# The MacBride Report, 25 Years Later.
# Context and Content of an Unfinished Debate

**Miquel de Moragas, Mercè Díez, Martín Becerra, Isabel Fernández Alonso**

## Introduction

This issue of *Quaderns del CAC*, dedicated to the 25th anniversary of the MacBride Report, is the result of a collaboration effort between the Catalonia Broadcasting Council (CAC) and the Institute of Communication at the Autonomous University of Barcelona (InCom-UAB)[1]. The aim is to re-examine, with a view to the challenges facing communication in the 21st century, the contribution of one of the most influential documents about communication in recent times.

It was not an academic document in the strict sense of the word, although it did have important academic influences. It was commissioned by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and was important because it aimed to treat communication from an international perspective, advancing towards the idea, which is very clear today, of the globalisation of information and the fact that the democratisation of communication should be approached from this dimension.

This issue of the *Quaderns* proposes critically reviewing the debate generated by the MacBride Report and the resolutions Unesco adopted, to try to understand the challenges of the present communication situation. 25 on, as the World Summit on the Information Society (Geneva 2003/Tunis 2005) is being held, we can see many important differences but also a great many similarities in subs-tance, particularly with regard to the basic question of commu-nication imbalances.

**Miquel de Moragas, Martín Becerra, Mercè Díez,**
**Isabel Fernández Alonso**
*Monographic coordinators (InCom-UAB)*

To undertake this task of critical revision, we considered it necessary to set the issue out into five chapters:

1. The first section is of an introductory nature and includes a presentation by CAC board member Joan Manuel Tresserras in which he explains the regulatory body's interest in the Report's experience. This section also includes the present text, prepared by the *Quadern's* coordinators. Our aim was to provide references about the background to, content of and reactions surrounding the MacBride Report, procuring to facilitate the key concepts that will permit readers a contextualised interpretation of it.

2. The second section offers an updated evaluation and interpretation of the Report by some twenty international experts who were asked for their overall and comparative view with regards the current situation. One of these experts was a member of the Commission that prepared the MacBride Report, i.e., Tunisia's Mustapha Masmoudi. Other authors were also live witnesses to the process, such as Venezuela's Antonio Pasquali and Bolivia's Luis Ramiro Beltrán. Other important researchers from Latin America, a region that played a particularly significant role in the genesis and development of the Report, also contribute: Héctor Schmucler (Argentina) and Enrique Sánchez Ruiz (Mexico). We also include the viewpoint of Asian experts Eddie Kuo and Xu Xiaoge (Singapore) and authors with long-standing experience in researching issues about international communication and communication policies: Hamid Mowlana and Andrew Calabrese (US), Gaëtan Tremblay (Canada), Kaarle Nordenstreng (Finland), Armand Mattelart (Belgium/France), Fernando Quirós (Spain), Robin Mansell (UK), Patricio Tupper (France), Claudia Padovani (Italy), Ulla Carlsson

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(Sweden) and Daniel Biltereyst, in collaboration with Veva Leye (Belgium). Finally, we have included the perspective of authors who have analysed international communication and communication policies from the viewpoint of the problems of stateless nations: Ramón Zallo (the Basque Country) and Miquel de Moragas and Josep Gifreu (Catalonia).

3. The third section is devoted to international communication today. Valério Brittos (Brazil) discusses the conditions of dependency that affect modern communication. Divina Frau-Meigs (France) analyses the US's return to Unesco, having walked out it in the 1980s partly in response to its line on communication. Isabel Fernández Alonso (Spain) presents a review of Unesco's current communication policies. Finally, Martín Becerra (Argentina), 2005 Unesco Professor in Communication (Incom-UAB), analyses the differences and similarities between the MacBride Report and the World Summit on the Information Society. Fernández and Becerra are also co-editors of this issue of *Quaderns del CAC*.

4. The orientation of the last section is basically testimonial. On the one hand, we reproduce a fragment from Sean MacBride's memoirs, where he reflects on his experience chairing the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems, which prepared the report that is the subject of this issue. We also gather different press cuttings from the time (both international as well as Spanish and Catalan), which in general were hostile to the Commission's work. These testimonials are accompanied by an article by Mercè Díez, another co-editor of this issue, on the way Unesco was covered by the international press between 1974 and 1984, a key period in the discussion about international communication within the organisation.

5. Finally, the issue offers bibliographic information and links to resources available on the Internet to extend the information at hand.

The editors of this issue would like to thank the CAC for making it possible. The issue partly plays homage to the people who helped blaze trails for the democratisation of communication and is partly a call to look at the work we still need to do to make the same ideals possible in the new century.

## Background: from Developmentalism to Theories of Dependency

In its early years of existence, and coinciding with the 1948 Declaration of Human Rights, Unesco focused on matters relating to the freedom of information, one of the pillars of human rights. It was still to be many years before it had an integrated concept of the relationships between communication, education, culture and technologies.

The Unesco of the 1950s (the USSR did not join until 1954) continued to base its communication philosophy on the assumption of the right to information. Interest in communication structures began to develop in the 1960s with the publication of the first statistical documents on the mass media[2]. On the basis of those works and contributions from different sociological currents (the main one that held sway being functionalism), the notion that would become the ideology or dominant paradigm in communication studies through to the arrival of the MacBride Report in 1980, began to form. This was the developmentalist, or modernisation, theory, whose promoters included the US professors Daniel Lerner[3] and Wibur Scharamm[4]. The United Nations adopted the theory as its own. Developmentalism held that the dissemination of knowledge and the technologies of the northern countries, as well as the expansion of the media influence in those countries, would directly impact the development of the southern countries. The idea was that achieving a number of minimum thresholds for media access (ten copies of newspapers, two cinema seats and five radio receivers for every 100 people, etc.)[5] would be the same as guaranteeing general development.

These assumptions began to be clearly questioned in the 1970s by the new theories of dependency, which considered that the application of the 'developed' communication model generated dependency and that the underdevelopment of the periphery was a necessary requirement for the development of the hegemonic centre. The new educational theories of Paulo Freire[6] and authors form the new schools of communication studies in Latin

America were also an influence, as they were free from the initial functionalist influence and identified with the dependency theory originally formulated by Fernando H. Cardoso, Enzo Faletto and Celso Furtado, amongst others. Exponents of the first communication studies in Latin America with this critical view included Luis Ramiro Beltrán and Antonio Pasquali, who have collaborated in this issue of *Quaderns del CAC*.

At the same time, Unesco began to open its forums to these new approaches, beginning by focusing its attention on two aspects that would be fundamental to the future focus of the MacBride Report: communication policies and the study of information flows. In 1970, the Unesco General Conference agreed an aid programme to member states to formulate "national communication policies" and in 1972 organized the first experts meeting on the issue in Paris[7].

Two years later, in 1974, Unesco published a truly emblematic book: *Television Traffic. A One-Way Street?*, by Kaarle Nordenstreng and Tapio Varis, which demonstrated the inequalities in the international information flow and contributed new arguments to the dependency theory.

The whole of this process was developed in the framework of the Cold War and, more particularly, the period of the greatest expansion of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. In 1973, the year of the first oil crisis, the 4th Summit of Non-Aligned Countries was held in Algiers and approved the programme of what would be called the New International Economic Order. The concept was based on the confirmation of inequalities in the world distribution of work and the situation of dependency of developing countries, and proposed a new form of development independent of capitalist and communist models. From then on, the declarations in favour of a different system of relations at the international level in terms of communication (which would be called the New World Information and Communication Order, or NWICO) arose from the various debates on this issue that took place in the mid-1970s[8].

**The Commission's Report on the Study of Communication Problems**

The 19th Unesco General Conference, held in Nairobi in November 1976, resulted in a mandate to create a co-

mmission of experts whose mission would be to study communication problems. The then director-general, Senegal's Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow[9], was charged with carrying it out. The International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems was established in 1977 under the presidency of Ireland's Sean MacBride, a prestigious figure whose appointment was widely approved - he was the cofounder and president of Amnesty International (1961-1975) and had received the Nobel Peace Prize (1974) and the Lenin Peace Prize (1977). Criteria of plurality and representativeness both in terms of ideology and policies as well as geography were taken into account when choosing the members of the Commission[10]. Also, there was a very wide spectrum of member profiles: they included journalists, diplomats and writers who were not necessarily familiar with the study of the communication system at the international level. To carry out its work, the Commission also included various contributions from the academic world[11].

The final Report from the Commission, presented at the 21st General Conference in Belgrade in 1980, was a voluminous document of some 500 pages[12], set out around five major issues:

1. Communication and Society: historical and international dimension.

2. Communication Today: media, infrastructures, integration, disparities, ownership and control.

3. Common Concerns: relating to the flow of information, content and the democratisation of communication.

4. Institutional and Professional Framework: communication policies, material resources, research, journalists and codes of conduct.

5. Communication Tomorrow: conclusions and suggestions, and aspects pending more profound research.

Methodological rigour was not one of the document's strong points, and it also had the initial difficulty of the breadth and lack of definition of the issues it was dealing with. Even still, its contribution to the international communications debate was transcendental:

a) It described the situation of communications in the world and confirmed its imbalances, and tried to get to the bottom of the links between the problems of

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communication and socioeconomic and cultural structures, thus bringing a political nature to the problems of communication.

b) It prepared ethical recommendations and recommendations that aimed to defend the democratic right to communication, rather than specific communication proposals or regulation policies.

c) It recognised the inherent right to information: participating in the production (and not just the consumption) of information flows, guaranteeing a diversity of voices, restricting monopolies, defending the rights of reporters and freedom of the press, and supporting the development of the infrastructures needed to develop communications across the world.

For its description/condemnation of inequalities, for its humanist commitment to the right to information and for its explicit reference to NWICO, the document was in line with the voices that criticised communication and was thus harshly labelled as opposing the "free exercise of information" by the most conservative positions and major industrial interests of the sector, who were uncomfortable with the critical discourse and even less inclined to accept that it should be pronounced by an intergovernmental organisation like Unesco.

Finally, at the above-mentioned 21st Unesco General Conference, the resolution that sanctioned the Report was adopted by consensus. It was, however, a highly rhetorical decision, as it did not involve the adoption of specific proposals. So, as Héctor Schmucler says at the start of his article in this issue of *Quaderns del CAC*, at the same time it was approved, the MacBride Report "began to belong to the past".

Paradoxically, at the same General Conference in Belgrade, resolution 4/19 (establishing the basis of the NWICO, the inoperability of which would be confirmed with the passage of time) was adopted and the International Programme for the Development of Communication (IPDC) was created, in a return to the developmental aid model more closely in keeping with the paradigm of developmentalism than the ideas that inspired the Third World countries' calls for the NWICO[13].

At this stage of the Cold War, Unesco found itself constrained by difficulties in reaching consensus and so the MacBride Report was conditioned on three fronts, led by the US, the USSR and the Non-Aligned Countries. As Mattelart says in this issue of the *Quaderns*, the post-MacBride reactions responded to opportunism of different types: the US defended the doctrine of the free flow of information; the USSR exploited the demands of the Non-Aligned Countries to reinforce its policy of shielding borders, and the Non-Aligned Countries included various countries that subscribed to the NWICO to camouflage breaches of freedom of expression within their territories. To all this we should add the position of the major corporations, opposed to the regulation and development of public media, and the de-articulation of civil society. Criticism of the Report, largely coming from the self-styled 'free press', did not find much by way of counterarguments in academic circles of limited influence.

## Criticism and Evaluations

The MacBride Report was not binding and did not result in a commitment from member states to apply its conclusions, but it did call, at least rhetorically, for the need to establish democratic communication policies in defence of identity and development. Despite this, as Daniel Biltereyst and Veva Leye say in this issue of the *Quaderns*, it managed to become a reference document which would give rise to important criticism, both from the intellectual left and (above all) conservative positions.

There are two sides to the conservative criticism of the MacBride Report, which can be clearly articulated. On the one hand, there was the political position of the US and the UK with respect to the Report, or, more specifically, with respect to Unesco's policy of supporting the NWICO. On the other hand, there was a mobilisation among certain professional associations and large companies in the communications sector which saw their dominant position threatened by the Report's descriptions and proposals. In fact, criticism from these sectors had begun even before the Commission's work had ended, as explained in the article devoted to Unesco's relationship with the press, included in section four of the *Quaderns*.

With respect to academic evaluations, one of the first authors to criticise it from a leftist position was Cees

Hamelink (1980 and 1987), as Kaarle Nordenstreng recalls in his contribution to this issue of the *Quaderns*. He argued that the Report's analysis decontextualised communication from the social, economic and cultural reality, avoiding different controversial aspects both in the spheres of internal policies (lack of democracy in some countries that defended the NWICO) and at the international level (lack of analysis of the real role multinationals play in communication).

Criticism also arose about the Report's lack of utility (or ingenuity). Nordenstreng says in this *Quaderns* that many, if not all, of its 82 recommendations were never applied. For Schmucler "the increase in the number of documents and declarations have failed to reorientate the path that has led to an increasingly unjust and increasingly more violent world".

Other gaps signalled in the Report have become more noticeable with the new factors that have conditioned communication in recent years. This is the case of the 'oversight' of relations between culture and communication policies, and the lack of a gender perspective and, in particular, the lack of references to civil society, the fundamental issue in the modern debate and the importance of which is underlined by various authors in this issue of *Quaderns del CAC* (Calabrese, Mattelart, Moowlana).

However, Mustapha Masmoudi, a member of the MacBride Commission, stresses on these pages the fact that many of the Report's positions have today been re-appropriated by civil society. He feels the important changes recorded since the document was approved in 1980 mean that "the debate about information and communication which began various decades ago with the MacBride report did not die or diminish, but rather are part of a new context at the global scale".

Other authors have also pointed out the positive value of the ideas contained in the Report. Claudia Padovani does so on these pages, coinciding with Mastrini and de Charras (2004), who said that "the ideas contained in the five key areas of the Report (…) constitute an important contribution for legitimising the notion of the right to communication, go beyond the already obsolete concept of freedom of the press, and are much more inclusive than the right to information".

Reviewing what happened with the MacBride Report, 25 years after it was published, is a task that concerns academics and journalists as well as the managers of communication policies. Invited here to reflect on it, Beltrán calls the Report "the fruit of equanimity accompanied by prudence" while Pasquali says that "the best thinkers working in communications today are still, consciously or unconsciously, thinking less with vocabularies forged by the different schools and disciplines and more with a 'Unesco-esque' vocabulary that emerged from documents for the initiated to be swallowed *urbi et orbi* by the Report". For his part, Gaëtan Tremblay says, "the MacBride Report did not get it wrong; it was shelved [….] and never implemented". Similarly, Fernando Quirós defends the Report's content, saying the "diagnosis was correct and spot-on".

In relation to its validity, Enrique Sánchez Ruiz says the features it mentioned have become more acute since then, in a context of greater interdependence and interconnection and as part of a way of thinking in which the expansion of cultural flows should justify greater attention being paid to the recommendations of 25 years ago. Valério Brittos describes the deepening of the concentration of information and communication activities and the growth of infocommunicational imbalances that were rightly the analysis basis of the MacBride Commission. Another collaborator in this issue of the *Quaderns*, Ramon Zallo, confirms the validity of at least three theses of the 'old' NWICO: the importance assigned to information and its distribution in modern societies; the unequal flow of audiovisual contents; and the need to guarantee cultural diversity, a debate which is currently being re-examined in the context of Unesco's Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (2001).

With regard to the Report's effects, Edie Kuo and Xu Xiaoge emphasise the "strong impetus" it gave the Asian media to claim its own voice on an equal footing with the Western media. Andrew Calabrese particularly values the anticipation of a type of 'globalisation', which, instead of signifying divisions among the people of the world, involved recognising our common humanity in an attempt to manage tensions that aspired to offer a model of multilateralism that is absent today. Miquel de Moragas and Josep Gifreu agree the debate had a beneficial effect on communication policies in post-Francoist Catalonia.

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## The Post-MacBride Period

The post-MacBride period quickly turned into the 'shelving of MacBride' period and the renunciation of the NWICO. When Ronald Reagan entered the White House (1981), any possibility of understanding between the different groups at conflict within Unesco became even harder, largely because of the unilateral (not multilateral) vision of international relations held by the new US presidential office. Although the NWICO had become a taboo topic at Unesco, there was no longer any chance of re-establishing a good climate of understanding: in December 1983, the US announced it was withdrawing, an announcement it put into effect a year later and which led to the UK also walking out. The move was partly justified by the drift of Unesco's communication policies, with the Reagan and Thatcher governments accusing it of having become too bureaucratic and contravening the foundations of freedom in Western countries, particularly freedom of the press. However, historical experience has shown that the most important reason for the walkout was the abandonment of multi-lateralism in international policies. In the section of this issue of the *Quaderns* devoted to the current perspective on international communication, there is an article by Divina Frae-Meigs on the US's return to Unesco that speaks of the reasons behind its decision to leave.

After the General Conference of 1987, when M'Bow was replaced as director-general by Federico Mayor Zaragoza, Unesco adopted a new orientation, called the New Communication Strategy. This involved a return to the rhetoric of the defence of the free flow of information across the world and capacity building for developing countries, although without questioning the causes of the structural difficulties in achieving the two goals. Although the New Strategy recognised imbalances between countries, it did not call for a global change in communication processes. Rather, it was a pragmatic proposal that focused on bringing technical solutions and supporting infrastructures and professional training. Furthermore, its goal was to achieve a new climate in Unesco, removed from the fierce contro-versies of previous years.

The technical approach, which did not question inter-national structures, represented a return to the orientation Unesco had followed in the 1950s and 1960s. In this context, the IPDC constituted an instrument of the New Strategy. As Martín Becerra says on these pages, the IPDC adopted the old "developmentalist" and even "diffusionist" conceptual point of view. However, it has always had few resources and efficacy in technological transfers and its aid could be classified as insufficient or insignificant, as shown in Isabel Fernández Alonso's article on Unesco's commu-nication policies.

## MacBride and the WSIS

In this context, the UN called the World Summit on the Information Society (Geneva 2003/Tunis 2005). The organisation responsible for organising the summit was not Unesco but rather the International Telecommunications Union (ITU), a more technical organisation that is also closer to the business and industrial sectors that participate in its functional work dynamics.

The World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS) is an international discussion space about political, technological, regulatory and organisational questions regarding information and in that sense was considered an opportunity by civil society, which is represented in the deliberations. Since the creation of the UN there have been few calls like that of the WSIS, which helped raise expectations about the development of the Summit.

However, the WSIS's official declarations at the end of the first phase failed to deliver the goods, in the opinion of the civil-society actors present, who set out their own demands. The declarations were supported by the private corporate sector and government delegations.

One of the areas that summarises the different approa-ches shown at the WSIS between the government/private corporate sector on the one hand and civil society on the other concerns communication. In fact, while throughout its history the UN, fundamentally through Unesco, has channelled international discussions on communication policies, this time the WSIS has omitted all references to communication, with its negotiating connotation and deliberative and democratising potential. In the pages that follow, Patricio Tupper analyses the omissions from the WSIS and the peculiar role the ITU plays in organising the World Summit in the framework of the transformation of

"certain concepts held dear in the MacBride Report, such as access, participation and the right to communication, into notions that are merely technical concerning 'digital access'". Also, Padovani, who has compared the official declarations and those made by civil society with the 1980 MacBride Report, concludes there is a greater level of agreement between the position of civil society and the Report than between the latter and the WSIS's Official Declaration.

The stamp of the ITU and its emphasis on the dissemination of infrastructures, tackling the Summit's issues from a technical point of view, are clear in the basic principles of the documents approved at the WSIS to date. This led the civil-society actors to draw up an alternative declaration. In the Civil Society's Declaration, they stress that "information and knowledge are increasingly being transformed into private resources which can be controlled, sold and bought, as if they were simple commodities and not the founding elements of social organisation and development" and thus "as one of the main challenges of information and communication societies, we recognise the urgency of seeking solutions to these contradictions" (Civil Society at the WSIS, 2003).

The question that arises about the purpose of the declaration made by the civil-society groups, entitled *Shaping Information Societies for Human Needs*, is whether a World Summit that focuses on treating the centrality of information in contemporary societies (economic, cultural, social and political centrality) can omit the articulation and influence exercised between policies about information and technological dissemination, cultural and educational policies and communicational and media policies. Also, as there is an increasing convergence of technologies and production routines involving telecommunications, classical culture and the computer industries, it seems reasonable that policy development in these sectors should have points of contact and mutual conditioning factors.

Unesco's different approaches towards cultural diversity as shown in the last two General Conferences (2001 and 2003), the 2001 Universal Declaration and draft convention on the protection of the diversity of cultural contents and artistic expressions (processes taking place at the same time as the WSIS), could also be analysed from the standpoint of relationships between culture, communication and information. In fact, in the definition of culture that Unesco adopted in the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity, it warns that there are inseparable links between the cultural, communication and informational dimensions: "Culture should be regarded as the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of a society or a social group, and that it encompasses, in addition to art and literature, lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs" (Unesco 2001).

The WSIS in its first phase did not even frame the positions and declarations about diversity that Unesco was constructing, even though both cases dealt with initiatives developed within the United Nations. The text by Robin Mansell included in this *Quaderns* emphasises that both the WSIS's Declaration and Plan of Action have goals to be reached by around 2015, "but almost all of them refer to information and communication technologies before the process of communication".

The subordination of the cultural to the technological, which distinguishes the dominant trend at the WSIS, fruit of the controversy between the governmental actors, the private corporate sector and civil society that emerged in the preparation of the Tunis phase of the World Summit, is a symptom of the lack of appropriation of the MacBride Report recommendations 25 years after it was published and approved by the UN. In fact, in Mattelart's opinion, "a dark tale has been woven around the Report and the NWICO issue and, even today, within Unesco itself, few people dare recall this history".

Its own limitations and the influence of the bipolar context of the Cold War, with the desire to change the world into a stage of multilateralism that was buried in the wake of the neoconservative offensive of the 1980s, meant the MacBride Report did not include the active participation of civil society as a recommendation for the design and execution of communication policies, and did not predict the radical fragmentation of the world, which, as García Canclini (1998) says, is an inherent and unalienable feature of globalising processes. However, it did outline a way to understand cultural problems that assigned priority to social interaction and conceived technology as a tool at the service of policies.

The need to guarantee the plurality and diversity of voices

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in a world increasingly interconnected summarises, in the title of the MacBride Report, the humanist inspiration of its conclusions. It is the need to support this inspiration before present challenges, calling for renewed responses, and the conviction that technical rationality only operatively translates into old recipes of technology transfer that have repeatedly shown their inefficiency, which motivates the publication of this *Quaderns*. Many of the most prestigious authors in the field of communication and culture policies have assumed this need and are honouring this effort with their inestimable collaboration and generous testimony.

## Notes

**1** This issue will be printed in Catalan and Spanish and also be available online (in Catalan, Spanish and English). It can be downloaded from the CAC website ([www.audio-visualcat.net](www.audio-visualcat.net)) and the communication portal of InCom-UAB (www.portalcomunicacion.com):

**2** UNESCO. *Statistiques de la radiodiffusion et de la television 1950-1960*. Paris: Unesco, 1963.
UNESCO. *Statistics on Radio and Television 1960-1976*. Paris: Unesco, 1979

**3** LERNER, D. *The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East*. New York: Free Press, 1958.

**4** SCHRAMM, W. *Mass Media and National Development, The Role of Information in Developing Countries*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1964. This book was republished in Spanish in 1967 under the title *El papel de la información en el desarrollo nacional* (Quito: CIESPAL).

**5** SCHRAMM, W. "El desarrollo de las comunicaciones y el proceso de desarrollo", in PYE, L.W. (ed.). *Evolución política y comunicación de masas*. Buenos Aires: Troquel, 1969 (Summary at [http://www.nombrefalso.com.ar/materias/apuntes/html/schramm.html](http://www.nombrefalso.com.ar/materias/apuntes/html/schramm.html))

**6** Taken from *Pedagogia do oprimido*. São Paulo: Editora Paz e Terra, 1968.

**7** BELTRÁN, L.R. in an interview granted to *Pensamento Comunicacional Latinoamericano*, vol. 1. no. 1, October-December 1999: www2.metodista.br/Unesco/PCLA/revista1/entrevista1.htm

**8** It is important to mention, among others, the experts' meetings in Bogota (1974) and Quito (1975), the intergovernmental meeting on communication policies in Costa Rica (1976) and the symposium on communication by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries in Tunis (1976). Previously, in 1969, an experts' meeting was held in Montreal under the auspices of Unesco in which the dependent situation of Third World countries, both in terms of information and culture, was confirmed and considered a threat to their identification signs. It also emphasised the centralisation of communication production in the construction of the world transmitted by the media. It furthermore called for attention to be paid to the unique needs of developing areas, pointing out that they could not be understood by transferring to them the needs of developed countries. In the wake of the Montreal meeting, Unesco began to change its approach towards information and communication, which would eventually lead to disputes between supporters and detractors of the free flow of information.

**9** He became director-general in 1974 and was replaced in 1987 by Federico Mayor Zaragoza.

**10** Along with Sean MacBride, the Commission members were: Mustapha Masmoudi (Tunisia), who has collaborated in this issue of *Quaderns del CAC*; Elie Abel (US); Hubert Beuve-Mèry (France); Elebe Ma Ekonzo (Zaire); Gabriel

García Márquez (Colombia); Sergei Losev (USSR); Mochtar Lubis (Indonesia); Michio Nagai (Japan); Fred Isaac Akporuaro Omu (Nigeria); Bogdan Osolnik (Yugoslavia); Gamal El Oteifi (Egypt); Johannes Pieter Pronk (the Netherlands); Juan Somavía (Chile); Boobli George Verghese (India) and Betty Zimmerman (Canada), the only woman on the Commission.

11 Including those of Giuseppe Richeri (Italy), Cees Hamelink (Hollanda), Luis Ramiro Beltrán (Bolivia), Wilbur Schramm (US), Fernando Reyes Matta (Chile), Jean Schwoebel (France), James D. Halloran (Great Britain), Oswaldo Capriles (Venezuela), etc.

12 UNESCO. *Many Voices, One World. Report by the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems*. Paris: Unesco and London: Kogan Page, 1980. UNESCO. *Un solo mundo voces múltiples. Report by the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems* Paris: Unesco and Mexico: FCE, 1980.

13 The IPDC was expanded under the 2nd Medium Term Plan (1984-1989), confirmed in the 3rd Medium Term Plan (1990-1995) and is still in force in 2005. Its mission is to promote "free and plural media" in developing countries and countries in "transition" (see portal.unesco.org/ci/en/ev.phpURL_ID=13270&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html).

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