



ଓଡ଼ିଶା ରାଜ୍ୟ ମୁକ୍ତ ବିଶ୍ୱବିଦ୍ୟାଳୟ, ସମ୍ବଲପୁର
ODISHA STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY, SAMBALPUR

ଓଡ଼ିଶା ରାଜ୍ୟ ମୁକ୍ତ ବିଶ୍ୱବିଦ୍ୟାଳୟ,
ସମ୍ବଲପୁର, ଓଡ଼ିଶା

Odisha State Open University
Sambalpur, Odisha

JOURNALISM AND MASS COMMUNICATION (JMC)

**INTERNATIONAL & INTERCULTURAL
COMMUNICATION**

International Information Communication





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Journalism and Mass Communication (JMC)

JMC-15

Block-04

International Information-Communication

Unit-1 International news agencies-AFP; A.P., Reuters

Unit-2 The press Associations-Kyodo; ITAR-TASS (Russia)

Unit-3 China news service- Xinhua; UPI

Unit-4 Relations between international communication and
International relations

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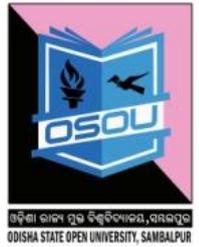
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Unit– 1: International news agencies-AFP; A.P; Reuters

1.0: Unit Structure

- 1.1: Learning Objectives**
- 1.2: Introduction**
- 1.3: News Agencies**
- 1.4: Charges against Global Agencies**
- 1.5: Bad News Syndrome**
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1.1: Learning Objectives

At the end of this Unit you should be able to:

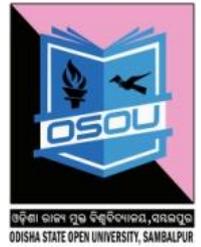
- Understand and explain the role and responsibility of news agencies.
- Understand and appreciate the workings of transnational news agencies such as Reuters, AFP, ITAR-TASS etc.
- Learn about the charges levied against transnational news agencies by Third World countries.

1.2: Introduction

News agencies play a vital role in the news dissemination process. They provide vital news and information to newspapers and other media houses. Along with news agencies in individual countries, there also exist a handful of transnational news agencies such as Reuters, AFP, AP etc. They dominate the global news market. Along with the services they have provided, these agencies have also been charged with ignoring news and issues relevant to third world societies.

1.3: News agencies

All the news items that are printed in newspapers or broadcast in the radio and TV channels are not gathered by their own reporters. A sizeable chunk of them come from news agencies. News agencies are also known as press associations or wire services. They are called press associations because they operate on behalf of the press. They were called wire services because, for long, their services reached different media through wires.



Now the transmission of the news agencies has been taken over by computers and satellites. Now, news agency services are directly fed into the computers of the media houses. A national news agency collects its reports by its reporters from all the important parts of the country. Some national news agencies appoint foreign correspondents in the capital cities of important countries. News agencies around the world also exchange agreements. Those big news agencies which operate in large parts of the globe are known as international or transnational news agencies. News is a big business.

News agencies not only sell news but also photographs (photo services), features and sports services, Stock Exchange information and other financial information, backgrounders as well as audio services (including news) for radio stations and audio visual services (including news) for television stations. Way back at home headquarters the news agencies have the copy desk to edit their news items and other services. News agencies sell their services to media houses particularly the news media (newspapers, radio stations and TV channels), industrial houses and the governments of their countries. The news agencies survive on subscription fees from their clients as well as government subsidy.

The news agencies do not publish newspapers, though they are engaged in collection, processing and transmitting the news stories. The news agencies work round the clock. They never sleep while newspaper presses sleep after printing the newspapers. There is stiff competition among news agencies and 'speed' is the watch-word for them. Being a news agency journalist is both challenging and rewarding. The Press Trust of India (PTI), the United News of India (UNI) and the Hindustan Samachar are India's news agencies while Reuters, Associated Press (AP) and Agence France Presse (AFP) are big transnational agencies. An Indian news agency Samachar Bharati died a premature death. While PTI and UNI served the English newspapers, Hindustan Samachar and Samachar Bharati catered to language newspapers.

Production and distribution of information is a very complicated and competitive business. News agencies have performed this function for decades.



Since the material is delivered to media houses across the globe there is a growing concern about the power of these agencies. As their business have serious implications with regard to national and international communication flows, the advantages and disadvantages arising out of their activities need a study. They raise issues concerning the sovereignty, integrity, politics, economics and culture in different nations. Through news supply these agencies play an important role in shaping the public opinion.

Backed by heavy capital, high-technology and blessings of their governments a handful of news agencies such as Reuters, AFP; A.P; UPI; ITAR-TASS, known as the 'big five' gained global status. With the virtual demise of the UPI and the non-commercial character of the ITAR-TASS the remaining three agencies A.P; Reuters; and AFP continue to have their clout in the production and dissemination of information with a profit motive.

AP and UPI are based in United States. Reuters is U.K-based; AFP is based in France and ITAR-TASS is Russia-based news agency. ITAR-TASS stands for the Information Telegraph Agency of Russia- Telegrafnoi Agentsvo Sovetskavo Sousa. In addition, there are other major agencies, like Deutsche Press Agentur (DPA) of Germany, Kyodo of Japan and Xinhua of China. In due course of time regional and alternative news agencies such as the Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool (NANAP) the Caribbean News Exchange Pool, and the ASIN of Latin America came up on a cooperative basis.

The first news agency was founded by a Frenchman Charles Havas in 1835. Havas is historically important in the long story of news agencies because it was he who laid the foundation for the French AFP, UK Reuters and German DPA agencies.

Perhaps with sole exception of the Russian ITAR-TASS the other four global news agencies AP and UPI of the United States, Reuters of the United Kingdom, and AFP of France got their sustenance through huge subscriptions, multinational corporations/conglomerates of newspapers, the governments of their countries and home corporate sectors.



1.4: Charges against global agencies

It was the transnational news agencies who first commoditized and globalized news. Hence they bear up a lot of blame from the Third world-comprising the developing, less-developed and poor countries - for contributing enormously to the imbalance in the global information flow.

Once upon a time the “big five” agencies AP, UPI, Reuters, AFP and ITAR-TASS claimed to put out nine-tenths of the total foreign news. Supported by heavy capital and advanced technology for vast coverage and transmission of news, they have been able to maintain their dominance with their gigantic scale of operation across the world. Consequently, other agencies have been effectively blocked from setting up of rival services. This smacks of monopolistic practices in the supply of news. As a result of this it is the transnational news agencies who set the agenda of the world every day. They decide through their news delivery, as to what most of the people across the globe would discuss every day.

These news agencies, by applying the Western news values select, interpret and release the news items. People around the world discuss only these events. People across the globe are not given the news items which they actually need and can put to use. They are bound to consume whatever they are served. They digest the news treated in Western and American perspectives-not in their own, even if it is news about themselves and their own country. News is a serious thing because it affects people, their choices and their decision-making process. News by transnational news agencies based in the West affects peoples’ socio-political-economic-cultural lives, in other countries in the most dangerous and harmful ways. Supplying such news is good business for global news agencies. Tainted news will definitely affect the thought processes of the people of the poor and developing countries. This is imposition of information and it smacks of a new brand of imperialism. Telling the people what to think and what to discuss as well as what to accept and what to reject is definitely an attempt to control their mind. The global news agencies are often charged of doing this.



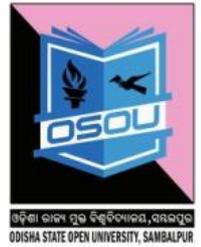
The history of some of the news agencies particularly that of the big American and European news agencies is closely linked to the consolidation of colonial empires in the nineteenth century.

1.5: Bad news syndrome

We in India, have a very sad experience of biased and wrong news disseminated by western news agency, the Reuters during the British rule. When the British left India; they left the Reuters with us, to ‘rule’ us through information-the information which generally was highly prejudiced. The news collected by the Reuters’ staff was dispatched to their London headquarters where they revised and redrafted the copies to suit their own interests and sent back the same to Indian newspapers. If there was drought in India the Reuters would report “famine” and if there was heavy rain the agency would say “flood”. This was their sense of objectivity in news. The Third World countries including India were the silent and helpless spectators of the games played by the Western news agencies.

The British way of looking at any event was most often reflected in the reports of Reuters’, while the American agencies like AP and UPI put forward the slant in the news that reflected the American view.

To the industrialized west or the First world ‘countries tornadoes, flood, droughts, mass poverty, illiteracy, disease, dirt, filth and maladministration were in a sense synonymous with India and other developing and poor countries. The trans-national news agencies overlooked the shining breakthrough brought about by these countries. They were not interested in reporting the development process in the Third World. They badly portrayed the developing countries. Most of the times reports about India and other poor countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America were the usual mixture of half-truths and negative statements of inefficiency of the governments and so on. Private organizations were shown as coming forward to help the people and the Indians were dubbed callous to the miseries of their own brethren. India’s march to self-sufficiency was not being featured in the reports of the Western news agencies.

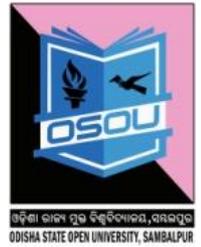


The Third World was being singled out for a negative portrayal through emphasis on natural disasters, coups, strife and other problems. This was known as “bad news syndrome” or “disaster syndrome” in reporting by the trans-national news agencies from the Third World.

The Western news agencies were accused of and were under attack by the developing countries in various international fora including the United Nations Organisation (UNO) for distortion and lack of proper orientation about the Third World. The “bad news syndrome” which was central to the arguments of those who accused the Western news agencies and media of giving an unbalanced picture of developing countries, was one which was cultivated thoroughly as to become a base from which other arguments were sniped. The charge was that the Western news agencies gave inadequate or superficial attention to the realities of the developing countries often infusing news coverage with a cultural bias. The emphasis on the “coups, earthquakes syndrome” was seen by the Third World not only as unbalanced but also detrimental to the development process.

To the West news is a commodity to be sold for profit, while to the Third World it is an instrument for social and economic reconstruction. The Third World countries felt that the state has to act as a guide and should therefore, have some control over news. The definition news varies in this way between the First World and the Third World. The Third World also wanted news about themselves be interpreted in their own perspectives and not in the Western perspectives. They did not want their agenda being set by the transnational news agencies.

Imbalances in the flow of news and information at the international level have not ceased to exist. The one-way flow is still very much in evidence. The global news agencies continue to view the developing world’s events and issues from their own perspectives even today. The UNESCO’s MacBride commission recommendations have brought in little changes in the attitudes of trans-national news agencies toward reporting the development processes in the Third World. As a result, news everywhere in the World is seen almost through the prisms of the West. The Western media giants continue to set the agenda.



1.6: Telecommunication is the base

The process of bringing first the words and pictures, from far off places of the globe to the center of information processing and distributing started in the nineteenth century. Telecommunication is at the center of world communication revolution. All aspects of our lives are being influenced by telecommunication. Historically, the evolution of telegraphic transmission of messages in the mid nineteenth century can be said to have ushered in the era of electronic telecommunication. Imperial expansions and colonial subjugations were indirect result of the application of advanced communication technology during the closing decades of the nineteenth century. Communication technologies played a very important role in the establishment of European domination of the globe during the age of colonial empires.

The communication technologies of the nineteenth century altered the scenario of trade and political relationships. Thus the advancement in the field of human communication devices laid the foundation for a new global civilization. Telegraph, telephone, wireless and radio transmission on the one hand and the new means of transport –automobiles, trains, ships and aero planes- on the other facilitated the international movement of ideas, manufactured goods and raw materials. The international dimension of communication through media has now been further strengthened by satellite communication, cable TV, dish antennae, computer, Internet and digital systems. All media have become electronic and we live in an era of media convergence.

Against this background we will look at the evolution of the international news agencies, which have been functioning right from the middle of the nineteenth century. Some news agencies today wield more power than media corporations and even national governments! The first European agency to grow into a network spanning several continents was Reuters, the British news agency founded in 1851. Although the American Agency Associated Press (AP) was established in 1848 it was not an international news agency for many years.



1.7: The Associated Press (AP)

With the invention of the telegraph by Samuel F.B Morse in 1844 the opportunity for speedy transmission of news and information was created. The telegraph enabled the US newspapers to gather their news quickly. It is in this context the New York Publishers who met in 1848 thought of doing something new for them with the use of telegraph. Consequently, a decision was made to start a news agency and the idea of Association Press (AP) took a concrete form in 1900, as a modern news gathering association.

Competition for the AP was stiff in the beginning years. But it was overcome by the AP. Its contract with the European news agencies for exchange of news had restricted its entry into the British Empire. Reuters was controlling the area with the French agency Havas and the German agency Wolf. The AP traffic chief Kent Cooper is credited with establishing the agency as a global player in the news service.

The AP has since expanded its operation to include economic and financial international news service called AP-DJ (Dow Jones). This service is carried out in conjunction with Dow Jones Inc.; publisher of the Wall Street Journal and Telerate, a major American computer based financial data service.

AP services are printed and broadcast in 121 countries. The agency's daily output is 20 million words. AP's service is available in six languages. The AP serves more than 1700 newspapers and 6000 broadcast outlets in the US. Worldwide, AP serves more than 15,000 news organizations, serving as sources of news photographs, graphics, audio and video for more than one billion people every day. It has 8500 newspapers, radio and television subscribers in 112 countries. Worldwide AP is the world's largest newsgathering organization where 3700 employees serve. AP operates as a not-for-profit cooperates with its subscribing member organizations.

It has the industry's most sophisticated digital photo network; a 24-hour continuously updated online news service, a state-of-the art television news service and one of the largest radio networks. Associated Press has received 45 Pulitzer prizes including 27 photo Pulitzers.



The AP's fundamental aim is to provide state, national and international news, photo, graphics, broadcast and online services of the highest quality, reliability and objectivity to its domestic owners as economically as possible. The AP is a member-driven company.

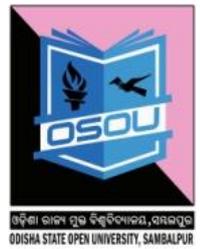
1.8: Agence France Presse (AFP)

The French agency AFP is the oldest of the established worldwide news agencies. It has a much narrower domestic market than the American and other European agencies, and has to contend with serious financial problems.

Worldwide AFP has 140 bureaux. It covers 165 countries. It reports in six languages and the daily output the agency is between 4 million and 6 million words. A staff of 2000 works for AFP of which 900 work outside France.

The AFP founded in 1835 is a post-war successor of the Agence Havas. The French newspapers control the agency by having the highest representation on the agency's board of directors. AFP grew out of a translation agency which sold the translated materials to newspapers. Paul Julius Reuter and Bernard Wolff, two of the AFP employees started their own news agencies in England and Germany. Havas, Reuters and Wolff took control of vast portions of the world for news coverage.

The AFP represents editorial quality and reliability, a reputation built since the news agency was founded in 1835. The agency is fully independent from outside influences, be they political, corporate, ideological or religious. It guarantees total objectivity and an ability to provide customized info-products. The agency produces at least 700 photos and 50 new graphics each day. AFP provides full services in six Languages-French, English, German, Spanish, Portuguese and Arabic. It is also available via partner agencies in many other languages including Chinese, Japanese, Russian, Hindi and Italian. AFX News Ltd is a wholly-owned subsidiary of AFP and Provides multi-lingual global news coverage of financial markets, companies and economies to professional and private investor communities both on and off the Internet.



1.9: Reuters

Reuters has 14,500 staff in 91 countries. This includes 2,300 editorial staff serving 129 countries, making Reuters the world's largest international multimedia news agency. The UK-based news agency is the world leader in news and its services are available in 23 languages. The agency has a daily output of three million words.

Reuters is capable of real-time transmission of texts, data, videos and computer graphics. It was the first news agency to recognize the necessity of diversifying its services in order to avoid its disappearance from the news scenario.

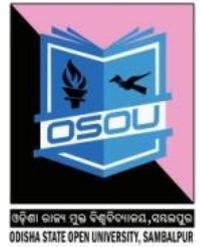
Listed since 1984 on the London and New York Stock Exchanges Reuters' holding is controlled by a pool of British and other press groups guaranteeing its editorial and financial independence. The pool has a right to veto against any decision endangering the principles of independence, freedom and integrity.

Named after its founder Paul Julius Reuter who started the agency in London in 1851, Reuters has provided specialized financial and commercial information, from the very beginning. Reuters along with Havas of France (founded in 1835) and Wolff of Germany (set-up in 1849) signed a treaty, in 1870, to divide the global news and information market among themselves.

The British control of cable lines made London an uncontrolled center for international news, enhanced by Britain's wide-ranging commercial, financial and imperial activities.

Like all news agencies around the world, Reuters' primary loyalty is to the country of its origin. All agencies have special obligations to their respective governments.

By the early 1960s, when the European influence in the world was noticeably diminishing, the European Information Cartel's hold on different nations weakened as well. Associated Press and United Press International of the United States began spreading their wings across the globe. Reuters continued to flourish as usual because it had already expanded its operations to all the corners of the globe. The sun never really set for the Reuters.



Though the news agency claimed to be independent, in reality it was the unofficial voice of the British empire first and then of the United Kingdom and the British Commonwealth of nations. In fact, George Jones, the managing director of Reuters during the Second World War was also in charge of cable and wireless propaganda for the British Department of Information.

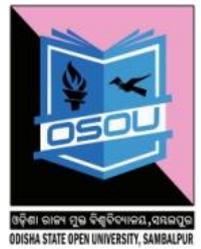
In 1999, Reuters was one of the World's top multi-media corporations dealing with business news. The agency is still the leading commercial and financial intelligence source for the U.K. government. Besides political news, Reuters supplies the media houses information on financial transactions from across the globe in 23 languages.

In brief, the world's financial transactions and their impact on the immediate and long-term interests of Britain and its friendly countries are of main concern to the Reuters. Such financial information accounts for three fifths of the agency's total annual revenue. One may even brand Reuters as the primary supplier of financial and commercial data. Reuters is the second largest news and television agency after the American A.P. the ownership of the Reuters now rests with the Reuters Holding company.

Reuters Television and Associated Press Television (APTV) are in stiff competition with each other and with others. These are the television arms of the two immensely powerful print news agencies.

The Reuters' 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 service to newspapers, news agencies, broadcasters and others 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; and



- That no effort shall be spared to expand, develop and adapt the news and other services and products of Reuters so as to maintain its leading position in the international news and information business.

Although it is best known as the World's largest multi-media news agency, more than 90 percent of its revenue is derived from financial services business. Reuters provides financial organizations with specially designed tools to help them reduce risk and distribute and manage the ever-growing volumes of market data. The agency also offers automated trading products for the treasury markets.

Following a dramatic increase in its profitability, Reuters was floated as a public company in 1984 at the London Stock Exchange and at NASDAQ in the United States of America. On listing, the company had a market capital of around seven million pounds in British currency.

Subsequently Reuters went for a chain of acquisitions including Visnews, which was renamed Reuters Television in 1985, Instiner in 1986, TIBCO (formerly Teknekron) and Quotron both in 1994. The company's key products include Equities-2000 (1987), Dealing 2000-2 (1992), Business Briefing (1994) Reuters Television for the financial markets (1994), 3000 series (1996) and the Reuters Xtra service (1999). Reuters completed the largest acquisition in its history, when it bought most of the assets of Bridge information system. Reuters acquired Multex.com Inc., a provider of global financial information.

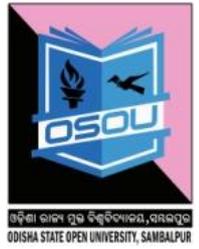
- **Charles-Louis Havas:** Havas (1783-1858) was the pioneer of news agency business. It was he who called it ‘agency’ (Agence). Before Havas invented news agency business, the main source of foreign news to newspapers were the newspapers of foreign countries. Newspapers had employed Havas to translate news from foreign newspapers. In 1832 he setup a foreign newspaper translation bureau and book shop in Paris. In 1835 it became the Agence Havas, the first worldwide news agency. In 1840, using carrier pigeons, Havas landed news in the newsrooms of Paris newspapers-midday news from the Belgian morning press and 3 pm news from the same day’s British newspapers. No sooner was Samuel Morse’s invention, the electro-magnetic telegraph, introduced in France in 1845, and then Havas installed Morse machines. Havas also setup an advertising agency in 1852 that created revenue for its newspaper clients and helped them for the agency’s service. In 1879 the Havas family sold its interests for seven million francs and Agence Havas became a public limited company. In 1940 legislation forced the splitting up of the advertising and news gathering operations of Agence Havas. The news gathering operations, now owned by the state, became office Francais d ‘Information (OFI or French Information office) and in 1944 became Agence France-Presse (AFP), a public corporation.

- **Bernhard Wolff:** Two of Charles-Louis Havas' employees, rather portages, were Bernhard Wolff and Paul Julius Reuter, who later became founders of news agencies in London and Berlin, respectively. The first European news agencies were mostly privately-owned by and often-like Havas-named after their founders (Fabra in Spain, Reuters in the UK, Stefany in Italy, Wolff in Germany).

On 28 November, 1849, the National Zeitung, a Berlin newspaper founded in the previous year as a liberal party paper, announced that it would feature news dispatches from Paris, London, Amsterdam and Frankfurt. Further dispatches were said to come from Hamburg and Stettin in another few days. The day of this announcement was the 'birthday' of the Wolffsches Telegraphisches Bureau (WTB) which was to become the first and, until, 1993 the most important German news agency. It was named after Bernhard Wolff, manager of the National Zeitung and the driving force behind the whole enterprise. Soon, Wolff had the idea of selling his news office necessary. The Wolffsches Telegraphisches Bureau progressed slowly. In 1865, the business was transformed into a joint stock company, the Continental Telegraphen Agentur, which provided for fresh capital. Moreover, the government started to subsidise the WTB. This caused a financial dependency and gave the WTB a semiofficial status. The WTB's new position was made evident by the agency's moving into a wing of the telegraph station building of the post office in Berlin in 1869, which must have been an advantage in the working process. Nevertheless, the dispatches had to be first redistributed to the customers in town by mailmen or the existing pneumatic tube. The WTB remained in the "Reichpost" until 1877. It organized news gathering in cooperation with smaller news services in other parts of the country. This cooperation, however, was impaired until 1877 by the telegraph charges being graded according to several time zones. In 1893, the WTB opened its first branch in Cologne.

- **Paul Julius Reuter:** Paul Julius Reuter, the founder of Reuters, the world news and information organization, was born on 21 July, 1816 as Israel Beer Josaphat in Cassel, Germany. He came to England as ‘Joseph Josaphat’ on 29 October 1845 and was baptized few days later on 16 November as Paul Julius Reuter at St George’s German Lutheran Chapel, Whitechapel, London. In 1847, he became a partner in a Berlin bookshop, “Reuter & Stargardt”. In 1848 he had to leave Germany for his radical writings and flee to Paris where he worked as translator for Agence Havas. A year later, he left Havas to set up his own news-sheet. It failed, and he moved to Aachen, where, on 1st October, 1849, Europe’s first commercial telegraph line opened-the Prussian State telegraph line from Berlin. He set up the business supplying local clients with the news from the Prussian capital, soon expanding to supply clients in Antwerp and Brussels. When the French opened a line the following spring from Brussels to Paris, he bridged the gap-first with carrier pigeons and then with horses. In 1850 Reuter was running a news agency in Aachen and had an agreement on 24 April with Heinrich Geller to supply pigeons for service between Brussels and Aachen. The agency operated for over a year, until the telegraph gap closed. As the telegraph network was extended, Reuter Preceded it and in 1851, he established himself in London in order to exploit the submarine link between Calais and Dove. He reached London on 14 June, 1851, and about four months later, on 10 October, Reuter set up office in two rooms at 1 Royal Exchange Buildings, London. On 13 November 1851 the cross-channel submarine telegraph began operating.

[Source: News Agencies from pigeon to Internet, Prof. K.M. Shrivastava]

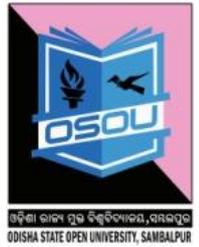


1.10: Check Your Progress

a) How important is financial news and information for Reuters?

b) Who are known as the 'big five' in transnational news agency business?
Why were they named so?

c) How do you define 'bad news syndrome' in connection with reporting from third world countries by the transnational agencies?



Unit – 2: International flow of Information

2.0: Unit structure

2.1: Learning Objectives

2.2: Introduction

2.3: The Press Associations

2.3.1: Kyodo

2.3.2: ITAR-TASS

2.4: Russia Today

2.5: Check your progress

2.1: Learning objectives

After going through this unit you will:

- Know the background, role and function of Kyodo News Service, Japan
- Know the background, role and function of ITAR-TASS, Russia
- Know the background, role and function of Russia Today, Russia

2.2: Introduction

Influential news agencies also exist in other parts of the world. While Kyodo News Services is a trusted name in Japan, ITAR-TASS is equally famous in Russia. The present unit will discuss at length the background, role and functions of these news agencies.

2.3: The Press Associations

2.3.1 Kyodo:

In Japan, upon the dissolution of the state owned news agency, Domei, at the end of the Second World War, Kyodo, a non-profit cooperative of the Japanese newspapers and Jiji Press Ltd, an independent 100 percent employee-owned joint stock company came into existence in 1945.



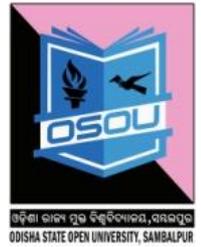
The Domei was established in 1936, with the help of the Japanese government. It succeeded Rengo. From 1931 onwards Japan has expanded its war fronts towards China, then further into Asia and finally the Pacific area. The Domei news agency dispatched a large number of war correspondents and photographers to the battlefields and it played a major role in reporting how the war has been going in the Asian and Pacific fronts. Domei issued almost daily news photographs about the war. The Domei photo news published nearly 100,000 copies every day and were delivered to schools, factories, shops and other places in Japan and overseas.

Jiji press, in keeping with the motto, “Bringing the World News to Japan and News about Japan to the World”, 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.

The Kyodo News Service is a non-profit cooperative organization that runs on an annual budget, primarily contributed by membership dues and revenues from non-member subscribers. Kyodo’s Japanese language news service is distributed to almost all Japanese newspapers and radio-TV networks. Kyodo’s English-language news service reaches news agencies, newspapers, radio stations and TV broadcasters across the globe. It also reaches international organizations such as the World Trade organization and the International Monetary Fund.

The K.K. Kyodo news is an affiliate of the Kyodo news agency. It was established in 1972 as the business arm of the news agency. K.K Kyodo News is active not only in Japan but also in several parts of the globe. It carries wide varieties of news photos and other audio-visual material. The US subsidiary of Kyodo is Kyodo News International Inc. (KNI) based in New York. It was established in 1982 as a marketing and research division of Kyodo. The KNI now provides news to major newspapers, TV broadcasters, financial services, online databases and government agencies with over 200 news reports sent daily to non-Japanese news media.

Kyodo has a huge picture library: 12 million frames, covering three million items. The same benefits magazines, book publishers, newspapers and advertising agencies around the world.



Of the 1000 journalists and photographers of Kyodo, more than half are deployed at the headquarters at Tokyo.

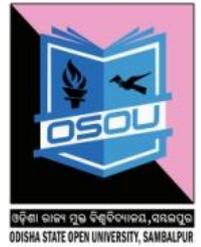
They are assigned political, financial, corporate, city, sports, science and cultural news desks plus and various government offices and business organizations. Others work at five regional offices and 48 local bureau across Japan. For global newsgathering Kyodo has as many as 70 full-time correspondents and 40 stringers (part-time correspondents) deployed at 50 places outside Japan. Its news coverage focuses on Asia-Pacific region wherein 50 staffers including local employees are positioned in 19 places. Kyodo has the second largest number of correspondents in North America, followed by Europe, the Middle-East, Latin America and Africa.

Kyodo remains a members of the Organization of Asia-Pacific News Agencies (OANA) since its birth in 1961.

2.3.2: ITAR-TASS

TASS stands for Telegraphnoi Agentsvo Sovetskavo Soyusa. The TASS as a news agency was owned by the socialist government of the erstwhile Soviet Union (now Russia). But in terms of its impact, influence and coverage, TASS was in no way different from other international news agencies or press association. With the changes in the erstwhile USSR/Soviet Union, understanding TASS as one of the global news agencies may have minimized but the formation of ITAR and Russia has given it a new vigor. ITAR stands for Information Telegraph Agency of Russia.

TASS agency began on the foundation of Petrograd Telegraph Agency; in 1917. After the socialist revolution it started functioning under the new regime as a major publicity mechanism dealing mainly with the erstwhile Soviet Union's economic life. The chief Department of Home Information was coordinating the domestic news operations. The official function of TASS was to disseminate news with a network of correspondents in all its regional and territorial centers. The agency strived to deliver objective as well as balanced information reflecting the economic life of all the republics. TASS also effectively countered the onslaught of the American and Western news agencies. That way it guarded well the informational interests of the countries that belonged to the Soviet bloc, particularly during the Cold War era in which the socialist countries on one side and the capitalist industrialized nations on the other were engaged in calculative political and economic verbal duels over different issues.



TASS had approximately 20,000 subscribers. Its operations were not guided by profit motive unlike the AP, UPI, AFP and Reuters.

The Novosti Press Agency (APN) established in 1961 by the Union of Soviet Journalists, the Union of Soviet Writers and a few other organizations complemented the work of TASS.

In the new scenario TASS and APN have been correspondingly changed. APN and TASS merged to form the ITAR which retains a part of the holdings of the erstwhile TASS and APN. The TASS trademark was used in conjunction with ITAR and the Creditline then became ITAR-TASS.

ITAR-TASS successor to Soviet TASS says in 2005: As the very nature of news production continues to evolve, the agencies are using the latest available technologies in order to make real time news distribution faster and more efficient. “We closely cooperate with authorities, political parties and movements, public and humanitarian organizations, government ministries and business structures. The potential of our news agency can quench any information thirst”. ITAR-TASS motto is “real time, reliable and quality news”.

Previously available to only a select few, the agency’s resources are now available to anyone who is interested, both within and outside Russia. This may include the mass media, academic institutions, organizations and private individuals.

ITAR-TASS relies on a widespread net of correspondents. It has more than 130 offices in Russia and abroad. ITAR-TASS also cooperates with more than 80 foreign new agencies. ITAR-TASS editorials, information and analyses are available in five foreign languages. The agency offers 45 round-the-clock news cycles in six languages and more than 40 bulletins. It has a photo service which is the largest in Russia. ITAR-TASS has a photo archive dating back to the beginning of the twentieth century. Subscribers can have access to it. The INFO-TASS electronic data bank contains the agency’s materials produced since 1987, multi-media products and all important and unique reference books on Russia and other CIS member States. These are updated regularly on daily basis. ITAR-TASS produces and delivers to its client’s materials around the globe that can cover 700 newspaper pages.

The agency continuously works to expand its subscription base and meet the demands of major national publications, news agencies, TV channels and small media outlets.

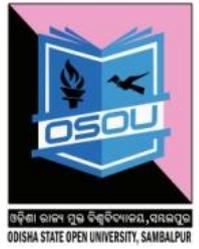
2.4: Russia Today (RT)

President Vladimir Putin in November, 2013 ordered the establishment of Russia Today (Rossiya Segodnya) – a new multi-media corporation to absorb most Russian state media companies – RIA Novosti news agency, Voice of Russia Radio and RT television. RT is anti-CNN and Russia’s most effective weapon in the battle for influencing the global public opinion.

In his decree on Russia Today Putin said that its role would be to transmit to foreign audiences, information about the “Russian Federation’s state policy and public life in Russia”. The state media behemoth is charged with the duty of improving Russia’s image abroad. “The tool of propaganda is an integral part of any state. It is everywhere, and Russia should have it as well” said Dimitry Peskov, the Press Secretary of Vladimir Putin.

Pro-Kremlin analysts have long complained that despite Russia’s Foreign Policy success, it keeps losing the “information war” to the Western media. Margarita Simonyan was appointed chief editor of the new Russia Today. She was given the charge of shaping the editorial policies of the new multi-media corporation. Over her eight years in charge of the RT (television) foreign language network, she has shaped the channel into a popular news outlet that gave an alternative to Western media’s coverage of the global scenario. With an annual budget of 300 million dollars and a staff of 2500 who broadcast in English, Spanish and Arabic RT has a bigger audience in major U.S cities than all other foreign broadcasters taken together. In June 2013, the channel broke a YouTube record by becoming the first ever television station to get a billion views of its video.

After the fall of communism in 1989 the world had become unipolar. The world was left with only one super power, the USA, and this heralded the demise of the Cold War. But today, with the rise of Putin in international politics, enough indications about the return of the Cold War are available.

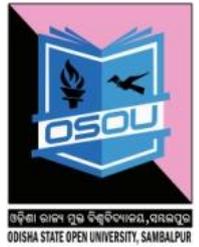


2.5: Check Your Progress

- a) The rise of Russia Today (RT) signals the return of cold war. Comment.

- b) How has TASS contributed to world politics?

- c) What is the reputation enjoyed by Jiji press of Japan?



Unit- 3: China news Service-Xinhua; (UPI)

3.0: Unit Structure

- 3.1: Learning Objectives**
- 3.2: Introduction**
- 3.3: Media policy in China**
- 3.4: The official news agency: Xinhua**
- 3.5: The United Press International (UPI)**
- 3.6: Critical issues relating news agencies**
- 3.7: News as propaganda**
- 3.8: Mass media as additional weapon**
- 3.9: Embedded Journalism**
- 3.10: PR Issues**
- 3.11: Check Your Progress**

3.1: Learning Objectives

After going through this unit you should be able to:

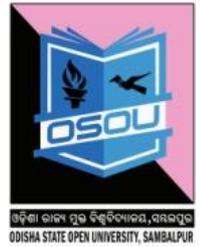
- Explain the role and responsibility of Xinhua – the official news agency of China
- Trace the rise and fall of United Press International (UPI)
- Explain the nexus between news agencies and their national governments

3.2: Introduction

News agencies have always played a strategic role in national as well as international politics. Xinhua of China is a bright example. It almost enjoys a near monopoly on the dissemination of news in China. Xinhua works in close collaboration with the Chinese Communist Party. The present unit also delves in great detail the rise of fall of UPI as a news agency.

3.3: Media policy in China

Media policy in China is developed by the central government in discussion with the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). As such, the government is directly involved in regulating all media.



However, the gradual modernisation, commercialisation, and diversification of the media since 1992 have resulted in somewhat less direct control by the government of China.

Even though the media in China are being commercialised, they are not being liberalised. The Chinese government may be lenient and tolerant toward entertainment, allowing the media to have self-regulation in these areas, it nevertheless exercises strict ideological control over the flow of information in the media which is achieved through formal measures such as laws, regulations, directives and guidelines, and through informal measures such as editorial appointments and intimidation.

In China private ownership of radio, television and newspapers is not permitted. Also, direct foreign ownership of the media is forbidden. Newspapers must be registered and attached to a government ministry, institute, research facility, labour group or other state-sanctioned organisation. However, the government does permit private ownership of Internet service providers, but at the same time applies more stringent control mechanisms on them. Strong government control concurrent with an expanding commercial marketplace, is a defining feature of China's media system. In china, regulation of all media content falls under the direct control of the State council and the Propaganda Department. In china freedom of the press is theoretically granted under the Constitution of 1982, which provides rights of freedom of speech, assembly, association and procession and demonstration. However, these rights are restricted by other clauses relating to social stability and national security, interests of the state, and the primacy of the CCP. In practice particular informal guidelines direct journalists toward self-censorship of sensitive issues, particularly negative news about the government or State. In China broadcast media are regulated primarily by State Administration of Radio, Film and Television (SARFT) which report directly to the State Council.

Advertising content is censored prior to their dissemination to the media by relevant administrative authorities. Another area of regulation is culturally appropriate foreign content. In accordance with the stipulations set by CCP and the Propaganda Department SARFT attempts to prevent Chinese people from seeing programs that offend their sensibilities or challenge the CCP's worldview.

Certain regulations focus on approving culturally appropriate television programming as a way of limiting negative Western influences, particularly the Chinese youth. The authorities define appropriate programming. The primary means of government control over information in China is through issuing of operating licenses to media organisations. Media facilities can have their licenses suspended. The Chinese government uses four main powers to elicit compliance with regulations. These are censorship, fines, cancellation of licenses and incarceration.

The mass media in Peoples Republic of China serve as major instruments for implementing the communist government's social and political policies and goals. Furthermore, mass media messages in this country are followed by face-to-face communications in organised forums, thereby linking the mass media and personal communications into a system. There are national, provincial and district level newspapers. There are also papers managed by or directed toward specialised groups such as farmers, the workers and the youth.

Two features of the Chinese press are of sociological interest:

- i. The important role of Dazibao at the local level;
- ii. The expansive network of grassroots correspondents for the press.

The Dazibaos are large sheets of papers on which a slogan or message is hand written in large or bold characters. They were used vehemently as a medium of propaganda in 1957. These posters have subsequently become a major medium of mass communication, specialising in criticism and self-criticism.

The second feature of interest is the widespread involvement of non-professionals as newspaper correspondents supplementing the work of the journalists. A correspondent is any woman or man in the factory or the field, who writes to newspapers about her/his work, economic life, experience and accomplishments or failures of those around her/him.

The Renmin Ribao or the 'People's Daily' is the main newspaper of China. It has no reporters of its own, sometimes takes a couple of months to write an editorial, buries world-shaking events in its back page briefs. Once upon a time the paper-the ultimate voice of the authority was sold for the equivalent of two-and-a-half U.S cents. In many aspects the People's Daily is more a governmental bulletin board or organ of political agitation and propaganda than a newspaper.



The structure and operation of the Chinese Communist Party Press are determined by the Maoist and Leninist concepts of mass persuasion and mass mobilisation. Journalism exists in china to educate, to propogandise and to mobilise the masses to party objectives.

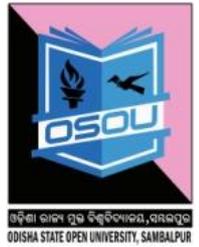
3.4: The official news agency: Xinhua

Also known as the New China News Agency (NCNA) the Xinhua disperses its articles widely. Because of Xinhua 'The Renmin Ribao' has no local reporters of its own. "Dealing with news is simple for us, because all our news come from NCNA (Xinhua)" said a party official. The news agency in addition to supplying news, is the mouth and ear of the members of the party and the government. It is responsible for control over news and maintains close identification foreign affairs establishment of China.

Xinhua was established in 1931. The Chinese news agency claims, "With truthful, objective coverage of domestic and international events, and its espousing of Third World interests, Xinhua will continue to be a voice that the world cannot afford to ignore".

Xinhua reports directly to the Chinese Communist Party's Propaganda Department; employs more than 10,000 people, has 107 bureaux worldwide. It maintains 31 bureaux in China-one for each province plus a military bureau. The People's Daily uses Xinhua material for around 25 percent of its stories. It is an institution of the State Council. Xinhua is a publisher as well as a news agency. It owns more than 20 newspapers and a dozen magazines and prints in Chinese, English and four other languages. The agency has established global networks for news and information gathering, processing, marketing and transmission, which integrates optical fibre cable with satellite communication technology covering over 100 nations. The agency's network is centred in Beijing with Hong Kong, New York, Paris and London as regional relaying centres.

Xinhua delivers its news text, photos, diagrams, audio and video and other types of information services in seven languages including Chinese, English, French, Russian, Spanish and Arabic.



It has exchange (of news) contracts with more than 80 news agencies or political news departments. It has a multi-media data base. Editors of the agency have processed and transmitted multi-media news and information since 2003.

Another project Xinhuanet.com, known as “aircraft carrier” for Chinese websites consist of the Beijing head network, 32 local channels throughout China and 10 subsidiary websites of the agency. Xinhunet.com transmits around the clock in seven languages including Japanese and updates more than 4,500 news items every day.

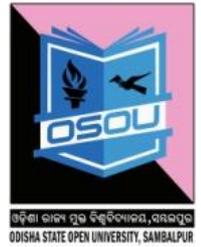
Beijing has been cutting funds to the agency for the past some years and the State funds currently covers only about 40 percent of Xinhua’s costs. As a result, the agency is raising revenues through involvement in public relations, construction and information service business. In 2001, the Hong Kong listed media company Global China Technology Group Ltd. invested in joint ventures with Xinhua to set up a market information website and offer audio and visual services planning and consulting.

3.5: The United Press International (UPI)

The rise of Associated Press in the U.S spurred competition. Edward Wyllis Scripps, the founder of Scripps Chain newspapers formed a news agency called the United Press Association (UPA) in 1907. One of the reasons for starting this agency was the closed membership policy of the Associated Press (AP). The AP, further, was interested in serving the big morning newspapers while Scripps was publishing the evening newspapers. Scripps started the United Press Association (UPA) with the idea of running his own evening newspapers.

In the beginning, Scrips started two regional news agencies for his own newspapers. The non-AP eastern newspapers had already formed their own agency, the Publisher’ Press Association (PPA) in 1898. In 1907 Scripps merged his agency, the United Press Association with the Publishers’ Press Association to form the United Press Association.

The AP could not reach many areas because of its contractual limitations. The United Press Association entered those areas and consequently the influence of UPA grew.



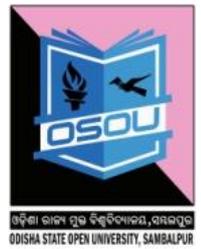
A major setback occurred for the UPA in 1918. It sent a report that the war had ended, and later it turned out to be false. The credibility of the agency was dented. It is said that the UPA news reports were dynamic and conformed to the needs and interests of the readers. The mighty Associated Press (AP) was looking down upon human interest stories and was highly interested in straight reporting i.e. factual reporting. One area in which the UPA scored over the AP was backgrounders and personal accounts.

Parallel to this there, appeared another news agency, the International News Service (INS). The INS was founded to utilise the existing leased wire facilities of Hearst newspapers. Hearst was another newspaper baron like Scripps. The INS faced a severe competition from the AP. To surmount the problem, the INS began to cash in on good writers who could do well-researched pieces. It was beginning to concentrate in a few centres only. Though the newspapers never thought of INS as a major source of news, they subscribed to the service of the INS for its well-written stories and major news beats. Although it was emerging as a major news agency by 1956 it decided to merge with UPA, in 1958 to form the second major global news agency in the U.S, The United Press International (UPI).

The UPI did not diversify much into specialised economic or financial services but its broadcast related services were highly rated. It had a strength of about two hundred journalists in Europe, Asia, Latin America and Australia.

The UPI grew into becoming one of the world's most famous news agencies, although it also remained as one of the most troubled. It has its headquarters in Washington D.C. UPI had very lucrative radio interests which it sold in 1998 to pay its mounting debts. UPI originally went bankrupt in 1991. This was its second bankruptcy. The troubles heralded a virtual demise of the agency, and the AP, Reuters and AFP became the three major players in the arena of transnational agency journalism.

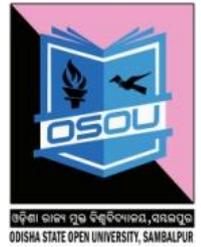
The UPI claimed to have established two new principles in news agency operation. One was that the agency could cover the news of the world independently. The second was that newspapers anywhere could buy this news. E.W. Scripps' United Press Association's in 1907 said: "It is announced that the United 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.” Competition provided by this agency prevented the AP from having a monopoly in determining the news that was provided to the public. The UPI says about itself in a press release that ‘since 1907 the agency 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. Now UPI products include original content in English, Spanish and Arabic. Headquartered in Washington DC UPI has offices in Beirut, Hong Kong, London, Santiago, Seoul and Tokyo’.

In 1978, UPI served 7079 subscribers worldwide. Its 2246 clients outside the US include more than 30 national and other news agencies which relayed its reports to additional thousands of newspapers and broadcasters. In the U.S the UPI’s clients included 1134 newspapers and other publications and 3699 broadcasters. In 1982, Scripps family sold UPI. Tennessee entrepreneurs, Douglas F. Ruhe and William E. Geissler, took over the agency from the Scripps Howard newspaper chain. Under their ownership, UPI continued to lose money, eventually filing for Chapter 11 bankruptcy protection in 1985. The agency’s headquarters moved from New York city to Washington DC. Mexican publisher Mario Vazquez Rana purchased it out of bankruptcy in 1986. In 1991, UPI was purchased out of its second bankruptcy by a group of Saudi investors and expanded its involvement in the Middle East. In 2000, News world communication, a media group founded by the Rev. Sun Myung Moon that included The Washington Times, purchased UPI.

Though it was the United Press which started feeding television news clips to television stations, today this market is dominated by Reuters and AP. United Press launched the first international television news film service in 1952 as United Press Movietone News. It had a newsreel that was distributed to television stations. It became UPI News Films from 1963 to 1967 when ITN joined to make it UPITN. When ABC purchased the same, it became WTN and was eventually owned by Disney.



In the third quarter of 1999, Disney decided that WTN was not part of its core business. As it needed cash to meet third quarter projections it sold the company to AP for 55 million dollars. AP merged it with APTV to make it APTN. Another news film agency Visnews was launched in 1957 as a joint venture of BBC, Reuters and NBC. By 1980, Visnews had about 30 overseas bureaux and 400 freelance camera persons. In 1985, cash-rich Reuters bought Visnews and later renamed it Reuters Television.

The only country which had two really competing news agencies for a reasonable length of time was the United States. The acquisition of UPI by Douglas F. Ruhe and William E. Geissler in June 1982 was the end of this genuine competition. Edward Wyllis Scripps founded UPI's forerunner, United Press, in 1907, for the express purpose of making a wire service available to all, in defiance of the powerful Associated Press Cartel, an exclusive club that could blackball dailies that competed with its members. Scripps offered his service to anyone, who could pay for it.

Both wire services flourished through the Second World War, and then came an event that changed the entire nature of news-agency competition in the U.S. In 1945, in response to an anti-trust suit filed by the Justice Department, the US Supreme court ruled that the AP could not deny its services to anyone. With every paper now able to get the AP services, UP had to fight it very hard for clients. Still, for more than 15 years, UP continued to show a profit. At its peak in the early 1960s, by which time it had merged with Hearst's faltering International News Service (INS) to become UPI, the agency had nearly 6000 domestic clients, including more than 1000 newspapers. But faced with a steady decline in the number of US dailies, and with stiff competition from new, supplemental news services, UPI began losing both money and clients. In 1978, the Scripps Howard board of directors voted to examine the company's ownership of UPI.

Scripps executives figured that supports from a consortium of three dozen news organisation could keep UPI in business, and it won pledges from about two-thirds of the necessary number.



But some of the biggest organisations-The New York Times company, The Times – Mirror company, and Knight-Ridder Newspapers among them balked out, saying they could not persuade their stockholders to invest in an ailing enterprise. Scripps actually gave the company away to Ruhe and Geissler for want of support to run a competitive news agency.

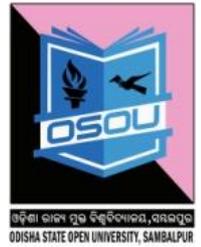
3.6: Critical Issues relating News Agencies

Prof. K.M Srivastava in his book “News Agencies: from Pigeon to Internet” writes that though initially the news agencies were just a business invented and mastered by the clever Jews who made money out of the desire of people to know about events near and far, soon they became tools of nations and empires. One major issue which has cropped up among news agencies from the very beginning was their relationship with the host governments. State owned agencies were criticised by the privately owned agencies for taking huge subsidies from governments.

Both AP, a newspaper cooperative and UPI, a private enterprise were critical of the European agencies, particularly Reuters and Havas and blamed the respective governments that subsidised them. Similarly, Reuters complained about the US agencies getting governments money for their operations. Together, they blamed others for covert or overt control by their governments. But every agency has benefited from its own government either through direct or hidden subsidies. Both Reuters and AP were benefiting from preferential cable tariffs by their respective governments.

3.7: News as Propaganda

The British Prime Minister, Lord Palmerston in March 1861 presented Paul Julius Reuter, who had set up his shop in two rooms at Royal Exchange Buildings, London in October 1851. This was the mark of recognition of the power of a news agency. For over a hundred years, Reuters was a national and imperial institution, said Read in his introduction to the book “Power of News: History of Reuters”. He mentions that “Reuters’ relations with the British government remained closer during the 1960s and 1970s.



But the significance of news agencies was known much before. A document published in December 1938, tracing the formation of the Spanish news agency EFE has made the following observation “The best technique of propaganda is by means of ‘news’. The news is much stronger as a propaganda tool than well-written editorials or signed articles. The news reflects facts and it accomplishes persuasion by subjecting a fact ‘to different interpretations regarding its meaning, its importance and its occasion’. Hence, nations have been engaged in the battles for ‘news domination’. News wars are waged through national news agencies. The agency, therefore, is no more or no less than a ‘national political tool’.

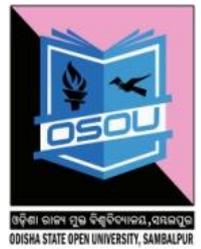
During the First World War, in Germany, it was said the British were using their worldwide cable network to conduct an all-out propaganda campaign and to pour a flood-of-lies onto the whole World. Reuters was considered “the most powerful weapon in the hands of the English government”. It helped to “arouse anti-German sentiments and even hostility against Germany and its ally Austro-Hungary “among the neutral countries and the U.S. in particular.

3.8: Mass media as additional weapon

In fact, the use of mass media as an additional weapon of war assumed significance during the First World War and it reached a level of sophistication during the Second World War. The use of radio, in particular and news agencies for management of information and disinformation became very significant during that period.

As Prof. Shrivastava writes, now war by media is categorised as low-intensity warfare alongside subversion, insurgency and psychological sabotage. Propaganda theorists say that in effect the human being should be considered as the object of priority in a political war.

In central America, the U.S. doctrine of low-intensity warfare against Nicaragua was based on the accumulated experience of Germans during the Second World War, British in Malaya, Kenya and Ireland, the French in Algeria and especially the U.S in Vietnam. However, the use of media in Gulf War, Yugoslav war and Iraq War appears to be that of a force multiplier.



Coverage of these wars by globalised media like CNN, BBC, AP and Reuters has once again highlighted the role played by media in modern warfare.

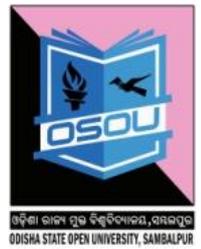
The use of propaganda and disinformation during the Gulf War was widespread and effective in achieving its purpose. The coalition forces succeeded in giving and maintaining the impression that it was a ‘clean’ or ‘legal’ war in which the use of high-tech weapons resulted in negligible human casualties. For this purpose, press briefings made wide use of video films demonstrating the accuracy of the new weapons, military spokesmen avoided discussion on the human cost of the war and a new kind of jargon was introduced (like ‘collateral damage’ for civilian casualties). In spite of the fact that 100,000 Iraqi soldiers and unknown number of civilians were killed in the war, there has been little coverage in the media of the unpalatable aspects of the war. There were other uses of media coverage of the Gulf War. It served as advertising to promote new weapons. The patriot missile was advertised and was later sold to South Korea.

3.9: Embedded Journalism

“Embedding” media persons with U.S. forces was a new phenomenon in the Iraq War. Embedding referred to combat forces taking media persons along with them to show them how the enemy targets were being destroyed. This tactic of the US forces not only produced a one-sided story of the war but also converted war into a video game. It never explained why the war was being fought in the Gulf in the name of democracy. In the Iraq war, there were about five hundred embedded journalists giving out the U.S. version from different battle fields and this gave additional support to the media manipulation practices.

It is clear that the news management effort is not to allow media to give the real picture of the war but to give the impression that enough is being told. Many journalists also became tools of the authorities in making sure that the media war was won by the U.S-led coalition forces while critics said that the US was fighting an illegal war in the Gulf in the name of democracy.

Prof. Shrivastava says “because there is so much media today, people tend to believe that they are given enough information. This is not so. The media is managed to the disadvantage of the truth, particularly more so during the war ... The reality is



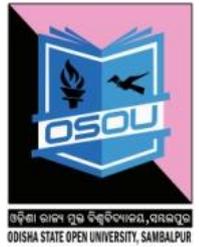
that in all systems different stakeholders use the media to further their own ends. Governments are not behind in this race. The Western democracies are no exception. The difference between the Western democracies on the one hand and the socialist and totalitarian regimes on the other, in relation to media, has been that of manipulation and direct control. Thus the global dominance of Western media serves the interests of their governments and businesses”.

3.10: PR Issues

To diversify the sources of revenue many news agencies not only work for governments but also for private sector corporations through their own public relations (PR) or Press release services. For example, the Press Association of U.K has been selected by Government News Network to deliver more than 6,000 release every year from government departments, official agencies and the Royal family.

There is a recent “Charter on Media Transparency” designed to foster greater transparency in the dealings between public relations professionals and the media, that needs a mention here. In July 2004 six global organisations announced their support to these set of principles. The organisations are the International Press Institute, the International Federation of Journalists, Transparency International, the Global Alliance for Public Relations and communication Management, the Institute for Public Relations Research and Education, and the International Public Relations Association. The Principles in this charter developed by the International Public Relations Association are as follows:

1. News material should appear as a result of the news judgement of journalists and editors, and not as a result of any payment in cash or in kind, or any other inducements.
2. Material involving payment should be clearly identified as advertising, sponsorship or promotion.
3. No journalist or media representative should ever suggest that news coverage will appear for any reason other than its merit.
4. When samples or loans of products or services are necessary for journalists to render an objective opinion, the length of time should be agreed in advance and loaned products should be returned afterward.



5. The media should institute written policies regarding the receipt of gifts or discounted products and services, and journalists should be required to sign the policy.

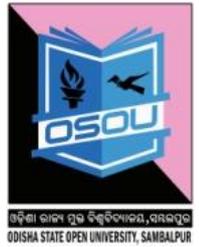
3.11: Check Your Progress

- a) XINHUA decides the news that reaches an average Chinese citizen. Comment.

- b) Briefly trace the rise and fall of UPI.

- c) News agencies have been puppets in the hands of their respective governments. Do you agree? Justify your answer.

- d) What is the significance of the Charter on Media Transparency?



Unit-4: Relations between international communication and international relations

4.0: Unit Structure

- 4.1: Learning Objectives**
- 4.2: Introduction**
- 4.3: Global Communication**
- 4.4: International relations: The new frontiers**
- 4.5: The Concept of Power**
- 4.6: Approaches to International Communication**
- 4.7: Criticisms**
- 4.8: International Political Communication**
 - 4.8.1: Propaganda**
 - 4.8.2: New lines of propaganda**
 - 4.8.3: When the State becomes a propagandist**
- 4.9: International Strategic Communication**
- 4.10: International Economic Communication**
- 4.11: Intercultural Communication and Conflict**
- 4.12: Cold War Communications**
- 4.13: Communication Control**
- 4.14: Check your Progress**
- 4.15: References**

4.1: Learning Objectives

After going through this unit you should be able to:

- Understand and explain the significance of Global Communication
- Understand the significance of communication in present day international relations
- Understand the meaning and significance of International Political Communication

4.2: Introduction

International communication as a field of study, writes Mowlana, grew out of the traditions of international relations' theories and policies. Highly relevant and methodologically diverse research on international communication was shaped by both the human and the technological activities that took place during the last 70 years.



A distinction must be made between the process of intercultural and international communication. The underlying assumptions about international relations in general and international communication in particular have generated an interesting and challenging debate on the role of communication with regard to cultural identity and intercultural communication.

The field of intercultural communication as an area of research and study, which has been growing during the last several decades and has now become a legitimate area of inquiry. It cannot be separated from the broader perspective of international communication. The assumption that intercultural communication under different categories can be studied and analysed without taking into account the political, economic and technological boundaries is both foolish and unrealistic. Intercultural communication in the modern global context cannot take place in a vacuum as much as the international communication in its narrow and orthodox sense cannot be understood without taking into account the cultural and the linguistic context.

4.3: Global Communication

Hamid Mowlana in his book “Global Information and World Communication” writes that the world society in general and international relations in particular can only be understood through a study of the messages and communication facilities. The new international relation is more than the political and economic relations among nations. Culture and communication are the fundamental aspects of the process and must be included in the analysis. Such a study, therefore, takes a broader view of the international flow of information than the traditional analysis of mass media messages and communication technologies. It takes an integrative approach to international communication by examining both human and technological dimensions of global communication.

The revolution in communication and transportation technologies has altered how governments, citizens, businesses and industries must perform in an international environment. Today, international communication is not merely concerned with static actors or transnational corporations.



Individual and group flows across national boundaries are equally relevant, especially since the activities involving trans-border human flow has grown many folds since the Second World War.

Besides the intrinsic growth of international communication as a field of study, drastic world events have also affected several organisational, educational and practical issues. Events including the end of the Cold War bi-polar system, the collapse of the Soviet Union and its allied regimes in Eastern Europe, the impact of ethnicity in many parts of the world, and the revival of Islamic movements elsewhere have all challenged basic assumptions and theories of international relations. Terrorism has become another headache around the world.

Today the problems of development and participation, the question of cultural identity and the scores of other subjects related to the myths and realities of the “information revolution” have moved to the top of the global agenda. Moreover, cutting-edge issues, ranging from the emerging superhighways to human rights that now resound in a rapidly changing international environment demand holistic discussions. Therefore, it seems more imperative than ever to go for discussion to global issues, not only in explicit economic, geopolitical and military terms, but also in the context of cultural communication and information struggle.

In addition to reviewing the works undertaken by communication scholars, it calls for drawing considerably on the studies in areas such as economics, political science, sociology, cultural anthropology and international relations.

4.4: International Relations: The New Frontiers

An emergent field of knowledge in modern history is the study of “International Relations”. A few decades ago it was generally a peripheral subject because it was, in essence descriptive of diplomatic history. Now it has become analytical, with its models based on systems, games, bargaining, decision making procedures, and other methods of research.

As the complexity of the modern world grew, it became fashionable to apply a variety of terms to the world stage as a whole, with such phrases as “international community” and “international system”. The result has been to emphasise the tangible, the formal and the measurable.

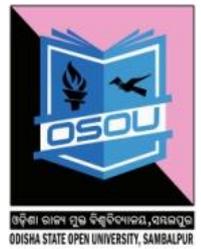
Consequently, in the area of international and intercultural communication, the cultural and human components of international and societal relations have been overshadowed by technical, political, and economic aspects of the field.

Today, the field of international relations is in a stage of self-examination, with participants searching for new directions and new approaches. The passing traditional approaches to international relations, as well as some of the contemporary theorising in the field will be adequate guides to inquiry.

- The ‘idealist’ phase of international relations studies, in the West began immediately after the Second World War and was dominant nearly for a decade. It saw Western democratic theory as embodied in the intellectual thinking of Woodrow Wilson, in the origin of the League of Nations and in the institution of the Permanent court of International Justice. The “idealist” phase took an historical and legalistic approach to the study of international relations phenomenon.
- A second major approach to international relations study and theory found its roots in the works of Karl Marx and in Lenin’s theory of imperialism. It explained political power, the causes of war and conflict, and the entire phenomenon of international relations in terms of underlying economic forces. Its method of inquiry rested on dialectical materialism and economic determinism.

This paradigm remained the major intellectual force in the former Soviet Union (now Russia) and other socialist countries, and among some people in less industrial regions. Some derivations of this theory also became the guiding principles for the left elsewhere who wished to analyse the phenomenon of international relations in terms of international political economy.

- A third major approach to international relations, popularly known as the “realist” tradition, was, in major part, a direct outcome of Second World War. It attempted to draw a distinction between “aspiration” and “reality”. The major contributors to this approach were the American and European scholars. Their fundamental consideration was the study of power in international relations.



They drew a distinction between domestic and international politics and viewed nation-states or their decision-makers as the most important actors in international relations. International relations were seen as struggle for power.

Whereas the realist tradition has remained the most influential among policy makers and students of international relations, it has not escaped harsh criticisms. Mathematical, communication, socio-psychological, linguistic and behavioural science models and theories were developed to test or reject some aspects of the realist approach and to bring about a scientific understanding of international relations. The emphasis was on the “is” and not on the “ought”.

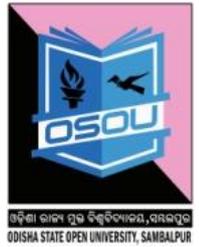
The research has shown the inadequacies of the three major approaches mentioned above. Yet it is clear that economic determinism, the political power-oriented tradition of the realist phase and the post-realist and behaviourist approach have the following commonalities:

1. They share a power-driven notion of international relations which is either political or economic or both;
2. They believe in the notion of a nation-state as a “political” state;
3. They make communication and cultural factors subservient to political, economic, and technological superstructure;
4. They tend to classify international relations with natural and biological science; and
5. They tend to measure what is measurable, observable and tangible.

A recent analysis of international research, however, supports the controversial claim that “the realist paradigm” has dominated the field of international relations since the early 1950s and that this paradigm has not been very successful in explaining behaviour.

4.5: The concept of Power

Power is defined in terms of control over particular base values as well as in terms of the flow of interchanges between the main sections of the society. It is comprised of two dimensions:



- The access to necessary resources and,
- The ability and the will to act.

Here central recognition is given to belief and value systems, or worldviews, which help determine the nature and parameters of action within and by each system.

Thus, power in national and international systems involves more than just the reallocation of economic, political and technological values and bases. It involves multi-dimensional factors with authority, legitimacy and will playing crucial roles. Only in this context can we hope that the real process of international relations and information of flow will be adequately understood, writes Hamid Mowlana.

4.6: Approaches to International communication

Mowlana writes, that four basic assumptions or approaches have characterised the activities of scholars, governments, media practitioners and individual citizens in the field of international communication over the last 70 years.

1. **The idealistic-humanistic approach** characterises international communication as a means of bringing nations and peoples together and as a power to assist international organisations in the exercise of their services to the world community. As such, it strives toward increasing understanding among nations and people and striving towards the attainment of world peace. The process of communication, here, is seen in its most idealistic form.
2. A second approach, sometimes called **Political Proselytization**, sees international communication as propaganda, ideological confrontation, advertising and the creation of myths and clichés. These are usually one-way communications and they all require central organising authorities of some kind. They are thus tainted with a certain authoritarian, totalitarian character that makes it possible to manipulate human beings. This approach to human communication has dominated relations between and among states for the last several decades.
3. A third, increasingly visible approach is to view **information** in the international context as **economic power**. Here the operation is subtler, the message more subliminal.

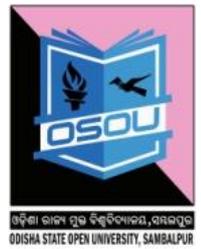
Overtly respectable international development projects, business ventures, marketing, trade and technology transfer have characterised this approach. Modernisation of less developed countries have in fact resulted in their conversion to western ways and has made them more amenable to control by Western Centres. This process, sometimes referred to as “Westoxification”, by encouraging its converts to adopt non-indigenous forms of behaviours could result in a certain schizophrenic paralysis of creative power.

4. The fourth approach to international communication is to view **information as political power**. Here, information in the form of news and data, is treated as a neutral and value-free commodity. A study of international mass media, the wire services (the news agencies), literature and cinema and television programs reveals a concentration of means in a few countries. When information is conveyed from one country to another, the cultural content of the source is conveyed, and that may not always be in the best interests of the recipient.

These four orientations which are not mutually exclusive and which are not beyond criticisms characterise how states, scholars and media practitioners have described international communication over the last 70 decades.

4.7: Criticisms

The first criticism is that it is impossible to achieve the objective transfer of information and values. Every person’s knowledge and value system is unique and reflects the accumulated image of all the messages s/he has received. Individual’s objectivity is mercurial, unstable and subjective. Second, whose ideal of international peace and world community are we talking about? Interpretations vary, and unless there is a consensus of an ideal world, it is impossible for the currently dominant ideas to escape the opposing camp’s accusations of ideological imperialism. Third, there is a certain inherent defeat in equating universal agreement with universal good. Human progress springs from individuals who disagree with the norm, who initiate new lines of thought-creative ideas that are tangential to prevailing opinions. All great truths begin as heresy.



If the approach of idealism/humanism has been criticised, so too have the other three approaches. International political proselytization has led to a distrust of international media, whose purpose is assumed, sometimes incorrectly, to be manipulative. The “war of ideas” has been charged by ideological rivalry and fuelled by intolerance among nations and hatred among people. International communication has been guilty of aiding international tensions, if not intentionally, then at least by not promoting peaceful solutions and not conferring legitimacy on the peacemakers.

In the arena of economic and political power, information has assumed its place beside petroleum, strategic metals, and uranium as an international resource to be bartered, boycotted, and blackmailed. Megabyte streams of digitalised data have become the source of power in the information-based society. Information means power and its manipulation can have far-reaching effects on economic, social and political development.

For example, broadcasting a television program provides a matchless ability to manipulate the collective human psyche. The ability of the dominant providers to reach around the world has grown by leaps and bounds. The ability of the truly elite to affect the world has been extraordinarily multiplied. Few are wealthy enough to go for a head-on competition of a media baron who operates globally. In short “global” is not “universal” and “global communication”, in the language of Mowlana does not mean “universal communication”. More frightening is that the trend toward communications oligarchy.

The call for equal access to information and resources has been replaced by a global movement towards a market economy and capitalism, headed by the United States and the European Union. The wind of market economy is sweeping the world. The disintegration of the Third World comprising the developing and poorer nations and the collapse of the Soviet Union as a major competitive power in the international arena have given a high velocity to the process of globalisation of goods and services and, with that, the emergence of a new global information structure.



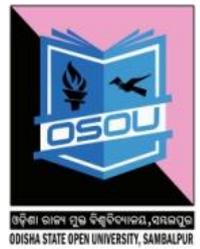
4.8: International Political Communication

As Hamid Mowlana in his book writes the diplomatic flow of information has been one of the most traditional forms of international communication. Historically, it can be traced back to the emergence of the modern nation-states and the international political system⁰. The traditional style of diplomacy was characterised in the early years by a small group of national elites using interpersonal forms of communication technology. With the appearance of nongovernmental actors, a new type of diplomacy arose, one more oriented towards the masses and the public. Researchers term this new flow of information as political persuasive communication, propaganda” and more recently as “public diplomacy”.

One important feature of this new form of communication was the importance placed on public opinion. Technological advancement in communication allowed governments to direct their messages to large national and international audiences. National boundaries were no longer barriers to international political and diplomatic messages delivered by radio, television and satellite systems. This was only the beginning. Almost all governments around the world set up information and propaganda agencies, hired public relations firms and organised regular and systematic briefing meetings and lavish diplomatic parties in order to influence their foreign and domestic audiences. The internet later accelerated the pace of such communications.

4.8.1: Propaganda

The impact of propaganda during the First World War and the development of new techniques in persuasive communication dominated the earlier studies of international political communication. As propaganda and psychological warfare played an important role in the Second World War, the study of international political communication became an established field of inquiry in universities across the globe. After the Second World War, research in this area was greatly influenced by the continuation of the Cold War. The ideological struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union produced yet another round of research.



This “war of ideas” was influenced later by several factors, among them were the development of sophisticated atomic weaponry, the rise of the new nation-state and the Non-Aligned movement in the Third World. The major focus was now directed towards a global elite and the growing number of the technocratic intelligentsia most of whom were linked by many common factors.

4.8.2: New lines of Propaganda

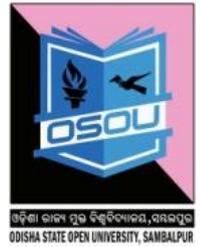
The major strategy of international communication in the early part of the twentieth century was the blatant use of propaganda. In the years following the First World War, till the end of the Second World War, a new communication strategy was developed. Encouraged by the potential applications of propaganda, governments enlisted the cooperation of communication and political scientists. The goal, now was to evolve strategic warfare techniques aimed at destroying a country’s infrastructure as well as the morale of its population. This became evident during the Persian Gulf War. The more recent strategy is no longer to change adherence to a particular doctrine. It does not normally address the individual’s intelligence. Rather it tries to make the individuals cling irrationally to a process of action because action makes propaganda’s effect irreversible. Through the process of rationalisation, previous obedience to propaganda obliges future obedience.

Propaganda’s internal characteristics are its knowledge of the individual’s psychological terrain, and its aim, which seeks not to elevate but to make one subservient.

4.8.3: When the State becomes a propagandist

Propaganda is a condition in which the existing political, economic and sociological factors allow an ideology to penetrate individuals or masses. It produces a progressive adaptation to a certain order of things, a certain concept of human relations, which internally moulds individuals and makes them conform to society. It causes psychological crystallisation, a refusal to listen to new ideas: an alienated and artificial life of obedience to someone outside oneself, and a tendency to react to the smallest dose of propaganda.

The socio-political effects are similarly deep: once used as a means of spreading ideology externally or fortifying it internally, propaganda, then, obeys its own laws and becomes autonomous.



In this context, ideology not used by propagandist, such as humanism, becomes ineffective. The State must become a propagandist because of the need for an all-embracing truth and myths of democratic participation that hide intolerance and minority suppression.

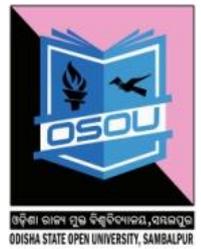
“There is no nonsense so arrant that it cannot be made the creed of the vast majority by adequate government actions”, wrote the British philosopher Bertrand Russell about the nightmarish possibilities of propaganda.

Yet the importance and crucial significance of international political communication, propaganda, and the new role that the ideological symbols play in international relations have been acknowledged by all the schools of international relations regardless of their political orientation.

In the United States a generation ago Harold Lasswell advocated the study of the international flow of information in determining the climate of international action. Since part of the manipulative strategy of politics calls for mood control, Lasswell focused his interest on analysis of the content of elite-to-elite and elite-to-non-elite in determining the distribution of common moods as well as the distribution of deviations. International relations as a communication process has been discussed by Charles McClelland, Davis Bobrow and others. Communication models and information flow data has been used by Johan Galtung and his associates in the study of imperialism and world systems. As a result, there has been a shift toward a much more extensive and careful use of communication and information data in international political research.

4.9: International Strategic Communication

Strategic communication activities are carried out for military purpose. A less explored area in the literature of international relations is the strategic aspect of information flow. Space age technology, to a very large extent, has changed the traditional notion of land, sea and air. The U.S. government’s attempts in developing a space-based weapons system, with the help of satellites, to identify the former Soviet intercontinental ballistic missiles as they emerged from their silos is a case in point.



The “Star Wars” project was supposed to be a deterrent. During the Cold War period the American war office ‘Pentagon’ completed a strategic master plan to give the U.S. the capability of winning a protracted nuclear war with the former Soviet Union. In this regard there was a commitment to provide 18 billion dollars to set up a communication system that could withstand such a prolonged nuclear warfare.

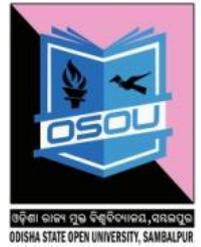
The former Soviet Union, of course, had its own military-oriented space projects that had not yet been publicised. The ability of the United States and its allies to use modern communication technologies to major strategic advantage in the Persian Gulf War is indeed another case in point.

The strategic importance of space communication technology has a serious economic dimension as well. For example, the U.S sponsored INTELSAT provides a system on which about a quarter of communication traffic either originates or terminates in the U.S. It is a system consisting of satellites manufactured by U.S firms. At the same time, the globalisation of national economies and the fact that a quarter of worldwide economic activities are now involved with international trade and services give further incentives to a country to have a leading edge in communication technology.

The privatisation and proliferation of international satellite systems were opposed by many, especially the Third World nations, because they were likely to serve only the most lucrative heavier routes of the United States and European communication at the cost of the developing countries. But privatisation and commercialisation of communication satellite systems were completed by the mid-1990s.

4.10: International Economic Communication

Information technologies and information-based products and services have become a central part of the economy. Today, telecommunication has become a vital component of any national economy. The global economy is now truly developing into an information-based economy.



Such developments and its effects include the increasing flow of information and information-based goods and services among nations, the growing economic importance of information and related products and services between and within nations, the increasing political and cultural significance of information and related goods and services, the emergence of new information-based products and services that do not correspond to traditional categories, and the increasing difficulty of enforcing intellectual property rights on the global level.

Information as a form of national wealth and resource has brought about a new definition of property. Today data banks are all multinational in structure and content.

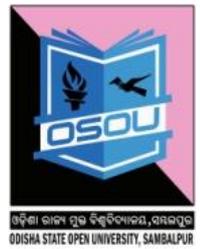
Much of the State-of-art information and communication technologies such as computers, the Internet, satellites and space-and-aviation-based know-how have been developed for the use of military-industrial complex.

The world now is clearly divided into “haves” and ‘have-nots’ as the geographically unequal distribution of physical resources become further sharpened by a corresponding unequal distribution of knowledge and information. The digital divide is adding to the economic divide.

Domestic and foreign intellectual property laws are now becoming altered as a result of the development of modern technologies and expansion of global products. The economic stakes of the new technologies are particularly high for the copyright industries.

Modern information technologies are the vehicles through which ideas, images and information are distributed both inside and outside of a country. These are therefore, powerful agents for socio, political, economic and cultural change. Cultural industry products from the USA continue to expand around the world.

Modern communication, as Mowlana writes, is developing along two fronts, each creating its own parallel and yet contradictory phenomena. On the one hand, there is the promise of globalisation of personal communication, on the other, there is the reality of globalisation: continuing centralisation of mass communication, with fewer players (often global conglomerates) controlling the hubs, leaving the overwhelming majority of the world’s population increasingly marginalised on the periphery.



The powerful conglomerates which become the lords of the global village constitute vast communication empires that totally eliminate national boundaries. Another impact of the ever shrinking global village and the dense concentration of wealth and poverty is the question of human rights.

Nevertheless, communication technologies can be moulded into the images of their users. Rather than replacing indigenous communications and culture, they can exist side by side with them. New communication technologies can encourage increased participation and equality.

4.11: Intercultural communication and conflict

One characteristic of our age is that small nations, more than ever, are now challenging the world political and economic structures. The experiences in Vietnam and the Islamic revolution in Iran during the 1970s were only two dramatic examples of both political and ideological conflict between the superpowers on the one hand and smaller countries on the other. The post-cold war surge in so-called “ethnic conflict” is the continuations of a trend that began in the 1960s.

It can be argued that because the great powers have a high stake in international system maintenance, and because they must maintain a posture to satisfy their domestic political, military and economic elites, they have little interest under existing international system to make any revolutionary and fundamental changes in the international communication structure as we now know it.

4.12: Cold War Communications

Until the fall of the Soviet Union, competition and conflict between superpowers took different forms and contents. Since a war between the major powers would have meant global destruction, and because of the sophisticated atomic weapons, a total victory was no longer possible for either superpower (USA and Soviet Union), two important poles of international military, diplomatic, technological and intellectual communications emerged, each trying to maintain, project, and if possible, advance its dominance over the global society by controlling and maintaining information and symbols.

Access to domestic and international communication channels became the major goal for advancing the perceptions of military, economic and cultural superiority. In short communication hardware and software became instruments in globalising the Cold War and “détente” systems, often with the correlation of the middle-level powers or even the small powers who either had no fronts or unity of their own independent from the superpowers, or were in such a flux that they tended to ally themselves with the U.S camp or the Soviet camp on a number of issues.

In such a system of international relations, agenda setting is the main source of power. In the last few decades, as a result of nationalism, revolution, ethnicity and religio-political movements around the world, the monopoly of the great powers’ agenda setting systems had been constantly challenged and in some cases even reduced.

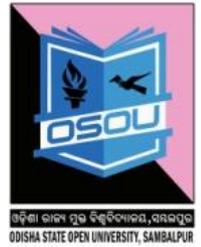
4.13: Communication Control

As the control over the means of international communication is very expensive, there is little chance for smaller nations to hurtle themselves into the expanding global communication markets. Now the world’s seven richest nations- the United States, Britain, Canada, France, Germany, Italy and Japan- control not only the bulk of the global wealth, but also the bulk of the global future.

In the global society, those who control information, rather than military power, dictate the course of the world. We have already made our entry into a period of challenging and chaotic digital transformation. The result will be a redefinition of international politics in terms of communication and cultural activities.

The agenda setting of the day – what to table and what to think about – becomes more important than what position one must take about the issues that are troubling the world community. Thus control over information flow and communication must accompany access to material and natural resources. It is only under a powerful communication and information systems that one can determine the parameters of international security debates.

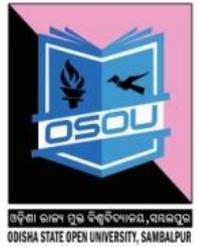
As supply of information is increasing at an extraordinary rate, both internally and domestically, equal access to it is seen as the vehicle for reducing dependency in economic, political and cultural relations.



In a broad sense, the study of the international flow of information is another approach to the study of international relations. It should not only include the flow of information and messages through technological channels and the conventional media, but must also take into account the totality and the diversity of both channels and messages delivering information across national boundaries. This would include the study of message flowing through channels that are oriented towards human movements as well as scientific and artistic pursuits.

Therefore, a more realistic analysis of the international flow of information should include the examination of the following economic, political and cultural activities.

1. Newspapers, magazines, books, technical and scientific journals and news agencies.
2. Radio, television and direct broadcast satellites.
3. Film, recording and video, marketing, advertising and public opinion polls.
4. Mail, telecommunications, electronics and digital networks and communication channels
5. Tourism, travel and migration including religious and other personal contacts.
6. Satellite and planetary resources-including trans-border data flow, computers and related technologies.



4.14: Check Your Progress

a) Information is the new global currency. Justify.

b) Why do modern nation states resort to propaganda?

c) How do you define *westoxification*? Explain using a day-to-day example.

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