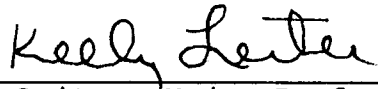


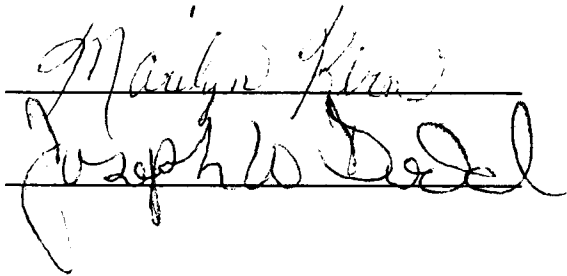
To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Richard W. Hutzell entitled "An Examination of the New World Information Order." I have examined the final copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science, with a major in Communications.



Kelly Leiter, Major Professor

We have read this thesis
and recommend its acceptance:



Accepted for the Council:



Vice Chancellor
Graduate Studies and Research

Thesis
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AN EXAMINATION OF THE NEW WORLD
INFORMATION ORDER

A Thesis
Presented for the
Master of Science
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Richard W. Hutzell

March 1983

3066124

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to Andi Anderson, who showed me how to finish it, and my Father, who showed me how to start it.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to review and investigate some of the issues surrounding the New World Information Order. This review and investigation was conceived as a beginning to the end of an absence of serious study of the complaints of the lesser developed world concerning international mass communication. These complaints have been centered around the idea that the international channels of communication are biased in favor of technical and economic wealth. Critics of the order accuse its proponents of using its arguments to justify denying the people of the lesser developed world their right to freedom of information.

A review of the important events and literature surrounding the New World Information Order was conducted and presented in the form of a literature review. A content analysis of three principle newspapers in the Federal Republic of Nigeria was conducted to verify or prove false the charges of the New World Information Order proponents that the lesser developed countries are awash in a flood of information, particularly from the Western bloc of industrial nations.

The literature review showed that the pivotal document in the New World Information Order was the Report of Commission on International Communication of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. The report, dubbed the MacBride Report, made eighty suggestions for further study and change in international mass communication. These suggestions

included the licensing of journalists and international rights of reply and rectification. The content analysis indicated that the newspapers in Nigeria do not reprint automatically the information circulated by the West.

The content analysis also suggested the existence of "Bonds of Association" between nations. These bonds were links of interest between nations that create a prediliction to the interchange of information between those nations. The character of the "Bonds of Association" a nation has with other nations may predict the content character of that nation's mass media.

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INTRODUCTION

In the early 1970's some of the lesser developed countries of the world began to criticize what they perceived as unfavorable imbalances in the international flow of information. Western Industrial nations were accused of using their technological and financial advantages to dominate the channels of global communication. This domination was claimed to have created a flood of information flowing into lesser developed countries through the mass media and other channels. It also was claimed to have prevented any significant amount of information from traveling against the flood tide from the lesser developed world to the industrial world.

An increasing number of nations began to argue that this domination was detrimental to the integrity of the cultural traditions, self-determination, and growth of the lesser developed world.

This argument has been most coherently presented in an article written by the Secretary of State for Information of Tunisia, Mustapha Masmoudi. The article, "The New World Information Order," claims that imbalances in the international flow of information reflect general imbalances between the lesser developed and developed worlds. These imbalances occur in
1
three spheres.

1
Mustapha Masmoudi, "The New World Information Order,"
The Journal of Communication. September, 1979, p. 172.

The first of these Masmoudi labels a "political sphere." It includes a "flagrant quantitative imbalance" between the volume of news and information flowing from the developed world to the lesser developed countries. According to Masmoudi eighty percent of the world's news and information originates from international news agencies headquartered in the developed world. Less than thirty percent of this deal with the lesser developed world. This defacto monopoly that the news agencies enjoy has manifested itself in the indifference of the mass media of the developed world, and particularly the mass media in the West, to the "problems, concerns, and aspirations of the developing countries."²

Lesser developed countries have been reported to the world through the international mass media. These countries have also been kept informed of world events by the same media. This defacto monopoly imposes the attitudes of the developed world, inherent in the mass media content, on the lesser developed countries.³

Masmoudi further argues that the present information flow enshrines a form of political, economic, and cultural colonialism. By transmitting the image that the developing world is chaotic and violence ridden, the international news agencies arouse fears that are favorable to the interests of

2

Mustapha Masmoudi, p. 173.

3

Ibid., p. 173.

the developed world while retarding the "evolution of the lesser developed world."⁴

This domination of the mass media is a form of "cultural domination and acculturation, transmitting information that is harmful to the cultures of lesser developed countries and development aims and efforts."⁵

Masmoudi's second sphere of imbalance is "legal." He argues that the present legal framework surrounding international communication is defective and biased. It has favored a small number of countries at the expense of the majority. These flaws center around the failure of the philosophy of "freedom of information."⁶ This freedom has become the "freedom of the informing agent."⁷ It has become an instrument of domination in the hands of the developed world.

Finally, Masmoudi asserts that the imbalance in international communication reflects the imbalance in the technological sphere. The Economic superiority has given the developed world a technological advantage in communicating. The flow of information is biased in favor of ability to communicate.⁸

⁴ Mustapha Masmoudi, p. 175.

⁵ Ibid., p. 175.

⁶ Ibid., p. 176.

⁷ Ibid., p. 177.

⁸ Ibid., p. 177.

Masmoudi offers a solution to the imbalances in three parts. He argues that the developing countries should define national communication policies, facilitate communication between the developed and lesser developed world and among lesser developed countries, intensify the exchange of journalists and technicians to foster mutual understanding, strengthen assistance to the least developed countries. Particular attention must be given to information supplied by national and regional news agencies, training and retraining professionals in the media in the values of the New World Information and Economic Order, the democratization of information resources, and the establishment of a free and equitable flow of information between nations of differing⁹ levels of development.

Masmoudi argues that developed countries should decolonize information by taking a more objective approach to the aspirations and concerns of the lesser developed world, paying more attention to the lesser developed world in the mass media, ensuring each nation's journalists respect the laws and traditions of host countries when they are abroad, stop uninvited cross-border radio and television broadcasting, and give particular attention to the information offered by the national and regional news agencies of the lesser developed

nations, such as Saudi Arabia and Nigeria.¹⁰

Finally Masmoudi argues that the international organizations, such as the United Nations and its subsidiary organizations, should facilitate the actions taken by the developed and lesser developed world.¹¹

The United Nations, The Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, and others attempted through the 1970's to offer suggestions that would redress the perceived imbalances and domination. Some of these suggestions included the licensing of journalists, international right of reply, and the ending of commercial interests in the mass media.

Questions of what information is, who controls it, and what purposes it should be put to burst onto the international arena with the publication of the report by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization Commission for the Study of International Communication (CIC). The Commission was established in 1976 to make a comprehensive and independent assessment of international communication and its future.¹² The Commission membership included journalists,

¹⁰

Mustapha Masmoudi, pp. 179-182.

¹¹

Ibid., pp. 182-183.

¹²

Rosemary Righter, "Improving Global News Flow," Atlas. April, 1979. p. 26.

academicians, and government officials. The members were from the West, the Soviet World, and the lesser developed, non-aligned world. Ten of the fifteen members of the Commission were from lesser developed countries. The Commission and its report were the first part of a ten year debate on the meaning and future of international communication to gain substantial public notice in the industrial nations.

Even before the final draft of the report was issued critics in the industrial nations argued that the text would reflect the biases of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization Secretariat. The staff of the Secretariat were largely from lesser developed countries which promoted change. The critics claimed the Commission could not fulfill its original objective because the actual authors of the report, the clerical staff of the Secretariat,¹³ were pre-disposed toward anti-Western sentiments.

In September of 1980 the Belgrade Session of the General Conference heard the completed report of the Commission: dubbed the "MacBride Report" in honor of the Commission President. The issues the Commission was intended to clarify were overshadowed by the ensuing uproar.

Eighty suggestions made by the Commission were objected to by segments of the world claiming to represent the interests of the "free flow of information." The suggestions were con-

sidered as the excuses looked for by nonfree nations around the world to institute authoritarian controls on the flow of information to and in lesser developed countries. These controls were seen as the necessary tools for despotic rulers wishing to stifle dissent and remain in power.

The "MacBride Report" was designed to study international communication and was absorbed into what has been labelled the "New World Information Order." The New World Information Order has not been a precise outline for the future state of international communication. It is a rubric under which have been lumped the sum of the achievements, plans, and aspirations of lesser developed countries for correcting the imbalances they perceive as afflicting the international flow of information.

The imprecise nature of any definition of the New World Information Order stems from disagreement over the effects of an unbalanced international flow of information. It also stems from differences among the proponents of the new order over the correct action necessary to redress the imbalances: differences often springing from differences in political ideology.

The information order and the surrounding debate cannot be expected to completely transform imbalances in global communication. They may however, change the manner in which information is perceived and the way in which it travels across international borders. The issues surrounding international

communication deserve greater study. At stake may be the "public accountability of governments that rule two-thirds of mankind, access to knowledge..., and the character of 'development' (emphasis added) in those (lesser developed) countries."¹⁴

¹⁴

Rosemary Righter, "Battle of the Bias," Foreign Policy. Spring, 1979, p. 122.

CHAPTER I

THE CHARACTER AND GOALS OF THE STUDY

The Purpose and Significance of the Study

The purpose of this study was to review, in some detail, the history and definition of the debate over international communication and the New World Information Order. This study was intended to avoid the obvious biases in other reviews of the subject. Other reviews have tended to portray the debate, its literature, and the New World Information Order as either crusades against imperialism or assaults against the doctrine of free flow of information and the right to communicate. The intention of this study was also to provide a current history of the topic.

In addition to the review and update of the topic, this study examined the validity of claims of imbalance made against the present state of international communication. These claims were examined in comparison to the amount of content originating from foreign sources in the principle newspapers of a single lesser developed country. The country selected for this comparison was The Federal Republic of Nigeria.

The Federal Republic of Nigeria was chosen for several reasons. It uses English as its official language. It is a stable country with growing economic strength. Ten years have passed since the end of Nigeria's Civil War and it has enjoyed the wealth that has come with the multiplied value of its oil

resources. Nigeria's new civilian government has had the opportunity to institute the coherent communication policies that the New World Information Order proponents have called for. Nigeria has made some attempts to implement the order but has not gotten far. Economic problems, including rampant inflation and decreasing profits from oil sales, have the governments first attention. Nigeria is subject to the acculturation that Masmoudi speaks of: if any nation is.

The review of the history and character of the international debate involved the summarization of other reviews and the survey of first hand sources. Particular attention was paid to keeping the biases of other writers out of the review. As much as was possible, the review is a chronology of the important events and ideas of the debate surrounding international communication. The review is presented in the form of a literature.

The comparative examination of the claims of imbalance and the Nigerian newspapers' content was approached through the use of content analysis. The analysis described the amount of foreign content in the newspapers, the origin of the content, and the topic that the content covered.

The analysis excluded radio and television broadcasting for several reasons. Foremost among these is that despite repeated efforts to obtain the programming schedules, and other materials, from the radio and television broadcasting authorities in Nigeria, none was available for analysis.

A study of the content character of Nigerian radio and television would require a trip to Nigeria to observe the programming first hand. By limiting this study to newspapers it was possible to deal with only the actual mass media, rather than a summary or second hand review of its content.

The major significance of both the review and the comparative examination is that this study will help end the relative dearth of studies on the topic. Suggestions made by proponents of the New World Information Order, in the MacBride Report and elsewhere, for the redress of imbalance in international communication have so angered media professionals, academicians, and politicians in the industrial nations that objective study has been all but overlooked. Critics of current international communication have intertwined their criticisms with the rhetoric of anti-imperialism which baits the anger of the West.

The problem up until now has been the politicizing of the issue by those who would study it. This study examines the history of the lesser developed world's dissatisfaction with the status quo in international communication and the reaction of the Western world. This has been done without making prior judgment on the political ideology of those on either "side" of the debate.

This study is descriptive in nature. It is a good way to begin a process of more objective study of a politically

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sensitive subject. Studies such as this one pave the way for studies with greater external validity. Those studies can examine the effects of imbalance in international communication and guide the formulation of appropriate action if any is called for.

Definitions for the Study

The comparative examination of the claims of imbalance in international communication and the content of the Nigerian newspapers was facilitated by using content analysis. Accordingly, research questions, definitions, and hypotheses were needed.

The purpose behind the comparison was to find out how much of the content of three principle Nigerian newspapers originates from foreign sources. The answer to this question was intended to provide some indication of the validity of claims of the New World Information Order that the West dominates the channels of international communication and subsequently is acculturating the lesser developed world. In question form; what portion of The Daily Times of Nigeria's, The New Nigerian's, and The Nigerian Observer's, daily content originated from foreign sources?

To provide this indication it was also important to know what portion of the content of the Nigerian newspapers

used in this study originating from foreign sources originated from "Western" sources. It was also important to know what portion of the content of Nigerian newspapers used in the study originating from foreign sources originated from "non-western" sources. Another question needed to be answered by the comparison was; which of the four content categories news, entertainment, educational, and advertising most often originates from Western sources in the Nigerian newspapers. Finally, what portion of the Nigerian newspapers used in this study dealt with foreign topics?

The questions were asked in terms that could be criticised as having imprecise meaning. The terms were defined to leave no question as to what was being asked. The Nigerian newspapers used in the study were The Daily Times of Nigeria, The New Nigerian, and The Nigerian Observer. Forty percent of the "Times" was owned by the Daily Times of Nigeria Limited while the remaining sixty percent was owned by the federal government. The New Nigerian was completely owned by the federal government. The "Observer" was entirely owned by the Bendel State Government. All of the newspapers were printed in English and were primarily circulated in urban areas.

The content was defined in four basic ways. These were "news", "entertainment," "educational," and "advertising." Operational definitions are offered for each of these types of content in Chapter IV.

Content was defined for this study as originating from a source. When content originated from a source it was written, designed, or produced. The source was the person, persons, or organization from which the content originated. If the source was outside the Federal Republic of Nigeria it was defined as foreign. If it was inside Nigeria the source was defined as domestic. If the source was in North America, Western Europe, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, or Scandinavia it was defined Western. A source in an African country other than Nigeria, Eastern Europe, Central America, South America, Asia, or the Middle East was defined as Non-Western.

It was hypothesized that the comparative examination would show that the major portion of content of the Nigerian papers would not come from foreign sources. It was also hypothesized that the majority of Nigerian newspaper content dealt with domestic topics. Finally, it was hypothesized that most content dealing with foreign topics originated from foreign, western sources.

CHAPTER II

A REVIEW OF PERTINENT LITERATURE

AND A BRIEF HISTORY

The Background of the MacBride Report

Five years after the close of the Second World War, the lesser developed world's share of international trade was only thirty-two percent. It had fallen to seventeen percent by 1977. As a result of this average per capita annual income in the industrial world in 1977 was two thousand and four hundred dollars, compared with one hundred and eighty dollars in the rest of the world. Over the next ten years the United Nations has projected that the income of the population in the industrial world will increase one thousand dollars while the rest of the world's per capita annual income will only increase by one hundred dollars.¹⁶

This spiraling disparity of wealth between the developed and developing worlds led the United Nations to call for reform in the distribution of the world's wealth. The United Nations proclaimed, on May 1, 1974, their determination to establish a "New Economic Order" founded on "equity."¹⁷

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Mustapha Masmoudi, "The New World Information Order," The Journal of Communication. Spring, 1979. p. 183.

¹⁷

Ibid., p. 185.

The mass media of the West has been accused, by the United Nations and others, of conditioning their audiences in the industrial countries to reject the claims and demands of the Third World for change.¹⁸ Proponents of the New Economic Order felt that the disillusionment with which the industrialized world viewed the lesser developed world contributed to its increasing privation.¹⁹ This disillusionment was the opinion in industrial, "developed" nations that the lesser developed world had failed to fulfill its potential. Lesser developed countries were seen as having failed to evolve politically, economically, or culturally.²⁰ The failure of development became a universal assumption of the time.

The disillusionment of the West has been attributed to be the result of an alleged cumulative misrepresentation of the problems of the lesser developed world.²¹

The concepts of the New World Information Order were the result of this disaffection with the media of the West.²² The news media of the industrial nations of the West have, in

¹⁸
Ibid., p. 185.

¹⁹
Ibid., pp. 184-185.

²⁰
Ibid., p. 185.

²¹
Anthony Smith, The Geopolitics of Information. (New York: Oxford Press, 1980), p. 38.

²²
Glen A. Fisher, American Communication in a Global Society. (Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1979), p. 62.

particular, been criticized for reporting the lesser developed world in terms of western cultures. The New World Information Order has been an attempt to confront the industrialized world with what has been perceived to be the failure of these values, its illusions of superiority, and the unappropriateness of its notions of economic development.

At present the "New World Information Order" can be defined in many ways. It can be used as an "informal conceptual framework for the building of a freer, more balanced,²³ and more effective international communication system."

This framework facilitates international debate on the most urgent and practicable tasks in assessing the system and can delineate the available political options.²⁴ It has also been defined as a quest for "leverage" in creating new terms for internal social order, with hopes of turning development into a more viable concept for the lesser developed world.²⁵

The phrase "New World Information Order" came into existence at the 1973 Conference of Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Algeria. It has since become a catch-phrase for a movement stretching across the lesser

23

United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, Many Voices, One World, The Report of the Commission for the Study of International Communication. (London: Kogan Page, 1981), p. 39.

24

Ibid., p. 40.

25

Anthony Smith, p. 31.

developed world and beyond. It has become a rubric for actions and rhetoric intended to change the international flow of information and remove what its proponents see as inappropriate attitudes of what course development in the lesser developed world should take. The proponents of the New World Information Order view these inappropriate attitudes as being transmitted through internationally circulated mass media. The new information order proposes to change the way that mass media circulates and prevent those attitudes from conflicting with domestic plans for development.²⁶

In 1970, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization announced that it was switching its attention from technical assistance to the mass media in lesser developed countries to the actual content used in those media.²⁷ The statement the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural issued declared that the mass media of the more prosperous parts of the world were being used as the means toward "the domination of world public opinion (and) a source of moral and cultural pollution."²⁸ This domination and pollution are the attitudes that the New World Information Order proponents see as allowing industrial nations to direct the course of

²⁶

Anthony Smith, p. 56.

²⁷

Rosemary Righter, "Roots of the Controversy," World Press Review. October, 1981. p. 41.

²⁸

Anthony Smith, p. 31.

development in the lesser developed world.

The interest of the lesser developed, non-aligned nations in changing the international information flow and stemming what they perceived as Western domination became apparent to the West during the IV Conference of the Heads of State and Government of the Non-Aligned Countries. Meeting in Algeria in 1973, the conference demanded, in view of what they termed an "immense vacuum" of United Nations attention, the "reorganization of existing communication channels which are the legacy of the colonial past and which have hampered free, direct, and fast communication between them (the lesser developed countries)."²⁹

The conference achieved two things. First, by linking the international flow of information with the colonial empires of the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth centuries the present information order could be labeled imperialistic. Secondly, concepts formulated at that conference became the key terms used by the proponents of change in describing the effects of the Western dominated information flow. These terms were "cultural alienation," "imported civilization,"³⁰ and "repersonalization."

29

Mustapha Masoudi, p. 185.

30

Herbert I. Schiller, Communication and Cultural Domination. (New York: International Arts and Sciences Press Incorporated, 1976), p. 72.

The terms attempted to describe the substitution of traditional attitudes and values in lesser developed countries³¹ with the values and attitudes of Western industrial nations. These values and attitudes were imported into lesser developed countries. They were inherent in mass media content originating from the West and consumed by the elite populations in³² the lesser developed countries.

During these years the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics began to take increasing interest in the non-aligned, lesser developed world's protest concerning the flow of news and information among nations. The Soviet Union and its client states had unsuccessfully raised objections to the international broadcasts of organizations such as Radio Free Europe and Voice of America for years. The Soviet Bloc began to adopt the rhetoric of the New World Information Order and push for the acceptance of motions to make individual nations responsible for the actions and content of the mass media in³³ their countries.

In 1972, 1974, and then again in 1976 the Soviet Bloc sponsored a motion that called for states to be "responsible for the activities in the international sphere of all mass

³¹
Mustapha Masmoudi, p. 186.

³²
Ibid., pp. 186-187.

³³
Leonard Sussman, "The Third World and The Fourth Estate," Washington Journalism Review. June, 1981. p. 38.

media under their jurisdiction."³⁴ Although the motions failed on each occasion, the increasing interest of the Soviet Bloc began to draw the attention of Western nations.

Many of the lesser developed countries involved in the promotion of the New World Information Order expressed some distrust of the Soviet Bloc's motivations. The non-aligned nations attempted to prevent their criticisms from becoming a tactic for use in super-power politics.³⁵

For this reason, among others, the Non-Aligned Conference held in Tunis during 1976 set down the first actual "goals" for the New World Information Order. These were:

1. development of media as a social asset in the service of the integral development of nations;
2. news exchanges among developing nations and from them to the industrialized world;
3. a challenge to the validity of Western news values, and thus to the moral justification for a free flow of information.³⁶

The second and third of these "goals" were approached through the establishment of a "Non-Aligned News Agency." The Agency was structured around Tanjung, the Yugoslavian News

³⁴
Ibid., p. 39.

³⁵
Ibid., pp. 39-40.

³⁶
Rosemary Righter, "Battle of the Bias," Foreign Policy. Spring, 1979. p. 128.

Agency, established in the mid-1960's.

The Agency offered stories to its subscribers that dealt with evolving trends in the lesser developed countries rather than news "events." These trends included processes of land reform, capital investment programs, and literacy drives as opposed to the news events being riots, floods, rebellions, or coups d'etat.³⁸

The editors of Tanjung rejected a large part of the material submitted. These rejections were made on the grounds that the submissions were verbatim government releases. Some Scandinavian mass media subscribed to the service but soon dropped it. The service was credited as reliable but criticized as dull by the Scandinavians.³⁹

The Non-Aligned News Agency material was circulated most widely among the mass media of the lesser developed world.⁴⁰ By using the Agency, and the national news agencies of various wealthy "Third World" countries, the lesser developed countries began to develop news exchanges among themselves. Though the agency did not have much success in extending this exchange

37

Pero Ivacic, "The Flow of News: Tanjung, the Pool, and the National Agencies," Journal of Communication. Autumn, 1978. p. 158.

38

Pero Ivacic, p. 159.

39

Rosemary Righter, "Battle of the Bias," p. 130.

40

Pero Ivacic, p. 162.

to include the industrialized world, it did present a challenge to the validity of Western news values by offering an alternative.

While the Non-Aligned News Agency was meeting with limited success the 1976 General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization was convened at Nairobi, Kenya. The Soviet Bloc introduced a measure calling for the "use" of the mass media for specific goals and objectives.⁴¹ The Soviet sponsored draft declaration on the media was postponed for two years until the 1978 session of the General Conference in Paris.

In late 1978, in Paris, the General Conference agreed to a compromise declaration on the mass media. The declaration, titled the "Declaration on Fundamental Principles Concerning The Contribution of the Mass Media to Strengthening Peace and International Understanding, the Promotion of Human Rights and to Countering Racialism, Apartheid, and Incitement to War," was strongly influenced by the concerns of the lesser developed world.⁴²

The text of the declaration explains the belief that the mass media contribute strongly to peace, human rights, international understanding, the countering of racism,

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Rosemary Righter, "Battle of the Bais," p. 128.

⁴²

"UNESCO Meeting Adopts Compromise Declaration on Mass Media," UN Chronicle. December, 1978, p. 54.

apartheid, and the incitement of nations to war.⁴³

The exercise of freedom of opinion, expression, and information were expressly recognized as integral parts of basic human rights and fundamental freedoms. The Declaration states that access to information by the public should be guaranteed by a diversity of sources. The mass media were said to have a responsibility of promoting education, human rights, and the wide dissemination of information concerning the objectives and principles universally accepted⁴⁴ by the nations of the United Nations.

With due respect for the constitutional integrity of individual states, the declaration encouraged a freer flow, and a wider dissemination of information, flowing evenly between nations regardless of their level of development. Nations were also encouraged to legislate the necessary changes to facilitate the implementation of the principles⁴⁵ of the declaration.

The United States Department of State issued a statement concurring with the declaration and congratulating the United Nations Educational Scientific, and Cultural Organi-

⁴³

Ibid., p. 54.

⁴⁴

"UNESCO Meeting Adopts Compromise Declaration on Mass Media," UN Chronicle. December, 1978, p. 54.

⁴⁵

Ibid., p. 55.

zation on completing such an important document.⁴⁶ The state-
 ment went on to say that the declaration had been stripped of
 all language that implied state authority over the mass media
 and included positive language on freedom of information.⁴⁷

Up to this point the interaction between the proponents
 of the New World Information Order and the supporters of the
 traditional philosophy of free flow of information was limited.
 Each "side" was trying to define the problems they perceiv-
 ed as plaguing international communication. The proponents
 of the new order had used the non-aligned nations forum to
 discuss and formulate a reasonably coherent list of griev-
 ences to present to the community of nations. They did this
 while trying to fend off the influences of super-power pol-
 itics and compensating for the vast ideological differences
 among themselves. The West on the other hand, did nothing.
 Its support of the philosophy of freedom of information in-
 spired a policy of laissez-faire enforcement of the status-
 quo in international communication.

However, this period of false warfare over inter-
 national communication ended abruptly with the publication
 of the report of a United Nations Educational, Scientific,
 and Cultural Organization commission of investigation.

46

"UNESCO Declaration on the Mass Media," Department
 of State Bulletin. February, 1979. p. 55.

47

Ibid., p. 55.

The MacBride Report

After the Soviet Bloc motion at the 1976 Nairobi Session of the General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization the Director General, Amadou-Mahatar M'bow, formed the Commission for the Study of International Communication. After two years of investigation and study the Commission, under the presidency of Sean MacBride of the Republic of Ireland, issued a final report to the 1980 Session of the General Conference in Belgrade.

The Commission was empowered by the Director General to pursue four main lines of study. The first of these was the study of the situation in the areas of communication and information flow at the international level. The study of international information flow was to consider the diversity of social settings, economic conditions, and levels and types of development existing in various nations.⁴⁸

The Director General also instructed the Commission to pay close attention to problems relating to the free and balanced flow of information across international borders. The study was undertaken in accordance with the principles and discussions of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization General Conference pertaining to the specific needs of lesser developed countries.

Director General M'bow further instructed the Commission to analyze any communication problems they might identify within the perspectives of the New International Economic Order. Communication problems were to be analyzed with the intention of taking measures to implement a New
⁴⁹
 World Information Order.

Finally, the Commission was charged with the responsibility of defining the role mass communication might play in making the public at large aware of the major problems facing the world. In defining this role the Commission was to include the factors of sensitizing the public to the problems and the possibilities of initiating action at the
⁵⁰
 national and international level.

The composition of the Commission was guided by the demand for expertise, and a diversity of thought, culture,
⁵¹
 intellectual trends, and economic and social background. Of the fifteen Commission members, excluding the President, five were from Western nations (including Japan, the United States, and nations from Western Europe), one represented the Soviet Bloc, one was from Eastern Europe (Yugoslavia), four members were from Africa, two were from Asia, and two

49

United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, Many Voices, One World. Part 1, Chapter 3, Section 4, p. 43.

50

Ibid., Part 1, Chapter 3, Section 4, p. 43.

51

Ibid., Appendix 3, Section 2, p. 295.

were from South and Central America. The background of the individual members varied. Some were representatives of government-run mass media, and some were academicians from varying disciplines related to the study of mass communication.⁵³

From December of 1977 to November of 1979 the Commission met for a total of forty-two days in five different countries. During this period the Commission participated in Conferences, meetings, seminars, and discussions. These activities were sponsored by various international organizations, professional organizations and associations, and various regional and national institutions involved with aspects of mass communication. The members of the Commission were presented with numerous papers dealing with specific characteristics of international mass communication from professional and academic sources around the world.⁵⁴

These sources included European, American, Third World and Soviet Bloc universities. Those host countries with unionized mass media employees allowed those unions to participate in the Commission's meetings.

52

Ibid., Appendix 3, Section 2, pp. 295-296.

53

Ibid., Appendix 3, Section 2, p. 296.

54

United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, Many Voices, One World. Appendix 3, Section 2, p. 296.

Objections to the Commission began with its inception⁵⁵ in late 1976. Western journalists, and others involved in communication, saw the Commission and its purpose as an attempt to stem the free flow of information.⁵⁶ The interim report, presented at the Session of the General Conference held in 1978 at Paris evoked loud complaints. Among these were complaints about suggestions to license or regulate journalists, remove commercialism from the mass media, and complaints over the supposed bias of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization Secretariat. The Secretariat was responsible for the final wording of the interim and completed Commission reports.

Critics of the interim report claimed the bias of the Secretariat was evident in the language of the text.⁵⁷ Use of phrases such as "cultural alienation," and "imported civilization," were taken as evidence of the conviction of the Secretariat that the lesser developed world was being dominated by the West. Critics also claimed that because the Secretariat staff, and the majority of the Commission members were from lesser developed countries the "deck was stacked" against the

55

Robert Brown, "The Myth of Passivity," Editor and Publisher. June 9, 1979, p. 40.

56

United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, Many Voices, One World. Part 1, Chapter 3, Section 3, p. 39.

57

Rosemary Righter, "Battle of the Bias." p. 127.

interests of the West in the Commission.⁵⁸

The final report, entitled Many Voices, One World, or the "MacBride Report," was a study of the uses and character of international communication, information flow, communication itself, and mass media. The conclusion of the report included eighty-two suggestions for the improvement of the situation in world mass communication.

The report as a whole acknowledges the value of the doctrines of free flow of information widely practiced, or at least held, in the West. It goes on to state that a preponderance of ability to communicate in some parts of the world created a subtle but effective restraint on the international flow of information from nations with lesser ability.⁵⁹ This restraint allowed news, entertainment, and other types of mass media content to travel from nations with greater ability to those with lesser ability. It was however, a restriction on the information traveling from lesser developed nations among the lesser developed world and to the developed world.

An example of this was the difference between the number of news media subscribing to Western news agencies in the lesser developed world and the number of news media subscribing to

58

Leonard Sussman, "The Third World and the Fourth Estate." p. 35.

59

United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, Many Voices, One World. Part 3, Chapter 1, Section 1, p. 140.

the news agencies of lesser developed countries in the industrial, Western world. Because of a "preponderance of ability," greater wealth, technology, and training, the Western agencies are much more widely subscribed to. This restraint, while technically still a "free flow of information," created a flow of information whose direction was determined by a high level of development.

This pre-determination caused the flow of information among different nations to follow a "horizontal pattern." This flow travels from developed nations, developed in terms of political and economic prosperity and ability to communicate, to lesser developed, less able nations. The report expressed no objection to a free flow as long as it flowed evenly between those nations of differing ability.

Possibly the most controversial part of the MacBride Report was the eighty-two suggestions offered at the end of the report. The suggestions were made to improve the international information flow and mass communication. The suggestions were divided into five basic areas. These were: Strengthening Independence and Self Reliance; Social Consequences and New Tasks; Professional Integrity and Standards; Demo-

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United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, Many Voices, One World. Part 3, Chapter 1, Section 1, p. 140.

61

Ibid., Part 3, Chapter 1, Section 1, pp. 145-149.

cratization of Communication; and Fostering International Cooperation.

The first section is based on the assumption that all people have a right to a better life. This right calls for a strengthening of capacities and the elimination of inequality. The members of the Commission believed that there must be a movement away from one sided dependence. Since Communication is such an integral part of modern life the establishment of self-reliance and equal opportunities to communicate was regarded as of the utmost importance.⁶²

The Commission recommended that communication must receive active attention from all governments, within the framework of individual cultures, to utilize the attributes of each form of communication. To further this end education should be a primary concern, making available communication to all members of a society. Also, language should be modified to serve the complex nature of modern communication.⁶³ An example of this modification would be the recent decision of the government of the People's Republic of China to change the spelling of much of the language to save space in print and promote consistency in pronunciation during radio and television broadcasts.

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United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, Many Voices, One World. Appendix A, Section I, pp. 254-255.

63

Ibid., Appendix A, Section I, p. 255.

In order to strengthen the capacities and ability of some nations to communicate developing nations were recommended to take specific measures to establish essential elements of their communication systems. These essential elements included print, broadcast, and telecommunication facilities, education and production capabilities. The report also recommended the formation of strong national news agencies with international capabilities.⁶⁴

The second section of recommendations suggested that development strategies should incorporate mass communication policies. Mass communication should be considered a major developmental resource for fostering a source of national identity, cultural integrity, and increasing public participation in decision making.⁶⁵

The social aspects of commercialization of the mass media were a major concern of the Commission. With a dissenting note from the members from the West, the commission suggested that non-commercial forms of communication be given preference in developing countries. The negative effects of the influence of the market and commercial consideration were noted as having adverse effects on the organization and content

64

United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, Many Voices, One World. Appendix A, Section I, p. 255.

65

Ibid., Appendix A, Section II, p. 256-257.

of national and international mass media.

The third section discussed the regulation and protection of journalists. The Commission recommended the professionalization of journalism as a discipline. This professionalization would use licensing as a way of guaranteeing the proper training of journalists and their proper preparation for overseas assignments. This would in theory, raise the standards of behavior to a uniform level that would include objectivity, truthfulness, accuracy, and respect for human rights.

Other suggestions for the regulation of journalism include the right of reply, and end to the practice of using the guise of journalists by various intelligent agencies, mandatory language training, and familiarity with host countries for foreign-based journalists.

The fourth section dealt with the setting of priorities for mass communication. The foremost of these was the achievement of a standard of human rights around the world. Others included, most importantly, freedom of speech, press, information, assembly, equality for women and all races.

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Ibid., Appendix A, Section II, p. 257.

67

United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, Many Voices, One World. Appendix A, Section III., pp. 262-263.

68

Ibid., Appendix A, Section IV., pp. 265-268.

Finally, the fifth section made specific recommendations for the fostering of international communication and creating communication equality. These recommendations included a sharing of wealth among nations, further explained by the documents of the New World Economic Order, the sharing of technical ability, resources, including information, and the responsibility for the possible effects of mass communication.⁶⁹

This section linked the New World Information Order to the New World Economic Order. The former is a corollary to the latter. The economic imbalances the New World Economic Order discusses are directly responsible, according to United Nations declarations, for the information imbalances. The wealthy parts of the world have the resources to fund the operation of extensive mass media infrastructures. These include print and broadcast facilities that circulate world wide. Their wealth also allows them to stake prior claims to communication resources that poor countries do not have the technology to use. These include ultra high and extra low broadcasting frequencies and satellite orbits. The developed nations wealth also provides an excuse for monopolizing current resources. These include pulp for print, commercial and public broadcasting frequencies, and energy and support materials.

69

Ibid., Appendix A, Section V., pp. 269-272.

The Aftermath of the Report

The publication of the report of the Commission for the study of International Communication made distinct four separate groups with varying motivations involved in the New World Information Order debate. These groups covered the spectrum of attitudes and positions of the debate over the flow of international information.

Immediately following the presentation of the report the United States' Delegation to the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization issued a statement, in association with the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom, and Canada. The statement objected to the suggestions for further United Nations attention made by the report.

The United States, and its associates, expressed a feeling of being "bothered" by the presumptions of the New World Information and Economic Orders that the mass media are responsible for implementing social and economic policy. The statement reiterated the opposition of the United States, and other Western nations, to proposals for the protection and licensing of journalists, right of reply and rectification, and efforts to define journalistic standards and responsibilities in communication. Finally, the statement objected to the entrance of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization's efforts into the realm of theoretical-ideological conflict, rather than in

the pragmatic, practical, every-day area.⁷⁰

The reaction of the government of the United States to the MacBride Report was swift. A spokesman for the Reagan administration, speaking before a meeting of the House subcommittees on International Organizations, said: "We will remain in UNESCO and provide aggressive leadership on communications issues as long as there is any hope of returning UNESCO to its mandated responsibility to defend the free flow of ideas."⁷¹ A joint resolution passed by the United

States Congress stated that "the establishment of a New World Information Order under the aegis of UNESCO would restrict the freedom of the press."⁷²

Within this group of nations were a group of private interests representing various aspects of commercial communication. This group voiced vehement opposition to the MacBride Report and the concepts of the New World Information Order. Most vocal of this group were George Bebe, of the Miami Herald, and the World Press Freedom Committee (founded by Bebe). The

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"Statement by U.S. Delegation on Overall UNESCO Work Program (delivered at Belgrade)," Voices of Freedom, A World Conference of Independent News Media: Working Papers. (Medford, Massachusetts: The Edward R. Murrow Center of Public Diplomacy, 1981.) pp.67-68.

71

George Brandon, "Reagan Administration Urges Stronger U.S. UNESCO Role," Editor and Publisher. July 19, 1982, p. 56.

72

George Brandon, "Reagan Administration Urges Stronger U.S. UNESCO Role," Editor and Publisher. July 15, 1980, p. 121.

efforts of Bebe and the Committee have been directed at showing the New World Information Order as a mask for the desires of Soviet and totalitarian states to impose worldwide author-
 73
 itatian press controls.

In Tallories, France, during May of 1981, the Press
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 Freedom Committee sponsored a "Voice of Freedom" conference. The purpose of the conference was to express a concern over a growing "tendency in many countries and international bodies to put government interests above those of the individual,
 75
 particularly in regard to information."

The delegates, from all parts of the world, concluded that the world should "reject the view of press theoreticians and those national or international officials who claim that while people in some countries are ready for a free press, those in other countries are insufficiently developed to enjoy
 76
 that freedom."

The working papers of the conference were comprised of four essays dealing with the proponents of the New World Information Order, their proposed changes for international mass

73
 "Confrontation at Tallories," Time Magazine. June 1, 1981. p. 82.

74
The Declaration of Tallories. Voice of Freedom Conference of Independent News Media, in Tallories, France, May 15-17. p. 1.

75
 Ibid., p. 2.

76
The Declaration of Tallories. p. 3.

communication, and the importance of the freedom information. Two of the authors included Leonard Sussman and Rosemary Righter, two of the most prolific writers on the subject. The other two essays were written by Oliver Clarke, a Jamaican newspaper business man, and William Hartly, a Washington communication consultant.

In general the essays stressed the authors' beliefs that free press and the separation of government and mass media is imperative to the survival of the individual's freedom. The essays equated the calls for reforms made by the lesser developed world with the "voice of totalitarianism
77 which seeks to seduce man into slavery."

According to one author the issuance of the MacBride Report signaled the end of a "false truce in the long campaign
78 for international regulation of the press." The end of this truce meant that the New World Information Order can now be seen to mean the increase of state intervention in the gathering and dissemination of information.

Finally, the Declaration itself states that the delegates to the conference were "deeply concerned" that the governments

77

Oliver F. Clarke, "A Free Press is What Makes Democracy Work," Voices of Freedom: A World Conference of Independent News Media, Working Papers. (Medford, Massachusetts: The Edward R. Murrow Center of Public Diplomacy, 1981). pp.29-30.

78

Rosemary Righter, "Lessons From Belgrade...The Bankruptcy of Consensus," Voices of Freedom: A World Conference of Independent News Media, Working Papers. p. 17.

in many countries have been putting their own interests above those of their constituents. Various government leaders around the world have used the arguments of the New World Information Order to justify their efforts to stifle the voices of dissent in their countries from reaching the public through the mass media.⁷⁹

The mood of confrontation shown by the Conference was not shared by the entire western press. At the American Press Institute Reporting the Developing Nations Seminar in Reston, Virginia, twenty-four journalists from Canada, the United States, and the Third World reach general agreement on these points:

1. The Western based news agencies have improved their coverage of developing nations, but newspapers don't use available files to their fullest potential as news sources.
2. Access to a number of Third World Countries remains a critical problem.
3. Action must now replace politics.⁸⁰

The second of the four groups include the Soviet Bloc and Third World Marxist countries. This group has pushed constantly for media procedures that would "fulfill Lenin's maxim to use the media for agitation and control of the masses."⁸¹

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The Declaration of Tallories. p. 2.

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Malcolm F. Mallette, "Accomodation to Settle 3rd World Debate Eyed," Editor and Publisher. November 14, 1981. p. 9.

81

Ibid., p. 37.

The Soviet Bloc and the lesser developed Marxist countries pressed regularly to advance the complaints of the lesser developed world for a New World Information Order.

One version of the Marxist Theory of press is forwarded by Herbert Schiller, of the University of California at San Diego. Schiller holds that the international media are the principal whereby the elites of developing societies are "attracted, pressured, forced, and sometimes bribed" into shaping national policies that conform with the interests of capitalists economic expansion.⁸² Schiller argues that insulation from Western "cultural invasion" is necessary to promote social restructuring. Schiller sees the international mass media as one part of a Western conspiracy to prevent the growth of lesser developed countries. This conspiracy is to the advantage of Western nations because it retains a source of inexpensive labor and other natural resources as well as providing large markets for Western exports.⁸³

At first, Western indifference created a vacuum in which the Soviets could exploit the Third World distrust of Western motives by pressing for control on information flow and codes of conduct for western press.⁸⁴ The Soviet Bloc

⁸²
Herbert Schiller, p. 17.

⁸³
Ibid., p. 22.

⁸⁴
Rosemary Righter, "Battle of the Bias," p. 130.

now distrust some of the more "radical" proposals for change made by the Non-Aligned Movement. These radical ideas include that the mass media should reflect the social consensus. The consensus is set by an "organized public." The state enters the role of legislator over the information flow, now administrator.⁸⁵ Soviet Bloc concern arises from a lack of confidence that it can control changes in the consensus, and the information flow, on a world-wide-scale.⁸⁶

The third of the groups involved in the debate over the international flow of information includes the not-free, non-Marxist Third World regimes. These countries represent roughly forty percent of the developing countries.⁸⁷ Nations of this group are primarily concerned with retaining tight control over their development and population.

The fourth and final group is the free and partly free developing nations of the lesser developed world. Virtually all these states share, in varying degrees, a distrust and dissatisfaction with present coverage by Western media.⁸⁸ This group also shares a distrust of the motives of Soviet Bloc.

⁸⁵
Antonio Pasquali, "Mass Media and National Culture," Media Asia, 1978. p. 64.

⁸⁶
Rosemary Righter, "Battle of the Bias," p. 132.

⁸⁷
Leonard Sussman, p. 37.

⁸⁸
Oswald H. Ganly, "Why Communication and Information Resources Deserve Policy Attention," Chronicle of International Communication. April, 1981, pp. 1-2.

CHAPTER III

A RATIONAL FOR CHOOSING NIGERIA

FOR THIS STUDY

The Federal Republic of Nigeria is the wealthiest and most prosperous of the black African nations. Its industrial development is second only to that of South Africa on the continent. Nigeria ranks fourteenth among African nations in land mass but has the largest population, estimated between seventy-five and one hundred million people.⁸⁹ In the lesser developed world, Nigeria is one of the most successful nations in the pursuit of the ideals of development.

The Federal Republic of Nigeria was chosen for this study for several reasons. It uses English as its official language. It is a stable country with growing economic strength. Ten years have passed since the end of Nigeria's Civil War and it has used the wealth that has come with the multiplied value of its oil resources to rebuild. Nigeria's new civilian government has had the opportunity to institute the type of coherent mass communication policies that the New World Information Order proponents have called for. Nigeria has made some attempts to implement reforms. Economic problems, including rampant inflation and decreasing profits

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Many different estimates of the population exist. The size of the estimate depends on the source of the information.

from oil sales, have the governments first attention. Nigeria is subject to the acculturation that Masmoudi and the other proponents of the New World Information Order have spoken of: if any nation is.

These characteristics make Nigeria a good choice for a study on international information flow. Nigeria is an increasingly industrial nation. Nigeria is a nation between the poverty of the majority of lesser developed countries and the prosperity of the industrialized world.⁹⁰ Its character gives it prominence and importance in political and economic terms in the lesser developed world.

Other, similar nations, exist in Southern Asia, South and Central America, and the Middle East that have similar levels of industrial, economic, and political development. These nations however, have stronger skills for the management of imported information.

European colonies of the last century in South America and Southern Asia were more often the place of European migration than Nigeria. These colonies had newspapers with circulation among the native population by the early eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Some of the native populations of these colonies had traditions of newspaper circulation inherited from their own past civilizations. Moslem civilizations in the Middle East, Chinese in Southern Asia, and the Moslem and

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Prospects for Profits," Business World. July 17, 1981. p. 230.

Hindu civilizations of India had newspapers and books before they became colonies of Europe. Nigeria's first newspaper with circulation among the native population was founded in 1925.⁹¹ This was the Daily Times of Nigeria and was printed in English.

Nigeria did not exist before the turn of this century. It was amalgamated in 1900 from three main trading regions under the colonial rule of Great Britain. This unification provided the geographic beginnings of nationalism for the three main tribal groups.⁹² These groups were the Ibo in the eastern region, the Hausi-Fulani in the north, and Yoruba in the western region. The administrative policy used in colonial Nigeria was known as "Indirect Rule."

This policy was the practice of preserving traditional institutions and using them as puppets of the final authority of the British colonial government.⁹³ Tribal leaders were used as instruments of control by the colonial government to further the profits of private commercial interests.

By the 1930's the policy of Indirect Rule, along with some economic growth, had facilitated the creation of urban

⁹¹ J.F. Ade. Ajayi, "Recent History, Nigeria," Africa South of the Sahara, 1981-1982. (London: Europe Publishers Limited, 1981), p. 759.

⁹² Ibid., p. 759.

⁹³ Ibid., p. 760.

centers around traditional seats of tribal authority in each of the three main tribal regions. These centers became places where feelings of tribal loyalty and European ideology intermingled and caused the birth of Nigerian nationalism. The centers became focal points for growing independence movements.⁹⁴

In 1949 the British agreed to form a constitution for Nigeria which involved the whole population of the country, not just the traditional elites or educated few. Over eleven years of constant conferring among various groups the issue shifted from how the British would transfer power to whom.⁹⁵

Several constitutional conventions, both in London and the colonial capital of Lagos, sparked the rise of three political parties in Nigeria. Each was formed to protect the interests of one of the three tribal groups in the constitutional formulation process. The National Council for Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC) became a predominately eastern party under the control of the Ibo. The Northern Peoples Congress (NPC) was dominated by the Hausa-Fulani. In the west the Action Group was essentially the party of the Yoruba tribe.⁹⁶

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J.F. Ade. Ajayi, pp. 760-762.

95

Kalu Ezera, Constitutional Development in Nigeria. (Cambridge, England: Cambridge Publishers, 1964), p. 60.

96

J.F. Ade. Ajayi, p. 762.

The constitution that emerged in 1960 was one in which all governmental authority emanated from the regional governments. The federal government had control of the armed forces, import and export regulation, banking, and police among other responsibilities.⁹⁷ The Federal Republic of Nigeria was granted independence on October 1, 1960.

The three political parties formed a tripartite balance of power in the country. In the first election the NPC won the Prime Minister's office and formed a coalition government with the NCNC. Following the British parliamentary model the Action Group went into the role of opposition party.⁹⁸

Soon after the election the Action Group showed signs of internal conflict. A power struggle within the party divided it into two rival factions. The ruling coalition parties stepped in to further their own regional interests and broke up the Western region into two smaller regions.⁹⁹

Elections in the new Mid-West region were run by the federal government. Election rigging by both parties in the coalition led to open violence.¹⁰⁰ In January of 1966 a coup

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Kalu Ezera, p. 75.

98

J.F. Ade. Ajayi, p. 764.

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John Hatch, Nigeria: A History. (London: Secker and Warburg, 1971), p. 231.

100

J.F. Ade. Ajayi, p. 765.

by Ibo Army majors resulted in the death of the Prime Minister and most of the senior military staff. The remaining senior officers stepped in and formed a military government under
¹⁰¹
 Major-General Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi.

After six months of militarily enforced calm, fighting broke out again between Ibo and Hausa-Fulani army units in the Western region. Aguiyi-Ironsi was killed and Lieutenant Colonel Gowon assumed control. The military Governor of the Eastern Region refused to recognize Gowon because of his rank. Negotiations failed after a year. Civil war broke out in July, 1967 when the Eastern region seceded and formed the
¹⁰²
 nation of Biafra.

During the Civil War the Nigerian press was under the authority of military government. There were conflicts between the government and the press. The military rulers saw social problems as strategic problems. Goals were not open to debate. This conflicted with the press philosophy of an
¹⁰³
 open forum on public issues. The military rulers always won the conflict. Their method of running the press was notably similar to some of the suggestions for social planning in

¹⁰¹

Ibid., p. 764.

¹⁰²

John Hatch, p. 233.

¹⁰³

Aboaba, Doyinsola Abiola, The Nigerian Press Under Military Rule. (Buffalo, New York: State University of New York at Buffalo, 1979).

the New World Information Order.

The war lasted until January, 1970. Reconstruction began and was followed through with little inter-tribal retaliation.¹⁰⁴ The country was redivided into twelve states. The federal government, under Gowon, scheduled civil elections for 1976. The country began to finance its reconstruction with the funds from the increased oil prices after 1973. Nigeria began to take the lead in Pan-African politics¹⁰⁵ and the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries.

In 1974, the Gowon regime created dramatic increases in minimum wage and the salaries of bureaucratic officials. The government then announced the indefinite postponement of civil election. The wage increases caused a serious period of inflation. The economy was worsened by severe port clogging through massive military imports.¹⁰⁶

In July, 1975 a bloodless coup removed the Gowon regime. Former Federal Communications Commissioner, Brigadier General Murtala Ramat Muhammad took power. Within six months effective steps were taken to clear port congestion, arrest inflation, and end chronic shortages ranging from food to petroleum

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J.F. Ade. Ajayi, p. 765.

105

"Federal Republic of Nigeria." (Washington, D.C.: Embassy of Nigeria, 1981), pp. 2-7.

106

J.F. Ade. Ajayi, p. 765.

products.¹⁰⁷ "Public confidence was restored (in the government) as pledge after pledge was fulfilled with dazzling efficiency."¹⁰⁸ The new regime promised a return to civilian rule by 1979.

An attempted military coup in February, 1976 slowed the pace of progress considerably. Martala was assassinated and several months were spent solving problems in the military made apparent by the assassination.¹⁰⁹ The new leader, Lieutenant General Olusegun Obusanjo continued popular programs,¹¹⁰ but at a much less successful rate.

Under the Martala regime a constitutional committee was formed to redesign the shape of Nigerian Government. The new constitution provided for a system based on the balance of power model of the United States rather than the British parliamentary model. On October 1, 1979 Alhaji Shehu Shagari was sworn in as Nigeria's first civilian leader since 1966.

The main problems since the return to civilian rule have been the result of shifting to the balance of powers form of government. The role of the political parties as opposed to the rule of elected and appointed officials remains

¹⁰⁷
Ibid., p. 766.

¹⁰⁸
"Federal Republic of Nigeria." p. 3.

¹⁰⁹
J.F. Ade. Ajayi, p. 765.

¹¹⁰
J.F. Ade. Ajayi, p. 767.

to be sorted out.¹¹¹ An increasingly centralized government¹¹² was the result of years of military government. Federal Government involvement in all aspects of life caused some public dissatisfaction.

The quick recovery of Nigeria from the Civil War was facilitated by the discovery of vast oil reserves in the Eastern Region. Oil had been one of Nigeria's exports before the discovery but the size of the find had given the Biafrian leaders the financial confidence to secede. By 1974 the country was producing one hundred and eleven million tons a year. By 1980 the production was more than two hundred million barrels a day, down ten thousand barrels from the high of 1974.¹¹³ More than ninety percent of Nigeria's¹¹⁴ capital comes from the export of petroleum.

Petroleum reserves are located in the southern portion of the country and are estimated at between twenty and fifty billion tons, enough for more than twenty years of drilling

¹¹¹
J.F. Ade. Ajayi, p. 767.

¹¹²
Ibid., p. 767.

¹¹³
Ojetunji Aboyade, "Economy, Nigeria," Africa South of the Sahara, 1981-1982. (London: Europe Publishers Limited, 1981), p. 769.

¹¹⁴
Ibid., p. 769.

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 at the present rates. Between fifty five and sixty per-
 cent of all petroleum interests in the country are owned by
 the Federal Government. British Petroleum was nationalized
 in 1979 giving the government direct control of majority of
 oil reserves. All other oil producing companies in Nigeria
 116
 are European or American based.

The price of Nigerian Oil on the world market has
 traditionally been the highest. "Bonny Light", Nigerian
 oils geological name, has extremely low sulfur content,
 117
 making it one of the most desirable crude oils. Nigeria 118
 is now the sixth largest producer of petroleum in the world.
 The United States buys one third of Nigeria's oil production
 with the Netherlands and France purchasing large amounts of
 119
 the remainder.

Three state owned refineries in Nigeria produce three
 hundred and sixty thousand barrels of petroleum products for
 domestic use a day. A fourth refinery is planned for the

115
 John White, "Wielding Africa's Oil Weapon," Time
Magazine. October 6, 1980. p. 52.

116
 Federal Republic of Nigeria," p. 10.

117
 Ojetuniji Aboyade, p. 770.

118
 "Federal Republic of Nigeria," p. 8.

119
 "Nigeria, A Profile," Department of State Bulletin.
 November, 1978. p. 693.

mid-1980's.¹²⁰ Nigeria suffers severe shortages of petroleum products because of a twenty-five percent annual increase in demand. The United States owned Esso Standard was nationalized in 1976 and is now used as a national distribution organ. Pipe lines are being built to aid distribution around the countryside.¹²¹

Natural gas reserves of more than two million cubic meters are also in Nigeria. Currently most of it is being flared off.¹²² Distribution agreements with European nations are set to begin in 1984. The agreements are dependent on the negotiation of an arrangement with the United States.¹²³ Nigeria also has substantial mineral deposits of varied types and quantities.

Manufacturing and other industries make up only nine-teen percent of the gross domestic product yearly.¹²⁴ The majority of these industries are small and employ less than one hundred and forty people each. Greater emphasis from the government is now being placed on consumer durables such as cars and trucks, and heavy industry such as steel and

¹²⁰ "Federal Republic of Nigeria," p. 7.

¹²¹ Ojetuniji Aboyade, p. 769.

¹²² Ibid., p. 770.

¹²³ "Federal Republic of Nigeria," p. 9.

¹²⁴ Ojetuniji Aboyade, p. 770.

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 petrochemical. Companies from Great Britain, West Germany, France, Italy, and even the Soviet Union are involved in expanding Nigeria's industrial capabilities.¹²⁶

Seventy percent of all imports into Nigeria are made up of raw materials and capital goods. The rest is consumer goods and foodstuffs.¹²⁷ The United States is Nigeria's largest trading partner, followed by West Germany, Japan, France, Italy, and the Netherlands. Great Britain supplies most of Nigeria's non-petroleum related imports, followed by West Germany and the United States.¹²⁸

The Nigerian Economy in recent years has been increasingly unstable. The world glut of oil has led to decreasing revenues from oil sales. The Government has had to use external reserves of capital and assets to fund successful and popular programs.¹²⁹

Nigeria in August of 1981, began offering discounts on the price of its oil. This action was taken despite agreements

125
 Ojetuniji Aboyade, p. 771.

126
 "Federal Republic of Nigeria," p. 10.

127
 Ibid., p. 15.

128
 J.F. Ade. Aboyade, p. 772.

129
 United States Embassy in Lagos, Foreign Economic Trends and Their Implications for the United States. (Washington, D.C.: International Trade Administration, November, 1981), p. 3.

signed by the government of Nigeria with the Organization of
 Petroleum Exporting Countries to maintain a uniform price.¹³⁰
 The discount slowed the rate at which surplus capital was being spent. It also greatly affected the stability of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries.

The Nigerian Enterprises Promotion Decree of 1977 was promulgated to give native Nigerians the opportunity to participate in the management and control of the country's economic development.¹³¹ Under the decree all businesses in Nigeria were grouped under three schedules. Each schedule reserved different portions of the businesses under it for Nigerians. All of the mass media: newspapers, radio, television, and others, as well as advertising and public relations, were placed under Schedule I and reserved solely for Nigerian participation.¹³²

Daily newspapers in Nigeria currently number twenty-three. Twenty-two of these are printed in English. One is printed in a tribal language. They have a combined circulation of more than one and a quarter million. Primarily in the urban areas, the largest of these is The Daily Times

130

United States Embassy in Lagos, Foreign Economic Trends and Their Implications for the United States. (Washington, D.C.: International Trade Administration, November, 1981), p. 4.

131

"Federal Republic of Nigeria," p. 6.

132

Ibid., p. 6.

with three hundred and fifty thousand circulated newspapers.

133

Several newspapers have less than five thousand each.

Ten of these newspapers are owned by private businesses or political parties. Eight are owned by either the Federal or various State Governments. Sixty percent of three newspapers is owned by the Federal Government. The remaining two did not list ownership figures.

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The largest of the dailies is The Daily Times of Nigeria. It is owned partially by the Daily Times Limited, a domestic, private corporation. Sixty percent of the newspaper is owned by the Federal Government. Also owned by this company are The Business Times, The Evening Times, The Sunday Times, The Business Times Weekly, The Sporting Times Weekly, and The Times International Weekly. The combined circulation of the Daily Times Limited nears two million, nationwide. This one company's combined circulation equals almost half of the entire newspaper circulation in Nigeria.

The second and third largest newspapers are the Nigerian Observer, with one hundred and fifty thousand circulated newspapers, and the New Nigerian, with eighty thousand circulated newspapers. Both of these newspapers have wide national circulation and are completely owned by state

133

"Statistical Survey," Africa South of the Sahara, 1981-1982. p. 791.

134

Ibid., pp. 791-792.

governments, and controlled by regional political interests.¹³⁵

Though many of the newspapers are government supported a large number of all them use advertising as an additional source of income.

The majority of editorial staff employees of Nigerian newspapers received most of their schooling in Nigeria. All¹³⁶ of the staffs working in the mass media are unionized.

The government's interest in the newspapers it owns a portion of is represented through the Ministry of Communication. The Ministry is responsible, in cooperation with any existing partners, for the selection of the executive editorial staff. The newspapers work in close cooperation with the Ministry of Communication on national stories, and the News Agency of Nigeria on foreign news. Although the editorial staffs of the newspapers technically have editorial autonomy, cooperation with the political ownership is encouraged.¹³⁷

The actual physical plants of the newspapers are imported from the West.¹³⁸ Printing machinery has to be imported from Western Europe and the United States: chiefly from

¹³⁵
"Statistical Survey," Africa South of the Sahara, 1981-1982. p. 794.

¹³⁶
"Federal Republic of Nigeria," p. 7.

¹³⁷
Ibid., pp. 7-8.

¹³⁸
Ojetuniji Aboyade, p. 769.

Great Britain. Though enough wood pulp is produced to supply paper for the newsprint used by all of the newspapers it is sold and shipped abroad for processing. It then has to be bought back.¹³⁹

In 1974 the number of privately owned radio receivers was five million. The number of television sets was estimated in 1974 at one hundred and ten thousand.¹⁴⁰

The Federal Radio Corporation is the governmental radio broadcasting organization. It is divided into five zones, all of which broadcast in English and some tribal languages. The Federal Ministry of Information and the Radio Corporation¹⁴¹ have strong influence on all content in the five zones. In addition each state has a broadcasting corporation of its own.

Nigeria is in a position to import great quantities of information. Its developing industries require technical, economic educational and other types of information for growth. The ties between this country and the West are strong. Yet, the traditions of mass media and information management are shallow and young. Nigeria is an example of the predicament facing the lesser developed world. It must accept the flow

139

"Federal Republic of Nigeria," p. 8.

140

Statistical Survey, p. 794.

141

United States Bureau of International Commerce Report, Nigeria. (Washington, D.C.: Department of Commerce, 1980), p. 37.

of information regardless of its ability to control whatever consequences that imported flow may bring.

Because of its oil wealth Nigeria may be a few years beyond other nations of the lesser developed world. The example it sets in developing along lines set by Western notions of success, while retaining control over that development, is an important one for the world.

CHAPTER IV

THE METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURE

The analysis of the Nigerian newspapers was accomplished with the aid of content analysis. A non-random sample consisting of four weeks of each newspaper, excluding the four Sunday issues of each newspaper, was selected for the analysis. A single coder examined the issues of the sample individually, one page at a time. The articles, advertisements, entertainment features, and educational material on each page was defined as one of the four physical units of analysis, defined below. The individual units of analysis were then placed in the appropriate content categories, also defined below.

The number of units in a content category on a single page were marked on a coding index form. One index form was used for each issue of the sample. The total numbers of categorized units for all three newspapers were averaged. The averages were applied to the research questions.

Units of Analysis

According to Ole R. Holsti content analysis is "any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages."¹⁴²

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Ole R. Holsti, Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities. (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1969), p. 14.

To aid that process five major areas, or units, of analysis have been deliniated. These areas are:

1. Physical Units which partition a medium by length, time, size, or volume rather than by information carried.
2. Referential Units are defined by particular objects, events, person, acts, countries, or ideas to which an expression refers.
3. Syntactical Units utilize distinctions made by the source, they include words and symbols.
4. Propositional Units are referental units that must possess a certain grammatical structure. This structure must be Attitude Object/Verbal Connector/Common Meaning Term or Attitude Object 1/Verbal Connector/Attitude Object 2.
5. Thematic Units are identified by their correspondence to a particular structural definition of the content of narratives, explanations, or interpretations. They are distinguished from each other on conceptual grounds.

Physical Units

Physical Units were chosen to analyze the subject matter in this study. Berelson uses the term "item" to define what

Krippendorff calls a Physical Unit. An item is "a whole production; such as an article or broadcast."¹⁴⁴ The purpose of this study is to determine the frequency with which foreign stories, advertisements and such, appeared in Nigerian newspapers. The use of Physical Units to aid the identification process described by Holsti was the most suitable.

During the coding process the sample was divided into the following Physical Units of analysis.

1. News Item Units were complete articles, excluding articles on education.
2. Entertainment Item Units were complete puzzles, games, comic strips, horoscopes, or advice columns.
3. Educational Item Units were complete advertisements for educational institutions and articles on education.¹⁴⁵
4. Advertising Item Units were complete advertisements excluding educational advertisements.

Categories for the Analysis

Categories are not mere labels, according to Budd, Thorp, and Donohew, but are compartments with explicitly defined bounda-

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Bernard Berelson, Content Analysis in Communication Research. (New York: Free Press, 1952), p. 53.

145

A preliminary examination of some of the Nigerian newspapers revealed several advertisements for foreign and domestic schools as well as stories on Nigerian schools. For this reason this unit was defined. During the actual coding process however, the number of this unit proved to be small.

ries into which material is grouped for analysis. Content categories were developed for this study which would allow such a grouping of the physical units for analysis. The categories were devised in the form of a two sided index. The categories on side "a" are content compartments for topics. The categories on side "b" are content compartments for the origin or source of the unit.

Side "a":

1. Domestic Topic. This category defines the units placed in it as containing information primarily pertaining to Nigerian persons, places, events, or objects.
2. Foreign Topic. This category defines the units placed in it as containing information primarily pertaining to non-Nigerian persons, places, events, or objects including other African nations. Also, any units which can be defined under both categories will be defined under category two.
3. Indeterminable Topic. This category defines any unit that cannot be placed in category one or two.

Side "b":

1. Nigerian Source. This category defines any person, or persons, claiming Nigerian nationality, or any

Nigerian owned organization responsible for the production of the unit.

2. Western Source. This category defines any person, or persons, claiming nationality of any nations defined as western below or any organization owned by nationals of western nations responsible for the production of the unit.
3. Non-Western Source. This category defines any person, or persons, claiming nationality of a nation other than Nigerian not listed in the below definition of western nations or any organization of such a nation responsible for the production of the unit.
4. Western/Nigerian Source. This category defines any combination of sources defined in categories one and two.
5. Indeterminable Source. This category defines any source not applicable to categories one through four.

The Coding Process

Coding the material was accomplished by a single coder during the week of April 11, 1982 at the Library of Congress in Washington D.C. A preliminary investigation showed that the only available newspapers with acceptable nationwide circulation were The Daily Times of Nigeria, The New Nigerian,

and The Observer. The issues included ran from March 5th, 1982 to April 2nd, 1982 excluding the twelve Sunday issues.

Each issue was taken, page by page, and divided into the physical units of analysis described above. Once a single issue was completed the physical units of that issue were placed in the appropriate category in the index.

Marking the coding process on the index form was done by using different symbols for each type of physical unit. The symbol "+" was used to indicate a news unit. The symbol "x" was used for entertainment units, and "=" was used for education units. A sample index is in Figure 4:1.

Comments on the Methodology Used

The method of content analysis served the function, in this study, of providing a "phase of information processing in which communication content is transformed, through objective and systematic application of categorization rules, into data that can be summarized and compared."¹⁴⁷ In this study this information processing was used to describe the content character of the Nigerian newspapers. The description of those newspapers were then compared with the concepts reviewed in Chapter II.

¹⁴⁷

Ole R. Holsti, Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities. (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1969), p. 3.

SOURCE	TOPIC		
	1. Domestic	2. Foreign	3. Ind.
1. Nigerian			
2. Western			
3. Non-Western			
4. Western/ Nigerian			
5. Indeter- minable			

Figure 4:1. Sample Coding Index.

Definitions for the Study

The comparative examination of the claims of imbalance in international communication and the content of the Nigerian newspapers was facilitated by the methodology of content analysis. Accordingly, formal research questions, hypotheses, and definition of terms were stated. These are presented below.

The Research Question.

What portion of The Daily Times of Nigeria, The New Nigerian, and The Nigerian Observer daily content originated from foreign sources?

The Sub-Question.

1. What portion of the content of the Nigerian newspapers used in this study originating from foreign sources originated from "western" sources?
2. What portion of the content of the Nigerian newspapers used in this study originating from foreign sources originated from "non-western" sources?
3. Which of the four types of content (defined below), news, entertainment, educational, advertising, most often originated from western sources in the Nigerian newspapers used in this study?
4. What portion of the Nigerian newspapers used in this study dealt with foreign topics?
5. How does the information gained in sub-questions

"1" through "4" relate to the review presented in Chapter II.

A Definition of Terms.

Nigerian newspapers used in this study-The Daily Times of Nigeria, The Daily Times of Nigeria Ltd. (40%) and the Federal Republic of Nigeria (60%): Lagos, Nigeria; The New Nigerian, The Federal Republic of Nigeria (100%): Kaduna, Nigeria; The Nigerian Observer, The Bendel Newspaper Corporation (100%): Benin City, Nigeria.

Content - news stories; entertainment features; educational; and advertising. Operational definitions for each of these types of content are presented in Chapter IV under Section IV.

Originate - writing, design, or production of content.

Source - person, persons, or organization from which the content originates.

Foreign - non-Nigerian.

Western - North American, West European, Japanese, Australian, New Zealander, Scandinavian.

Non-Western - African (other than Nigerian), East European, Central American, South American Asian, Middle Eastern.

Hypotheses about the Outcome.

1. The major portion of content of Nigerian newspapers used in this study does not come from foreign sources.
2. The major portion of content of Nigerian newspapers used in this study that deals with Nigerian topics.

3. The major portion of the content of Nigerian newspapers used in this study that deals with foreign topics originates from foreign, western sources.

CHAPTER V

THE RESULTS OF THE ANALYSIS

A Summary of the Results

An average newspaper was tabloid in format. It was between eight and forty pages long depending on the newspaper. Slightly more than one third of the average newspaper was devoted to national and regional news written by staff writers or other native Nigerians. One third of an average newspaper was domestic advertising originating from Nigerian sources. One fifth of the content of an average newspaper originated from Western sources. One half of this advertising, slightly less than one half was news and information content. A small portion of the average paper was advertising and news content from non-western sources. An example of a Nigerian newspaper front page is presented in the Appendix.

For the sake of brevity the results of the content analysis of the three Nigerian newspapers are presented here in the form of a summary. The material presented in this summary are averages of the final results. These averages were compiled to provide answers for the descriptive questions listed in the previous chapter.

The average number of physical units in a single issue was sixty-seven. This averaged total included all four categories of content units. The extremes in the numbers of physical units in a single issue were one hundred and twenty-seven

in The Daily Times of Nigeria and thirty-six units in a single issue of The Nigerian Observer. The number of pages in a single issue ranged from forty in the Daily Times and eight in the Observer.

On the average seventy and nine-tenths of one percent of the physical units coded originated from sources within the Federal Republic of Nigeria or from Nigerian nationals abroad. Thirty-two and eight tenths of one percent of the averaged total number of units was news units dealing with domestic topics and originating from Nigerian sources. Twenty-nine and nine tenths of one percent was advertising units promoting domestic products or services and originated from Nigerian sources. Three percent of the averaged total was educational units pertaining to Nigerian educational institutions and originating from Nigerian sources. One and one half percent was entertainment units dealing with Nigerian Topics and originating from Nigerian sources. Three percent of the units coded were news units originating from Nigeria, dealing with foreign topics. Seven tenths of one percent of the total of physical units coded was advertising units promoting foreign products or services.

Nineteen and two tenths of one percent of the total number of units coded originated from sources within Western nations. Ten percent of the averaged total was advertising units that promoted Nigerian-made products. These products were manufactured and distributed in Nigeria under license

from Western corporations. Examples of these corporations included Fuji Incorporated of Nigeria, Terex of Nigeria, and The Philco Company of Nigeria; all of these companies are Nigerian subsidiaries of Western corporations. Seven tenths of one percent of the total number of physical units was news units originating from Western sources dealing with domestic Nigerian topics. One and one half percent of the total was advertising units originating from Western sources promoting Western products and services. One and one half percent of the averaged total was educational units dealing with Western educational institutions. Four percent of the averaged total was news units dealing with foreign topics originating from Western sources. One and one half percent was entertainment units originating from Western sources but dealing with indeterminable topics.

Six and nine tenths of one percent of the averaged total number of physical units coded in a single issue originated from Non-Western sources. Four percent of the total was news units dealing with non-Nigerian, foreign, topics originating from Non-Western sources. Seven tenths of one percent of the averaged total was news units dealing with domestic topics. Seven tenths of one percent was advertising units, originating from Non-Western sources, promoting Nigerian products of services. One and one half percent of the averaged total was advertising units promoting foreign products and services originating from Non-Western sources.

One and one half percent of the total number of coded physical units were news units originating from both Nigerian and Western sources and dealt with foreign topics. One and one half percent of the averaged total dealt with foreign topics and originated from an indeterminable source.

II. Application of the Results of the Summary to the Research Questions

The Research Question.

What portion of The Daily Times of Nigeria, The New Nigerian, The Nigerian Observer daily content originated from foreign sources?

Approximately one quarter of these three papers originated from foreign sources. A small portion of the papers originated from a combined Nigerian and foreign source.

Sub Questions.

What portion of the content of the Nigerian newspaper used in this study originating from foreign sources originated from Western sources?

Approximately twenty percent of the three papers in the sample originated from "Western" sources. One additional percent originated from a combined Nigerian and Western source.

What portion of the content of the Nigerian newspapers used in this study originating from foreign sources originated from non-western sources?

Slightly more than six percent of the average newspaper in this study originated from non-western foreign sources.

Which of the four content categories, news, entertainment, educational, or advertising, most often originated from Western sources in the Nigerian newspapers used in this study?

Eleven and one half percent of all content in an average newspaper in this study was advertising from Western sources. There was more Western originated advertising than any other type of content originating from the West.

Inferences From the Examination

Reading through the three Nigerian newspapers provided some inferences about their content character that could not be recorded in the methodology scheme. These may however, be useful for the conclusions of this study. Among these were the treatment with which the newspapers reported or presented information on Western nations. Also, the manner in which the newspapers reported "hard news," in the sense of the "news" concepts of Western journalists discussed elsewhere in this paper, indicated some similarities and differences with Western journalism.

The treatment of information concerning Western nations was, relatively, objective. It must be noted that a large percentage of the information concerned with foreign topics came from foreign sources. However, in none of the material designated as news stories, under the coding process, was

there strong hostility toward the West. The editorial sections of the newspapers sampled did, when they were concerned with the West and its news, show hostility. Particularly during the time period sampled, the United States' support of the United Kingdom during the Faulklands War was critized. Domestic advertising did seem to receive favorable treatment in the layout of individual pages as opposed to that of foreign product advertising.

The three newspapers did appear to devote a sizeable amount of space to "hard news." Most of this news dealt with Nigerian political events. A large portion of it was concerned with the activities of political parties not in power at the time. The stories were hostile and would tend to indicate the influence of the in-power political party in the coverage of domestic politics.

CHAPTER VI

SOME CONCLUDING REMARKS

Conclusions From the Study

From the results of the study it may be concluded that the majority of content in the three Nigerian newspapers originated from Nigerian sources and dealt with Nigerian topics. However, a small portion of the content, twenty-five percent, did originate from foreign sources. Nineteen percent of the total, seventy-six percent of the foreign originated material, originated from Western sources. Fifty-eight percent of the Western originated material was advertising.

These descriptive characteristics would indicate that the argument of the New World Information Order, and its proponents, may not accurately describe international mass communication. There is an imbalance between the coverage of the lesser developed world in the western media and the coverage of the West in the media of lesser developed nations.¹⁴⁸ The western mass media do not however, ignore the lesser developed world.¹⁴⁹ The mass media of the Federal Republic of Nigeria do not, apparently, passively relate to their audiences the verbatim reports of Western news agencies.

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Robert L. Stevenson, "The Western News Agencies do not Ignore The Third World," Editor and Publisher. July 5, 1980. p. 11.

149

Ibid., p. 12.

What imbalance there is may have been explained by portions of the MacBride Report. Many of the lesser developed mass media have their origins in the colonial ears of their respective nations. Attitudes of what news is and what appropriate content is, under which these structures operate, are the legacies of their former colonial rulers. These defining attitudes, as the Report pointed out in its suggestions for improvement, favor the covering of the more developed nations, at the international level.

After reading the demands of the New World Information Order and the remarks of its critics it becomes apparent that there is a lack of communication and understanding. Some of the criticisms of the Western mass media coming from the lesser developed world echo Western criticisms of its own mass media. The mass media in the United States, particularly television, are often accused of lacking a sense of social responsibility and a proper perspective on the relevance of sensational events. On the other hand, how can journalists and other members of the mass media report the world without involving their attitudes and values; attitudes and values that are a product of their own societies?

It appears that many of the critics of the New World Information Order have not seriously considered the criticisms of the lesser developed world. It seems only fair that the lesser developed world should be allowed to use its resources to, what it sees as, their fullest advantage. If information is a resource, and the mass media a tool, then why should its

control be left to chance or the interests of others?

It is well worth emphasising that the largest segment of the Western originated content in the three newspapers was advertising. The majority of the literature relating to the information order refers to news material.

Certainly the most obvious conclusion of this study is the need for further study of the New World Information Order, its ramifications, and the flow of information at the international level. Studies mapping the flow of development will be necessary before the far reaching information order can be seriously considered.

Inferences For Further Studies

During the examination of the three Nigerian newspapers a pattern began to appear that could not be recorded in the methodology scheme utilized. The content of the newspapers appeared to reflect the "position" of Nigeria in the international system.

The existence of an international system is part of a school of thought in political science and international relations studies. Kenneth Waltz argues that the international system is the whole of international relations. The outcomes of relations between units of the system are affected not only by the properties and interconnections of the units but also by the way in which those units are

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 organized. The international system determines the nature of outcomes between nations, sub-nations, and non-national groups at the international level. The system is defined by the character of the major interacting units.

The current international system has been described as a bipolar one. The poles are the United States and the Soviet Union. Other nations are interspersed between the two poles. Their position to either pole reflects their degree of association with that nation and its affiliate nations. The degree of association with the polar nations and the other nation-units of the international system are what may be reflected in the make-up of Nigerian newspaper content. These "Bonds of Association" may be a determining factor in construction of various materials into a complete newspaper.

A "Bond of Association" could be historical, cultural, economic, political, friendly or unfriendly. Each bond between two nations causes information to travel between the nations, that relates to that bond. The amount and character of information traveling between two nations depends on the number and nature of the "Bonds of Association" between them.

Nigeria's largest trading partner is the United States. This economic bond creates an interest in Nigeria relating to

that bond. Nigeria also has "Bonds of Association" of a political nature with the United States. Again, the examination of the Nigerian newspapers reflected this bond. Nigeria has cultural bonds with Great Britian. This may have been reflected in the number of educational advertisements for schools in Great Britian. Nigeria has economic and political bonds to Saudi Arabia, through the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries. This may have caused the presence of advertisements for Saudi Companies and news stories on Saudi Arabia.

The infered existence of "Bonds of Association" may be a starting point for the mapping of the flow of information around the international system. The study of the flow of information at the international level deserves greater attention. It will require a cross-discipline approach, utilizing the methods and backgrounds of Communication Studies and Political Science-International Relations. However, with the increasing importance of lesser developed nations, in terms of their populations and natural wealth, it is undeniably important to understand the ties of communication that connect all nations.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX

A SAMPLE OF A NIGERIAN NEWSPAPER FRONT PAGE

Sunday Times

THE INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

*16710 Sunday September 5, 1962 20k

Twist in Abuja movement

PRESIDENT Shaka Shagari would not move to Abuja this month as was originally planned.

This is because the committee at Abuja as of now are inadequate to enhance comfortable living.

An authoritative source close to the Committee on the Movement to Abuja said: "I don't see

By TONY MASHA

how the President can move finally to Abuja this month because functional infrastructures are not available there.

"Even if he has to move, he will have to stay at the Government Guest House because the Pres-

dential Palace is far from being completed."

The source noted that the Committee wanted Abuja last month to assess the situation and that another visit is scheduled in two weeks' time to see the progress that has been made.

It was also pointed out that arrangements have not been made for Ministers that were expected to move to Abuja with the President.

However, some members of the cabinet Ministry will move to Abuja to maintain liaison services but up till now, the Head of the Civil Service has not made commensurate arrangements for

On the independence anniversary Celebration, the army, and that it would still take place at Abuja and that the President would go there for that purpose.

"I think the public ought to be told that the President will not move finally to Abuja this month."

A reliable source close to the Information Ministry also confirmed that the movement to Abuja was not possible this time because the time for the President will be shortening between Lagos and Abuja.

By KUMBLE OOLUWA

CONSTITUTION MAY BE AMENDED

Creation of more states

A PROPOSAL to amend the Constitution to make states creation quicker has been tabled before the National Assembly.

The proposal was tabled during the week by Senator Sabo Babin Zuvu, chairman of the Senate Committee on States Creation.

He would like section 8, sub-section 1 (a) (3) which states that "a request supported by at least two-thirds majority of members representing the area demanding the creation of new state in the local government council is

Senator Zuvu argued in his proposal that section 8, sub-section (b) more than a proposal for the creation of a new state is thereafter approved by at least two-thirds majority of members representing the area where the demand for creation of the state originated, was enough to represent the people from the grass root.

There was therefore, no need for consultative session on the request for a new state, he added.

Speaking to the SUNDAY TIMES on his proposal to the National Assembly, Senator Babin Zuvu said it would be in the interest of state stability to delete the section referring to consultative session.

This amendment, the Senator said, was necessary since there would be referendum in the area requesting for the creation of new states.

The referendum he said, would involve the entire grassroots and there was no need for consultative to begin. By so doing he said, would be a duplication since the councilors claim to represent the grassroots and those at the grass root level would participate in the referendum.

The Senator then disclosed that the Committee on States Creation of the National Assembly would soon advise political party leaders to discuss issues on the creation of new states.



President Sekou Toure, left, in Guinea capital, Port, President Toure of the Army yesterday. Photo by JIMMY ADEJOLU

Sekou Toure in Lagos

PRESIDENT Ahmed Sekou Toure of the Republic of Guinea arrived in Lagos yesterday on a courtesy visit to Nigeria.

The visit was on special invitation by his Nigerian counterpart President Shaka Shagari.

President Toure arrived on a special Nigerian Airways plane at about 11:30 yesterday morning.

He was met on arrival at the presidential airport of the Ministry of Defence by President Shagari.

Also present at the airport were top government functionaries, service chiefs and ministers.

President Toure later inspected a guard of honour mounted by a detachment of the Nigerian Army.

The two heads of state then moved to the presidential lounge at the airport where they held a 15-minute heart-to-heart talks before leaving

By FRANK ACHOLA

for State House, Marina.

President Toure later left for home at about 4:30pm at the evening after the two leaders were expected to deliberate on common to the problems besetting the African continent.

Top of the common observers believe, include the dilemma of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), over the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic (SADR).

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VITA

Richard W. Hutzell was born in Silver Springs, Maryland on June 5, 1959. His family moved to Ocean City, Maryland in 1968. He finished his primary education there and was graduated from Stephen Decatur High School in June 1976. The following August he entered Clinch Valley College, of the University of Virginia, and in May of 1980 he received a Bachelor of Arts degree in English and in History. In the fall of 1980 he accepted a research assistantship at The University of Tennessee, Knoxville and began study toward a Master's Degree. He was awarded a degree of Master Of Science, with a major in Communications, in March of 1983.

The author has been a member of the Sierra Club, the Cousteau Society, Virginia Citizens for Better Reclamation, the Polar Bears, and the English Society of Clinch Valley College. Mr. Hutzell is presently applying to the United States State Department for employment.

He is currently engaged to Andrea Anderson of Crossville, Tennessee. They plan to be married in September of 1983.