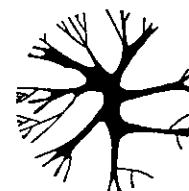


COMMUNICATION RESEARCH TRENDS



A Quarterly Information Service from the
Centre for the Study of Communication and Culture

International News Flows

by

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Proposals for a 'New World Information and Communication Order' (NWICO), during the late 1970s and early 1980s, stirred up a hornets' nest of controversy in the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). On the one side it was seen as a demand for a fair and balanced flow in international news. On the other, fears were expressed that it was an invitation to states to control the free collection and distribution of news. At the centre of the turmoil were the transnational news agencies, such as Reuters, Associated Press, Agence France Presse, and their television counterparts, Visnews and World Television News. Criticizing them for lack of fairness and balance, the non-aligned nations established their own national and international agencies and news pools, which often were attacked, in turn, as 'government-controlled'.

This issue of *Trends* reviews the debate on international news flows then goes on to survey some studies evaluating the actual state of international newsgathering, gatekeeping and transmission, the level and effects of the dominance of Western news agencies, and alternatives to those agencies in the developing world.

REVIEW ARTICLE

By Keval J. Kumar Ph.D.

I. Genesis of the Debate

The demand for a more just and more equitable 'flow' of information and news across international borders had its roots in the struggle of the nations of Asia, Africa, Latin America and, later, Eastern Europe to break free of colonial chains. Already, early in the freedom movements, defiant efforts were made to counter the information disseminated by colonial governments through

news agencies, the press and other media. The development of the vernacular press and 'alternative' forms of news distribution such as small magazines, pamphlets, letters (often handwritten), street plays and public meetings, played a vital role in spreading the message of independence. Several leading nationalist leaders were active journalists.

D. R. Mankekar. *One-Way Flow: Neo-Colonialism via News Media*. New Delhi: Clarion Books, 1978.

Hamid Mowlana. *Global Information and World Communication: New Frontiers in International Relations*. New York: Longman, 1986.

Jim Richstad and Michael Anderson (Eds.) *Crisis in International News: Policies and Prospects*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1981.

Colleen Roach. 'The US Position on New World Information and Communication Order'. *Journal of Communication*, Vol. 37, No. 4, Autumn 1987, pp.36-51.

Robert L. Stevenson. *Communication, Development and the Third World: The Global Politics of Information*. New York/London: Longman, 1988.

MacBride, Sean, et al. *Many Voices, One World*. London/New York/Paris: Kogan Page/Unipub/UNESCO, 1988 (1980). (Available from the Centre for the Study of Communication and Culture, £7.95 - paperback.)

Once independence was won, the struggle became part of the effort to follow the path of non-alignment and self-reliant development. Indeed, information was valued, from the beginning, as a public resource and a 'social good' linked to development. The transnational agencies were, therefore, replaced by national agencies; not all of them under direct government control, though in most cases subsidized by the new governments. The transnationals did not go gracefully. Reuters, for instance, refused to let go of its profitable market in India until the Prime Minister himself forced it to withdraw. In some other places, like Nigeria, Ghana and the Caribbean, Reuters' managers were retained to help establish the national news agencies. Furthermore, journalists of some developing countries were sent to the West for training. Others were offered 'attachments' at the BBC and other Western broadcasting organizations. These efforts resulted in the entrenchment of Western and transnational news values in the press of the developing countries, helping to extend the dominance of the transnational news agencies long after the holdover managers and experts had been replaced by native journalists.

New Regional Alliances

Meanwhile, governments of the developing countries began to form new alliances, keeping clear of the 'power blocs'. The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) came into existence in 1961, with twenty-five member countries. Today, it has 102 members. In 1963, the independent nations of the African continent came together to form the Organization of African Unity (OAU), and two years later the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) brought together Indonesia, the Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand in a regional alliance. The Organization of American States (OAS) was formed in the Western Hemisphere. Of all these, the most significant was

NAM, and its influence was increasingly felt in the United Nations. During the late 60s and early 70s, the non-aligned nations banded together to fight the international economic order which offered unfair and unequal trade advantages to the richer nations. They argued that 'free trade' was in reality a one-way trade, from North to South, and 'free-flow' of information likewise was regarded as a one-way flow of news and information, again from North to South.

They further argued that political freedom without economic and cultural freedom was meaningless; a de facto colonialism prevailed, their national and cultural identities were under threat of extinction. Their mass media were dominated by material from the West: films from Hollywood, TV serials from the networks, popular music from the multinational record companies, and news in all media from the transnational news agencies. Direct broadcasting was seen as the ultimate threat to their national and cultural identity. The flow was 'free', all right, but there was no equity or balance in it.

The NAM countries therefore sought to re-write the *United Nations Charter*, which had been adopted at a time when most of the developing world was under colonial rule. They felt that the Charter reflected colonial interests and values, which were repugnant to the free non-aligned countries.

Role of UNESCO

Resentment about this obvious imbalance gave rise to speculation about its causes. Herbert Schiller, in his contribution to the Richstad and Anderson book, contends that the United States' advocacy of the 'free flow of information' was necessitated by imperialistic designs, corporate needs of business and trade, and the Cold War atmosphere. He argues that the historical coincidence of the 'imperial ascendancy' of the United States and its advocacy of the policy of 'free flow of information'

is not fortuitous. He suggests that 'the genesis and extension' of the doctrine are roughly coterminous with the 'brief and hectic interval of US global hegemony'. It was also seen as needed to maintain the Cold War environment.

As early as 1948, the United States and its allies had the major influence in drawing up the *UN Declaration of Human Rights*. Article 19 of the *Declaration* stated that 'everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression, and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any medium and regardless of frontiers'. News agencies thus had an unimpeded right to collect and distribute news and information 'regardless of national frontiers'. In reality, the right could only be exercised by the transnational news agencies, for they alone had the resources, the technology and the trained personnel to do so.

The interest of UNESCO in the communication field goes back to the early 1950s. It derives from *UNESCO's 1945 Charter*, which underscores the principles of the 'free flow of information' and 'the pursuit of objective truth'. UNESCO carried out its first study of 'news flows' in 1953, a comparative study of seven major dailies of the world, which included a survey of the structure and operations of news agencies. Three years later, a second study focused on the problems of transmitting press messages. Thus by the early 60s, UNESCO had come to identify the major Western news agencies as 'one of the vital factors in the flow of information'.

Later Moves in UNESCO

UNESCO stepped up its communication activities with sponsorship of regional news agencies. A UNESCO-sponsored conference in Bangkok in 1961 led to the creation of the Organization of Asian News Agencies (OANA). In 1962, a similar conference in Santiago recommended the establishment of a news agency for Latin American countries. A conference in Tunis in 1963 proposed the creation of a Union of African News Agencies. These activities attracted little attention or controversy in the West, at that time.

In 1970, however, the general conference of UNESCO issued a call to 'examine communication policies', and began to draw severe criticism from the United States and its allies in Europe. The spectre of direct satellite broadcasting seemed, to some governments, to pose the ultimate threat to cultural independence. In 1972, a Soviet-sponsored resolution, 'A Declaration of Guiding Principles for the Use of Satellite Broadcasting for the Free Flow of Information, the Extension of Education and the Development of Cultural Exchanges', was adopted by UNESCO members,

and a related General Assembly resolution to formulate principles governing direct satellite broadcasting also received overwhelming approval. Only the United States consistently opposed these resolutions.

NIEO and NWICO

Meanwhile, the non-aligned nations had drawn up a charter for a 'New International Economic Order' (NIEO), which was approved at a special session of the UN General Assembly in May 1974. NWICO was seen by them as integral to NIEO. The NAM Summit Conference, in Algiers in 1973, made it clear that the transformation of the international economic system required that non-aligned nations 'take concerted action in the field of mass communication...in order to promote a greater interchange of ideas among themselves'. Thus it was at the Algiers meeting that the issue first surfaced as one of major international concern; however, the thrust of the resolution adopted at Algiers was toward achieving a freer flow of information among the non-aligned. Thus was born the idea of a non-aligned news pool, which was not conceived of as a rival or a supplanter of the big four news agencies. Only later was the pool felt to be a 'threat' by the transnationals. The non-aligned Group of 77 felt the Western agencies were using their vast resources to carry on a propaganda war against the just demands embodied in both NIEO and NWICO. Western attitudes towards 'free trade', which the non-aligned labelled pure 'neo-colonialism', were exacerbated when the West persisted in regarding information as just another commodity, to be traded for profit without regard to its cultural implications.

The MacBride Report

The strengthening voice of the non-aligned nations in the United Nations led to the establishment of an International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems' by UNESCO, in 1977, under the leadership of Irish diplomat Sean MacBride. Its mission was to do a thorough analysis of world communication problems, with special stress on the international implications of the modern media. The 'MacBride Report' was published, as the book *Many Voices, One World*, in 1980.

Although not an expression of UNESCO's official position, the Report served to define the issues underlying the debate. The Commission members -- prominent media personages from varying national and ideological backgrounds -- produced a text, but not a consensus, and the Report's uneven style reflects its 'mosaic' character.

The 'new world' of the NWICO is that brought into being by the newly gained independence of more than eighty nations since the end of the Second World War. Although other designations were already in use, such as 'New International Information and Communication Order' (NIICO), the 1978 UNESCO and UN General Assembly resolutions agreed that the goal they envisaged was a 'new, more just and more efficient world information and communication order'.

The Report gives a full airing to the many complaints of the non-aligned nations about the defects in the prevailing system of international news flow, such as the general neglect of news of the summit conferences and other activities of the non-aligned movement (Mulay, 1987). On the other hand, it does not neglect to present legitimate Western fears, warning in several places, for example, that declarations defining the 'responsibilities' of journalists, calling for their licensing, or even saying that their rights and freedom should be given special consideration, all contain the danger of placing undue restrictions on their work. While seeing some problems in the kinds of news distributed by the transnational agencies, the Report also notes that they provide reliable news which cannot be obtained from other sources, and many of their deficiencies are offset by a 'growing capacity in developing countries to make appropriate critical selection of news coming from abroad' (p.85). Much responsibility, both for failure to use diverse sources and for distorting acts of 'gatekeeping', lies with local editors; and many efforts to establish a truly 'two-way' flow of news are acknowledged to have been made in recent years (p.146).

Neither the MacBride Report nor the general declaration embodying NWICO, drawn up by UNESCO in 1978, fully pleased anyone. But even the minimal unity manifested in these unsatisfactory compromises was a relief, in view of the heated debate which had preceded them.

Although, as Roach points out, many disparities between developed and non-aligned countries still exist, and many basic issues in the debate have not been resolved, other authorities note that it promoted some improvements in the coverage of non-aligned countries by Western media. Training and development aid have been slow in coming, but a few centres for training have been built and funding supplied. Technological changes have

reduced the costs of news transmission greatly. High newsprint costs have hampered newspaper growth in many countries, but the spread of radio, television and news magazines has more than compensated for a decline in newspapers. Interest in communication development has shifted its focus from mass media to telecommunication, which many have suddenly realized must be at the core of broad-spectrum development planning.

'Free Flow' versus 'Free and Balanced Flow'

Many observers in the non-aligned nations nevertheless see the fundamental problem in news flow as still unresolved. The debate, as they interpret it, is not simply between the proponents of 'free flow' and those arguing for a 'free and balanced flow' of information across borders. It is, rather, between radically diverse approaches to news and news flows, which have their roots in distinct social philosophies and cultures.

As the non-aligned countries perceive the situation, the patterns of news flows as they exist today are determined by a 'cartel' of transnational news agencies which embody the political, economic and cultural interests of the Western bloc. The 'free flow' of information which they defend is, in fact, uni-directional and vertical, from North to South for the most part. News about the South that is transmitted around the world presents a distorted picture, for it is collected and processed with a Western audience and readership in mind. What is more reprehensible is that the nations of the South, which have different communication needs and interests, are fed similarly distorted images.

Furthermore, news about the South is gathered and processed by Western journalists who have little understanding of the culture and socio-political ethos of developing countries. The result is that the 'images' of the developing countries thus disseminated are distorted, with the emphasis on poverty, famines, floods, and other disasters and coups d'état -- generally presented as 'exceptional' events without a context. Thus, the philosophy of news espoused by the transnationals - news as events and people of exception, as a commodity for the market -- is alien to a philosophy in non-aligned countries which sees news as a developmental process, as filling a social, political, economic and cultural need.

II. Research on Contemporary News Flows

Abdulrahman I. Al-Habib. 'The Flow of Foreign News into Six Arab Gulf Newspapers'. *International Communication Bulletin*, Vol. 24, No. 3-4, Fall 1989, pp. 11-15.

Anne Cooper Chen. 'Research in Progress: Televised International News in Five Countries: Thoroughness, Insularity and Agenda Capacity'. *International Communication Bulletin*, Vol. 24, No. 1-2, Spring 1989, pp. 4-8.

Howard Frederick. 'UNESCO's Mass Media Declaration, Ten Years of Accomplishment?'. *Intermedia*, Vol.15, No. 4/5, July/September, 1987, pp. 76-78; also summarized in *International Communication Bulletin*, Vol. 23, No. 1-2, Spring 1988, pp. 11 and 24.

Gannet Center Journal, special issue: 'International News and Foreign Policy', Vol. 3, No.4, Fall, 1989.

The bystander perplexed at the vehemence of the controversy is justified in asking, at this point, just what the true status of international news flow is at the present time. Is there something resembling a genuine monopoly of news sources? If so, has it tended to increase or to decline during the years since the NWICO debate was at its height? In fact, do the local media around the world have enough possible alternative sources of news to enable them, with a bit of imagination and effort, to break any Western monopoly which might exist?

The UNESCO Declaration, Ten Years Later

In a 1987 survey of 82 international communication professionals from 26 countries, Frederick tried to determine their estimate of the degree to which the ideals embodied in the 1978 *Mass Media Declaration of UNESCO* had been realized. Although most of the respondents perceived that certain transnational corporations had dominated the flow of news and information during the preceding decade, they also agreed that the increased capacity of international communication channels had both increased the volume of communication flows and promoted exchanges between countries with different economic and social systems. Other improvements included increased opportunities for the professional training of media personnel and increases in financial and technical assistance aimed at 'strengthening and expanding international media.'

They felt, however, that the use of the media for racial discrimination, propaganda and vestiges of colonial domination in the media of the Third World would never be eliminated. They were also pessimistic about the possibility of correcting inequalities in information flow, about the ability of people to check the accuracy of the facts which appear in the public media, about guaranteeing the protection of journalists, about establishing access to diverse sources and means of

information, and about establishing a genuinely free flow of information.

Nevertheless, they tended to believe that the 1978 Declaration has sensitized many journalists and policy makers in the West to the legitimate communications concerns of the non-aligned world. They also tended to feel that 'most of the tasks set out in the Declaration ten years ago can be realised in the years to come' (p.78).

Ultimately, the truth about news flows can be known only by means of extensive and intensive empirical studies of the news sources used by the various media in each country and by understanding the reasons why some sources are used more frequently and others less. The ways in which internationally available sources are adapted to local uses, selected for local purposes and supplemented by local or national news sources are also relevant for a full understanding of why media flows assume the patterns they do. Such studies have flourished under the influence of the debate; although writing on the subject remains dominated by the more philosophical perspective, rather than the empirical.

Kuo-jen Tsang, in a study (Tsang, 1987), cited by Chen (p.4), found that in the eight years from 1970-1977 only 35 international communication studies (apparently limited to articles in major American professional journals and books in English) were published, but in the eight years from 1978 to 1985 almost three times as many, 104, appeared. In the period 1980-1986, 40 books were published on international news alone (Tsang, et al., 1988, p. 13).

Gulf Newspapers

Al-Habib analysed the newspaper with the largest circulation in each of six Persian Gulf states; Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Bahrain and Oman. More than fifty percent of the papers' news, by column inches, was foreign in content. Although the difference was not statistically significant (i.e., statistically, one could only say that equal weight was given to

foreign and domestic news), substantially more space was devoted to foreign news by these Gulf newspapers than by either American or other Arab countries' newspapers, as documented by earlier studies (Abdelaziz, 1981; Elsarayrah, 1986).

Coverage of other Middle Eastern countries constituted 33% of the foreign news in the six papers, Africa accounted for 21.8%, Western Europe 19.5%, North America 11.9%, and Asia 9.2%, with minimal attention to other regions. Essentially the same amount of news was credited to 'international' (transnational) news agencies as to Arab news agencies, but some suspicion remained that much of the 44.5% whose source was not credited had actually come from transnational agencies. Only 12% of foreign news was credited to the papers' own staffs.

The category 'conflict and defence' accounted for 40% of foreign news, and more of the news credited to international agencies (44.5%) fell into this category than that credited to Arab agencies (34.2%). A distinct imbalance was seen in the stress on political and defence news to the neglect of cultural, religious and economic news. Although the Third World, as such, was not neglected, Latin America and the Eastern bloc countries were almost ignored. Although news agencies were extremely important sources of news, and doubtless contributed to the severe imbalance discerned in coverage by the six newspapers, Al-Habib says that further research would be needed to determine the relative influence of local gatekeeping and other news selection factors.

Television News

'Staggering logistical problems' have discouraged truly international studies of television news. Where local or national archives of television news exist, as in the United States, they have served to skew studies towards those places, making the research effectively national, rather than international, in scope. Chen says that only three large-scale international studies have been carried out up to 1988 (Stevenson 1984, Stevenson and Shaw 1984, Cohen and Bantz 1985, and Straubhaar et al. 1986.). The Ohio State University project on which Chen reported began in 1986, when collaborators in several countries were asked to tape the evening news on each of five days, 1-5 September. The tapes were viewed during the winter of 1987, and the submissions from five countries, United States (CBS Network), Japan (NHK), Sri Lanka (Rupavahini), Jamaica (JBC), and Colombia ('24 Horas') were judged to be complete enough for comparison.

The lowest proportion of time devoted to international news during the period was 22.6% in

Japan, and the highest was 52.7% for Jamaica. Considerable variation was noted, but Japan's coverage was judged 'most insular', for that period, and Jamaica's 'most international', with the other three grouped within five percentage points of each other (approximately 42%). Japan also had longer stories and consequently covered fewer of the major international stories during the period. The biggest story of the period was the non-aligned summit in Zimbabwe, which was not covered at all in Japan. It was mentioned on only one day in the United States, while Colombia and Jamaica discussed it on three days, and Sri Lanka devoted a large segment of its total news time to it on four days.

These preliminary findings said nothing about the sources of news, but implied that Jamaica's international emphasis may indicate greater dependence on the wire services than might have been the case had more resources been available for greater domestic coverage.

International News in US Media

The 'international newshole', the percentage of space devoted to international news, in major American daily newspapers has declined at an 'alarming rate' in recent years, according to Michael Emery in his contribution to the *Gannet Center Journal* special issue. Non-advertising space devoted to foreign news in all US dailies dropped from 10.2% in 1971 to 6.3% in 1977 and 6.0% in 1982, according to a 1984 report by the National Advertising Bureau. Emery's study, using a somewhat different methodology on only ten major papers, found only 2.6% of non-advertising space was used for foreign news during a period (6 November to 6 January) in late 1987 and early 1988, when many major international stories were breaking.

Various selection factors also became evident from comparing the contents of the papers. The *New York Times* prides itself on balanced treatment of international news, and this study generally supports that claim. But it devoted only half the percentage of available space to the beginning of the Palestinian revolt (*Intifada*) in the West Bank as did the *Milwaukee Journal*, which otherwise rated quite low among the ten papers in the space it devoted to international news. Some papers did better at reporting certain of the 'four major hot spots' of the period than did others, often reflecting special local relationships. Korean news, for example, was well covered in Los Angeles, with its large Korean population.

This decline in newspaper coverage of international events may be compensated for not only by the news magazines but also by improved

television coverage. Among the many pitfalls of television news, however, is the tendency to shape the news in the direction of available technology. As Stuart A. Loory says in the same issue of the *Gannett Center Journal*, 'Modern video journalism often gets so caught up in the gadgetry that it forgets the substance of the news.' Where and what is covered, and how it is covered, are frequently determined by the ability to get interesting tape footage in some places but not in others. Countries which make it difficult for foreign journalists to operate freely are obviously likely to be covered less frequently and less favourably.

Cable News Network (CNN) has initiated *CNN World Report*, a programme which Loory (who is the executive producer of the programme) calls 'the world's only global newscast and largest news exchange'. News broadcasters from television stations anywhere in the world are invited to submit 'the news as they see it' for broadcast over CNN on 'a weekly programme that is open-ended in length'. It is broadcast just as it was submitted, without editing or censorship. All contributors get the right to use all the other material in the programme in their own broadcasts. There is no cost for participation except that of getting the programme to CNN, in Atlanta, Georgia, by

satellite or air freight. So successful was the weekend programme that a half-hour daily edition was added, beginning 16 October, 1989. (See also *Newsweek*, international edition, 18 June, 1990, pp.46-50.)

The programme has become a forum for a wide variety of interpretations of news stories. It has also made possible the reporting of significant events, in many nations, which would not otherwise have been covered. Admittedly, this service is available chiefly to those willing to pay for cable television -- which is now available in about 54% of U.S. homes (*Broadcasting*, 1989, p.11). It is also available by satellite to about 7 million households, as well as hotels and government offices, on most of the land surface of the earth (*Newsweek*, 1990).

According to Emery, however, the determining factor in news flows in the United States seems increasingly to be audience interest rather than the potential availability of a wide variety of news. Declining availability of international news in the more popular outlets, such as daily newspapers, seems to be due to declining audience interest, and to gatekeepers in both network television and the papers who are 'giving people what they want instead of what they need' (p.151).

III. The 'Market' or 'Capitalist' Approach: News As Merchandise

Kent Cooper. *Barriers Down: The story of the News Agency Epoch*. New York: Kennikat Press, 1942.

Jonathan Fenby. *The International News Services*. New York: Schocken Books, 1986.

Rosemary Righter. *Whose News? Politics, The Press and the Third World*. London: Burnett Books, 1978.

Robert L. Stevenson and Donald L. Shaw (Eds.). *Foreign News and the New World Information Order*. Ames: The Iowa State University Press, 1984.

To the transnational news agencies, international news must ultimately become little more than a product or commodity to be sold to the largest number of subscribers around the world. Fenby argues that the *raison d'être* for the international news agencies is simple: to collect and distribute news of interest to as many subscribers as possible, in the form most digestible to the greatest number of recipients willing to pay the cost. A news agency is a purveyor of services, with no function except to provide those services to its users in return for a profit. Fenby and Righter note that the international agencies do not regard it as their responsibility to 'make the world a better place', but only to report it accurately, as it is, and in terms acceptable to their subscribers.

The Early Years

That description was accurate from the earliest years of the three European agencies: Reuters, Havas and Wolff's. Their services met the growing demands of the time. Havas' agency, Havas of Paris, opened in 1835 with a stress on supplying European financial news to French subscribers, as well as translations of foreign news for the French press, private clients and the French government. Since success was impossible without the cooperation of the Interior Ministry, Havas had to exercise caution when distributing politically sensitive news. His agency became the 'voice of France' in the colonies, a tradition continued by Agence France-Presse (AFP).

Bernard Wolff and Paul Julius Reuter both learned their craft as employees of Havas' Paris office. Wolff gave up his medical practice to establish a service of commercial and financial news in Prussia and neighbouring states. Later he added political and other non-economic news and was soon the main source of information to the German press. However, Wolff's service became an instrument of Prussian state policy. Reuter's first venture, in Aachen, was less successful, but his fortunes improved when he moved to London, despite the initial hostility of the British press establishment. He offered British news to his subscribers on the European continent.

The three agencies soon decided that cooperation was in their mutual best interest. Stock market and commodity market price information began to be exchanged among them under an agreement of 1856. This was extended to political news in 1859, and by 1870 they had formed a cartel, dividing the world into three spheres of influence. Reuters served the far-flung British Empire, as well as China and Japan. Havas was granted France and its colonies, in addition to Spain, Italy and Portugal. Continental Wolff was restricted to Germany, Scandinavia and Russia.

Challenge from the US Agencies

Associated Press (AP), established in 1848 in the United States, competed domestically with United Press after the latter's foundation in 1907. AP finally achieved a dominating position by gaining an exclusive contract with Reuters, which effectively allied AP with the cartel.

Both the American agencies had been sending their own correspondents to collect European news, in defiance of the cartel, since around the turn of the century. This activity was on a small scale prior to the First World War, but in the 1920s the monopolistic nature of the European agencies was seriously challenged, first by United Press and later by AP. Kent Cooper, the general manager of AP, accused Reuters of spreading a false and sensational picture of the United States around the world through its selection of news. AP complained that the three European agencies had become little more than spokesmen for their respective governments. Both these complaints were echoed fifty years later, in the NWICO debates, as the non-aligned countries accused AP itself, along with the other three Western agencies of 'monopoly' and distorted reporting, and the Western services and governments turned the charge of 'politicization' against UNESCO and the advocates of NWICO.

Pressure from the American agencies created such strains in the cartel that it was formally

dissolved in 1934, with a formal agreement between Reuters and AP recognizing the rights of both agencies to collect and distribute news anywhere in the world.

Transnationals' International Coverage

Reuters and AFP distribute news in about 150 countries or territories of the world; AP reaches 110; and United Press International (UPI) 92. In the late 1980s, a majority of Reuters' estimated 5,000 or more subscribers were outside the United Kingdom. AFP, Like Reuters, has a relatively small domestic base, with only about one-fifth of its subscribers in France.

In contrast to the European agencies, AP and UPI are basically domestic operations with overseas extensions. AP has a total of over 16,000 subscribers, including 1,500 domestic newspapers and 5,700 domestic broadcasting stations, many of the latter taking only a limited service at low rates. AP's foreign subscribers total 8,850, including some indirect subscribers, who get their news through one of the 42 foreign agencies which subscribe to AP. By 1985, UPI's domestic clients were estimated at 4,100, of which 3,300 were broadcasting stations. The agency had around 2,000 foreign clients at that time. For the purposes of this paper it is worth noting that UPI is now under the control of a non-aligned country owner, having been acquired by a Mexican media company.

According to Fenby, the majority of the employees of the agencies were home-based, rather than overseas, except for Reuters, which had 70% of its employees abroad, due to its lack of a domestic general news service and its policy of extensive decentralization. Reuters and AP each have around a hundred bureaux abroad. The inability of UPI and AFP to maintain so many is a factor in their declining ability to compete. In addition, numbers of foreign correspondents are reported to be dwindling, because of costs. AP has fewer than 100 correspondents abroad, posted mainly in world capitals. Large individual daily newspapers and weekly news magazines, as well as television and radio networks, employ their own foreign correspondents, but local stringers, or part-time reporters, far outnumber expatriate journalists, and 'parachute journalism' -- inserting a correspondent or news team temporarily, to cover a particular story -- seems to have become the norm for big stories.

It is evident that the disposition of bureaux and staff members is based mainly on the agencies' assessment of the importance and interest to subscribers of events in different countries, as well

as accessibility. These factors contribute to the danger of unbalanced coverage of the developing world and of superficiality in that coverage.

Subscription Rates and Profits

The agencies find it valuable to be represented in as many countries as possible, both for access to news sources and in expectation of an expanded clientele, at some future time. Consequently, subscribers are attracted through setting low rates, and service to some countries appears to be supplied at a loss to the agency. Subscription charges are often set according to the size of the subscribers' audience. Financial reporting services, such as stock market reports, tend to be the money-making sector of each agency's business, with other news supplied at minimal profits for the sake of prestige.

The News Film Supermarket

Jonathan King. 'Visnews and UPITN: News Film Supermarkets in the Sky', in Jim Richstad and Michael Anderson, 1981, pp. 282-298.

Peter Marshall. 'Visnews: TV News Flow and Satellites', in Jim Richstad and Michael Anderson, 1981, pp. 279-282.

In the early 1980s two transnational television news agencies, Visnews and the smaller UPITN (United Press International/Independent Television News), serviced the national networks of most nations. Their domination of the international 'newsfilm' market has been compared to that of the 'big four' in the news text market. More recently, they have faced challenges from other sources, one of the most important being CNN.

Regional alternatives have also been appearing, such as Eurovision, which chiefly serves Western Europe but also parts of Africa and Asia, and Intervision, serving Eastern Europe and the Soviet bloc. Moscow Television and Chinese Central Television (CCTV) also have widespread international distribution networks.

Asiavision is the only major alternative service based in what might be called the 'non-aligned' world -- although some of its major participants, such as Japan, South Korea and Australia, can hardly be called either 'under-developed' or 'non-aligned'. It functions as a news exchange system, with member countries contributing newsfilm at their own expense. The Non-Aligned Movement has a similar exchange system, News Pool, for text, but it has yet to launch an equivalent for newsfilm.

Visnews: Monopoly versus Monopoly

Visnews was established in 1957 by the British Broadcasting Corporation in an attempt to block American film syndicates from gaining a monopoly in Britain and continental Europe. By creating this highly successful 'profit-retaining trust', in which revenue is ploughed back into the organization to finance further development, the BBC gave birth to its own global monopoly, far greater than anything seen before in television or cinema news.

Lord Radcliffe, the first chairman of Visnews, set out its goal thus: 'to create a service of pictorial television news clear of political control by anybody, impartial in its presentation, seeking to collect and distribute news on a worldwide basis, and organized so that it should not fall under the control of any one group, or influence, or person'.

Besides the BBC, Visnews had several co-owners, originally including Reuters. Visnews had gotten its news text services from Reuters, using Reuters' communication system for messages, and it received assistance for its operations from Reuters' worldwide network of bureaux. By 1981 it was sending forty to fifty stories per day by satellite, terrestrial electronic circuits or airfreight to almost every country that had television. It also supplied material to independent regional services, such as Eurovision and China Central Television, and handled a wide variety of services, including the production of documentaries and promotional films, for a wide spectrum of clients. Editorial policy was set by its London headquarters. In 1984, Reuters tried to seek a controlling stake in Visnews, but was opposed by the BBC and other shareholders. Reuters then developed a trans-Atlantic partnership with UPI.

UPITN/WTN

Visnews' main competitor in the international television news market is World Television News (WTN), formerly United Press International-Independent Television News (UPITN). It was represented in most countries through UPI bureaux. Its forty reporters were of many nationalities, and they were backed up by 500 stringers, worldwide. Nevertheless, like Visnews, its main servicing centre was in London, where a 45 minute news package was put together at ITN House and then beamed by satellite to subscribers.

Until financially-troubled UPI sold its share of the company in 1984, UPITN was a genuinely international enterprise combining the resources of the American news agency with those of the British network, ITN. But big losses had been incurred by coverage of the American election and Olympics, in 1984, leading UPI to feel that the

international aspect of the operation was unprofitable. WTN is now based in the United States, and its principal shareholder is the American Broadcasting Company (ABC).

Cable News Network

Despite its name, suggesting a restricted function, Cable News Network (CNN) has become, in recent years, at least as important in supplying material for open broadcasting as Visnews and WTN, and it may be more important than the older agencies in terms of its influence on world decision-makers, although substantive research on this point is, as yet, lacking. Nearly worldwide reception is possible because of direct, uncoded broadcasting on five satellites, one of the most important of which is the Soviet-built and controlled Stationor 12, which has a footprint covering all of Europe and Africa and most of Asia (*Gannett Center Journal*, 1989; and *Newsweek*, 1990).

The Market Model and Diversity of Opinion

Do market forces provide for a 'diversity of opinion' as maintained by the transnational agencies? King argues that, more often than not, they create monopolies in international communications. He feels that the power enjoyed by transnationals like Visnews and WTN is not a power over specific events or issues but rather a more general power

to exert a diffuse conditioning effect on viewers, teaching them a particular type of 'language', and passing on a particular set of values that is alleged to maintain a profitable status quo for the companies.

King enumerates several problems with the transnationals. In the first place, the short feeds that they provide each day limit access. Additional sources of newsfilm are beyond the means of most subscribers, thus leaving them a narrow range of choice. Secondly, with more recent exceptions, such as *CNN World Report*, discussed earlier, content depends on the decisions of the editorial staff in London, New York or Atlanta, and much of it is irrelevant to audiences outside the North Atlantic region; while stories which may be important to people in other countries might be 'spiked' as 'insignificant' by the Western editors. Furthermore, Anglo-American perspectives are inevitably built into the reports, and Anglo-American cultural values are irresistably, even if unconsciously, communicated over the long term -- allegedly undermining the local values as well as creating a desire for goods and services and a lifestyle inappropriate to, and not affordable by, the audience. Even if local editors shape their use of the material to fit their own points of view, many Western cultural influences remain.

IV. The 'External Service' Model: News as Public Relations

Asian Mass Communication Research and Information Centre (AMIC). *International Shortwave Broadcasting in Asia and the Pacific* (Mimeographed). Singapore: AMIC, 1987.

Muhammad Ayish and Izzat Habib. 'International Broadcasting in Arabic - A Comparative Exploratory Study of RMCE, VOA, BBC and Radio Moscow'. *Abhat Al-Yarmouk*, Vol.4, No.1, 1988, pp.15-26.

Donald Browne. 'The International Newsroom: A Study of Practices at the Voice of America, BBC and Radio Deutsche Welle'. *Journal of Broadcasting*, Vol.27, No.3, Summer 1983.

Donald Browne. *International Broadcasting: The Limits of the Limitless Medium*. New York: Praeger, 1982.

Julian Hale. *Radio Power: International Broadcasting and Propaganda*. London: Paul Elek, 1975.

K. R. M. Short (Ed.). *Western Broadcasting Over the Iron Curtain*. London: Croom Helm, 1986.

Short-wave radio broadcasting is perhaps the channel where the imbalance in news flows is most evident. Direct broadcasting satellites have made cross-border television possible, but access is still limited to the relatively affluent, who can afford to install booster antennae or satellite dishes, or to subscribe to cable channels.

But short-wave radio broadcasting suffers from no such restrictions. Few nations can afford to 'jam' overseas radio broadcasts, even if they should wish to do so. Over a hundred countries now have

official broadcasting services on shortwave, in many languages and dialects, but the airwaves are dominated by Western and Communist bloc services, including the BBC, VOA, Radio Deutsche Welle, Radio Australia, Radio Nederlands, Radio Luxembourg, Radio Moscow, Radio Beijing, etc. The external services of the non-aligned nations, for the most part, are handicapped by poor transmission facilities and low quality programming. Then there are the allegedly independent propaganda services, such as Radio

Peace and Progress, of the Soviet Union, and Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty of the United States.

The virtual flood of news transmitted internationally, round the clock by the big powers drowns out the national and local version of news and wire services. The BBC, VOA and Radio Moscow broadcast in many languages of Asia and Africa, and their reach is far wider than that of any of the national radio networks of the smaller states. Further, they frequently enjoy a credibility far greater than national or local networks. However, the external service broadcasts of the majority of developing countries can barely be picked up in the industrialized world. The news flow in short-wave radio, as in the print media and television, is overwhelmingly a one-way flow.

Aims of 'External Service' Broadcasting

External radio services were originally established to keep the settlers in colonies in touch with their home countries. Gradually, Westernized indigenous listeners became part of the audience. On becoming independent, most nations in Africa and Asia did not inherit suitable radio systems. Many of them merely continued the colonial systems, not designed for indigenous development but catering to the élite. They retained similar bureaucratic structures, using them for government propaganda. But short-wave propaganda from the power blocs is far louder and clearer. Jamming is expensive and difficult, and is rarely resorted to by the majority of non-aligned countries.

The United States and the Soviet Union each broadcast more than 2,000 programme hours per week; China puts out over 1,500 programme hours; and Britain and Germany more than 700 hours each, per week. In the late 1970s, the BBC estimated its regular (at least once-a-week) World Service Listeners at around 75 million, and that the Service's total audience is about 130 million (MacBride 1980, pg.73); (cf., Mytton and Forrester 1988:458).

Broadcasts to the non-aligned countries have expanded steadily on most of these services, a recent retrenchment by the BBC being an exception to even its own earlier expansion. Soviet broadcasting to Africa, for example, began in April 1958, with a fifteen-minute programme in English and French. In 1960 came the first Swahili broadcast, by which time Radio Moscow was beaming a total of 33.5 hours a week to Africa. By 1964, this had increased to 120 hours, and broadcast languages included Hausa, Lingala, Malagasy, Somali, Zulu and Bambara, besides Swahili, English, French and Italian. By 1975,

Soviet broadcasts to Africa had risen to 167 hours a week in fourteen languages.

State Financed Broadcasting

The external broadcasting services of most countries are directly financed and supported by the State or State-established corporations. Although several of them, such as the BBC and Deutsche Welle, claim to be 'independent' or 'autonomous', and the BBC often actually is accused of bias against the UK government, most do represent their governments' perspectives on news and seek to promote national interests by providing 'objective' news edited from those perspectives. For better or worse, they enjoy much credibility with the élites of non-aligned nations.

The MacBride Report points out that there are varied, usually complex reasons for governments to undertake external shortwave services. They serve as links with their nationals overseas. They provide what they regard as objective news to listeners who may not otherwise have access to it. They try to project internationally an attractive and interesting image of the country's social, cultural and economic life. Finally, they try to present abroad the country's position and views on current events and global affairs.

International broadcasting remains a powerful instrument of foreign policy. The MacBride Commission noted that 'some external broadcasting has been used for blatant propaganda and attacks against other nations.' The Commission therefore proposed 'as a minimum that countries refrain from using external broadcasting for purposes contrary to the principles of the United Nations and of the UNESCO Declaration on the mass media' (pp.73-74).

Channels for Power-bloc Rivalry

The Voice of America (VOA) is the official voice of the US Government. It is strictly an overseas service, forbidden by law from domestically-oriented operations. It is state-funded and is controlled by the U.S. Information Agency (USIA). Since 1953, its stated goal has been 'to submit evidence to the peoples of other nations by means of communication techniques that the objectives and policies of the U.S. are in harmony with and advance their legitimate aspirations for freedom, peace and progress.'

Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, which have their headquarters in Washington, DC, but operate from Munich, were until 1971 covertly financed by the CIA, but since 1973 have merged into the 'privately-managed, non-profit' company,

Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Inc. Its objective is 'to oppose attempts by Communist governments to isolate their citizens from information about the world'. With a staff strength of around 1,750, and a budget of about \$100,000,000, in the mid-1980s, it broadcasts over a thousand programme hours per week in about 20 languages of Eastern Europe and Western Asia (Short, pp.69-97). With the massive political changes of the recent past, it is uncertain what role, if any, these stations will have to play in the future.

The goals of Moscow's external radio policy, as outlined by Hale, are to 'skilfully consider the

particular features of individual countries and sections of the population and provide broad coverage of the life and foreign and domestic policies of the Soviet Union; publicize the achievement of the world system of socialism; comprehensively illustrate the international importance of the USSR's experience of communist construction' and 'reveal the anti-popular politics of the imperialist states'.

Radio Marti and its recently-inaugurated television equivalent beam U.S. broadcasts to Cuba. They are patterned on the Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty model, according to William A. Buell's discussion of RFE/RL (Short, p.73)

V. The 'Development/Liberation' Model - News as Public Resource and Social Good.

Dissatisfaction with the commercial philosophy and method of operation of the transnational news agencies has been widespread in both the industrialized and developing world. The monopolies created by them have been resisted, but with very limited success. So entrenched are they and so powerful their influence in almost every part of the world that alternative news agencies and news exchanges have found it impossible to find wide acceptance, especially in countries where a Western style, private enterprise, 'independent' journalism has had a long tradition.

Third World journalists often continue to depend on the transnational news agencies for 'hard' news, despite the multiplication of national agencies and regional pools. This is partly because the transnationals remain the quickest, most efficient, most reliable source of factual and important news -even if much of it may not always be so relevant to their audiences. In addition, they usually share the values which have grown up with the journalistic profession from its very origin, in the West. They understand the transnational

agencies' concept of journalism and are more comfortable with it than with attempts to develop a new concept which might be better suited to developing nations.

News agencies based in the non-aligned world have been unable to match the volume of news available from the transnationals or the speed with which it is delivered, both important factors in an enterprise where competition is acute and deadlines have to be met. The credibility of the Third World agencies frequently is undermined by their association with dictatorial or corrupt governments, which often regard them solely as propaganda organs or public relations offices. Development journalism is often defined by such governments as journalism about government achievements and about the greatness of the chief executive.

This section takes a critical look at some of the news agencies or news exchanges that have offered new structures and news philosophies alternative to those of the Western transnational news agencies.

A. News Agencies Pool of Non-Aligned Countries

D. R. Mankekar. 'The Non-Aligned News Pool'. In Jim Richstad and Michael Anderson (Eds.) 1981, pp.369-379.

J. S. Yadava (Ed.). *Politics of News: Third World Perspectives*. New Delhi: Concept, 1984.

The most ambitious alternative to the transnational news agencies has been the News Pool of the news agencies of non-aligned nations. Established in July 1976 at the New Delhi Conference of Information Ministers and the

representatives of the news agencies of the non-aligned world. According to Mankekar the Pool was from the beginning seen as 'simply an arrangement for exchange of news between non-

aligned countries, the kind of news they don't get from the Western transnational news agencies'.

The Pool's only organizational structure is a co-ordinating committee with a chairperson, who is changed every three years. The pool is self-financing, as senders of news pay for the costs of transmission. The receiving agencies may edit material before redistribution to subscribers and other news agencies.

The Pool's stated policy is to treat news as a resource for development and public welfare, rather than as a commodity. It tries to avoid concentrating on exceptional people or events, conflicts, crises and disasters. The entertainment function of news is de-emphasized in favour of what the editors think people need to know for their liberation and development. Background is stressed, so news items can be understood in context.

In Western journalistic terms, the Pool seems more like a 'features syndicate' than a 'news agency', which it claims to be, but the terminology is immaterial. What the Pool's advocates find important is that its reports originate in the non-aligned countries themselves, and therefore should represent those countries as they are seen under normal circumstances by their own people, rather than by outsiders, who are typically on the scene only in times of crisis.

The Non-Aligned News Pool, therefore, has not entered into really direct competition with the Western agencies, since it does not attempt to supply fast, spot news. But the over one hundred countries that now participate in its news exchange system at least have a channel through which they can express themselves in their own way.

B. Inter-Press Service

Anthony Giffard. 'The Inter Press Service: New Information for a New Order'. *Journalism Quarterly*. Vol.62, No.1, Spring 1985, pp.17-23, 44.

Phil Harris. 'New Dependence and Structural Change'. In Richstad and Anderson, 1981, pp.356-368.

The Inter Press Service was established in 1964, with support from the Italian and West German Christian Democratic parties, as a non-profit co-operative of journalists, to act as a link between Western Europe and Latin America. Its chief source of funding for the past ten years has been the Friedrich-Ebert Stiftung, the foundation of the Social Democratic Party, which, however, recently terminated its support. IPS makes no pretence of being objective and balanced. It is committed to solidarity with the Third World, to non-alignment, anti-colonialism in its various forms, and opposition to racism. Whilst covering political and economic news, it aims to place more stress on social issues.

According to Harris, IPS pursues a strategy designed to facilitate the establishment of NWICO, on one level by providing an alternative news service to rectify immediate deficiencies in international news flow, and on another level to

bring about long term structural changes which will promote communication among developing countries.

Most of the exchange or special transmission facilities IPS offers are with the national agencies of developing countries, as well as with the United Nations and its various bodies. Critics of the IPS approach, including Fenby (1986) and Stevenson (1988), argue that its coverage is as lacking in balance as is that of the Big Four, since the great majority of its reports come from Latin America, Europe and the United Nations. The relatively few from Asia and Africa tend to originate at the UN. Giffard says the English service of IPS is more geographically balanced than its Spanish service. It can lay claim to a worldwide service, however, with 200 full-time journalists, 60 bureaux, and full services in Spanish and English, with selections transmitted in Arabic and several European languages.

C. Africa and the Caribbean

Marlene Cuthbert. *The Caribbean News Agency: Third World Model*. Journalism Monographs, No. 71, February 1981.

Paul E. Martin and Mohammed D. Musa. 'Recreating the Image: Regional News Agencies in Africa and the Caribbean'. *Communicatio Socialis Yearbook*, 1987, pp.159-170.

Africa's telecommunication system is a holdover from the colonial era which strikingly illustrates

the hindrances to communication among the countries of that continent. Cable connections

typically run from the former colony to its European colonizer. Consequently, a message sent by cable from Togo to neighbouring Ghana has had to go through Dakar, Paris and London before reaching Accra. Telegraph communications from Kinshasa to Brazzaville, just across the Congo River, went through Belgium and France.

This was just one of the problems faced by news agencies of Africa when they tried to send news to, or obtain news from, their neighbours.

Ghana News Agency (GNA) was established in 1957, and it became the nucleus of the Pan-African News Agency (PANA). PANA was organized by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to 'liberate' Africa from the influence of the European news agencies. It was based in Dakar and, by the early 1980s, it functioned as a pool, exchanging news and features in English, French and Arabic among the continent's forty national agencies. It was tightly subordinated to government policies through its governing body, the Conference of African Ministers of Information. PANA was the only regional agency to receive significant funding from the International Program for the Development of Communication (IPDC). It remains linked to Reuters, which helped establish it and many of the African national agencies. Like similar pools, PANA has supplemented, rather than displaced, the transnational agencies.

The Caribbean press, on the other hand, is fairly independent of government control. Largely owned by private commercial interests it had resisted attempts by Caribbean heads of government, in 1967 and 1980, to establish a regional news agency. The press owners said they would have nothing to do with any government-run news service. They would rather use their own reporters in the region and Reuters' Caribbean Service, which was edited in Barbados and carried regional and international news. But when UNESCO stepped in to assist in the

formation of a regional news agency, both government and press owners responded favourably.

Founded in 1976, the Caribbean News agency (CANA) grew out of Reuters' Caribbean service, which was on the verge of closing down as unprofitable. CANA took over the infrastructure and staff of Reuters, and it still gets most of its international news from Reuters, although it has broadened its sources to include the Non-Aligned News Pool and Cuba's Prensa Latina. Its editorial philosophy is similar to Reuters: the reporting of fully substantiated, well-sourced or eye-witnessed facts, as well as attributable conclusions or comments, always endeavouring to balance the latter whenever they contain a controversial element.

CANA has sixteen shareholders in the Caribbean media, including some newspapers and radio systems owned by governments that believe that media should 'serve national ends'. It avoids controversial stories and is generally short on in-depth features, concentrating instead on 'spot' reports. When the agency was firmly established, Reuters withdrew its correspondent from Barbados and entered into an agreement under which CANA provided the London-based agency with Caribbean coverage.

Cuthbert believes that CANA has provided more coverage of the Caribbean than Reuters had done. Also, 'staffers provided more background and feature stories... and news of the Caribbean was shaped by the effort of CANA staff to write from a Caribbean perspective'. However, other researchers suggest that CANA is no more than a re-creation of the Reuters image. It needs to be noted that CANA is incorporated as a Barbadian company, rather than as a regional institution, and is therefore subject to the political influence of the Barbados government.

D. Asia and the Pacific

Jim Richstad. 'Flow of News and Information in Asia and the Pacific'. *Media Asia*, Vol.15, No.2, 1988, pp.17-23, 44.

Gerard Sullivan and Victor T. Valbuena. 'PACNEWS: A Study of News Exchanged in the Pacific'. *Media Asia*, Vol. 16. No.2, 1989, pp.68-80, 116.

In 1979, the national agencies of Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines and Thailand agreed to establish a system of news agency links. A UNESCO-sponsored meeting in Kuala Lumpur the same year declared that an Asian agency was a top priority. After several more meetings it was suggested that the Organization of Asian News Agencies (OANA), a body representing agencies

from non-communist Asian countries, should act as coordinator and, as such, should widen its membership to include all agencies in the region, including those of Australia and New Zealand. However, there was to be no supranational supervision or control, and the sovereignty of nations was to be respected.

OANA launched the Asia-Pacific News Network (ANN) at its general assembly in Kuala Lumpur, in November 1981. ANN links twenty three news

agencies from nineteen countries of the region in a non-commercial, self-financing news exchange system, which is not intended to compete with the transnational agencies. Avoidance of controversial issues affecting ASEAN governments and slowness in transmission of copy have limited ANN's usefulness to subscribers, according to Richstad. In an evaluation of ANN in 1985, the OANA secretariat commented on continued heavy use of the transnational wire services by members, noting that 'members use the foreign service from the international wire services "simply because their copy is clear, well written, concise, complete with all the necessary background and lands faster. If this trend continues, ANN may find itself obsolete before it has fully established itself" (p.78.).

ANN's members now represent a full ideological spectrum of Asian national and private agencies, including TASS; but its nucleus remains the six nations of the Association of Southeast Nations (ASEAN).

Asiavision

Promoted by member countries of the Asia-Pacific Broadcasting Union (ABU), Asiavision television news exchange system got off the ground on 16 January 1984. The broadcasting organizations of ten nations of the region, including Japan and Australia, have come together to enhance the flow of news within Asia and the Western Pacific and to project Asian and Pacific perspectives on both

hard and soft news, with the emphasis usually on the latter. Asiavision is now a global network and has exchange agreements with Eurovision and with television networks in the United States.

Other Services

In 1987, Pacific Basin countries and territories started a news exchange organization called PACBROAD (Pacific Broadcasting) to exchange news about each other. PACNEWS is another news exchange, headquartered in Suva, Fiji, with stated objectives similar to those of comparable exchanges in other parts of the non-aligned world.

In the summer of 1979, the member states of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) decided to set up their own news agency, called OPECNA (OPEC News Agency), to inform the world of the 'true scope and magnitude' of their efforts to cooperate with other developing countries, as well as to disseminate general interest news about OPEC and its members, and to 'counteract the manipulation of information by some of OPEC's detractors'. The twenty-two states of the Arab World participate in the Non-Aligned Nations' News Pool and the oil-producers among them belong to OPECNA. However, the majority of the news agencies of the Union of Arab News Agencies and the Arab States Broadcasting Union continue to be dependent on Western news agencies. Colonial precedents influence alignments, with Reuters servicing Egypt, Sudan, Jordan, Libya, Qatar, the UAE and Oman; while AFP supplies Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria.

VI. CRITIQUING THE RESEARCH

K. Kyoong Hur. 'A Critical Analysis of International News Flow Research'. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, Vol. 1, No.4, December 1984, pp.365-378.

Research concerning such a complex subject as international news flow and its effects will always be 'inadequate', since only certain aspects of the problem are even amenable to research, and any research inevitably lags behind the changing reality. The late K. Kyoong Hur felt, in addition, that too large a proportion of the research which has been done has used only quantitative and content analysis methods. Studies of international news flow have dealt primarily with the volume and direction of news flows between and among countries, but have not dealt adequately with the nature and type of coverage. What is needed, according to him, is a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods to understand the structures and the processes of news flows more completely.

Hur also stressed the equal need for longitudinal analysis and multivariate analysis in place of short-term, one-shot, event-oriented research. Until now, he pointed out, the analysis has been in terms of general news content categories, such as political news, economic news, military news, etc, or broad categories, like crisis/non-crisis news, or good/bad news. A closer analysis of specific news types across nations would suggest, as in Pollock and Guidette's study (1980) of crisis stories in Brazil, Chile and South Africa, that there is variation in international news coverage due to different types of news, even within a single news subject such as 'crisis', regardless of the countries under discussion. Factors affecting this variation include the relationship to the crisis country and the relationship between macro-analysis - coverage

applying to all nations - and micro-analysis - coverage of a specific nation.

Conclusion

For almost two decades now the focus of research on international news has been mostly limited to quantitative examinations of the volume and direction of 'flows'. The most significant studies have been those of Schramm and Atwood (1981), Richstad and Nnaemeka (1978), the IAMCR-UNESCO study of foreign news coverage in 29 countries (UNESCO 1982), and Teun Van Dijk's structural study (1984)

The distinction between 'flows' and 'coverage', however, has not been given due weight, as K. Kyoon Hur showed. What is needed is more thorough news 'coverage' analysis, which deals not only with the amount but also with the nature and type of international news disseminated across national boundaries. Content analysis alone cannot account for international news flow processes. A combination of quantitative and qualitative methods is required to understand the structures and processes of news flows more completely.

Furthermore, the methods and tools of analysis have, in the attempt to be scientific, and hence empirical, not often gone beyond the enumeration of news stories emanating from international agencies and appearing in the press of the non-aligned countries. Few research studies have scrutinized the manner of selection and the type of stories selected for transmission to various target subscribers, and more significantly, the manner in which they have been re-edited by the national news agencies, and again by the different local publications. In the ultimate analysis, how has the flood of news from the transnational agencies been managed? What are the 'images' that viewers, listeners, and readers carry home with them. A solitary 'images' study (Halloran and Nightingale, 1983) among children of four countries suggests that children generally compare media images of peoples and nations with their own experiences. They usually accept media images of peoples and nations with which they have had little personal contact, but reject those that do not tally with their own experiences.

'Reception research' on international news has not made a beginning as yet. A thorough examination of the 'filtering process' over a period of time - i.e., not just a continuous week, here, or a 'constructed' week, there, as in many studies - is needed to get a more rounded picture of the impact of international news transfers.

The few comparative studies conducted on the news values of local journalists in the developing

countries point to remarkable similarities (Golding, 1977). They are the values which have developed with the birth and growth of the media in the West, but obviously need some readjustments for non-Western countries. What adjustments are appropriate? How can they be achieved? Thus far, there has been little concerted attempt to answer either of these questions. There exist hardly any books written especially for the 'development journalist' in non-aligned countries. Most textbooks are from the West (IAMCR, 1988), just as most teachers of journalism are trained in the West.

News flow research also has focused chiefly on the press and television and has largely overlooked the flood of international news that is transmitted around the clock to the developing countries on shortwave radio. The relative importance of shortwave radio may be declining, worldwide, but in several developing countries it remains one of the few sources of news about the outside world, or even about the listeners' own world. The imbalance of news flows is most glaring in those places. Furthermore, broadcasting of propaganda across borders contributes to an 'information glut' and makes sifting the grain of truth from the chaff of public relations and propaganda almost impossible.

Several other aspects of the international debate on news flows have been neglected by researchers. One is the political economy of news flows. The transnational agencies sometimes claim that news gathering is an unprofitable business, but what research has been done into the truth of that claim? Another is the state of 'media professionalism' among journalists in developing countries. By what criteria should it be judged, and does it meet those criteria? Other areas which need more study include journalism ethics, dependence of correspondents on diplomats and the élite in world capitals, the ethics of transmitting irrelevant and even 'harmful' news, the role played by public relations organs of governments and multinational companies, in particular, in shaping the international news, and the advertising support provided by the transnational news agencies to the mass media of developing countries.

Research in international news flows is still in its infancy (Sepstrup, 1989). Most of the issues thrown up by the debate on the NWICO are still very much alive. The critical researcher has a vital role to play in keeping the issues alive, and more importantly in exposing the injustices and imbalances in the prevailing international communication 'system'.

ADDENDUM ON INTERNATIONAL RELIGIOUS NEWS FLOWS

By W. E. Biernatzki S.J.

Religious News Agencies

Media Development. Special issue on alternative news and information services. Vol. 28, No.1 (1981).

The 1981 special issue of *Media Development*, which contains several articles on religious news services, is now quite dated, but it remains one of the very few treatments of religious news agencies.

The international coverage of religious news from the Third World has encountered some of the same problems as those in the pattern of secular news flows. Prominent among these has been the natural tendency for the established agencies in the First World to stress news originating in their own region and of special interest to their own people, while slighting news from elsewhere. Even the most solidly-established religious agencies, however, have suffered from weak financial support which has hampered their international coverage. For example, they have had to depend for their reports from many countries on volunteer stringers, part-time reporters, who must function with poor remuneration and little or no expense money.

The German-language Catholic agency KIPA (Katholischen Presseagentur) has perhaps been foremost among religious agencies in showing an interest in research about its own audiences and effectiveness. KIPA-sponsored projects have been conducted by the Institute for Journalism of the University of Fribourg, Switzerland (e.g. Bosshart, 1989). Other agencies have conducted internal studies, for particular needs, and several have experimented with their news gathering and dissemination procedures, as well as with various forms of ecumenical and inter-religious collaboration. To a degree, these experiments may be thought of as 'research'.

One of the most innovative services is the Union of Catholic Asian News (UCAN), based in Hong Kong. UCAN's staff is more than eighty percent Asian. Its principal service has been in English, but a Chinese-language service started in 1989, with a list of subscribers consisting mostly of Chinese Catholic newspapers in East and South East Asia. In the realization that Chinese readers would be ill-served by translation of material originally in English, the service distributes text written originally in Chinese, from a Chinese cultural perspective. This experiment was so

successful that UCAN recently began to do the same thing, on a smaller scale, for its German subscribers -- with a German staffer writing the German language dispatches, not translating them (Astorino, 1990).

UCAN, which began in 1979, is also exploring possible collaboration with the proposed news service of the Christian Conference of Asia, the regional association of 'mainstream' Protestant denominations in Asia. One proposal has been for the Protestant agency to use UCAN's existing, and largely computer-connected, network to distribute its own material, thereby avoiding expensive duplication of facilities.

The largest Catholic news service in the United States, which recently changed its name from 'National Catholic News Service' to 'Catholic News Service' (CNS), was started in 1920 by the U.S. Bishops. It is self-supporting, through charges to subscribers, and receives no subsidies from the bishops, although it remains a division of the United States Catholic Conference. It maintains a strong bureau in Rome, but depends on stringers for its news from most other countries.

CNS claims to be the world's largest wire service specializing in reporting religion. It does not regard itself as part of the Church's public relations activity, but as an authoritative, though not official, service whose object is 'to present news that is full, fair, balanced and objective'. In addition to daily wire, computer-link and postal dispatches to clients in English, it offers a weekly news roundup in Spanish and publishes *Origins*, an almost-weekly documentation service providing text of important church documents, speeches, etc.

Other religious documentation services include *Documentation Catholique*, which has been functioning in Paris for more than seventy years. An English-language version, *Catholic International*, is under development. The selection of documents for these services is intended to be somewhat broader than that of *Origins*, including texts of interest to various regions throughout the world and having a somewhat more ecumenical perspective.

Various regional and national areas are served by other Catholic news services, such as SAR in South Asia, KIPA in German-speaking countries, CIP in Belgium, etc. KIPA also has a French-language service. One challenge faced by these agencies is that some potential clients feel that religious news is adequately covered by the secular news agencies. This seems especially true in French-speaking parts of Europe, where there are relatively few specifically Catholic newspapers.

Protestant services are numerous, but relatively small. They include Africa Church Information Service in Nairobi, which is planning a French service to supplement its established English language service, Asia Lutheran Press Services in Hong Kong, Evangelischer Pressedienst (EPD) in Germany, and Religious News Service, founded by the National Conference of Christians and Jews in the United States in 1933 with the stated aim of combatting religious prejudice.

Plans are developing, as of mid-1990, for the establishment of an Ecumenical News Service (ENS) sponsored by the World Council of Churches (WCC), Lutheran World Federation (LWF) and the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC). ENS would have worldwide coverage, but, if the suggestions of a preliminary study are put into effect, it would not attempt to duplicate coverage widely available elsewhere. Instead, it would offer supplementary material and a different point of view.

Overseas Religious Broadcasting

Donald R. Browne. *International Radio Broadcasting: The Limits of the Limitless Medium*. New York: Praeger, 1982, Chapter 11, 'The Voices of Faith', pp.299-317.

Robert S. Fortner. 'Saving the World? American Evangelicals and Transnational Broadcasting'. Unpublished manuscript.

Overseas commercial broadcasting was begun from the United States as early as 1923. However, there proved to be comparatively little direct commercial potential in international shortwave broadcasting, and fully commercial stations are not numerous (Browne, pp.36-37). On the other hand, several religious bodies have felt it worth their while to establish shortwave stations to help communicate their religious messages. Among these are Vatican Radio and Radio Veritas, operated and financed by the Catholic Church and broadcasting from Vatican City and the Philippines, respectively, as well as numerous Protestant stations, many of them established and funded by fundamentalist churches in the United States.

Religious broadcasters have, in fact, become the largest category of international radio broadcaster, as Fortner points out. Their total of more than 20,000 hours of programming per month surpasses all government external services. The sister Protestant networks, Far East Broadcasting Association (UK) and Far East Broadcasting Company Inc. (USA), operate transmitters in five countries and broadcast 9,000 hours per month in 106 languages, surpassing the runner-up in languages, the USSR (82 languages), and in hours second only to the Voice of America, which leads all services with 9,644 hours per month but uses only 42 languages.

Vatican Radio, initiated in February 1931, aimed chiefly to keep in touch with Catholics isolated from normal Church contacts. Programming therefore stressed talks on doctrine or spirituality and liturgical services. The first Protestant international service, HCJB, was started by the World Missionary Fellowship, a U.S. organization, on Christmas Day, 1931, from Quito, Ecuador, with a power of only 200 watts. Its goal was evangelization, as well as reinforcement of the already-converted. Much of the incentive to expand fundamentalist religious broadcasting in many languages stems from the theological, even quasi-mystical belief that radio is a God-given instrument to penetrate otherwise inaccessible areas with the Gospel, according to Fortner. News, in the accepted sense of the word, therefore, tends to take a back seat to preaching on such stations.

It was not until 1948 that the second major Protestant network, Far East Broadcasting Company (FEBC), began transmissions from Manila, first only to the Philippines, then to Mainland China, after the Communist victory made direct missionary work in China impossible. Within the next two decades religious stations multiplied rapidly, especially in Asia and Africa, many of them with powerful, state-of-the-art transmitters. By the early 1980s four of these stations ranked among the top twenty international broadcasters, in terms of number of hours broadcast per week, according to Browne (pp.299-300).

Unlike the most powerful government services, however, religious broadcasters do not usually transmit the same programme simultaneously on several wavelengths. Their signals are therefore more difficult to pick up because of variations in transmission conditions. They prefer, instead, to use as many languages as possible. Other factors also limit their reception. Shortwave receivers vary in availability and capability, and the number of receivers may, in fact, be declining in many countries, due to import limitations and to a shift

to AM, FM and TV broadcasting in countries which previously used shortwave domestically.

Unimaginative programming, often limited to sermons, also reduces religious stations' ability to compete for audience interest with other services. Also, with their mystical faith in 'the power of the word', many religious broadcasters simply translate programmes produced originally in a western language, usually English, with no attempt at cultural adaptation. Such efforts are not only irrelevant, or even unintelligible to their audiences, but may even be alienating and, in the final analysis, counter-productive, according to Fortner.

Religious shortwave stations or networks often interact closely with others of similar doctrinal persuasions and with domestic medium-wave (AM) stations operated by the same denomination or groups of denominations. In addition to their religious functions, audiences sometimes depend heavily on them for objective news coverage. Burmese, Kachin and Karen services of both Radio Veritas and FEBC seem to be major alternative sources of news, according to the mail received by those stations from Burma (Source: personal communications).

Browne notes that the news function of the

religious stations is often restricted by requirements of the governments from whose territories they broadcast. However, the domestic service of Radio Veritas, insulated to a degree from government reprisals by its religious identity, played a crucial role in the Philippine popular revolution of February 1986 (Brisbin, 1988; Gonzalez 1988, pp.40-41).

Browne feels that Vatican Radio's effectiveness has been seriously compromised by unimaginative programming and excessively rigid external control of its contents (p.307). However, he says that the other major international Catholic service, Radio Veritas, has proven to be much more liberal, even presenting objective and sympathetic programmes about non-Christian religions (p.308).

Little international broadcasting is carried out by non-Christian religious bodies, except for a few Islamic stations. However, many government stations in Islamic countries strongly supplement these specifically religious stations by heavy schedules of religious programming on their own stations. Islamic broadcasting is generally intended to reinforce the belief of the faithful, rather than to make converts (Browne, pp.309-310). The establishment of an international Islamic television news exchange network was recently proposed by Malaysia (AMCB 1990).

PERSPECTIVE

by W. E. Biernatzki S.J.

Media, Culture and Society. Special issue 'Farewell to NWICO?' Edited by Colin Sparks and Colleen Roach. Vol.12 No.3, July 1990.

'NWICO and the Democratisation of Communications: One Step Forwards, Two Steps Back'. *Media Development*. Vol.37, No.3 (1990), pp.25-37.

The two publications above appeared after our main review article had been finalized, but our survey of the study of international news flows would be instantly obsolete if we did not mention them.

The *Media Development* 'Forum' consists of a series of responses to UNESCO's November 1989 statement 'Communication in the Service of Humanity' (summarized on pp.23-24 of the same issue), which spells out UNESCO's revised stance on NWICO-related issues. Respondents are top communication specialists --generally advocates of a UNESCO-sponsored NWICO. The responses were elicited by the World Association for Christian Communication (WACC), 'In part..to renew the vision of a New World Information and Communication Order..(and) to advance the process of working out a set of common principles of inter-

national communication which should guide the NWICO debate in the 1990's.'

Sparks, Roach and their collaborators review the current state of the NWICO debate from the point of view of the critical/cultural studies perspective. They focus particularly on the concept of 'media imperialism', around which much of the debate has revolved and try to redefine and update it in the light of recent developments. They agree that redefinition has been made necessary by the development of a capitalist 'world system' in which the exercise of quasi-imperial power is no longer localized in any particular state. The editors differ about what course Third World countries should take in the face of transnational influences. Roach advocates 'delinkage', a nation isolating itself

insofar as possible from foreign influences. Sparks believes that the events of the 1980s have shown that delinkage cannot work, either for individual countries or for blocs, such as Comecon. A policy of 'communication in one country' is impossible and destructive of both the material and cultural life of 'the masses'.

Roach notes that the NWICO discussions, from the critical side, never took adequate account of the role of the élite classes in Third World countries, which might be pro-, con- or indifferent to NWICO, but whose interests are not necessarily those of the mass of the people in their countries. She also objects to the exclusion of women from any serious role in the debate, either within or outside of UNESCO.

In arguing that newsflows are still as unbalanced as ever, Roach quotes 1988 UNESCO statistics showing that the transnational news agencies far outstrip the Third World alternatives in the volume of news they transmit. In 1987, AP averaged 17,000,000 words per day, UPI 14,000,000, TASS 4,000,000, Reuters 1,500,000 and AFP 1,000,000; while IPS sent only 150,000, and the Non-Aligned News Pool only 100,000 (p.290). The proportions which represented domestic news for domestic consumption were not specified.

In his contribution to the same issue, (p.325-342). Mohammed Musa traces changes in the transnational agencies during the 1980s. Reuters has created a huge network of computerized financial data for the world's stock markets which has been highly profitable. Its news business has become insignificant, compared to this financial data service. But, at the same time, Reuters expanded its corps of journalists and the number of its offices both by twenty per cent, from 1980 to 1984, probably looking to the day when footholds in Third World countries will become bases for expanding financial services there. The agencies are producing more and more positive news of Third World countries, simply as a result of commercial forces. The Third World agencies are also tending to emulate the example of the transnationals by instituting financial services. Musa sees this subordination of news services to commercial functions as inevitably causing the deterioration of the news they transmit. It becomes mostly entertainment, without the hard content needed to give the majority of the people a firm basis for political judgement.

John Sinclair's case study (p.343-360) of Mexico's private media conglomerate Televisa highlights the complexity which increasingly characterizes the world's media organizations, both in their interaction with governments and in their competition and cooperation with each other.

* * *

Both political and technological changes have literally revolutionized the world in which news is transmitted in the decade since the NWICO debate was at its height. A small organization with worldwide contacts and fax machines can create a 'news agency' at relatively little expense which can do almost anything the transnationals could do, with their costly and cumbersome teletypes, a few short years ago. Freedom of the press has swept Eastern Europe almost overnight, opening up a whole new dimension of international news flows.

At the same time, media conglomerates have been growing, threatening to monopolize greater and greater segments of the news gathering and distribution system, television and radio, as well as the press. International news seems increasingly available, but questions are raised as to whether it is truly news, or events reported more for their entertainment value than for their social or cultural worth. Efforts to solve the 'balance' problem through Third World news 'pools' have often been ignored due simply to their lack of interesting or relevant content, as a 1983 study of the use of Non-Aligned News Pool dispatches by Indian newspapers documents (Mathur and Shrivastava, 1984).

Having been singed by the fiery debate over NWICO, UNESCO has disowned it, but Third World delegates keep trying to revive the organization's sponsorship of it. The two sides of the debate seem as far apart as ever, and the differences seem to be founded on philosophical and pragmatic positions which may, in the final analysis, be irreconcilable.

Many of the most influential NWICO advocates have been operating, as Roach points out, on Marxist, and therefore anti-capitalist assumptions (p.293). But there are practical reasons as well. The reverse side of press freedom is a limitation of state power. Those who desire centrally-planned economies may tend to see a free flow of information as not only annoying, but as a fundamental threat to the nation's economic well-being and unity.

Unlike the relatively strong and stable countries in which the ideal of press freedom developed, most Third World countries have little economic or cultural breathing space. Even dedicated and self-sacrificing national leaders feel they cannot afford the disruptive effects of a free flow of news. Furthermore, they feel the media should contribute to national unity by stressing the positive, not always trying to find faults and defects which the foreign and domestic enemies of the state could exploit. They see no reason for their media to be filled with

irrelevant information or entertainment which gives their people wants and expectations their countries can never satisfy. In states still defined by unrealistic colonial boundaries -- cutting across some traditional ethnic boundaries and lumping together groups with diverse cultures -- unity is a very real problem which national leaders expect the news media to help resolve, not exacerbate.

But the very structure of the mass media is Western. Many non-western journalists recognize, if their national leaders and academics do not, that both the technologies and the ethos of the news media grew out of western civilization. Their transfer to other civilizations has been relatively recent, and their values -- not always free from attack, even in the West -- have often clashed with both the cultures and the pragmatic needs of the developing countries.

The mystique of what constitutes the highest standards of journalism is therefore a Western product, shaped by Western history, and transferable to other civilizations only on the same problematical basis as other value-laden institutions, such as democratic government. Those who see only commercial incentives in the Western opposition to NWICO seem to overlook the powerful set of cultural values that the North Atlantic nations have come to associate with an independent press. Any meddling by government or by an intergovernmental agency, such as UNESCO, in the principles and structures governing the press is seen as threatening its independence and those values. Specific proposals advanced by some as elements of NWICO, such as the licensing of journalists, are even more alarming. Economic motives are certainly present, but only the quasi-sacred value assigned to the free press in the West can account for the intensity of the resistance to NWICO.

As the 'Fourth Estate' the press exercises an independent political function, restraining government leaders who might in the shadows of popular ignorance be able to steal the power or wealth of the people. The ideal of the journalistic profession took on an aura of sacred dedication to truth and justice. That this ideal was more honoured in the breach than in practice by too many journalists only made it shine the brighter as an ideal. This Western journalistic value has transferred successfully to non-Western cultures, as is attested to by the rising numbers of reporters and editors throughout the world who annually are jailed, attacked or killed for their dedication to it.

If the various research reports and essays we have reviewed indicate any general conclusion about international news flows it is that, in the final analysis, the responsibility for the publication of international news rests with the editors of

individual publications and radio or tv programme directors, who can either use a story or 'spike' it. They alone pick and choose among the millions of words made available daily by the news agencies, news pools or their own reporters, and they determine to a great degree whether the news which reaches their audience is 'balanced' or not. There is simply no substitute for diligence and resourcefulness, and particularly for professional integrity, among journalists at all levels, but this is most especially true of editors.

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CURRENT RESEARCH ON INTERNATIONAL NEWS FLOWS AND RELATED TOPICS

INTERNATIONAL

The convention of the International Association for Mass Communication Research (IAMCR), in Bled, Yugoslavia (August 1990), included a round-table discussion on the 'Development of Multilateral Regulatory Framework for International Communication' chaired by **Wolfgang Kleinwachter** (Institut für

Internationale Studien, Karl-Marx-Universität, 7010 Leipzig, Germany). It focussed on the role of inter-governmental organizations.

Colin Sparks (Polytechnic of Central London, 18-22 Riding House Street, London W1P 7PD, U.K.) and **Slavko Splichal** (Faculty for Sociology, Political Science and Journalism, University of Ljubljana, Kardeljeva pl 5, 61000 Ljubljana, Yugoslavia) have

summarized for the 1990 conference of the IAMCR the findings of a survey funded by UNESCO into the role of the concept of journalism as the 'Fourth Estate' in the education of journalists in 43 countries.

AUSTRALIA

Jonathan King (University of Melbourne, Parkville, Vic. 3052) has written extensively on the political economy of Visnews and UPITN/WTN and their influence in Australian television.

CANADA

Marlene Cuthbert (Dept. of Communication Studies, University of Windsor, Windsor, Ont. N9B 3P4) has published extensively on the Caribbean News Agency (CANA), and **Walter C. Soderlund**, of the same University, has been researching North American press coverage of the 1984 elections in El Salvador, Nicaragua and Grenada.

Vincent Mosco (School of Journalism, Carleton University, Ottawa, Ont K1S 5B6) has done an analysis of the Canada-US free trade agreement as it pertains to communications.

CHILE

Fernando Reyes Matta (Instituto Latinoamericano de Estudios Transnacionales (ILET), Casilla 16637, Correo 9, Santiago) has written extensively on transnational and alternative communication.

CUBA

Enrique Gonzales-Manet (University of Havana, Calle San Lázaro esq. L, Vedado, Havana 4) has written on NWICO issues, with stress on North American broadcasting to Cuba.

EGYPT

Mohamed Aly Elewainy (Faculty of Mass Communication, Cairo University, Orman, Giza, Cairo) has worked on international news flow in the Arab countries, and **Awatef El-Rahman**, of the same Faculty, has studied 'new information and communication order' in Africa.

Nadia Hassan Salem (Mass Communication Dept., National Center for Social Research, Cairo) has been studying the flow of foreign news in the Egyptian press. **Samy Tayie** (Centre for Mass Communication Research, University of Leicester, 104 Regent Road, Leicester LE1 7LT, U.K.) has carried out interviews with Egyptian editors, broadcasters and journalists to study the criteria by which they select both domestic and foreign news.

FINLAND

Kaarle Nordenstreng (Dept. of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Tampere, Box 607, 33101 Tampere) is preparing with **George Gerbner** (Annenberg School of Communications, Univ. of Pennsylvania, 3620 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, PA 19104, USA) and **Hamid Mowlana** (School of International Service, The American University, Washington, DC 20016, USA) a book with the provisional title, *The Great Global Media Debate* (Longman, forthcoming).

Terhi Rantanen (University of Helsinki, Aleksanterink, 7, 00100 Helsinki) has studied the state of dependency created by agreements between the three big international news agencies and the national agencies in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Russia is used as a case study.

Tapio Varis (Tampere Peace Research Institute, Tammelanpuistikatu 58B, SF-33100 Tampere 10) has published extensively on television news flows.

GERMANY

Jörg Becker (Martin-Luther-Str. 7, 6000 Frankfurt 1) has written extensively on flow of data and news across borders, especially those which have divided Eastern and Western Europe.

Heinz Oderman (Institute for International Relations, Otto-Nuschke-Str., 1080 Berlin) has worked on international information and communication relationships.

HONG KONG

Joseph Man Chan (Chinese University of Hong Kong, Shatin, N.T.) and **Chin-Chuan Lee** (University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN 55455, U.S.A.) have been studying the relationship between mainland China's Xinhua News Agency and the press in Hong Kong.

INDIA

J. S. Yadava (Indian Institute of Mass Communication, Shahid Jit Singh Marg, New Delhi) has conducted research on the Non-Aligned News Agency (NANA) and on foreign news coverage in Indian newspapers.

IRAN

Kazem Motamed-Nejad (Department of Social Communications, Allaneh Tabatabai University, Teheran) is interested in the historical context of 'western domination over global communications and the roots of Third World dependence'.

ISRAEL

Tamar Liebes and **Ruik Ribak** (both at Hebrew University, Faculty of Social Sciences, Mount Scopus, Jerusalem) have been investigating the causes for hostility to television among Israeli 'hardliners'. At the same University, **Akiba A. Cohen**, **Hanna Adoni** and **Hillel Nosssek** have been studying foreign television coverage of the Intifada.

ITALY

Phil Harris (Via Lero 48, I-00144 Rome) has studied the International Press Service (IPS), one of the major 'alternative' news agencies. He and **Peter Golding** (Loughborough University, Loughborough, Leicestershire, LE11 3TU, U.K.) are editing a book with the working title, *Beyond Cultural Imperialism* (Sage, forthcoming).

Paolo Mancini (University of Perugia, Piazza dell'Università, 06100 Perugia) has investigated selective reception and super-themes in the decoding of television news, using a qualitative, reception analysis approach.

KOREA (REPUBLIC OF)

Hyeon-Dew Kang (College of Social Sciences, Seoul National University, Sinlim-dong, Kwanak-gu, Seoul 151) has been studying the impact of Japanese direct satellite broadcasting on Korean culture.

MALAYSIA

Sankaran Ramanathan (School of Mass Communications, Institut Teknologi Mara, 40450 Shah Alam, Selangor) has been studying contents of ethno-linguistic categories of newspapers in Malaysia, including variations in their treatment of foreign news.

NIGERIA

Olatunji Dare (Bayero University, PMB 3011, Kano) has been studying international news flow.

Mohammad Musa (Department of Mass Communication, University of Maiduguri, PMB 1069, Maiduguri) is examining the progress of the Nigerian press and the Pan-African News agency (PANA).

Charles Okigbo (Department of Mass Communication, University of Nigeria, Nsukka, Anambra State) continues his interest in international news flows.

Mr. Soyir-Yariga (Dept of Mass Communication and Language Arts, University of Ibadan, Ibadan) is completing his doctoral dissertation on news flow and responses to news flow in the Economic Community of West African States region, with reference to government decisions, such as the expulsions of illegal aliens.

Luke Uka Uche (Dept of Mass Communication, University of Lagos, Lagos) is concerned with the role

of democratic communication in fostering a 'New Africa Information and Communication Order', in which basic telecommunication technology is seen as a prerequisite to any progress.

NORWAY

Peter Larsen (Institut for Massekommunikasjon, Fosswinckelsgt. 7, N-5007 Bergen) has been studying the increasing transborder news flow in Europe and the ways the writing of news narrative changes under international audience influence.

PERU

Rafael Roncagliolo (Centro de Estudios Sobre Cultural Transnacional (IPAL), Aptdo. Postal 270031, Lima 27) is organizing a meeting on 'NWICO issues in the 1990s', scheduled to be held in Lima in November 1990.

SPAIN

Miguel Bastenier (Escuela de Periodismo/El Pais, Madrid) chaired a round-table discussion at the International Communication Association convention (Dublin 1990) on 'Foreign Affairs Coverage and Journalism Education', participated in by journalists and journalism educators from Spain, Australia, Belgium, Denmark, France, Ireland, The Netherlands, and the U.K. He also delivered a paper at the same convention on 'Internationalization of Editorial Packages'.

SWITZERLAND

Florian H. Fleck (Institute for Economic and Social Sciences, University of Fribourg, CH-1700 Fribourg, Miséricorde) had written extensively on a variety of subjects relevant to international news and information flows, and recently had been developing a nuanced revision of the 'North-South paradigm' of power relationships as they influence communication flows.

TAIWAN

Bonnie Peng (National Chengchi University, Mucha 116, Taipei) has been studying the way Washington-based foreign correspondents report US news and also how they perceive various propositions of the NWICO.

UNITED KINGDOM

Hopeton Dunn (6a Hillside Road, Streatham Hill, London SW2 3HN) is studying the development of Caribbean media and telecommunications structures, with particular reference to the role of Cable and Wireless Ltd. and Reuters Holdings Ltd. in the region.

Peter Golding (Department of Social Sciences, Loughborough University, Loughborough, Leicestershire LE11 3TU) has conducted research on media professionalism in developing countries, and **Paul Martin**, of the same Centre, is studying the Caribbean News Agency (CANA) and the press in Jamaica.

Graham Mytton (Research Division, BBC World Service, Bush House, London WC2B 4PH), continues to conduct empirical research on the diffusion of media equipment and services worldwide.

Jeremy Tunstall (Communication Policy Research Centre, City University, Northampton Square, London EC1 OHB) has, with **Michael Palmer** (University of Paris III, 17 rue de la Sorbonne, 75231 Paris Cedex 05), recently completed a book on French and British communications and media policies (London, Blackwell, 1989), which includes an update on recent developments in Reuters and AFP.

Mallory Wober (Independent Broadcasting Authority, 70 Brompton Road, London SW3 1EY) has written several papers on how British broadcasters and audiences view the Third World.

U.S.A.

Laurien Alexandre (Dept. of Journalism, California State University at Northridge, Northridge CA 91330) has been studying the implications of Television Marti, the US propaganda station broadcasting to Cuba.

Anantha S. Babbili and **Mercedes Olivera** (Department of Journalism, Texas Christian University, Fort Worth, TX 76129) are developing a model to describe the active role of Third World nations in international communications.

Howard Frederick (PO Box 94653, Pasadena, CA 91109), has worked on contending theories of international communications.

C. Anthony Giffard (School of Communication, University of Washington, Seattle, WA 98195) is working on a study of what has been done since the start of the NWICO debate to improve communication infrastructures in the developing world and to promote the flow of information on a South-South and South-North basis. The study will include IPDC projects and also those promoted by various European governments and foundations.

Mazharul Haque (Dept. of Radio, TV and Film, University of Southern Mississippi, Southern Station, Box 5141, Hattiesburg, MS 39406-5141) has conducted research on the elite press in India.

Milda K. Hedblom (Augsburg College, 731 21st Ave. South, Minneapolis, MN 55454) has been studying mass media effects on international decision-making, with the Canada-US free trade agreement as a case-study.

Emile McAnany (School of Communication, University of Texas at Austin, Austin, TX 78712) has been involved, with other University of Texas researchers, in a series of studies of transnational television conglomerates in Europe.

Eileen Mahoney (Dept of Communications, Film and Video, City College of the City University of New York, 138th Street at Convent Ave, New York, NY 10031) has written several articles on transborder data flow as well as a book, *Managing the Third World Information Revolution: The IBI and Development Politics, 1945-1990* (Sage, forthcoming), and continues to analyze the development and implementation of a trade framework for international information flows.

Achal Mehra (Allbright College, Reading PA 19612-5234) did his doctoral research on the international information debate.

Hamid Mowlana (The American University, 4400 Massachusetts Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20016) is working on a study of the flow of television programmes from Japan to Iran.

Michael Real (San Diego State University, San Diego, CA 92182) has been investigating intercultural dimensions of transnational media events, with special reference to acculturation in connection with the Olympics, the World Cup and Hollywood media.

Jim Richstad (China School of Journalism, Beijing, China, and University of Oklahoma, 660 Parrington Oval, Norman, OK 73019) has carried out research on the flow of news and information in Asia and the Pacific.

Michael B. Salwen (University of Miami, Coral Gables, FL 33124) and **Frances Matera** (Arizona State University, Tempe, AZ 85287) have been studying the effects of coverage over time on international news agendas.

Herbert Schiller (Dept. of Communication, The Third College, University of California at San Diego, PO Box 109, La Jolla, CA 92037) continues to write extensively on the 'news flows' debate.

Mohammad A. Siddiqi (Dept. of English and Journalism, Western Illinois University, Macomb, IL 61455) is studying the present status and future directions of Muslim media.

Annabelle Sreberny-Mohammadi (Dept. of Communication Arts and Sciences, Queens College, City University of New York, Flushing, NY 11367-0904) is studying the current controversies within the UN about the role of the organization's Department of Public Information and 'how elements of the NIIO debate are contested within the UN itself'. **Colleen Roach** of the same Department is writing a book on the history of the NWICO discussions. (Sage, forthcoming) which will deal with the evolution of the news flow issue from the 1970s through the 1980s.

Robert L. Stevenson (School of Journalism, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC 27599-3365) has published extensively on the news flow debate and maintains an interest in it.

Jo Thomas (University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, Urbana, IL 61801) has been studying American news coverage of Northern Ireland.

Projects of the School of Telecommunications and Latin American Studies Program of Ohio University (Athens,

OH 45701) include an analysis by **Don Flournoy** of international news agencies to study their participation in *CNN World Report*, part of a large-scale study of that programme being conducted at that University. In the same School, **Robby Muhumuza** and **Anne Cooper Chen** have been studying U.S. television network coverage of non-aligned summit conferences from 1968 to 1989, and **Karin Sandell** and **David Ostroff** have been studying the ways international news is covered by local TV stations in Florida and Ohio. At the same university, **Veronica Kit-ying Chiu**, **Hugh Culbertson** and **Anne Cooper Chen** have carried out a study of news attribution and news channels in *The*

People's Daily and *China Daily*, two Chinese newspapers.

U.S.S.R

Yassen N. Zassoursky (Faculty of Journalism, Moscow University, Prospect Marxa, 20, Moscow, 103009) is studying international communication policies within Europe in the context of glasnost and perestroika.

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BOOKS

Trends receives many books for review, but because of the publication's topical character a considerable period may sometimes go by between the receipt of a book and the appearance of an issue of *Trends* on a topic whose treatment can appropriately include a discussion of that book. Therefore, we have decided to institute this 'Books' section, in which to announce and describe significant books which fall outside the scope of the current issue.

As with the books and articles reviewed or discussed in each issue of *Trends*, these notices will describe the book and its contents, and its usefulness to various categories of readers without overt judgements being advanced concerning the book's general merits or demerits. Once we have made them aware of the book's existence and contents interested readers can turn to other reviews for criticisms and encomiums.

W. E. Biernatzki, S.J.

Paul A. Soukup (Ed.), *Christian Communication: A Bibliographic Survey*. Bibliographies and Indexes in Religious Studies, Number 14. New York/Westport, CT/London: Greenwood Press, 1989, xiv, 400 pp. £44.95. (US\$46.50) ISBN: 0742-6836.

An annotated bibliography with 1,311 entries is preceded by an introductory chapter on 'History, Issues, Approaches', of, in and to the field of 'Christian Communication'. The bibliography is divided into sections on resources, communication theory, history, rhetoric, interpersonal communication, mass communication, intercultural communication and 'other media'. The latter includes 'material about Christian communication which uses a variety of non-mass media'. such as art, drama, dance, music, etc. Most entries are of books, articles and theses in English, although a substantial number of entries are for German and French works, with a few in Spanish and Italian. All annotations are in English. Coverage seems strong through 1986, with some 1987 and 1988 copyright dates.

Eleanor Blum and Francis Goins Wilhoit, *Mass Media Bibliography: An Annotated Guide to Books and Journals for Research and Reference*. Urbana and

Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990, vii, 344 pp. US\$49.95. ISBN: 0-252-01706-4

An annotated bibliography with 1,947 entries on all aspects of the mass media. It includes books published in English before 1987, as well as a section on journals. Classifications include general communications, broadcasting media, print media, film, advertising and public relations, bibliographies, directories and handbooks, journals and indexes to the mass communication literature. Annotations are thorough.

H. J. Hsia, *Mass Communications Research Methods: A Step-By-Step Approach*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1988, xiii, 629 pp. ISBN: 0-89859-914-8.

A systematic introduction to empirical research methodology. The author regards communication studies as a science demanding public procedures, precise definitions, objective data-collecting, replicability of findings, a systematic and cumulative approach, with the purposes of explanation, understanding and prediction (p.26). The seven major divisions of the book deal with communication research and research organization, survey research, experimental research, historical and other qualitative research plus secondary research, statistics, computers and data processing, and the writing and dissemination of findings. The book would be useful for anyone without a research background trying to understand what empirical research is all about, as well as beginning professionals in research.

Stephen R. MacKinnon and Oris Friesen, *China Reporting: An Oral History of American Journalism in the 1930s and 1940s*. Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1990 (1987), xxx, 230 pp. US\$10.95 paper. ISBN: 0-520-06967-6.

Newsgathering in China between 1930 and the fall of the Nationalist regime on the mainland, in 1949, both reflected ideological differences and became so intertwined with them that American political decisions were heavily influenced by the journalists while U. S. reporting was deeply divided on ideological lines. This book, now in paperback, was the outgrowth of a unique conference in 1982, which brought together many of the surviving journalists who had 'covered' China in the 1930s and 40s to discuss their experiences from the perspective of forty years. More moderate representatives of both the 'China Lobby' and the victims of McCarthyism were present and able to discuss, with relatively cool hindsight, what had been an emotional and traumatic time for all. The authors intersperse 'oral history' contributions of the participants with their own explanations, to provide background and continu-

ity. While much of the material is anecdotal, the book offers many insights into the pitfalls and realities of overseas reporting and misreporting. The reporters were 'used' by Nationalist, Communist and US officials, while 'using' them, in return, in a complex tangle of relationships.

COMMUNICATION RESEARCH TRENDS - Published four times a year by the Centre for the Study of Communication and Culture ISSN 0144-4646

Publisher: Kevin F. Kersten, S.J.

Editor: William E. Biernatzki, S.J.

Assistant Editor: Maria Way

Subscription:

Annual Subscription 1 Volume US\$18.00 (UK£11.00)

Student 1 Volume US\$12.00 (UK£ 7.50)

Complete set of back

issues and Vol.11 Set US\$28.00 (UK£16.00)

Payment in US\$, UK£, International Money Order or Giro Transfer 52 596 0805

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221 Goldhurst Terrace, FAX NO: 071-372-1193

London NW6 3EP, England. TEL NO: 071-328-2868

E-Mail address (BITNET): UTAD001@MVS.ULCC.AC.UK

Typesetting by ULCC Typesetting London

Printing by Roebuck Press, Mitcham, Surrey.

The CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF COMMUNICATION AND CULTURE is an international service for communication research established by the Jesuits in 1977.

Director: Kevin F. Kersten, S.J. **Documentalist:** Stuart Way

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