

The American Press Coverage of The
Fourth Extraordinary Session
of the UNESCO General Conference
Paris 1982

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contract with UNESCO

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THE STUDY

This is the report of the coverage in the American press of the fourth extraordinary session of UNESCO's General Conference held in Paris in the fall of 1982. The study was based on an analysis of daily newspaper items compiled for UNESCO by the Luce Press Clipping Service of New York; a file of 21 wire stories obtained from the Associated Press and United Press International as dispatched from Paris; press releases about the conference issued by UNESCO's Office of Public Information in Paris; and responses to letters of inquiry addressed to U.S. journalists covering or processing stories about the conference.

Two principal objectives guided the study. The first was to conduct a systematic quantitative analysis of the extent and nature of the coverage. The coding was done by two trained analysts who, together with the principal investigator, developed a topic classification system (Appendix II) and used that system to independently code the presence and prominence of each topic in every item that made reference to the conference. Reliability on 20 double-coded items was computed for a nominal scale using the agreement coefficient $1 - \frac{\text{observed disagreement}}{\text{expected disagreement}}$ and yielded an average coefficient of .89 with the lowest score being .64 (See Appendix IV).

The second major objective was to show the operation of news values and other factors at work by constructing a narrative account comparing the actual conference with the press coverage.

In the report that follows we shall first describe the course of the conference. Next we will present the overall findings of the analysis and provide an account of the press coverage in three parts: the highlights of wire service coverage; a chronology of the press coverage itself; and a summary of the editorial attention that followed the conference.

The final section will view the entire coverage as a system of messages and report the findings of the quantitative analysis of the distribution of attention and emphasis in the system.

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The Conference

UNESCO's general policies are set forth in 6-year Medium-Term Plans. These provide guidelines for the preparation of specific programs (and budgets) to be voted on by the General Conference.

The current Medium-Term Plan was adopted at the fourth extraordinary session of the General Conference held in Paris from November 23 through December 3, 1982. Preliminary drafts had elicited 105 replies from member states, 19 from intergovernmental organizations, and 83 from nongovernmental organizations. Extensive consultations and negotiations helped reduce drafts of over 3,000 typed pages to a 256-page working document for the Paris conference. Organized in two major commissions, informal working groups, and 17 plenary sessions, delegates of 158 countries attending the fourth extraordinary session debated, amended, and finally unanimously adopted the Medium-Term Plan to guide the policies of UNESCO from 1984 through 1989.

In the first morning's meeting of the Credentials Committee, Arab states objected to accepting the credentials of Israel signed in the occupied city of Jerusalem. Vietnam protested the seating of Kampuchea. The USSR and Bulgaria opposed the presence of a West Berlin resident in the West German delegation as violating the quadripartite agreement concerning West Berlin.

The Credentials Committee brushed aside the objections. Its recommendation for accepting all formally correct credentials was quickly approved at the first plenary meeting.

On the morning of the second day, Director-General Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow presented the Medium-Term Plan. The first part of the plan, he explained, focused on the general tasks that world problems impose on the organization. The second part proposed 14 major programs and budgets to support them.

The world problems M'Bow emphasized were the increasing "globalization" of human activities making nations vulnerable and dependent; the widening "fault lines criss-crossing the world" and "threatening to reduce vast numbers to despair;" massive violation of human rights; and the arms race draining resources while threatening total destruction.

Five tasks defined the substance of the 14 major programs of the Medium-Term Plan. The first, continued tracking of world problems, was discussed in the first major program entitled "Reflection on world problems and future-oriented studies." The second task, achieving full participation in society, was addressed in the second major program on "Education for all" and in the third, entitled "Communication in the service of man."

The third task was the development of capabilities to use knowledge and the development of knowledge itself, giving rise to four major programs: "The formulation and application of education policies," "Education, training, and society," "The sciences and

their application to development," and "Information systems and access to knowledge."

The fourth task before UNESCO was to facilitate change and transitions necessary in different societies. The three major programs addressing that need were "Principles, methods, and strategies of action for development," "Science, technology, and society," and "The human environment and terrestrial and marine resources."

The fifth task proposed by M'Bow as essential to the goals of understanding, peace, and mutual respect, was central to major programs on "Culture and the future," "The elimination of prejudice, intolerance, racism, and apartheid," and "Peace, international understanding, human rights and the rights of peoples." The last major program, entitled "The status of women," was defined as an area relevant to all tasks.

Delegates took the better part of two weeks to reach consensus on the major programs. These were to be voted on by resolutions endorsing them in principle, leaving specific programs to be hammered out at the next General Conference. While two commissions, their discussion units, and informal working groups struggled to compose compromise drafts acceptable to all, chief delegates staked out policy positions in plenary meetings.

The fourth plenary session in the afternoon of the second day produced an unusual intervention by the Director-General. Stung by comments made by chief Swiss delegate Ernesto Thalmann, M'Bow objected to his characterization of the Director-General's opening

speech as "elementary ideological Manicheism" subordinating individual rights to "the rights of peoples" (an expression connoting collective rights embodied in states and governments). In his sharp retort M'Bow expressed misgivings about press coverage:

"When the delegate from Switzerland says that UNESCO should carefully avoid plunging into one-sided propaganda regarding disarmament, I would like to know what propaganda he is referring to because it is formulations of this kind which are most often used by the press -- and we know what kind of press -- to attempt to denigrate the Organization and perhaps come to the result indicated by Mr. Thalmann when he says that the interest shown in the Organization in his country is tending to diminish. I think that a President of a National Commission ought to seek out the objective reasons for this state of affairs."

In the same session, the head of the United States delegation, Ambassador Jean S. Gerard, urged emphasis on "concrete programs of technical and developmental benefit" instead of the more theoretical and polemical drift of some of the draft programs.

The next day visiting Greek President Constantin Karamanlis addressed the conference and urged it to slow the arms race and narrow the gap of inequality between North and South "which is continually growing and will upset the balance of the world and ultimately threaten the peace."

Commenting on the debate at the fourteenth meeting, Director-General M'Bow noted his satisfaction over the general acceptance of the Medium-Term Plan and described the variety of views expressed and

reconciled in its provisions. In smoothing the way toward eventual unanimous approval in the coming days, M'Bow stressed the complexity of the issues and urged moderation and conciliation. For example, in speaking of the wishes and aspirations of "many delegates, from all the regional groupings" for redressing the imbalance in world communication, M'Bow "felt it was too soon for the General Conference to take a decision at the present session on the preparation of a declaration concerning the principles of a New World Information and Communication Order."

At the end of the conference, Ambassador Gerard pointed out that although the American delegation joined in the consensus in the spirit of international cooperation, it did not agree with all aspects of the plan. She took particular exception to its formulation of the "rights of peoples," to its analysis of peace and international relations, and to its provision of assistance to national liberation movements. On most issues before the conference, the American delegation appeared to be satisfied with the results. (See Appendix I for the table of contents of the Medium-Term Plan, showing major program subdivisions and the percentage of space devoted to each major program in the final report.)

Following adoption of the major program on "Communication in the Service of Man" Director-General M'Bow made some pointed comments about press coverage. He complained of the "tendentious character" of information in some member states. "I will go further; when the Director-General himself has sought to point out this tendentious nature and to give explanations, the newspapers or the media

presenting UNESCO programs or the so-called attitudes of UNESCO, have never deigned to publish the corrections made by UNESCO..."

"Of course, I will respect and carry out all the decisions taken by the General Conference," declared M'Bow, "but I would add immediately that UNESCO cannot remain indifferent to the content of information about its own activities. I intend, immediately after the General Conference, to have a study made of the way in which this General Conference has been covered by the information media. I think this is right. If the information media have the liberty to say what they like, then others have the right to judge what they say...."

The origin of this study rests in those remarks. The project was conducted independently and was designed to provide a systematic and reliable analysis of how American newspapers use their "liberty to say what they like," and to furnish an objective basis for others "to judge what they say."

Press Coverage

International politics in general, and UNESCO in particular, get little attention in the American press. Only one in about 15 daily newspapers printed anything at all about the extraordinary session. The coverage was controlled by a few central organizations and sources, and was spread thinly across the country. Most of the 116 daily newspapers that printed anything at all carried only one small item.

The 117 news stories and 60 editorials published across the country illustrate the distribution and nature of press attention. It can be seen on Table 1 that all but a handful of the news

TABLE 1: SOURCES OF ITEMS IN THE PRESS COVERAGE

Source	No. of Stories	Total circulation in 1000's
United Press International	42	11,518
Associated Press	50	9,580
Reuters	8	2,196
New York Times	12	5,180
Not indicated	5	3,150
Editorials	<u>60</u>	<u>8,188</u>
Totals	177	40,037

stories and three-quarters of the combined news story circulations came from three wire agencies (66 percent from United Press International and the Associated Press alone). The only notable exception to the wire service domination was the New York Times, the source of 12 stories with a combined circulation of over 5 million. Of these, 5 were published in the Times and 7 in other newspapers that carry the syndicated New York Times service.

Only 10 newspapers published 4 or more items or achieved a combined item circulation of over 1 million. They are listed in Table 2. (A complete list of papers, items, and circulations can be

TABLE 2: NEWSPAPERS THAT PUBLISHED 4 OR MORE
ITEMS AND/OR ITEMS WITH COMBINED CIRCULATION
OF MORE THAN 1 MILLION

Newspaper	No. of items	Combined circ. in 1000's
Los Angeles Times, CA	5	5,092
New York Times, NY	5	4,209
Chicago Sun Times, IL	4	2,704
Chicago Tribune, IL	3	2,342
Philadelphia Inquirer, PA	5	2,119
Washington Post, DC	3	1,753
New York News, NY	1	1,606
Boston Globe, MA	3	1,448
San Francisco Chronicle, CA	3	1,422
San Diego Union, CA	6	1,190

found in Appendix III.) Only one paper, the San Diego Union, carried as many as 6 items. The New York Times, Los Angeles Times, and Philadelphia Inquirer carried 5 each, the Chicago Sun Times 4, and all others 3 or less. The largest combined item circulations were achieved by the Los Angeles Times, New York Times, Chicago Sun Times, Chicago Tribune, Philadelphia Inquirer, and Washington Post, in that order.

News agency highlights

Wire service coverage began on November 20 with an announcement of appointments to the American delegation and a comprehensive preview by Harry Dunphy of the Associated Press. The story (that no paper printed in full) gave an account of the issues to come before the conference, predicted "wrangling over chapters on communications and people's rights," forecast conflict over Israel and Cambodia, and noted that "watchdog bodies such as the U.S.-based World Press

Freedom Committee remain suspicious of the agency's long-term objectives." It also cited an unnamed "Western delegate" saying that "In paying attention to controversial areas such as communications and human rights, it's important not to overlook the important work UNESCO does in many areas." (Only one paper, the San Diego Union, carried that sentence.)

The United Press International preview story had a narrower focus. It began:

Paris (UPI) - The tone was set Monday for a two-week special session on the future of UNESCO with a senior official levelling harsh criticism at journalists who sensationalize the UNESCO debate on establishment of a new information order."

After listing titles of major programs, the story went on to strike notes that were to reverberate throughout the coverage:

UNESCO views these programs as its most important spheres of operation and has made a concerted effort to keep them in the public eye. But attention has persistently focussed on UNESCO's controversial proposal for a new world information and communication order.

During a pre-conference briefing UNESCO spokesman Henri Lopes harshly criticized attention on the communications plan.

"I think there have been more than 'misunderstandings' by the media. I would say there has been a consciously orchestrated campaign against UNESCO," said Lopes, the Deputy Director of UNESCO for program support.

"It seems that there is a great lack of interest by some of the media in issues other than what concerns them directly. This somewhat suspicious self-interest is perhaps looking for sensationalism," he charged.

Lopes bitterly repudiated members of the western press for focussing on and "misinterpreting" a 10-page section in the 256-page plan dealing with "communication in the service of man."

The plan, initiated mainly by Third World countries, proposes programs to develop national communications policies and technologies, training in all aspects of the media, and developing free flow of books, film and news to raise the level of knowledge of world problems.

The response to the UNESCO communications plan has been widespread concern, particularly by the media of the industrialized world, who claim the plan would lead to control on freedom of the press.

The tone of the original proposal has been softened in response to the criticism and UNESCO Director-General Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow has publicly denied any intent to harness the media to serve particular causes. He has said he would not support any form of censorship.

"But the draft plan will need massive changes to eliminate all the code words that keep alive threats to freedom of the press," said Dana Bullen, executive director of the Washington-based World Press Freedom Committee, a grouping of 32 news organizations that has been a principle critic of the UNESCO communications strategy.

"I hope these changes will come, but it is far too early to be optimistic," he said on the eve of the opening session.

Much was at stake for UNESCO during the meetings which end Dec. 3. The United States has threatened to withdraw funding that represents one-quarter of the UNESCO annual budget of \$208 million.

The threat could be carried out if the U.S. delegation feels the Medium Term Plan opts for limiting freedom of the press.

The first AP dispatch from the conference itself, filed on November 23, headlined "POLITICAL DISPUTES DOMINATE OPENING SESSION," stated that "The Arab states, with the support of the Soviet bloc, Iran and some African and Asian states challenged Israel's credentials" and went on to describe their objections (which were never entered as a formal challenge). Reuter similarly (and incorrectly) claimed that the credentials were challenged. UPI merely reported that "A possible rift...was averted," but went on to

note that "The issue could nonetheless rise again" and to repeat the U.S. threat to withdraw funding.

On November 26, an 820-word AP story began "The United States clashed with developing nations Friday in a UNESCO debate over a program that the Third World says will provide more balanced news coverage of their concerns and the U.S. government contends will foster state control of the press." Guyana delegate Christopher A. Nascimento was cited as spearheading the move "to promote a proposed 'world information and communication order.' Among other things, it would establish systems for sharing technical facilities, create more regional news agencies and draft a code of ethics for journalists." The story continued to cite Nascimento and the U.S. reply:

Nascimento said journalists must be free to do their job with reasonable access to nations and leaders, but this should be reciprocal.

"A reporter from The New York Times demands automatic right of entry to Guyana and expects to interview our president," Nascimento said. "A reporter from Guyana waits weeks for a visa to enter the United States and President Reagan is beyond his wildest dreams..."

Speaking for the United States, State Department official James Daniel Phillips said his government and the U.S. business sector were prepared to help provide developing countries with communications equipment and technology.

But he said the proposals for a communications order had the underlying theme of identifying independent news agencies as the problem. He argued that state control of news was just as much a concern.

Phillips said one area for potential abuse was a concept in UNESCO documents on protection of journalists which "could give international justification for state control of journalists in the guise of protecting them."

But he said the United States supported parts of the UNESCO communications proposals that are "designed to promote a plurality of voices in the media...."

At a briefing for reporters, U.S. permanent representative Jean S. Gerard said she feared there would not be enough time to act on the hundreds of resolutions that various nations had presented to the conference that is scheduled to end next Friday.

She also said that if there were elements in the proposals on communications and human rights that the United States opposed, she would not vote to adopt the plan by consensus, the usual UNESCO procedure.

She added she did not believe the United States would be alone if it should be forced to vote "no" because other countries also might object to certain sections of the plan.

The UPI filed a similar account under the byline of Bureau Chief Brigid Phillips. Its key parts stated:

Paris (UPI) - The United States and Britain Friday opposed adoption of an international agreement on world communications they say would endanger freedom of the press.

Sharp debate opened between industrialized and developed countries on the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization plan for a "new world information and communication order."

The proposal, backed mainly by Third World countries, ranges from strategies to expand communications facilities in the developing world to encouraging use of journalism to raise the level of education and knowledge.

The proposal has "tremendous potential for good or ill," said U.S. Representative to UNESCO James Phillips, who particularly criticized parts of the draft plan that call for "appropriate content of messages."

"What international body could agree on what constitutes a responsible role for the media in any given society?" Phillips asked during an address to delegates debating UNESCO's program for 1984-9....

The U.S. position was also strongly endorsed by independent journalists' organizations. Dana Bullen, executive director of the Washington-based World Press Freedom Committee term the U.S. position "an excellent statement of the concerns of the free press."

East Bloc and Third World countries, however, offered much greater support for UNESCO's communications proposals which have been under debate in the Paris-based body for a decade.

India's representative, T. N. Kaul, lashed out at critics of the Medium-Term Plan, saying nations should "not cast stones at each other. Nowhere in the world - north, south, east or west - is there a free and unfettered press...."

"It is UNESCO's task to provide free and equitable distribution and use of mass communication so each country is in a position to educate and inform its own people...."

The U.S. Congress has threatened to withdraw funding if it feels UNESCO adopts a program limiting freedom of the press. The two-week General Conference, however, would only make recommendations to the UNESCO bureaucracy, delaying indefinitely any final decision on the wording of the Medium-Term Plan.

Midway through the session, the communications section, one out of the 13 major programs of the Medium-Term Plan, emerged as the main if not only one of interest to the press. The AP dispatch of November 28 stated, in its entirety:

The fate of a controversial plan to establish a "world information and communications order" will be decided Tuesday following its tentative adoption by a UNESCO commission.

A final vote on whether to adopt the media plan will come at a plenary session of a two-week general conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization attended by representatives of 158 nations.

The 13-point communications program has been backed strongly by Third World countries. They contend a new information order is needed, saying news organizations in developed Western countries dominate news coverage in Third

World regions, emphasizing violence and overlooking progressive developments.

Many Western nations have criticized the proposal, expressing fears it would threaten press freedoms by giving governments the right to license journalists and to enforce their interpretations of international codes of ethics.

The plan, which has been in working stages for four years, won tentative approval Saturday night from a UNESCO commission after 20 hours of debate.

When the communications program, labeled as designed to establish a new world information order (NWIO), was amended and approved in the working commission, an AP dispatch of December 1 gave a detailed account of a change of symbolic significance. UPI moved a similar but shorter piece. The AP story said:

Delegates to UNESCO commission on Wednesday approved a compromise plan for the organization's future activities in communications after disputes over the watchdog function of the press and the possibility of news censorship.

A full meeting of the 158-nation conference of the U.N. Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization is expected to adopt the communications chapter by Friday along with other sections dealing with the organization's program for the rest of the decade.

The Soviet Union, supported by several Third World countries, opposed passages of the communications plan that said the mass media "could make an important contribution in scrutinizing all actions that might lead to abuses of power."

The Soviets and some developing nations such as India and Algeria also said they were unhappy with a change that removed the word "content" in speaking about "messages" - the term used by UNESCO to include information the media transmit, including news dispatches, television and books.

In the drafting, Western governments were eager to remove a passage that said the "international community cannot ignore the content" of messages.

Western nations regard the word "content" as a code word indicating governments can have a say in news reports

- possibly opening the way to censorship. The word "content was replaced with "messages and what they say," a phrase that apparently satisfies the Western delegations.

The position of the Soviet bloc and some Third World countries is that because this exchange of information can affect the future of mankind the international community has a right to be concerned about content.

Soviet delegate Georgi A. Stetsenko said he was surprised to see changes made in a text he said had been agreed on by most members of a drafting group that met behind closed doors for 16 hours until 3 a.m. Saturday.

Der Thiam of Senegal, the commission president, who pushed the communications chapter through on a consensus vote, said the confusion about the text was caused because delegates in the drafting group were tired and did not go over what they agreed on....

AP's final wrapup story on December 3 kept the spotlight on the media issue. It led off with M'Bow's charge that "reporting by the Western media of the organization's activities amounted to a 'tendentious campaign' that he said he would challenge."

UPI moved a similar story saying the conference "has ended with nations agreeing to disagree on the most controversial parts" of the plan. "Much to the consternation of UNESCO officials," said the story, "the focus of attention for both delegates and journalists was the controversial matter of the communications program." The story conceded U.S. and Western satisfaction over the outcome, but concluded:

"The challenge to UNESCO now is to prove at a practical level that programs in the field do not threaten press freedoms," said a spokesman for independent journalists' associations attending the conference.

Based on past experience with the UNESCO bureaucracy, some officials said they felt there could be cause for discouragement.

Chronology of coverage

That generally downbeat and speculative tone characterized most of the scanty coverage that actually appeared in the newspapers. The chronology of the amount of coverage can be seen on Table 3. The New York Times' preview story on November 22 matched the focus and orientation of the press agencies. It began: "The Western press is preparing for another confrontation with the developing countries and the Soviet Bloc over questions of press freedom." Brief notices the next days just paraphrased the story in one or two paragraphs saying "Western powers braced Monday for a new battle with the Soviet bloc and developing nations over press freedom..." or UNESCO "began a debate on human rights and the Western media Tuesday, threatening to renew differences between developing and industrial nations."

Taking its cue from the press coverage, the Christian Science Monitor carried a long editorial on press freedom and the UNESCO conference, concluding "If the new world order for information becomes a Christmas tree of small qualifications of freedom, it will be no gift to anyone."

Director-General M'Bow's opening address was featured in three stories on November 24. Others focused on the credentials "challenge," Dana Bullen's criticism of the communications plan, and the threatened cut-off of funds. An editorial in the New Haven Register suggested that the "net effect" of "a set of principles" approved by a "special political committee" of UNESCO "will be to enable nations to veto incoming satellite television broadcasts from

TABLE 3: THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE COVERAGE

Date of stories	No. of stories	Total circulation
November 21	3	599
22	2	883
23	2	350
24	10	2334
25	8	2126
26	1	19
27	24	6179
28	10	2183
29	8	2131
30	1	19
December 1	1	105
2	21	5568
3	6	1388
4	15	6234
5	5	642
6	4	922
7	2	1069
8	4	1335
9	3	278
10	7	602
11	3	525
12	2	292
13	2	33
14		
15	2	658
16	1	
17	2	58
18	1	24
19	3	707
20		
21		
22	1	17
23	1	43
24		
25		
26		
27		
28		
29	3	142
30	3	50
31		
January 1		
2		
3	3	57
4		
5		
6		
7	1	191
8	1	86
9	1	125
10		
11	1	122
12	1	157

abroad," and generally chided the organization for trying to "stop good things -- like the free flow of information among peoples."

Most headlines claimed "US, THIRD WORLD FEUD OVER PRESS PLAN," or "UNESCO STRATEGY FOR THE '80s CRITICIZED." An exception was the New York Times story on M'Bow's speech headlined "UNESCO TO FIGHT GAP BETWEEN RICH AND POOR."

What the press dubbed the "doomsday speech" by visiting Greek President Karamanlis rated 7 stories to 6 devoted to M'Bow's keynote address. Editorials in the Quincy (Mass.) Patriot Ledger and the Arlington Heights (Ill.) Herald scored the "satellite veto" UNESCO was claimed to have approved. Another editorial in the Baltimore News-American, entitled "HIT 'EM WHERE IT HURTS," declared that "It's time to get tough" and cut off U.S. funds "If any freedom of press threat remains at the end of the Paris session."

November 27 was the day when the largest number of newspapers carried a story about the conference. Two wire service dispatches -- the AP "clash" story and its UPI counterpart, both filed the day before -- accounted for all 24 newspaper stories carried that day. The combined circulation was 6,179,000, the second largest of the conference. Typical headlines read PRESS PROPOSALS DRAW U.S. FIRE, "U.S. BALKS AT UNESCO NEWS PLAN," "COUNTRIES ADVOCATE WORLD NEWS 'ORDER'."

The next day 10 stories announced preliminary agreement on the communications plan. They were a New York Times story and five of its shorter syndicated versions, and four wire service stories. The

Times, under the byline of Henry Tanner, was the most detailed. It began:

A compromise plan for future UNESCO activities in communications was worked out here today after a drafting panel agreed to change or delete a number of passages that Western journalists felt would be prejudicial to press freedoms.

The story related that (1) the Cuban delegation, at the request of Director-General M'Bow, withdrew a proposal for a special study of news agencies; (2) a passage on the "watchdog" of government function of the press was inserted; and (3) press responsibility for contributing to the solution of issues such as peace and disarmament was "toned down" at the insistence of Western delegates. Third world views expressed by Nascimento of Guyana and T. S. Kaul of India were cited at length. Then the story concluded:

Western delegates, including James Daniel Phillips speaking for the United States, conceded the imbalance of technological means and expressed readiness to help correct this imbalance. But they expressed concern that Unesco, instead of concentrating on such practical tasks, was getting involved in sweeping declarations of principle that could later be used as justification for government action to prevent objective reporting and block the flow of information.

Mr. Phillips said that "with all its real and alleged faults, a free press is infinitely better than any alternative."

He charged that proposals for the "protection of journalists" could easily lead to "state control over journalists" and that by giving governments the right to concern themselves with the "content" of news messages, Unesco would provide them with a justification for censorship.

The wire stories glossed over third world views and gave brief accounts of the agreement. All in all, the agreement on the communications program was carried in muted tones by half as many

newspapers of about one-third combined circulation (2,183,000) as the "clash" story. The coverage also firmly established the communications plan and media focus as the only one to attract press interest. In most stories the conference became identified as the "communications conference" and the Medium-Term Plan as the "media plan".

Coverage for the next three days (November 29 - December 1) slowed to total of 9 stories and one editorial. An AP and a Reuter dispatch, printed by 5 and 4 newspapers respectively, intimated (though did not clearly explain) that the preliminary agreement by a working group was now to be submitted to the commission and finally to a plenary meeting. The AP lead struck the NWIO theme: "The fate of the controversial plan to establish a 'world information and communication order' will be decided tomorrow following its tentative adoption by a UNESCO commission." The AP also stated that "The 13-point plan has been backed strongly by Third World countries," thus confounding the communications plan with the (originally) 13-point Medium-Term Plan.

The more precise Reuter story pointed out that the plan "was almost certain to be approved after Third World and communist states agreed Saturday to a compromise resolution promoted by Western states..." The Reuter story was also one of the few that called the plan by its full name, noting that "Communications in the Service of Man" is one of 13 in a draft program guiding UNESCO activities until 1990."

An editorial in the Los Angeles Times on November 29 discussed the East-West conflict over proposals to study "the effect of television on developing countries and ways to exchange books and films..." "But behind these proposals Western officials see an impulse to control content," the editorial warned, and concluded: "What a free press cannot do is to submit to any scheme of official censorship in whatever guise."

The second largest number of stories on a single day appeared on December 2. Two wire service dispatches (one by the AP and one by UPI) accounted for stories appearing in 21 newspapers with a total combined circulation of 5,568,000. Both dwelled on the successful effort of Western delegations to change wording expressing concerns about "content" to "messages and what they say," The stories ended with what appeared to be a press release by a group of Western-oriented trade associations saying "there remain a distressing number of code words for dangerous ideas concerning the media." Typical headlines read "UNESCO PANEL PASSES COMMUNICATIONS PLAN," "UNESCO PANEL YIELDS TO WEST'S MEDIA PROTEST," "DRAFT U.N. PLAN FOR WORLD MEDIA AFFIRMS FREE PRESS."

From December 3, 1982 until the last item recorded on January 12, 1983, some 21 news stories (often delayed) announced the final vote and discussed selected issues, all focused on communications. Opinions on what the press construed to be the significance of the conference were found in 54 editorials and columns. All were about communications. No news story or editorial feature stressed any of the other 13 major programs that occupied much of the time and all

but 5.3 percent of the final report of the conference (See Appendix I).

The UPI wrapup story, carried by at least 12 newspapers (compared to one or two by AP) dominated the post-conference coverage. While noting lingering disagreements, the story cited American satisfaction over the "positive results." Its general tone was reflected in headlines like "PRESS FREEDOM WINS OUT IN PARIS," "CONTROLS OVER PRESS AVOIDED IN UNESCO," and "UNESCO NATIONS OK WORLD INFORMATION ORDER."

The New York Times' own wrapup on December 3 by Henry Tanner also included a more detailed account of closing statements and final positions of Western nations. Other stories carried no specific source and seemed to be an editorial mix of different sources. Typical was the Washington Post story of December 4 headlined "UNESCO SETS FRAMEWORK FOR WORLD PRESS," culled "From news services and staff reports," which stated, in full:

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization agreed yesterday on a framework for a new world information order, despite Western reservations that it could result in increased censorship.

Western countries, including the United States, stressed during the final stages of a special UNESCO conference that these would continue to fight any efforts to give international bodies such as UNESCO rights over the flow of news.

The new provisions are intended to further the development of Third World media through improvement of communications, training of journalists and lessening of dependence on the Western news organizations.

The consensus reached after two weeks of diplomatic bargaining explicitly referred -- at Western insistence --

to the value of a free press and journalistic investigation of abuses of official power.

UNESCO Secretary General Ahmadou Mahtar M'bow said he intended to respect freedom of information. He also accused the Western press of distorted reporting on UNESCO and said he would launch an investigation of that.

Editorials

The terms of the press coverage were reflected in the flurry of editorials that followed the conference. Editorial features printed in 54 different newspapers came from 26 actual editorials. All but one were negative, ranging from the skeptical to the strident.

Fifteen newspapers printed an editorial distributed by the Copley News Service. (It was entitled in some of the papers "HOW THE WEST WON ONE".) The piece related the story of the communications plan as follows:

By subtle rhetoric, the plan promulgated the doctrine long prevalent in UNESCO that the press is an arm of government. Control over foreign correspondents and what they write is precisely what most of the developing nations and the Soviet bloc wanted under this sort of international sanction.

It appeared that the West would be defeated in the censorship wrangle until the very end of the conference...

For this unexpected victory, we must thank a little-noticed action by Congress. The so-called Beard Amendment warned the American funding of UNESCO would cease if it took steps to control the news media.

Six newspapers, including the Los Angeles Times and the Minneapolis Star and Tribune, printed a feature by Xan Smiley (identified as "An editorial writer for the Times of London"). The piece gave some reasons why "Third World governments hate the way in

which the First World's media portray them and their people." After a vivid description of pressure to provide titillating reports from the Third World, the editorial concluded that although improving non-Western news services is commendable, "Unfortunately, the Third World nabobs who dominate the policy-forming vote at UNESCO (while eight Western nations pick up nearly three-quarters of the check) have been demanding much more. Many of them want to keep out Western reporters altogether unless 'licensed' by the country in which they operate."

An editorial in five newspapers, including the San Francisco Examiner-Chronicle and the Seattle Post-Intelligencer, singled out the "watchdog" passage inserted into the communications plan as "surprising progress," and warned: "How permanent the victory will be, no one knows, for Third Worlders and the Soviets have been persistent in their fight for managed news. They have made a temporary concession as a stalling tactic."

An editorial in three newspapers sounded this alarm:

"It may come as a surprise to some American taxpayers to discover that they're paying for elaborate plans for a new world information and communication order...Congress has threatened to cut off United States support for UNESCO if that organization tries too limit press freedoms... Congress should most assuredly take this action."

A longer editorial in another three papers implied (erroneously) that a report on communications completed in 1980 by a commission headed by Sean McBride was the basic "plan" of the Paris conference, and attacked the American delegation for approving it. The editorial interpretation follows:

Here are some of the propositions UNESCO (with U.S. delegation approval) agreed to:

* That the Western "monopoly" on news resources be balanced out. From this it follows that the West should not be allowed to report what isn't permitted to be known publicly in South Tsetse Fly or the Peoples Republic of Glorious Bloodshed.

* That the "international community cannot ignore (the content of) messages which are potentially of the gravest significance for the future development of peoples and indeed of all mankind." Translation: You can write "bad news" but it's not leaving the country without the censor's approval.

* That news is part of a nation's "natural resources," not something that newsmen can use negatively. For instance, reporting disaster is negative use of the resource; reporting government efforts to eradicate negatives is positive use of the resource.

Well, you get the picture. About all that delegate Gerard got struck was Soviet bloc-Third World wordage demanding that news organizations advance authoritarian ideas about "the principles of equality of human rights and the rights of the peoples." Instead the final version called for "a study of the dialectical links between human rights and the right of the people." Not much of a win for the U.S., but when you're dealing with the U.N., what's really the difference anyway?

Individually written editorial features followed many of the same themes, and embellished some. Several papers advocated cutoff of funds to UNESCO. Typical headlines were: "WHY GIVE OUR SUPPORT TO PRESS SUPPRESSORS?," "U.N. UNDERSTANDS MONEY," "HALT UNESCO POWER PLAY." A few worried about the threat of UNESCO broadcasting television programs through satellites. The New York Post of December 6 warned that UNESCO "has become the world's largest and richest think tank -- a hydra-headed monster dedicated to creating a world welfare state." The editorial cautioned that "M'Bow's obsession with restricting freedom of the press -- especially of

Western news services -- is only part of his much larger goal. He seeks, too, to create a New International Economic Order to redistribute the West's industrial wealth to 100 underdeveloped countries."

"U.N. POLICY A STEP BACKWARD" was the headline over a column by John Rutherford of the Indianapolis News of December 8 which began: "Freedom was on the ropes again last week as UNESCO delegates met in Paris to consider yet another attempt to get the United Nations agency to adopt a resolution promoting government control of the press throughout the world." A more restrained editorial in the San Antonio Light the same day declared that the UNESCO conference adjourned "without striking a serious blow against the world's free press." An even more charitable Carbondale Southern Illinoisan observed that "We cannot continue to view the world only through Western eyes ... But information must be gathered freely." Only one daily newspaper, the black-oriented 31,000 circulation Chicago Defender, viewed that prospect with sympathy. Its editorial of December 29 said, in full:

The United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization, based in Paris, is engaged in an attempt to set up a "new world information and communications order." The idea is that it is time for Third World people to hear and read the truth.

Right now the people of the Third World learn most about themselves - often incorrect information from the highly technologized West. Multi-national corporations, owners of many Third World papers now control much of the information and thinking of the Third World people. That is the allegation and it is doubtless true.

So UNESCO is encouraging the Third World to set up its own news agencies, improve its own telex and communications generally. There should be more fairness in learning the truth of the world than now obtains, with the means of communication almost wholly centered in the self-interested West.

Finally, the Garden City (N.Y.) Newsday focused directly on (as the headline said) "UNESCO'S MESSAGE TO THE MEDIA." It made reference to "calls for the international community to concern itself with the 'messages' that news organizations print or broadcast, if they have implications for international relations." Then the editorial commented:

UNESCO Director General Amadou Mahtar M'Bow was infuriated by western insistence on toning down the language. He announced that he would conduct an immediate study of the way UNESCO's two-week conference had been covered -- to show "the inaccuracy of the information given and to demonstrate the existence of a tendentious campaign against UNESCO."

The director general is providing an example of exactly the kind of behavior that has soured western delegations on this UNESCO project. But maybe his study will teach him something about the determination of western news organizations not to kow-tow to officialdom.

The Press Coverage As a System

We shall now take a look at the coverage as a system. A comprehensive account of the news stories as a system of messages can be found in Table 4. The list of topics on the left corresponds to the annotated Topic Classification Code in Appendix II, where the explanation of the categories can also be found.

The analysis consisted of noting on a coding sheet every topic to which attention was paid in each story. It was also noted if the

TABLE 4: NEWS STORIES
PREVALENCE AND PROMINENCE OF TOPICS IN PRESS COVERAGE

Topic	Prevalence (Attention)			Prominence (Emphasis)			Circulation Score					
	R	No. of Stories	%	R	No. of Stories	%	R	N	%	R	N	%
Conference Procedure	1	96	82.1	6	10	8.5	1	25575	80.3	7	2530	7.9
NWIO	2	88	75.2	6	10	8.5	2	23948	75.2	4	4064	12.8
West vs East &/or LDC's	3	73	62.4	2	32	27.4	5	18917	59.4	2	8014	25.2
Development of Communications	4	70	59.8		0		6	18794	59.0		0	
Restrictions on Freedom of the Press	5	69	59.0	10.5	6	5.1	4	18941	59.5	14	1145	3.6
Communications Plan	6	68	58.1	1	59	50.4	3	19051	59.8	1	16073	50.5
Criticism of Western Media Institutions	7	61	52.1	19.5	3	2.6	7	14618	45.9	16	1027	3.2
Balance and Imbalance	8.5	52	44.4	15	4	3.4	11	11978	37.6	12	1314	4.1
Third World News Objectives and Goals	8.5	52	44.4	10.5	6	5.1	9	13638	42.8	5	3025	9.5
Freedom of The Press	10	44	37.6	3	15	12.8	8	14212	44.6	3	4419	13.9
Content of News Items	11	42	35.9	24	2	1.7	10	13066	41.0	21	659	2.1
"Watchdog" Function	12	40	34.2	19.5	3	2.6	13	11502	36.1	15	1072	3.4
Criticism of UNESCO's Activities	13	39	33.3	4	12	10.3	12	11847	37.2	6	2629	8.3
Criticism of State Control of Media	14.5	36	30.8	8	9	7.7	15	9286	29.2	10	1747	5.5
UNESCO's Tasks	14.5	36	30.8	19	3	2.6	14	9909	31.1	11	1682	5.3
In Defense of Western Media Institutions	16	28	23.9	24	2	1.7	17	6626	20.8	17	965	3.0
People's Rights - # XIII	17	23	19.7	10.5	6	5.1	16	7404	23.2	18	922	2.9
Medium Term Plan	18	21	17.9	10.5	6	5.1	18	6511	20.3	8	2394	7.5
Individual vs Collective Rights	19.5	20	17.1	24	2	1.7	21	4634	14.5	13	1157	3.6
Working Conditions of Journalists	19.5	20	17.1		0		19	5259	16.5		0	
Education - # II	21	19	16.2	28	1	0.9	20	4925	15.5	27	71	0.2
Beard Amendment	23.5	16	13.7	19	3	2.6	22	4455	14.0	19	690	2.2
Government Efforts For Media Development	23.5	16	13.7		0		26	3260	10.2		0	
Private Efforts for Media Development	23.5	16	13.7	24	2	1.7	27	3218	10.1	23	298	0.9
Right to Communicate	23.5	16	13.7		0		29	2856	9.0		0	
World Problems - # I	26	15	12.8	6	10	8.5	30	2798	8.8	9	2217	6.6
Communication - #III	27	13	11.1	15	4	3.4	23	3774	11.8	20	681	2.1
Culture # XI	28.5	12	10.3		0		24	3748	11.8		0	
Western/US Funding of UNESCO & UN	28.5	12	10.3	24	2	1.7	28	2893	9.1	26	107	0.3
Status of Women - XIV	30	10	8.5		0		40	1552	4.9		0	
Development - # VIII	31.5	9	7.7		0		25	3343	10.5		0	
Objections to the Credentials of Israel and Cambodia	31.5	9	7.7	13	5	4.3	31	2706	8.5	24	137	4.2
Sciences, Technology and Society - # IX	33	8	6.8		0		39	1596	5.0		0	
NIEO and NWIO	34	7	6.0		0		33	1870	5.9		0	

TABLE 4: NEWS STORIES (Cont.)
PREVALENCE AND PROMINENCE OF TOPICS IN PRESS COVERAGE

Topic	Prevalence (Attention)			Prominence (Emphasis)			Circulation Score					
	R	No. of Stories	%	R	No. of Stories	%	Prevalence			Prominence		
							R	N	%	R	N	%
Communications in the Service of Man	36.5	6	5.1	28	1	0.9	36	1701	5.3	22	423	1.3
Exchanges of Books, Films News and Information	36.5	6	5.1		0		35	1777	5.6		0	
Prejudice and Apartheid - # XII	36.5	6	5.1		0		41	1113	3.5		0	
Public Media Institutions	36.5	6	5.1		0		38	1668	5.2		0	
Human Environment Terrestrial and Marine Resources - # X	39	5	4.3		0		46	548	1.7		0	
Budget -	41	4	3.4		0		32	1988	6.2		0	
Declaration of Talloires	41	4	3.4	15	4	3.4	44	666	2.1		0	
Sciences and Development - # VI	41	4	3.4		0		34	1842	5.8		0	
Disarmament, Maintenance of UNESCO & Security	44.5	3	2.6		0		47	544	1.7		0	
Foreign TV Broadcasts in Less Developed Countries	44.5	3	2.6	28	1	0.9	42	1008	3.2	25	125	0.4
UNESCO as "Referee"	44.5	3	2.6		0		43	1001	3.1		0	
UNESCO & Relations Relations with the Press	44.5	3	2.6	19.5	3	2.6	45	631	2.0		0	
Information Systems and Access to Knowledge - # VII	47	2	1.7		0		37	1682	5.3		0	
Discussion of Direct Broadcast Satellites		0			0			0			0	
Education, Training and Society - # V		0			0			0			0	
Education Policies - # IV		0			0			0			0	
Program Support - # XV		0			0			0			0	

NOTE: Prevalence is the measure of attention -- presence of topic in stories. Prominence is the measure of emphasis -- topic in headline and/or lead (main point) of stories. Circulation score multiplies the above two measures with the combined circulation of stories.

topic was a major point or was emphasized by being in the headline or lead (or both). The measure of attention thus marks the extent to which a topic was prevalent in the system, and appears under Prevalence, along with rank and percent of stories that attended to that topic. Emphasis defines the prominence of each topic in the system, and is similarly presented in the third and fourth groups of the three columns. The same indicators of prevalence and prominence have also been calculated by circulation and are presented in the second group of columns. The circulation scores are the products of the number of stories that attended to and emphasized, respectively, a particular topic and the combined circulation of the newspapers in which the stories appeared. So while the story figures tell something about the number of newspapers that printed the stories, the circulation scores suggest the size of the papers and the number of readers they might have reached.

The order in which the topics are listed follows the prevalence rank, i.e. the number of stories that paid attention to each topic. Of course, procedural matters (date, place, conference action) were the most prevalent, being noted in 82 percent of the stories. Of topics of substance, NWIO, standing for mention of the new world information (and communication) order and its synonyms was the most frequently noted. (The conference used different terminology and determined not to dwell on or define NWIO). Related topics formed the entire cluster of the 13 or 14 most frequently noted subjects. They were, in that order, the conflict of "West vs. East and/or Less Developed Countries (LDC's)", "Development of Communications"

(efforts by UNESCO to foster media development in the third world), complaints about "Restrictions to the freedom of the press," calling the Medium-Term Plan the "Communications Plan," noting "Criticism of Western Media Institutions," discussing news flow "Balance and imbalance," mentioning "Third World news objectives and goals," "Freedom of the press," observing the controversy about "Content of news items," mentioning the "Watchdog function of the press," and presenting general "Criticism of UNESCO activities" and "Criticism of state control of media."

"UNESCO's tasks" in a more general way were mentioned in fewer than one-third of the stories. Any other major program (i.e. No. XIII, usually referred to as "People's Rights") appeared in fewer than one-fifth of the stories. Topics followed by a roman numeral represent specific reference to a major program in words most often used in the press coverage. (For official titles see Appendix I.) For example, major program No. III was called the "Communications plan" in 68 stories, but its official title "Communications in the Service of Man" was mentioned in only 6 stories.

Which of these topics were most likely to get into the headline and lead of the news? Highest ranked (under Prominence in Table 4) were "Communications plan," "West vs. East and/or LDC's," "Freedom of the press," and "Criticism of UNESCO's activities." (Note that three topics were tied for sixth place, occupying ranks 5,6, and 7). In general, topics expressing conflict and controversy received greatest prominence in the U.S. press.

Looking at the data by circulation produces few changes in the distribution of attention and emphasis. By and large, the larger circulation papers followed the same news values as the smaller circulation papers.

A similar account of the distribution of attention and emphasis in the system of wire stories is presented in Table 5. It shows that generally the papers followed the news values inherent in the wire service coverage. The wire service stories gave somewhat more attention and greater emphasis to the the Medium-Term Plan and some broader tasks of UNESCO than did the newspapers. The newspapers' selection and treatment tended to sharpen the focus on communications issues, and on the most controversial aspects associated with UNESCO, whether or not they were specifically addressed at the Conference.

A further sharpening seems to have taken place in the editorial reverberations. Table 6 presents the same list of topics as a system of messages included in the 60 editorials that accompanied the press coverage. As we have seen in our earlier discussion of editorials, the highest ranking editorial topics in all categories are those that have the most specific relevance to the special interests of the press.

TABLE 5: WIRE SERVICES
PREVALENCE AND PROMINENCE OF TOPICS IN PRESS COVERAGE

Topic	Prominence (Emphasis) No. of			Prominence (Emphasis) No. of		
	R	Stories	%	R	Stories	%
NWIO	1	18	85.7	2	6	28.6
Conference Procedure	2.5	16	76.2	4	3	14.3
Medium Term Plan	2.5	16	76.2	1	7	33.3
Restriction on Freedom of The Press	4	15	71.4		0	
Development of Communications	5.5	13	61.9		0	
UNESCO'S Task	5.5	13	61.9	7.5	2	9.5
Communication - # III	8	12	57.1		0	
People's Rights - XIII	8	12	57.1	13	1	4.8
Western Versus Eastern Block &/Or Developing Countries	8	12	61.9	7.5	2	9.5
Criticism of UNESCO's Activities	11	11	52.4	7.5	2	9.5
Freedom of the Press	11	11	52.4	7.5	2	9.5
Individual Versus Collective Rights	11	11	52.4	7.5	2	9.5
Third World News Objectives and Goals	13	8	38.1		0	
Beard Amendment	16	7	33.3		0	
Content of News Items	16	7	33.3	13	1	4.8
Criticism of Western Media Institutions	16	7	33.3		0	
Education - # II	16	7	33.3		0	
Objections to the Credentials of Israel & Cambodia	16	7	33.3	7.5	2	9.5
Prejudice and Apartheid - # XII	19.5	6	28.6		0	
Status of Women - # XIV	19.5	6	28.6		0	
Balance and Imbalance	22	5	23.8	13	1	4.8
Exchanges of Books, Films, News and Information	22	5	23.8		0	
UNESCO As "Referee"	22	5	23.8		0	
Communications Plan	25.5	4	19.0	13	1	4.8
Human Environment, Terrestrial and Marine Resources - # X	25.5	4	19.0		0	
Sciences and Development - # VI	25.5	4	19.0		0	
Western/US Funding of UNESCO & UN	25.5	4	19.0	3	4	19.0
Criticism of State Control of Media	31.5	3	14.3		0	
Culture - # XI	31.5	3	14.3		0	
Program Support - # XV	31.5	3	14.3		0	
Public Media Institutions	31.5	3	14.3		0	
Right to Communicate	31.5	3	14.3		0	
Science, Technology and Society -#IX	31.5	3	14.3		0	
"Watchdog" Function	31.5	3	14.3		0	
World Problems - #1	31.5	3	14.3		0	
Communications in the Service of Man	37.5	2	9.5		0	
Disarmament, Maintenance of Peace & Security	37.5	2	9.5		0	
NIEO and NWIO	37.5	2	9.5		0	
Working Conditions of Journalists	37.5	2	9.5	13	1	4.8
Declaration of Talloires	42	1	4.8		0	
Development - # VIII	42	1	4.3		0	
Government Efforts for Media Development	42	1	4.8		0	
Private Efforts for Media Develop- ment	42	1	4.8		0	
In Defense of Western Media Institutions	42	1	4.8		0	
Budget	0	0			0	
Discussion of Direct Broadcast Satellites	0	0			0	
Education Policies - # IV	0	0			0	
Education, Training and Society - #V	0	0			0	
Information Systems and Access to Knowledge - #VII	0	0			0	
Foreign TV Broadcasts in Less Developed Countries						
UNESCO and Relations with the Press	0	0			0	

NOTE: Prevalence is the measure of attention -- presence of topic in stories. Prominence is the measure of emphasis -- topic in headline and/or lead (main point) of stories. Circulation score multiplies the above two measures with the combined circulation of stories.

TABLE 6: EDITORIALS
PREVALENCE AND PROMINENCE OF TOPICS IN PRESS COVERAGE

Topic	Prevalence (Attention)			Prominence (Emphasis)			Circulation Score					
	R	No. of Stories	%	R	No. of Stories	%	Prevalence			Prominence		
							R	N	%	R	N	%
Restriction on the Freedom of the Press	1	52	86.7	3	11	18.3	2	6438	78.6	3	2313	28.2
Freedom of the Press	2.5	48	80.0	1	36	60.0	1	6544	79.9	1	4488	54.8
NWIO	2.5	48	80.0	2	16	26.7	6	4719	57.6	2	2388	29.2
Criticism of State Control of Media	4	39	65.0	14	1	1.7	4	5612	68.5	14	75	0.9
Conference Procedure	5	37	61.7		0		3	5759	70.3		0	
West vs East &/or LDC's	6	36	60.0	12	2	3.3	11	3565	43.5	11	286	3.5
Content of News Items	7.5	31	51.7		0		8	4309	52.6		0	
Development of Communications	7.5	31	51.7		0		5	4925	60.1		0	
Beard Amendment	9.5	26	43.3	8.5	4	6.7	17	1918	23.4	12	228	2.8
Public Media Institutions	9.5	26	43.3		0		14	2924	35.7		0	
Criticism of UNESCO'S Activities	11.5	25	41.7	5.5	6	10.0	9	4084	49.9	7	901	11.0
"Watchdog" Function	11.5	25	41.7	7	5	8.3	22	1659	20.3	10	581	7.1
UNESCO'S Tasks	13	23	38.3	5.5	6	10.0	7	4387	53.6	8	805	9.8
Criticism of Western Media Institutions	14	22	36.7	10.5	3	5.0	10	3986	48.7	5	1156	14.1
People's Rights - # XIII	15	19	31.7		0		26	1213	14.8		0	
Communication - # III	18.5	18	30.0		0		32	723	8.8		0	
Development - # VIII	18.5	18	30.0		0		21	1746	21.3		0	
Education - # II	18.5	18	30.0		0		18	1880	23.0		0	
Medium Term Plan	18.5	18	30.0		0		36	601	7.3		0	
Status of Women - # XIV	18.5	18	30.0		0		20	1754	21.4		0	
Third World News Objectives and Goals	18.5	18	30.0	4	7	11.7	13	2958	36.1	4	1762	21.5
Criticism of Western Media Institutions	22	16	26.7	14	1	1.7	15	2646	32.3	6	1018	12.4
UNESCO and Relations with the Press	23	13	21.7	10.5	3	5.0	25	1217	14.9	15	51	0.6
Working Conditions of Journalists	24	11	18.3		0		16	2239	27.3		0	
Balance and Imbalance	25	9	15.0	14	1	1.7	12	3155	38.5	13	217	2.7
Exchanges of Books, Films News and Information	26.5	7	11.7		0		19	1846	22.5		0	
Individual vs Collective Rights	26.5	7	11.7		0		31	739	9.0		0	
Communications in the Service of Man	29	6	10.0		0		27	1108	13.5		0	
Communications Plan	29	6	10.0	8.5	4	6.7	30	955	11.7	9	701	8.6
Western/US Funding of UNESCO & UN	29	6	10.0		0		28	1040	12.7		0	
Science, Technology and Society - # IX	31	5	8.3		0		23	1488	18.2		0	
Prejudice and Apartheid - # XII	32.5	3	5.0		0		33	637	7.8		0	
Private Efforts for Media Development	32.5	3	5.0		0		24	1334	16.3		0	
Discussion of Direct Broadcast Satellites	35.5	2	3.3		0		41	101	1.2		0	
Government Efforts for Media Development	35.5	2	3.3		0		40	111	1.4		0	

TABLE 6: EDITORIALS (cont.)
PREVALENCE AND PROMINENCE OF TOPICS IN PRESS COVERAGE

Topic	Prevalence (Attention)			Prominence (Emphasis)			Circulation Score					
	R	No. of Stories	%	R	No. of Stories	%	Prevalence			Prominence		
							R	N	%	R	N	%
Foreign TV Broadcasts in LDC's	35.5	2	3.3		0		29	1018	12.4		0	
UNESCO as "Referee"	35.5	2	3.3		0		34.5	631	7.7		0	
Culture - # II	40	1	1.7		0		38	286	3.5		0	
NIEO and NWIO	40	1	1.7		0		34.5	631	7.7		0	
Objections to the Credentials of Israel and Cambodia	40	1	1.7		0		38	286	3.5		0	
Sciences and Development	40	1	1.7		0		38	286	3.5		0	
World Problems - # I	40	1	1.7		0		42	32	0.4		0	
Budget		0			0			0			0	
Declaration of Talloires		0			0			0			0	
Disarmament, Maintenance of Peace & Security		0			0			0			0	
Education Policies - # IV		0			0			0			0	
Education, Training and Society - # V		0			0			0			0	
Human Environment, Terrestrial and Marine Resources - # X		0			0			0			0	
Information Systems and Access to Knowledge - # VII		0			0			0			0	
Program Support - # XV		0			0			0			0	
Right to Communicate		0			0			0			0	

NOTE: Prevalence is the measure of attention -- presence of topic in stories. Prominence is the measure of emphasis -- topic in headline and/or lead (main point) of stories. Circulation score multiplies the above two measures with the combined circulation of stories.

The findings of this study need little further interpretation. It is clear that the American press viewed the fourth extraordinary session mostly from its own institutional vantage point.

The press constructed a picture of the meetings more from selected speeches and prior information than from the actual resolutions and official actions of the conference. That construction showed a preoccupation with real and imagined threats to private control of the press to the virtual exclusion of other issues.

Our inquiries on behalf of this study, addressed to the small group originating the news about the conference, led to three conclusions.

First, the activities of UNESCO's Office of Public Information served correspondents well in providing drafts of speeches and facilities requested, but had no effect on shaping the basic terms of the U.S. press coverage.

Secondly, the reporters on the scene were well aware of the priorities of the home office. One correspondent (who asked to remain anonymous) wrote:

"I was trying to give an overview of the conference and show that there were other issues besides communications that UNESCO deals with in its medium term plan....However, the desk felt that there had to be a greater emphasis on communications, specifically what happened to the New World Information and Communication Order, because that was the only reason editors would pay attention to a story about UNESCO."

Third, a news agency executive expressed "the gravest misgivings" about our study, reflecting sentiments not uncommon among his peers.

"We have been down this road before," he wrote. "The fact that

UNESCO is paying for your study raises serious questions in my mind. We are being set up." The official also commented that "The woods are full of self-serving UNESCO-inspired studies that ignore news values and begin with the premise that failure to report every step of the deliberations is prima facie evidence of an anti-UNESCO conspiracy."

As if in response to the press image of the meeting, a defensive, belligerent and often paranoid tone pervaded most editorials published about the conference. There was little recognition of American points of view other than that of the press and its trade associations and public relations spokespersons. As one editorial predicted, this study has revealed "something about the determination of western news organization not to kow-tow to officialdom" -- except perhaps their own.

A handful of journalists and wire service executives generated the raw material from which the coverage was drawn. They set priorities, made the initial selections, and produced stories to what they believed to be the specifications of their press clients. The local newspapers further selected, edited, and interpreted the news to fit their own interests which they presented as the national interest.

APPENDIX I

TABLE OF CONTENTS OF UNESCO'S SECOND MEDIUM-TERM PLAN

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			TOTAL 300	99.5

APPENDIX II TOPIC CLASSIFICATION CODES

CONFERENCE PROCEDURE

Date, Day, Place, Delegates present, Programs, Voting

MEDIUM TERM PLAN

The object of the conference is the medium term plan; correct designation.

COMMUNICATIONS PLAN

The conference is portrayed as only addressing communication or media issues. The medium term plan is referred to as the "communications plan." The medium term plan is referred to as "the information plan."

UNESCO'S TASKS

Unesco's global role in the future. The goals and Objectives UNESCO hopes to accomplish. Unesco's role in the NWIO

CRITICISM OF UNESCO'S ACTIVITIES

Philosophical Criticism

Criticism of Unesco as restricting press freedoms.

Accusations of "dangerous code words" in UNESCO documents.

Criticism of Unesco's role in the NWIO

Criticism of the medium term plan or communications plan

Exception - more specific categories.

WESTERN VERSUS EASTERN BLOC &/OR DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Differences in position or stand on specific issues into two polarized groups.

Emphasis on Soviet opposition, differences of opinion or political maneuvering against the "Western" position.

Conflict oriented discussion of the conference.

NWIO

New World Information (and Communications) order. Free and balanced flow of information. Equitable flow of news. Greater share of news flows for third world.

NIEO and NWIO

Specific mention of the link between the economic and communications order.

BALANCE AND IMBALANCE

Western dominance over the LDC'S in economic, technical, etc.

Relation between information and economic imbalance -if no mention of NIEO AND NIWO. Disparity between developing and developed countries.

DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNICATIONS

Efforts made by Unesco to foster media development in the third world - including training of journalists and building of communication facilities.

PRIVATE EFFORTS FOR MEDIA DEVELOPMENT

Activities by private organizations to improve coverage of the third world. Train journalists.

GOVERNMENT EFFORTS FOR MEDIA DEVELOPMENT

THIRD WORLD NEWS OBJECTIVES AND GOALS

Third World definition of news.

IN DEFENSE OF WESTERN MEDIA INSTITUTIONS

References to current news distribution systems

Support of private media interests.

Transnational news agencies.

Calling attention to any threat to current institutional setup

Exception Portrayal of UNESCO as a threat.

CRITICISM OF WESTERN MEDIA INSTITUTIONS

Western domination of news distribution.

Criticism of western definition of news.

Negative news

Spot news

Inadequate coverage of development issues

Disaster news

PUBLIC MEDIA INSTITUTIONS

Non-pejorative comments on publicly owned or directed media systems.

CRITICISM OF STATE CONTROL OF MEDIA

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

Advocacy/support of a free press.

Discussion of the concept of a "free press".

RESTRICTION ON FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

Regulation of journalists.

Licensing of journalists.

Censorship

formulation of a code of ethics

WORKING CONDITIONS OF JOURNALISTS

Anecdotes of journalists

Familiarity with the language and culture of host countries.

"WATCHDOG" FUNCTION

Journalist's role in challenging authority

Preventing "abuse of power"

CONTENT OF NEWS ITEMS

"Content" changed to "messages and what they say"

Discussion of interference/changes advocated in the content of news items.

Control of content of news to enhance knowledge.

RIGHT TO COMMUNICATE

UNESCO AS "REFEREE"

DISCUSSION OF DIRECT BROADCAST SATELLITES

Appendix II (cont.)

FOREIGN TV BROADCASTS IN LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

Positive or negative consequences of foreign TV broadcasts

BEARD AMENDMENT

References to the bill in the United States Congress regarding the withdrawal of money from United Nations and associated bodies.

DECLARATION OF TAILLORIES

References to the declaration made by Western correspondents at Tailloires, France.

OBJECTIONS TO THE CREDENTIALS OF ISRAEL & CAMBODIA

Reports of the Credential Committee

Any attention given to the Arab world objection of Israel.

INDIVIDUAL VERSUS COLLECTIVE RIGHTS

Any discussion about human rights.

Exception Specific reference to the UNESCO Major Program XIII.

EXCHANGES OF BOOKS, FILMS, NEWS AND INFORMATIONDISARMAMENT, MAINTENANCE OF PEACE & SECURITY

Discussion of the arms race.

COMMUNICATIONS IN THE SERVICE OF MAN

Reference to Major Program III by title

WESTERN/US FUNDING OF UNESCO & UN

Western funds should be used to advantage.

Specific mention of United States contribution to UNESCO.

UNESCO AND RELATIONS WITH THE PRESS

Relations between the press and UNESCO

Any complaints voiced by UNESCO secretariat about the press.

WORLD PROBLEMS - # 1

Reference to Major Program #1 (not necessarily by title).

Refer to the Medium term plan for a detailed description of the Major Programs I and XV.

EDUCATION - # IICOMMUNICATION - # IIIEDUCATION POLICIES - # IVEDUCATION, TRAINING AND SOCIETY - # VSCIENCES AND DEVELOPMENT - # VI

Appendix II (cont.)

INFORMATION SYSTEMS AND ACCESS TO KNOWLEDGE - # VII

DEVELOPMENT - # VIII

SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND SOCIETY - # IX

HUMAN ENVIRONMENT, TERRESTRIAL AND MARINE RESOURCES- # X

CULTURE - # XI

PREJUDICE AND APARTHEID - # XII

PEOPLE'S RIGHTS - # XIII

STATUS OF WOMEN - # XIV

PROGRAM SUPPORT - # XV

BUDGET

APPENDIX III
LIST OF DAILY NEWSPAPERS CARRYING ANY ITEM ABOUT CONFERENCE
IN THE ORDER OF AVERAGE CIRCULATION OF PAPER

Rank by paper's circul.	Newspaper and Circulation	No. of items printed	Combined circul. of all items	Rank by Combined Circul.
001	New York News, NY, 1,606,000	1	1,606,000	007
002	LA Times, LA, 1,018,490	5	5,092,450	001
003	NY Times, NY 841,890	5	4,209,450	002
004	Chicago Tribune, IL, 780,626	3	2,341,878	004
005	Chicago Sun Times, IL, 675,995	4	2,703,980	003
006	NY Post, NY, 631,104	1	631,104	015
007	Washington Post, DC, 584,500	3	1,753,500	006
008	Newsday, Garden City, NJ, 494,998	2	989,996	011
009	Boston Globe, MA, 482,578	3	1,447,734	008
010	San Francisco Chronicle, CA, 474,001	3	1,422,003	009
011	Philadelphia Inquirer, PA, 423,726	5	2,118,630	005
012	Star Ledger, Newark, NJ, 494,998	1	494,998	019
013	Miami Herald, FL, 420,000	2	840,000	012
014	Plain Dealer, Cleveland, OH, 381,54	1	381,543	023
015	Houston Chronicle, TX, 339,573	2	679,146	013
016	Milwaukee Journal, WI, 328,968	1	328,968	026
017	Wichita Eagle, KS, 291,771	1	291,771	029
018	Boston Herald American, MA, 286,941	1	286,941	030
019	Kansas City Star, MO, 286,042	1	286,042	031
020	Hartford Courant, CT, 284,968	1	284,968	032
021	LA Herald Examiner, CA, 281,533	1	281,533	033
022	St. Louis Globe Democrat, MO, 271,248	1	271,248	034
023	Rocky Mt. News, Denver, CO, 258,825	2	517,650	017
024	Seattle Times, WA, 246,000	1	246,000	036
025	Times Herald, Dallas, TX, 241,208	2	482,416	020
026	Santa Ana Register, CA, 235,909	1	235,909	037
027	Minneapolis Star & Tribune, MN, 227,392	2	454,784	022
028	Des Moines Register, IA, 217,584	1	217,584	038
029	Times Picayune, New Orleans, LA, 211,831	3	635,493	014
030	San Diego Union, CA, 198,334	6	1,190,004	010
031	Seattle Post Intelligencer, WA, 191,286	1	191,286	039
032	Virginian Pilot, Norfolk, WV, 190,071	1	190,071	040
033	Sentinel Star, Orlando, FL, 186,920	1	186,920	041
034	Oklahoman, Oklahoma City, OK, 179,760	1	179,760	042
035	Sacramento Bee, CA, 176,604	1	176,604	043
036	Christian Science Monitor, 174,191	3	522,573	016
037	Toledo Blade, OH, 170,349	3	511,047	018
038	Milwaukee Sentinel, WI, 165,205	1	165,205	045
039	Baltimore News American, MD, 160,838	1	160,838	046
040	San Francisco Examiner, CA, 157,293	3	471,879	021
041	Hackensack Record, NJ, 154,827	1	154,827	047
042	Indianapolis News., IN, 152,367	2	304,734	028
043	Oakland Tribune, CA, 131,273	1	131,273	050
044	Nashville, Tennessean, TN, 129,408	1	129,408	051
045	Raleigh News and Observer, NC, 128,117	1	128,117	052
046	Arkansas Gazette, Little Rock, AK, 127,997	2	255,994	035
047	San Antonio Light, TX, 125,206	3	375,618	024
048	Omaha World Herald, NB, 124,765	3	374,295	025
049	Wichita Beacon, KS, 123,364	1	123,364	053
050	Columbia State, SC, 120,381	1	120,381	054

Appendix III (cont.)

Rank by paper's circul.	Newspaper and Circulation	No. of items printed	Combined circul. of all items	Rank by Combined Circul.
051	Salt Lake City Tribune, UT, 108,491	3	325,473	027
052	Flint Journal, MI, 105,000	1	105,000	057
053	Allentown Call, PA, 102,182	1	102,182	058
054	New Haven Register, CT, 101,268	1	101,268	059
055	Oklahoma Times, OK, 93,107	1	93,107	060
056	Syracuse Post Standard, NY, 86,655	1	86,655	062
057	Times Union, Albany, NY, 86,174	2	172,348	044
058	San Antonio Express, TX, 81,257	1	81,257	064
059	Albuquerque Journal, NM, 76,662	2	153,324	049
060	Las Vegas Review Journal, NV, 75,246	1	75,246	065
061	Patriot Ledger, Quincy, MA, 75,105	1	75,105	066
062	Winston Salem Journal, NC, 71,856	1	71,856	067
063	Spokane Spokesman Review, WA, 71,603	1	71,603	068
064	Providence Journal, RI, 71,593	1	71,593	069
065	Lansing Journal, MI, 71,135	1	71,135	070
066	Cedar Rapids Gazette, IA, 67,001	1	67,001	071
067	Trentonian, NJ, 64,001	1	64,001	072
068	Clarion, Ledger, MS, 59,317	2	118,634	055
069	Saginaw News, MI, 57,549	1	57,549	074
070	Charleston Gazette Mail, WV, 56,002	1	56,002	075
071	Chattanooga Times, TN, 54,544	2	109,088	056
072	Colorado Springs Gazette, CO, 54,168	1	54,168	076
073	Portland Press Herald, ME, 53,000	1	53,000	077
074	News World, NY, NY, 51,185	3	153,555	048
075	Eagle, Reading, PA, 43,965	2	87,930	061
076	Amarillo News, TX, 42,996	1	42,996	079
077	Ann Arbor News, MI, 42,667	2	85,345	063
078	Bloomington Herald Times, IN, 40,976	1	40,976	080
079	Lima News, OH, 40,862	1	40,862	081
080	Scranton Tribune, PA, 38,503	1	38,503	082
081	Shreveport Journal, LA, 37,788	1	37,788	083
082	Charleston Post, SC, 36,540	1	36,540	084
083	Odessa American, TX, 35,739	1	35,739	085
084	Altoona Mirror, PA, 35,543	1	35,543	087
085	Southern Illinoisian, 32,161	1	32,161	088
086	Chicago Defender, IL, 31,000	2	62,000	073
087	Port Arthur News TX, 26,189	1	26,189	089
088	Wheeling Intelligencer, WV, 24,489	1	24,489	090
089	Terre Haute Star, IN, 24,320	1	24,320	091
090	Marion Chronicle Tribune, IN, 23,994	1	23,994	092
091	Orange Advocate, NJ, 23,400	1	23,400	093
092	Journal Of Commerce, NY, NY, 22,870	2	45,740	078
093	Midland Reporter Telegram, TX, 22,496	1	22,496	094
094	Johnson City Press Chronicle, TN, 22,014	1	22,014	095
095	Parkersburg News, WV, 21,334	1	21,334	096
096	North Penn Reporter, Lansdale, PA, 20,572	1	20,572	097
097	Napa Register, CA, 19,582	1	19,582	098
098	Park City News, Bowling Green, KY, 18,119	1	18,119	099
099	Martinsburg Journal, WV, 17,898	1	17,898	100
100	Greenwood Index Journal, SC, 17,000	1	17,000	101
101	Baytown News Sun, TX, 16,185	2	32,270	086
102	Kentucky New Era, KY, 15,358	1	15,358	102

Appendix III (cont.)

Rank by paper's circul.	Newspaper and Circulation	No. of items printed	Combined circul. of all items	Rank by Combined Circul.
103	Brownsville Herald, TX, 14,545	1	14,545	103
104	Bridgeport Telegram, CT, 14,120	1	14,120	104
105	Helena Independent Record, MT, 11,647	1	11,647	105
106	Crawfordsville Journal, IN, 11,107	1	11,107	106
107	Inter Mountain, Elkins, WV, 9,141	1	9,141	107
108	St. Augustine Record, FL, 9,031	1	9,013	108
109	Ledger Independent, KT, 8,744	1	8,744	109
110	Nevada Appeal, Carson City, NV, 7,760	1	7,760	110
111	Kilgore News Herald, , 6,187	1	6,187	111

This list does not include five newspapers for which circulation figures were not supplied. All five of these carried one story each

Arlington Heights Herald, WV
 Washington Times, DC
 White Plains Today, NY
 Plattsburg Press Republican, NY
 Westmore News, NY

The circulation figures for newspapers ranked 1,12,23,50 and 71 are rounded to the nearest thousand.

APPENDIX IV

TOPIC RELIABILITY COEFFICIENTS

TOPIC	COEFFICIENT
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NWIO	.72
NIEO and NWIO	1.00
BALANCE AND IMBALANCE	.83
DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNICATIONS	1.00
PRIVATE EFFORTS FOR MEDIA DEVELOPMENT	1.00
GOVERNMENT EFFORTS FOR MEDIA DEVELOPMENT	
THIRD WORLD NEWS OBJECTIVES AND GOALS	.91
IN DEFENSE OF WESTERN MEDIA INSTITUTIONS	.86
CRITICISM OF WESTERN MEDIA INSTITUTIONS	.87
PUBLIC MEDIA INSTITUTIONS	1.00
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CONTENT OF NEWS ITEMS	.82
RIGHT TO COMMUNICATE	
UNESCO AS "REFEREE"	.83
DISCUSSION OF DIRECT BROADCAST SATELLITES	
FOREIGN TV BROADCASTS IN LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES	
BEARD AMENDMENT	.77
DECLARATION OF TAILLORIES	
OBJECTIONS TO THE CREDENTIALS OF ISRAEL & CAMBODIA	
INDIVIDUAL VERSUS COLLECTIVE RIGHTS	1.00
EXCHANGES OF BOOKS, FILMS, NEWS AND INFORMATION	1.00
DISARMAMENT, MAINTENANCE OF PEACE & SECURITY	
COMMUNICATIONS IN THE SERVICE OF MAN	
WESTERN/US FUNDING OF UNESCO & UN	1.00
UNESCO AND RELATIONS WITH THE PRESS	1.00
WORLD PROBLEMS - # 1	.69
EDUCATION - # II	
COMMUNICATION - # III	1.00
EDUCATION POLICIES - # IV	.88
EDUCATION, TRAINING AND SOCIETY - # V	
SCIENCES AND DEVELOPMENT - # VI	
INFORMATION SYSTEMS AND ACCESS TO KNOWLEDGE - # VII	1.00
DEVELOPMENT - # VIII	
SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND SOCIETY - # IX	1.00
HUMAN ENVIRONMENT, TERRESTRIAL AND MARINE RESOURCES- # X	
CULTURE - # XI	1.00
PREJUDICE AND APARTHEID - # XII	1.00
PEOPLE'S RIGHTS - # XIII	1.00
STATUS OF WOMEN - # XIV	1.00
PROGRAM SUPPORT - # XV	1.00
BUDGET	

Note: Missing coefficient means that topic did not occur in the reliability sample.