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Training Third World Journalists

A Case Study by John D. Garner

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United States Department of State
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TRAINING THIRD WORLD JOURNALISTS
-- The U.S. Response to the New
World Information Order

A Case Study

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John D. Garner

Twenty-Seventh Executive Seminar

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DEVELOPING
TRAINING THIRD WORLD JOURNALISTS

-- The U.S. Response to the New
World Information Order

SUMMARY

In recent years the majority of developing countries have been pressing for a better "balance" in international news reporting and for more, and more favorable, coverage of their affairs. They point out that a small number of Western countries provide most of the world's news coverage, and that too often this coverage results in a negative image of their countries. The West, led by the United States, has denied these charges, countering that there has been an increase in the volume of news from the Third World and more reporting on economic and social developments. This view is generally borne out by various studies on the subject. The more radical members of the Third World would redress this perceived imbalance by imposing strict controls on Western journalists and news gathering agencies. But most Third World spokesmen emphasize developing their own communication infrastructures and improving their training and research capabilities.

The United States recognizes the existence of an information and communications imbalance and supports increased training and technology transfer to the Third World but has consistently refused to compromise on First Amendment and free market values that it believes are threatened by the debate on the New World Information Order (NWIO). The United States proposed creation of the International Program for the Development of Communication to respond to Third World demands and has provided some funding for the IPDC. With integration of the IPDC into UNESCO and the increasing politicization of its programs, United States support has dwindled.

Private American media, led by the World Press Freedom Committee, have been very active in defending freedom of the press in the NWIO debate. New independent organizations in the United States have been formed to provide training and material support for the developing countries. The USG has expanded its assistance programs in the field of communications, primarily through the United States Information Agency. Most of the USG's foreign economic assistance programs are devoted to addressing basic human needs, and little direct funding is provided for communication development.

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Recommendations call for bypassing the IPDC in providing assistance to communication projects in developing countries, specifying greater amounts of foreign aid for direct communications programs in the Third World, maintaining and expanding USG funding for the United States Telecommunications Training Institute, and greater support from private United States media.

John D. Garner
April 1985

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INTRODUCTION

The Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries in Algiers in 1973 is generally recognized as giving birth to the New World Information Order. Resolutions were passed calling upon member countries to reorganize "...existing communication channels which are the legacy of the colonial past, and which have hampered free, direct and fast communications among them (and to) ...initiate joint action for the revision of existing multilateral agreements with a view to reviewing press cable rates and facilitating faster and cheaper intercommunications."^{1/}

A short time after this meeting the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) became the forum for demands for establishment of a "New International Information Order".^{2/} On a Soviet Initiative, UNESCO's 1976 General Conference called for the drafting of a Declaration on the principles that should guide the mass media in strengthening peace and combating "war propaganda, racialism and apartheid".^{3/} Successive drafts proved highly unacceptable to the United States and most other Western

^{1/} Singham, A.W. and Tran Van Dinh (eds.). From Bandung to Colombo. (New York: Third Press Review Book, 1976), pp. 163-164.

^{2/} The debate has been known variously as the New International Information Order (NIIO), the New International Economic and Information Order (NIEIO), the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) and the New World Information Order (NWIO). I have selected the latter terminology for this report.

^{3/} UNESCO. "Draft Declaration on Fundamental Principles Governing the Use of the Mass Media in Strengthening Peace and International Understanding and in Combating War Propaganda, Racism and Apartheid." 19th Session, Nairobi, July 1, 1976.

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nations, but a modified version was finally endorsed at UNESCO's 1978 Conference that removed all references to governmental interference in the free flow of news.

The 1978 resolution, generally known under the rubric of the New World Information Order (NWIO), called for "...the establishment of a new equilibrium and greater reciprocity in the flow of information...it is necessary to correct the inequalities in the flow of information to and from developing countries...It is for the international community to contribute to the creation of conditions for a free flow and wider and more balanced dissemination of information...UNESCO is well placed to make a valuable contribution in this respect."^{4/}

Since then much ink has been spilled over just what this declaration aims to achieve and how UNESCO should help bring it about. Third World countries generally accept the notion that it means that information-rich countries ought to help information-poor countries to build their own national media systems, and that developing countries can attain eventual parity by restricting the operations on their soil of the so-called transnational corporations in the information field--Western news agencies, newspapers and magazines, television and motion picture companies, and producers of computers, data-processing and telecommunications equipment.. The United States has led the Western response to this initiative that it considers a frontal assault on the free flow of information. This response, in general, would focus on improving and expanding the news and information capacities of

^{4/} UNESCO General Conference Resolution 4/9.3/2 (20th Session 1978).

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the Third World without necessarily reducing or circumscribing the existing news systems of the developing world. It would concentrate on upgrading the technical means by which news is reported and distributed and avoid regulating the content of news.

Because a study of the length and scope of this paper cannot possibly cover all aspects of this subject, I have focussed on summarizing the debate and outlining what the United States is doing to train Third World journalists and media specialists, and its actions to improve the technological capabilities of the Third World.

WHAT THE THIRD WORLD WANTS

"(The present structure of world communications) preserves old colonial principles. The developed countries retain the power to control the flow of news, not only among themselves, but also between developing and developed countries and sometimes within the Third World too. Until a few years ago, Reuters decided what the people of Guyana knew and thought about events in Trinidad, a mere 350 miles away...the Third World's voice is not heard outside our own countries, or only in distorted form...Surveys have shown that the ratio of news from the developed and the developing countries in major United States dailies is 11 to 1 in favor of the industrial world. About a quarter of all news from

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the Third World was about violence, disasters and negative things, whereas the equivalent figure for the developed countries was under 10 percent."

-- Frank Campbell
Information Minister of Guyana.^{5/}

While many in the Third World would agree with the Minister's claims on the flow of news, his assertions have been challenged in several studies. The noted communications scholar Wilbur Schramm studied Asian newspapers and radio stations, concluding that in general their editors received from Western wire services far more stories--and far more positive stories--on developing countries than they in fact chose to publish.^{6/} Even a study funded by UNESCO concluded that Third World government news agencies, not the Western news agencies, are primarily responsible for the news reported from the Third World.^{7/}

This latter study found that Third World government news agencies--and there are about 105 countries that have news agencies--choose voluntarily to supply their media

^{5/} Quoted in "The Debate Sharpens on a New World Information Order." New York Times, February 15, 1985.

^{6/} Schramm, Wilbur and Ann Boon Haw. "International News Wires and Third World News in Asia." Paper presented at the Conference on "The International News Media and the Developing World," April 2-5, 1978, Cairo.

^{7/} Stevenson, Robert L., Richard R. Cole and Donald L. Shaw. "Patterns of World News Coverage: A look at the UNESCO Debate on the 'New World Information Order'." UNESCO, 1981."

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with Western news agency reports rather than other non-Western sources because these are usually more current, less ideological, and better written. This same study found that many of the charges by some of the most outspoken Third World leaders are not based on the facts. The study found that 40 to 50 percent of the news published and broadcast in each of the regions of the Third World comes from that region, while only 20 to 25 percent is likely to come from Western Europe and even less from North America. Least reported in Third World media is news from the Second World and from other regions of the Third World. News reports of negative topics are much less common than political, economic, military news and sports. Most news reports, supplied by the Western news agencies, lack any discernible political orientation. Value-laden words like "terrorist" or "liberator" are often added by the government news agencies before distribution to the media.

Nonetheless, some Third World leaders have persisted in their belief that Western nations use their superior media capabilities to perpetuate the backward image of the Third World. They argue too little news about developing countries appears in the Western media, and that the news that does appear focuses on their countries' problems rather than on their progress. They also claim that because many Third World nations are not otherwise known in the West, negative portrayal by the Western media has a negative impact on the rest of the World's perception of their countries and on their national identities.

If there is disagreement on Third World treatment in the Western media or on Third World dependence on the four major international wire services, there is little disagreement that the Third World lacks necessary communications infrastructures. With few exceptions, international communications systems in most developing countries have

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progressed little since independence and many of them are just holding their own. Third World leaders recognize the importance of communications in their social, cultural and economic development schemes and each development plan produced in the last quarter century has placed great emphasis on the role of communications.

Some Third World spokesmen argue that rather than seeking to control the Western media they should develop their own media capabilities. They seek help in developing facilities for producing, receiving and disseminating messages, strengthening telecommunications networks and creating data storage systems. They want a more equitable distribution of radio bandwidths, a greater share of the geostationary orbit for satellites, changes in telecommunications tariff structures, and easier access to scientific and technical information. The West has generally agreed with these objectives but has not developed a coordinated strategy to address the Third World's concerns.

A third area of concern where both the West and the Third World have come to general agreement is on the need to improve training and research capabilities. Third World countries are handicapped by a shortage of skilled manpower, training institutions and funds to train the personnel required not only to manage and maintain facilities but to produce and distribute messages and programs. Few in the West could argue with this need. Reporting on a month-long training trip to Senegal, Liberia, Tanzania and Kenya for the World Press Freedom Committee (WPFC), Albert E. Fitzpatrick, assistant editor of the Akron Beacon Journal, wrote that:

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"There is a dire need for equipment, supplies and training. The newsrooms I visited were generally filled with people but contained very little equipment. Many are still using manual typewriters which are in disrepair and few in numbers. At some newspapers, reporters have to wait in line to write their stories because of the shortage of typewriters. The newspapers that have production departments are generally operating with equipment that became obsolete in our newsrooms 20 years ago. The equipment not only is shoddy, but much of it doesn't function because of lack of parts. It is amazing to me that many of the editors are able to produce a newspaper. Most of the newspapers are of poor quality."^{8/}

THE DEBATE

With the adoption of the NWIO resolution in 1978, UNESCO Director General Amadou Mahtar M'Bow commissioned former Irish Foreign Minister Sean MacBride, recipient of the Nobel and Lenin peace prizes, to head the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems. MacBride's task was to "review all the problems of communication in contemporary society." The MacBride commission report, issued in 1980, placed greatest emphasis on every nation developing a comprehensive national communication system to foster common goals. Controlling the arms race, eliminating inequality,

^{8/} Letter from Albert E. Fitzpatrick to George Beebe, Vice Chairman/Projects, World Press Freedom Committee, Feb. 22, 1984. What Fitzpatrick describes is not atypical; if anything, his report is notable for what he doesn't say. For an interesting and not inaccurate account of contemporary conditions in the African media, see David Lamb, The Africans.

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promoting democracy, and improving human rights were given as goals that could be achieved by balanced communication systems. The report recommended that every nation establish a national news agency, national book production facilities, a national broadcasting network and national training facilities for personnel. Such a structure, it was believed, would lessen reliance on foreign information sources.^{9/} Although the MacBride report generated much debate at the 1980 UNESCO General Conference, none of its recommendations was adopted by UNESCO, and, as is often the case in UNESCO debates, the final resolution called for widespread dissemination of the report for further study and reflection.

The 1980 Belgrade conference proved one of the more controversial in recent UNESCO history. Over strong Western protests, studies were commissioned on journalists. On a more positive note, the Conference passed by consensus a resolution establishing an International Program for Development of Communication (IPDC). The IPDC was basically a United States creation, first proposed by U.S. Ambassador John Reinhardt at the 1978 General Conference as a follow through on U.S. promises made to provide assistance in 1976. The United States saw the IPDC as serving as an international clearing-house of information about communications development. Specifically, it would help in the development of infrastructures, provide professional training and transfer equipment and technologies.^{10/} More on this later.

^{9/} International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems (MacBride Commission). Many Voices, One World. Paris: UNESCO, 1980.

^{10/} Harley, William G. "The U.S. Stake in the IPDC." Journal of Communication, Autumn 1981.

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UNESCO fueled the debate by sponsoring a quickly-convened conference which discussed the possibility of forming a commission for the protection of journalists in February of 1981. One of the commission's functions would be to issue identification cards to journalists, allegedly to protect them while in dangerous areas. In addition, some delegates called for the establishment of a committee to promulgate ethical rules and regulations governing the journalistic profession. The most controversial of the measures would enable the committee to determine whether journalists were acting in the legitimate exercise of their profession. The radicals nearly succeeded in adopting a proposal that called for the revocation of a journalist's identity card if he did not abide by the committee's ethical standards. The West, led by the United States media, reacted vigorously and strongly objected to the issuance of identification cards and related measures which they feared would be used to restrict journalists' movements and the rightful practice of their profession. After much heated debate the matter was tabled.^{11/}

This debate was probably the most acrimonious since the issue was raised within UNESCO. From the West's point of view it had one highly salutary effect. Three months later, print and media leaders from 21 Western nations convened in France and issued the "Declaration of Talloires." This document set forth the "principles to which an independent news media subscribes, and on which it will never compromise" in the pursuit of balanced and free international communication. The declaration called on UNESCO to abandon attempts to regulate global communication and pledged to expand the "free flow of

^{11/} Charles Krauthammer. "Brave News World: Censorship is Freedom, Licensing is Protecting." New Republic, March 14, 1981.

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information worldwide" and to continue developmental assistance to Third World media.^{12/}

Despite all the years of debates, UNESCO has been unable to define exactly what it means by the NWIO. The most recent attempts were made in United Nations General Assembly debates in July 1984. Dana Bullen, writing in the World Press Freedom Committee's Newsletter of August 3, 1984, caught the flavor of attempts to define the NWIO:

"Should it be 'free flow' or 'free circulation' of information? Is it just 'information' that's important? Western countries asked support for 'access to diverse sources of information within and beyond...national frontiers.' The Soviet bloc called for 'elaboration, through the United Nations, of principles and rules of international activities of the mass media' in various areas. And so on. Finally, it all came unstuck. The whole debate was shelved until fall. No resolution was approved."

While the immediate threat to impose insufferable controls and working conditions on journalists appears to have lessened somewhat in UNESCO debates since 1981, the WFC has cautioned its members to remain vigilant. Again Dana Bullen, writing in the WFC's Newsletter of August 3, 1984, called attention to numerous code-word programs that remain in use in UNESCO debates.

^{12/} "The Declaration of Talloires." Statement adopted by leaders of independent news organizations from 21 nations at the Voices of Freedom Conference at Talloires, France, May 15-17, 1981.

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"Codes of conduct, if made mandatory, would strip journalists of their independence. Safety of journalists, as in the past, has been used as a cover for schemes to license them. A right to communicate, as developed at the last UNESCO meeting on this, would give governments broad license to intrude on media operations. Participation in media management was the excuse used in Peru by a former military government to confiscate privately owned newspapers. In some places, responsibility of journalists means following a story wherever it goes. In other places it means dropping a story the instant it seems to be going in the 'wrong' direction."

The most significant development in the NWIO debate in the past year has been the withdrawal of the United States from UNESCO, formalized in December 1984. The Department of State has maintained that the NWIO debate was not the major reason for United States withdrawal, although it was one of the principal concerns. State cites a whole litany of complaints about UNESCO over its programs, basic orientation, budget growth, and its general anti-Western tone.^{13/}

As might be expected there is division among American media about whether withdrawal was the right course. Some media leaders argue privately that the United States absence will have little impact on the future course of the debate

^{13/} "The U.S. Decision to Withdraw from UNESCO." Memorandum prepared by William G. Harley, Communications Consultant, U.S. Department of State, February 9, 1984 (updated in April 1984).

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since it was they, the media, who carried the brunt of the West's defense for the last several years, and will continue to do so in the future. Indeed, the WPFC, probably the most energetic and articulate defender of the media, will continue to send observers to UNESCO meetings with the right to speak from the floor. And it is expected that traditional allies such as Great Britain, Canada, West Germany and Holland will continue to defend Western interests within UNESCO, although the British have announced that they may be withdrawing from UNESCO soon.

Leonard Marks, former director of USIA, Treasurer of the WPFC and a frequent negotiator for the United States in international communications conferences, has opposed withdrawal from any international forum. "If you can't get your views across, you forfeit the debate." George Kroloff, a former executive with the Washington Post, argues that to be effective one must be an active participant in the debate. He is reluctant to leave the field to others. "Unfortunately, some crucial allies such as the United Kingdom certainly have a narrower view of freedom of the press than do, say, Washington Post editors. West German Government officials who sharply limit television commercials certainly have a view about the role of advertising in society that is very different from the ideas of a Proctor and Gamble or Interpublic CEO...the communications interests of the United States are many degrees away from where virtually all UNESCO member nations' policies are centered."^{14/}

^{14/} Journal of Communication, Autumn 1984, p. 132-134.

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THE U.S. RESPONSE

Starting with the initial debates in the 1970s, the American position has consistently defended First Amendment and free market values and has rejected efforts to restrict the free flow of information under cover of a new world information order. It has maintained that any effort to erect barriers to press freedom or the free flow of information would be a direct violation of the UNESCO constitution, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Helsinki Agreement. Beyond defending fundamental Western values, the United States has attempted to respond to what it agrees are some of the legitimate Third World concerns. The main thrust of this response has centered on training journalists and providing technological help.

What follows is a review of the government and private sector programs designed to address the NWIO. This review does not include traditional programs such as the Neiman Fellowships at Harvard which have been underway for many years or relatively small ad hoc exchanges that involve only one or two persons or relatively small sums of money. The emphasis is on what's new in the past few years, and what is designed for the Third World.

The International Program for the Development
of Communication

As noted previously the IPDC is basically a United States creation. It was designed to provide Third World nations with technology, research capabilities and training, to establish their own communications infrastructures as the most effective way for these countries to participate in the communication process. The United States also had some ideas of what the IPDC should not be. There was

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great concern that the IPDC not become a forum for political rhetoric nor allow its grant programs to be used for indoctrinating Third World audiences with any particular brand of political orthodoxy. In particular, there was fear that the Third World might use the IPDC as a springboard for initiating programs to establish a code of journalistic ethics, measures for protection or licensing of journalists, or worse.

But the father has had a rocky relationship with its new offspring. The United States was opposed to placing the IPDC within UNESCO but eventually gave in to Third World demands. The second major source of friction was funding. The Third World pushed for mandatory contributions from each United Nations member but this was eventually dropped in face of stiff United States resistance. Because of its displeasure with IPDC modalities, the United States withheld any financial contribution to the IPDC until December 1982 when it offered a qualified contribution of \$450,000, to be spent only for IPDC projects that the United States approved. Since this initial funding the United States has provided an additional \$800,000 through USIA and AID, much of it for training in the United States.

In the last three years the IPDC has parcelled out several million dollars in grants to institutions and governments throughout the Third World. Funds have gone to the Pan-African News Agency, the Kenya Institute of Mass Communications, rural television in Sudan, the Madagascar National News Agency, the Asia Pacific Institute for Broadcasting Development, a training center for graphic design in Latin America, and so on. As the WPFC had feared, little funding has gone to non-governmental media. An exception was a \$14,000 grant--of \$228,000 requested--to the independent newspaper The Examiner of Botswana. Projects that appear likely candidates for

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independent Western funding get low rankings at IPDC where those that stand little chance of Western help are high ranked.

The rhetoric of the NWIO debates appears to have assumed a strong position in the IPDC. The Soviets have pushed hard to forbid bilateral assistance within the IPDC context, arguing that UNESCO would lose control over the projects. This issue still has not been resolved. Some projects aided promote some of the very causes that led the U.S. to withdraw from UNESCO. One of the Pan-African News Agency's stated goals is to oppose Zionism. Mexico sought \$99,000 to conduct a series of seminars to teach Latin American journalists how to apply the principles of the NWIO in their daily work. Although this request was not approved by the IPDC, Director-General M'Bow indicated he would seek the funding from UNESCO's general budget.

The World Press Freedom Committee

Founded in 1976 in response to the NWIO debates, the WPFC groups 31 journalistic organizations under its banner, including several non-American. It is privately financed by media contributions. The WPFC maintains a permanent "watchdog" consultant in Paris to monitor UNESCO developments, and the organization sends strong delegations to all UNESCO and other international meetings where the NWIO is discussed or where free press values are threatened. The WPFC was the convener of the aforementioned meeting in France which resulted in the Declaration of Talloires.

The WPFC conducts an active program for Third World media of training, seminars, workshops and in providing technicians and serving as a clearinghouse for equipment transfers. Since 1977 the WPFC has made over 70 grants worth over \$700,000 in its program to help the media and journalism schools of the

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developing world. It has published a first-ever handbook for Caribbean journalists.

Although the WPFC is inadequately funded to provide the kind of help to the Third World that it would like, its primary importance lies in its role as the chief and most articulate defender of the free press.

The Edward R. Murrow Center of Public Diplomacy

Established in 1965 as an integral part of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, the Center's activities focus on teaching, research, publication and conferences in world communications. In recent years the Center has been particularly active in NWIO issues and has sponsored a number of international conferences on subjects such as "The Third World and Press Freedom," the "International News Agencies and the Developing World," and the "Feasibility of a North/South News Agency." In conjunction with the WPFC, it funded and published "The List of Talloires," an inventory of media training programs now underway throughout the non-Communist world. The Center is the coordinator of a program initiated in 1984 by the American Society of Newspaper Editors to bring 12 Third World journalists to the United States for short internships on American newspapers.

Alfred Friendly Press Fellowships

The AFPF, launched in 1984 to honor the memory of the late managing editor of the Washington Post, brings about ten Third World journalists to the United States for six-month programs that emphasize actual work experience on American newspapers and a short series of practical discussions on the values and problems of the press in the United States. Grantees are

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expected to work as reporters for the host newspaper and may send articles and stories for publication in their home countries. Newspapers participating in the program range in size from the Washington Post and the Baltimore Sun to the Riverside (California) Press-Enterprise and the Watertown (New York) Daily Times. The program is fully funded by the Alfred Friendly Foundation and participating newspapers. It is administered by the International Institute of Education.

The Center for Foreign Journalists

The newest entrant in the field, the CFJ will be the first institution in the United States devoted exclusively to training, orientation and resource assistance for journalists from the Third World. The CFJ will offer three basic services: seminars and workshops for foreign journalists on media subjects ranging from basic reporting/writing/editing skills to modern management systems; access to the Center's information data-base on programs, facilities, equipment and textual material on the media; and training for American journalists to prepare for teaching journalism in the developing world. The Center will not bring journalists to the United States but will work with those already here. The CFJ, which is sponsored by United States media and other private institutions, plans to open its doors in the summer of 1985. It will be housed in premises of the American Press Institute in Reston, Virginia.

The United States Telecommunications
Training Institute

A laudable USG-private sector initiative in response to the NWIO has been the creation of the USTTI, in September-1982, to share advances in telecommunications technology with

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developing countries. Through USTTI, major American telecommunications corporations, in cooperation with the USG, offer free technical and managerial training in telecommunications to participants from the Third World. Sending countries are requested to provide travel and per diem expenses. Recognizing that even this small amount is difficult for many developing countries, USTTI is seeking supplemental funding to ensure that qualified personnel from all countries are able to participate in the program. Major funding to date has been provided by USIA, AID, UNESCO's IPDC, the International Telecommunication Union, Organization of American States, and the World bank.

During its first two years in operation, USTTI has trained over 370 telecommunications professionals from 71 developing countries. Courses cover such areas as microwave transmission, digital technology, spectrum management and computers in telecommunications. This year plans call for doubling both courses offered and training slots to 400. USTTI has successfully enlisted an impressive array of United States corporations who train participants at their own facilities throughout the United States.

United States Information Agency

As the major United States Government agency for conducting international information and exchange activities, USIA has a long tradition of supporting communications development in the Third World. Almost from its inception in 1948 with the mission to "increase mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of other countries," USIA overseas posts have worked with local media to provide training opportunities and to improve technical capabilities. While many USIA activities are essentially

designed to promote mutual understanding, they also serve to transfer knowledge, skills and technology in a number of fields, including communications.

While United States Information Service posts have traditionally worked with the media and key host country communicators in a broad range of programs, it was not until the mid-1970s that emphasis was placed on "the free flow of information" by incorporating this theme in Country Plan instructions. Most USIS posts in the developing world have responded with programs that offer direct assistance to the development of communications and that explain American principles and practices in the field of international communications.

As part of its exchanges programs, USIA brings upward of 800 foreign communication specialists to the United States each year to attend seminars and workshops, meet with American colleagues and observe American society and its media environment at close range. These visits usually range between two and four weeks. Of the more than 300,000 foreign students who attend American universities annually, about 3,000 are majoring in communications. About 100 of these are here under USIA auspices, preparing for graduate degrees in communications and library sciences.

In 1983, USIA initiated a year-long fellowship for Third World junior-level working journalists in cooperation with the Louisiana State University Graduate School of Journalism. The Program includes academic course work at LSU, seminars and conferences, visits to various media in the state, and orientation trips to Washington and New York. Four Latin Americans were awarded grants in the inaugural year and four African journalists were selected for the 1984-85 academic year.

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Probably the most significant new development by USIA in this area has been the launching of training programs at the Voice of America (VOA). For over a quarter of a century USIA officers have envied the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and its highly effective training program for Third World broadcasters. The BBC provides courses for both radio and television personnel from one week to several months. Subjects range from writing, editing, voicing and interviewing to management and administration for radio and TV officials. Training is conducted at the BBC headquarters in London with both "hands on" and classroom instruction. Faculty is drawn from the BBC staff and from outside. A regular calendar of courses is published. BBC staffers also visit developing countries as consultants on various aspects of radio and TV.

Many advantages accrue to both the BBC and the Third World radio stations. The trainees get a much needed upgrading of skills and the BBC establishes an "old boy" network throughout the English-speaking Third World - a network with a natural preference for the BBC over all other international broadcasters, and which facilitates BBC correspondents in gathering and transmitting news stories.

With the exception of an occasional ad hoc program here and there, VOA has left the training field to the British, French, West Germans, Dutch and others. VOA's first tentative steps in this direction came in 1983 when it initiated a three-part training program for Liberia, which hosts one of VOA's important relay stations. The program was started in 1983 with six Liberian mid-level broadcasters coming to Washington for a 90-day course at the VOA. Phase two sent a

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full-time American instructor to Liberia to train radio technicians at the relay station. Phase three was completed last summer with an eight-week course for 49 Liberian radio personnel that was led by a VOA professional.

In 1984, VOA started a six-week training program for Third World graduate students currently attending American universities. The curriculum consists of advanced reporting techniques, advanced broadcast writing, broadcast production techniques, developmental communication, and politics and government in Washington. In addition to the training at VOA, the nine students in this pilot project completed news and production assignments and produced news and feature programs for radio stations in their home countries. VOA plans to offer the fellowship program to 50 students this summer.

In addition to these programs, VOA conducted a two-week workshop in Washington in late 1984 for Caribbean broadcasters, and sent a VOA team to conduct travelling workshops on three Caribbean islands for teachers of broadcasting, journalism and communications in early 1985. Encouraged by these early efforts and a strong commendation by the United States Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy to do more, VOA is establishing a Third World training staff with beefed up personnel and funding.

United States Agency for International Development

AID is the principal United States Government agency for foreign economic assistance programs. Yet of the billions of dollars that AID dispenses yearly to the developing world little is devoted specifically to communications development. AID has its own priorities. These are almost exclusively

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focussed on basic human needs, particularly of the rural poor. Where AID does provide communication help is in strengthening existing communications infrastructure to further development in agriculture, rural development, nutrition, population planning, health and education.

In going through the AID budget it is difficult to sort out specific examples of AID communication assistance. AID maintains that about \$91 million was allocated for communications-related projects in fiscal year 1982 and that these funds went to more than 40 developing countries. Some examples provided by AID include an AID-developed radio mathematics curriculum for primary schools in regions as disparate as Central America and Thailand. A system for second-language teaching of English by radio is under development in Kenya. A radio program in the Dominican Republic is bringing the whole of primary education to remote communities. In Peru, remote rural communities are being integrated into the national economic system through satellite earth stations and two-way radio networks supplied by AID.

In conjunction with the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, AID Has developed a solar power source for satellite earth stations that will be tested next year, together with a prototype small earth station. The earth station is a new design, created specially for local assembly, which will provide thin-route two-way telephone and data communications through INTELSAT satellites. AID also is supporting the investigation of ultra-low-cost, simple small television receivers for local manufacture. An AID newsletter, Development Communication Report, links a network of 4,500 developing country professionals, as does a newsletter on

satellite communications, Uplink. Films and videotapes on key projects have been developed and are made available worldwide.^{15/}

CONCLUSIONS

The debate on the NWIO will continue but without an official United States presence. This is not an insurmountable handicap since the party with the most to lose--the United States media--has repeatedly demonstrated its ability to defend its interests with skill and determination, and has committed itself to a continuing presence. And, as always, there is division in the Third World over how hard or how far it should push the West. A good number of Third World countries want exactly what they say they want which is more help in training their people and in developing their communications infrastructures. They do not necessarily advocate more control and uniformity in the media. It is interesting to note that some of the more vigorous defenders of a free press have come from the Third World press. Meeting in New Delhi in 1983, journalists from non-aligned countries called for expanding press freedom in their countries, a concept that many had opposed a decade ago. More democratic freedoms, not fewer, were stressed as an essential condition for achieving a more balanced flow of information.^{16/}

^{15/} For a complete report on AID activity in this area see Annex 3--"AID and Development Communications"--in U.S. Development Communications Assistance Programs. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of State, January 1985).

^{16/} Colin Legum. "Third-World Journalists Advocate More Press Freedom in Their Own Countries." Christian Science Monitor, December 20, 1983.

There are a number of actions which the United States can take to influence the outcome and to address some of the Third World's demands which are legitimate and which do merit redressment. We often overlook the fact that the Associated Press was founded in large part to overcome perceived biases in international communication that was then dominated by Reuters and the forerunner of Agence France-Presse. Kent Cooper, an early manager of AP who crusaded for breakup of the cartel and its control of all news flowing in and out of the United States, described the situation as follows: "So Reuters decided what news was to be sent from America. It told the world about Indians on the warpath in the West...The charge for decades was that nothing creditable to America was ever sent..."^{17/}

The United States possesses the world's greatest reservoir of human and technical expertise in media and communications, and even in times of international and domestic hardship, American assistance is still of enormous significance to many developing countries. Although we publicly talk a "good game" about what we have done to help the Third World since the debate got underway, our assistance has been mostly that--talk.

Recognizing the importance of the debate and the need to develop a coordinated U.S. response, the National Security Council commissioned a study to determine the U.S. position in late 1984. The resulting report arrived at a number of recommendations that can be grouped in three parts: 1) raising the issue to strategic priority status within the Administration with an attendant increase in resources devoted to development communications, 2) increasing USG-private sector

^{17/} Quoted in "News Flow Around the World: Unequal Give and Take?" UNESCO Features. No. 716, 1977.

cooperation in this area, and 3) working within multilateral organizations for increased assistance in this area and for "affordable" communications for all areas of the world.^{18/}

These recommendations certainly make sense and are long overdue. But until communications issues are given the broad and higher priority concern that they merit, there are a number of measures that could be taken now that would have significant impact on the debate and give the United States a stronger voice in future developments.

Given its present direction there is little reason for the United States to provide additional investment in the IPDC. It has a poor track record and the atmosphere has been poisoned by the injection of the worst aspects of the NWIO debate. This does not mean the United States should discontinue support for worthy communications development projects. To the contrary, we can gain leverage in the Third World by providing direct assistance even to those projects that fall within the IPDC framework. It is highly unlikely that meaningful United States aid will be refused simply because it was not funneled through UNESCO.

AID, as the largest provider of American overseas assistance, should find ways to devote more of its vast resources to communications development that goes beyond rural health delivery systems, increasing food production, and education. There was a time when AID invested in training communication workers and developing communication infrastructures. Few could argue that the Third World needy would not benefit from well thought through projects in this direction.

^{18/} U.S. Development Communications Assistance Programs.
(Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of State, January 1955.)

The USTTI should not be allowed to wither on the vine. Much of the United States' funds pledged to the IPDC actually went to the USTTI for its innovative and effective training programs. With debate on the United States budget deficit intensifying, there are indications that funds previously allocated to the UNESCO programs will not be retained for bilateral dispersal as the Administration had originally announced. After only three years of operation there are signs that "graduates" of the USTTI program are assuming roles as members of Third World delegations to meetings of the World Administrative Radio Conference, which allocates radio frequencies necessary to maritime communications, airline communications, space activities, radio astronomy, radio/TV broadcasting, etc., and that they are showing greater awareness and understanding of U.S. positions. We need all the sympathetic hearings we can get in these meetings. As long as private industry is willing to continue its support, there is no reason why the USG can't at least maintain current support levels or, better still, increase aid for this very useful activity.

The United States media has made important contributions in the NWIO debate by bringing its great powers of persuasion to bear in defending liberties we cherish. It has made a start in providing concrete assistance to the Third World. But it could do much more. We are in an era when government is promising less and calling on the private sector to do more. The media has a great stake in the NWIO debate but it is providing little concrete evidence of its concern for the Third World. It needs to do much more to persuade the nonaligned countries of its commitment to help them improve their own newspapers and communication programs.

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Few Americans are aware of the NWIO debate and are not likely to become aware of it in the near future. But its outcome will determine how we learn of Third World developments, and of how and what kinds of information those in the Third World receive of us.

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