CHAPTER 26

The Nonhomogeneity of the National State and the International Flow of Communication

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Often the mere title of a scientific chapter contains the essence of the new contribution that the author is using to promote—or confuse—the development of scientific thinking. Thus the main idea of this chapter is contained in the concept of “the nonhomogeneity of the national state,” that is, in the statement that the crucial boundaries in the world do not occur between nations but within them.

It is true of course that nations constitute natural and useful units for everyday thinking and scientific analysis, as is pointed out by C. W. Mills (1959). But on the other hand there is the danger that we will overlook what happens within nations and merely treat the concept of the nation as a “black box” without specifying its internal structure and conflicting forces. The problems related to the international flow of information are often analyzed without considering the inner structure of societies. This is also true of the most recent efforts to oppose the traditional principle of “free flow of information”: in practice it is seen to work in favor of the economically strong nations and against the weak and rising countries, and consequently, the “underdog nations” are recommended a strategy of “cultural sovereignty,” with “cultural screens” to protect them from expansive foreign domination, “cultural imperialism” (Schiller, 1969; Smythe, 1971).

The ongoing process of international economic integration has, at least in Europe, drawn more and more attention to the artificial and misleading character of the idea of a sovereign and homogeneous national state. On the one
hand, trade and production is planned and practiced internationally within politically, economically, and militarily integrated blocks. While on the other hand, labor has faced the realities of an international market. In this context it is realized more widely—and not least by the working class itself—that in all countries based on a free capitalist economy there is the same kind of permanent antagonism between the system of production and those who earn their livelihood by running the system, and that the working class is international not only in slogans but in practice, too (Mandel, 1971). Such current developments have caused a renaissance and an increased appreciation of 100-year-old documents such as the Manifesto of the Communist Party:

The bourgeoisie has through its exploitation of the world market given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country. To the great chagrin of Reactionists, it has drawn from under the feet of industry the national ground on which it stood. All old-established national industries have been destroyed or are daily being destroyed. They are dislodged by new industries, whose introduction becomes a life and death question for all civilized nations, by industries that no longer work up indigenous raw material, but raw material drawn from the remotest zones; industries whose products are consumed, not only at home, but in every quarter of the globe... [Marx and Engels, 1967, p. 46]

In addition to the idea of the nonhomogeneity of the national state, this chapter proposes another basic principle: a distinction between physical and psychological levels and the priority of materialistic and economic phenomena over the phenomena of social consciousness. Thus mass communication should be seen not as an isolated institution for the distribution of information, culture, and entertainment, but as an integral organ of the social body, in which the deepest blood vessels and nervous pathways traverse the politicoeconomic tissue. In order to be able to analyze objectively the present state of world communication flows, we need a historical perspective on the ways in which communication has been integrated into the production system of society and the international structure of nations.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNICATION IN SOCIETY

In the history of communication, four major turning points can be distinguished. The first of these was the acquisition of language, which meant at the same time the birth of man as a human being. The second was the development of the art of writing alongside of communication based on speech. The third fundamental change took place when reproduction of the written word by means of the printing press—mass communication proper—became possible. And finally, the fourth breakthrough—taking place during our lifetime—has been the appearance of electronic communication, beginning with the telegraph, telephone, radio, and television, and continuing now with the development of communication satellites.

The field of communication and the turning points in its history cannot, however, be fruitfully approached in isolation from the rest of society. Communication between human beings is only part of that social activity that in the final analysis has been directed toward gaining a livelihood. The two main differences between man and other creatures, after all, are that he is capable of communicating with his fellowmen through symbols and that he uses tools in coping with his environment. Thus, the history of mankind is at the same time the history of communication, and the latter is at the same time the story of man’s economic activity.

The history of communication must therefore be examined in terms of the social structure at different historical stages, as has been done by Smythe (1969, pp. 53–55). The history of mass communication in the strictest sense—spanning the last five centuries—covers a very brief period from the point of communication as a whole; furthermore, the basic principles of communication have not changed during this period to any noteworthy extent. The following discussion sketches an outline of history in order to recall the functioning of a national state from the viewpoint of communications.

The most primitive way of gaining a livelihood was a clan, consisting of few families, moving around after animal and plant food. The tribal society was an oral community in which the cultural tradition (beliefs, skills, etc.) was transmitted from one generation to another by means of immediate experience.

The patriarchal organization apparent in the clans of the hunting and gathering era was slightly altered with the shift to the village of the period of settled agriculture. This gave rise to a new group of religious leaders, the priesthood. The great importance of the priests in the village society was because of their replacement of the ancestors of the family or clan as an integrating force in society; their control over the leadership of the group was even stronger than that of the chiefs had been, since the priests also controlled the land of the village. The land was not owned by any individual privately; it belonged to the gods, whose authorized representatives on earth were the priests. The birth of the priesthood meant at the same time the birth of a sacred language, not understood by the other members of society who were not initiated into sacred affairs. Like other communication at this stage of history, this secret communication among priests was still exclusively oral.

The next turning point in human history after the village was the birth of the (national) state some 5000 to 7000 years ago, with the Sumerian conquest of Mesopotamia. Compared to the village, the early state was a relatively large society, with a population of several (tens of) thousands and with a military organization for the defense of the society.
The National State and the Flow of Communication

The use of slaves as a work force in such an organized state freed the other members of the society from the need to perform tasks directly related to gaining a livelihood. Thus new occupations constantly arose alongside agriculture, the division of labor increased, and the society became more diversified in its functioning. A new factor in this society is that of commerce, which meant a crucial increase in communication among societies. The merchants carried with them information about other places and transmitted their experiences orally to other men, therefore functioning as a channel of communication from other parts of the world.

The point of view of the merchant was naturally above all that of a seller and purchaser of goods; his observations were grounded in commercial advantage (instead of, for instance, in religious belief), and he also had to bear in mind what he could relate to other merchants and to the other members of his community without endangering his own commercial interests. Along with expanding communication, there thus developed the supposition of important information, which had of course been practiced already a great deal earlier; all magic, after all, is based on secret knowledge.

The development of writing is tied to the early process of urbanization; society began to be so complex that its administration without such aids to memory became impossible.

In addition to the need to write down laws, writing was also needed for bookkeeping in the state administration; the priests were the stewards of the gods here on earth and they needed exact records concerning the rental of land and the payment of taxes. Writing was naturally also needed in commerce; measures and values of goods had to be written down and jointly approved by the parties to the exchange.

Writing not only functioned as an aid to memory, enabling men to transcend time; it also improved the possibilities of communication over space. Furthermore, it was now possible to send secret messages, inaccessible to outsiders. The supposition of information began to be of great importance in matters of state, and it was easy in practice, since only the priesthood and the scribes in their service knew how to write. Thus secret information was known only to a small group of men. The art of writing was from the very beginning an exclusive privilege of the power holders in society, and served the state.

The people at large, meanwhile, remained isolated from such communication. Among a majority of the population, traditional knowledge was transmitted from one generation to the next orally. This situation remained stable for thousands of years. World view was composed of material derived from the oral tradition and information received from political rulers, priests, and merchants. The latter three classes were well informed, both about the state of their own society and about the rest of the world. They had control over knowledge and over channels of communication, and they exploited these for their own good and for that of the state, thus dominating the psychic reality (consciousness) of the masses.

As technology and the means of communication developed from the time of tribal societies onward, they were systematically used to suppress one sector of society and to help others to concentrate more and more power in their own hands. The creation of the state can, in fact, be seen as an organizational solution to the problems of securing and legitimizing this development toward inequality and nondemocracy.

The increasing diversification of society and the expansion of communication that took place at the end of the Middle Ages required an entirely new technique for the transmission of messages; as the number of readers began to grow, letters and manuscripts were no longer enough. Before knowledge and the power that accompanies it could spread among the masses of the people, an efficient technique for the duplication of messages was needed. The invention of the printing press marked, in fact, the beginning of the history of mass communication; only now did it become technically possible to transmit long and complex messages simultaneously to a large and heterogeneous audience.

Another innovation made possible by the printing press, besides the mass-produced book, was that of the newspaper. Newsheets telling about current events were needed above all by merchants for whom such information as the political situation, war developments, the sinking of ships, and so on, was very important. The newspaper played a part in accelerating the stabilization of the capitalist economy. The first regular (weekly) papers were established in Germany, England, Holland, and France—the centers of European commerce and colonization.

The tremendous expansion of industry and commerce during the nineteenth century would before long have come to a dead end without the invention of electronic communication in the middle of the century. Electricity made it possible to conquer the physical obstacles posed by distance; the transmission of a message from one place to another no longer required transportation. Messages could now be transmitted over any distance instantaneously.

The first forms of electronic communication required wires; these were the telephone and the telegraph. By the beginning of the twentieth century, all the more important cities and nations of the world were connected by the network of wire communication. Distance had ceased to be an obstacle to communication; the world had in principle become synchronous. Let us note, however, that the telegraph and telephones were used exclusively for private communication—from one individual to another—and not for public mass communication involving a large and unspecified audience, as was the case with books and newspapers. The wire media served primarily the needs of administrative and commercial communication, both of which involved the suppression of information; for business in particular it was indispensably important to be
able to transmit information from one place to another both rapidly and secretly.

In the beginning of the twentieth century, the printed word—books and newspapers—continued to represent the only forms of mass communication. By that time the press had developed into a significant institution along with the process of industrialization; the concentration of population in industrial cities created a potential audience for mass circulation and the rise of the labor movement mobilized the printed medium in the service of political action. The press also began to be a noteworthy capital-creating industry itself.

The decisive breakthrough in the field of communication took place only with the beginning of wireless communication, which made it possible to receive the same message simultaneously in an unlimited number of locations. Public and synchronous communication were now technically possible; in fact, radio communication could not be anything but public, since it was impossible to prevent others from hearing what was broadcast. The only requirement for the reception of electromagnetic messages was the possession of a receiver.

In the early public broadcasting of the 1910s and 1920s, the general tone of the programs was usually dignified, instructive, and avoided all extremes. Public broadcasting was used mostly to guide the people and to educate them to a conforming way of thinking instead of providing them with the information that they have lacked throughout history and without which they have humbly and unquestioningly submitted to serve the purposes of those with knowledge and thus with power. Thus from the very beginning, radio programs have contained more material directed toward the people and considered suitable by those in power instead of speeches from the people to the power wielders; citizens were instructed as to what they should think instead of being provided with diversified information enabling them to form their own opinions. This general perspective can be shown to be true of so-called "state-controlled" broadcasting as well as of commercially organized broadcasting.

The introduction of television has not changed the broad general framework to any significant degree; it simply entered the operational setup of radio and became perhaps more commercial than the latter. By and large we may conclude that from the Middle Ages to the present, the print media and later the electronic forms of communication (including film) have in general served the expansion of communication from a small group with control over power to practically all members of the society. This however has not necessarily meant a democratization of communication in the sense of the group in power giving up using the media as a means of advancing its own interests.

Thus mass communication based on present-day technology continues to follow principles adopted in the ancient temple states. The only difference is that the modern mass media are even more effective—and subtle—in manipu-
reality. This implies a distinction between subjective reality, that is, that which exists in the consciousness of individuals, and objective reality, which is outside human consciousness and independent of it.

Subjective reality is reality as it exists in the minds of human beings at any given moment; as such, it can be illuminated, for example, by opinion surveys. Objective reality, on the other hand, is that which exists independently of human beings, such as, for example, the statement, "The earth is round." With regard to social phenomena, objective factors include the economic structure of production in society and the laws of its development.

Another point is the way in which reality is changed and the part played in such a change by communication and by awareness. According to Marxist theories of society, people’s consciousness is determined by concrete social structure, by a given individual’s position within the structure of production. However, although material factors of social structure are always primary, this does not mean that consciousness cannot in turn affect social existence. The relationship is not a deterministic but a dialectical one. Lenin, for example, emphasized in his Philosophical Notebooks that man’s consciousness not only reflects the objective world but also creates it.

In this view the function of communication is to arouse in men a need for social consciousness, to induce them to use their consciousness as a force that can bring about social change. In this sense, Marxism emphasizes the fact that social consciousness should be seen not only as a full filler of passive functions, as the defenders, for example, of commercial broadcasting wish to see it, but above all as an active force directed toward the future of man and society (Philosophischer Worterbuch, 1971, p. 425). This is reflected also in the Gramscian ideal of man, to which idealist social science has not been able to postulate its own countervailing conception (Gramsci 1970, p. 58):

...the question: is it preferable to “think” without having critical awareness, in a disjointed and irregular way, in other words to “participate” in a conception of the world “imposed” mechanically by external environment, that is, by one of the many social groups in which everyone is automatically involved from the time he enters the conscious world ... or is it preferable to work out one’s own conception of the world consciously and critically, and so out of this work of one’s own brain to choose one’s own sphere of activity, to participate actively in making the history of the world, and not simply to accept passively and without care the imprint of one’s own personality from outside?

The same idea of a critical and autonomous public as contrasted with the traditional manipulated (and perhaps quasirectical) public has these days been accepted by most intellectuals and even by many political leaders of capitalist countries. This is what the President of Finland said in 1971:

Democracy cannot function under conditions when independent critical thinking does not prevail among the citizens of a nation, when accepted customs and the pressure of public opinion form the content of people’s view of the world. Under such conditions, we cannot speak of the will of the people; this is merely a reflection, an echo of the message which has originated in a small group of privileged individuals who exercise control over the channels of power and of influence. When this is the case, the so-called free market economy, which calls itself the society of free choice, is not entitled to cast stones at so-called totalitarian societies. (Kekkonen, 1971)

In reality, Finland is far from this ideal, as indicated by Littunen and Nordenstreng; the last few years of Finnish broadcasting have clearly revealed that “pluralism in a society with the hegemony of a single social class is a propagandistic fiction rather than an everyday practice” (Littunen and Nordenstreng, 1971, p. 23). The example of Finland shows that even in a modern industrial capitalist state, certain institutionalized norms and values occupy a dominant position. These dominant values determine the general tendencies and character of most of the institutions of the superstructure (legislation, morality, political institutions, and other ideological activities such as education, religion, and other socialization functions). In a capitalist country like Finland, these institutionalized values are essentially bourgeois and thoroughly opposed to socialist values. Not only is the system of school education built on the bourgeois morality and learning conditioned by the rewards of bourgeois virtues, but the machinery of daily agitation and propaganda reinforces this Weltanschauung.

We define an existing hegemony as a mechanism that “fills in” people’s thinking and Weltanschauung. The relation between consciousness and the hegemony is a dialectical one. Consciousness may promote or prevent historical development, depending on the kind of ideological influence that dominates the masses. The term “false consciousness” is used to refer to the historical lag that exists when mass consciousness reflects the reality of a past society in the interest of ruling classes. Incidentally, the concept of hegemony sets the question of supply and demand in mass communication in an essentially different light compared to the prevailing Western commercial principle, which views the recipient’s prevailing taste as the ultimate guideline for designing the supply of messages.

Communication as a part of ideological preparation is necessary in order to arouse the oppressed classes. Power is needed to control the reactionary counterforces and to minimize their influence. When a capitalist society is transformed into a socialist one, the freedoms of the old press are usually restricted or abolished in order to break the bourgeois hegemony. A current example of another kind is that of Chile, where the old freedom of the press has been preserved, although we must bear in mind that Chile is not yet a socialist country but only moving toward socialism. Another interesting example in the modern world is the German Democratic Republic. This country is undergoing a fundamental change from a fascist society into a socialist one.
WORLD IN TRANSITION

We can see that in the historical development the suppressed classes of society first had to be able to analyze carefully (with the help of a vanguard) the conditions of their society in order to be able to break it down and build a new and more progressive system. Human beings were able to fly only after they became aware of the forces that chained them to the earth and of the ways in which they could overcome the force of gravity. Thus, for example, the revolutionary bourgeoisie of France created in the eighteenth century an ideology that in many ways reflected the reality correctly; this ideology could therefore be used as the theoretical basis for the bourgeois revolution. The interests of the rising bourgeoisie were represented as the interests of the society as a whole. Similarly, at a later stage of development, socialism can be seen to break through as the most sophisticated and progressive analysis of the state of affairs and their future course.

The historical development of mankind has lead to the present-day global situation, marked by two divergent theories of human life and social organization: capitalism and socialism. In addition to this ideological dimension there is the problem of the developing countries. The historical evidence tends to show, however, that the relative deprivation of colonized societies (underdevelopment) is closely linked with the rise of capitalism; neocolonialism is accordingly not a separate problem (Frank 1969 and Smythe 1969). Thus the crucial factor in today's world is that of the roles of the two dominating ideologies with their variants.

In terms of the previous passages, we may state that both of these world systems have mobilized the channels of communication in society in order to gain or maintain a hegemony of consciousness among the intellectuals and the general public. Representing a historically earlier stage of development, capita-
that in Finland, for example, 2 to 3% of the GNP is used to produce mass communication, that is, the same share as that of any significant branch of production (e.g., the textile industry). Of the total money involved in running the mass media institutions, as much as 70% is controlled by private capital and only 30% is under democratic control (e.g., the budget of the Finnish Broadcasting Company). Thus capital is interested not only in using the channels of communication to manipulate the mass consciousness according to its interests, but also in using them directly to produce a profit. Advertising plays a central role in this “alliance between profit making and consciousness control”; it gives the media almost one half of their income and it is an essential component in the stream of messages functioning as a cultural barrier to protect the economic system.

In the present era of economic integration, capital has become more and more internationalized and it is becoming impossible in practice and artificial in theory to distinguish between domestic and foreign elements in mass media: both serve the same functions in profit making as well as consciousness control. As stated in the beginning of this chapter, national boundaries are not as crucial as boundaries within nations, and consequently, discussion of international phenomena—as “the international flow of communication” in our title—should be understood at least partly in terms of intranational phenomena (e.g., class interests). Keeping these considerations in mind, we now turn to some facts about the composition of the flow of television program material.

A study still in progress at the University of Tampere has attempted to establish what may be called an inventory of television program output throughout the world (for a general description of the project, see Varis, 1971). A tentative picture of the global situation is presented in Tables 1 to 3. An overall observation on the program structure in various countries is that the commercial pattern has been penetrating widely even to the parliamentary or government-dominated noncommercial TV stations. The general dependence on foreign production in the middle-sized countries seems to account for around 30% of total program time (Table 1). The influence of imported material is more evident in the category of entertainment (Table 2). The crucial point in this international exchange is that the sources of import seem to be highly concentrated in the same centers of origin. The quality and tendencies of these productions are determined by commercial “taste.”

The dependence of foreign production with regard to information programs is more difficult to estimate. It seems, however, that similar relations exist here as in the case of entertainment (Table 3). Unfortunately our study has not yet reached the stage of tracing the international “pipelines” of film and video material, that is, the TV “software market.” It will be interesting to supplement with TV material the global view presented in the field of feature films by Guback (1969).

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Table 1 Percentage of Imported (Exchange and Import) TV Programs in Various Countries (Around 1970)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country/Institution (if More Than One)</th>
<th>Imported Programs (Percent, Hours)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>40 (1300)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>26 (447)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>54 (1202)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>22 (782)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>20 (342)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>24 (856)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>27 (—)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom/ITV</td>
<td>13 (—)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia/Beograd</td>
<td>18 (330)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle East</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>52 (1658)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi Arabia/Rivadhi TV</td>
<td>31 (832)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi Arabia/Aramco TV</td>
<td>100 (—)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Arab Republic</td>
<td>41 (2636)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>34 (152)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan/NHK, General TV</td>
<td>1 (94)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>71 (2574)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines/ABS-CBN</td>
<td>29 (3756)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republic of Korea/TBC</td>
<td>31 (1569)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Americas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chile/Canal 13</td>
<td>46 (—)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costa Rica</td>
<td>85 (—)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>73 (—)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>Average 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The table is not systematic because at the present stage all relevant data are not available from each country.

The present state of affairs has inspired some observers to look for a “democratic and humane use” of mass communication at national as well as international level (cf. Schiller 1969). Besides looking for another use of the media, we may ask what kinds of organizational solutions are desirable and achievable.

We are only beginning to find some tentative answers. Some main principles, however, are beginning to emerge; there is, for example, no warrant at the present stage for aiming at the kind of decentralized and multilateral
Table 2  Proportion of Series and Films of the Total Programming Time and the Amount and Main Sources of Foreign Production in Various TV Stations*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country/Institution</th>
<th>Percentage of the Total Programming (h)</th>
<th>Percentage of Imported Material</th>
<th>Main Sources of Import</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Series (Percent)</td>
<td>Films (Percent)</td>
<td>Series (Percent)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German Federal Republic/</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZDF</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Including series)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Including series)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>(Including series)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>(Films 14%)</td>
<td>(Films 12%)</td>
<td>(Films including)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soviet Union/Leningrad</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom/BBC-1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia/Beograd</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle East</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq*</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebanon/Tele-Orient</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi Arabia/Riyadh TV</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi Arabia/Aramco TV</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>(Films including)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Arab Republic</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yemen</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan/NHK, General TV</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines/ABS-CBN</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republic of Korea/TBC</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taiwan/TV Enterprise</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>(Including drama)</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMERICA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominican Republic/Corp.</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico/Telesistema</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The table is not systematic because at the present stage all relevant data are not available from each country.
* The category of "shows" includes 53% total programming time though "series" and "films" form a minor part.
Table 3  Proportion of Current Affairs, News, and Documentaries of Total Programming Time and the Amount and Main Sources of Foreign Production in Various TV Stations^a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country/Institution</th>
<th>Percentage of Current Affairs, News, and Documentaries of the Total Programming (h) (Percent)</th>
<th>Percentage of Imported Material (Percent)</th>
<th>Main Sources of Import</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>47</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German Federal</td>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republic/ZDF</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>USSR, Poland, Italy, Belgium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>USA, UK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>USA, UK, BRD.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td>USA, UK, Scandinavia, USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>USA</td>
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<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>16</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soviet Union/</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leningrad</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom/</td>
<td>22</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BBC</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom/</td>
<td>38</td>
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<tr>
<td>ITV</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia/Beograd</td>
<td>38</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Middle East</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>USA, UK, France, Italy</td>
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<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebanon/Tele-Orient</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Saudi Arabia/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riyadh TV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi Arabia/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aramco TV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Arab Republic</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>USA, USSR, UK, France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yemen</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>USSR, GDR, France, UK, Italy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Asia  
Japan/NHK, General TV  
Malaysia  
Philippines/ABS-CBN  
Republic of Korea/TBC  
Taiwan/TV Enterprise  
America  
Dominical Republic/Corp.  
Mexico/Telesistema

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Main Sources of Import</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Japan/NHK</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>USA, UK, Canada, USSR, France, BRD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General TV</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>USA, UK, France, Belgium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>USA, UK, France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines/ABS-CBN</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>USA, UK, Japan, France, Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republic of Korea/TBC</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>USA, UK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taiwan/TV Enterprise</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominical Republic/Corp.</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico/Telesistema</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>USA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

^a The table is not systematic because at the present stage all relevant data are not available from each country.  
^b Mainly documentaries (31%).  
^c Different system of categorization. If current cultural programs are included the percentage is 38%.  
^d Percentage of documentaries only.

The National State and the Flow of Communication

communication system that, for example, Enzensberger (1970) seems to be recommending and that also is the credo among many cable TV enthusiasts. It is in itself a romantic idea of people communicating in their own terms, but it is hardly realistic in the concentrated and internationalized mass media field of today; it is historically naive to think that international capital, within the present politicoeconomical framework, would suddenly cede the strategically important mass media to the people.

To our minds, concentration must be accepted at the present stage, and it is not necessarily an evil. This is not the view of the prevalent American thinking, even in the case of progressive scientists such as Schiller. The important questions are who controls the concentrated production, whose goals does it serve, and on whose terms does it function. Capitalist trusts and monopolies—in the field of mass communication as elsewhere—have been outside the reach of control by the mass audience and have been controlled exclusively by capital. At present, however, they are beginning to merge to a greater and greater extent with the state and with the political decision-making process (e.g., the military-industrial complex), in which the people have at least a formal voice. Parliamentary control over production—that is, concentrated control over a concentrated system—is thus at the present stage in history the most sensible
strategy, even though such control is not likely to affect the basic direction of production (either in the field of communication or in any other area) to any sizable extent; the bourgeois state has throughout history been on the side of capital and power instead of on that of the masses and labor.

Thus, while aiming at increasingly democratic control of communication, we must follow social developments closely; it is also not necessary to lose faith even if the results of our efforts seem scanty or if the progressive line undergoes momentary reverses (as has been the case in Finnish broadcasting; cf. Littunen and Nordenskrag, 1971). The present stage in the history of capitalist and industrial society is characterized by the increasing and irrevocable exposure of social conflicts, in spite of the way in which the marketing and manipulation machinery relentlessly fills the consciousness of the population with messages consistent with the interests of the state and of the production system.

The Scandinavian countries are a good example; although they have often been adduced as exemplary democracies, cracks are now beginning to appear in the elegant facade. This is the case not least in Sweden, the furthest advanced of the Scandinavian countries. As though in a last effort, an unprecedentedly large campaign has been launched there that may be interpreted as a typical case of propaganda of a state-monopoly capitalism; in the name of "social information," the people are taught, with the use of their own taxes, to think in such a way that the power structure is not endangered. But even here, communication cannot remedy the basic problem; the Scandinavian countries will remain manipulative democracies in which social activity is based not on the initiative of the people but on the relentless pressure of the production and marketing machinery. No such society, however, can function for long; sooner or later it is forced to adopt an active and fundamentally renewing approach to its problems.

It has become the fashion to frighten one's audience with Orwellian and Huxleyan images of the future, with visions of a society based on total manipulation (e.g., Nordenstrek, 1970, p. 5). We no longer do so, first because we have lost faith in the omnipotence of communication, and second because we have begun to feel that the Orwellian utopia is a historical impossibility, a horror story for adults. If world history really depended on the gullibility of the people, our development would have come to an end at the level of the pagan rites of tribal society or at the latest with the class divisions of feudalism. The historical fact seems to be that a renewing power always lifts society onward to a higher level, regardless of the resistance of contemporaries.

The world is in transition that in the last analysis is determined by the strains and conflicts within nations—and not primarily by international conflicts or technological innovations as it first appears to be. We view the inter-

national streams of communication as a manifestation of the ruling interests of the societies from which they originate and not as a unanimous output of the nations involved. In the course of history, the ruling class in each society has maneuvered the main media of communication (as well as other means of exercising power) to contribute to its interests in various ways; for example, by producing material profit (accumulation of capital) and by controlling the consciousness of the oppressed classes. Accordingly, the main point of this paper is to suggest an examination of the international flow of communication in terms of the social classes that on the one hand control its production and on the other hand constitute its destination ("consciousness consumption").

As nations are understood to be nonhomogenous in their character, the developing countries can no longer be seen as simple and poor national units at the mercy of the abundant supply of the manufactured products (TV programs) of the developed countries. In fact, the national oligarchy of a developing country has very close interests with those who sell the products of the industrialized countries, whereas the material interests of the poor masses are often almost in opposition to those of the ruling class. That the situation in a developing country seldom looks like this is not necessarily an indication of a national harmony but often just a demonstration of an underdeveloped or carefully controlled consciousness of the masses. In this view one should not wonder why Western TV material enjoys such a popular market in the Third World; it is not only because imported material is so cheap but also because it well serves the maintaining of the socioeconomic status quo.

Our approach, then, does not view the media and their content in isolation from the socio-politico- economical structures; we are careful not to overdifferentiate between the establishment (including the government and the private sector) and the media system. It is not sufficient to look at what happens within the media and try to change their policies, since most of the determining forces operate from outside, through institutional structures. However, the mass media should not be viewed as 100% "deterministic," either; there is always a marginal scope of freedom (perhaps some 20 to 30%) to change the practices within the media. Finnish broadcasting may also offer an example of such a more optimistic perspective: a systematic reappraisal of news values and a formulation of policy for news transmission (Nordenstrek, 1971).

We do not deny that something may be done to change the present media situation (and we are constantly working on that). We claim, however, that those who want to limit their devotion in changing the world only within the media are biased in their analysis and policy. Mass media and the international flow of communication should be seen as an integral part of wider national structures; the latter, in turn, should not be seen as a homogenous framework but as a historically determined system of potential conflicts.
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Communications Technology and Social Policy

UNDERSTANDING THE NEW "CULTURAL REVOLUTION"

Edited by

GEORGE GERBNER
LARRY P. GROSS
WILLIAM H. MELODY

Communications Technology and Social Policy:
Understanding the New "Cultural Revolution"

A WILEY-INTERSCIENCE PUBLICATION

JOHN WILEY & SONS, New York • London • Sydney • Toronto
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