ଓଡ଼ିଶା ରାଜ୍ୟ ମୁକ୍ତ ବିଶ୍ୱବିଦ୍ୟାଳୟ,
ସମ୍ବଲପୁର, ଓଡ଼ିଶା

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ODISHA STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY, SAMBALPUR

JOURNALISM AND MASS COMMUNICATION (JMC)

INTERNATIONAL & INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

Concept & Scope of International Communication

Journalism and Mass Communication (JMC)

JMC-15

Block-01

Concept & Scope of International Communication

Unit– 1: International Communication

1.0: Unit Structure

1.1: Learning Objectives

At the end of this unit the learner should be able to answer the following:

- What is international communication?

- What are the various economic and cultural dimensions of international communication?

- What are the various perspectives of communication and information as a tool for inequality and exploitation?

1.2: Introduction

International communication is the study of global communication or transnational communication. It is the communication that occurs across international borders. International communication is a branch of communication studies, with the scope of studying government to government, business to business, and people to
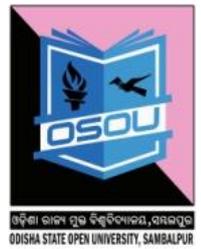
people communication. International Communication encompasses political, economic, social, cultural and military concerns.

1.3: Economic and cultural dimension of International communication

International economics is concerned with the effects upon economic activity from international differences in productive resources and consumer preferences and the international institutions that affect them. It seeks to explain the patterns and consequences of transactions and interactions between the inhabitants of different countries, including trade, investment and transaction.

International trade studies goods-and-services flows across international boundaries.It studies the demand and supply factors, economic integration, and policy variables such as tariff rates and trade quotas.

International finance studies the flow of capital across international financial markets, and the effects of these movements on exchange rates.

International monetary economics and international macroeconomics study flows of money across countries and the resulting effects, of the same, on their economies as a whole.

International political economy, a sub-category of international relations. It studies issues and impacts of international conflicts, international negotiations, and international sanctions; national security and economic nationalism; and international agreements and their observance.

1.4: Communication and information as a tool of equality and exploitation

In the 1980s and 1990s, with the establishment and development of fiberoptic cables, satellites and the Internet, the space and time barriers as well as the cost of transmitting various information has reduced drastically. This trend has given a boost to the study of international communication.

The study of global communication is an interdisciplinary field focusing on global communication, or the ways that people connect, share, relate and mobilize across geographic, political, economic, social and cultural divides. Global communication implies a transfer of knowledge and ideas from centers of power to peripheries and the imposition of a new intercultural hegemony by means of the "soft power" of global news and entertainment.

1.4.1: The Historical Context of International Communication

The nexus of economic, military and political power has always depended on efficient systems of communication, from flags, beacon fires and runners, to ships,
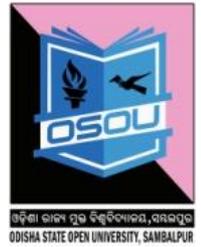
telegraph wires and now satellites and cables. The evolution of telegraphic communication and empire in the nineteenth century exemplifies these interrelationships. During two world wars and the Cold War, the power and significance of new media - radio and then television-for international communication were demonstrated by their use for international propaganda as well as recognition of their potential for socio-economic development.

1.4.2: Communication and empire

Communication has always been critical to the establishment and maintenance of power over distance. From the Persian, Greek and Roman empires to the British, efficient networks of communication were essential for the imposition of imperial authority, as well as for international trade and commerce on which they were based. Communications networks and technologies were key to the mechanics of distributed government, military campaigns and trade. The Greek historian, Diodorus Cronus (fourth century BC) recounts how the Persian king, Darius I (522—486 BC), who extended the Persian Empire from the Danube to the Indus, could send news from the capital to the provinces by means of a line of shouting men positioned on heights. This kind of transmission was thirtytimes faster than using runners. In De Bello Gallico, Julius Caesar (100—144 BC) reports that the Gauls, using the human voice, could call all their warriors to war in just three days. While many rulers, including the Greek polis, used inscription for public information, writing became a more flexible and efficient means of conveying information over long distances. Rome, Persia and the Great Khan of Chinaall created wide-ranging official postal and dispatch systems. They made extensive use of writing. It is said that the ActaDiurna, founded by Julius Caesar and one of the forerunners of modern news media, were distributed across most of the Roman Empire. The Indian Emperor Ashoka's edicts, inscribed on rock in the third century BC, are found across South Asia, from Afghanistan to Sri Lanka and writers, during his reign, had a prominent place in the royal household, The epigraphs were mainly in the Brahmi script, but the language used was Prakrit. This was to ensure that such public communication reached the widest audience. During the Mughal period in Indian history (1526—1858), the waqi-a-nawis (newswriters) were employed by the kings to inform them of the progress in empire. Both horsemen and dispatch runners transmitted the news and reports. In China, the Tang dynasty
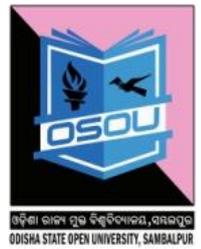
created a formal hand-written publication, the tipao or 'official newspaper', which disseminated information to the elite, and in the Qing period (1644-1911) private news bureau sprang up which composed and circulated official news in the printed form known as the Chingpao.In addition to official systems of communication, there have also always been informal networks of travelers and traders.

The technologies of international communication and globalization may be contemporaryphenomena, but trade and cultural interchanges have existed more than two millennia ago between the Graeco-Roman world and Arabia, Iran, India and China. Indian merchandise was exported to the Persian Gulf and then overland through Mesopotamia to the Mediterranean coast and onwards to Europe. An extensive trans-Asian trade flourished from ancient times, linking China with India and the Arabic lands. The Silk route through central Asia linked China, India and Persia with Europe. Information and ideas were communicated across continents, as shown by the spread of Buddhism, Christianity and Islam. The media of communication developed from the clay tablet of Mesopotamia, the papyrus roll in ancient Egypt and Greece, to parchment codex in the Roman Empire. By the eighth century paper introduced from China began to replace parchment in the Islamic world. It then spread to medieval Europe. Also from China, printing slowly diffused to Europe, aided by the Arab occupation of Spain, but it was not until the fifteenth century, with the movable-type printing press developed by Johann Gutenberg, that the means of communication were transformed. By the beginning of the sixteenth century, the printing presses were turning out thousands of copies of books in all the major Europeanlanguages. For the first time Christianity's Holy Scriptures were available in a language other than Latin, undermining the authority of priests, scribes and political and cultural elites. As a consequence, the unified Latin culture of Europe was finally dissolved by the rise of the vernacular languages. The printing revolution helped to lay the basis for Reformation and the foundations of nation state and of modern capitalism. Printing in the vernacular languages of Europe, especially Portuguese. Spanish, English and French, became the main vehicle of communication for the European colonial powers in many parts of the world. This transplantation of communication systems around the globe created a new hierarchy of language and
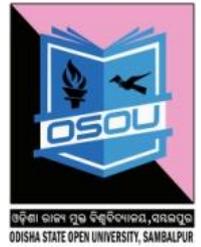
culture in the conquered territories. The Portuguese Empire was one of the first to grasp the importance of the medium for colonial consolidation, with the kings of Portugal sending books in the cargoes of ships carrying explorers. They opened printing presses in the territories they occupied — the first in Goa in 1557 and in Macao in 1588. Other European powers also used the new technology, and the printed book played an important role in the colonization of Asia, particularly as used by missionaries disseminating translations of the Bible to local populations. The Industrial Revolution in Western Europe, founded on the profits of the growing international commerce encouraged by colonization, gave a huge stimulus to the internationalization of communication. Britain'sdomination of the sea routes of international commerce was to a large extent due to the pre-eminence of its navy and merchant fleet, a result of pioneering work in the mapping out of naval charts by the great eighteenth- century explorers, such as James Cook, enabled also by the determination of longitude based on the Greenwich Meridian. Technological advances, such as the development of the steam engine, the iron ship and the electric telegraph all helped to keep Britain ahead of its rivals. The growth of international trade and investment required a constant source of reliable data about international trade and economic affairs, while the British Empire required a reliable supply of information essential for maintaining political alliances and military security. Waves of emigration as a result of industrialization and empire helped to create a popular demand for news from relatives at home and abroad, and a general climate of international awareness. The postal reform in England in 1840, initiated by the well-known author Anthony Trollope as postmaster general, with the adoption of a single-rate postage stamp (the Penny Black), irrespective of distance, revolutionized the postal systems. This was followed by the establishment of the Universal Postal Union in 1875 in Berne, under the Universal Postal Convention of1874, created to harmonize international postal rates and to recognize the principle of respect for the secrecy of correspondence. With the innovations in transport of railways and steamships, international links were being established. The same accelerated the growth of European trade and consolidated colonial empires.
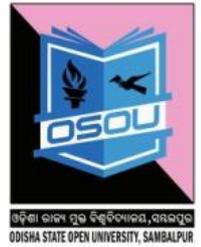
1.4.3: The growth of the telegraph

The second half of the nineteenth century saw an expanding system of imperial communications made possible by the electric telegraph. Paralleling the modern internet it transformed global communication. Invented by Samuel Morse in 1837, the telegraph enabled the rapid transmission of information as well as ensured secrecy and code protection. The business community was the first to make use of this new technology. The speed and reliability of telegraphy were seen to offer opportunities for profit and international expansion. The rapid development of the telegraph was a crucial feature in the unification of the British Empire. The first commercial telegraphs link was set up in Britain in 1838. By 1851 a public telegraph service, including a telegraphic money order system, had been introduced. By the end of the century, as a result of the cable connections, the telegraph allowed the Colonial Office and the India Office to communicate directly with the Empire within minutes when, previously, it had taken months for post to come via sea. By providing spot prices for commodities like cotton, the telegraph enabled British merchants, exporting cotton from India or Egypt to England to easily beat their competitors. The new technology also had significant military implications. The overhead telegraph, installed in Algeria in 1842, proved a decisive aid to the French during the occupation and colonization of Algeria. During the Crimean War (1854-56), the rival imperial powers, Britain and France, trying to prevent Russian westward expansion, exchanged militaryintelligence through an underwater cable in the Black Sea laid by the British during the conflict. The Crimean conflict was also notable for the pioneering war reports of Irishman William Howard Russell in the Times of London, who was to become the first big name in international journalism. Similarly, during the Civil War in the United States of America (1861-65), over 24,000 kilometers of cable was laid to send more than 6.5 million telegrams. The American Civil War was not only one of the earliest conflicts to be extensively reported, but also set the first example of cooperative news gathering among the American and European journalists. It also saw the use of photojournalism. The first underwater telegraphic cable, which linked Britain and France, became operational in 1851 and the first transatlantic cable connected Britain and the United States in 1866. Between 1851
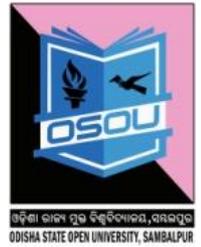
and 1868, underwater networks were laid down across the North Atlantic, the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf. During the 1860s and 1870s, London was linked by cable to the key areas of the Empire. The first line between Europe and India via Turkey was opened in 1865. Two other cables to India - one overland across Russia and the other undersea via Alexandria and Aden, were both started in 1870. India was linked to Hong Kong in 1871 and to Australia in 1872. Shanghai and Tokyo were linked by 1873. By the 1870s, telegraph lines were operating within most countries in Asia and an international communication network, dominated by Britain, was beginning to emerge.The newspaper industry played a significant role in the development of international telegraph networks in order to exploit the rapid increase in demand for news, especially the financial information required to conduct international commerce. The establishment of the news agency was the most important development in the newspaper industry of the nineteenth century.It altered the process of news dissemination, nationally and internationally. The increasing demand among business clients for information on businesses, stocks, currencies, commodities, harvests ensured that news agencies grew in power and reach. The French Havas Agency (precursor of Agence France-Presse or AFP) was founded in 1835, the German agency Wolff in 1849 and the British Reuters in 1851. The US agency Associated Press (AP) was established in 1848. From the start, Reuters made commercial and financial information its specialty, while Havas was to combine information and advertising.

These three European news agencies, Havas, Wolff and Reuters, all of which were subsidized by their respective governments, controlled information markets in Europe and were looking beyond the continent to expand their operations. In 1870 they signed a treaty to divide the world market among themselves. The resulting association of agencies (ultimately to include about thirty members) became known variously as the League of Allied Agencies (les AgencesAlliees), as the World League of Press Associations, as the National Agencies Alliances and as the Grand Alliance of Agencies. More commonly it was referred to simply as the Ring Combination. In the view of some it was a 'cartel', and its influence on world opinion was used by governments to suit their own purposes.
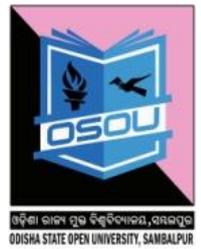
The basic contract, drawn up in 1870, set reserved territories for the three agencies. Each agency made its own separate contracts with national agencies or other subscribers within its own territory. Provision was made for a few 'shared' territories, in which two, sometimes all three agencies had equal rights. In practice, Reuters, whose idea it was, tended to dominate the Ring Combination. Its influence was greatest because its reserved territories were larger or of greater news importance than most others. It also had more staff and stringers throughout the world and so contributed more original news to the pool. British control of cable lines made London itself an unrivalled center for world news, further enhanced by Britain's wide-ranging commercial, financial and imperial activities.

In 1890, Wolff, Reuters and Havas signed a new treaty for a further tenyears. Havas emerged stronger than ever — it gained South America as an exclusive territory, and also Indo-China. But Havas yielded its position in Egypt, which became exclusive Reuters' territory but continued to share Belgium and Central America with Reuters. The major European agencies were based in imperial capitals. After the First World War, although Wolff ceased to be a world agency, the cartel continued to dominate international news distribution. The first challenge to their monopoly came from AP when it started supplying news to Latin America with the international news cartel broken by the 1930s. AP and other US agencies, such as the United Press (UP-founded in 1907) began to encroach on their terrain. AP began to expand internationally.

1.4.4: The advent of popular media

The expansion of printing presses and the internationalization of news agencies during the nineteenth century were key factors contributing to the growth of a worldwide newspaper industry. In 1838 the Times of India was founded, while south-east Asia's premier newspaper, the Straits Times, was started as a daily newspaper from Singapore in 1858. Advances in printing technology meant that newspapers in non-European languages could also be printed and distributed. The spending on advertising in the United States increased from $0.45 billion at the start of the century to $212 billion by its end. In the twentieth century, advertising became increasingly important in international communication. This trend became even stronger with the
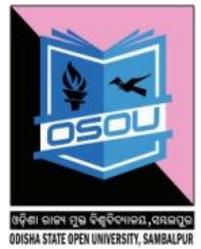
growth of radio and television. The American cowboy and masculine trademark of The Marlboro Man, introduced in 1955 and identified with Philip Morris's Marlboro cigarettes, gained a worldwide advertising presence, making Marlboro the best-selling cigarette in the world. Though tobacco advertisements were banned on the US television in 1971 and health groups successfully fought against promoting smoking through advertisement in the United States and other Western countries, nevertheless 'The Marlboro Man' was nominated as the icon of the twentieth century by the US trade journal Advertising Age International.

1.4.5: Radio and International communication

As with other new technologies, Western countries were the first to grasp the strategic implications of radio communication. Unlike cable, radio equipment was comparatively cheap and could be sold on a mass scale. There was also a growing awareness among American businesses that radio, if properly developed and controlled, might be used to undercut the huge advantages of British-dominated international cable links (Luther, 1988). They realized that, while undersea cables and their landing terminals could be vulnerable, and their location required bilateral negotiations between nations. On the other hand radio waves could travel anywhere, unrestrained by politics or geography.

At the 1906 international radiotelegraph conference in Berlin, twenty-eight states debated radio equipment standards and procedures to minimize interference. The great naval powers, who were also the major users of radio (Britain, Germany, France, the United States and Russia), had imposed a regime of radio frequency allocation. As worldwide radio broadcasting grew, stations that transmitted across national borders had, in accordance with an agreement signed in London in 1912, to register their use of a particular wavelength.World's first short-wave radio broadcasts were sent out from Moscow in 1925. Within five years, the All-Union Radio was regularly broadcasting communist propaganda in German, French, Dutch and English. By the time the Nazis came to power in Germany in 1933, radio broadcasting had become an extension of international diplomacy. The head of Hitler's Propaganda Ministry, Josef Goebbels, believed in the power of radio broadcasting as a tool of propaganda: Real broadcasting is true propaganda.
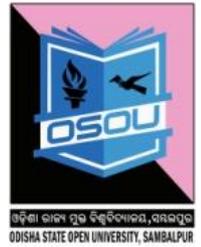
Propaganda means fighting on all battlefields of the spirit, generating, multiplying, destroying, exterminating, building and undoing. In 1935, Nazi Germany turned its attention to disseminating worldwide the racist and anti-Semitic ideology of the Third Reich. The Nazi broadcasts were targeted at Germans living abroad, as far as South America and Australia. These short-wave transmissions were rebroadcast by Argentina, home for many Germans. Later, the Nazis expanded their international broadcasting to include several languages, including Afrikaans, Arabic and Hindustani and, by 1945, German radio was broadcasting in more than fifty languages.

In Fascist Italy, under Benito Mussolini, a Ministry of Print and Propaganda was created to promote Fascist ideals and win public opinion for colonial campaigns such as the invasion of Abyssinia (Ethiopia) in 1935, and support for Francisco Franco's Fascists during the Spanish Civil War (1936-39). Mussolini also distributed radio sets to Arabs, tuned to only one station — Radio Ban in southern Italy. This propaganda prompted the British Foreign Office to create a monitoring unit of the BBC to listen in to international broadcasts and later to start an Arabic language service to the region. The Second World War saw an explosion in international broadcasting as a propaganda tool from both sides. Japanese wartime propaganda included short-wave transmissions from Nippon HosoKyokai (NHK), the Japan Broadcasting Corporation, to Southeast and East Asia and also to the West coast of the United States, which had a large Japanese American population. In addition, NHK also transmitted high-quality propaganda programs such as Zero Hour aimed at US troops in the Pacific islands. Although the BBC was not directly controlled by the British Government, its claim to independence during the war, was, in the words of noted historians of British media, little more than a self-adulatory part of the British myth. John Reith, its first Director General and the spirit behind the BBC, was for a time the Minister of Information in 1940 and resented being referred to as Dr Goebbels' opposite number. The Empire Service was established in 1932.

1.4.6: The BBC

In contrast to US state propaganda, the BBC's External Services prided themselves on presenting a mature, balanced view, winning by argument, rather than hammering
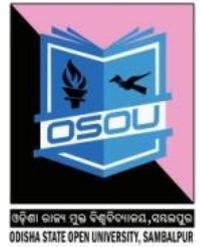
home a point, in the best tradition of British understatement. This proclaimed policy of balance gave the BBC more international credibility than any other broadcasting organization in the world. The BBC's dependence on the British Government was evident, since its budget was controlled by the Treasury through grant-in-aid from the Foreign and Colonial Office (now called the Foreign and Commonwealth Office), which could also decide which languages were used for programs and for how long they were broadcast to each audience. For example, during the Berlin blockade of 1948-49, almost the entire output of the BBC external services was directed to Eastern bloc countries. In addition, the government exerted indirect influence on the BBC. What distinguished the BBC was its capacity to criticize its own government, however indirectly. The special relationship' that characterized US/UK ties during the Cold War years was also in evidence in the realm of international broadcasting. With the establishment of its Russian language unit in 1946, the BBC World Service played a key part in the Cold War through its strategically located global network of relay stations. These included stations in the Ascension Island and in Antigua (where it shared transmitters and relay station with the German radio station Deutsche Welle to cover the Western hemisphere): multi-frequency broadcasting center in Cyprus (for the Middle East, Europe and northern Africa); at Masirah, leased from Oman (for the Gulf region); in Seychelles (for east Africa): in Kranji Singapore (for southeast Asia) and in Hong Kong (for east Asia, especially China).

Other Western stations, such as Deutsche Welle and Radio France International (RFI), also contributed to the war of words. RFI, particularly strong in the former colonies of France, had two main relay stations- at Moyabi in Gabon and in Montsinery in French Guiana. In addition, it leased transmitting facilities from commercial Radio Monte Carlo in Cyprus to broadcast to the Middle East. Unlike Britain, France did not play such an important role in the Cold War broadcasting battles. RFI was not jammed by the Soviet authorities. Concerned with maintaining its independent foreign policy and with a cultural focus, French international broadcasting concentrated on promoting its culture and commerce in its former colonies in Africa, the Middle East, the Caribbean and parts of the Pacific.
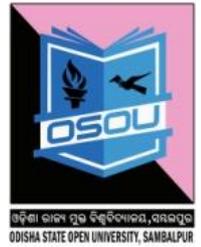
1.4.7: Cold War propaganda in the Third World

Another major battle for the hearts and minds of people during the Cold War was fought in the Third World, where countries were emerging from centuries of subjugation under European colonial powers. The Soviet Union had recognized that, since the nature of the anti-colonial movements in Asia and Africa was largely anti-Western, the political situation was ripe for promoting communism. The West, on the other hand, was interested in continuing to control raw materials and develop potential markets for Western products. Radio was seen as a crucial medium, given the low levels of literacy among most of the population of the developing countries. In addition, the nascent media in the newly independent countries in Asia and Africa were almost always state-controlled and thus less able to compete with foreign media, with their higher credibility and technological superiority. The Middle East was a particular target for Western broadcasters, given its geo-strategic importance as the source of the world's largest supply of oil. It is no coincidence that the Arabic Service, created in 1938, was the first foreign-language section of the BBC's Empire Service, to be followed by the Persian service in 1940. The French, British and American broadcasters dominated the airwaves in the Arab world, while the Arabic service of Kol Israel (the Voice of Israel) also played a key propaganda role in the Middle East. Western support for the conservative Arab countries and the feudal order they perpetuated was also reflected in the treatment of Arab radical nationalism in Western broadcasting.

The British Government used a Cyprus-based British commercial broadcaster Sharq al-A dank to broadcast Voice of Britain' anti-Egyptian propaganda, however, with little effect. To counter this Egyptian President Gamal Nasser used the radio to promote the idea of pan Arabism. The Cairo-based Voice of the Arabs,' was an international service, which in the 1950s and 1960s became the pulpit of revolution, notably in the leftist revolution in Iraq in 1958.

Pan-Arab sentiment also helped the Palestinian liberation radios, which regularly and often clandestinely broadcast from Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) offices in Cairo, Beirut, Algiers, and Baghdad, moving positions to avoid Israeli attacks. These radios played a key role in keeping the Palestinian struggle alive. In Algeria, the
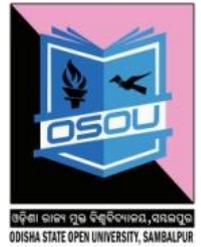
Voice of Algeria, the radio station of the Front de Liberation National (FNL), played an important role in the national war of liberation against the French colonial authorities. In the words of Frantz Fanon, the radio created out of nothing, brought the nation to life and endowed every citizen with a new status. In Asia, In addition to direct broadcasts from the United States, VOA operated from Japan, Thailand (where the Voice of Free Asia was part of VOA) and Sri Lanka. Following the Chinese Revolution in 1949, US priority was to stop the expansion of communism into other parts of Asia. In 1951, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) funded the Manila-based Radio Free Asia, notable for its anti-communist stridency. It was later replaced by Radio of Free Asia, which continued until 1966.

During the Vietnam War, US propaganda reached new heights (Chandler. 1981; Hallin, 1986). The Joint US Public Office became the delegated authority for all propaganda activities, the chief aims of which were to undermine the support for communists and to keep the support of the South Vietnamese. These messages were conveyed mainly through dropping leaflets and broadcasting from low-flying aircraft, It is estimated that during the seven years it operated in Vietnam, the USIA, supported by the armed forces, dropped nearly 50 billion leaflets — nearly '1,500 for every person in both parts of the country' (Chandler, 1981: 3). Radio played a crucial role in the psychological warfare. The CIA also ran Voice of the Patriotic Militiamen's Front in South Vietnam and two anti-Sukamo operations in Indonesia— Voice of Free Indonesia and Radio Sulawesi. In Latin America, an area that the US has traditionally regarded as its sphere of influence, US media propaganda has been intense, especially since the communist revolution in Cuba in 1959 led by Fidel Castro. During the 1962 Cuban missile crisis, President John Kennedy launched a virulent anti-Castro propaganda campaign. Unable to dislodge Castro from power and concerned that his success might promote anti-US sentiments in other parts of Latin America, the US Government resorted to using propaganda, notably with the introduction in 1983 of Radio Marti and later, in 1990, of TV Marti, which Cuba considered a hostile act, violating its sovereignty (Alexandre, 1993).

1.4.8: Creating a Global Communication Infrastructure

Since the 1980s, there have been fundamental ideological changes in the global political arena, which have led to the creation of pro-market, international trade regimes, with a huge impact on international communication. The processes of liberalization, deregulation and privatization in the communications and media industries, combined with new digital information and communication technologies (ICTs), have enabled a quantum leap in international communication. The resulting globalization of telecommunications has revolutionized international communication, as the convergence of the telecommunications, computer and media industries has enabled more information to travel more swiftly around a digitally linked globe than ever before in human history. In the past three decades, the global triumvirate of powerful institutions — the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Trade Organization (WTO) — have played a crucial role in Privatization of global economy. A study based on the analysis of a large number of IMF lending arrangements concluded that when the economic beliefs of a policy team are close to the beliefs of the IMF, loans are larger, conditionality is weaker, and enforcement is less rigid. In other words, policy teams composed of fellow travelers receive special treatment by the IMF.

The new ICTs have helped to create a global communication infrastructure based on regional and global cable and satellite networks, which are being used for telecommunications, broadcasting and electronic commerce. The communication infrastructure provides the hardware for internet-driven global communication. At the same time, there has been a change from state to private control and from a state-centric view of communication to one governed by the rules of the free market, reflecting policy shifts among major powers and multilateral organizations, such as the International Telecommunication Union (ITU).
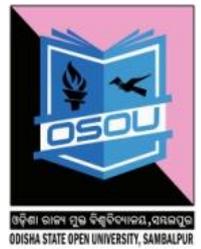
1.4.9: Information

Essential to the notion of the information society is obviously 'information' itself. Much thinking about the future of information societies is based upon a series of popular myths, such as: more information is better than less information, more information creates more knowledge and understanding, open information flows
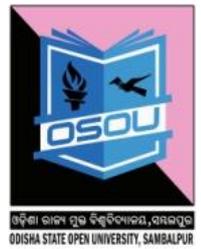
contribute to the prevention of conflicts, more information means less uncertainty and more adequate choices, if people are properly informed they act accordingly, more information equals more power and once people are better informed about each other, they will understand each other and be less inclined to conflict. All very attractive assumptions but none is necessarily true! A very popular assumption claims that information equals power. Information becomes a source of power only if the necessary infrastructure for its production, processing, storage, retrieval, and transportation is accessible, and when people have the skills to apply information to social practice and to participate in social networks through which information can be used to further one's interests. The assumption proposes that people were never able to exercise power because they were ill-informed and ignorant. However, too often people knew precisely what was wrong and unjust, and they were very well informed about the misconduct of their rulers. Yet they did not act, and their knowledge did not become a source of power because they lacked the material and strategic means for revolt.

A very attractive line of thought proposes that once people are better informed about each other, they will know and understand each other better and be less inclined to conflict. However, deadly conflicts are usually not caused by a lack of information. In fact, they may be based upon very adequate information that adversaries have about each other. As a matter of fact, one could equally well propound the view that social harmony is largely due to the degree of ignorance that actors have with regard to each other. In many societies members engage with each other without having detailed information about the others.

Most assumptions about the role and effects of information and knowledge are based upon seriously flawed cause-effect models. Information and knowledge are conceived askey variables in social processes and, dependent upon how they are manipulated, certain social effects will occur. Social science research has taught us, however, that information and knowledgesharing do not occur in the linear mode of simple stimulus response models. These processes are more complex. involve feedback mechanisms, and somewhere between the message and the receiver there are intervening black box variables that may create both predictable, expected and desirable as well as

unpredictable, unexpected and undesirable effects. Even the best of peace-building information is no guarantee that people will behave peacefully. Such expectations are essential if one believes that social conflict is primarily caused by inadequate information. From this reasoning, it follows that conflicts will be resolved once adversaries have the correct information about each other.

This suggests that if adversaries knew more about each other, it would be easier for them to reach agreement. It is, however, difficult to find empirical evidence for this suggestion and one could equally well propound the view that social harmony is largely due to the degree of ignorance that actors have vis-a-vis each other.

The expectations about the power of information neglect the fact that conflicts often address very real points of contention and may be based upon the antagonistic interests of fundamentally divergent political and economic systems. There may indeed be a conflict situation precisely because adversaries have full and detailed information about each other's aims and motives. ¡f disputes are about competing claims to scarce resources (as often is the case), it is unlikely that distorted communication is the crucial variable or that correction of this distortion would resolve the conflict. Moreover, precisely in situations of conflict, the problem is often the abundance of information rather than the dearth of it.

1.4.10: What happened to communication?

There is in current public debate, policy, and practice a strong emphasis on the importance of information and information technology. It is disconcerting that in much of this debate "communication" has practically disappeared. Yet, for the resolution of the world's most pressing problems we do not need more information processing but the capacity to communicate. Ironically, as our capacity to process and distribute information and knowledge expands and improves, our capacity to communicate and to converse diminishes. Moreand more people worldwide are interconnected through high-speed, broadband digital networks. However, connecting is not the same as communicating.

Is there a theory of global communication?

What we would like to understand and explain about global communication are the following:
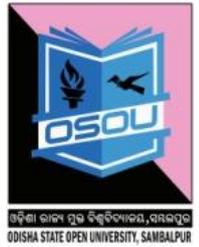
- How it evolved over time and expanded in volume and actors?

- How is it organized (in what institutional forms),owned and managed?

- How discursive power is exercised through global communication?

- What (economic, political, or cultural) impact global communication may have and what specific functions does it fulfill?

- How worldwide audiences respond to and deal with global communication?

The field is haunted by a paucity of theoretical reflection, particularly in the area of global communication.

1.4.11: On theorizing

The basic ingredients of all scientific study are observation and interpretation. The main purpose of science is to understand phenomena ¡n the social and natural world around us. We want to understand where these phenomena come from, why they behave as they do, and how and why they relate to other phenomena.

Marcel Proust wrote that "the act of discovery is not in finding new lands, but in seeing with new eyes' This is what the scientific exercise requires: "seeing with new eyes', The core business of all scientific work is observation.

According to McQuail (2000), four kinds of theory relevant to mass communication can be distinguished. They are as follows:

- Social science theory, which is a set of ideas about the nature, working, and effects of mass communication.

- Normative theory, which is a set of ideas about how media should operate if certain social values are to be attained.

- Operational theory, which is a set of ideas assembled and applied by media practitioners in the conduct of their work.

- Common-sense theory, which is a set of ideas that we all have from our personal experience with the media.

For the study of global mass communication, McQuail (2000: 215—240) suggests the following domains: the new driving forces of technology and money; ownership and control of international media; cultural imperialism; dependency; national and cultural identity; Trans nationalization of media; and international news. McQuail's
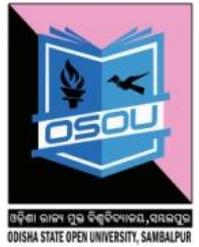
very useful overview convincingly demonstrates that the mass media are a valid object of scientific theorizing.

1.4.12: Secular theology

In his book In de schaduw van God [In God's Shadej, Harry van den Bouwhuijsen (2010) argues that theory in human and social sciences is in fact secular theology. The portrayal of the human being on which these sciences are based is derived from a tradition of monotheistic Christian thinking. Theological fictions not only determine the view of the "self" but also of the "other' The self is largely viewed as an individual person with a free will and with the capacity to account for his/her actions and to explain the intentions of his/her actions. Western social science searches for motivations and intentions of human behaviour, assuming that human beings can know themselves. This assumption is not universally shared.

For the Indian image of self (for example, in the Mahabharata epos), the question of why are you doing something makes no sense. You act in way X because you are X and there are no other motives. The Navaho Indians think that why-questions are foolish. The Mexican Zapotec say we look at the face, we do not know what is in the heart. On Papua New- Guinea and among the Himalayan Sherpas there is no interest in intentions of actions. Understanding the other means accepting what he does.

In the Christian tradition, the other is seen as ultimately not different from the self. There is a strong drive towards discarding differences, and focusing on unity, universality and the conversion of those who think they are different. We are all descendants from Abraham, and differences are only temporal, eventually they will disappear.

St Paul declares, in his letters to the Colossians (3:11) and the Galatians (3:28), that there are no fundamental differences: we are all one. When the Amerindians had to fit into this biblical imagery. Pope Paul III (1537) declared them real human beings. They could receive the Christian faith and were potential Christians. Of course, they were killed when the mission of conversion failed. This secular theology, which is also dominant in communication studies, hampers a real, global understanding of communicating with "others" across the world. In studies on intercultural communication, for example, there is a general tendency to propose models ("tricks")
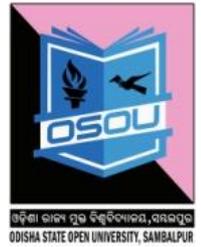
that enable "us" to communicate with "them". They are in principle like us, only a bit different, and we need to learn how to deal with their deviance from us. The concept of the other as an exotic or deviant variant of the Self poses a deep obstacle to intercultural communication. Most studies in this field are based upon Western social science concepts that are taken to be universal, although they may not exist somewhere else.

1.4.13: International Communication

International usually refers to processes that occur among states, like in international relations. Although it has been suggested that the state is withering away, we have to acknowledge that it is still a formidable reality and — often — a powerful agent in facilitating, promoting, or hindering communication across their borders. However, it also needs recognition that the international arena increasingly involves interactions between both state and non-state actors. The international political arena has multiple actors. Particularly since the Second World War, we find such agents as intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), international non -governmental organizations (INGOs), transnational business corporations (BINGOs) and international public service organizations (PINGOs). Studies of international communication are often inspired by the nation-state as the key concept. This has been seriously challenged by the development of diasporacommunities around the world: de-territorialized "imagined" communities that are made up of a great variety of migrants that keep moving back and forth between home and host countries or that settle in host countries but often with strong attachments to their countries of origin. Diaspora communities also will often develop media that produce and distribute content related to their specific experiences. International communication is in fact communication among states and inter-state communication would be a more appropriate term.

- **World communication**. This term has a broader meaning than international communication. It remains a somewhat nebulous term, though, and conjures up romantic associations with the "family of man".

- **Transborder communication**. The term sounds awkward hut does suggest precisely what the core phenomenon of our explorations will be. The form of

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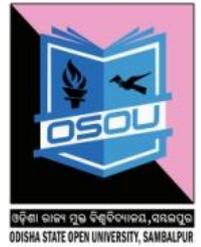
communication we will investigate is a "glocal" process in which "messages" flow across national borders.

- **Global communication.** This is the most fashionable term today. It also has its disadvantages both in translation and in its suggestion that we have achieved the creation of a one-world community. Global represents rather an aspiration than a reality. Communication globalizes but it also remains local. Most TV and film production is not global, but local in origin. Global and local belong together. We do not live in the globe but in specific locations. However cosmopolitan one may be, one's identity is primarily defined by "locality": the locus of birth, family, language, jokes. Attachment to the place where you experience the greatest cultural "comfort" — often referred to as cultural proximity — is an essential experience. We are global and local citizens and our communication could possibly best be termed "glocal".

Almost inevitably when global communication is mentioned, thoughts are directed towards its largest contemporary infrastructure: the Internet. The Internet as a network is not only a material concept, it is also a psychological concept that brings home to its users the world as a very diversified whole. The network is decentralized, horizontally structured, de-territorialized, but also localized. We are globally interconnected from bounded places! As Appiah has phrased it, we are "cosmopolitan patriots". Obviously, the "we" in such statements does not include all the world's people. Global communication has a normative connotation as it suggests the existence of a global society in which all the planet's habitants participate and equally matter. In the early twenty-first century many people continue to be excluded from global connections.' Today communication can be seen as an "agent" of globalizing processes in economic, political and social-cultural fields that interconnect large numbers of people across the globe.

1.5: Check Your Progress
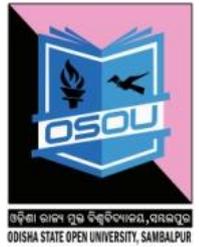
A) Explain international Communication.

B) What is Media imperialism?

C) What are non-aligned newspool?
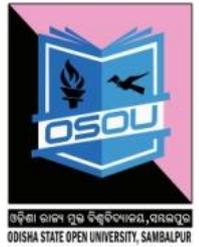
Unit – 2: International flow of Information

2.0 Unit structure

2.1: Learning objectives

At the end of this unit you should be able to explain the importance of global communication as a key player in global economics and global politics. You will be introduced to concepts such as media imperialism and imbalance in international news flow. You will also understand the importance of New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO).

2.2: Introduction

Whatever adjective we may prefer, at the core of our interest is communication. Yet another "name" that cover a great variety of meanings. As the student of communication knows, the ever-expanding literature offers an almost endless list of definitions. But do we really have to begin with a definition? Do psychologists define the psyche? Do biologists define life? Do mathematicians define number? The best approach may be to begin with the observation of human behavior. Seen from another planet, human societies probably look very much like ant hills: permanent movements by little animals that run around from A to B and from B back to A. If we take the observation of "motion" as a starting point, the extraterrestrial observer would probably agree with Manuel Castells, who wrote that our society is constructed around flows (1996). Flow is a useful concept since it suggests a multi-directionality of movements: linear and circular, top-down and bottom-up, engineered and spontaneous.
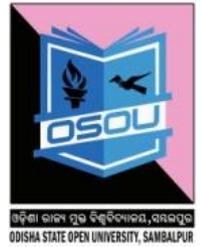
Throughout much of recorded history there have been flows of people, flows of goods, flows of money, and flows of stories. The flow of stories deserves special attention since it has developed into the type of movement that is essential to the other flows. Flows of people (such as in tourism and business travel) are today unthinkable without massive volumes of stories about airline tickets, hotel reservations, or purchases by credit cards. The same holds for the traffic of goods, which is impossible without an extensive network of computerized message transmissions. Flows of money have become streams of electronic bits. Banks transport messages about transfer and reception of funds to other banks, to governments, and to clients but do not move the funds themselves. The cross-border flows of stories provide the essential supporting infrastructure to trading across the world and to global financial transactions. Worldwide transport of people, goods, and money is today unthinkable without global communication.

The contents of global communication provide news, advertising and entertainment to numerous people around the globe. The stories that news providers, ad agencies and entertainment companies produce contribute significantly to how people see other people and how they frame and interpret the world in which they live. People have always lived with images of the others who lived in distant places. Usually the images were reflections of distorted realities. Atilla the Hun was already aware of the critical importance of images. As a skilled precursor of modern propagandists, he spread wildly exaggerated stories about the supernatural powers of his army in his campaignsthroughout fifth-century Europe.

Global communication today is a crucial source of our perceptions about the world and for our sense of belonging to this world.

•   Global communication is a key player in the global economy.

•   Global communication is essential to global politics, Politics provides an important argument for the relevance of global communication.

•   Military operations depend upon global communication

Military activities have worldwide become dependent upon command, control and intelligence systems, and the use of unmanned predator planes (drones) as well as the

possibility of cyber war, all of which demonstrate the significance of global communication.

• Global communication is a carrier of cultural expressions

Global communication distributes globally essential cultural icons, is crucial to the development of cultural mélanges and is a major cause of local resistance against foreign cultural impositions.

2.3: The globalisation of Communication

The rise of a global media system first became visible in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries with the early development of a global infrastructure of telegraph and wireless connections and global news distribution (through Reuters. Havas, and Wolff). These forerunners were not so much driven by the interests of the imperial powers (Britain, France, Germany, in particular), but rather by commercial and trading interests. The expansion of global communication has often been documented as the history of the struggle of imperial countries to control communication infrastructures. However, Winseck and Pike (2007) have demonstrated - with considerable empirical evidence — that the companies active in these infrastructures were not as closely affiliated with national governments as was often believed.

There was certainly rivalry among the empires but also a large measure of cooperation. In the mid-nineteenth century many newspapers regularly published world news and they were served by transnational agencies such as Reuters, Havas and Wolff. In the first part of the twentieth century governments discovered the potential of international propaganda and the film industry emerged as an international medium, with the exports of Hollywood films. The recorded music industry also catalyzed the process of globalization.

The arrival of television satellites in the late 1970s broke the principle of national sovereignty of broadcasting space and made it difficult, and ultimately impossible, to offer effective resistance to television transmissions from outside the national territory. The driving forces were also primarily economic: the need in most countries for large volumes of imports, commercial/profit, and advertising.
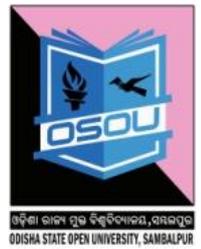
Markets for products became global and advertising went overseas. Media products that could fairly easily globalize (i.e. be sold in foreign markets) were news, cinema films, recorded music and TV serials.Television is still probably the single most potent influence in this media globalization process.

There exists today no real global media; there are hybrid forms based upon national contexts. There may be global connections hut the modus operandi is determined by national standards, objectives, and expectations. Jeremy Tunstall (2008) argues in The Media Were American that most people in the world do not speak English, that most prefer their own jokes, their own music, politics, and sports. In countries with large populations, national and local media are increasingly important and countries like India and China import little TV fare. International media productions are localizing. Major US studios are increasingly using local production facilities in Europe, Asia, and Latin America. Columbia TriStar, Warner Brothers, and Disney have set up international TV subsidiaries to produce English language co-productions, followed by country-specific programming. Sony has contributed to local-language film production in Germany, Hong Kong, France, and Britain, and television programming in eight languages. STAR TV, part of media mogul Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation, aggressively adopted the policy of indigenization in offering localized channels, including: STAR Chinese Channel (For Taiwan), and STAR Japan.

There is increasing economic interdependence but not media-interdependence. One can observe media-regionalization (especially in Latin America and the Arab countries) but this is not the same as media-globalization. In spite of the globalizing tendencies in the field of communication, the "national" remains essential (Tunstall, 2008: 450). The national level of media is still dominant in the countries where 90 per cent of the world's people reside. Audiences today prefer their own news, weather, sports, comedy, soaps, games, reality and other cheap factual programming. In the Asian region, for example, we find Korean TV drama, Chinese pop-music, and Japanese comic strips.-

Most national media cover significantly more local news than global news. There remains a North South news gap; in the era of globalization one might have expected
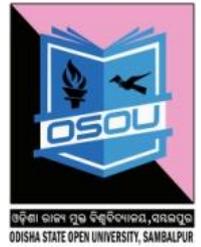
an increase in global news. However, this is not the case. The local framing of global news is paramount and global events thus become local stories. Worldwide, nationalism continues to be a crucial factor in both news and entertainment. The nation-state is still a force to reckon with in the age of global communication. Mechanisms applied by nation states are import restrictions, quota rules, and giving prime time to local products.

One reason for the proliferation of transnational channels is the physical movement of people that carry with them aspects of their culture. The issue of identity is central to the migrant's lifestyle, living as they often do "between cultures (Bhabha, 1994). The nature of cultural mixing, as Martin Barbero has argued, can lead to a "hybridization of cultures (Barbero, 1988). Iranian cable television in Los Angeles, for example, has had to tread a careful line between providing programs which retain atraditional Islamic way of life with those which display the local consumerist lifestyle in the USA. New communication technologies have made it possible for broadcasters from many developing countries to export their media products successfully. Turkey's TRT launched TRT-INT in 1990 to transmit programs via Eutelsat to Turkish-speaking populations in Western Europe, mainly aimed at the two million-strong Turkish population in Germany. There are new national and regional storytellers, like Al-Jazeera in the Middle East, the Brazilian TV soap industry. Mexico's Televisa, or Bollywood, the Indian film industry.

One of the most puzzling questions for the study of global communication is: Does global communication make the world a smaller place? Does it create a "global village" as Marshall McLuhan suggested? Or is Fortner correct in proposing that "Communication across distances, however, does not reproduce the intimacy that is the hallmark of village life" (Fortner, 1993). As Fortner suggests, a better notion may be the "global metropolis' Characteristic of the big city is that most people do not know each other and that message flows are highly unequal.

2.4: International flow of information

NWICO and MacBride Commission Report

In the 1970s, international debates on communication problems centered on issues like media imperialism, imbalance in international news flow, and concentration and

monopolies in the communication industry. These issues were thoroughly discussed and reached points of confrontation in many areas. Whereas the Third World countries protested against the dominant flow of news from the industrialized countries; their contentions were countered as attacks on free flow of information. There were differences on subjects like news values, rights and responsibilities of journalists and the contribution of mass media to national development. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the lead agency in the UN system became the forum for articulating views on these issues. Therefore the General Conference of UNESCO in its nineteenth session, held at Nairobi in 1976 decided 'that highest priority should be given to measures aiming at reducing communication gap existing between developed and developing countries and at achieving a freer and more balanced international flow of information", and that a review should be undertaken of thetotality of the problems of communication in modern society." The Director General of UNESCO, AmadouMahtarM'Bow therefore appointed a 16-member commission-International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems, under the chairmanship of Sean MacBride, holder of Nobel and Lenin Peace Prizes, journalist and former Ministerof Foreign Affairs, Ireland. The members of the commission were drawn from different political, economic and geographical spectrum from all over the world and included journalists and broadcasters, researchers and academics, organizational heads of news agencies and press foundations. A senior and respected journalist and former editor of The Hindustan Times, B.G. Verghese represented India. The Report of the Commission-Many Voices. One World; Communication and Society -Today and tomorrow constitutes one of the most precious documents in the field of communication studies.

2.5: Media Imperialism

The issue of media imperialism resonates with the old phenomenon of colonialism; except that it is more pervasive today; its nature and scope has changed. Media imperialism has various manifestations; monopolization of media, concentration of media industries or domination or control of Third World and developing countries' media by the capitalist, western media. Surprisingly, literature

on the subject originating from the western countries is quite critical of the phenomenon. The best way to understand the issue is to refer to the opinions expressed by leading authors and commentators over a period of time, starting from the MacBride Commission report which says: We can sum up by stating that in the communication industry there is a relatively small number of predominant corporations which integrate all aspects of production and distribution., which are based in the developed countries and which have become transnational intheir operations. Concentration of resources and infrastructures is not only a growing trend, but also a worrying phenomenon which may adversely affect the freedom and democratization of communication. Concentration and trans-nationalization are the consequences, perhaps inevitable of the interdependence of various technologies and various media, the high costs of research and development and the ability of the most powerful firms to penetrate any market.

Other authors see such concentration as a process historically linked to the more general economic and political processes of first colonial, and then imperial developments in the twentieth century. This is elaborated by authors Tim O'Sullivan and others. Whereas colonialism is viewed as an early stage in this process, predominantly concerned with economic advantage and exploitation, imperialism results from wider and more complex forms of dominance, directed towards empire building at the global level. Imperialism is the systematic production of massive disparities in wealth, power and influence, on a worldwide scale. Dominant, 'First World' (a term usually referring to North America, Western Europe, Japan and Australia) economies are able to control supply and demand on world markets, and poorer countries are encouraged to import First World goods and commodities in exchange for raw materials or cheap labour.

2.6: Information Imperialism

Ninety per cent of international news published by the world's press comes from the 'big four' Western news agencies. They are United Press International (UPI), Associated Press (AP), Reuter and Agence France Presse (AFP). Two are American, one is British, and one is French. Their output is supplemented by the transnational giants: from Murdoch to Times Warner to CNN. Almost all of these are
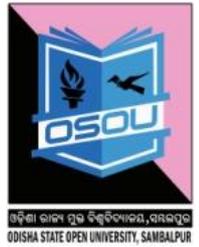
American. The largest news agency, UPI, gets 80 per cent of its funding from US newspapers. A survey in the mid-I980s found that UPI devoted 71 per cent of its coverage to the United States, 9.6 per cent to Europe, 5.9 per cent to Asia, 3.2 per cent to Latin America, 3 per cent to the Middle East and 1.8 per cent to Africa.

'These figures', wrote the Canadian writer Don Rojas in Third World Resurgence, 'give a clear picture of the phenomenon called information imperialism. In the total volume of UPI's information, news about the United States took up more space than that devoted to the whole African continent, where more than 50 countries are situated.' Former Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere once noted sarcastically, that theinhabitants of developing countries should be allowed to take part in the presidential elections of the United States because they are bombarded with as much information about the candidates as are North American citizens (Third World Resurgence, issue 12, quoted byPilger, 1992).

The book, One No, Many Yeses,by Paul King,discusses the anti-globalization phenomenon worldwide. Ben Bagdikian's classic book, The Media Monopoly has always been the primer for what is happening to our media. It came out in 1983, and in it he identified fifty corporations that controlled most of the media in the United States. The latest edition, which came out in 2000, identified six corporations. And these corporations are now subsumed in even bigger corporations. CNN and ABC are controlled by Disney. NBC is controlled by General Electric. These are no longer news gathering organizations in control of their own destiny. They are controlled by entertainment companies interested in maximizing profits. This concentration of monopoly control of information poses a serious threat to democracy. The most worrying aspect ¡s that forces of media imperialism, media monopoly/media concentration are stronger, entrenched as ever, all protests notwithstanding. They influence the national culture of the affected countries. Although the situation in developing countries is changing fast and television is no longer confined to metropolitan areas, even then it has given rise to the class of people whose tastes, aspirations, fashions and life styles are more Westernized than others in the society. The development of global communication technologies has been in consonance with the requirements of capitalism for new markets.

The threat to independence in the late twentieth century from the new electronics could be greater than was colonialism itself. The new media have the power to penetrate more deeply into a 'receiving' culture than any other previous manifestation of Western technology. The results could be immense havoc, an intensification of the social contradictions within developing societies today (Smith, 1980).

In effect the concepts of 'media imperialism' and the 'globalization of culture' are inextricably linked. Global communications are owned and controlled, almost exclusively, by 'First World' (US, European. Australian and Japanese) corporate interests and largely by a handful of US transnational conglomerates.

In this sense a worldwide 'McDonalds and Madonna' culture, as promoted by television and the mass media, is seen as powerful and threatening to local identity, creating economic dependence, social pacification and cultural displacement.

2.7: Check Your Progress

   A) Explain international Communication.

   B) How does Information Imperialism affect the Third World Countries?

   C) What are the main features of MacBride Commission's Report?
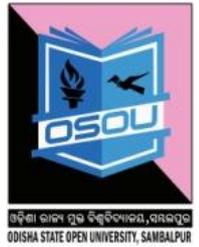
Unit- 3: International News Agencies

3.0: Unit Structure

3.1: Learning Objectives

After reading this unit you should be able to:

- Understand the news agency values

- Know the historical background and primary activities of various International news agencies.

3.2: Introduction

News agencies play a crucial role in the news gathering process. Agencies compete among each other to be the best in their business. Like newspapers and other media houses news agencies too stand by certain policies and principles.

3.3: News Agency Values

To be first is a journalistic pride. News agencies have been competing with each other to be first with the news at the desk of subscribers. Charles-Louis Havasis considered being the first founder of a news agency. He had already understood that rapidity was an essential factor in the transmission of news. For that reason he installed his agency in a street next to the post office. The technique has improved infinitely since 1832. Thanks to advances in communication technologies, agencies
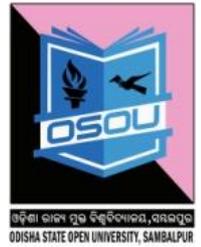
now talk of real-time coverage of important events. Agencies could beat their rivals first by days, then hours and minutes, and now seconds. With 24-hour news channels and the Internet, there is rush to break the news among different media, particularly, news agencies who serve all different types of media. UNESCO said in News Agencies: Their Structure and Operation (1953): "Under systems of government which respect freedom ofinformation, the very purpose of an agency places it under an obligation to observe the most rigid objectivity and impartiality, without which the organizations it supplied with news cannot rely on having the right of choice which is implicit in freedom of expression.

The First Press Commission of India (1952- 54) observed: "The basic function of a news agency is to provide news reports of current events to the newspapers and others who subscribe for its service. As would be apparent from this description, it acts only as an agent for collection. It is, therefore, expected to have integrity and disinterestedness." The Press Commission emphasized that, as in the case of justice, a news agency should not only possess integrity but should be seen to possess it. The need for objectivity arises from the character of the news agency as the supplier of bulk and basic news to the large variety of news outlets, with different hues and attitudes. This contributes to a sense of proportion in disseminating different points of view and reflecting various facets of life. The Indian Press Commission even remarked that "a news agency should not have any specific editorial policy of its own in the sense in which the term is generally understood."

Proclaimed Values

News agencies themselves swear by certain principles and values. These are placed in their corporate websites and any write up on themselves. Here is an assortment of such statements by different news agencies:

3.4: Reuters

Reuters' is most eloquent in such statements. It says: Reuter's news operations are based on the company's Trust Principles which stipulate that the integrity, independence and freedom from bias of Reuters must be upheld at all times. Reuters is dedicated to preserving its independence, integrity and freedom from bias in the gathering and dissemination of news and information. Under the constitution of the

Reuters Founders Share Company, its directors are required to act generally in accordance with the Reuter Trust Principles. The constitution of Reuters Group PLC requires Reuters directors, in the performance of their functions, to have due regard to the Reuter Trust Principles.

The Reuter Trust Principles are:

• That Reuters shall at no time pass into the hands of any one interest, group or faction;

• That the integrity, independence and freedom from bias of Reuters shall at all times be fully preserved;

• That Reuters shall supply unbiased and reliable news services to newspapers, news agencies, broadcasters and other media subscribers and to businesses, governments, institutions,individuals and others with whom Reuters has or may have contracts.

• That Reuters shall pay due regard to the many interests which it serves in addition to those of the media; and

• That no effort shall be spared to expand and develop the news and other services and products of Reuters.

3.5: AFP

The AFP represents editorial quality and reliability, a reputation built since the agency was founded in 1835. AFP is fully independent from outside influences, be they political, corporate, ideological or religious. It guarantees total objectivity and an ability to provide customized products.

3.6: AP

The AP has a mission statement: The Associated Press ¡s in the information business. Its fundamental mission is to provide state, national and international news, photos, graphics, broadcast and online services of the highestquality, reliability and objectivity to its domestic owners as economically as it can. The AP is a member-driven company.News bearing the AP logotype is expected to be accurate, balanced and informed.
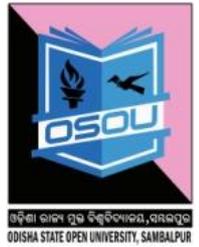
Its legendary General Manager Kent Cooper used to say "true and unbiased news - the highest original moral concept ever developed in America and given to the world."

3.7: UPI

United Press claimed to have established two new principles in news agency operation. One was that a news organization could cover the news of the world independently. The second was that newspapers anywhere could buy its news. Newspaper publisher E. W. Scripps combined three regional news services to form the United Press Associations. UP's announcement on 15 July 1907 said: "It is announced that the United Press will not be run on narrow or monopolistic lines, but will seek to give fair and impartial service to all legitimate newspaper publishers in the field." Scripps later said: "I regardmy life's greatest service to the people of this country to be the creation of the United Press, because the competition provided by UP prevented the Associated Press from having a monopoly in determining what news was provided to the public. In a recent press release, UPI writes about itself, "Since 1907, United Press International (UPI) has been a leading provider of critical information to media outlets, businesses, governments and researchers worldwide. Covering a wide range of topics, UPI's journalists provide in-depth reporting of major news events and offer unique analysis of global issues affecting business and policy decisions. UPI Products include original content ¡n English, Spanish and Arabic. Headquarters are in Washington DC with offices in Beirut, Hong Kong, London, Santiago, Seoul and Tokyo."

3.8: AAP

Australian Associated Press (AAP) has a mission statement: "Our mission is to deliver high- quality, timely and impartial news, analysis and information to our customers."

It also claims to adhere to some principles:

This mission statement is supported by a number of principles that guide the way AAP operates:

AAP's news and information services are available to all the Australian news media.

The AAP news service (pictures and text) is always sold to the Australian media on a non-exclusive basis. There should be no cross subsidies between one customer group and another.

3.9: Others

Agence Telegraphic Switzerland (ATS) says the Company rests on three basic values which are independence, solidarity and the capacity of innovation.

Italian ANSA claims to stick to the values: Timeliness, Objectivity, and Authority. Press Trust of India (PTI) talks of authenticity, accuracy and speed while United News of India (UNI) claims an enviable reputation for fast and accurate coverage. Associated Press of Pakistan (APP) remains committed to excellent journalistic traditions by objective, credible and accurate reporting.

Jiji Press of Japan says: In keeping with the motto "Bringing World News to Japan and News about Japan to the World," Jiji Press enjoys a solid reputation in Japan and abroad for its reliable, fair and objective reporting based on independent management made possible by being 100 percent employee-owned.

Chinese agency Xinhua claims, with truthful, objective coverage of domestic and institutional events, and its espousing of Third World interests, Xinhua News Agency will continue to be a voice that the world cannot afford to ignore.

Here is post-cold war statement from a state run national agency. The main task of the News Agency of the Slovak Republic ¡s to gather, compile, archive and provide versatile information on events in Slovakia and abroad that fulfill the requirements of objectivity, trustworthiness and quick access.

Armenpress news agency in Armenia has adopted the motto of securing accurate, unbiased and speedy information.

Mediafax the largest independent news agency in Romania has the following company values:

1. Clients are the most important.

2. Professionalism and integrity at all costs.

3. Quality. The quality of its services has turned the clients of Mediafax into faithful customers.
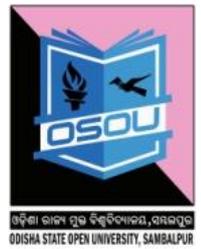
3.10: Bias

However, there ¡s another school of thought according to which there is no such thing as objectivity. It is just a journalistic myth, which ¡s claimed but cannot be achieved. No matter how much one may try to ignore it, human communication always takes place in a context, through a medium, and among individuals and groups who are situated historically, politically, economically, and socially. This state of affairs is neither bad nor good. It simply is. Bias is a word that identifies the collective influences of the entire context of a message. Bias stems, among other things, from (1) national interest, (2) the social and political structure within which an agency operates, (3) the nature of the news source, and (4) the background of the "gatekeeper" or copy editor. Slant is more evident ¡n interpretative reports. But even "straight" news reports are not immune from it and it is here that national interest as well as the interest of the bulk of clients determines the angle of view. This is very well illustrated by the example of how a US news agency on which most of the Latin American countries depend fortheir news reported the attainment of freedom by the South American colony, Surinam, in 1976. For Latin America and for the rest of the world, the event was of historic significance as it marked the removal of the last outpost of direct colonial rule from the continent. But since the US was interested in Surinam solely as a supplier of bauxite, the news agency led its story by saying that export of that commodity to the US would be unaffected by Surinam's independence from Dutch rule. The US agency, in this case perhaps cannot be faulted because the angle was appropriate to the US interests. But must national interest be allowed to determine the global news value of an event? The example is perhaps a case of unintended bias, which an agency claiming to be an international one should in any case have corrected in its copy meant for destinations other than the US.

Distortion resulting from the commercial concept was illustrated by JuvanSomavia, now the Chief of ILO as quoted in a UNESCO document prepared for the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems in 1978. According to him, "The commercial concept of news (has) a built-in systematic discrimination against those events that cannot be sold—which are not news because the controlling market has no interest in them. At the same time, there is a tendency to
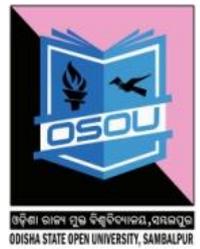
distort by projecting those aspects of events that make them more marketable." The end product is "an out-of-context message whose content is determined by the logic of the market." News content is thus shaped by preferences that dominate a news organization. The news report will conform to all the norms of objectivity in a formal way but the impact will be conditioned by obvious and subtle, intended and unconscious bias. Another important source of bias is the sociopolitical and economic structure within which an agency operates. News judgment will inevitably reflect the values upon which this structure rests. The gatekeepers or copy-tasters have, therefore, become significant in debate on bias in news. The nature of newsgathering and processing operations often gives rise to bias. Different people see the same event variously. It is like the six blind men "looking" at the elephant. Each had his own "perception" depending upon which part of the elephant's body he had felt. But together they did not make an elephant. Similarly, when news has to be gathered from different sources, the final report may still not present a truthful or a full picture. There were several studies on objectivity and bias during the controversial debate on New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) in 1970s and 1980s.

A British editor complained that "a good deal of agency news has to be discarded because there is not sufficient interpretation, and a bald statement of the facts is often incomprehensible to the ordinary reader." About one-fifth of the European editors, questioned on their views of interpretation by the agencies, believe that it should be separated from straight news. Explanatory writing from the news agencies is useful. However some European editors who warned of explanatory material could see a risk of bias or editorializing in agency interpretation of foreign news events. There can be, believed a Belgian editor, even "bias in good faith." The minority of editors who say they did not want explanatory material at all were chiefly apprehensive about the possibility of bias or editorializing. "We are skeptical about all interpretation, even our own sometimes, in this age of psychological warfare," said a Dutch editor, typical of a few in each country. The editor of a London newspaper was against any interpretation by agencies on three counts: (1) every agency is dominated by the nationalistic view of one country (2) agency interpretation is generally interpretation from anonymous sources; (3) agency interpretation is often interpretation supplied by
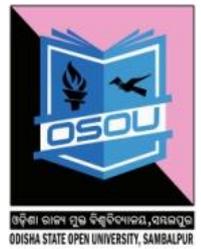
"small-town newspapermen" who just happen to be "attached to a world-renowned agency." A Swiss editor said he found that almost every foreign correspondent runs the risk of becoming biased. He is almost bound to lose his capacity to view thewhole picture objectively, and he will often give a one-sided picture of political events as seen from his place of assignment.

The IPI study found that European editors, much more than Americans, believed that improvement was needed in the accuracy of agency dispatches. Some editors also talked of sensationalism even in the reporting of so-called "straight news."

The competition for "exclusives" is taken to account for instances of sensationalism. Exclusive stories are rare, said the editor of a Paris daily, "and have sometimes to be invented." A French editor says the agency bureaus are "overfeeding" their subscribers and that what newspapers primarily want are tailored reports.'A Dutch editor, typical of the others, said that agency correspondents often "write for Americans and not Europeans; sometimes they write forAnglo-Saxons and see Europe from the outside.' The study found that a distinguishing characteristic of Indian press coverage of Western countries was that relatively little of it is covered by Indian journalists." Mr. Robert Trumbull', the New York Times correspondent based in India, analyzing the picture of his country given in the Indian press, found the picture of the United States in the press of India as 'bizarre as the average American's impression of India. "If the average Indian's impression of the United States is formed by the newspapers, he must think of Americans as a race of hustling dollar-grabbers, fantastically efficient in working hours, but obsessed in leisure time with comic books, night dubs, the crueler sports and vicarious sex. The place of cultural activities, religion and family life in the United States gets insignificant publicity, while racism, snobbery and material ambition are overexposed.'
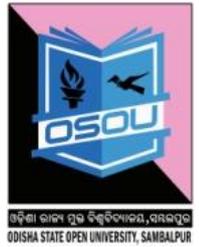
3.11: Check Your Progress

A) What are the main features of the debate surrounding New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO)?

B) Describe Jiji press of Japan and Xinhua of China.

C) What are the two news agencies of India? Describe their functions in some detail.
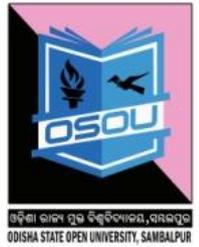
Unit-4: NAM and Non-aligned News Agencies pool

4.0: Unit Structure

4.1: Learning Objectives

After reading this unit you should be able to:

- Explain imbalances in International news flow.

- Appreciate the reasons that led to the formation of NAM.

- Describe the importance of Non-aligned News Agencies pool

4.2: Introduction

Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) represented the aspirations of the Third World. Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool (NANAP) reflects the need for a New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO). NANAP was supposed to correct the imbalances in International News flow, which otherwise was, and still remains, heavily tilted in favour of the developed world. Though almost defunct now, the goals set by NANAP are more relevant now than they were at the time of its formation.

4.3: Imbalance in International News Flow

The MacBride Commission made a comprehensive study of the issue in Part III of its Report: Problems and Issues of Common Concern.

During the intervening twenty-five years there have been changes in the way information flow. There have been more community radio stations where participation at the programme production is more democratic, regional language press which brings out more news from districts and rural areas and the Internet which is providing an alternate source of information dissemination. Some of these alternate sources are discussed elsewhere in the book, but by and large the big picture remains the same. In the wake of the UNESCO debate about the proposed New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO), several news agencies and news exchange mechanisms (NEMS)were formed throughout the developing world. Some of these were Inter Press Service (IT'S), Non-aligned News Agencies pool (NANAP), the Pan-African News Agency (PANA), and the Caribbean News Agency (CANA). Except for the IT'S, most of these have been interagency co-operative ventures sponsored by the governments. On behalf of UNESCO, a study of these organizations was conducted by Boyd-Barrett and Thussu.

Their conclusion was:

NEMs do not appear to have had a significant impact on the structures of media imperialism over the past two decades. The development and maintenance of local and regional centers of news exchange does not in itself indicate a weakening in the global market hold of the major western transnationals. The Asian Mass Communication Research and Information Centre (AMIC), Singapore in 1996, brought out a publication: Opening windows — Issues in Communication, which was essentially a selection of articles published in Media Asia, AMIC's quarterly journal which commenced publication in1974. This Silver Jubilee Collection contains an article by Boyd- Barrett: New Perspectives, New Directions, published in Media Asia in Vol. 8, No. 4 (1981). The article was written when the NWICO debate was still at the height of its influence.
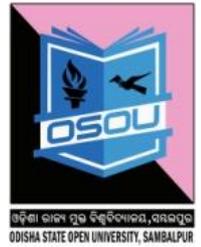
In the Afterthought the author says:

In many ways the situation today is no less severe. There are some significant changes, but it is easy to be misled into thinking that these changes have profoundly altered the underlying dynamics of power and influence in global news media…Two of these agencies, Reuters Television and AVIV have connections with the old "Big 4" print agencies. Another, WTN, grew out of the old UPITN. There are some important newcomers- notably, CNN and some old players are nolonger so influential-notably UPI. The relative ranking of different agencies has also undergone some surprising developments: in 1981, it would still have been difficult to predict just how enormously successful would be the future of Reuters' involvement in financial and economic news services. In 1981 nobody could have predicted the collapse so soon of the Soviet Union and the eastern communist block. This has brought about a reconfiguration of agency influence in what was once termed the "Second World", and has also seen the emergence of a late generation of new national news agencies.

Despite the changes, however, global news power is still heavily Anglo-American.

If anything, the American influence as the global news power has increased alternative news sources and news agencies notwithstanding.

In the same publication, Bella Mody, a well-known communication researcher says that technology options for Third World countries are limited by our financial capital constraints and by technical underdevelopment. Pointing at the difficulties encountered in raising funds for communication projects Mody says, "The bilateral nature and the low level of US financial contributions to UNESCO IPDC, an organization originally proposed by the US, bears witness to the donor's partisan interests. The fact is that the donors (now withholders) of big sums of aid are, for the most part, the old colonial powers that continue to influence their one-time colonies through their transnational corporations."

Media imperialism continues to operate in the world because of the high cost of broadcasting, especially as Western markets have large advertising revenues and can afford to dump their programs and films on developing nations.

4.4: New Information and Communication Technologies

Multimedia, Satellite Communication, Internet and its Social Impact

Since early 1960's Information Revolution has been the buzz word. The world has been experiencing, at an accelerating pace, an unprecedented Third Wave- fast forward movement. The Information Revolution is characterized by information becoming the central and most significant commodity. An interesting offshoot of the Information Revolution is- Informatization of Society on the one hand and the Commodification of Information on the other. The significance of dawn of Information Revolution is underlined by the number of information-related terms it has given rise to: 'Information Society, Information Technology, Informatics, Information Industries, Informatization Indicators and several more. Information hasbecome a catalyst for economic development, and a key resource for literacy, education and social development. During the past five years or more there has been a flood of writings about information explosion.' Multi-media revolution'and 'information superhighway', inrelation to developments in Information Technology.

4.5: Information Society

The concept of Information Society goes back to the Japanese who are generally given credit for coining the Japanese term JohokaShakal in mid-1960s. The term simply means Information Society, in which the primary activity of a majority of workforceis in the areas of information production, processing and distribution. In the Information Society, information constitutes the basic resource and information workers are the main segment of employees. Whereas the social scientists consider Information Society as a process of technical change, subsequently it has been defined in terms of workforce structure. In the Information Society, a majority of workforce is engaged in the production, processing, transmission and distribution of information goods and services. The bewildering advances and developments in computerized information systems have brought the industrialized nations to the brink of what some have begun to describe as post-industrial era of the information Society. The centrality of information/knowledge has also been emphasized by Daniel Bell. In the post-industrial society, processing of information will be more important than

production of goods. The value of information will be increasingly recognized, as well as the need for information specialists to act as guides to the vast information resources that will exist in the electronic form. Informatization is becoming a global trend. Information is considered not only as a commodity but also as a cultural and social resource. The contemporary society is at a point where information and wealth are practically one and the same thing, information is a commodity rather than a public service. An Information Society is a society characterized by abundant information in terms of both stock and flow, quick and efficient distribution, and easy and inexpensive access to information for all members of society. The Ministry of Posts & Telecommunications in Japan (1985) also indicated some of the key features of information. They are as follows:

(a) Public needs for information have become increasingly sophisticated and diversified,

(b) New communication media share certain border areas with conventional media such as mail, telecommunications and broadcasting, and

(c) Networks (i.e. data communications) are being formed on a large scale.

The National Information Technology Plan for Singapore defines Information Technology as the use of computers, telecommunications and office systems in all aspects of information, from collection and processing to storage, package and dissemination. Information technology, therefore, constitutes an integral component of the economic development plan of Singapore. It plays a dual role in the economic development of Singapore. It is a high tech industry in itself creating IT related products and services, as also a tool to increase productivity and enhance competitiveness in all sectors of society.

4.6: Alvin Toffler and Third Wave media

The Information Ageguru Alvin Toffler considers contemporary societal changes and technological developments as high speed revolution, the Third Wave, which is creating a new civilization all around us. Classifying agricultural phase as the First Wave, industrial phase as the Second Wave, he considers exploding change- with personal lives being torn apart, the existing social order crumbling, and a fantastic new way of life emerging on the horizon, as the Third Wave, with new

styles, new values and technologies, new modes of communication, new ideas and concepts emerging all around.

4.7: New Information and Communication Technologies

The New Media are now generally classified as New Information and Communication Technologies (NICT). In his paper, New Information/Communication Technologies : Their Role in Education, KiranKarnik lists photocopying, video recording, facsimile, personal computers, E-mail and computer networks, satellite, telecommunication, including mobile communication and satellite broadcasting and receiving equipment for satellite transmissions as NICTs.

Some of these, like photocopying have been in use for many years, what is new is their present form, speed, accessibility and user-friendliness. However, with the phenomenal advances in communication technologies, the concept of 'new' is becoming controversial. This is particularly so because changes are so spectacular that what is new today may become archaic tomorrow, owing to the rapid changes inthe industry. It is also apparent that more and more writers on communication technology are using the term 'Information and Communication Technology' or 'New Information/ Communication Technologies', interchangeably. The convergence of both the technologies is such that it is difficult to distinguish the respective product application of one from the other. Each of them serves various functions but they share some common features. They disseminate messages with greater speed, accuracy and efficiency.

4.8: Multimedia

Today, it looks as if the word multimedia is sweeping the globe. Technologists, planners and policy-makers seem fascinated to talk about the bright future ahead- the dream world of the 21st century with the utilization of multimedia. Multimedia refers to the linkage of computers, television sets and telephones in an increasingly elaborate global network.

The electronic world is referred to as information highway, because of its potential to tap a vast realm of digitized information: stock market information, magazines, shopping catalogues, libraries — much of which is available on the Internet. It is the boundless worldwide web of computer networks. The consulting agency, Booz-Allen and Hamilton, in a report to the office for the assessment of technological consequences of the Bundestag, the German House of Representatives, has characterized multimedia as a generic term for a wide variety of new types of products in the computer, telecommunication and media.

The fundamental multimedia characteristics, according to this report are interactive usage, the integration of various media types and digital technology. Interactive usage means that the user is not only a recipient but by using the relevant channels can receive feedback and thereby change contents. Integration of various media types means that video and audio sequences can be combined with text and data. Digital technology is used both for storage and later processing of the data.

The most commonly stated advantage of multimedia for Asia and the Pacific countries ¡s that its utilization will be most useful in countries with mountainous and complex topography. Moreover, in the multimedia society receivers can also act as senders, whereas traditional media, such as TV, radio or books can only carry information one way, from senders to its receivers. It should, however, be noted that it takes a tremendous amount of money to build the infrastructure necessary for the application of multimedia and equally huge amounts of energy to maintain the systems.

4.9: Cable Television

Much like the satellite technology, development of cable television was also heralded as 'an answer to the need for more diversified content'. Since cable television offers the possibility of unlimited number of channels for a multiplicity of users and purposes (multiple channels, multiple choices for the viewer) it was trumpeted as 'technology of abundance'. It was, however,not adequately realized that cable television could not be optimally used unless there are a number of stations with a variety of programme material available to feed those channels. In the absence of sufficient quantity of culturally compatible, civic and community oriented software

available, the cable operators have to fall back upon whatever is available in the entertainment supermarket.

One of the most favored aspects of cable television is the availability of channels for educational and community access programming. In some countries where cable has been introduced, the regulatory authorities have made it a prerequisite that cable system operators, whether public or private, provide a community or public access channel which citizens of the community can use for localized programming.

4.10: Advent of Internet

There are few other innovations, with have far-reaching consequences as Internet in the contemporary society.

The advent of Internet has been so pervasive and all-embracing at least in the developed world that it has given rise to new ideology - 'lnternetphilia'. Although to some discerning critics, this ideology seems to be over-hyped, accompanied by irrational exuberance, others see in the Internet the cure for a number of ills besetting the contemporary society. The descriptions about the use and utility of Internet seem to be written in hyperbolic language.

Organizations are finding that the Internet is not just a new way to communicate. It is a market place where they can put orders out for bids, it is an instant newspaper for its staff, it reduces the cost of every business process that involves information, be it a plan, advertisement, a set of accounts, a request for supplies or a schedule of deliveries. Organizations do not have to own everything any more; they can be virtually integrated instead, connecting the different bits and pieces through this new medium. B2B, or Business to Business is a real future of Internet and it will transform our organizations.

4.11: Internetphilia

In an excellent contribution — the political economy of the Internet - KorinnaPatelis shows that socio-economic-political factors determine online communication and largely control the future of Internet. The ideology of Internet – Internetphilia - has been announcing the inevitable arrival of a whole new era, whose features are dramatically different, whose qualities and mechanisms cannot be
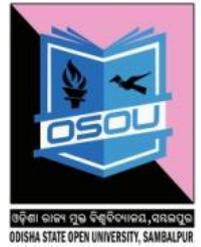
understood with past methods of analysis. It clearly perpetuates a notion of clear break with the past. It is a qualitative change the motor engine of which is purely technological. The change, in turn, installs a new mode of producing, distributing and consuming information - transition from analog to digital information. The key to new era is the ability to store information in combinations of 1 and O. The basic qualities possessed by the Digital Technology are newness and dynamism. Everything is new, everything is in constant fast movement.

Some other characteristics claimed for Internet are: Its global nature (because it annuls distances and removes the limitations of geography), the capacity to empower individuals, institutions and countries of socio- economic periphery andalso to transform citizens across the globe from orthodox media couch-potatoes to active producers of online information. Such empowerment is enabled by the fact that internet is decentralized: it has no center and thus, it cannot be controlled.

It is argued that Internet gives rise to a whole new financial environment, a new economy. It is a digital economy based on abundance rather than scarcity, a market where supply equals demand and prices are set at the lowest optimum level; where oligopolies are avoided owing to low market entry costs; where market dysfunctions are history and diversity is guaranteed. This market is a producer and consumer paradise. Its hallmark is dynamic competition.

In Bill Gates words: Capitalism, demonstrably the greatest of the constructed economic systems, has in the past decade clearly proved its advantages over the alternative systems. As the Internet evolves into its broadband, global interactivenetwork, those advantages will be magnified. Products and service providers will see what buyers want a lot more efficiently than ever before and consumers will buy more efficiently.

The article then goes on to enlist the Internet inequalities and points out that to a large extent telecom capacity and infrastructure will determine Internet usage growth. A country's existing telecommunication infrastructure is paramount for the growth of Internet usage; both providing capacity to ISPs and in providing users with domestic lines for dial-up usage. In addition, connection bandwidth is important for the speed of transmission, which varies significantly across the globe.

It is well known that dedicated connections of high speed that accommodate large information flows are not available to the average user.

**Internet—A Cause for Concern**

The use of Net for questionable purposes has given rise to continuing concern throughout the world. Here are a number of instances in all situations: laying claim to insider knowledge of companies, identification of 'hate sites' and its use as playground for paedophiles.

In February 2000, a small British coffee roasting company called the Coburg group, valued at €2.5 million saw its share price multiply seven times on the rumors that it was about to launch an Internet venture. When the board denied the rumor the price dropped back. Such instances of unfair trading and profit- making in the new economy shares during the e-Business boom in late nineties in India contributed to the collapse of share market in the country.

In 1996, the US Congress passed the Communications Decency Act, which made it a Federal Crime to put obscene and indecent words or images on the Internet. The concern was to protect children from pornography. However, next year the US Supreme Court invalidated a key provision of the law and ruled that in seeking to protect children, the law violated the rights of adults.

In 1997 itself, the Wiesenthal Centre identified more than 500 'hate sites'. Their 1999' report identified 1426 sites including an online video game whose objective was to lynch a black man. The first federal prosecution of an Internet hate crime materialized in 1996 when a 19-year old former student at the University of California sent an email message to about 60 Asian students. Signed as 'Asian Hater', the email ordered the students to leave the campus or be killed by him. He was convicted in 1998 of interfering with students' civil rights to attend a public university.

A classics teacher at the famous Eton College, was arrested in February 2004 for hoarding a library of 2000 child porn pictures on his school computer. He had to resign from the top school, where princes William and Harry had been former students. When asked why he had assembledthe collection, the accused said that he had saved the images because they were attractive to him and he wanted to look at
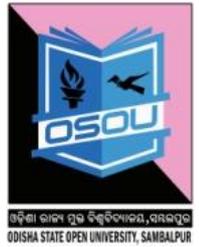
them again. The teacher was sentenced to 9-months in prison to be suspended for two years for his voyeuristic behaviour.

A former Crown Court judge in UK, who had also worked in the Army attaining the rank of Major General was sentenced to 12-months community rehabilitation order for storing 75 pornographic images of the boys on his laptop computer. The former judge, who is married with four children and six grandchildren said that he had visited the child porn sites out of curiosity. The police said, "I hope this case sends a clear message to the general public that the police will pursue and bring before the courts anyone who downloads images of child abuse, whatever their explanation".

4.12: The Formation of the Non-Aligned Movement in the 1970s

"Third World Made Aware of its Power'' or "Third World Begins to Flex its Muscles" were the kind of headlines that appeared in British and American newspapers in September 1973 as they covered the summit of non-aligned states in Algiers. Against all the expectations of Western journalists, diplomats and politicians, from 5 to 9 September 1973 delegations from 75 countries, most of them led by their head of state or government, came together in the Algerian capital. In addition to Algerian president and conference host HouariBoumedienne, the attendees included Yugoslav president Tito, Cuban president Fidel Castro, Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, Egyptian president Anwar as-Sa dat, Libyan president Muammar al-Gaddafi and the president of Uganda Idi Amin. A further 29 observer delegations, delegations with guest status from neutral European countries and UN secretary General Kurt Waldheim were in attendance. At the same time, as in the run-up to the Bandung and Belgrade conferences, Western journalists asked themselves what brought these countries together. They were struck by the spectrum of participants, which seemed moreheterogeneous than ever and was pithily described by Guardian correspondent Hella Pick: "There are feudal kings, upstart commoners, conservative reactionaries, revolutionary Communists, generals, colonels, army privates, survivors of the first Non-Aligned Conference of 1961, and last moment newcomers who only qualified this week' In contrast to the previous conferences of postcolonial and non-aligned states, however, in Algiers there were significantly more participants and the meeting enjoyed an enhanced status due to the presence of the UN secretary general. Not only

that, but for the first time the participating governments agreed to continue their cooperation and appeared set on collectively pursuing their common interests, centered around economic and information policy, on the international stage. In Bonn, London and Washington, therefore, foreign policy experts began to analyze the conference and the emerging Non-Aligned Movement. Within a few years of the Algiers Conference, the NAM had established itself as an international organization dedicated to promoting the interests of the Third World within international relations, its political demands for a new international economicand informational order, advanced in the G77, culminated in the North-South conflict. For the United States, according to Mark Mazower, this represented the greatest challenge to its aspirations to global leadership since the Second World War.

4.13: Global Transformations

International relations changed in the early 1970S. Some of the key factors here were ongoing détente between the Soviet Union and the United States, the admittance of the People's Republic of China to the UN, the collapse of the Bretton Woods system, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and the nuclear weapons limitation treaties (Salt or Strategic Arms Limitation Talks).

An increasing number of non-aligned governments interpreted these changes as a profound shift in international relations. Indonesian foreign Minister Adam Malik spoke of a tendency "toward a new equilibrium" and a "period of transition'. His Indian colleague SardarSwaran Singh claimed that "the world situation has changed significantly" while Tan Sri M. Ghaza li bin Shafie of Malaysia declared: 'A new pattern of relations between nations is rapidly emerging — a pattern which makes the prospect of a peaceful, just and prosperous world order more reaI'. Guyanese prime minister LindenForbes Sampson Burnham noted changes in international relations that he believed were characterized by "an emergence of new centers of power and, in consequence, an increasing diffusion of influence in the international system". From the perspective of the non-aligned states, the previous bipolar order, based on military and economic power, seemed to be fragmenting intoa multipolar order typified by overlapping spheres of influence. In view of these changes, as Guyanese Prime
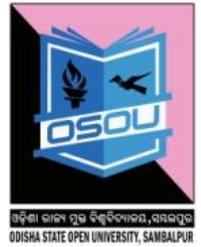
minister Burnham put it during the George Town Conference of 1972, an increasing number of non-aligned governments had begun to ask themselves two questions: What new order would emerge from this transformation in international relations? And what role should the non-aligned states play in this historical situation, so replete with new opportunities? Most non-aligned governments acknowledged some positive developments in international politics. But they were overwhelmingly pessimistic about the future, anticipating that the new order would be to their disadvantage. At their meetings in the early 1970s, they expressed appreciation for the positive effects of East-West detente, the institutionalization of the UNCTAD conferences and the major powers' general willingness to enter into multilateral negotiations. But for the most part they feared that international relations would develop to their detriment. This ambivalent diagnosis finds its clearest expression in their interpretation of détente. From the perspective of the non-aligned states, the positive aspects of easing superpower tensions were the resumption of disarmament negotiations, the reduced risk of war and, above all, the incipient dissolution of the CENTO and SEATO military pacts. Southeast Asia and the Middle East seemed to be breaking free of their Cold War entanglements, while the policy of non-alignment attracted new adherents.

On the other hand the non-aligned governments feared that detente would significantly reduce their importance within international politics. The rapprochement between the superpowers seemed to eliminate the option of playing the two sides off against one another. The non-aligned states now found themselves confronted with an alliance of the Eastern and Western states whenever they tried to enforce their own political demands. This impression was reinforced by the fact that they were excluded almost entirely from the disarmament and peace negotiations between the superpowers. Furthermore,many security issues that were important to them and which they felt represented a danger to world peace were ignored in the negotiations — such as the ongoing existence of the Portuguese colonies, the policy of Apartheid in South Africa, Israeli policies towards the Palestinians and the continued presence of military bases in the non-aligned world. The negotiations and security agreements thus remained geographically focused on Europe or the northern hemisphere. For example, Algeria and other North African states failed to get the CSCE to discuss
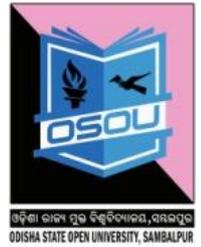
security in the Mediterranean. This occurred despite the Algerian government's efforts to convey to a number of European countries its wish to participate in the conference and to get across the message that security in Europe could not be meaningfully discussed if some of the states bordering the Mediterranean were excluded.

Rather than interpreting the pacts and agreements between the superpowers as a step towards a peaceful world, the non-aligned countries viewed them as a new attempt to divide the world up into zones of peace and conflict, much as in the colonial era.

In 1973, in the closing declaration of their summit in Algiers, the non-aligned states issued an exceptionally clear declaration explaining that the policy of detente, as practiced so far, was not enough to ensure enduring world peace: As long as colonial wars, apartheid, imperialist aggression, alien domination, foreign occupation, power politics, economic exploitation and plunder prevail, peace will be limited in principle and scope. In a world where side by side with a minority of rich countries there exists a majority of poor countries, it would be dangerous to accentuate this division by restricting peace to the prosperous areas of the world while the rest of mankind remained condemned to insecurity and the law of the strongest. Peace is indivisible.

4.14: The 10th Summit Conference of Non-Aligned States in Jakarta, 1992

On 1 September 1992 Indonesian President Suharto and UN secretary general Boutros Boutros-Ghali inaugurated the tenth summit conference of non-aligned states in Jakarta. During the preceding months the Indonesian government had gone to tremendous organizational and financial lengths to prepare for this gathering, investing more than 200 million dollars in the renovation of the conference center, road building and the import of luxury limousines. The latter were to ferry attendees from ninety-five non-aligned countries from the airport to the conference grounds, particularly the sixty heads of state or government who had made the trip in person. 15,000 soldiers were to ensure the security of participants, including Indian Prime minister P. V. Narasimha Rao, Malaysian Prime minister Mahathir Mohammad, the emir of Kuwait, former chairman of the movement Robert Mugabe and Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat. The conference represented a major political event and

networking hub and every significant Third World politician' took part. Along with several thousand delegates, most of them from Asia, Africa and Latin America, before the close of the conference on 6 September, they discussed developments in international relations, particularly the end of the East-West conflict and the breakup of the Soviet Union. The conference was the first summit meeting of the non-aligned states after the end of the Cold War. Journalists, scholars and politicians from all over the world thus looked with interest to Jakarta to discover how the representatives of just under 100 states interpreted this crucial transformation in international politics in the early 1990s. They were also keen to find out what conclusions these states would come to about its consequences for their cooperation within the Non-Aligned Movement. It is these questions that the present unit explores.

In interpretations of 20th-century history the years 1989 and 1991 mark a crucial era namely the end of the East-West conflict, which did so much to mould the century and whose end has often served as the linchpin of historical master-narratives. Not all commentators interpreted its end straightforwardly as the "victory" of the democratic-capitalist Vest over the Communist East. But in the 1990s the dominant reading saw the end of this conflict as evidence of the superiority of the Western social model. But these interpretations have been challenged as the events of 1989 and 1991 have receded into the past and studies of the Cold War have increasingly addressed its ending and explored the conflict's consequences in the Third World. Both in recent studies of the Cold War and in overarching interpretations of the final third of the 20th century, historians have called for a more precise analysis of the consequences of the end of the East-West conflict. Studies that have taken up these challenges have indicated that the events that many analyses associate with the historical shift of 1989/1991 — most prominently the fall of the Iron Curtain" and the dissolution of the Soviet Union — relate chiefly to the political end of the Cold War in Europe. Most studies on the end of the East-West conflict do in fact still focus almost exclusively on events and developments in Europe, with just a few considering the global South. Those that do, however, point out that in Asia, Africa and Latin America there were no events comparable to the fall of the Berlin Wall that mark off the Cold War era from the time after as clearly and symbolically as in Europe. In the Third World the
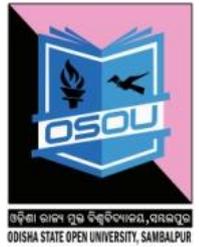
end of the East-West conflict was embedded in longer term processes that were mostly devoid of striking events.

These studies also demonstrate that the end of the conflict between capitalism and communism had very different consequences for different countries. While socialist states such as Cuba lost their closest allies, for Afghanistan the dissolution of the Soviet Union brought an end to war. The conflict between Israel and the Arab states, with a dynamic all its own beyond the logic of the Cold War, continued, as did regional conflicts in Southeast Asia. In South Africa the apartheid regime collapsed, Rwanda saw violent ethnic cleansing and in large parts of Latin America the United States extended its political hegemony. Taken together, these studies show that the end of the Cold War in the Third World was a long-term process with varying political consequences. As yet little is known about the economic and cultural consequences.

NAM itself claims to speak on behalf of the Third World or global South in international politics and champion its interests.

4.15: Non-Aligned News Agency Pool

NANAP was a cooperation system among news agencies of Non-Aligned countries, which lasted from 1975 to mid-1990s. The NANAP was initially led, funded, and supported by Yugoslavia's Tanjug.

It was also known by many different translations, such as the *News Agencies Pool of Non-Aligned Countries*, the *Consorce of Non-Aligned News Agencies*, and the *Common Agency of Non-Aligned Countries*.

The NANAP was founded in late 1974 and started operations in January, 1975, initially with a series of wires with statements and congratulations by their supporting heads of state. The idea responded to many calls for a new balance in world news made since the early 1970s during the debates for a New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO). In the meantime, the NANAP operated as an international, collaborative, charges-free, and institutional cooperation between news agencies of the Third World. Its main goal was to provide their own mass media channels with news which would be unbiased.

Tanjug, specifically, had a leading role not only by hosting and lending equipment, technicians, and training journalists from underdeveloped, poorer countries, but also by taking into the system its own self-management model. Although the Pool had no official headquarters, most of the operations in the first years were held in Belgrade.

Other active agencies in the Non-Aligned Pool were the Maghreb ArabePresse (of Morocco), Tunisian TAP, Iraq's INA and Iranian IRNA.

The NANAP began a slow decline after 1980, when NWICO talks were moved to the UN framework, under the UNESCO. But, after both the United States and the United Kingdom retreated their memberships from the organization, the initiative lost financial support and suffered a boycott by pro-free-market Western institutions.

Also in 1980, Marshal Tito died, and the new leaderships in Yugoslavia deviated focus to other priorities. In the same year, Iraq and Iran started their 8-years war and the NANAP was used as a mean by both INA and IRNA to circulate propaganda warfare.

4.16: Check Your Progress

A) What were the primary concerns of non-aligned nations?

B) What are the primary features of an Information Society?

C) What is non-aligned news agency pool? What led to its formation?