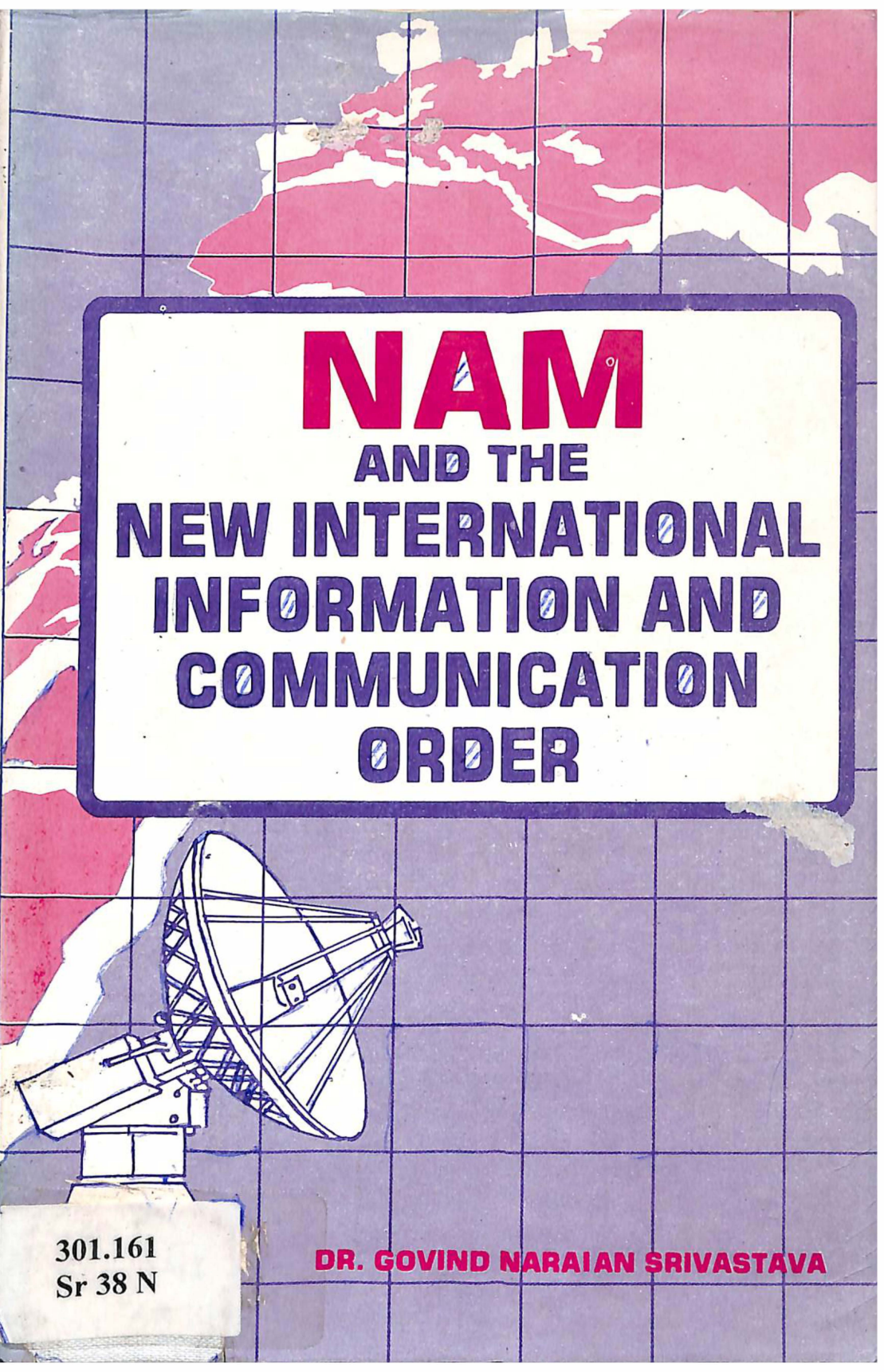
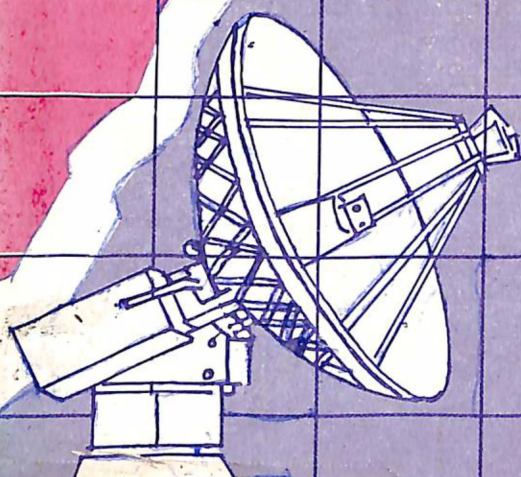




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**AND THE
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DR. GOVIND NARAIAN SRIVASTAVA



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NAM AND THE NEW INTERNATIONAL INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION ORDER

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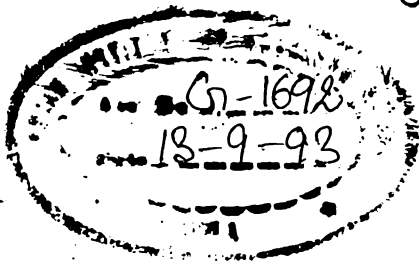
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FOREWORD

The importance of mass media in the present day world in solving many international problems can hardly be over-emphasized. The successful working of the mass media in the field of information and communication depends on the fact whether or not its roots are entrenched in the respective historical national genius of a country. Besides, the mass media should also be suited to the conditions prevailing in each country; it must be in agreement with the prevailing value-system and culture of each society.

With the revolutionary changes in the communication technology, the world has shrunk. The information and communication media has hence come to influence greatly the situations prevailing in the world at large. The revolution in the realm of information and communication has added to the existing imbalance at the global level and has obstructed the free flow of information. The information and communication has now been recognized as an equivalent of power - the advanced countries, especially the Western, media and the US imperialism pose a threat to the value system and culture of the States of the Third World.

One of the fundamental objectives of the Non-aligned Movement has been to strive for a new information and communication order at the international level. This demand has sprung as a reaction to the distorted image of the Third World countries presented by the Western monopoly in the field of information and communication. The new emerging Third World countries have not only started resenting the Western monopoly but have alternatively felt the need of pooling their own resources in the field of information and communication,

on the other, in a bid to get out of the clutches of US imperialism and its allies. This has qualitatively changed the demand of the Third World countries from New International Information Order (NIIO) to New International Information and Communication Order (NIICO).

The non-aligned movement has had the history of a long struggle for a New International Information and Communication Order. This struggle has not been without its stresses and strains. The redeeming features of this struggle, however, is that presently the non-aligned movement has concretised its demand for NIICO and has been taking relevant measures to achieve it, though slowly but firmly.

The present study by Dr. Govind Narain Srivastava, an eminent journalist and a consistent fighter in the struggle for NIICO, is an important contribution. It amply demonstrates the consistency of the non-aligned movement both in its perception and action, in striving for NIICO. He has made the study up-to-date by citing the documents of the IX NAM Summit recently concluded at Belgrade.

I am sure the study would be highly appreciated by the intellectuals both in academics and the media.

20 September 1989

SYED SIBTEY RAZI
Member Parliament
(Rajya Sabha)

PREFACE

The importance of the sphere of information in the struggle for peace, against the arms race, for developing mutually advantageous cooperation and understanding among peoples is growing with every year. The mass media are called upon to play an important role in the solution of many international problems and first of all in removing the danger of nuclear war. The mass media should serve the aims of peace and trust, but at the same time they can also spread the poison of strife among countries and nations.

A successful international pattern of cooperation in the field of information can evolve only if it is recognised that information systems in each country should evolve according to its respective national genius and suited to the conditions prevalent in each country within the framework of the value systems and culture in each society. Also, such cooperation has to be based on the recognition of the freedom of the media, the need for plurality of sources of information and independence of judgement. At the same time it has to be recognised that there must be a balanced presentation of developments which is best achieved if the collection, assessment and dissemination of information is based on the principle of mutual respect between societies in different stages of development whether the information relates to tribal and other societies in early stages of development or affluent or technologically advanced post-industrial societies. In essence, what is required is an attitude of humility, sympathy and understanding of the striving of all peoples to improve the quality of their lives. The international community should more than ever before, draw its lessons from these painful realities, overcome its apprehensions, its misgivings, and act in a

spirit of solidarity and fruitful cooperation. Our partners should take into consideration the fact that New International Information and Communication Order (NIICO) holds out for the developing world, a promise of a conceptual framework and an action programme which would permit them to overcome all apparent imbalances and traces of underdevelopment.

One of the great documents of our times, the UNESCO Declaration, starts with these words - Wars begin in the minds of men. And it is there that the barricades of peace must be set up. But in one of the cruel ironies of today, a resolute struggle is being waged to do just the opposite - to pull down the very bastions in the minds of men which can face the onslaught of ideas towards war, conquest, hegemony and exploitation by which the strong can prevail over the weak, the rich over the poor, and the privileged over the dispossessed. More appalling still is the determination to push the world toward a global holocaust which could end our planet Earth itself and its peace-loving people. Among the instruments of this tragic process are the information and communication systems which, with ever-increasing technological innovations, invade the mind with relentless pressure to inform selectively, to misinform cunningly, and to disinform mischievously. The world witnesses an impeded and unbalanced flow of information which threatens culture, life-values and world-views, which threaten societies themselves hoping to find a place in the Sun.

The recent revolutionary changes in communication technologies offer both challenges and opportunities to the non-aligned countries. If they individually and collectively approach the challenges offered by new technologies on the basis of sound communication policies within the framework of Non-aligned Movement, the technologies will facilitate journey toward the goal of a new world information order. If not, then same new technologies may be a new threat and barrier to

the NAM objective of restructuring of economic and information order. Also, there is a case for greater cooperation among the non-aligned countries in the field of education, media and cultural activities for more favourable mutual portrayal so that the objective of better understanding, appreciation together with greater mutual economic and political benefits could be achieved in the interest of individual country's prosperity and the world peace.

It would be logical and appropriate to quote the celebrated words of Mrs. Indira Gandhi as Chairperson of NAM and the one who has remained an uncompromising champion of the struggle for NIICO: "If information is power, it is not merely the power to impose, but also the power to resist. The non-aligned should view communication in this sense. For us it is a major resource in enlarging our people's awareness and in securing their participation in national and international affairs. Even more, it is a potent instrument for world peace and understanding. Let us use communication to open the minds and hearts of people to the importance of sharing and cooperatively meeting the new challenges and opportunities ahead of us."

I express my sincere thanks to Dr. S.N. Talwar & Mrs. Rekha Singh for their help.

NEW DELHI
20 SEPTEMBER, 1989

GOVIND NARAIN SRIVASTAVA

INTRODUCTION

News and views circulated through mass media have significant bearing upon attitudes and actions relating to international relations. With the revolution in communication technologies the world is shrinking into a global village, making interdependence of nation-states imperative for the very survival of human race on this planet. Relentless battles for minds are fought through mass media. Today, not only sophisticated technologies like satellites and computers are utilized to generate enormous news and information but subtle techniques are put into operation to 'colour' such news and information.

Information and communication obviously plays an essential role in shaping the life and fate of a nation today. The Sean MacBride Report also known as "Many Voices, One World" report refers to information as a "key-resource, on par with energy or raw material." Communication acts as a complement to development and is concomitant with social change. The widespread application of new technology is indeed changing information into a resource, analogous to any raw material. Access to information, control over information, the research and development capacity to stay in the information technology are the most important factors in achieving the national target of economic growth. As economic competition is intense among nations, the international rules of controlling the flow of information are uniquely important.

It is closely observed that issues related to information flow are not technical, rather they are political, social and more economic in nature: Apart from this, the information flows cut across the national border; it has the potential for exerting a

major influences on the political, economic, social and cultural direction of a country's overall development. There is also a growing recognition that communication and information infrastructures cater to particular needs. Also, the software, cultural products to fuel them are essential elements to safeguard the cultural identity. This provides ample testimony to the new awareness which has been generated among the nations, who are deprived of the control of information.

The western developed countries hold the monopoly of modern communication technology and international information media. Development in modern times is regarded more in economic term and the developing countries are plagued by high rate of illiteracy, ignorance, low per capita income and ever-increasing population growth. These factors become stumbling blocks on the way to rapid social and economic advancement. To these countries, investment in capital and technology is boon. But the question raised here is wherefrom they get the assistance for their investment? The answer to a large extent lies in the manner of operation of multinational corporations. As a result, most of the Third World countries become mere appendage to a world-system whose rationale has been laid down by the industrialised countries and whose operations are also inevitably drawn in their favour. The third world suffers from the legacy of colonial domination and exploitation; the relation of the third world vis-a-vis industrialised world can be historically characterised as relationship between the centre and periphery. In short, today's transnational power-structure acts internationally and operates internally in each and every third world country. Besides, the western industrialised countries have post-industrial society communication system wherein the service sector eclipses agriculture and manufacturing is regarded as a force of development.

Within the complex framework of the transnational communication system, the news agencies of developed world penetrate deeply in the third world countries and come to play an important role. The main agencies are: United Press International (UPI), Associated Press (AP), Reuters, and Agence France Presse (AFP). *They operate outside their countries and exercise a deep influence on communication systems of*

the many countries where they operate. The western media, like various news agencies has tremendous impact on third world countries through audio-visual instruments and satellite broadcasting. A few developed countries hold the entire string of communication system. This paves way for the western monopoly in the field of mass media in the entire world, including the developing world.

The study of the mass media in the third-world countries entails a lot of problems which do not have easy solutions. Despite the size, population, territory, the developing world hardly gets any notice on the arena of world media. Another important thing is that what is presented of the third-world is a lopsided and distorted account. The values that foreign media seeks to impose on developing countries often tend to undermine people's confidence. Even to exchange information, the developing countries have to depend on western media which transmits information with a slanting colour and thereby rising the apprehension of the people in the Third-World.

The people of developing countries are far less well off than those of the developed ones since most of the developing countries are agrarian economies. They get less opportunity to enjoy or even afford the availability of mass media facilities. Although the Third-World countries have sufficient manpower and natural resources yet most of them are not able to exploit these to their advantage by introducing new technological know-hows. Under the impact of Industrial Revolution the developed western countries have a treasure of raw materials and also a readily available market to sell their finished foods in third world countries which has remained their colonies at one time or the other in the last few centuries. This had brought a colossal loss to the developing countries, especially the Afro-Asian and Latin American ones. A similar dominant position of the West prevails in the field of communication, information and media field. The West controls and runs the third world media as well.

All these facts made the third world countries understand that the most objective way to overcome this legacy is to establish their own means of exchange of news by building

national news agencies and other media of information through bilateral and multilateral systems for exchange of news among themselves. Lastly, the determined efforts on the part of the developing world have succeeded in changing the initial western resistance to their demands and even to accept the legitimacy of these demands to some extent.

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

The main complaint of the developing world has been that the vast majority of these countries have been reduced to a state of passive receivers of information without having any right to reciprocate. The problems arises due to the one-way information-flow and the existence of both monopolistic or oligarchistic trends in the field of international media. It has been clearly voiced and complained that as the content of information is largely produced by the developed countries, it frequently spoils and distorts the image of the developing countries. The fears of the Third World are generated by the potentialities of the direct satellite broadcastings and this had helped in raising the demand of a free, balanced flow of information. The Third World countries have shown their concern since the transmitted information both in content and quality had tended to spoil their image.

This is how the call for a "New International Information Order", much distinct from the old order has come forth. The developing countries rightly feel that such a new order is absolutely necessary as communication and information are essential factors in their national development. They rightly opine that the establishment of the new system should be founded on the principles of equality of rights and the right of self-determination of these countries. Thus, transformation of communication is conceptually related to and a close ally of the New International Economic Order.

The demand for a free information and communication order can be traced to the period of national liberation movement in India. The leaders fighting for political independence in India were conscious and concerned about the information imbal-

ance and cultural domination even before the Third World countries actually broke the shackles of foreign rule. This view can be proved by what Gandhiji had stated in 1921:

I do not want my house to be walled in on all sides and my windows to be stuffed. I want the cultures of all lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible but I refuse to be blown off my feet by any.

It was in the same vein that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India, and one of the architects of the Non-Aligned Movement, in his message to the Asian Journalists Conference in 1951 held at Tokyo had expressed the hope that one day in the future we may be reading Asian news as reported by Asian journalists who would have far better understanding of Asian problems and Asian aspirations.

In this background, the non-aligned nations have inevitably urged for the creation of a new international information and communication order (NIICO). It is inevitable because all the nonaligned and developing countries considered themselves to be the part of same colonial heritage. They cherish to establish an information and communication order which aims at a universal, equitable, free, fair and balanced flow of information, keeping an eye on the changing social and economic conditions of the present-day world. The objective in minds of the developing world is the promotion of world peace, understanding, combating racialism, apartheid and colonialism in its entirety. In this context, Mustapha Masmoudi aptly emphasized the importance of setting up of a new international information order.

Even the briefest history of NIICO cannot afford to ignore the name of Mustapha Masmoudi, a Tunisian intellectual who belonged to the school of thinkers that belonged to the Francophone countries. Among them were the pioneer, Leopold Cedar Senghor, statesman and President of Senegal, who originated the concept of Negritude and Frantz Fanon, an Algerian, who wrote the seminal book, "The Wretched of the Earth." This school of thought analysed decolonisation, assessed the damage done to the cultures of colonies by the erstwhile imperialistic rulers and devised ways and means for

the restoration of cultural identities of the former colonies.

It is rightly believed that as in the case of other sectors of international life, the world is divided; one finds some media giants and countless media dwarfs in the field of communication and information. As a result, the entire spectrum of international information sources and communication system is controlled and run by a few developed and industrialized countries mostly from the West.

The third world dependency on the developed west is rooted in the era of colonialism and imperialism. These erst-while colonies acquired either nominal or somewhat complete communication systems and were joined with their respective metropolis mother-countries in order to facilitate the ruling of the peripheries by the Centre. Notwithstanding the post-1945 decolonisation, the neo-colonial tendencies still continue. Hence the control of the developed West is the logical corollary to the structural weaknesses of the third world viz., the under-developed, and the dependent communication systems.

The non-aligned countreis, keeping all the above facts in mind raised their voice for independence. In order to have the free flow of information, they felt that there was an urgent need to undo the colonial heritage and to decolonise the old information order. Thus, the Declaration at Algiers Summit (1973) rightly stated that there is "the need to reaf-firm national, cultural identity and to eliminate harmful consequences of the colonial era as well as to preserve their cultures and national traditions". In the subsequent non-aligned summits viz. Colombo Summit (1976), the Havana Summit (1979), New Delhi (1983) and Harare (1986), the same spirit of a freer information world has been echoed by the representatives of the third world countries. Apart from this, the Tunis Symposium (1976), also highlighted the fact of making the developing world more free from the domination of the developed world.

In addition to the efforts made by the non-aligned countries in this regard, the Declaration at the 20th UNESCO General Conference (1978) and 33rd U.N. General Assembly Conference confirmed that there is the need for the creation of a new international information order so as to strengthen

peace and global understanding in general and a healthy harmonious relationship between the developed and developing countries in this field in particular. Obviously, this is an important step towards the proposed new world order in the field of communication and information.

MASS MEDIA AND THE THIRD WORLD

The organs of mass media are seen in the Third World countries as instruments of development. They contribute to the solution of social, political, and economic problems and concomitant needs of these countries. But the lamenting fact is that they do not have their own media services. The Western monopoly is quite explicit in this area. The developed world use mass media as tools of their neocolonial control over the third world countries. The developing countries also resent the fact that in the name of the 'free flow' of news, it is only one-way free flow - from the centre to the periphery; from the developed West and North to developing East and South countries. They realize that in the absence of reciprocity about it, it is imbalanced, inequitable, biased, West-oriented and impervious to the actual media needs of the third world, whether in the field of collection, selection or dissemination. One does not find and envisage any revolutionary change in the situation; on the contrary the position of *status-quo* and Western monopoly continues.

Most of the Third World countries are not given the opportunity to operate an international news agency because it lacks financial, technical and journalistic expertise for it. Therefore, the developing world has to fall back upon the monopolistic four major western international news agencies for inter-

national news. For example, through Reuters Economic Service and AP-DOW zones, the Western agencies control the world supply of business-news and through this news they control the world supply of television news-film. The disadvantages of a monopoly is evident here. Having to deal with a monopolistic source, the developing countries cannot even claim the prerogative of a customer to be "always right" and hence fail to demand satisfaction. The Western transnationals have been unashamedly vocal about it and have often stated that they could not do much about it as it was not viable for them to cater to the specialised requirements of their clients in the Third World. Keith Fuller, the then President of Associated Press even went to the extent of saying, "Our basic aim is to supply an objective news report for the American papers that own us. They pay the bills and we are in business to cover the news for them."

It is hence right that the Third World spokesmen insist that the Western-owned transnational news agencies are not doing justice to the developing world's media needs and that they are either under-reported or misreported. It is also pointed out by them that at the time of an international crisis or in dealing with super-power tensions, the Western media fail to present an objective, impartial, neutral, and an unbiased news-service.

The western media, however, failed to see anything wrong with the prevailing pattern of international news-flow. Hence, as a reaction, the non-aligned nations raised the issue in Algiers Summit (1973). As a part of the action programme for economic co-operation, the Algiers Conference exhorted the developing countries to take concerted action in the field of mass communication in order to promote a greater interchange of ideas among themselves. To that end, the Action Programme suggested:

(a) reorganisation of existing communication channels, which

are the legacy of the colonial past and which have hampered free, direct and fast communication between them;

- (b) initiation of joint action for a revision of existing multilateral agreements with a view to revising press cable rates and facilitating faster and cheaper inter-communication;
- (c) urgent steps to expedite the process of collective membership of communication satellites and evolving of a code of conduct for directing their use; and
- (d) promotion of increased contact between the mass media, universities, libraries, planning and research bodies and other institutions so as to enable developing countries to exchange experience and expertise and share ideas.

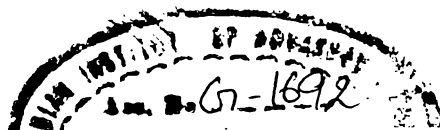
It was also decided at the Algiers as a part of the action programme that the non-aligned nations should exchange information on mutual achievements in all domains through whatever media systems available, in their countries. This included exchange of news, information, media programmes, experts, cultural delegations, etc.

The same tone was echoed in the Nairobi session of UNESCO in 1976. Also, Non-Aligned symposium on Mass Media at Tunis (1976) declared that: "since information in the world shows disequilibrium of favouring some and ignoring others, it is the duty of the non-aligned countries to change this situation and initiate a new order for information". And at a historic international seminar on mediamen in Stockholm (1978) a thorough discussion was held which triggered intense world-wide debate. Wide ranging questions like the very concept of news, control of media structures, role of multinational news agencies in information and communication flows between nations were raised. The 'free' vs. 'balanced' flow of information became the rallying points for the debate which often witnessed intense rhetoric and strong positions.

Imbalance in the flow of information was in terms of deficiency in the volume as well as in the content of the news-flow among nations. Often such imbalance amounted to distortion or suppression. It meant not only a supra-abundance of messages moving from a few metropolitan centres to the periphery but also a disproportionately few from the periphery, i.e., the Third World countries. It also meant that the information disseminated was tailored to cater to the Western consumerism which leads to the perpetuation of domination over the recipient country. Some such examples of partisan coverage in times of international crisis could be cited: Cuban revolution in 1958, or the manipulation of the media in the coverage of the war in Vietnam etc. In such cases, the Western media gave an untrue and distorted account of the events.

Derek Ingram has conceded that the international flow of news is "not only one-sided but often irrelevant." Further, he noticed the ideological conflict between the communist and the capitalist worlds creeping into western reporting. Most of the reports about Third World countries are in the East-West context, viewed either from the pro-Russian or the pro-American stance. Besides, there are numerous instance of political bias shown by the Western media against a non-aligned country in the US-USSR rift on Cold War issues in the 1950s. India had experienced such biased treatment during Dulles-Eisenhower era and also in Nixon-Kissinger regime at the time of the Bangladesh War in 1971.

But the irony of the situation is that while the developed countries are more concerned with the content, quality and relevance of the news they receive, the western monopolists are generally 'destructive' of the quality and content of the news disseminated regarding the developing countries. The western agencies often disseminate the news and other information about the Third World to their subscribers in the



developed world to meet primarily the specifications of their own value-system and tastes etc. There is so much dissimilarity between the cultures of the developing and the developed world that it obviously does not suit the Third World countries. The media needs of the affluent industrially-advanced Western society obviously differ from that of the Third World countries which are preoccupied with the basic problems of poverty, hunger, illiteracy and political instability. The Western-media naturally presents a highly distorted account of the Third World, which belies the reality.

There are major five news agencies — AP and UPI of USA, Reuters of Britain, AFP of France and TASS of the Soviet Union; controlling four-fifths of the world news. However, a very little attention is paid by these agencies to the developing countries. It is clear from the various studies made that a disproportionate volume of the news disseminated by the western-news media originated, in one way or the other, from USA; and that two-thirds of the world's population of the developing countries got less than one-third of the day's international news-budget.

There is another aspect of imbalance in the news received by developing countries. This relates to the information gap that exists in the flow of regional news. There is a lack of news-flow within a region, particularly among neighbouring countries. An example of South Asian countries may be taken into account. There is less flow of news between India and Pakistan or Pakistan and Nepal. It is because these countries are entirely dependent upon the western transnational news agencies as they lack their own resources, both technical and financial. This information gap creates the cultural and economic isolation between close neighbours in different regions of the Third World. Of course, the non-aligned news pool is able to bridging up this regional news gap to some extent.

The Pool of News Agencies of Non-Aligned Countries (in brief 'Pool') was formally launched in July 1976 at the New Delhi Conference of Information Ministers and the representatives of the news agencies of the non-aligned countries. According to the statement of the conference the objective of the Pool is to expand mutual exchange of information among the non-aligned countries in a spirit of collective self-reliance. The Conference also observed serious inadequacy and imbalance in means of communicating information which were concentrated in a few countries reducing the great majority of the countries to bring passive recipients of information. Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the then Indian Prime Minister, in her address to the Conference called upon the non-aligned countries to know one another directly, not through western media. "Self reliance in sources of information is as important as technological self reliance," she declared.

The fifth NAM summit at Colombo hailed the New Delhi decisions about setting up the Pool as "an important step towards further cooperation among non-aligned countries in establishing a balanced and equitable distribution of news and information to the people of the world." The Summit also recommended setting up of necessary infrastructure, exchange and consultation at various levels for promoting cooperation in information and mass media. The subsequent Summit Conferences at Havana and New Delhi commended the performance of the Pool and noted with satisfaction the diplomatic success achieved over the years in various international fora on the issue of information flows.

The distortion of news by the western media is also one of the important things sought to be remedied. It does not mean a false presentation of events but rather an arbitrary selection of events and a slanted evaluation of reality.

One must admit that on the telecommunication front the situation is even more inequitable. The satellite technology and

its tremendous potentialities had awakened the Third World countries both in terms of their apprehensions and keen aspirations. The international telecommunication union's traditional policy of "first come first served" has deprived the developing countries of equal access to the vital natural resources, the electro-magnetic spectrum and geostationary satellite orbit. According to the MacBride Report, the developed countries utilise ninety per cent of the radio spectrum and of satellite orbiting space and only ten per cent is used by the developing countries.

Thus, one finds that there is a large gulf between the developed and developing countries in the free and balanced flow of news services. It is, hence, necessary to go into the reasons of such an inequality. Many factors are responsible for the existing imbalance.

Welbur Schramm in "Mass Media and National Development," defines "a developing country as one in which the annual per capita income is 300 dollars or less." It is usually agreed that two-third or more of the world's population comes into this category which includes the developing and the underdeveloped countries. The mass media facilities are available in lesser quantity in the developing and the underdeveloped countries as against the developed one.

Most of the developing countries have large ranging problems of poverty, hunger and excessive population growth notwithstanding the fact that these are not devoid of manpower and natural resources. However due to lack of financial constraints and technical knowhow, they are not in a position to exploit these to their advantage. Most of the work force in the Third World countries is engaged in agricultural sector rather than the industrial one. Against this scenario, the industrialized nations not only find a treasure of raw material for their industries but also a readily available market for their finished products in the developing world. The developing

countries are technically and financially poor. The financial constraint stands in the way of their owning international news agency. Thus, despite their size, territory, population, rich natural resources, the developing countries hardly get any notice in the world-media. Again, whatever is presented is lopsided and a distorted picture is projected. Furthermore, the value-system that foreign-media imposes on the developing countries tends to undermine peoples' confidence in these countries. These countries hence recognise the fact that the most effective way to overcome this legacy is to establish their own means of exchange of news by building national news agencies and other media of information.

Basically, two major problems are faced by most of the Third World countries. *Firstly*, financial constraints in building an information infrastructure needed for a news agency, and *secondly*, paucity of cadres capable of organising and running news organisations. These two difficulties more or less adversely affect the entire Third World.

In the 1970s, opinions gathered momentum within the developing world in favour of bilateral, multilateral, regional as well as inter-continental cooperation in the sphere of news-exchange. The Non-aligned News Pool was one such important step in the direction. The objective of setting of the Pool was to promote a free flow of news and information since the developing world has now realised that their problems cannot be resolved satisfactorily unless they tend to become self-reliant in this field.

The New International Economic Order and the New International Information Order are complementary in nature as both *englobe* the problems posed by the imbalance, and injustice which characterises relations between the developed and the developing countries in economic sphere and in the media front. The western leaders have criticised the setting up of the Pool "as motivated rhetoric behind which the au-

authoritarian regimes of the developing countries are seeking to hide their designs to suppress freedom of media, impose censorship and deny access to sources of information to foreign correspondents." Not only this, they charge that the Pool is a cover for conspiracy of the non-aligned countries to keep out the western media and fill the vacuum with governmental propaganda. The western media even states that it is unfair to charge the worldpress agencies being responsible for the imbalanced flow of information between the developed and developing countries. It is stressed that the information transmitted by these agencies cannot be imposed on the Third World countries and that they are always free to accept or reject it. The western media is quick to cite some examples to prove that the Third World countries are not mere "passive receivers." One such example cited by them is that of the American magazine, *Time*, which, they state, has a large circulation in the Third World countries than in USA itself.

However, such a criticism of the Third World position is not valid. The general concept of the Pool as a new form of cooperation in exchange of news and information among non-aligned countries is that of relationship on equal footing. The Pool is not intended to be an international or transnational news agency in the sense the western news agencies e.g. AP, UPI, AFP and Reuter are. It does not collect news on its own nor distribute news under a single credit line. It is merely an arrangement of exchanging news and information through a network of distribution links. The idea emerged as a reaction against the imbalance and bias in news flow due to dominating position of the western news agencies in the world agency. Instead, its primary aim is to fill the gap and provide news and information about events and points of view that are, deliberately or otherwise, usually kept out of news distributed by the western media services. It intends to focus

on non-aligned and developing countries, their achievements, aspirations and policies. Each participating agency is responsible for selecting and distributing its news stories to the other redistributing centre in this multidirectional flow at its own cost. The receiving centre is free to use it or reject it. The agencies can even edit it before further distributing to its subscribers at home or to other pool partners. This proves how the western agencies distort the position of the Third World, often to its own advantage and to gain control and hold on the Third World media.

In addition, the media of the developing world has suffered from a common language problem. The Third World countries have either been forced to retain the language of their respective colonial master or to use the multiple languages spoken in the respective country. Hence, the gap between the industrialized west and non-industrialized developing countries keeps on increasing. Also, there is the phenomenon of monopolistic concentrations which has been extended from the press to the book publishing industry. For example, in Britain, the Longman Publishing House is owned by the Financial Times Group. Most European publishing houses have subsidiaries in the developing countries, e.g. Macmillan in India, Longmans in Africa who export most of their books produced to the developing countries. The developing world purchases almost all their books from the developed world which again affects the cultural identity of the Third World.

In addition to the control on press and even in the field of radio short-wave broadcasting, the developed countries exert tremendous influence on their erstwhile colonies. The traditional broadcasting which is now done through artificial satellites, permits the exportation of millions of cinematographic and photographic products, destined for local use by cinema and television. It is estimated that the developed countries

are able to export approximately ninety-eight per cent of these products to developing countries.

As a consequence, the communication-media which includes telecommunication viz., the telegraph, telephone and telex etc. is largely owned by the developed countries and that helps it to control all information media in the Third World countries. A survey shows that eighty per cent of telephones are working in only two countries. i.e. UK and USA and the rest twenty per cent is available in the rest of the world. This again substantiates the hypothesis that the western-media has a virtual monopolistic control. Furthermore, the sophisticated communication-media which includes computers, data-banks, telecommunication networks—also playing a very important role in foreign trade—is monopolised by a few technically-advanced western countries. In addition to the prevailing enormous gap in material facilities between the developed and the developing countries, even the content of the media-messages originating from the developed countries have tended to restrict the freedom of information.

UNESCO's Declaration on fundamental principles of communication and the need for a new international information order is clearly based on the belief that the modern society especially in the Third World, faces complex problems in the field of information and communication owing to monopolistic hold of the West on it. UNESCO therefore, rightly supports the desire of the Third World countries of achieving a more just and effective new world information and communication order. It has been realized by it beyond doubt that the information transmitted by the western press agencies to their public regarding the Third World gives a very distorted and even negative account.

UNESCO had for long taken keen interest in the communication development especially in the Third World; it has carried out a number of communication projects in this part

of the world. The projects of UNESCO has gone a long way in pointing out that there is a coherent correlation between communication and economic development. Information is now a specific kind of a basic economic resource which performs an important social function. In some other respects, the new communication order is a precondition for the new economic order; a just communication system is a *sine-qua-non* of all economic activities between groups, peoples and nations.

The development of the mass-media has helped the west to continue with its increasing domination. Through control on the advertising even the contents of media message has been influenced. This domination has further been strengthened through concentration in the field of production by the emerging world-wide industrial monopolies. The developing countries have hence realized that a new world information order must take into account the commercial methods used by these large monopolies for the promotion of their products.

Certain information experts in the developed countries maintain that the deficiencies in the field of information and communication in the developing countries stem from the defective working of the local governments and their control over the information-media. As a result, they argue, the journalists and mediemen can only transmit official information and the presentation of divergent and critical opinions prohibited. They opine that a journalist must have free access to information sources. Again, it is alleged that in the developing world news correspondents are not given sufficient protection by the state, as against the developed countries, which adversely affects the working conditions of the news-personnel. The West favours the state protection of media-personnel assigned the task of news dissemination. Some other problems raised in the process are: How can news worth-publishing be selected? What criterion should be used for this choice? How much protection should be provided to the in-

formation-personnel? These issues have been discussed thoroughly at national and international levels and one finds quite divergent rather opposite views on these issues between the experts of the developed and the developing world; and primarily these views are in tune with the objective conditions prevailing in each country.

It is in this background that the Third World countries wanted a "new information order." This is a basic necessity today as the developing world is convinced about information and communication being essential factors in the conduct of international relations and particularly in the establishment of a new system so ardently required in the developing world to meet the aspirations of the newly independent states. Also, in tune with the changed environment of the newly free Third World, it rightly wants the new order to be based on freedom, unfettered development, equality of rights and the rights of self-determination.

As development and communication in the Third World has to cater to the same objective principles, it is important that there should be cohesion of purposes between the state and the people; they must work uni-dimensionally. Hence, there should be the multidirectional flow of both horizontal and vertical message — from the media to the public and from the people to the media. The two must act in unison to strive for better living conditions in the Third World states.

The efforts made by the non-aligned countries in this regard are of vital importance. In 1976, in the Ministerial Conference at New Delhi, the non-aligned countries reaffirmed the imperative need for the emancipation and development of national information media from the domination of news agencies of advanced countries. It was earnestly felt that the large majority of the people of the world should not be denied the right to inform and be informed objectively and

correctly.

The Non-aligned News Agencies Pool has brought about some qualitative improvement in the coverage of news for Asia, Africa and Latin America. The Pool has *firstly* led to the increase in number of agencies and countries participating over the years. More than 100,000 words are carried under this banner around the world everyday for use by its 87 participant countries. *Secondly*, the kind of critical notice and comments the Pool has received from the western leaders and media is important. The Pool has grown both in volume and the range of news covered. It has become a model of cooperation for regional and continental news exchange arrangement like OANA (Organisation of Asia and Pacific New Agency), PANA (Pan African News Agency), ANN (Asia-Pacific News Network), ASIN of Latin America, etc. The establishment of the Pool has been a catalyst for the forging of a large number of bilateral and multilateral agreements by the news agencies and for the setting up of communication links among them. The Pool has also influenced the operation of the major-national western news agencies which criticised the establishment of the Pool. They have felt obliged to step up their coverage of the Third World developing countries including their achievements.

The Costa Rica Declaration (1976) has highlighted the fact that communication has now come to be accepted as an important factor of national relations between nations. The Declaration stated that the national communication policies should be conceived to meet the national realities and be based on free expression of thought and respect for individual rights.

Later, in 1979, at Kuala Lumpur, it was stressed that the communication should be considered both as a means of affirming a nation's collective identity and as an instrument of social integration. Communication was stated to have a

decisive role to play in the democratisation of social relations. Hence, the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems underlined the need of giving particular attention to problems relating to the free and balanced flow of information in the world in general and the developing countries in particular. This alone, it has been felt, can bring a more cohesive and harmonious relationship between the different parts of the world, by ending the lopsided and distorted presentation of the Third World by the monopolistic media of the developed countries.

WESTERN MONOPOLY IN THE FIELD OF INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION

As in the case of other sectors of international life, a few developed western countries dominate and control the entire international communication systems and sources of information. Also the dependence of the Third World on them opens the road of their imperialism. The imperialism of the West is based on insufficiently developed, national information systems which most of the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries inherited from their respective colonial masters. Due to one-sided control over the sophisticated telecommunication including telex, computer facilities, television and news satellites with inadequate financial, technical and human resources, the developing countries' dependence on western media monopolies is increasing with every passing day. The imperialist powers use the mass media as instruments of their neo-colonialist control over the Third World countries.

The phenomenon of western monopoly in the field of media is not a new concept. Even in the days of the pigeon-post and later during the nineteenth century, European statesmen,

monarchs and heads of the state had monopolised the media comprising only of newspapers and the news-agencies. Britain, France and Germany were the three major powers of that time, who used the press as an instrument to advance their political interests and also as a weapon against each other. Thus, *Reuter*, *Havas* and *Wolffe*, the three news agencies, controlled by these powers respectively were used to indulge in all sorts of propaganda to further their interests.

These news-agencies played a very significant role in shaping a country's foreign policy. This point can be illustrated if one takes the examples of the role played by *Reuter* in Iran and Prussia, by *Wolffe* in Prussia and *Havas* in France. Indeed, the Triple Alliance between Italy, Germany and Austria was formed in 1882 through a close collaboration of *Stefani* of Rome, *Wolffe* of Berlin and *Korrespondenz Bureau* of Vienna to crush *Hava's* dominant position in Europe. Kent Cooper in his book, *Barriers Down* has dealt with *Reuter's* world-news monopoly to state that "the foreign propaganda carried on through these channels over a hundred years had been one of the causes of wars, and that the news barriers erected around Germany had contributed to Hitler's rise to power and the eventual outbreak of World War II within the short space of twenty years." Further, he even accused *Reuter* of "a domination the like of which for international ramifications complications and regimentation of world opinion, has never been equalled." He rightly said that "international attitudes have developed from the impression and prejudices aroused by what the news agencies reported. Monopoly made the system of deception work."

From the above account, it is clear that *Reuter* was used a vital instrument of imperial Britain's foreign policy. The German newspaper, *Berliner Tageblatt* in 1918 commented: "... even mightier and more dangerous than the fleet or the army is *Reuter*." The first Britain Royal Commission Press

Report in 1948 emphasised the vital importance of news agency as "the press as a part of our political machinery which is essentially partisan, and it is a highly competitive industry the principles of whose being is to maintain high circulations."

Also, in the 19th century, imperial Britain was the super power that laid down the law for the rest of the world. The doctrine of "Free Trade" was imposed upon other countries for its own prosperity. This enabled Britain to spread its influence and command of international telecommunications through its near-monopoly ownership of the submarine cable-system around the world. It proved beyond doubt that communication was a power through which a country could acquire a stranglehold in the economy and culture of other nations of the world.

But the post-Second World War era has been characterised as American monopoly of international communication and a shift from the imperial British Power. The end of World War II found the USA emerging as the world's unchallenged super-power, economically dominating and politically stable. The basic motive with the then American leaders was to hold the string and thereby command and dominate the international communication system. The war-time development of communication technology had proved that the USA was far ahead of her war-fatigued allies. The world leaders had by now understood that the monopoly of communication and through it control on information was the key to international power and hence the USA's dominance would be generally all pervasive on the rest of the world. Like Britain's pre-war slogan of "free trade", the doctrine of "free flow of information" adopted by the Americans essentially served and fostered USA's vital self-interest. By introducing this altruistic doctrine, USA could obviously become the greatest beneficiary.

Commenting on the US stance on Freedom of Information

at the UNESCO Conference in 1948, the Economist stated: "It was the impression of most delegations that the Americans wanted to secure for their news agencies that general freedom of the market which has been the object of all their initiatives in commercial policy; that they regard freedom of information as an extension of the charter of the International Trade Organisation rather than as a special and important subject on its own. And the stern opposition they offered to Indian and Chinese efforts to protect infant national news agencies confirmed this impression." In order to maintain her super power status, the USA inevitably wanted it to retain its control over the technical facilities of international information and thereby command the global communications.

The advent of electronic-era in the field of information has shown that the possessor of this miraculous gadget was to have an unprecedented economic and cultural hold on the rest of the world, a phenomenon which was totally missing during the pre-war imperialism period. It was just like an octopus with the twin tentacles i.e. transnational media services and operation of transnational corporation that controls the media. It helped the USA in checkmating the growing power of the Soviet Union, a potential rival, and this was culminated in the Cold war of the 1950s.

It is apparent from Washington's official pronouncements, from time to time, that the USA wanted to utilise mass media at the international level to promote its image and foreign policy objectives. John A.R. Lee has rightly pointed out: "It is self-evident that the content of the international flow of communications and the 'news flow' cannot be unrelated to the power interests of the political or economic owner of the news medium and in the same way the interests of the medium owner cannot deviate from those of the social class in power in a society."

It is worth quoting here from reports of the Congress Com-

mittee on "Winning The Cold War" and "Ideological Operations And Foreign Policy": ". . . certain foreign policy objectives can be pursued by dealing directly with the people of foreign countries rather than dealing with their governments, through the use of modern instruments, and techniques of communications. It is possible today to reach large or influential segments of national populations – to inform them, to influence their attitudes, and at times perhaps even to motivate them – to a particular course of action. These groups in turn are capable of exerting noticeable, even decisive, pressures on their governments." This is how the US control on information and communication is intended to percolate down to influence those sections of its population who could in turn become the opinion-builders for the rest of the people. Besides, there are powerful private print-media spearheaded by *Associated Press* and *United Press International*, supplemented by the *New York Times* and *Washington Post – Los Angeles Times*' feature services. Other American feature syndicates reinforced by *Times*, *Newsweek*, *Reader's Digest*, *Disney Comics* as well as the television programmes from Kojak to "I Love Lucy", constitute the real intellectual attraction among the intelligensia and the elite in the various developing countries.

Apart from the AP, UPI, Reuter and AFP, the two American major feature services i.e. *New York Times* and *Washington Post-Los Angeles Times* services monopolise world-news spectrum in a unique way. The circulation of *Readers Digest*, *Time*, *Newsweek* and *Herald Tribune* enjoy the worldwide circulation.

Professor Herbert Schiller has introduced a new concept in the Study of Communication viz. "Public Diplomacy." It deals with the causes and effects of public attitudes and opinions which influence the formulation and execution of foreign policies. This new concept has mobilised public opinion in fa-

vour of the space exploration programme which in turn has contributed substantially to the American stature in the international arena. Since 1950s, one finds American monopoly existing in the domain of communication and information.

Besides, there are many other imperialist news-agencies which are active particularly in the developing countries, as most of the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries do not have news agencies of their own. One study states that 79 per cent of all foreign news press originated in four major international news agencies with UPI and AP alone, supplying as much as 60 per cent of the entire information. Some important news-agencies in the field are:

1. **Associated Press** is a US news agency which disseminates the highest circulation of information in the Asian countries and in turn receives the same as well.
2. **United Press International (UPI)** is the second news agency which sends information to about 90 countries.
3. **Reuter** is a leading news-agency running offices in 69 developing countries. Its news-bulletins reach about 138 countries.
4. **Agency France Presse (AFP)** is the French news-agency and is at number four amongst the leading imperialist countries' agencies.
5. **Deutsch Presseagentur (DPA)** is the West German news-agency which uses the resistance against the other four in the developing countries to force its way into the information market. By now, it publishes three main African bulletins.

Apart from these agencies, another category of news producers is coming into the field; it is the film producers who sell their material to television stations. The following belong to this category: (1) VIS News is a joint venture of the British BBC, the Canadian BBC, the Australian, BBC, New Zea-

land's NZBC, and Reuter, broadcasting television news and current film material to 174 stations in 97 countries. (2) UPITN is also a joint venture of the American UPI and the British News ITN and Global communications Co. Everyday, it supplies its material to 100 foreign television stations. These two US agencies are very active mainly in Afro-Asian countries. (3) Besides these two agencies, West Germany has one i.e. DPA-etc. which produces background material on current issues and supplies its products to more than fifty television stations.

Not only in the news-services but also through their broadcasting services, the imperialists' monopoly situation continues as the radio-set is a wide spread mass-media next only to newspapers in the Third World. By controlling the broadcasting stations, they retain their overall authority especially in the Third World countries. Many of the Third World countries operate their own broadcasting stations only at short ranges, whereas powerful imperialist stations like Voice of America, BBC and Deutsche Welle in different languages is received almost all over the world. In this context, Frankfurter Rundschau (July 1981) has admitted that imperialist "broadcasts produced in many languages and transmitted in the shortwave-band reach all continents and correspond to the political interests of their originators." The continuous interference in the developing world has often resulted in intellectual colonialism based on foreign values of the developed world.

The US administration's official instrument for external propaganda broadcast is the Voice of America (VOA). This station operates 800 hours per week in 38 languages. This programme concentrates on spreading the anti-communist propaganda on the one hand, and encouraging the western ways, especially American, of thought and behavior. During some of the most important international crises, Voice of

America has played a vital role. One can take the examples of US intervention in Korea (1950 to 1953), Cuban crisis (1962) and the US intervention in the Dominican Republic in 1965. In the mid-sixties, it increased the volume of its Vietnamese broadcasts by 700 per cent in a bid to unjustifiably win over the public opinion in the Vietnam war. Besides the international issues, it also had openly interfered in the domestic affairs of some of the developing countries. The example of Iran and Afghanistan can be cited. VOA works around the clock in broadcasting Arabic programmes. Relay stations in Bangkok (Thailand), Colombo (Sri Lanka), Tanger (Morocco), Monrovia (Liberia), Kavala and Rhodos (Greece), on the British island agencies in the Atlantic Ocean, and in the Philippines, guarantee VOA that it can be received almost in all the developing countries.

The Pentagon has pointed out that the broadcasting service of American forces, the American Forces Network (AFN) has managed to surpass even its fellow stations namely the VOA as regards the number of its listeners is concerned. It broadcasts in all countries where US forces are stationed. Basically, it comprises about 400 stations connected to five main networks, more than sixty stations are installed on board of US Navy Vessels cruising off Afro-Asian and Latin American shores. The United States spends about 35 million dollars on propaganda broadcasts and this amount is increasing every year.

Next to the Voice of America, it is the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) which deserves a significant mention. It operates external services in English and other thirty-eight foreign languages. These external services are on the air of 710 hours per week. In 1980, the BBC foreign language programmes' budget amounted to about £ 43 million. Thus, it certainly comes second on the list of imperialist, government-controlled, external propaganda institutions. It also has a long

standing experience in psychological warfare. Among other programmes, weekly BBC broadcasts scheduled for Africa amount to 19 hours; for the Middle East it is 63 hours; for the Southeast Asia it is 50 hours; for the Far-East it is 49 hours and for Latin America it devotes 44 hours. Thus, the BBC plays a very significant role in disseminating western propaganda in the developing countries.

Apart from these international broadcasting service agencies, the Deutsche Welle (DW) is used as the Federal Republic of Germany's main instrument of external propaganda. The elites refer to it as the "foreign region of the FRG broadcasting service." It operates 588 hours in a week in German and thirty-three foreign languages. It broadcasts 91 hours for Africa; 65 hours for Asia and 50 hours for the Middle East and Northern Africa, and 42 hours for Latin America.

One can thus find that the mass-media monopoly products, starting from daily newspapers and magazines to broadcasting on the one hand, and the sophisticated information media produced in capitalist metropolis by specialized information services, on the other, reach people in the developing countries in a bid to influence them. In other words, the intelligentsia and elite, once influenced, become the opinion-builders and thus multiply western information and ideas. The neo-colonialist ideologists also tend to influence the cultural values of the developing world by selling the products that will encourage western life-styles in the developing countries. Thus, both overtly and covertly, the imperialist powers succeed in installing their supremacy in the field of information and communication.

As against the above scenario, nearly two thirds of the world's population resides in the developing countries. Thus, there is a striking imbalance in the total circulation of national newspapers. Approximately, the ratio is 6:1 in favour of newspapers published in the industrialized countries. The

imbalance is so blatant that some developing countries do not have a national newspaper at all and some have only one: and hence have a very small share in the world's mass media. Although, the developing countries account for 70 per cent of world's population, it accounts for only 22 per cent of all published book-titles, 17 per cent of all printed newspapers, 9 per cent of all newsprint consumptions, 27 per cent of all broadcasting station, 18 per cent of all radio sets, 5 per cent of all television stations and 12 per cent of all television sets. This is a picture of the naked media-imperialism imposed by the western-developed countries on the Third World. Another facet of the story is that transnational monopolies are controlling the international media-industry, its marketing and distribution networks. In this context, Herbert Schiller writes: "Mass communications are now a pillar of the emergent imperial society, messages made in America radiate across the globe and serve as the ganglia of national power and expansionism National authority over attitude creation and opinion-formation in the developing world has weakened and is being relinquished to powerful external forces. The facilities and hardware of international information control are being grasped by a highly centralised communication complex, resident in the US and largely unaccountable to its own population."

As a corollary to this, the Tampere-UNESCO Studies (1973) has indicated that the free flow of information, reinforced by economic power has led to a worldwide situation in which the cultural autonomy of many developing nations is increasingly subordinated to the communication outputs and perspectives of a few powerful market dominated economies. As for instance, the practice of importing TV programmes in the developing countries effectively creates outposts within their own borders for exercise of influence in the interest of the countries from which the programmes are obtained.

Therefore, the extension in communication technology to the developing countries of the world has not resulted in a more balanced information flows in comparison to the industrialised ones. Olof Hulton aptly commented: "Of all the broadcasting hours (including news items) transmitted by the intelsat system and received by various earth stations, over 90 per cent originate in the USA and Europe alone, and one is bound to conclude, if anything, satellites have only confirmed by traditional patterns of flow."

Besides, it is also witnessed that the imperialist intelligence agencies play a subversive role in distorting information and in integrating the media into their intelligence operations. For example, the CIA controls the "Copley News Service" and the "Latin News Agency." Similarly, the Inter-American Press Association is closely cooperating with the CIA; and its special targets are Cuba and Nicaragua.

To combat communism, the capitalist western press has helped in the emergence of various organisation. One such example is the "International Organisation for Freedom of Information" in Egypt with the top objective of encouraging and spearheading anti-communism in the Middle East. The Finish publicists, Lindfors and Rislakki, have disclosed that about fifty newspapers, magazines, news agencies and broadcasting stations were directly controlled by the CIA.

Taking into account the virtual monopolistic hold of the West, a UNESCO Commission (February 1980) voiced its concern regarding the increasing number of news-satellite which expose the Third World countries to broadcast carrying falsified information on their international situations, and at the same, giving the Third World no opportunity to counter the misinformation campaign. In 1980, the Mexican newspaper "Exelsion" rightly accused the western press of making the propaganda in favour of inevitable wars — local, regional and even global. This kind of newsmaking corresponds to the

imperialists' interests because those wars would not be fought on their territories, but in the disputed "spheres of influence" existing in the developing countries. In the same vein, the Conference of African Information Ministers has pointed out that Africa continued to be the target of a well-designed and dangerous operation aiming at perpetuation of great power domination over the continent.

In order to put an end to the western monopoly in the field of media, the non-aligned countries have made some serious and rigorous attempts. They have advocated for the establishment of a new global information and communication system. In various summits of NAM, this spirit is clearly reflected. Yet, in 1985, the Yugoslav news agency "Tanjug" reported that despite efforts by NAM, the situation was not significantly changed. There is still "the domination of big western news agencies and newspapers." To combat this situation, more rigorous steps need to be taken by the developing countries to have their own media-agencies. The NAM and other developing countries must take suitable steps to free themselves from the monopolistic control of the western industrialised countries failing which one does not envisage the establishment of a harmonious and judicious world-order.

NEED FOR A NEW INTERNATIONAL INFORMATION ORDER

The Third World countries have rightly realized that there exists a wide gulf between them and the technically-advanced West in the sphere of information and communication. A few western developed countries control and run the entire media system of the world. The dependence on western media, imbalances in news flow and faulty global communication pattern and its negative effects on the Third World has made them aware of the situation and prepared them to struggle for a proper solution to these problems. It is heartening to note that the non-aligned countries have played a tremendous role in a bid to evolve a new international information and communication order.

The concept of NIICO, in true sense of the term around 1970 acquired international attention. In the beginning, the Third World countries felt that certain powerful and technologically advanced states exploit their advantages to exercise a form of cultural and ideological domination on them which jeopardizes their natural identity. Also, the Third World experienced problems raised by one-way information flow and by the existence of monopolistic and oligopolistic trends in international flows. It was the result of a deep analysis of the

realities in the field of information and communication in the late 60s and early 70s. This analysis produced three main thesis: gap between developed and developing countries in the distribution of means of information, imbalances in the international flow of information and distortion and manipulations regarding contents of information. As regards big gap in the distribution of means of information and an underdevelopment in the communication infrastructure in the developing countries it is stated that while in 1970 there were 300 newspapers, 532 radio receivers, and 237 TV receivers per 1,000 inhabitants in the developed countries, there were no more than 30 newspapers, 43 radio receivers, and 9 TV receivers per 1,000 inhabitants in the developing countries. As regards big imbalances in the international flow of information there is a big stream of information from the western centres into the developing countries whereas only a 'streamlet' is flowing back from these countries into the industrialized world. So far as distortions and manipulations regarding the content of information distributed by the dominating transnational media corporations, it is known that while reports about developing countries concentrate on 'negative events' like coup d'etats, disasters and catastrophes, they ignore 'positive news', like efforts to overcome illiteracy, to develop the national economy ~~or~~ to solve social problems.

Further, the Third World dependency on the developed West is rooted in the era of colonialism and imperialism. As a result of colonial exploitation, these erstwhile colonies acquired either nominal or somewhat sketchy communication systems which joined them with their respective metropolis, to facilitate the ruling by the Centre of the peripheries. This structural weakness made the Third World suffer from an underdeveloped and dependent communication system which presented an untrue and often a distorted picture regarding them tending to show them inferior in all respects as com-

pared to their industrialised counter-parts in the West.

It is in this background that the non-aligned countries raised their voice for independence in free flow of information. They felt the urgent need to undo the colonial heritage and to "de-colonize" the old information order, to remove the existing imbalances in the free flow and to democratize the global information and communication process. Besides, they felt "the need to reaffirm national, cultural identity and to eliminate harmful consequences and the colonial era as well as to preserve their cultures and national traditions" as the Algiers Summit Declaration had put it.

Like the proposed new world political and economic orders, the non-aligned nations have inevitably urged for the creation of a new international information order. The non-aligned and developing countries regarded themselves as a part of the same colonial legacy, suffering from similar colonial problems and hence calling for a concerted and joint front to improve their lot. The establishment of an "Information and Communication Order" aiming at a universal, equitable, free, fair and balanced flow of information in consonance with the changing social and economic conditions of the world is seen as concomitant, rather complementary to the demand for New International Economic Order.

The demand for NIICO, in an abstract form started when the Algiers Summit (1973) called for a re-organisation of communication networks "inherited from the colonial past", in order that non-aligned countries should communicate among themselves "freely, directly and rapidly." An Action Programme was set and approved to achieve this objective. There was provision in favour of the revision of tariffs for news reports in order to facilitate further and cheaper communications. It also included the acceleration of the process of collective acquisition of communications satellites and the elaboration of a code of conduct for regulating the manner of their use. An impor-

tant point was made in the programme with the objective of closer contacts among information agencies, academic institutions, planning and research bodies in most of the non-aligned countries in order to carry out an exchange of experiences and technological knowhow to share their ideas respectively. It was a stepping stone towards the cooperation and harmonious understanding in the entire information and communication systems, on the part of NAM.

Since Algiers Summit of Non-aligned Countries (1973), there has been a sea-change in this particular field. It is largely determined by rapid advance in technology on the one hand, and a deeper understanding of the role of communication in all facets of human development including its impact on international relations, on the other. The subsequent summits therefore grappled with some of the specific issues connected with the demand of NIICO.

Then, in Tunis Symposium (1976), the non-aligned countries stated pointedly that "it was the duty of the non-aligned countries to alter the imbalanced situation to decolonize information and to conceive of a new world order for information."

The Colombo Summit (1976), in the first instance, emphasised that a new international order in the field of information and mass communications "is as vital as a New International Economic Order", because the colonial legacy in communication capabilities of the non-aligned "had created a situation of dependence and domination in which the majority of countries are reduced to being passive recipients of biased, inadequate and distorted information. The fuller identification and affirmation of their national and cultural identity thus, enable them to rectify this imbalance and to take urgent steps to provide greater momentum to this new area of mutual cooperation." Therefore, the Colombo Summit of non-aligned countries underlined emancipation and development of national

information media as an integral part of "the overall struggle for political, economic and social independence for a large majority of peoples of the world who should not be denied the right to inform and to be informed objectively and correctly." Moreover, it was rightly felt that self-reliance in sources of information is as important as technological self-reliance, since dependence in the field of information in turn, retards the very achievement of political and economic growth. While seeking the stated objective, it was mentioned in the Declaration of Colombo Summit that the non-aligned states pursue these efforts "by more active cooperation on a bilateral, regional as well as inter-regional basis and by coordinating their activities in the forums. In this context, the Non-aligned Press Agencies Pool (1976) headed by India made attempts to end the stranglehold of the western news agencies on the free and balanced flow of information from and to the Third World. The Pool also supported coordination on communication in Audio-Visual field.

The Costa Rica Declaration (1976) highlighted the fact that communication has now come to be accepted as an eminent factor of national renaissance. At the same time it serves as a peaceful force in relation amongst nations. It has been suggested that national communication policies should be conceived in the context of national realities, free expression of thought and respect for individual and social rights.

Besides, the demands of the non-aligned states for a New International Information and Communication Order has been fully reflected in the approval by the 20th UNESCO General Conference (1978) Declaration. It envisages that the news-media should aim at strengthening international peace and understanding. It was also affirmed in the 33rd United Nations General Assembly the need for setting up of a more just and effective information order. Besides, the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems also

dwelled on the same theme. The stress of all these efforts has been on problems of free and balanced flow of information in the world and to take care of specific needs for the Third World countries.

In 1979, at Kuala Lumpur all aspects of communication policy were discussed. It was stressed that communication is a means both of affirming a nation's collective identity and as an instrument of social integration. The Conference believed that communication has a decisive role to play in the democratisation of social relations as it permits the multi-directional flow. It acts both horizontally and vertically; convey a messages from the media to the public and from the public to the media; it also has the feed-back mechanism and hence is a continuous and integral process.

In the same year, at the Havana Summit it was pointed that the non-aligned and other developing countries had made notable progress "along the path of emancipation and development of national information-media" and stressed that the cooperation in the field of information is an integral part of the struggle of NAM and other developing countries for the creation of new international relations, in general, and a new international information order in particular. Here the important thing regarded in this direction was not merely the emancipation of national information sources from dependence on external sources, but also "the realization of active participation in mutual communication and cooperation on broader international plane."

The 1980s opened with the adoption of a Declaration of Principles on the New International Information Order, approved by the Fourth Meeting of the Inter-Governmental Council (IGC) (Baghdad, June 1980). This key event considered that NIICO is based among other things, on:

1. The fundamental principles of international law, notably

self-determination, sovereignty and non-interference;

2. The right of people and individuals to an objective picture of reality by means of accurate and comprehensive information;
3. The right of every nation to develop its own independent information system, in particular by regulating the activities of transnational corporations;
4. The right of every nation to make known worldwide its interests, aspirations and its political, moral and cultural values;
5. The right of every nation to resist, within constitutional limits, the distribution of false or distorted information;
6. The right of every nation to participate at governmental and non-governmental level in the international exchange of information under favourable conditions.

The Declaration considered further that the New International Information Order is intended to contribute to:

- i) The establishment of a New International Economic Order;
- ii) The struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, racism, including Zionism, apartheid and all forms of foreign aggression, occupation, domination and interference;
- iii) The promotion of human rights through intensified efforts to consolidate social, economic and cultural development and to oppose hunger, diseases, illiteracy and unemployment; and
- iv) Strengthening peace and international understanding, safeguarding detente and promoting disarmament.

A media conference of the Non-aligned (NAMEDIA) was held in New Delhi from December 9 to 12, 1983. Previously, in the seventh Nonaligned Summit (March 1983) the Heads

of States of non-aligned countries had devoted serious attention to the need for a New World Information and Communication Order

Wolfgang Kleinwachter of International Organisation of Journalists in a paper on the aims and principles of NIICO observed that in December 1983, the First Conference of Media Experts of the Non-Aligned Countries (NAMEDIA) was organised in New Delhi. The Report of the NAMEDIA Conference prepared the Conference of the Minister of Information of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Jakarta, in January 1984. The Conference of the Ministers of Information adopted a Declaration, an appeal to the mass media and several recommendations. In the Jakarta Declaration, the Minister of Information stressed that "the right to communicate is a fundamental human right and that information is a vital resource, central to the exercising of political, economic and cultural power." They reaffirmed the fact, "that the international mass communication media are dominated by the transnational news agencies and corporate structures which exercise a monopoly over the world's major communication media This has given rise to imbalance quantitatively, in the flow of news between developed and developing countries and among developing countries and, qualitatively, in the interpretation of news to the disadvantage of the developing countries." The ministers stressed the necessity "to rectify this situation," and they called again for a "decolonization of information." They underlined that "each country must be able to develop its own public communication policies and systems, free from external interference or intervention, in accordance with its history, its social values, its cultural traditions, its political and development priorities."

The NAMEDIA Conference made several recommendations to strengthen the action towards the stated objectives and stressed the need to establish a new equilibrium and a greater

reciprocity in the flow of information to the and from the developing countries, as also between these countries by strengthening and expanding the mass media and information infrastructure in the developing world. Further, it endorsed the recommendation for a general conference of the Ministers of Information within six months of every conference of Heads of States of Governments.

The underlying purpose of NAMEDIA is to strengthen and carry out the concept of NIICO. It also aims at promoting cooperation within the Non-aligned Movement for self-reliance in communication, a regular exchange and understanding among the media personnel of the non-aligned countries.

The broad objectives of the NAMEDIA Conference are:

1. to consider ways and means of speedily realizing the goals of the New World Information and Communication Order, to deepen and enrich understanding of its objectives and to coordinate approaches and programmes which can be steadily carried out in the context of proliferating technological development and their impact on information and communication activities;
2. to exchange national experience and to explore new possibilities of mutual cooperation among media personnel of the non-aligned countries so as to achieve collective self-reliance in professional and technological fields;
3. broadly to project the appreciation and thinking of the media personnel of the non-aligned countries on problems of common concern, before the meeting of the Ministers of Information of the Non-aligned countries takes place;
4. to consider steps to build international support for the current effort of UNESCO and International Programme for the Development of Communication (IPDC) to help correct the imbalances that obstruct the global flow of

information and restrict communication capabilities among a chosen few; and

5. finally, to explore how regular contacts can be established among the media personnel of the non-aligned countries for exchange of views.

Besides, an Indian National Preparatory Committee consisting of a representative spectrum of media-personnel was also brought into existence. A steering group has proceeded with the task of determining the scope of the proposed conference and its practical implications.

At the Eighth Summit in Harare in September 1986, in the Political Declaration the Heads of State reaffirmed "the need further to intensify cooperation among non-aligned countries . . . in the field of information and the mass media as to establish the New International Information and Communication Order on the basis of the free and balanced information and speedily to remove disparities in communication capabilities which in the era of rapid technological advances create new imbalances and place new and complex obstacles to democratization of the global information and communication process." Finally, at the Harare Summit, the non-aligned Heads of States and Governments urged the need to strengthen coordination within the United Nations system with a view to apply the principles of the proposed new order so that the United Nations Department of Public Information could increase printed and audio-visual information, enhance public awareness of the issues of common interest especially to the non-aligned and other developing countries.

The very idea of the establishment of NIICO faces immense opposition from the western-developed countries who want to continue with their existing privileged position and hence favour the *status quo*. Again, the non-aligned countries have been keen in avoiding a confrontationist stance and seek cooperation of the developed in a task which obviously is

disliked by the industrialised West. Now, when most of the the developing countries have begun to sophisticate their communication mechanism and information systems, they resent their dependence for the international news on the pre-established international news agencies monopolised by the developed world. Their greatest anxiety is related to the distortion of news, the misinformation campaign and the continuing imbalance in the flow of information from the developed to the developing world. Hence, it is not out of place to demand a complete up-rooting of the existing information-order, by the developing world. Hence, the developing world is right in rejecting the piece-meal reforms but to demand the establishment of NIICO.

The non-aligned nations have always sought a multi-lateral approach instead of the unilateral one for the establishment of the proposed order; preferring to work through global institutions. The NAM believes that a sectoral approach would, in the long run, be subversive of the interests of the world community. Hence, NAM focusses its attention in solving the principal question of human development. Therefore, the NAM looks upon the NIICO as not merely an instrument of correcting existing imbalances but a process towards qualitative change. It is hence a dynamic framework for the diverse and media-men, which should provide new approaches to technological developments affecting communication and international information-flow. It aims to see that the new technologies must not increase the dependence of non-aligned and developing countries on the developed work.

India has always pursued the policy of cooperation among the non-aligned countries. It is capable of playing a significant role in this area, although it may not get the due benefits in the process. India has a good communication infrastructure of her own, from amongst non-aligned and developing countries. However, India is right to remain in the

forefront in the demand of NAM to establish the NIICO. Through it, India tends to enrich the system on the whole and also incidentally benefit from it by sharing the technological know-how with other developing countries.

U.N. AND THE NIIO

There exist imbalances, both quantitative and qualitative, in the international flow of information as also inequalities in the communication capabilities, allocation of radio frequencies and geostationary orbits alongwith disparity in communication tariffs and also barriers to scientific and technical information. In the face of these inequalities in international life, the need of the time, is a free and balanced flow of information. In this context, Mustapha Masmoudi, the former Secretary of State for Information in Tunisia, said in a monograph: "Fundamentally linked to the other rights, the right to communicate concerns not only the individuals but also the groups, nations and the societies. It must be given appropriate expression at the international level, in relations between states, nations, societies and cultures. Furthermore, the right to communicate should guarantee not only the right to be informed but also its logical corollary namely, the right to inform, to counter mutilated information and to correct the false information." Thus, a new International Information and Communication Order is important both for the developed and the developing countries

For the first time, the non-aligned countries felt the need for the creation of a NIIO in order to end the imperialism of the western media. This spirit envisaged in the Helsinki Final Act (1975) has incorporated a provision that "cooperation in

the field of information should promote peace and international understanding." The doctrine invoked the sanction of the UN Declaration of Human Rights. Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights provides that everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression and that this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media, regardless of the frontiers. Article 29 of the same stipulates that "these rights and freedom may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations."

In the propagation of the need for a New International Information Order, the role played by UNESCO has been very important. UNESCO was not directly involved in the debate on the world information order until 1970s; till 1954, it was in fact strongly influenced by the western media on free flow of information. In early 1960s, UNESCO's interest in a new international information order grew and got intensified in proportion to the growing influence of the developing countries in UNESCO. In 1968, Rene Maheu, former Director-General of UNESCO General Conference undertook a long term programme of research to promote the study of the role and effects of the mass communication media on society. Later in 1969, in Montreal, there began a new pace in UNESCO's involvement in the problems of the communication-media at the international level. The Montreal Conference recommended that the UNESCO should undertake a "major international study of the present and future effects of communication on the relations between changing societies and social groups and the individuals comprising them" and also to identify the ways in which the mass-media can best serve the needs of present and the future society.

The Montreal Conference further led to the launching, in 1971, of a UNESCO-sponsored two year study of the flow of

television programmes by Professor Kaarle Noojen-Strength and Dr. Tapio Varis, at Tampere University in Finland. The findings of the Study exhibited the discontent of the Third World countries over the pattern of news-flow in the world. The Study also held that the free flow of information, reinforced by economic power, has led to a world-wide situation in which cultural autonomy of many developing nations was increasingly being subordinated to the communication-outputs and perspective of a few powerful economies of the developed world. The UNESCO Declaration in 1972, qualified the doctrine of free-flow of information for satellite-broadcast. The Declaration held that it was necessary that the states should reach or promote prior agreements concerning direct satellite-broadcasting to the populations of the countries other than the country of origin of transmission. It hence upheld the principles of freedom of information. Following this, the UN General Assembly voted 100 to 4 (the United States alone dissenting), a directive to the UN outer-space committee to formulate guiding principles governing the direct satellite-broadcast.

In 1973, the Tampere Symposium had discussed about information flow between nations, television programming, daily and periodical press, radio, film and other internationally circulated media. Its main recommendations were that (1) Efforts should be made to redress the imbalance of resources which presently characterises the international flow and direction of information among nations, especially in areas unable to determine their own cultural destiny, whether as nations or within nations. (2) Each nation has the right and duty to determine its own cultural destiny. It is the responsibility of the world community and the obligation of media institutions to ensure that this right is respected, and (3) In so far as the flow of information is concerned, quality, not quantity, should be the determining factor. The truthfulness of the

message takes precedence over the number of messages.

Later, in the 18th General Conference of UNESCO (1974) a regular programme for 1977-1982 was approved. The document noted that the free flow of information in its traditional definition should be complemented by a more balance and objective flow among nations.

Also, the UN action opened wider vista to the whole gamut of information-policies and practices in UNESCO. The legitimate demands of the developing countries finally succeeded when the 20th General Conference of UNESCO (1978) adopted the Declaration on Fundamental Principles concerning the contributions made by information organs towards world peace and international understanding. It sought to promote human rights and take concerted steps against racism, apartheid, and war-mongering etc. It was an important step towards the establishment of a New International Information Order (NIIO). It is important to discuss the contributions of the great debate in 1978 towards the establishment of NIIO.

The demand for a free and balanced flow of information on the part of the Third World has been reaffirmed in more than one article of the Declaration. Article III especially, emphasised that important contributions of the mass media should be made to "strengthening of peace and international understanding and in countering racialism, apartheid and enactment to war." Para 2 of this Article further stressed that the mass media, by disseminating information on the aims, aspirations, cultures and needs of all peoples, contribute to eliminate ignorance and misunderstanding between peoples . . . and to ensure the respect of the rights and dignity of all nations, etc. Article VI underlined the necessity to correct the inequalities in the flow of information to and from the developing countries and between these countries. It said: "It is essential that their mass media should have conditions and

resources enabling them to gain strength and expand and to cooperate among themselves and with the mass media in developed countries."

Article VII sought the establishment of a more just and equitable international economic order, and Article VIII recognised the need for a code of ethics for journalists. This code was to be evolved by professional bodies and it sought to make the media-men work responsibly. Similarly, Article IX speaks of the "international community" contributing to the creation of conditions for a free and more balanced dissemination of information. Again, Article X, para 2 reiterates "that a free flow and better balanced dissemination of information be encouraged." Para 3 requires states to facilitate the procurement by the mass media of adequate conditions and resources enabling them to gain strength and expansion in developing countries. Para 4 of the same Article declares: "On a basis of equality of rights, mutual advantage and respect for the diversity of cultures which go to make up the common heritage of mankind, it is essential that bilateral and international exchanges of information among all states, and in particular between those which have different economic and social systems, be encouraged and developed."

In short, the important principles of this Declaration are: Free flow and a wider and better balanced dissemination of information; access for the public to information through diversity of sources and means of information; freedom for journalists to report and the fullest possible facilities of access to information as well as protection guaranteeing them the best possible conditions for the exercise of their profession; the mass media to be responsible to concerns of peoples and individuals; the establishment of a new equilibrium and greater reciprocity in the flow of information to and from mass media of the developing countries; creating conditions and resources enabling them to cooperate both among

themselves and with mass media in the developed countries. To strive for these, an international commission for the study of communication problems comprising leading international experts under the chairmanship of Sean MacBride was set up in 1978. MacBride was a redoubtable Irishman whose country had suffered under the British rule. This report expressed that "the necessity of a new world information order today appears to be ever more widely felt, although it is true that some continue to believe that the present situation can be improved and reformed without radically disrupting it."

In 1979, UN General Assembly passed a resolution striving the need of "a new, more just and more-effective world information and communication order, intended to strengthen international peace and understanding and based on free circulation and wider and better balanced dissemination of information."

Another significant decision taken in this direction was the creation of an International Programme for the Development of Communication (IPDC) following the recommendation of an inter-governmental meeting held in Paris in 1980 and adopted by the General Conference at the 21st session held in the same year in Belgrade. This Programme aimed at developing communication infrastructure and narrowing the gap between different countries in this area. It was looked upon as a privileged instrument of international technical cooperation which could contribute towards the conception and realisation of operational projects and towards the mobilisation of resources required for the purpose.

The International Programme for the Development of Communication was according to Gunnar Garbo, long-time Chairman of IPDC, "a part of the efforts for the establishment of a new, more just and more effective World Information and Communications Order Its essential function is to help developing countries increase their indigenous communication

capacity in an effort to reduce existing gaps in communication within as well as among nations." As such it was a corollary and a definite offshoot of the NIICO.

The activities so far undertaken within the framework of IPDC related to varied fields, e.g. the development of the press and press agencies, the promotion of books, cinema and other audio-visual means, building up of diverse infrastructure, the training of qualified personnel and the strengthening of mechanisms to exchange information. The IPDC has thus lent its support to realise such projects on the Pan African New Agency (PANA), the Latin American Agency for Specialised Information Services (ALESEI), the Asian News Network (ANN) and the Carribean News Agency (CANA). From the beginning, the IPDC has functioned as a new mechanism for financing communication development projects. During the early years, the fifty odd projects that received financial support were "those related to the strengthening or building of basic institutions for training processes, news and programme exchanges, planning and research and development of appropriate technologies." Together with operational action UNESCO, carried out its research and studies in the communication field as well as its action aimed at helping the countries of the Third World in their efforts regarding training and equipment. The IPDC's commendable work has been hampered with the withdrawal of the US, Britain, Singapore etc., from UNESCO, for, with dwindled revenues, the UNESCO has not been able to allocate much to IPDC.

Amadov M'Bow, the Director General of UNESCO stated that the General Conference "confirmed the dual role played by UNESCO as a pre-eminent forum for making the world aware of the imbalance and injustices which subsist in communications and as the institution best suited to fight and undo these injustices, by virtue of its pioneering work." The UNESCO, since its birth has amassed wealth of knowledge

and has marshalled energies in order to solve the involved problems. Further, M'Bow emphasised that in case UNESCO is becoming involved on a massive scale in the communication field, this is *firstly*, because the concept lies directly as its agenda; and *secondly*, because it is the domain in which the problems facing mankind are building up and need to be solved in the near future through a concerted effort.

In addition to these, UNESCO also has incorporated a series of inter-governmental meetings in Afro-Asian and Latin American countries with the objective of striving for a new international information order. It has widened its scope and has provided the sanction of the world body to this move. Thus, it is not merely an expression of desire on the part of the developing countries to correct the imbalances in global flow and communication capabilities but also a body of concepts and principles applicable to existing international conditions.

Finally, it is evident that the NIICO can only act effectively if it translates into action the recognition accorded to the right of each nation to control and use its own media. The UN must also understand the interests, aspirations and values of even the developing world and should actively participate in the establishment of the international system of communication and information. MacBride commission had said in this regard that the ideas and suggestions conveyed by NIICO correspond to irreversible aspirations of even the poor states in a bid to transform the models and structures inherited from past situations of hegemony, dependence, injustice, inequality and alienation to an order based on justice and humane living conditions.

In order to achieve the stated object, an important thing is to bring closer harmony between the technically-advanced West and the developing countries. Professor Allen Weinstein of USA had said that there should be a collaborationist at-

tempt which should concentrate on strengthening the media in societies showing the resolve to resist state-domination of communications.

Thus, to conclude it can be said that the UN, especially its specialised agency, UNESCO, has a very important role to play in the setting up of a New International Information Order; and that it has played such a role since 1970s very strikingly in the sphere of information and communication. Still it receives severe criticisms from the West on two counts: (1) The West would like UNESCO's role to be confined to provision of hardware and technology and not extend to concepts of news and information flow; (2) The West is against all aid being channelled through such bodies as UNESCO, precluding bilateral deals and development of communication enterprises. Yet, the success of the UNO, especially its organ the UNESCO, can be seen from the fact that now even the industrially advanced countries have accepted the competence of UNESCO in media matters and have come to recognise and respect the established framework outlined by it.

Chapter VI

IMPEDIMENTS IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF NIIO

Most of the developing countries rightly believe that imperialism does not confine to political and economic domination; it is also present in the social and cultural spheres and works to subjugate them ideologically. Hence, these countries attribute much importance to develop their national cultures, preserve national traditions and demand decolonization of information and communication system itself. They even argue that like an international economic order, it is necessary to strive for an equitable, just and new information order. In this regard, Christopher Nascimento, Guyana's Minister of Information stated: "A first-world information dictatorship is no longer tenable Change must come, however, painful it may be. In fact, the change has begun. We must strive to hasten the process." He further said: ". . . developing nations can and should, however, plan their communication structures and policies in terms relevant to their development needs, and the developed nations should stop trying to push their own communication concepts down the throats of other, economically and culturally different nations."

It is against this background that the developing countries are justified in their cause for the establishment of a new international information and communication order. More par-

ticularly, the non-aligned countries have taken the initiative in raising the issue into the spectrum of international forum. *First*, they have placed it on the agenda in Algiers (1973). Since then, a decade and a half has passed. The Algiers Summit has followed by a series of non-aligned summits and meetings at the international level e.g. Belgrade, Tunis Symposium, Colombo, Havana, New Delhi and Harare summits. The UN and its organ, UNESCO has also paid serious thought to it. The long struggle has resulted in some landmarks e. g. the UNESCO Declaration, the MacBride Commission and the International Programme for Development of Communication (IPDC).

The years since Algiers have been marked by different stages in the evolution of the idea of a new international information order and it coincided with wider developments in the world-arena. In early 1970s, there was an anti-western offensive, followed by a counter-attack of the West against the advocates of the new order including a stage of mutual accommodation where there seemed some consensus on the issue and the steps used in the direction of its achievement. But after the 1980 UNESCO General Conference in Belgrade, one has again seen a new counter-attack by the West, mobilised by the 'free press' circles with the leading western governments acting in close harmony. It is important here to state that the struggle for NIIO is a persistent and a continuous process undertaken by the non-aligned movement.

Besides, with the advent of technological advancement, the importance of mass media has increased to a large extent. Hence, one finds greater relevance to the struggle for the establishment of a new international information order. No doubt, the struggle has resulted in some success but a lot in this regard remains to be achieved. It is only to a small extent that the developing countries are able to free them from the media enslavement of the western countries; there

is also bridge up between the developed and the developing countries in this regard. Yet, there are many contentious issues which stand as a stumbling block in the way of a harmonious relationship between the two.

In the *first* place, there are several imbalances in news-flows, shortcomings, misinformation campaigns, mistrust, misunderstanding and biased opinions in the sphere of information and communication between the developing as well as in the western-developed countries. These are caused by the governments, multinationals, mediamen and various media institutions. In the name of liberty, independence and democracy one finds injustice, highhandedness of a few privileged ones perpetuating in the system. As a result, individuals, social groups and nations are adversely affected through recourse to unthinking actions and blind policy decisions. New International Information and Communication Order aims precisely to undo these problems.

One can see the facts and figures proving that the entire scene of information and communication is controlled by four major transnational news agencies owned by a few developed countries. In fact, the television transmitters, publishing of books and other facets of media circulation is available only in a meagre quantity in the developing countries when compared to their population. From this, one can conclude that there is a negative trend in the main sectors of information and communication and that the gap in this regard continues to widen. It is still worse to note that this state of imbalance and injustice goes well beyond the structures and adversely affects the content and quality of news-items.

A logical corollary to this is that one finds a relentless pursuit of commercialisation and a permanent cultural aggression by the developed on the developing world which exploits their economies, disrupts their social behaviour and

alienates them from the imperialists.

The existing imbalance, unfortunately, is worse in scientific information than in other means of mass communication. Indeed, it is lamentable that ninety per cent of the scientific and technical potential, including sources of information, remain in the hands of a few western developed countries, whose population is about twenty-five per cent of the world population. The rest ten per cent is vested with the remaining seventy five per cent of world population. Similarly, eighty per cent of bibliographical data comes from a single country. Thus, on scientific technical-front, there is a gross inequality between the few developed and majority of developing countries. Above all, the developing countries are unable to confront the one-sided control due to meagre funds it could allocate to the communication sector owing to numerous problems it has to tackle as a consequence of their economic exploitation due to long colonial rule, in this part of the world. In short, the developing world has first to tackle more pressing problems of poverty, illiteracy, lack of technical knowhow, absence of industrial proliferation which stand in their way in having a more, just, equitable information order.

The revolutionary changes in communication technologies add more difficult and complicated questions to the imbalance debate. The introduction and development of new communication technology are inevitable in fast changing world. Both 'push' by the multinational corporations and 'pull' by the middle class elites in the Third World countries, knowingly or unknowingly, are working for this. In India, as in many other developing countries, video cassette recorder fever is on. The flood of communication technologies is followed with importation of software, thereby, threatening not only to accentuate the existing imbalances between developed and developing countries, but may also lead to cultural nihilism as such.

Keeping an eye on these facts, one can evaluate its dif-

ferent dimensions and aspects to see how each part is responsible for the imbalance caused. *Firstly*, the very concept of New International Information Order can become a material reality only if the theoretical framework of action is clearly defined and the obstructions in its implementation are minimised by eliminating conjectural problems and separating the essentials from the unnecessary. There are two major lacunae: *Form* and *Content*. The draft of the text of NIIO lacks style and has a number of omissions. But more important than this is its legal content. What the developing nations wanted was a resolution, but unfortunately the draft of NIIO has been adopted in the form of a Charter or a Declaration. This has significantly diluted its legal content and impact. A number of principles and ideas have been deliberately omitted or distorted in the text. There is no mention in it about the necessity of the free circulation of scientific information which is a major source of development. In sophisticated spectrum of communication e.g. the electromagnetic, geostationary orbits have been completely overlooked. The growing importance of electronics in the media, the risks involved in technological alienation and many similar issues have not been taken into consideration.

In addition, the social dimension particularly the image of women in the media has either been ignored or severely distorted. The role of education-media, its scopes and the related apprehensions in it remain unmentioned. In the economic front, the problems arising out of advertising, the place of media in the economy, etc. have not been mentioned. Needless to add that it ignores the complementarity between the New International Economic Order and the struggle for the New International Information Order.

Also, the thoughts expressed in various studies, conducted at the national as well as international levels, asking for a wider scope and dynamic perspective of the information and

communication order have been ignored. It is not possible to give a practical shape to the new information order without attending to and in fact solving most of these problems.

Against this background, one has to keep in mind that the NIIO should be based on the principles of freedom of the press and a free and balanced flow of information. Free access to sources of information and communication, transmission of information, ratification, interpretation of facts as well as a right to react to the distortions of the western-controlled media are some of the essential conditions for the true success of a NIIO. In the political field, the means of communication must guarantee a better understanding between the rulers and the ruled. The media must reflect the various concerns of the people and create conditions for a dialogue between the haves and the have-nots which simply means the right to freedom of opinion and expression.

Keeping in mind the role of information and communication in economic planning and development strategies, both within a country and at the international level, the integration of communication process to the development process constitutes one of the basic principles of the New World Information and Communication Order. The new order must create the adequate conditions for change in developing countries and enable them to acquire the means of communication according to their needs and aspirations. In short, information and communication should never become a monopoly in the hands of private, commercial or bureaucratic interests; rather it should be the common property of a society, as a whole. The social role of communication in society and between communities cannot be overlooked. Various studies and sources undertaken all over the world are almost unanimous in pointing out that those who are interested in and aware of the political and economic lives of their society, participate more actively in the affairs of groups as well as the nations.

On the cultural and educational aspect also, NIIO influences news-content and should promote the cultural awakening of different nations.

With regard to the technical dimension of communications the new order should give priority to providing access to sources of technical and scientific information which are humane and help in furthering the cause of international cooperation.

To overcome the existing imbalances at the level of scientific information-sources, there should be creation of universal scientific and technical information-systems which will enable the developing countries to identify information directly that suits their particular needs.

There is also the need for a massive campaign to support and promote the cause of women in international fora. It would help in improving the image of women especially in the Third World societies and also, it would help in achieving the stated objectives of NIIO.

As an economy is the most important factor in promoting the cause of information and communication, the financing of the international programme for the development of communication as well as the cultural fund within the framework of UNESCO, should not be only limited to voluntary contributions by the member-states. Regional bodies should be created in order to extend UNESCO's activities to the regional and sectoral levels.

To conclude, one can highlight the following generalisations emerging out of the above-discussion. *Firstly*, the attempt made by the non-aligned countries for establishing a New International Information and Communication Order is a well founded and legitimate goal. *Secondly*, the imbalances continue, content of different news messages and cultural production have not so far improved. Yet, one finds the gap

between the technically advanced West and technically underdeveloped developing countries bridged to some extent. *Thirdly*, the efforts made for a greater comprehension, concessions granted and agreements concluded constitute a significant step, yet it is in no way capable of playing the determining role required for bringing about the desired change. At the same time, the objectives assigned to NIIO in international level can only be called qualified, partial and provisional, and *fourthly*, the concept of New International Information and Communication Order should be considered as a continuous process. This implies a state of objectivity and justice as well as a series of actions which favour all social categories and establish better international relations. In this regard, the MacBride Report has rightly said: "It is important to realise that the new order we seek is not only a goal but a stage in a journey. It is a continuing quest for ever more free, more equal, more just relations within all societies and among all nations and peoples."

STRUGGLE FOR NIICO: PRESENT STATUS AND PROSPECTS

The NIICO concept which has been developed by the non-aligned since 1973 consists, in general terms, of two main elements: Decolonization and Democratization of information. *Decolonization* means to overcome dependence on western monopolies in the sphere of information and communication. In practical terms, it means to strengthen national information and communication capabilities by developing infrastructure and production capacities for communication hardware and software, by setting up training and research institutions, and, in particular, by establishing national news agencies, press institutions, and radio and TV networks. Striving to realise these aims the developing countries have worked in three directions: They have intensified South-South cooperation and cooperation with multilateral organizations, in particular with member organization of the United Nations, like UNESCO and ITU, as well as cooperation with western and eastern industrialised countries on the basis of sovereign equality. *Democratization*, on the other hand, has two meanings. On a *national* level it means to identify a comprehensive national information and communication policy; a policy which is integrated in national development strategies. On *international* level

it means to elaborate an international political and legal framework for the trans-border flow of information on the basis of the fundamental principles of international law as laid down in the Charter of the United Nations.

SOME ACHIEVEMENTS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR NIICO

What have been the results of the fifteen years of struggle to establish a New International Information and Communication Order? The answer to this question is complex and even contradictory. On the one hand, there has been real achievements and positive results — a general improvement in the role played by developing countries in the global system of information and communication. On the other hand, the situation in the developing countries in the late 1980s has gone even worse than in the early 1970s — gaps and imbalances have grown wider, dependence has become stronger. Let us first enumerate the positive outcome of the struggle.

Firstly, there is real progress in the development of national information systems. The number of daily newspapers, radio and TV receivers and transmitters has more than doubled in the last fifteen years. Numerous training and research institutions have been established, the telecommunication infrastructure has been improved. Some idea about the same can be had from the following table:

Table 1
Radios and TVs in the developing countries

Year	Radio		Television	
	Receivers (Million)	Transmitters Nos.	Receivers (Million)	Transmitters Nos.
1970	112	5,900	23	880
1983	394	8,370	92	3,570

(Source: *Statistical Yearbook*, UNESCO, Paris, 1987, P.VI-19).

Secondly, there is a new level of inter-regional and regional cooperation among the developing countries in the field of news agencies. The Non-aligned News Agencies Pool (NANAP) was established in 1975 and has done good work. Today, NANAP is an important complementary element in the international news flow. Daily, it offers nearly 100,000 words in four languages. It has started a special economic service, the ECO-POOL. It already possesses a global system of collection, processing and disseminating information via satellite bridge and regional distribution centres in and to all parts of the world. NANAP has seen well functioning working organs like its Coordination Committee and its Monitoring Group. Its main body, the General Conference, meets regularly every three years. In 1976 it met at New Delhi, in 1979 at Belgrade, in 1982 at Tunis and in 1986 at Havana. The Pool has started an efficient training programme for journalists and technicians. And it has promoted the development of national news agencies in several countries. Complementary to the inter-regional pool, regional news agencies' networks have been established in Asia, Africa, and Latin America: The Pan African News Agency (PANA), the Asian News Network (ANN), and the Agency for Information in Latin America (ALASEI) started the work in the early 1980s and, within a couple of years, have developed into a more or less stable organization which offers authentic information about events and developments in the developing countries of their respective regions. In so far, developing countries are today in a better situation to correct one-sided information given to them by transnational western news agencies, and to get a more realistic picture of the problems in the developing countries as well as of developments in other parts of the world. It has hence removed to some extent the apprehensions pointed by late Mrs. Indira Gandhi, who observed thus as the Chairperson of NAM: "In the media of the West, or indeed in our

own, there is hardly any news about developing countries unless it be of disaster or disturbance. The stupendous task of development, the changes coming about in our villages and towns, amongst our women, our workers and others might as well be non-existent. Editors and media managers seem attached to the Northcliffe formula that power, position, money and sex make news — and that virtue, normality, hard work and humility don't. The meek may one day inherit the earth, but not the headlines. One sided reporting and distorted news is an old story for us. My first taste of it was Miss Mayo's book 'Mother India' which I read way back in the '30s. Today's media are equally adept at playing up the worst aspects, real, exaggerated or imaginary in the developing countries. Many of our own journalists consider it smart to imitate the popular western definition of bad news being good news and are bored by constructive and developmental activity. A recent survey by our Press Council found that only 2 per cent of newspaper space is devoted to social issues. Is that what really interests readers? Are they content to remain ignorant of what is happening in various spheres, of what depends their understanding, what helps them, to discharge their duty as well-informed citizens?"

Thirdly, there is an improved cooperation in the field of broadcasting. While the Broadcasting Organization of the Non-aligned Countries (BONAC) was established in 1977 Sarajevo, i.e., only a year after the Colombo Summit, it took a long time to develop cooperation in this field. Between the two BONAC conferences in Freetown in 1980 and 1984, there was a period of stagnation, but in the middle of the 1980s new progress could be made. At the Third BONAC Conference in Cyprus, in 1987 concrete results could be reached, like decisions promoting the development of national radio and TV networks, improving bilateral and multilateral cooperation, decisions on co-productions, the common coverage of major

international events, the establishment of a TV film programme and the organizing a TV festivals. Similar to developments in the field of news agencies, regional organizations, like the Asian-Pacific Broadcasting Union of Radio and Television Networks in Africa (URTNA), and the Latin American Broadcasting Union (ULCRA), turned into concrete mechanisms to materialise the process of setting up a New International Information and Communication Order in the field of radio and TV broadcasting. Launching the two ARABSAT satellites was another concrete step in this direction.

Fourthly, there is now an established political mechanism for the promotion of NIICO within NAM. The Colombo Summit decided to establish an Inter-governmental Council for the Coordination of Information of the Non-aligned Countries (IGC). The IGC has met nearly annually since then. Its task is to develop a NIICO concept and to coordinate the different efforts of the non-aligned in this field, particularly the NANAP and BONAC activities. The Seventh Summit in New Delhi decided to reorganise the IGC structure and to have regular conferences in information policy on the level of ministers. The First Conference of the Ministers of Information of the Non-aligned Countries (COMINAC) took place at Jakarta in Indonesia, in January 1984. COMINAC II took place in Harare in July 1987. COMINAC III is scheduled for Havana in 1990. With COMINAC, a clear structure for the political as well as practical decision-making process within NAM has been established. The Conference of Ministers is the highest body which has to report to the summit meetings. As a COMINAC organ, the IGC acts between the Conference of Ministers and cooperates with the coordination Committees of BONAC and NANAP which have to report annually to the IGC meetings. This structure establishes a clear division of labour, determines the different competences of NAM organs, and helps to develop and realize a comprehensive information policy.

Fifthly, there are now clearly defined and approved aims, principles, concepts and programmes for a New International and Communication Order. The conceptualization of NIICO is an evolving process. It started at the Algiers Summit meeting and has continued until now. The main landmarks of this process were: (a) the 'New Delhi Declaration' of the Conference of Ministers of Information in 1976 which adopted the first long term strategy for the establishment of NIICO; (b) the 'Bagdad Resolution' of the fourth IGC meeting in 1980 which defined the aims and principles of NIICO; (c) the 'Jakarta Declaration' (COMINAC I) which adopted a comprehensive programme of action; and (d) the 'Harare Declaration' (COMINAC II) which adopted the NIICO strategy of the non-aligned for the 1990s. These documents define decolonization and democratization of information as the main aims of the NIICO struggle. Self-determination, sovereign equality, non-interference and cooperation are defined as the main principles on which NIICO should be based. The strengthening of national information systems, the intensification of South-South cooperation, the development of bilateral and multilateral cooperation with developing countries as well as with international institutions, and in particular with organizations of the United Nations systems, are seen as the main directions for concrete actions to promote the NIICO process.

Sixthly, there are a number of international instrument and mechanisms within the UN system which promote the NIICO process. On the practical level, the establishment of UNESCO's International Programme for the Development of Communication (IPDC) in 1980 and for the ITU Centre for Telecommunication Development in 1985 can be seen as concrete steps undertaken by the international community to materialize the NIICO process. These two institutions had been initiated by the developing countries with the aim to promote practical projects in the field of communications in developing

countries. On the theoretical level, the reports of the independent Commission on Communication Problems (MacBride Commission) and on Telecommunications Development (Maitland Commission) produced a comprehensive analysis of the real situation in this field. They adopted a set of recommendations for further actions; guiding the efforts of the international community to set the NIICO. On the political and legal levels, the developing countries have initiated and contributed to the elaboration of the UNESCO Mass Media Declaration of 1978, of the UN Resolution on Satellite Television of 1982, on the UNESCO Resolution 419 on NIICO principles of 1980, of the ITU Convention of 1982 and others. With these instruments, the NIICO concept has become an internationally recognized concept. It has become clear that international law forms the legal basis for international information and communication activities. That is a very important achievement towards the struggle of the developing countries to defend their sovereign rights and interests in this area.

SET-BACKS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR NIICO

Whereas the above achievements can be cited as the positive outcome in the fifteen years of NAM's struggle for the establishment of NIICO, there are numerous counter tendencies which put a halt to the process and even neutralize the positive outcome. These negative features are: *Firstly*, there is some progress in the development of the national information systems in the developing countries, but the gap between developed and developing countries is still widening, as we can see from *Table II*. In the last parts of 1980s, the disparities and imbalances which exist in the communication infrastructure and in the flow of information have become more drastic than they were fifteen years ago. Today, developing countries are confronted with a springtide of western information which goes to undermine their political, social, economic and cultural life. The domination of the transnational media

corporations has not only grown in quantity, but also it has become more subtle, technologically better-based, and more 'professional'. In addition, new imbalances have developed. There are some countries now in Asia, Africa, and Latin America that have already reached a more or less acceptable level in the field of information and communication. Other countries, particularly the African countries, have not yet reached even the minimum standard of five newspapers, five radio receivers, and two TV receivers per one hundred inhabitants, defined by the first UN Development Decade in 1960 as a basic aim to be reached by the year 1970. The gravity of this problem becomes clear. This is a lamentable position as we stand on the threshold to the 1990s that a number of countries have not succeeded in reaching basic levels — twenty countries in radio receivers, forty countries in TV receivers, and sixty countries in newspapers. Within NANAP and BONAC, there are significant imbalances too. Only a quarter of the numbers of both organizations participate actively and permanently in the production and distribution of news and programmes.

Secondly, transnational media corporations increasingly interfere in the interests of the developing countries and create a new level of dependence. In the last ten years, the United States and some West European countries have created new instruments and mechanisms to influence information and communication in developing countries. Two USIA projects, 'Truth' and 'Democracy', are to a high degree directed against developing countries. 'Radio Marti' set up by USIA, enlarged programmes of 'Voice of America', of the BBC, of Radio France Internationals, and of the Deutsche Welle broadcasted to Asian, African, and Latin American countries; as well as USIA efforts to establish its TV Service Worldnet, including its plans to establish TV Marti — are concrete actions by the leading western countries to try to exert influence on

information and communication processes, on the policy, economy and culture of the developing countries. Nothing has changed in the practices of the transnational news agencies, in particular of UPI, AP, Reuters, and AFP. On the contrary, the 'Big Four' are increasingly penetrating national information systems. Their messages find their way into the news and reports of national newspapers and journals as well as of national radio and TV stations. Western newspapers and journals are becoming more and more dominant on the national markets in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Very often, journals like Time, Newsweek, the Economist, Der Spiegel, Express or Readers Digest are in a better local market position than national journals. The decentralised printing of the International Herald Tribune via satellite in Asia, and Africa had deepened the "American way of thinking" in many developing countries.

Table II

The gap between the developed and the developing countries in the field of Radio and TV broadcasting

	Transmitters		Receivers	
	1970 (Numbers)	1983 (Numbers)	1970 (Million)	1983 (Million)
Radio Broadcasting				
Developed Countries	16,200	21,640	572	996
Developing Countries	5,900	8,370	112	394
Difference	10,300	13,270	460	602

Television Broadcasting

Developed Countries	16,900	41,800	255	521
Developing Countries	800	3,570	23	91
Differences	16,100	38,230	232	430

Source: *Statistical Yearbook*, UNESCO, Paris, 1987, P.VI-19.

Another dangerous situation for the developing countries is emerging in the field of TV broadcasting. The development of technical infrastructures for national TV networks does not go hand in hand with the development of national capacities to produce their own national programmes. This divergence results in growing tendency to import western films and programmes to fill the gap in the daily TV Programmes. Dependence is also growing in communication technology. The import of new information and communication technology creates new forms of dependence on transnational cooperations, which are offering these technologies. Very often, only after a couple of years, the consequences of such imports become visible when new investments, reconstructions, further training, and repairs become necessary. At such a juncture, free and independent decisions often become very limited and are fixed by the first import decision since technology-design and its compatibility with other technologies create invisible pressures to take decisions in favour of the country from whom the technology/equipment was imported. Thus, technology determines to a high degree the structure of a system. The experience of the last ten years has shown that the transfer of communication technology from western countries to developing countries is more useful for transnational corporations than for the respective receivers in Asia,

Africa, and Latin America. The successfully launching of ARABSAT for instance, has been a big achievement for the Arab countries, but first reports on its use are frustrating. Most of the Arab countries are not in the position to use ARABSAT efficiently. The resulting free capacity offers transnational cooperations a good chance to use the satellite for a still more effective penetration of the Arab countries. The ARABSAT experience is a good example. It demonstrates that instruments which have been created by the developing countries with the aim to be more independent, to be more self-reliant, and to correct existing imbalances can be turned into counter productive mechanisms which come again under the control of the transnational corporations and which create an even higher level of dependence.

Thirdly, there is a danger of slowing down of the struggle NIICO due to the campaign launched by the western countries. In the early 1980s, rightwing forces in the west started a massive campaign against the process for the establishment of NIICO within and outside the United Nations systems with the aim to kill the whole NIICO idea. The Heritage Foundation, the World Press Freedom Committee, the Inter-American Publishers Association, the International Federation of Publishers, and other organizations started in cooperation with and endorsed by the US administration and some other western countries a real war against UNESCO and the United Nations. They stopped financial contributions to the IPDC of UNESCO. They blocked the elaboration of an international declaration of NIICO. And they even blocked conceptual discussions and reflections around NIICO, like seminars, roundtables and studies organized by UNESCO. The withdrawal of the United States and Great Britain from UNESCO in the mid-1980s was a strong act against the efforts of UNESCO to promote the NIICO process. Similar campaigns were organized against the United Nations Committee on Information

and even against the International Telecommunication Union. As a result, information and communication issues have become a topic of deep confrontation at international conferences. To a certain degree, the multilateral institutions of the United Nations system have lost their objective potential to promote information and communication in Third World countries and to contribute to the establishment of a New International Information and Communication Order.

Thus, the struggle for NIICO is meeting a tough resistance from the West and its ally, the USA. The glaring facts before the world today clearly demonstrate that the West is trying to use ideology as a weapon of its apparatus of aggression and subordination to exploit the nations. The use of ideology to subordinate the nations as the servant of the imperialistic policy of hegemonism is not new. It was there before also under the cloak of the policy of containing socialism. Nowadays, the growing interference in the matters of socialist community under the guise of so-called policy of "liberalization of socialist regimes" and "humanization of socialism" etc. is nothing but the part of the western strategy to enslave the nations through ideological aggression. The USA and its ally, the West, is offering this resistance in a bid to exploit the natural resources of the developing world. The US is not shy to acknowledge this: "Significance of developing countries for our national interests, for our aims as well as for our own perspectives is becoming simply very critical." It is important to note that while in the past, western and US governments were trying only to embellish their egoistic interests in developing countries and exploit their natural resources, the US government nowadays considers it needless. A special volume of US President Reagan's statements mention: "We will have to stop taking care if we are loved or not. We will have to respect as before." The official circles in the USA and its allies are openly stating that they

are firm to maintain or restore their control on the states in regions which are specified as "vitally important" for the West, and will not hesitate to intervene for the prevention of social and other changes if they consider these changes unfavourable to their interests.

Ideologists of Washington, arbitrarily, want to make the USA the axis of the world's international life, nucleus of the world's events and patterning the whole system of arguments to justify this despotism. Denigrating all non-American and exaltation of the US system of government has reached its peak, which depicts the US as an "incarnation of people's dreams", as "the most advanced system, which can ensure for everybody according to his capabilities and possibilities," as an "asylum for all persecuted," and as "a patronage of freedom all over the world."

PERSPECTIVES FOR THE 1980s TOWARDS DECOLONIZATION AND DEMOCRATIZATION OF COMMUNICATION

Summarising the achievements and the setbacks in the fifteen years struggle for NIICO, one can say that, on the threshold of the 1990s, the process has come more or less to a standstill. The call for decolonisation and democratisation of information, for a global restructuring of the international system of information and communication, and for the establishment of NIICO is still on the agenda, and it shall continue to do so because it is an objective need of our time. There is only slow progress in achieving the objectives and that real achievements have been neutralised by counter-tendencies to a large extent making the situation of the developing countries much worse than it was fifteen years ago.

What are the perspectives for the establishment of NIICO in the 1990s? In considering so, one must state that the position of the leading western countries has not changed very much despite some constructive elements in the policy

of some West European countries pointing to a more fruitful cooperation. The western countries and its ally, the USA, is committed to propagate the concept of free flow of information only negatively. Freedom of information is a basic human right and a democratic concept. But looking at the practice of international communication, one notes that there are substantial differences between the democratic concept of freedom of information for all and the US concept of free-flow of information.

Freedom of information as a democratic concept includes questions like: Freedom for whom? and Freedom for what? It includes duties and responsibilities. It includes protection of weaker countries' interests. The democratic concept does not only mean 'free', but also 'balanced' flow of information. It is a challenge to create and develop the material conditions for the exercise of this human right and, insofar, it is a challenge to promote international cooperation on the basis of the principles of self-determination, sovereign equality, and non-interference.

The free flow of information, as advocated by the USA, ignores the existence of duties and responsibilities in the field of communication. It ignores the existence of a political and legal framework in international communication. And it ignores the need to develop international cooperation on the basis of justice, equality, mutual advantages, and the principles of international law. The US understanding of the free flow of information means, first of all, freedom of the big transnational media corporations. It means freedom for the United States to distribute worldwide its own messages and freedom to make profit in this field regardless of other countries' interests. The US concept of free flow of information is not based on the aims and principles of the UN Charter or the legal foundations of the International Covenants on Human Rights. It is based on a pure commercial thinking and the market

philosophy of private capital. Its aim is to dominate international public opinion and to influence other countries' internal developments in the interest of the United States. That is the very reason why the United States and some of its allies try to boycott global negotiations within the United Nations on issues concerning information and communication. They are afraid that such negotiations could create an international political and legal framework which may reduce the possibilities of the United States and its media to interfere in internal affairs of other countries.

Under the cover of slogans such as "independence of the press," "unrestricted flow of information," and rejecting the responsibility of the mass media and the states behind them for the publication and distribution of false information that harms peace and the security of peoples, the western countries strive to retain the "old order" in their relations with developing countries, including in the sphere of information. It is very clear that the "unrestricted exchange" of information between the developed West and developing countries ensures the dominant position for the stronger and technically better equipped partner. The existence of this gap itself objectively exerts a considerable impact on the structure and content of information. The emphasis on the "free flow of information" inevitably puts the western states in a privileged position, gives the biggest news agencies and companies to force on the world their own interpretation of events and to manipulate news.

Furthermore, one should take note of an interesting fact: when the United States withdrew from UNESCO and blocked negotiations within the United Nations it tried at the same time, to introduce information and communication questions into GATT under the headline of 'trade in services'. In the United States, information and communication services, including radio and TV broadcasting, are covered by trade law.

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) seems to be an adequate body for the United States to reach on international agreement on the free flow of information. If the United States succeeds in stretching the basic principle of GATT, the principle of 'free trade' to include 'free trade in services', it would at the same time, secure the US medias' 'freedom' to interfere in affairs of other countries. What the United States is trying to do now within the Uruguay GATT Round is to substitute the UN philosophy of 'sovereign equality' by the GATT philosophy of 'free trade'. In this way, it is trying to establish a new basic formula for a new international information and communication order which corresponds to and suits mainly US interests. However, this jump from UNESCO into GATT is not in the interest of the developing countries. And, it is interesting to note, that even some West European countries have their reservations concerning this US strategy. Whereas West European countries have generally supported US positions on the free flow of information in UNESCO and United Nations negotiations about information and communication issues in the 1970s and 1980s. It is worth noting that nowadays West European countries increasingly reproach US policies in the field of information and communication. Against the background of satellite broadcasting projects, both the European community and the Council of Europe, decided to elaborate political and legal instruments to protect West European culture and economy against the growing influence of the US television. It is interesting that the non-aligned countries and the West European countries use similar methods to protect their interests. On the one hand, they are looking for mechanisms to promote their own production of communication hardware and software. (They have set up the European Fund for the promotion of West European TV programmes). On the other hand, they introduce limits on foreign programmes, and have set up quotas for national programmes.

The developing countries adopted their strategy at the Second Conference of the Ministers of Information (COMINAC II) in Harare in 1987. In the 'Harare Declaration', the Minister of Information called upon the non-aligned countries to "redouble their efforts to advance their own infrastructures and to establish coherent policies in the field of communication, education and culture." They had insisted that the rights to communicate and to be heard were fundamentally human and social rights and the information was a crucial resource for ensuring national independence and national development and the exercise of political, economic and cultural power. The Ministers stated in the Declaration that microelectronic technologies and their growing monopolization should not be allowed to become a new vehicle for information colonisation. To this end, the Ministers "reiterated their resolve to make progress towards the decolonisation of information and the establishment of the New International Information and Communication Order." The Ministers adopted as part of the Harare Declaration, a concrete programme of action which include clear recommendations for the work of the IGC, NANAP, BONAC and for the activities in the field of training and research. They stressed that the level of bilateral and multilateral cooperation among the non-aligned as well as with the developed countries and with multilateral organizations should be improved; international campaigns, mainly for decolonisation and against *apartheid*, shall be organized. In addition, the Ministers adopted resolutions on the use of regional satellite, on the reduction of communication tariffs, and on the use of the radio broadcasts as a means of spreading hostile information against non-aligned countries. The conclusions drawn for the 1990s could be summarised as: *Firstly*, there is the need to intensify national, regional, and inter-regional efforts by the developing countries to make the existing information and communication networks under their control more effective so that their voices could be heard

worldwide and become a substantial factor in the international public opinion. These effort should include in particular

- the formulation of comprehensive national information and communication policies;
- the strengthening of news agencies as key mechanisms for the distribution of information, particularly of NANAP;
- The strengthening of radio and TV broadcasting organisations as the most effective instruments to influence a broad public particular of BONAC;
- the promotion of training in the field of journalism as well as in communication technology;
- the development of production capacities for communication hardware and software.

Secondly, there is the need to reactivate global information and communication negotiations. Establishing NIICO on a GATT basis would create dangerous perspectives for the sovereignty, independence, integrity, and identity of developing countries in the future. The developing countries should reject the idea to include information and communication services into the trade-in-services negotiations of the Uruguay GATT Round. Instead, they should initiate the development of a new approach to global information and communication negotiation within the framework of the United Nations system with the aim to overcome confrontation and to develop cooperation. Such a new approach could include:

- the strengthening of the International Telecommunication Union as the only universal body to regulate all technically related problems in the field of information and communication;
- the strengthening of the IPDC of UNESCO with the aim to promote the development of communication in Asia, Africa, and Latin America;

- the introduction of a substantial communication programme into the 'Third Medium Term Plan' of UNESCO;
- the strengthening of the United Nations Committee on Information.

The developing countries should work for convening a United Nations World Communication Conference. Such a conference should be scheduled for the first half of the 1990s and its agenda should include: (a) to improve the level of coordination and cooperation among the different organs of the United Nations family dealing with information and communication questions, above all between the United Nations, UNESCO, ITU, and UNCTAD; and (b) to elaborate and adopt a global strategy for international cooperation in the field of information and communication and a concrete programme of action for a period of fifteen to twenty years.

CONCLUSION

There can be no denying the fact that the rights to communicate and to be heard are fundamental human and social rights and that information is a crucial resource for ensuring national independence and national development as well as the exercise of political, economic and cultural power.

The struggle for the NIICO has suffered, besides other reasons, due to the lack of conceptual clarity. Hence, the concept of NIICO can materialise only if the theoretical framework of action is defined and the obstructions minimised by eliminating conjectural problems and separating the essential from the unnecessary, both in the form and the content. The thoughts expressed and the studies conducted at the level of the non-aligned countries, the Group of 77, and at different universities and institutions, have helped us today to arrive at a general consensus, wider in scope, about the definition of NIICO. The concept of NIICO should cover the political, economic, social, cultural, educational and technical dimensions.

The struggle for NIICO has suffered due to the information imperialism of the USA and its western allies and their fabrication, disinformation campaign and attempts to stifle even the nascent attempts by the Third World to strive for a more humane information and communication order. Soon after the World War II, the more farsighted ideologists and politicians of America drew attention to the inevitable growth of the role of public opinion, the views of the masses and to the need

for creating preconditions and conditions for manipulating them in their own interests. In response to the strengthening of the growth of the activity and self-awareness of developing countries, the West invented one new construction after another. In the present conditions it noticed that it cannot count on success by openly proclaiming its true aims and for this reason is compelled to create a whole system of ideological myths obscuring the true essence of its intentions and lulling the vigilance of the peoples. The possibilities to manipulate the consciousness of people in the west have now been increased owing to the theory of information, electronic computers, data banks, etc. The appearance of integrated circuits has reduced to the minimum the demand for area and space while binary codes have practically liquidated the loss of time in information transmission.

The extent of western-domination in the field of information and communication can be seen from the fact that the four biggest western news agencies account for the distribution of 90 per cent of all news in the world. It can be said that their web covers the entire globe. The United States possesses the world's biggest information and propaganda machine. The United States Information Agency (USIA) has a budget of about 1500 million dollars a year, which is larger than the budgets of many countries in the world, and a staff of about 10,000. It puts out a tremendous amount of publications and controls the activities of the Voice of America radio. A number of media outlets have been infiltrated by CIA agents under the guise of journalists. A committee of the US Senate investigated the activities of the American intelligence and discovered the presence of CIA agents in at least 16 media outlets, among them the AP, UPI, CBS, NBC, *Reuters*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, *US News and World Report* and the *Washington Post*.

The objective of this domination of the developing world is

to persist with the neo-colonial exploitation. Through communication systems controlled by them, the western powers impose on developing countries information from which the West stands to gain. A state whose mass media are under foreign control can hardly be considered genuinely sovereign. Colonialism as a form of political domination has been practically totally eliminated by now but it continues to exist in the sphere of economy, culture and information. The control is so domineering that the Latin American scientists L. Beltran and E. Cardon arrived at the conclusion that the mass media of a whole number of states in the western hemisphere were subordinated to US financial, technological and political control to such an extent that it would be right to consider them to be the mass media of a foreign state. It has been well pointed out by D. Mutumbuka: "The West launches a resolute counter-offensive whenever there is mention of the democratisation and decolonisation of the mass media. The western countries are forcing the population of the Third World to accept 'values' that on verification turn out to be immoral ones. When in America, some Indians kill other settlers, this is regarded a massacre, but the annihilation of Indian in the course of battles in which they face heavy odds is presented as a victory. The progressive forces must conduct a titanic struggle for liberation in the field of information. This is a real war because the western powers have no intention of letting this sphere out of their grasp."

The struggle for NIICO encounters the stubborn resistance of the main western powers and their news agencies. On the one hand, in an attempt to retain its privileges and monopoly in the field of information, the West is torpedoing the adoption of decisions and legal norms restricting the activity of western agencies, and on the other, is striving to perpetuate the scientific and technological dependence of developing countries. True, the emergent countries are offered

equipment and technology, and sometimes on very beneficial terms. But this is being done with the aim of binding developing countries to the western means of communication, to the transnational corporations that manufacture this technology and to the powerful news agencies that dominate the capitalist market of information. Addressing the developing countries, the Reuters General Manager, Long, stated that by accepting that the road to the world system of communication lay through the development of equipment, they must also accept a certain degree of dependence in practical terms lay on the countries which created this equipment and mastered it.

Strange enough, the western resistance to the struggle for NIICO comes in the name of freedom and justice, the same ideals for which NIICO stands for. The position of the developing world was ably summed up by UNESCO Director General M'Bow who said: "in the opinion of developing countries the establishment of the new international order in the field of information and means of communication should facilitate the liquidation of inequality in the distribution of the means necessary for the exchange of information. In the opinion of these countries their voice is hardly heard because it drowns in the network of powerful radio transmitters which were installed when their states had not yet gained recognition as such They want, just like all the other states, to have the possibility to inform others of their opinion about their own country and about the whole world." As against this, the US and its allies use the concept of "free flow of information" negatively and have the audacity to characterise the MacBride Report as "running counter to the freedom of the press." In the name of freedom, the imperialist USA and its allies train hundred of thousands of "peace corps" volunteers and put them to work in developing countries to serve their hidden sinister designs. Through fully funded seminars

and conferences, the USA and its western allies tend to create and distort public opinion." The puppets of USA even want UNESCO and other international organisations to give up their attempts to regulate the content of news and information and to formulate rules for the press. They call for the defence of the "free flow of information" in the world, only in the negative sense. In reality, they are bothered only with the consolidation of their monopoly hold on the distribution of information, with preventing cardinal changes in the existing international information order. These so-called champions of "freedom" accused UNESCO as the forum supposedly giving support to the "origination and encouragement of initiatives to restrict the freedom of the press" and that its plans posed a threat to western news media. A number of them threaten UNESCO with "financial pressure" if it continued to work out its objectionable programmes.

It is heartening to note that the struggle for NIICO has made definite strides since the concept originated at the Algiers Conference of NAM. It is equally important to note that the NAM and the UNO, especially its organ - UNESCO - has greatly helped the cause of NIICO. The various agencies e.g. Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool, Broadcasting Organization of Non-Aligned Countries, have been instrumental in bringing about the cooperation within the developing world, in a bid to strive for NIICO. The endeavours of NAM has also bridged the gap between the developing countries and the developed world to some extent and has paved the way for closer cooperation between the two, in the spirit of "Many Voices, One World" concept. Mrs. Indira Gandhi had rightly stated: "Relations in international communications must be in a spirit of cooperation. We want greater flow of news, not merely a one-way flow from the rich to the poor, from North to South but a multidimensional one. Amongst themselves developing countries need more exchange of information and

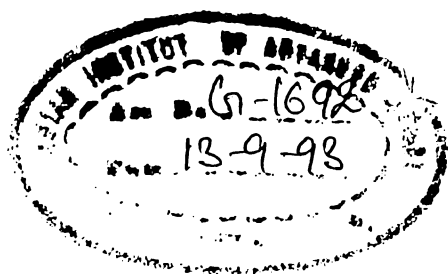
audio-visual material of educational value. The Non-Aligned News Agencies' Pool and Broadcasting Pool, and the arrangements for news exchange among Asian and African countries are good beginnings in filling this void."

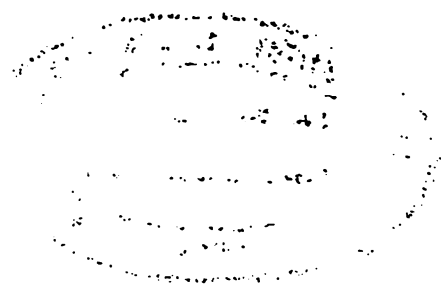
Notwithstanding the stated positive trends, the journey to the achievement of the goal of NIICO, is still a far-cry and needs a greater endeavour, especially on the part of the developing world. The Conference of Ministers of Information of the Non-Aligned Countries, Harare, Zimbabwe (10-12 June 1987) has rightly devised a short-term and a long-term plan which could help the cause of realisation of NIICO. The Harare Appeal to the Mass Media, issued by the said Conference, recalled the noble principles and objectives of the Non-aligned Movement for the realization of a more just and equitable international information and communication order. It took note of the important role of the mass media in promoting peace, understanding and cooperation in a world characterized by threats to world peace and security stemming from big power rivalry, interstate disputes, imperialism, colonialism, apartheid and racism including Zionism. It underlines the fact that cooperation in the field of information and telecommunications among non-aligned and other developing countries is linked to the struggle for the establishment of new equitable international relations in general and the New International Information and Communication Order specifically. It expressed satisfaction with progress till date on the fulfilment of the Programme of Action of the Inter-Governmental Council and the continuing effort to expand and consolidate cooperation with a view to narrowing the gap in the gathering, processing, distribution and dissemination of information and to counter tendentious information and mass media campaigns against the non-aligned countries and National Liberation Movements. It reiterated the need for the non-aligned countries to share the benefits of science and re-

search in communication and information technology. It appreciated the expanding role of the Non-aligned News Agencies Pool (NANAP) and the Broadcasting Organizations of the Non-Aligned (BONAC) as frameworks for co-operation and development in the fields of information and communication and the significant contributions of the two organisations towards the creation of a free, better balanced and wider dissemination of information. It congratulated the national and regional news agencies for their worthy contributions to the struggle against disinformation and for the decolonization and restructuring of the information system to aim at establishing the New International Information and Communication Order.

It would be in the fitness of things to state what the Heads of State or Government of the Non-aligned countries have resolved at the recently concluded Belgrade Summit regarding the New Information and Communication Order. The resolution adopted at the IX NAM Summit reaffirmed the need further to intensify co-operation among the non-aligned and other developing countries in the field of information and the mass media so as to establish the new international information and communication order on the basis of the free and balanced flow of information and speedily to remove disparities in communication capabilities within the era of rapid technological advances create new imbalances and place new and complex obstacles in the way of the democratization of the global information and communication process. It stressed the vital need for broadest international cooperation in the field of information and communication as an instrument for better understanding in the increasingly interdependent world. The document called upon all non-aligned countries to contribute actively to the application of the decisions adopted by the Conference of the Ministers of Information of the Non-Aligned Countries, held in Harare in June 1987, and by the Fifth Conference of the Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool, held in

Luanda in June 1989, as well as the Tenth IGC Meeting, held in August 1989 in preparation for COMINAC III to be held in Havana in September 1990. The Heads of the State or Government of NAM countries acknowledged the efforts carried out by the news agencies of the non-aligned countries and their regional agencies, particularly PANA, in the struggle against disinformation and in favour of the decolonization of this sphere. They also condemned the use of radio and television as instruments of hostile propaganda of one State against another in violation of the dispositions and principles of international law and demanded an immediate end to such practices. They further condemn the use of the printed media as an instrument of propaganda against the cultural values and heritage of the non-aligned countries. They noted with satisfaction that several countries had reduced their telecommunications tariffs in accordance with the decisions of the VII and VIII Summit Conferences and urged those non-aligned countries that have not yet done so to comply with this important decision. The document emphasized the need to give a boost to the activities and cooperation among the Broadcasting Organizations of the Non-aligned Countries (BONAC). It also acknowledge the importance of the work being carried out by the United Nations and UNESCO in this sphere, particularly their collaboration with the BONAC and the POOL agencies, and reiterated their support for both organisations in their efforts to disseminate objective information on the issues given priority by their respective agencies.





NAM AND REGIONAL PROBLEMS
Sunder Raman

Border, ethnic, ideological, religious and other differences have given rise to a large number of conflicts even among the non-aligned countries. Notwithstanding, the laudable objectives, NAM on many occasions has failed to resolve regional conflicts. With a view to understanding the various important regional problems, Dr. Sunder Raman, in this work has selected and edited scholarly presentations of senior and eminent academics, made at a recently held Non-Governmental Organisations' Conference on "Non-alignment in International Relations". The contributions being objective and value free should interest & benefit all those who are for regional cooperation and international peace.

Edition: 1989

Rs.125

NAM IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
IX NAM SUMMIT
Selected Documents
Dr.Govind Narain Srivastava

The Ninth Summit Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-aligned Countries, held at Belgrade, from 4-7, September, 1989, is a significant event for the Nonaligned Movement since the first Summit of NAM countries was also held at Belgrade in 1961. During this short span of less than 30 years, the Non-aligned Movement has grown both horizontally and vertically. Its membership of 25 at Belgrade in 1961 has now risen to 102 member-states besides about 70 with observer status; about 30 delegates representing the various UN agencies. In addition to this horizontal growth, the Movement has grown in content as well. It is no longer a despised movement even for the worst critics of NAM. The Movement has over the years made its existence felt even for those who are its ideological opponents. The publication of these documents is expected to help persons, institutions or organisations, keen to know the activities and deliberations of the Non-aligned Movement. Notwithstanding the fact that it is an **unofficial** publication, it is an important contribution to the better understanding of the Nonaligned Movement.

Edition: 1989

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