analyse the U.S. role in world communications as it would provide a vantage point to understand the U.S. response to the rising demand for a new information order.

2. Tapio Varis, "Global Traffic in Television", Journal of Communication (Philadelphia), 24 (Winter 1978) Table 1, p. 104.

Why the US responds to the demand for a new information order the way it does? One can easily identify three reasons for its response: (i) ideological, (ii) economic; and (iii) political.

The twentieth century has witnessed major advances in science and technology which has led to changes in communication environment. In the present times, information plays a paramount role in international relations both as a means of communication between peoples and as an instrument of knowledge and understanding (from the developed to the less developed) between nations. Moreover, the role of information is all the more crucial to present international politics because the international community now possesses, as a result of the communication revolution, sophisticated and rapid means of communication which make it possible to transmit information almost instantaneously to different parts of the world. Most of routine activities from flight reservations across borders to complex business data flow are assisted by and through private inter or intra company communication networks which are global in character. Hence it is often said that we live in a "global society".³ Information reception and transmission are equally critical to government activities as well. A large

3. The "global village" concept was made popular by Marshall McLuhan a noted communication and media scholar in Understanding Media (London: Sphere Books, 1964).

number of government functions from national security, weather forecasts, law enforcements or disaster relief are becoming increasingly dependent on computer and telecommunication technology.⁴

Thus, it is clear that the flow of information across the borders without any barriers is an ideal to follow and strive for. The United States has been its chief exponent and its pioneering efforts to promote this philosophy of free flow had resulted in the incorporation of the principle in the UN declaration of Human Rights in 1948. The rationale behind this principle can be traced from the time of Thomas Jefferson who said in 1804:

No experiment can be more interesting than that we are now trying, and which we trust will end in establishing the fact, that man may be governed by reason and truth. Our first object should therefore be, to leave open to him all the avenues of truth. The most effectual hitherto found is the freedom of the Press. It is therefore the first shut up /sic/ by those who fear the investigations of their actions. (5)

The first amendment to the American Constitution carried this philosophy further by guaranteeing the freedom of the

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4. William B. Pierce and Nicolas Jequier, "Telecommunications and Development", The American Review (New Delhi), 24 (Autumn, 1979), pp. 23-27. The article provides excellent discussion on how telecommunications aid development.
 5. Thomas Jefferson to John Tyler, 28 June 1804 in Leonard W. Levy (ed.), Freedom of the Press From Zenger to Jefferson: Early American Liberatarian Theories (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill and Co., 1966), pp. 361-62.

press. The American media are built upon this first amendment, following the British tradition of using the press as an independent watchdog and check upon the government. This has historically been interpreted to mean that communications should be a largely non-governmental activity in the United States. The American tradition is thus linked to three basic freedoms: of worship, enterprise and speech. "Free speech" in the U.S. became "free flow" internationally. President Harry S. Truman's speech in March 1947, at Baylor University, Texas, made clear that the America's global role was linked with these freedoms. Noting that the United States was the giant of the post war economic world, he said that "... the future patterns of economic relations depends upon us. The world is watching to see what we shall do. The choice is ours". He then went on to declare that "there is one thing that American value even more than peace: It is freedom: freedom of worship, speech and enterprise". He also called for a pattern of international trade which would be conducive to freedom of enterprise" ...one in which major decisions are not made by governments but by private buyers under conditions of competition".⁶

How communications could help the attainment of these objectives, the President did not specify. But in retrospect,

6. Schiller, n. 1, p. 6.

it is quite apparent that it was hoped that communications, particularly international communications would play a role conducive to free enterprise. In fact the doctrine of free flow of information should be viewed not as just the doctrine of free press, but extension of older Western doctrines of "free trade" and "freedom of the seas". The propagation of these freedoms gave the West and America in particular, subsequent dominance. In effect then, American philosophical commitment to these "freedoms" gave it enormous commercial advantages. With legal sanction of the U.N. for the principle of free flow, the U.S. could and did expand its foreign markets, reinforcing its position of leadership in the economic world.

The promotion of the free flow philosophy was given a heightened emphasis in the period immediately after the war. It was an especially propitious time to extol the virtues of unrestricted information and resource movements. The consequence of Nazi occupation had traumatized Europe and a good part of the rest of the world. Freedom of information was a legitimate aspiration of occupied nations and peoples. Free information flows could not only be contrasted with the fascist mode of operations, but were associated with the hope for peace by war-weary peoples everywhere.

The U.S. advocates of easy movement of information capitalized heavily on this prevailing climate of opinion by ensuring that international organizations like the U.N. and

one of its organs the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), would put great emphasis on the free flow issue.⁷ This was comparatively easy as the West European members also shared the value of "freedoms". Besides, they were facing economic crises and dependent on American assistance. The Latin American member states had no capacity to withstand North American pressure. The few Middle Eastern, Asian or African countries then participating in the U.N., with a few exceptions, were still subject to the Western Empire's in real terms. In sum, the UN in the years immediately after the war, with the exception of Russia and the Eastern bloc, usually adopted the American proposals by an automatic majority. In this atmosphere the U.N.'s endorsement of the free flow was not surprising.

From the beginning the UNESCO prominently espoused the free flow of information as its constitution testified, with the U.S. delegation taking the initiative. A free flow of information section was created in the Mass Communication division of the UNESCO.

Efforts to gain wide international support for the free flow in the following two decades after 1948 by the U.S.

7. UN Declaration of Human Rights, 1948, Article 19 and the Constitution of UNESCO, Article I, Section 2.

was inconclusive to some extent. Nonetheless, it succeeded in getting the world organization committed to the doctrine of free flow.⁸

The economic aspects of the free flow policy was the promotion of the media. New communication technology - computers, communication satellites, TV etc. combined with a powerful and expanding corporate business system, assisted the push of the U.S. into the center of the world economy. American media products and its informational networks blanketed the world.

But these economic aspects, though no secret, were overshadowed by the remarkable political campaign organized by the big press associations and publishers,⁹ with the support of the industry in general to elevate the issue of free flow of information to the highest level of national and international principle. This rallied the public opinion to the support of a commercial goal expressed as an ethical imperative. Simultaneously, it provided the U.S. with a highly effective ideologi-

8. For the chronology of the issue of free flow in the international organization see Herbert I. Schiller, "Free Flow of Information - For Whom?" in George Gerbner (ed.), Mass Media Policies in Changing Cultures (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1977), pp. 109-112. See also Appendix I.

9. Ibid., p. 109.

cal weapon against the Soviet Union in the Cold War.¹⁰

The fundamental premise of free enterprise "access to capital governs access to message dissemination" was unacceptable to societies which had eliminated private ownership of property. Therefore, the free flow issue gave the American policy managers a powerful cultural argument to combat an alternate form of social organization. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles' statement that "if I were to be granted one point of foreign policy and no other, I would make it the free flow of information,"¹¹ very well illustrates this point. To promote the doctrine of free flow was of primary interest to the U.S. in the context of the Cold War.

Thus, the early years after the war saw the free flow of American goods into different parts of the globe. But by the seventies, the situation had changed. Expansion of international communications did not seem to many as having improved international understanding. America's traditional adversaries, the Eastern bloc, the Third World and some Western allies like Canada joined in questioning: (i) the

10. U.S., House of Representatives, 90th Congress, 1 session, Sub-committee of International Organizations and Movements, of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Hearings on, Modern Communication and Foreign Policy (Washington D.C., Government Printing Office, 1967). It emphasized the use of free flow of communications as an ideological weapon in the Cold War.

11. Quoted in Schiller, n. 8, p. 110.

threat to national sovereignty implied by the U.S. preeminence in computers, remote sensing and communication technology; (ii) the "cultural imperialism" reflected in the U.S. exports of publications, films and TV programmes and (iii) the "bias" of American news agency coverage of foreign affairs, particularly of the developing world.

In order to understand the intensity of feeling in the Third World against the US domination of the current information order, one must understand all dimensions of the commercial nature of US media. No other major country in the world has a communication system so dedicated to private ownership and to the profit motive as the United States. Very few countries share the Anglo-American tradition of free press. In most countries of the world (including some Western countries), telecommunications industries and broadcasting facilities are in public hands. In several West European countries, the press receives direct government subsidies.¹² In America, the resources allocated to public broadcasting are a small fraction of those given over to commercial broadcasting.¹³ The only major subsidies to the private media are indirect, such as preferential rates for publications and broadcaster's

12. Jeremy Tunstall, "The American Role in World Wide Communications", n. 8, p. 6.

13. See "Politics of Public TV", Columbia Journalism Review (July/August 1972), p. 13.

use of scarce public airwaves without charge (although under government regulation). This pattern has encouraged rapid early growth of new media in the United States.

Within this encouraging environment, the American media sought revenue from the market unlike European and other media, who relied on direct government subsidy or subsidy from a political party. "Free enterprise" media at the American national level led to limited competition, the surviving national firms entered the world arena with an aggressive marketing orientation, combined quite often with cartel behaviour. In sum, in the U.S., decisions regarding what to communicate (and what to ignore) and how to communicate are made on the basis of commercial criteria.

Rapid American media expansion in the early stages was accompanied by technological advancements and innovations. Once innovated, the technology was quickly standardized. Commercial, legal and political battles were fought on patents, law suits, industry supported legislation etc. These innovations were then sold to other countries.

The American marketing orientation saw the media audience as the basis of media enterprise. The media products and marketing techniques accordingly were aimed at capturing a large slice of the total available audience. The American audience which did not until recently include blacks or poor

whites as they lacked revenue prospects, is comprised partly of emigrants and hence the contents of the media had to be standardized. Each medium developed a characteristic one. For example, magazines focussed on stories and features, records and radio on popular tunes, films on the fictional drama, television in due course focussed various kinds of serial drama and adaptations of the standard contents of the other media. They projected a bland ideology of various cultures according to the local requisites and projected the same quality of "transnationalism" when exported abroad. In other words, there appeared a new type of "communicator". Whether journalists, producer or director, he differed from the earlier European models in that, he saw himself primarily as a value-neutral "professional", stressing technical and presentation skills; typical European loyalties to political party and artistic reference groups were downgraded.¹⁴ The "professional" orientation has been influential among the mass communicators of the world; this ensures that even in a country where few American media products are imported, communicators especially in a major national media look toward New York or Los Angeles (or London) for leadership and ideas. Thus the American media or "mass communicators", differed from the early European models. Perhaps the "mass" quality is one of

14. Tunstall, n.12, p. 7.

the most striking aspect of these communication complexes. The earlier connotations of media communications were primarily through print media, institutionalised by the "Press". "Journalism" was the key word for the operations of the media. The printed media informed and enlightened the public, interpreted events and issues, challenged capricious authority, entertained the populace, and even, to a limited degree brought together the buyers and sellers of goods and services. However, the introduction and expansion of electronic media has changed the traditional meaning. The all pervasive modern communications complex can hardly fall within the traditional means of journalism. Advertising has become an important adjunct of the marketing system. It has become the mainstay of many communication industries with the financial support it gives. Further, media are used extensively to nurture public relations between buyers and sellers. These manipulative intents of a seller who uses the medium can scarcely fit in the original conception of media functions. Today, one may more correctly speak of "mass communication" or the "mass media" than of "journalism" when referring to media other than news papers or magazines.¹⁵

It can be argued that, in a sense, any communication uses some medium or channel for transmission. But in mass communi-

15. A. Fontenilles, The Mass Media in the United States (Paris : Dunod, 1967), pp. 6-7.

cations, a whole institution becomes a message carrier carrying its messages to millions of people at various places simultaneously. But it does not mean that mass communications are for everyone; the media select their audiences for the transmission of a particular message and the audiences to a lesser extent are able to select among and within the media according to their tastes. Among the international audience, however, selection is a one way process as the media can select and create audiences while the audiences cannot really choose the particular items of interest they may wish to know about.

As these media were able to reach vast audiences, they are able to influence the social, economic and political order of the places they operate. As many scholars have observed, the mass media have become "our new languages" in which people communicate with each other through the media.¹⁶

In tracing the pattern of diffusion of American media influence an important fact must be noted. In the early stages of the development of the media in the US, the American market for each new medium exceeded the market in the rest of the world. From 1850 to 1880 and probably longer, more than half the world's daily newspapers sale was in the U.S. In the early 1920s, the U.S. had more than half the world's radios,

16. Edmund Carpenter, "Our New Languages, the Mass Media", in Fontenilles, n. 15, pp. 11-16

in 1930 the U.S. still had 43 per cent and now has 13 per cent of the world's radio sets.¹⁷ In 1954 only 16.8 per cent of the world's TV sets were not in the U.S.¹⁸ By the 60s, the growth of the media in American market reached a higher peak.

The table on page 60 shows the trend of this growth of the media in United States in 1968.¹⁹

By the 70s American media dominance became marked in foreign markets as well. As was natural, other nations looked to the U.S. for leadership in every aspect of the media. The leadership has in recent decades been assisted by the fact that media interests are not only confined to being sellers of information but have diversified into various communication industries. The diversification of investments by the media owners into new channels of communication has created large multi-media conglomerates.²⁰ In effect, the continuing importance of all the major American media in the world is due to the one medium reinforcing another. For example,

17. Tunstall, n. 8, p. 5.

18. Ibid.

19. William L. Rivers and Wilbur Schramm, "The Impact of Mass Communications" in Robert Atwan, Barry Orton and William Vestermann (eds.), American Mass Media: Industries and Issues (New York: Random House, 1978), p. 11.

20. Rita Cruise O'Brien, "Mass Media Ownership" Document presented to the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems (Paris: UNESCO, 1978), p. 8. Also see Times of India (New Delhi), 2 May 1977.

Mass Communication Media in the United States (1968)

Medium	Number of Units	Circulation and Audiences	Financial support
Books	1,600 publishers of one or more titles annually 87 publish 60% of books	2,8600 titles, 933 million copies per year	By sales estimated about 1.5 billion annually
Daily Newspapers	1,754 dailies	62 million copies a day	70% from advertising, 30% from cir- culation, total ad income about 4.5 billion
Magazines	2,630 publishing houses	49 magazines have 1 million circulation each	Advertising and circulation in varying propor- tions, total income over 1.6 billion
Television	617 commercial stations, 156 edu- cational; 3 large networks	55 million receiving sets, 10 million colour receiv- ing sets.	Advertising mostly (Time sales), total income 2 billion
Radio	4,100 AM stations; 1,600 FM; 4 large networks	More than 250 million receiv- ing sets.	Advertising time sales; total income 0.8 billion
Films	6 large studios; numerous independent producers; 16,000 theatres.	Weekly atten- dance about 59 million	Attendance and small local ad- vertising income estimated 1.5 billion

Source : William L. Rivers and Wilbur Schramm, "The Impact of Mass Communications" in Robert Atwan, Barry Orton and William Vestermann (eds.), American Mass Media: Industries and Issues (New York: Random House, 1978), p. 11.

leadership in electronic media is supported by American dominance in the distribution of world news and its still expanding share of the world's advertising.²¹

The entry of America into the "post-industrial" phase by becoming an "information society" has enhanced the role of the media. As Zbigniew Brezezinski wrote:

The post industrial society is becoming "technetronic": a society that is shaped culturally, psychologically, socially and economically by the impact of technology and electronics ... particularly in the area of computers and communications. The industrial process is no longer the principal determinant of social change, altering the mores, the social structure, and the values of society. (22)

Futurist Alvin Toffler²³ contended that the products of communication revolution like home video and audio recorders will bring about more diversity rather than homogeneity.

The term "post-industrial" society was used to denote the fact there was increased specialisation and growth of the so called service sector of economy. It meant that there is a rapid shift of the work force away from the manufacturing sector toward the service sector. There are two ways of looking at an

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21. Herbert I. Schiller, "Communication Accompanies Capital Flows" Document presented to the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems (Paris: UNESCO, 1978). It describes fully the role of American advertising agencies.
 22. Zbigniew Brezezinski, Between Two Ages: America's Role in Technetronic Era (New York: Viking Press, 1970), p. 9.
 23. Alvin Toffler, Future Shock (New York: Penguin, 1973).

economy; through the classification of labour force involved and through the primary, secondary and tertiary sectors involved. According to the conventional classification, labour is tripartite - agriculture, industry and services. In America, however, there has appeared, according to scholars, a fourth sector; that of information.²⁴ The statistics indicate that in the first stage (1860-1906) the single largest group of workers were in the agricultural sector. In the second stage (1906-1954) industrial workforce was predominant. In the third stage (1954 - present) the workforce is predominantly centered in service sector and significantly in the information sector. From a low of 5 per cent of the workforce in 1860, the information workforce has grown to about 47 per cent. By late 60s, this group earned over 53 per cent of all employee compensation, and by 70s close to half the workforce in the U.S. was classified as information workers.²⁵

What exactly are the components of the information sector? It can be divided into primary and secondary sectors.

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24. Marc Uri Porat, The Information Economy: Definition and Measurement, Report produced for the Office of Telecommunications/Dept. of Commerce (Washington D.C., Government Printing Office, 1977). He deals with the information activity as an economic activity and complete exposition of sources, methods and findings of information activity is available.
25. Marc Uri Porat, "Global Implications of the Information Society", Journal of Communication (Philadelphia), 30 (Winter 1979), pp. 70-80. Figure 1 in the article gives a complete picture of the growth of the U.S. economy into an information economy, and the distribution of the workforce.

The group of industries which produce, process, or transmit knowledge, communication and information goods or services are termed the "primary" information sector. On the service side, these industries include electronic and print media, advertising, education, telecommunication services, components of finance and insurance, libraries, consulting and research and development firms. On the goods side are included computer communication, electronic equipment manufactures office and business machines and printing. The media clearly fall into this sector.

The information goods and services produced in a non-market context, i.e. not specifically exchanged in an established market are labelled "secondary information sector". These are generally internal information consumed and produced by non-information firms like auto, steel etc. They are a mixture of research and development, legal services, clerical and marketing information services etc. These are essentially "information inputs" for non-information activities and as such are not marketed directly. But they are exported as a "hidden cost" as a part of the price of the non-information goods. They are exported explicitly in the form of scientific and technical knowledge.

The present criticism of the advocates of the new information order and the UNESCO Mass Media Declaration would

indicate that the media question has been repeatedly raised for two reasons. Firstly, the media derive an enormous amount of income from overseas. It has been calculated from the available evidence that these media are substantially involved in foreign markets. By 1973, two hundred leading newspapers outside the U.S. were subscribing to either New York Times or the Washington Post - Los Angeles Times supplementary news services.

The New York Times sold its news and column to 350 clients in 40 countries. Transmitting by cable exclusively, the Times news service operated for 14 hours a day and moved an average of 35,000 words in that period. The Washington Post - Los Angeles Times news service has 225 clients, 100 of them outside the U.S. in 43 different countries and like the New York Times service 35,000 words are transmitted every day.²⁶

Two of the world's largest news agencies are Associated Press (AP) and United Press International (UPI). It was estimated that in the 70s, they had the largest circulation of news. The AP currently has more than 10,000 subscribers in some 107 countries, more than half of them overseas. The UPI

26. UNESCO, World Communications (Paris: The UNESCO Press, 1975), p. 201. For full information on the influence of U.S. newspapers over the world see George Gerbner and George Marvanyi, "The Many World's of the World's Press", Journal of Communication (Philadelphia), 27 (Winter 1977), pp. 58-59.

operates in 114 countries with 6,900 subscribers. It transmits 6 million words a day.²⁷ In 1973, the annual report of the UPI boasted that its stories were translated into 49 languages.²⁸

In the field of magazines, Reader's Digest has attained a record circulation of 12 million copies a month.²⁹ Time and Newsweek³⁰ have specially edited foreign editions.

Export earnings from the U.S. visual industry namely Hollywood films and Television films amounted to more than \$ 335 millions in 1973. According to an estimate made by a UNESCO survey of mass media in 200 countries, over 55% of U.S. film earnings are regularly accounted for by remittances abroad.³¹ This is mainly from the distribution of domestic production; but a large part of it is from coproductions with foreign film-making interests and from earnings from US-financed

27. Ibid.

28. William H. Read, America's Mass Media Merchants (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1976), p. 3.

29. Interim Report on Communication Problems in Modern Society by the UNESCO International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems (Paris: UNESCO, 1978), p. 40.

30. "Newsweek International delivers 1.5 million readers every week", Advertisement, New York Times, 20 December 1972.

31. n. 26, p. 205. Also see Thomas Guback, "The International Film Industry", in George Gerbner (ed.), Mass Media Policies in Changing Cultures (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1977), pp. 21-38.

enterprises incorporated in other producing countries.

The most comprehensive inventory of the cross-national flow of television and film programs available indicated that in 1973 "the United States is still the biggest TV programme exporter in the world and in most countries of the world American TV programmes compose a major part of all the imported programmes".³²

The international commerce in so far as the U.S. is concerned, is dominated by a handful of organizations that also hold a commanding position in the domestic market. In the print media they are the two major news agencies AP and UPI along with the supplementary services of New York Times, Washington Post - Los Angeles Times and International Herald Tribune. Time, Newsweek and Reader's Digest are dominant in the field of magazines. The visual media consists of Motion pictures of Hollywood and Telefilms by NBC, ABC, and CBS. Undoubtedly their foreign operations earn a very large revenue. Besides that, the media question has also been raised because these media are considered influential in foreign countries.³³ In

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32. Robert Lewis Shayon, "Television International", *Ibid.*, p. 41. Also see Tapio Varis, "Global Traffic in Television", Journal of Communication (Philadelphia), 24 (Winter 1974), pp. 102-09 and William H. Read, "Global TV Flow: Another Look", *Ibid.*, 26 (Summer 1976), p. 69.
33. For a detailed discussion on how cultural products of the U.S. influence other countries, see Report on the United States and the debate on world Information Order (New Delhi: American Center, 1978), section on "Mass Culture", pp. 72-81.

short, they have a world wide dissemination, a substantial financial stake abroad and a significant foreign impact.

The U.S. philosophy of free enterprise and free flow has thus enabled its economic interests to flourish and dominate the world. This linkage is more apparent when one considers the fact that Multinational Corporations (MNCs) or Transnational Enterprises (TNEs) are increasingly involved in information industries.³⁴ The transnational media are able to provide the ideologically supportive informational infrastructure of the world market economy in which the MNCs operate. The main characteristics of a typical MNC were described by the New York Times as follows:

Overseas activity - operates in at least 6 countries and its foreign subsidiaries account for at least 20 per cent of its total assets, sales or labour force.

Size - Annual sales of at least 100 million

Growth and profit - Above average

Management practices - it devotes a high proportion of resources to research and advertising.

Ownership - mostly American.³⁵

34. Tapio Varis, "Aspects of the Impact of TNEs on Communication", International Social Sciences Journal (Paris) 4 (July 1976), pp. 808-30.

35. New York Times, "What a Multi-National Company is" 19 June 1972.

These MNCs, totally in command of the domestic communications circuiting through advertising also exert influence in international communications through organization and manufacturing of information. Further, they influence the very structure of the media by exporting "consumerism" through international advertising. The national media structures are thus transformed into the conduits of the corporate business system. The ownership pattern of the media provides further evidence of this transformation.

Ownership in the media of both Europe and North America is characterized by the increasing growth of conglomerates taking over and diversifying into several sectors. There are examples of both horizontal and vertical integration, reflecting growing concentration of ownership. Horizontal control is typified by control over a single level of production, namely take over of newspapers and consolidation by a group. The Time group for example, owns Time Magazine, other major periodicals, a television company, 13 cable networks, a publishing house and an educational orders firm. Vertical integration or control over several levels of production by a parent company can be claimed when we consider the Time group as also owning forests and paper mills.³⁶

36. O'Brien, n. 19, The document provides interesting analysis of the ownership question and the linkages.

Advertising industry, though not a media industry strictly speaking, is a major adjunct of the media industries as it provides the base for them to operate, and as such deserves particular attention. The transnationalization is complete in the industry as 22 out of 27 world's largest advertising agencies are partly or wholly American.³⁷ "International advertising", writes one analyst "is almost entirely a U.S. industry".³⁸ "In each European country", one account reveals, "about half of the top ten billing agencies are U.S. owned, for example, in Belgium it is 6, Britain Netherlands 5 and so on".³⁹

The economic interests of the U.S. in the present order is clear. In promoting the ideology of free flow, America was able to secure commercial advantages which have given it a source of economic power. In fact, President Truman was more than prophetic when he had indicated that the American global role depended on "free flow" and "free trade". Further, American political power was undoubtedly boosted up by the strategies it pursued in the wake of its economic and ideological interests. According to some scholars, "the entire informational apparatus - from the mass media conduits of commercialism and the opinion polls run largely by marketeers to the

37. Advertising Age, 29 March 1976, p. 27.

38. Karl P. Sauvant, "Socio-Cultural Emancipation", n. 25, pp. 9-20.

39. Schiller, n. 20, p. 7.

formal educational system and para educational structures - functions to create popular acceptance of the goals and values of the 'goods economy'".⁴⁰ Therefore, informational interests are bound up with economic stakes the U.S. has in maintaining the present system of information.

Clearly describing the American interests in international communications, the U.S. state Department document on U.S. policy on International Communications said:

The United States has national security, political ideological, economic and technological stakes in international communications.

Our national security is dependent on advanced telecommunications system. Politically, we are committed to a broad exchange of information both domestically and internationally.

Our economic interest is obvious; our industrial base relies on adequate communication; Corporations have become increasingly dependent on world wide computer circuits. Moreover, the United States is the world's largest producer and consumer of telecommunications equipment and services. Exports of communications, computers and auxiliary hardware exceed \$ 5 billions per year. Technologically, the United States holds a lead in most areas of satellite communications, in fiber optic communications and in very large electronic switching systems ... on computer and data communications and in their applications, the United States is commercially dominant. (41)

40. Herbert I. Schiller, Mind Managers (Boston: Beacon Press, 1973), p. 149.

41. U.S. Department of State, Reports Submitted to Congress Pursuant to the Foreign Relations Authorisation Act, Fiscal Year 1979 (Public Law 95-426) (Washington D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1979), pp. 67-83.

In other words, the document was emphasising the vital stakes America had in international communications and the urgent need for evolving an overall communication policy. It can be reasonably supposed that these stakes would certainly condition the U.S. response to the New World Information Order which has contained vehement criticism of the U.S. dominance in international communications.

In conclusion, one can distinguish the advantages the U.S. obtained by supporting the ideology of "free flow". By making it an ethical imperative reinforced by the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights, it was provided with an effective ideological weapon against the Soviet Union in the Cold War. At the same time, the U.S. was able to get enormous commercial advantages to the American "free enterprises", and particularly the information industry.

The promotion of free flow provided an impetus for these industries to grow beyond their national boundaries. The communication revolution furthered their growth. The growth in communication technology enabled the U.S. media to communicate rapidly and simultaneously to many parts of the world. Since the media were able to reach a vast audience, the corporate business system of the U.S. used them extensively to capture overseas markets. Advertising was the primary technique used in the transmission of products.

The media strengthened the structure of the U.S. economy. Further, they derived significant amount of their revenue from the markets overseas. They also had a considerable impact on the culture of these societies.

However, the concentration of ownership of the media and the influence of the advertising industry changed the structure of the media. The U.S. had moved into a post-industrial society. The world itself was beginning to move in a space age, where access and ownership of information was important. Information was a key economic activity and media were the transmitters of vital economic messages. Hence any kind of control over the unrestricted flow of information would vitally affect these economic interests.

It is clear therefore that the U.S. espousal and staunch defense of the principle of "free flow" is to protect its economic interests. Further, the U.S. political interest is in opposing the ideological initiatives of the Soviet Union. Thus, in the U.S. view, challenge to the free flow was in effect a threat to its economic, political and ideological interests. Hence, it responded by vigorously opposing the call for a new order in information.

Chapter III

THE U.S. RESPONSE TO THE NEW WORLD INFORMATION ORDER

The call for a new world information order by the Third World reflects two major patterns of change. They are the substantive changes in the communication environment and the changing substance of the ideological debates. Inevitably, these changes are profoundly influencing the American response to the "New World Information Order" (NWIO).

As the U.S. is a nation with the greatest communication activity and impact on the rest of the world, its own arguments in the debate on NWIO clearly reveals its ideological, political and economic stakes in the present order. Further, it has led to the important question, namely, how can the U.S. handle the communication issues in the coming years? Here an attempt will be made to evaluate the response of the United States to the changes that have taken place in the international system.

What are these changes that have necessitated a reconceptualisation of American priorities in international communications? First, information has come to be seen as the transforming strategic resource of a new age. As the world has moved into a space age, information as a resource provides a unifying concept and is the key to the pattern of interrelationships of many issues that have so far been discussed

in international forums in isolated compartments.¹ The world is beginning to rely on information as a basic resource for the well being of every individual in every nation. Not only that, the significant growth of nations with non-Western cultures had led to cross-cultural international communication. Differing ideas on how to tackle various problems have become the substance of many international discussions. Issues range from meaning of laws and economic institutions to human rights and proper role of the Press.

Second, the number of people who are competing for access to knowledge and information necessary for modern standard of living has also arisen.² This has brought about a profound change in the communication environment. America's difficulties in the "technetronic" age has been compounded by all this.

Third, there has been a growing awareness of "interdependence" in world affairs. Dependence has long been established in much of the world where a large number of domestic

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1. See Testimony of Anthony G. Oettinger, Chairman of the Program on Information Resources Policy, Harvard University, to U.S. Senate, 95th Congress, I session, Subcommittee on International Cooperation of the Committee on Foreign Relations, Hearings on International Communications and Information (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1977), June 8-10, 1977, p. 33.
 2. Not only has the population doubled, the number of people who are literate have gone up. According to UNESCO Statistical Year Book of 1976 the number of students in higher education in countries around the world has doubled.

issues hinged upon what happened in more powerful neighbouring countries. But it is fast becoming obvious to the U.S. that many of its domestic problems have international dimensions and that the solution must be sought on a multilateral or even a global basis. The energy crisis for example, illustrates this situation. Further, the role of information in an interdependent world has underlined the need for the U.S. to reorder its communication priorities.³

The growth of interdependence should not mislead one to believe that it has superseded the conflict of interests among nations. On the contrary, interdependence has brought about conditions that either generate new conflicts or intensify the old ones. In view of the shifting emphasis in international relations from politics to economics today, interdependence has in fact led to more opportunity for abrasion when conflicting interests come to surface. For instance, the growing importance of economics had led the developing world to express reservations on the developed world's notions of growth, development, trade competition, prices and supply and demand. The principle of free trade and free flow so dear to the West, has come to be

3. This is illustrated by the fact that the information industries are increasingly intertwined. For full information see Oettinger, n. 1, p. 34. Also see Anthony G. Oettinger and Peter Sharpiro, "Information Industries in the United States", 1975 Brittanica Book of the Year, 1975, pp. 18-22.

seen as reinforcing its economic dominance.⁴

The demand of the Third World for a new information order has been made partly in response to the American dominance in the world economy which is strengthened by its command over international communication. NWIO thus takes two forms: In its ideological manifestations it is critical of imbalances which exist in the economic and informational field. In its pragmatic form it seeks to evolve institutions like the non-aligned Press Pool which will hopefully contribute toward the establishment of a more just and equitable order.

All these changes have heralded a fundamental change in the U.S. perception of communication priorities. On looking back on the American communication activities of the post Second World War period, it is obvious that Cold War concerns had much to do with the style and content of both Government and private programs.⁵ American communication in foreign

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4. The challenges have led the Third World to develop their own theories regarding growth and development. The best example is the Dependencia Theorists of Latin America. In the challenge to the "journalism" of the free flow, there has grown a concept of "developmental journalism" formulated by the Press Foundation of Asia. This theory saw flow of news as capable of playing an important role in the drive for development. The Indian case is a good example in how this non-commercial approach of media is helpful. See, the special issue "The Village and the Communicator", Seminar (New Delhi), 235, March 1979.
 5. L.J. Halle, The Cold War as History (New York: Harper and Row, 1967), J. Stoeisinger, Nations in Darkness: China, Russia and America (New York: Random House, 1971). Both document the way the Cold War perceptions became the frame of reference for policy decisions on all sides of the "Cold" conflict.

affairs has stressed ideological concerns by advocacy and persuasion. But can the US continue with the same policy despite the changes that have taken place? How has it responded to the changes?

The U.S. perception of the challenge posed by the critics of the "free flow of information" has gone through several phases. It was first believed that this opposition primarily rested on the wishes of totalitarian states to shield their people from outside information and perpetuate their own rule. However, the challenges from the Third World and some western allies changed this outlook to some extent. This belief had overlooked the fact that most countries in the world have deep and honest differences with the U.S. regarding the appropriate role of mass media within societies and internationally. The increasing debate on this and other issues relating to communication has made the U.S. realize that in an increasingly interdependent world, it is in the interest of America to promote a world information order which would suit the new demands for cross-cultural understanding. Fundamentally however, the U.S. continues to believe that the First Amendment principle (that of free press) is absolutely necessary for the development of any society; and "free flow" the basis for international understanding. This belief persists, notwithstanding the modifications that have appeared in the U.S. response.

The beginning of criticism of the information order by the Third World can be traced to the draft declaration of the UNESCO governing the use of Direct Broadcasting by Satellites (DBS) in 1971. It was a perfect micro issue for the critics from the Third World, the Soviet Union and some Western countries to come together. The resolution provided that Direct Satellite Broadcast signals must not be transmitted without prior consent of receiving countries. In the seventeenth General Conference of the UNESCO in Paris in 1972, the resolution was adopted almost unanimously with the U.S. casting the single dissident vote (102 to 1). The Soviets later introduced a similar resolution in the U.N. General Assembly calling for the elaboration of principles governing DBS and the resolution was approved. The General Assembly referred it to the UN Committee on Peaceful Uses of Outer Space (COPUOS) to study and formulate principles to govern DBS.⁶ The group has been meeting periodically trying to reconcile the basic difference between the Soviet position that failure to obtain prior consent is a violation of national sovereignty and the U.S. position that this is censorship at the source and an abridgement of the universal right to receive and impart information. Explaining the U.S. stance on the DBS issue, Leonard H. Marks, former Director of U.S. Information Agency,

6. See Appendix I for full information on how the DBS issue was taken up in the UN.

stated before a Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs that the exciting possibility of direct transmission of radio and television programs aroused the other countries anxieties as "... their citizens might receive facts and opinions contrary to those reported by their national news outlets. The Soviet Union took the leadership in arousing these fears ..."⁷ According to Marks, the U.S. refusal to accept the resolution reflected its determination to protect the cherished tradition of unrestricted flow of information. This policy was consistent with the past policy. Further, the U.S. continued to maintain that regulations on technical matters like the DBS should be allowed to evolve as technology develops. In the U.S. view, to restrain the flow before the full potentialities of the technology were developed is unduly restrictive and premature.

The remote sensing issue arose later in COPUOS than the DBS issue, but it has been similarly controversial. The massive American lead in developing this technology and the launch of Landsat I in 1972 increased concern in the Committee, regarding the social, political and legal implications of remote sensing. The potential benefits from remote sensing of the earth's resources were recognized by all parties in the debate. Yet, the controversy arose over how the data derived from remote-

7. Leonard H. Marks, n. 1, p. 11.

sensing should be disseminated. The critics led by Soviets proposed that prior consent of the sensed state should be required before information about its natural resources could be disseminated. The Americans opposed this and supported a policy of open sensing of the earth's natural resources and the free distribution of data derived therefrom.⁸

The next major confrontation in the UNESCO came when the Soviets proposed a draft declaration on the use of mass media, supporting some kind of governmental control over media.⁹ The U.S. government strongly opposed the resolution when it was introduced at the 1974 General Conference of the UNESCO at Paris. Its opposition was based on the First Amendment to the U.S. constitution which prohibits enactment of any law abridging freedom of speech and press. The U.S. delegation asserted that informational imbalances whose existence was accepted by now, could not be redressed through imposition of restrictive measures upon the countries with developed communications, but through helping developing countries to help themselves in strengthening their own communication capacities.

In a Conference sponsored by the University of Alabama on communications in 1975, the U.S. Ambassador to United

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8. Report on the United States and the World Information Order (New Delhi: American Center, 1978), pp. 22-23. Also see U.S. Department of State, Bulletin, 31 March 1975.
9. UNESCO, First Draft of Mass Media Declaration (Paris: 1974). Article XII which stressed the states responsibility over media became the focus of the debate.

Nations, John Scali voiced similar sentiments. He said that while the U.S. had realised the claims of the less developed countries to end economic dependence on the West, it is imperative to narrow the communications gap within the international community. He was referring to the fact that if interdependence is to be in real terms, it will depend on more communications rather than less. In other words, he felt that the U.S. could sympathize with the desire and conviction of the Third World leaders that fundamental changes in the economic system was necessary for them to develop. However, "... their decision to use rhetoric and tactics of confrontation in pursuing their objective is regrettable".¹⁰

Thus, during the first half of the seventies the U.S. perception of the issues related to communication reveals two things. Firstly, the Third World grievances were accepted by the U.S. as legitimate and secondly it believed that the strategy to redress them should be through pragmatic measures rather than through ideological stances.

The 19th General Conference of the UNESCO at Nairobi marked a definite development of the U.S. position regarding the global communication controversy. The revised version of the draft declaration on the media was presented. Again, it

10. John Scali, "West, Third World Must Bridge Communications Gap", Official Text (New Delhi: American Center), 29 April 1975, pp. 4-7.

was severely criticised by western diplomats, politicians and journalists.¹¹ The proponents repeated and intensified the earlier criticisms emphasizing information imbalance and distortion and cultural bias in reporting. However, a show down was averted due to the opposition of the U.S., western diplomats and western media. The draft declaration was referred to a Committee which recommended that the Director General of the Organization present a revised draft "based on broad consultations" to the 20th General Conference.¹²

The interesting aspect of the Nairobi Conference was the unanimous acceptance of resolution offered by Tunisian delegate Mustapha Masmoudi.¹³ The resolution made specific mention of the Non-aligned News Agencies Pool and asked the UNESCO to aid it. Even the U.S. supported it. Though to some observers this support seemed to indicate the Americans acceptance of the Non-aligned Press Pool and the UNESCO's support to it, the U.S. and other dissenting delegations saw the Tunisian resolution as a compromise that would provide the parties with

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11. See for instance, Tom Wicker of New York Times, criticised the role of UNESCO several times for curtailing the freedom of media. Also see New York Times, 1 July 1976 and 19 July 1976.
 12. UNESCO, Records of the General Conference, 19th session, Nairobi, 26 October-25 November 1976, Resolutions and Recommendations (Paris, 1976), p. 143.
 13. Mustapha Masmoudi is the permanent delegate to the UNESCO from Tunisia. He was given the mandate by fifth Non-aligned Summit at Colombo, Sri Lanka to present to the Nairobi Conference "a new international information order".

more time to deliberate. It would also give the West, the opportunity to take constructive action to aid the Third World communication structures as promised.

The U.S. attitude at the Nairobi meeting was indicated by the statement of the U.S. Ambassador John E. Reinhardt to the UNESCO.¹⁴ He stressed that the U.S. was present at the Conference "to work with all nations to find a basis for consultation and cooperation". He said that no one model or one ideology should be unduly advocated, nor one model be unduly condemned. The U.S. based its successful development on growth with "equity and justice", on the "benefits of a free economy" and on stressing "human rights, individual freedoms, a free press ... and the free exchange of ideas and information". He went on to claim that they are

... values that need to permeate any new system of international relations Accordingly, the United States wishes to use this occasion to articulate once more in the strongest possible way its commitment to freedom of information and expression and to the fundamental human rights of every individual to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any medium regardless of frontiers.

In effect, he stressed the earlier view that the United States recognized the vital importance of communications in

14. John E. Reinhardt, "Free and Open Exchange of Ideas", Official Text (New Delhi: American Center), 3 November 1976. Reinhardt was appointed Director of the U.S. Information Agency on 25 March 1977 by President Jimmy Carter.

the development of peoples and nations. But imbalances that characterized the present information situation had led to the charge of one-way flow rather than a free flow. Therefore, the way to ensure that flow of information and ideas were "truly two-way", was to reduce the current imbalances not by inhibiting the communications capacity of some, but by increasing the communications capacity of all.

Interpreting this response, one may conclude that the U.S. saw several things in the current situation clearly. It realized that the disparities between developed and developing countries was emerging as a central issue in changing international relations. It saw that there were links between national development and international structures. It perceived that dependencies exist in an increasingly interdependent world and hence there was a need to bring the disadvantaged groups into the mainstream of development actions and development benefits. This led the U.S. to articulate its task in the Conference; namely, "to make the UNESCO an effective organization through which we can cooperate".

In furtherance of this approach, Reinhardt pledged U.S. assistance to develop the Third World communication capacities. He stated that

we believe that the U.S. and other nations in which are found highly developed mass media facilities and capabilities should endeavour

to make available, through bilateral and multi-lateral channels, private and governmental assistance to other states in helping to develop their mass media. Furthermore, it is the strong conviction of the U.S. that the UNESCO itself, in its future planning must accord a high priority to expanding and strengthening, through its regular program and budget assistance to member states in helping them further develop their communication capacities. (15)

The U.S. recognition of the sensitivity of the issue made a fundamental difference in their approach. Till then, America had only indicated that it would resist any restriction of "free flow" intimating at the same time that it would cooperate in providing assistance in building communication structures in the Third World through the UNESCO. It had also made it clear that the UNESCO should play an active role in promoting co-operative structures between nations.

In the U.S., active concern on this issue prompted a widely circulated staff study entitled "The new world information order" issued by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in November 1977. The study suggested that the U.S. could be either a major loser or a net gainer from the "new order" depending on how it is shaped. It could either suffer the introduction of a regime of censorship in the world or gain the world respect for a regime of freedom. Both these forces were contending for acceptance and the United States

15. Ibid., p. 14.

could play an active role in pursuit of its beliefs in free flow of speech and information.

William H. Read, a scholar specializing on communications, went on to explain to the Senate Committee what exactly was at stake for the United States in the communication field. He felt that communications policy issues are at the "pre-crisis" stage and that the U.S. government had time to consider the diverse issues that are related in communications. He outlined the issues as follows:

Some are what might be called 'ripening' issues like two disturbing activities of the Soviet Union - Soviet eavesdropping on telephone conversations of Americans at home and Soviet testing of 'killer' satellites. Some are 'traditional' issues like the structure of the American telephone industry Some issues appear rooted in 'new technologies' like electronic funds transfer systems and the use of communication satellites to aid the economic and social development of poor countries.

Finally, ... how the government should organize itself to formulate and implement sensible communication policies. (16)

The reaction from the official circles sharpened American perception of the new role it would play in international communications. As Reinhardt, the Director of U.S. International Communication Agency, declared in a prepared statement before the Sub-committee on International Operations of the Senate

16. William H. Read, "Communications Policy: An Agenda", n. 1, p. 42.

Committee on Foreign Relations:

The U.S. and other nations pledge assistance to help the developing world Now we must make good these pledges ... because the ideological offensive has only been blunted out not broken, and other nations may look more favourably on these ideas unless they see real progress toward redressing the imbalance. More important, however, than simply winning a point ideologically is the need to keep faith with our own basic morality and principles. (17)

Suffice to say that there was a need for the U.S. to continue to enunciate its basic policy in favour of free flow, to illustrate the dangers of government control and to take positive action to help those with legitimate grievances. In other words, the U.S. was now in favour of an "active posture" in the forthcoming Conference and debates on the issues regarding the information flow.

Efforts to develop further drafts on mass media and its role continued in the UNESCO. At the 20th General Conference, the U.S. delegation professed the view that the Interim Report given by the International Commission for the Study of Communications (McBride Commission) was good only in its description of the imbalances that exist, but the analysis, especially those which imply state control on the operations of the mass media, was not acceptable. Specifically, on the

17. Testimony of John E. Reinhardt, n. 1, p. 220.

draft on mass media which entailed counteracting racism and "Apartheid", the U.S. position was that "it is the state controls that have been primarily associated with the propagation of war and hostility and racism, and that for UNESCO to sponsor a return to this ... would be to turn its back on its own charter".¹⁸ The U.S. delegate argued that to counteract it, the UNESCO should provide the means for enhancing practical cooperation in education, sciences, culture and communication. Cooperation should be attracted from more prosperous nations, the private sectors in those nations, the multilateral institutions and the disadvantaged countries themselves. The U.S. favoured collective sharing of the burden of redressing the imbalances in the existing information order. It recognized that information is essential for full participation in the world. It is a basic resource like energy or raw materials despite being intangible and inexhaustible. The objective of redressal of imbalances should be, the U.S. felt, the basis for a consensus approach.

After a strenuous three weeks negotiation, the Conference adopted the "Declaration of Fundamental Principles concerning the contribution of mass media to strengthen peace and international understanding, the promotion of human rights and to countering racialism, "apartheid" and incitement to war".

18. John E. Reinhardt, "U.S. to help Strengthen Third World Media", Official Text (New Delhi: American Center), 6 November 1978, pp. 6-10.

The main question involved in the declaration was on the philosophy which should guide or govern the relationship between the government or media. The process of the passing of this declaration was rendered difficult as the three main perspectives; the Soviet, the non-aligned and the West came from different politico-historical experiences. At times, the non-aligned perspective had similarities with the Soviets. But controversy was inevitable as they were all committed to value-systems which at times ran diametrically opposite to each other.

The West led by America, in particular objected to Article XII of the Nairobi draft which provided that states are responsible for the activities of the media in their jurisdiction. It was obvious that it was a Soviet backed idea and the opposition from the U.S. and its allies and media men indicated that it was seen as a threat to the fundamental premise of democratic principles of the West which believed that mass media play an important role in building democratic institutions. They felt that under the system of state control, the media become an appendage of the state which will be tyrannical, and a threat to the economic/financial stakes of the West. Due to their determined opposition, Article XII was dropped along with Article VI of the Nairobi draft which had provided for "legislative action, consistent with the respective constitutional system of states and with relevant

instruments and agreements". This would have in the U.S. and the West's view, amounted to the ruling elites' interference in the functioning of the media.

In the final phase of the Paris Conference, these contradictory viewpoints were accommodated by the efforts of the group of non-aligned nations which modified the resolution in which all mention of "intervention by states" was dropped. It was replaced by affirmations of freedom and diversity in the flow of and exchange of information and encouragement of action toward increasing the ability of all peoples to participate in and benefit from the new communication technologies.

The passing of the mass media declaration has been considered as a triumph for the liberal forces of the West and particularly of America.¹⁹ The American media however, treated the entire debate with hostility. "It should be clear now to every partisan of liberty" said Chicago Tribune's editor Clayton Kirkpatrick, "that the free press - indeed all free news media are in trouble in the Third World. The scope of the trouble can be measured by the Third World's claim to represent two-thirds of humanity".²⁰ The International Press

19. K.P. Mishra, "Towards a New International Information Order: The Significance of the UNESCO Declaration", in M.S. Rajan and Shivaji Ganguly (eds.), Great Power Relations, World Order and Third World (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1981), pp. 84-88.

20. n. 1, p. 30.

Institute reported that during 1976, "restraints on the media and the persecution of journalists throughout the world intensified to an unprecedented degree".²¹

Kirkpatrick warned the American Newspapers Association that indifference to this situation would be a mistake on the part of media: "we may find our reporters barred from access to the news in the vast regions of the world. We may find it impossible to send our news into their countries. Even more serious, we may find the virus of authoritarian controls spreading wider and wider with ever increasing threat to us and our fellow democracies".²² This in general, summed up the view of the American media to the controversy regarding news flow and mass media.

The passage of the Declaration intensified this response. Despite the omission of all mention of state control, the western media felt that the debate itself was a threat to freedom of the Press and that is a dangerous precedent with which the news flow may be curtailed.

Despite the fact that the United States itself had supported the Tunisian resolution which had proposed the UNESCO funds for a series of studies and research activities designed to strengthen the communications in developing countries, the

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid.

media now vehemently opposed it. The Washington Post in an editorial titled "UNESCO's Assault on News" argued:

... this newspaper, which offers its news product for foreign sale, has an undeniable self-interest in nourishing an international climate in which commercial opportunities for western media are maintained. But this, of course, is no different from the vested interest that the American media - being free, competitive institutions - have in maintaining the same commercial opportunities at home. It is a simple matter of principle coinciding with commercial self-interest, and the principle involved here, ... was set forth ... in the First Amendment here to the Constitution. And if it is a sound principle for us in this country, it follows, or so it seems to us, that it is also a good rule to apply to the communication of ideas abroad. (23)

As a matter of fact, the coincidence between principle and self-interest is not "a simple matter" at all. In so far as the media have commercial self-interest apart from their role as protectors of free speech, they may well be subjected to government control in U.S. itself. Article I, section 8 of the U.S. constitution empowers Congress "to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among, the several states" Thus, the fruitful coincidence cited by the Post is open to debate even in America, and call into question the applicability of such values in international communication.²⁴

23. Washington Post, 30 July 1976. The emphasis added.

24. New York Times, "U.S. Supreme Court rules large media conglomerates have no special claim to First Amendment Rights of free expression", 27 April 1978.

The U.S. media however continued to attack the UNESCO involvement in the media question. The New York Times warned in an editorial that "if it turns out to be impossible to reject this attempt to tamper with our basic principles, there is always the alternative of rejecting the UNESCO itself".²⁵ It argued further that "the good it does is not worth the price it demands". Unless the United Nations changed its attitude, wrote the New York Times on 27 November 1978, "it will soon be regarded in many lands as not only irrelevant but inimical".²⁶

Proclaiming the "free trade" principle Jack Valenti President of Motion Pictures Export Association of America (MPEAA) and Motion Pictures Association of America (MPAA), stated before the Senate Committee hearing on "international communications" in 1977 that: "while governments may fulminate against American films, foreign audiences love them. We dominate the world screens - not because of armies, bayonets or nuclear bombs, but because ~~what~~ we are exhibiting on foreign screens what the people of those countries want to see That is our best weapon".²⁷ Other media spokesmen also viewed the criticism as serving narrow national interests in media

25. New York Times, 8 November 1978.

26. New York Times, 27 November 1978.

27. Testimony of Jack Valenti, n. 1, p. 212.

business. As William Streehan, Senior Vice President for news, American Broadcasting Corporation said: "... it would be ideal from our point of view if these nations could adopt the concept of free flow of news But the concept of free flow of news is so foreign to many governments that they have a pathological fear of any reporting which they do not actually control ..."²⁸

These various samples of media responses seem to underline the fact that free trade and free flow go together and that any government financed media or any control by the state is hardly "free".

To the critics it may seem equally clear that the present "order" is linked to the U.S. commercial interests, which in turn, serve overall U.S. government interests. This brings one back to the central question of whether American media have indeed been accomodating tools for homogenising a largely pluralist world or merely greedy manipulating monopolies. The answer to this question lies in the definition of the role of the media. At the ideological level, the confrontation is between two views: "the liberal press ideology" which is also called the "commodity approach" and the "controlled press" ideology of the Marxists who view communication as a lever of state

28. Testimony of William Streehan, n. 1, p. 208.

power. Scholars like William H. Read support the view that the market system of the media business gives different but useful benefits to both the sellers and buyers.²⁹ Herbert I. Schiller on the other hand argues against the media "imperialism" of the west. Taking the Marxist approach, he argues that international media are the principal means whereby the elites of developing societies are "attracted, pressured, forced, and sometimes bribed into shaping national policies that conform with the interests of capitalist expansion".³⁰ But the economics of the world business system has made media an important branch of the economy, and economic interests play a vital role in any decision-making. To those countries lacking economic independence, as well as to advanced countries like the U.S. information is an economic activity primarily and a strategic resource. It is but natural for the former to try and change the "order" through defining the role of mass media which form the basis for almost all information flow, while the U.S. media stakes are in the realm of protecting their commercial interests.

Thus, when the United Nations General Assembly, reflecting the concerns of the Third World, passed the New World

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29. William H. Read, America's Mass Media Merchants (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1976), The Conclusion.
30. Herbert I. Schiller, Mass Communication and American Empire (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1969) and Mind Managers (Boston: Beacon Press, 1977).

Information and Communication Order, it reflected the U.S. recognition of the importance of the issues as well as marked an improvement on the old order, thereby giving the Third World a small victory. The U.S. along with seven allies had abstained on the specific resolution calling the UNESCO to endorse a new and more just and effective world information order at the 20th General Conference of the UNESCO. At the UN, a consensus resolution on this issue developed because the non-aligned states agreed to a formulation of the NWIO concept which made it clear that such a concept must be based "on the free circulation and wider and better balanced dissemination of information".

It is important to note that it was American negotiators who defined the order as something that would be "more just and effective" so as to denote the evolutionary process building on the present order rather than break away from it. Further, they also succeeded in tying the "New Order" to the attainment of international peace and understanding based on "free circulation" of information. This may be an indication that there is a strong congruence of interests between the American media which declared that "to Americans, there can be no free speech or "balanced" news unless those who advocate racism, and apartheid and yes, war, are also free to speak. We do not negotiate codes of press behaviour with our government and should not be negotiating them with any other", and the U.S.

government position on NWIO.³¹ This can be indicated by the phrasing of the "new order". The goal of the new order was one of attaining "relationships of interdependence and cooperation" and the order ultimately called for an "expanded opportunity to hear the authentic voice of differing cultures and societies in a dialogue made progressively more equal". According to Reinhardt, "this is a statement of objectives sustained by our own First Amendment, and ... calls for open rather than constricted avenues for communication".³²

The Reinhardt testimony before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs also reveals the new U.S. attitude towards NWIO. He gave several reasons for the U.S. opposition. First, the Americans are opposed to any imposition of order from outside, even from their own government. They would prefer and "risk mediocrity" than any imposed order. Second, they would resist signing any statement of goals that lack precise definition. The preliminary definitions of NWIO issued by the non-aligned was seen by him as lacking proper definition. But this resistance must be contained by assuming a "creative posture" on the elaboration of the "new order" idea. He stressed

31. New York Times, 27 November 1978.

32. John E. Reinhardt, Statement to U.S. House of Representatives, 96th Congress, 1 session, The Sub-committee on International Organizations of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Hearing, UNESCO and Freedom of Information, 19 July 1979 (Washington D.C., Government Printing Office, 1979), pp. 4-5.

that active participation by the U.S. in forming the NWIO would not be merely due to the support given by UN General Assembly.

The Reinhardt statement also explained the need for the U.S. to take initiative in the efforts to redress the imbalances as "the momentum behind the effort to redress neo-colonial status in the world, to remedy historical disparities and dependencies ... is in any event irresistible".³³ In his view, America may be able to divert or defer this evolutionary process for a while, but eventually it would breakthrough. Hence, he felt that it would be wiser for the U.S. to shape the future course of the "new order" by being co-architects, rather than by following a policy of detachment.

Reinhardt concluded his testimony by noting that America's "overall purpose should be to make the new world information order resemble as much as possible the order prevailing in our own new world - the United States of America".

The statement of George A. Dalley, Deputy Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs before the same House Committee on Foreign Relations, further revealed the U.S. attitude towards NWIO and the UNESCO.³⁴ According to him,

33. Ibid.

34. Testimony of George A. Dalley, *ibid.*, pp. 9-14.

the evolutionary process of building a new order would involve the cooperation of all the three worlds. In particular, the cooperation and involvement of the countries with advanced technological capacities was essential to redress the imbalances. Conceding that there was a certain amount of validity in some of the demands for rectifying "inequalities and injustices", Dalley insisted however that the new order as proposed by its most militant spokesmen was not acceptable to the United States. Since America is the principal source of technical assistance, "... we are prepared to join in efforts to develop the ability of all peoples to exchange information".³⁵

Dalley's testimony would suggest that a few Americans felt that the realities of the Third World media concerns require the U.S. to recognize other nations' and peoples' aspirations. And it was sensible for the U.S. to adopt a cooperative attitude towards these countries. The long range national interests of the U.S. would be better served if "we seek improvement via diversity and multiplicity rather than through uniformity or conformity - including our own brand of orthodoxy", it was argued.³⁶

The U.S. position on NWIO was clear. Certainly there was no deviation from "free flow"; but the U.S. was

35. Ibid., p. 12.

36. Ibid. Emphasis added.

prepared to allow that the basis of communication policies of different nations need not necessarily be based on the U.S. model. In fact, the debate forced the U.S. to recognize that any insistence on the value of free flow would be vigorously opposed and that its own interests would benefit through a cooperative attitude.³⁷

The subsequent meetings of the UNESCO on the NWIO saw little change in the American position. In the meeting of the McBride Commission at Belgrade from 16 October 1980, the U.S. member on the Commission, Elie Abel, added a new dimension to the American view. He remarked that the U.S. did not insist that its way was the only way. However, it would certainly dissent from the underlying notion that it is somehow the proper role of the UNESCO or other international agencies to propagate a particular model of media development. He concluded that "the precise form of national media institutions is a matter for national decision, to be made by the

37. On how the West and the U.S. should cooperate, see Rosemary M. Righter, "Battle of the Bias", Foreign Policy (Washington, D.C.), 34 (Spring, 1979), pp. 133-38. The author contends that for cooperation over these issues to be a success, "the western governments must shed the notion that everybody can be bought. Sensitive and serious planning could produce more sophisticated solutions than simply offering more money (such as last November's \$ 24 million pledge of U.S. aid) or greater access to western-owned satellites." However, the article insists on the "free press" ideology and claims that there is no middle ground between controlled news and independent reporting. According to Righter, the task of aiding international understanding would require a free press and the western policy should foster this understanding.

people of the country concerned". At the same time, he stressed the American view that "protection of journalists" which was repeatedly discussed by the Commission, was not the function of the UNESCO.³⁸ In fact, he went so far as to accuse the UNESCO of trying to adopt the role of an "international nanny", a role for which it was ill equipped and was unnecessary. He concluded : "In the U.S. the media do not speak for the government, nor does the government speak for the media. That doctrine may ... strike some as peculiar, but it is not a matter upon which the Americans may bargain or barter".

The submission of the McBride Commission Report at the 1980 General Conference of the UNESCO sparked off a further protest from the U.S. media. The Newsweek titled its report on it as "Inching towards Control"³⁹, Time as "UNESCURBS".⁴⁰ In an essay titled "Global First Amendment War"⁴¹, Time called the Report as "good news and bad news."

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38. "U.S. sees UNESCO Report as Declaration of Press Freedom", Official Text (New Delhi: American Center) 16 October 1980. He also produced a paper for the McBride Commission titled "Communication for an inter-dependent pluralistic world" (Paris: UNESCO, 1979). He highlighted in the paper the U.S. position, its flexibilities and emphasized on non-changeability over certain issues.
39. Newsweek, "Inching Towards Control", 3 November 1980, pp. 49-50.
40. Time, "Unescurbs", 3 November 1980, p. 45.
41. Time, "The Global First Amendment War", 6 October 1980, pp. 40-41.

The good is that the Commission members rejected the wilder extremes of the Masmoudi plan. Third World representatives went along with their Western colleagues in declaring that censorship or arbitrary control of information should be abolished and that accurate, faithful and balanced reporting ... necessarily involves access to unofficial as well as official sources of information

The bad news, unfortunately undermines the good Reflecting the missionary zeal of its UNESCO drafters, the Report is permeated with a preference for guided rather than independent press. (42)

According to Time, the Report was openly inviting "discriminatory legislation" by recommending "effective legal measures designed to circumscribe the action of transnationals by requiring them to comply with specific criteria and conditions defined by national development policies". This was "obviously" aimed at the international news agencies. It also noted a key passage of the report which called for "communication policies linked to overall social, cultural, economic and political goals" of the developing world. This would threaten a free press, which was neutral and objective. In main, the magazine expressed the general fears of the Western media. It stressed that while international organizations like the UNESCO could propose, they could not legislate. Nonetheless, even "non-binding UN motions, if broadly endorsed, have a certain moral weight and at the very least,

42. Ibid.

they frequently serve as guides to developing states ..."

Therefore, if a UN body like the UNESCO, "however high minded its motivation, were to endorse a new world information order restricting ... freedom, the first and gravest disservice done would be to Third World countries".

The International Herald Tribune felt that the 3 year \$ 625 million budget of the UNESCO presented would fund studies into subjects opposed by western newsmen and revive the apprehension over news control.⁴³

At the 21st General Conference of the UNESCO in Belgrade in 1980, the U.S. delegate expressed strong reservations on the resolution which asked for adoption of the McBride Report. He was of the view that the Report could be used to support the government control over the press. The U.S. delegate William Harley raised a number of objections to the resolution particularly against the use of ambiguous language.⁴⁴

The head of the U.S. delegation Ambassador Robin Chandler Duke went further. Noting that the United States took one of the major initiatives by establishing an International Program for the Development of Communication (IPDC) to resolve the present crisis, he said that the proposals for defining jour-

43. International Herald Tribune, 26 September 1980.

44. "UNESCO Press Resolution", official text (New Delhi: American Center), 28 October 1980.

nalistic standards and protecting them could well lead to an international code of ethics. Such a code however, is the antithesis of the democratic view of the press and its role and how it should operate. "The U.S.", he said, "holds that journalistic practice is to be self-monitored nationally and internationally".⁴⁵ Whatever may be the outcome of the IPDC or McBride Report, the 21st General Conference proved that all that the Western delegates did achieve was another postponement of the crisis. Even more unfortunate from the West's point of view is the limited options it has. If they continue to compromise, they may inevitably help legitimize the UNESCO as an arbiter of international media practices. The Third World could then use the UNESCO fiats to justify policies that could choke off the flow of information to other parts of the world - facilitating as the West sees it, the spread of oppression. But if the West stiffens its back and pulls out of the organization, it may lose all hope of restraining censorship and the UNESCO could well find itself writing its own media rules.

Fact of the matter is that the U.S. response reflects a growing concern with the changing priorities in the information world, and consideration of its own assets and liabilities

45. Official Text, n. 44, 29 October 1980.

lities with which it moves into the eighties.⁴⁶ For Americans, choosing how best to communicate in a global community is a more pressing matter than for others, for the U.S. is the biggest and most influential communicator and at the same time a nation very vulnerable to the success or failure of communication in world affairs. The assets it derives from being the world's leading informer is considerable. It is a prime reservoir of technology and research, as it has passed into the 'post-industrial phase'. More and more research on communications and related fields are being carried out and much of the know-how is exported.⁴⁷ All this in turn allows Americans to communicate more easily, enhancing their communicating capacity.

Secondly, the uses of this technology are available in English language. English has now become the international language of science and technology, practically the lingua franca, a highly significant aspect of today's communication. Not only is English used in scientific circles but also in diplomatic circles.⁴⁸ English has also come to be regarded

46. Glen Fisher, American Communication in a Global Society (New Jersey: Albex Publishing Corporation, 1979), Chapter 2, pp. 11-30.

47. Communication hardware and software are among America's biggest exports. For example the largest share of revenue the research industry gets is from outside U.S.

48. Fisher, n. 46, pp. 12-15.

as "preferred" language for higher education, learning and training. America, thus, justifiably enough, can have a certain satisfaction in setting this trend.

Yet another factor is the emergence of international culture. Despite attention being called to the multi-cultural reality of the world by the Third World, this diversity is being blurred by the increasing acceptance of the customs and life-styles brought by media exports. The "information elite" created by these media increased corresponding to the increase in media impact. As American media dominate the world "culture" market, U.S. is possibly the principal source of international culture. This in turn can give America a better instrument to handle the criticism of "cultural imperialism", for more people will have occasion to become international in one part of their mind.

Another important factor which helps the U.S. to be the leader of international communication is the role it plays in higher education. The U.S. runs many academic exchange programs and other assistances unavailable in many developing countries. Fulbright Program is a good example. The assets that obtain from this role in education are substantial. In many cases, the ability of the U.S. to communicate gets a headstart, as a large set of these exchange programs have already paved the way. As technological education became a key factor in produc-

ing goods and services by complex societies looking toward modern life, the American approach is bound to have influence.

While all these assets have given the U.S. an unshakable position of leadership in international communications the present criticisms have necessitated a look at the problems that exist.

The main problem area is the changing stance of other countries vis-a-vis America, particularly with regard to its communication priorities. Certainly, the situation is not the same as it was at the end of second world war at the height of Marshall plan, or in the days technical assistance was developing. Today, despite the fact that America is both economically and politically powerful criticisms have been voiced by representatives of Western countries as well as Third World and East bloc countries regarding U.S. dominance in world markets.

The difficulty posed for Americans is that they themselves do not see these problems clearly. There is a huge gap between the American self perception as communicators and the way rest of the world sees them. For example, the U.S. TV programming is the most closed to foreign programmes excepting China.

Most of their world view is given by AP or UPI. Further, even in their response to the NWIO, the Americans were at

first at least, still following the old axiom of "Diplomacy for a Crowded World" rather than "Communication for a Crowded World". From the time of "making the world safe for (American?) Democracy", the Americans view their values as applicable to all. But the passing of the NWIO shows clearly that America must certainly revalue its international communication relationships. There is more suspicion of universal values today. There are more questions as to how they apply, in what priority and especially if one country has a monopoly on them. If American values are to help set the pattern that will come to characterize a more global society, Americans will have to be astute enough in recognizing where in their ideological patterns apply domestically and wherein they can broadly be applied.

The U.S. response to the NWIO would have to take these realities into consideration. Yet its response seems to imply only a change in negotiating style rather than in substance. The response also seems to indicate that the U.S. is not prepared to be less powerful or influential in global communications. Considering the vital interests it has in preserving the free flow of information, it has responded by opposing the new order as called by the more militant spokesmen. Instead, it has tried to assume a cooperative pragmatic approach to stave off the crisis in information issues.

Chapter IV

CONCLUSION

In the years following the second world war, the U.S. passed through a communication revolution. The American society passed from the industrial to post industrial stage of economic development. Not only did it become the most dominant economic power but was also the country which controlled world information. Its control of information reinforced its economic power. In fact the two were inseparable. While these developments were taking place, the world was passing through yet another revolution - the revolution which ended the old colonialism and added almost every few years scores of new members to international community. These countries found themselves striving for their own development in an environment which was not of their own making. They found that the choices which they had were limited in practically all spheres, political, economic and strategic. Yet they wanted to preserve their own political freedom, maintain their cultural identity, and seek their own paths to economic development. Their strength was in their evergrowing number. Non-alignment emerged as a viable policy in the fifties, but then its strategies were determined by the fact that it was still the policy option of a few states. They hoped to maintain their non-aligned character by the management of their

relations with super powers. They did not launch a frontal assault on the existing power structure.

The seventies saw a remarkable transformation in the strategies of the non-aligned movement. From being essentially a political movement it acquired economic overtones. Spurred on by the non-aligned movement, the U.N. adopted a resolution endorsing New International Economic Order which, through various devices, demanded a redistribution of resources between the industrialized nations and the developing world. It demanded the restructuring of the international monetary and financial institution of the world to create better conditions for development. Having done that, these countries of the Third World could not have stopped, for information constituted as vital a source for development as oil or any other commodity. Therefore they also asked for a New World Information Order.

The United States managed the international system as Britain and France had done before the second world war. The structure of international economic institution had been profoundly influenced by it and undoubtedly it favoured the economic predominance of the US. The dollar ruled the world. Yet the industrially advanced western countries and Japan shared the economic benefits. The American dominance of the information order was much more. And there are few

to share it. Therefore, the demand for a new order whether it be of economic order or of information order, the U.S. was affected most. It therefore is also the one which resists any such demand more vigorously than others.

The demand for a new information order evolved first through non-aligned conferences and then through the forum of the UNESCO Conferences. The initial response of the U.S. was to insist on free flow of information. The position it took was an outgrowth of its own historic experience, necessitated by its own social and political system as embodied in the First Amendment. But free flow of information also meant for the U.S. media and business, enormous profit. Its ideological position and profit motive blended together so well that it was not possible to distinguish one from the other. But the Third World saw it differently.

These countries argued that "free flow" masked the reality of a one-way flow which benefited the U.S. and other advanced nations. They contended that the American dominance in economics was reinforced by advantages in information. In effect, they interrelated the order in the world economic system to the order in the world information system. They concluded that the struggle of the developing countries to achieve reform in the economic field should be supplemented and extended by their endeavours to change the existing "world news system".

The Third World realized that the one way flow of goods and information had increased their dependence on the advanced nations, particularly the United States. The economic and informational disparities that existed between the developed and developing nations increased their dependence. The growing awareness of their dependence moved the Third World to attempt the redressal of the disequilibria that exist. The thrust of their criticisms focussed on the unmistakable lead of the U.S. in communication. The U.S. was the principal source of technology. Moreover, its media were global in their operations. They showed a remarkable penetration into the Third World. Not only did they have financial stakes in overseas markets, they also exerted considerable influence over the social and political order of the developing countries.

In the Third World's view, this meant cultural dependence and could lead to the loss of their own cultural integrity. They stressed the fact that major portion of the news flow was from the developed to the developing nations. AP, UPI, New York Times, News Service and Washington Post - Los Angeles Times News services of America had subscribers all over the world and commanded a large share of the world market. U.S. motion films occupied fifty per cent of the screening time of the free world though the production was only ^{five} 5 per cent of the total number of films produced in the world. Mustapha Masmoudi, the Tunisian Secretary of State for Information and

a permanent delegate to the UNESCO pointed out that 22 of the world's 27 advertising agencies were either wholly or partly American. While these factors enhanced the U.S. preeminence in economic field, it made the Third World vulnerable to the business culture of "consumerism" of the U.S. economy. The products of Multinational Corporations were marketed more easily and the media enhanced their hold over other economies.

Moreover, the dependence on the U.S. Satellite Communication technology would pose a direct threat to "national sovereignty" of the recipient countries. These complaints were embodied in the Third World's call for a new and "more just" information order based on "free and balanced flow" of information.

The Third World countries used the UNESCO as an instrument to articulate their demands. The organization, from its inception, had promoted the free flow of ideas through the mass media as a means for better understanding.

However, by the seventies the Third World countries expressed their growing concern over the undue dependence of the developing countries over the Western communication models and information. This was reflected by the increasing urgency with which the issue was discussed by the non-aligned countries in the general conferences of the UNESCO. The non-aligned

states particularly stressed the point that mass communications both at national and international level reflected the power structure of the milieu in which it functioned. Influence over or control of the institutions of communications such as the media, was enhancing the dominance of a few.

The UNESCO subsequently passed the demand for a new information order and the Mass Media Declaration in 1978. From the "free flow" the emphasis shifted to a "free and balanced flow". The organization's changed overtones can be taken as revealing the strength of the opinion of the Third World.

The U.S. opposed the role of the UNESCO and the call for a new world information order. The dominating concern was over the continued undermining or invalidation of Article 19 of the UN Declaration of Human Rights, which allowed freedom of information and expression. Further, the U.S. was also concerned with the increasing rapprochement or parallelism between the viewpoints on and aims of, the communication policies of the developing countries and the socialist countries. In fact, the U.S. perception of the challenges to the free flow tended to attribute most of the changed atmosphere to the needs of authoritarian governments to shield their people from the truth in order to perpetuate their rule. However, such a contention did not explain the differences between the U.S. and smaller western nations. It also over-

looked the fact that most countries of the world have deep and honest differences with the U.S. regarding the appropriate domestic and international role of mass media. In effect then, the U.S. had to understand that the new trend in information issues was not always motivated by "doctrinaire anti-liberalism".

As the debate continued on the new order, one can discern a gradual understanding of the complexities involved by the U.S. government. It perceived that in an increasingly interdependent world, its long term national interests would be better served by cooperation with other nations rather than by opposing them. It also conceded the Third World grievances with regard to the imbalances that exist as legitimate. Further, it perceived the need to bring the disadvantaged groups into the mainstream of development actions and benefits as the disparities between the North and South was emerging as a central issue in international debates. It rearticulated its commitment to enhance the communication capabilities of poor countries through the UNESCO.

But the U.S. media continued to oppose the new order and the role of the UNESCO. The reason is easily distinguishable. The media would be affected most if control were to be exercised in place of free flow. It had substantial stakes in foreign markets by way of investment, income and influence. Even domestically, a sanction from an UN agency though not

binding, could be a dangerous precedent for government interference. Noted journalists like Tom Wicker of the New York Times, Rosemary Righter of Sunday Times (London) and others repeatedly pointed to the Western nations that the call to curb the free flow of information would mean extension of authoritarian ideas and practices to the developing world and world society in general. The media also vehemently criticised the role the UNESCO was playing. Most media men claimed that the organization was seeking to play the role of a supra-national agency which would shape the media policies of various countries, a role for which it was "ill suited" and unnecessary.

Vigorous opposition from the media notwithstanding, the U.S. government has continued an overall policy of cooperation. However, it has reflected the media concerns by opposing any definition of a code of ethics for journalists or any form of control over the media. One can conclude that the U.S. has realized that, on the one hand, continued total opposition could well mean exclusion from the Third World. If so, the loss would be enormous. On the other, a policy of cooperation would provide some scope for the U.S. to influence the course of the development of the new order.

The crisis is far from being over. It is in the interest of the Third World that the new order be more equitable so as to

redress the existing imbalances. But to rectify the inequities, there should develop cooperation among the developing nations themselves. A start has been made by the establishment of the Non-Aligned Press Pool. However, they should also concentrate on development of communication infrastructures through regional cooperation. At the same time, cooperation from advanced nations can be sought to build up their own resources.

In an increasingly interdependent world, American desire to understand and accommodate these interests will be crucially important in any attempt to move beyond current crisis in information. The Americans cannot expect their professed values of free speech and cultural diversity to have credibility internationally unless American policies show firm support for new complementary communication channels which carry news and information as seen through others eyes. In the long term, the democratic values Americans cherish, will have the greatest survival not only by free access to American ideas but by removing impediments in the American access to foreign ideas. In short, it is in interest of all concerned to promote a just and equitable information order which serves the purpose of cross-cultural understanding in a multi-polar world.

Appendix I

Chronology of Selected Events in Various International Fora 1948 - 1988

This chronology demonstrates the progression, increasing frequency and inter-relatedness of important meetings involving the world "Information Order" in the major international fora: United Nations (UN); UNESCO; ITU and the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM).

- 1948 - UN Conference on Freedom of Information (Geneva).
- UN General Assembly adopts Universal Declaration of Human Rights (not legally binding). Article 19 affirms freedom of opinion and expression.
- 1955 - Asian-African Conference (Bandung, Indonesia). Beginning of Non-Aligned Movement, initially composed of 29 nations.
- 1959 - First General World Administrative Radio Conference (WARC).
- UN Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space (COPUOS) established to study problems arising from outer-space activities.
- 1966 - UN General Assembly adopts International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Articles 19 and 20 reaffirm and expand rights of freedom of expression and opinion (legally binding).
- 1967 - Outer Space Treaty adopted unanimously by UN General Assembly; basis for Outer Space Law.
- 1969 - Meeting on UN COPUOS debates on direct broadcast satellites (DBS) begin.
- UN Ad Hoc Working Group on DBS formed by COPUOS to consider legal, technical and political aspects of DBS.
- UNESCO Meeting of Experts on Mass Communications and Society (Montreal); First mention of "two-way" or "balance circulation" of news.

- 1970 - 16th UNESCO General Conference; authorization to "help member states in the formulation of their communication policies".
- 3rd Non-Aligned Summit (Lusaka, Zambia). Concern expressed regarding the sovereign rights of nations over their natural resources.
- 1971 - Special WARC on Space Communication. Definition of broadcasting satellite services established; allocation of suitable frequency bands; principle of equal rights in the frequency band for radio space communication services established.
- 1972 - UN General Assembly directs COPUOS to study matter of legal implications of remote sensing of the Earth.
- USSR introduces resolution to UN General Assembly calling for elaboration of principles governing DBS; resolution approved 102: 1, UNGA calls upon COPUOS to study and formulate principles to govern DBS.
 - USSR introduces resolution to UN General Assembly calling for elaboration of principles governing DBS; resolution approved; US alone "nay vote". UN General Assembly calls upon COPUOS to study and formulate principles to govern DBS.
 - 17th UNESCO General Conference (Paris). USSR calls for declaration of principles to govern DBS. Call for Director-General to formulate "fundamental principles governing the use of mass media and with a view to strengthen peace and understanding and combating war propaganda, racialism and apartheid" (referred to as "mass media draft declarations").
- 1973 - USSR submits list of principles to regulate remote-sensing activities to the UN General Assembly.
- 4th Non-Aligned Summit (Algiers). First reference to "social and cultural imperialism" through communication and call for action in field of mass communications.
- 1974 - Three draft lists of principles governing remote-sensing of the Earth by satellite (US; Brazil-Argentina; USSR-France) submitted to COPUOS reflecting varying positions.
- (July) First draft of "mass media draft declaration" discussed at UNESCO Meeting of Non-governmental experts (Paris).

- 18th UNESCO General Conference (Paris). Resolution submitted for practical action to strengthen and expand communication capabilities in the third world to help correct imbalances. "Mass media draft declaration" tabled for further consideration.
 - Special WARC on Maritime Services. "First-come/first-serve" principle given no precedence for the first time.
- 1975
- (January) TANJUG begins Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool transmission.
 - (February) Second Ad Hoc Working Group on DBS set up by COPUOS to elaborate principles governing DBS.
 - (August) 5th Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Nations (Lima). Resolution to support New Agencies Pool.
 - (August) Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe approved (Helsinki). Basket III contains articles pertaining to information exchange and human contacts in recognition of the need for mutual exchange of information among people.
- 1976
- (March) Non-Aligned Symposium on Information (Tunis).
 - (May) In speech before UNCTAD Meeting (Nairobi) Secretary of State Kissinger offers assistance in developing third world communications capabilities.
 - (July) UNESCO Meeting of Inter-Governmental Experts meets (Paris). "Mass media draft declaration" approved and placed on agenda of 19th UNESCO General Conference.
 - (July) UNECO-sponsored Inter-Governmental Conference on Communications Policies in Latin America and the Caribbean meets (Costa Rica). Controversies over "one-way flow", call for "balanced flow" and regional news agencies.
 - (July) Ministerial Conference of Non-Aligned Nations (New Delhi). Coordinating Committee formed to improve methods and communications facilities for non-aligned nations.
 - (July) First session of Non-Aligned Agencies Pool Coordinating Committee (New Delhi). New Delhi Declaration adopted. Committee of experts formed to study tele-

communications facilities and the possibility of cooperation in the field of satellite and space communication.

- (August) 5th Non-Aligned Summit (Colombo, Sri Lanka). Declaration of New Delhi Ministerial Conference endorsed. Formal ratification of News Agencies Pool Constitution. Resolution adopted calling for a "new international information order" as vital to a "new international economic order".
 - 19th UNESCO General Conference (Nairobi). US pledges to assist Third World nations in developing their mass media capabilities and to develop programs to improve third world communications capabilities. Support for assistance to Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool approved. Decision on "mass media draft declaration" deferred.
 - Agreement reached in Legal Subcommittee of COPUOS on several draft principles on DBS though continuing debate over relationship between sending and receiving state.
- 1977
- (January) Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool Coordinating Committee meets (Cairo). UNESCO participates as an observer.
 - (January-February) First meeting of Inter-Governmental Coordinating Council on Information and Mass Media of Non-Aligned Countries (Tunis).
 - (February) Special WARC on Direct Broadcast Satellite in the GHz band (Geneva). Orbit plan for domestic satellite TV adopted for Europe, Asia and Africa.
 - (April) UNESCO International Colloquium of Journalists (Florence). Discussion of "one-way flow".
 - (October) First Conference of Radio and Television Organizations of Non-Aligned Nations (Sarajevo, Yugoslavia). Equal access and equitable distribution of technology stressed as prerequisites for a balanced flow of information.
 - (December) First meeting of International Commission for the Study of Communications Problem (Paris) (16-member non-governmental Commission headed by Sean MacBride). Purpose: to help resolve outstanding "Information order" issues,

- 1978 - (February-March) Special WARC revises frequency distribution plan for aeronautical mobile service.
- (April) Coordinating Committee meeting of Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool (Jakarta). Discussion of regional distribution centers, communication training programs and definition of news to conform to needs of developing countries. UNESCO participates and offers assistance.
- (April) Inter-Governmental Conference for the Coordination of Information of the Non-Aligned Movement meets (Havana) to organize and disseminate non-aligned positions.
- (April) Representatives of major news agencies and their Third World counterparts meet (Stockholm) to discuss infrastructure of news suppliers. Conflict between concepts of "free flow" of information and national sovereignty. Meeting sponsored by UNESCO International Commission for the Study of Communications Problems.
- (July) Meeting of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Nations (Belgrade). Definition of non-aligned questioned. Cuba challenged as a non-aligned nation.
- (August-September) UNDP Conference on Technical Cooperation Among Developing Countries (TCDC) (Buenos Aires).
- 20th UNESCO General Conference (Paris) adopted by consensus revised draft "Declaration on Fundamental Principles Governing the Contribution (note: "use" changed to contribution in revised draft) of the Mass Media to strengthening and to combatting war propaganda, Racialism and Apartheid. According to U.S. Ambassador to UNESCO Conference, John Reinhardt, three main points of the resolution are: it endorses the principle of free flow of information, it does not endorse government control of the media and it ensures journalists and reporters the "best conditions for exercising their profession".
- 1979 - (Mid-year) Interim Report presented to the UNESCO Director-General by the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems.
- (September) 6th Non-aligned Summit held (Havana).

- (October-November) First WARC held after 1959
"Equal access" to replace "first come first served"
in ITU.
- 1980 - (October) 21st General Conference of UNESCO was
held at Belgrade. The International Committee for
the Study of Communication Problems submitted its
final report. U.S. initiates International Program
for Development of Communication (IPDC)

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