LATIN AMERICA AND THE U. S.: FLAWS IN THE FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION

Luis Ramiro Beltrán S. **
Elizabeth Fox de Córdona ***


* The opinions expressed in this paper are solely the responsibility of the authors and not those of the institution for which they work.

** Communication specialist, Ph.D., Representative for Latin America of the Division of Information Sciences, International Development Research Centre, Bogotá

*** Communication specialist, M.A., Assistant to the Representative for Latin America of the Division of Information Sciences, International Development Research Centre, Bogotá
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1. INTRODUCTION

In order to analyze the nature, influence and role in national communication development of the international communication institutions operating in Latin America, it is first necessary to identify and classify the elements that constitute this phenomena. Here we are defining institutions as those formal organizations with direct or indirect international communications activities in Latin America. For this essay we have selected only those institutions related to the mass media, with special emphasis on "software" aspects, conscious of the fact that this selection implies narrowing down our definition of communications.

Our interest is the structure and function of these non-national institutions in regard to the national mass media of the region. In other words, how the organization and activities of these institutions influence the organization and activities of national media. We then look at the influence of these institutions in regard to the achievement of the development of the countries.

Non-national are defined as those institutions not original to a specific society, be these international organizations or multinational corporations. Non-national organization can be classified in the categories of economic, political and communication institutions. Economic institutions are those principally concerned with the production and distribution of wealth. For the purpose of this paper, communication institutions are those concerned principally with the production and distribution of messages at the mass level, while political institutions are those involved in the exercise of power by one state on some entity. We wish to emphasize the fact that this classification has been developed to facilitate analysis and thus the categories do not pretend to be mutually exclusive. Overlaps do occur, especially in free market economies. By employing them as basic categories, we hope to analyze the complex political, economic, and communication phenomena that constitute the international exchange of information.

We have narrowed the scope of this paper by limiting our analysis to the many manifestations of the United States in the non-national communication institutions of Latin America. This decision is due to the fact that, although evidence exists of operations of other countries in this field, North American activities are historically the most predominant.

Section two of this essay identifies the chief types of international mass communication institutions operating in and on Latin America. These are described on the basis of existing empirical evidence in terms of their organization and activities, as reflected on Latin America, and classified according to main types of operations.
Section three is an attempt to gauge the influence of these institutions on the mass communication institutions and activities of the region. Then, the question is posed as to whether this influence is propitious, or not, as far as the development goals of Latin America are concerned.

Section four confronts this appraisal of the situation in the region with characteristic examples of existing Latin American policies, (national, sub-regional and regional) that address non-national communication institutions and their objectives.

Section five presents a summary of findings, and Section six conclusions.

II. IDENTIFICATION AND CLASSIFICATION OF NON-NATIONAL MEDIA INSTITUTIONS IN LATIN AMERICA

A. ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS


The main institutions of direct capital investment in the media in Latin America have been the three U.S. national television networks. These began in radio in the 1930's, and continued during the 1960's in television. The last five years have witnessed a reduction in direct investment, our first category of international information flow.

Colombian radio networks established in the 1940's and 1950's were set up and financed by CBS owned Cadena de las Americas and the NBC-owned Cadena Panamericana, both of which operated throughout Latin America, (Fox de Cordona /31).

Chilean radio station, Radio Cooperativa Vitalicia, is an affiliate of the NBC Panamericana Network (Schenkel /74, p. 55).

In 1960, after the creation of the Central American Common Market, the ABC Worldvision group invested in 5 Central American Stations, creating in this way CATVN, which simultaneously purchased programming, served as sales representative and set up the network among these stations. In 1968, a similar strategy was applied to South America, with the LATINO network. ABC led the other U.S. networks in this type of activity, and by 1969, their two networks included: (Mattelart /49, p. 136)

Channel 9 in Buenos Aires
Channel 13 and 4 in Chile
Channel 9 in Bogota, Colombia

Channel 5 in Tegucigalpa
Channel 2 in the Dutch Antilles
Channel 2 in Panama
CBS follows ABC's activities with direct investments in Latin American record companies, in addition to direct investments in 3 television production companies: Proartel in Argentina, Proventel in Venezuela (both recently sold) and Pantel in Peru. CBS also owns stations in Trinidad and Antigua (Mattelart /49, p. 137)

Time Inc., has interests with CBS in Venezuela and Argentina, where it has since pulled out, yet continues with investment in Brazil, through technical and financial assistance to TV Globo in Rio and TV Paulista in Sao Paulo (Mattelart /49, p. 137)

NBC was less aggressive in its direct investment policy, perhaps due to the relation with mother company RCA which had other activities in equipment sales and technical assistance to the emerging Latin American television companies. NBC has investments in Channel 2 of Caracas (20%), a TV station in Monterrey Mexico, and in Jamaica. NBC had previous investments in Channel 9 in Buenos Aires (Schenkel /74, p. 23)

The U.S. networks were not the only direct investors in the Latin American media. The U.S. Sidney Ross Drug Company set up and owned one of the first Colombian radio chains (Fox de Cardona /31, pp. 23-24), while in Chile, until 1971, controlling stock of Radio Network Minera, was in the hands of the three main U.S. mining companies, Anaconda, Kennecot and Anglo Lautaro (Schenkel /74)

The 1970's have witnessed a decrease of North American direct investment in Latin America media and especially in television. This is due to a growing apprehension of possible political intervention in these. Other forms of investment have developed which are discussed below, for example advertising, and sales of programming, technology, and educational materials (Mattelart /50, p. 175)

The U.S. television and radio networks have been the main non-national institutions of direct capital investment in the Latin American media. During the 1960's these had significant investments in most major TV stations of the region.

2. Direct investments by non-national institutions in the financing of the operations of national mass media.

Our second areas of analysis is the financing of national media through non-national advertising agencies and the multinational corporation as an advertising client. The strength of advertising as practically the sole financer of the Latin American media is illustrated by the following statistics.
Latin American dailies devoted 46% of their space to advertising (Kaplun /40, p. 29), while 86% of the radio stations in Latin America are commercial, 93% if the Cuban stations are excluded (Kaplun /40, p. 58). Between 30 and 40% of the broadcast time on these stations is advertising (Kaplun /40, p. 64). Television channels in Latin America are commercial in 83% of the cases, 92% if the Cuban channels are excluded (Kaplun /40, p. 54). Broadcasting time on these channels is 20% commercial (Kaplun /40, p. 76).

The following illustrates what part of this advertising is managed by non-national firms in various countries of the region:

a. In Central American countries such as Guatemala, Nicaragua, and El Salvador, advertising is practically in the hands of one firm, McCann Erickson.*

b. In Argentina, among the 10 most important advertising agencies, 6 are affiliates or associates of North American agencies, representing 70% of the billings of these 10 agencies (Mattelart /51, p. 87).

In 1960, the top 5 U. S. advertising agencies controlled 35% of television commercials, while foreign advertisers (Ford, Standard Oil, Shell, Coca Cola, etc.) represented between 30 and 45% of all Argentine television advertising (Schenkel /74, p. 21).

c. Sales of the two largest agencies in Brazil, McCann Erickson and J. Walter Thompson,** represent approximately twice those of leading national companies (which are also associated with U. S. capital and agencies) (Mattelart /51, p. 87).

d. Of the 20 leading Chilean advertising agencies in 1970, 5 were direct affiliates of North American firms, including the 2 top firms. 45% of Channel 13 advertising was from non-national firms and the large majority of radio advertising was also foreign (Mattelart /48, pp. 56-57).

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* McCann Erickson in 1971 had $594 million dollars in billings, 60% of which was foreign earned. In Latin America it has branches in Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Puerto Rico, Trinidad, Uruguay and Venezuela (Schiller /75, p. 130).

** As of 1971, Walter Thompson was regarded as the largest agency in the world with $774 million dollars in billings, 45% of which was earned outside the U. S. In Latin America it operates in Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Peru, Puerto Rico, Uruguay, Venezuela (Schiller /75, p. 129).
e. Three U. S. agencies in Colombia are among the 7 top agencies, in addition to heavy U. S. investments in national agencies. The first five advertising clients in Colombian television are Colgate-Palmolive, Lever Bros., American Home Products, Lotteries and Raffles, and Miles Laboratories (Fox de Cardona /31, p. 37). Over 50% of television advertising is dedicated to cosmetics, non-essential food stuffs, detergents and supermarkets, the great majority produced by multinationals (Fox de Cardona /31, p. 41).

f. Of the 170 advertising agencies in Mexico, only four are solely in Mexican hands. "The rest, dominated by United States companies, control 70% of the advertising business which finances the country's newspapers and the radio and television networks. Money spent on publicity in Mexico amounts to nearly 500 million dollars a year, of which 400 million is handled by 11 large United States agencies" /13a.

g. Malpica /46 reported that 80% of Peruvian commercial advertising was controlled by 7 North American agencies. In 1969 in that country, Sears Roebuck and "Supermarkets" occupied the first place in newspaper advertising while Procter and Gamble, Sears Roebuck, Sidney Ross, Colgate Palmolive, Sherwin Williams, and Bayer were the top TV and radio announcers.

h. The top ten agencies in Venezuela are either directly U. S. owned or controlled (Mattelart /51, p. 87). The National Association of Advertisers in Venezuela is made up of the leading advertising clients for radio and television and for the press. Of 78 members, 42 are multinational corporations (CONAC /87, p. 130). Over 210 million dollars is spent every year in the country in advertising. Among the top 23 agencies are the following U. S. agencies with their respective clients:


McCann Erickson Westinghouse, American Express, EXXON, G.M., Coca-Cola, Goodyear, Cyanamid, Max Factor.

Young and Rubicam Chrysler, Procter and Gamble, G. E., Mennen (Eliaschev /28, p. 16).

Public Opinion and Public Relations

The goal of commercial advertising is to sell companies' products. This, however, is not the only way the media are financed as there are other less direct commercial uses of national institutions. The purpose of public relations is to sell the public image and good will of the company itself, an important function for non-national corporations operating abroad. International public relations departments of multinational corporations prepare press releases for the national media. As Schiller observes:
National and local mass media systems are infiltrated by business messages not necessarily identified by their sources or origin (Schiller/75, p. 137).

The two other media services related to advertising where non-national institutions predominate are international public opinion polls and marketing research institutions. Their functions are quite similar; the former is more concerned with political attitudes, while the latter serves to direct commercial activities. Both are extensively employed by the media to plan programming and to attract advertising investment. The firms themselves tend to be one and the same. The largest market research company, A.C. Nielsen, operates in 20 different countries in 4 continents, supplying research services to 86 organizations. Other firms within Latin American surveying operations are International Research Associates and Gallup International which conducts periodic surveys of any sort in Argentina, Chile and Uruguay (Schiller /75, pp. 133-134).

Matellart reports in a recent article that in 1968 Crampton Advertising (US) managed the presidential campaigns of the Christian Democrats, candidate in Venezuela, Rafael Caldera. He continues to report that the 1970 campaign of right wing candidate Alessandri in Chile was managed by J. Walter Thompson, which also managed the 1972 campaign of General Alsogaray in Argentina (Matellart /4, p. 78).

Latin American media are principally financed by commercial advertising. U.S. advertising companies lead the field in most of the countries of the region. Among their main clients are the U.S. multinationals. Advertising related service industries such as public opinion and public relations are also U.S. owned and managed.

B. COMMUNICATION INSTITUTIONS

The next category we will discuss is the production of messages by non-national private institutions. This production has been divided in two types: those messages produced and distributed to national media institutions as intermediaries, and those directly distributed to the population. Messages distributed to the national media include news flow and programming. Direct distribution are the cases of film and magazines.

1. Indirect Distribution of Messages to National Media.

   News

   U.S. news services operating in Latin America and the rest of the world are the United Press International (UPI) and the Associated Press (AP).

   A 1975 UNESCO-CIESPAL survey of Latin American Communication Institutions /60 showed that UPI serves 16 out of 20 countries, and AP 14 out of the same
20. These two agencies dominate the international content of the Latin American news media. As Markham /47 reported, foreign news in seven Latin American dailies was supplied almost entirely by the 2 U. S. agencies plus France Press. UPI alone provided nearly half, 47%, of all story items to those dailies.

Corroboration for this data is available in three other studies. Diaz Rangel /22 analyzed one day's content of 14 Latin American dailies and found that AP and UPI contributed 72% of their foreign content. The CIESPAL Study /16 revealed that 84% of the foreign news in the 29 dailies for the study was contributed by news agencies; less than one per cent was contributed by ORBE, one of the few Latin American agencies; the rest was distributed among foreign news agencies, half by UPI, 30% by AP, and 13% by France Press. There was a total of 80% from U.S. agencies. Those three agencies were also found to be the primary source of news about the United States for 20 Latin American dailies (Wolfe /91) The role of the non-national news agencies is described below in the different countries of the region.

a. In Argentina, AP and UPI manage the international news. UPI has exclusivity in La Presa, of Buenos Aires, and Los Andes of Mendoza, while AP serves La Nacion and at least 4 provincial dailies (Schenkel /74, p. 21)

b. In Colombia, international wire services filter news to and from the country, in addition to some of the internal national news. UPI and AP together account for 70% of international news in that country (Schenkel /74, p. 37)

c. The Chilean press, radio and television are also serviced by the non-national news services, in particular by UPI, that maintain a monopoly on news leaving the country (Schenkel /74, p. 53)

d. In spite of the fact that Mexico has two national news agencies, one State owned, 90% of international news is provided by AP and UPI and AFP (Schenkel /74, p. 70). In addition, Telesistema receives photographic material from NBC and CBS.

e. Sixty per cent of international news in Peru before the revolutionary government was provided by UPI and AP, although there are three small national agencies (Schenkel /74, p. 87)

The U.S. news agencies manage 80% of the international news in Latin America, and in many countries a significant percentage of national and regional news as well is controlled by these agencies.
A survey conducted in 1970 examines one week of television programming in 18 cities of Latin America. The study reveals an average of 31.4% of U.S. programming in Latin American television (Kaplun /40, p. 79), ranging from a high of 92.7% in Panama, to a low of 21.4% in Argentina.

Table #1 TV Programming by Country of Origin (%)
(data as presented in Kaplun study)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Countries</th>
<th>Nationals %</th>
<th>Combined %</th>
<th>Latin Amer. %</th>
<th>U.S.A. %</th>
<th>West. %</th>
<th>Social. %</th>
<th>3rd World %</th>
<th>Others %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>71.6</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolivia</td>
<td>36.7</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>R. de Jan.</td>
<td>62.8</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>23.4</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P. Alegre</td>
<td>55.1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>42.5</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>58.2</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>33.0</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>Bogotá</td>
<td>60.2</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>25.4</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Medellín</td>
<td>78.0</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. Dominicana</td>
<td>62.8</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>31.5</td>
<td>49.2</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>52.4</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>32.2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicaragua</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>26.9</td>
<td>49.4</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panama</td>
<td>Panama</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>45.0</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F. Clayton</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>92.7</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraguay</td>
<td>55.0</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>44.9</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perú</td>
<td>50.8</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>33.9</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rico</td>
<td>40.9</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>36.6</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uruguay</td>
<td>43.0</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venezuela</td>
<td>48.4</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1.8*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL         50.8  5.4  9.1  31.4  3.0  0.1  0.1  0.2  

* Japan
(Kaplun /40, p. 109)

A worldwide study of the flow of international television programming (Varis /86) complements this data, analyzing the flow of U. S. programming in Latin America.
Table 2. Percentage of imported (Exchange & Import) TV-Programmes in various countries (1970-1971) by hours (including repeats). (Many of the figures are estimates.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country/Institution</th>
<th>Imported %</th>
<th>Domestic %</th>
<th>Total %</th>
<th>Hours per year</th>
<th>Estimated total output of all companies in the country (hours)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Argentina/Canal 9 B.A. (A)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>(5450)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argentina/Canal 11 B.A. (A)</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>(5100)</td>
<td>120 400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chile (W)</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>(9150)</td>
<td>9 150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colombia (W)</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>(4700)</td>
<td>4 700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominican Republic/Can. 3/9 (A)</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>(3650)</td>
<td>9 050</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guatemala (W)</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>(9500)</td>
<td>9 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico/Telesistema (A)</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>(9450)</td>
<td>10 400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uruguay (W)</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>(4300)</td>
<td>4 300</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Varis /86, p.31)

Fox de Cardona calculated in 1973 that "the total foreign sales for the U.S., according to MPEAA (Motion Picture Export Association of America), are a little over a hundred million dollars, of which 25% represents Latin America /31, p. 47. Varis (86) affirms that "All the American companies seem to distribute about one third of their total foreign sales to Latin America" (Varis /86, p. 196). Sales to Latin America, therefore, total close to 26 million dollars. Finally, Mas affirmed that Latin America spends on the average 80 million dollars per year in importing TV canned material from the U.S. (Kaplon /40)

This phenomenon of commercial TV programming sales has extended to the sale of non-commercial educational TV programs in Latin America. For example, Sesame Street is financed by Xerox for the Spanish version, Plaza Sesamo, which is administered by company Producciones Barbachano Ponce S. A., owner of television chains, and distributed in the region by the Mexican private television monopoly, Televista. The same occurred in Brazil, with Vila Sesamo, financed mainly by Xerox, and co-produced by the television and newspaper monopoly, O Globo, of Rio de Janeiro, and the Company TV Cultura de Sao Paulo (Mattelart /50, p. 172)

Television is not the only recipient of U.S. programming. In Argentina, according to Schenkel /74, p. 22, up to 85% of the music heard on the radio consists of imported
records and tapes, principally rock and soul from the U. S. A. Argentine newspapers contain U. S. comic strips, editorials and articles from the New York Times, the Los Angeles Times and the Washington Post.

In the Colombian press, 80% of the comic strips and 25% of the sports news are U. S. (Schenkel /74)

The Mexican press devotes 30% of its space to U. S. sports news while 50% of radio time is music and soap operas from the U. S. A. (Schenkel/74, p. 71)

A list compiled on Sunday August 3, 1975, of the comic strips published in the 2 major Caracas dailies, El Nacional and El Universo, include 31 different strips, all U. S. originated, distributed mainly by King, Walt Disney, and Field (Eliaschev /28, p. 15)

U. S. programming dominates an average of 31.4% of TV programming in the region, including both U. S. commercial and educational programming. In addition, U. S. recorded music is heavily used in radio and U. S. comic strips almost completely monopolize the newspapers.

2. Direct distribution of messages by non-national media institutions.

Magazines

The majority of the non-national magazines distributed in Latin America pertain to the Hearst Corporation.

In Mexico, these magazines (Cosmopolitan, Good Housekeeping, and Popular Mechanic) are published in Spanish by Publications Continentales, and have a monthly circulation of 2,000,000 copies.

In Chile, the edition and distribution rights are in the hands of Editorial Lord Cochran of the Edwards Group.

Latin American publications elaborated in Venezuela of the Hearst Magazines are managed by Editorial America of the De Armas group. The De Armas chain, formed in 1967 from the Distribuidora Continental, is now the largest editorial house in Latin America. The De Armas chain has exclusive rights for the reproduction and distribution of the U. S. magazines Buenhogar, Mecanica Popular, Cosmopolitan, Readers Digest and the Almanaque Mundial. Every month the De Armas releases 17 million copies among all their publications (Eliaschev /28, p. 17)

The Hearst Corporation is also co-owner of UPI and of MGM (Mattellar /49, pp. 127-128)
Readers Digest. This magazine has 9 editions in Latin America, 8 in Spanish and 1 in Portuguese. 95% of the material of all 9 magazines, which is rarely from Latin America, is the same for all editions. Total circulation of the magazine in the region reaches 900,000 monthly (Kaplan /40, p. 43).

Time circulates in all countries of Latin America. According to Matellart, Time-Life Inc. has investments in various magazines and editorials of the region (Matellart /49, p. 131).

Comic Books. The largest editor and distributor of comic books for Latin America is Western Publishing Company, headquartered in Mexico. It circulates millions of copies of "Archie", "Batman", "Superman", "Walt Disney", "Dadwood and Blondy", "Tom and Jerry" and "Porky the Pig" among many others. In addition, Walt Disney directly licenses Latin American editorials to publish its production in Spanish, such as Editorial Andes in Bogotá, and Editorial Tucuman S. A. in Argentina (Matellart /49, p. 130).

Films

Of films shown in Latin America, an average of 55% are U.S. originated, ranging from 46% in film-producer Mexico to 70% and 73% respectively in Bolivia and Guatemala (Kaplan /40, p. 52).

Table #3 Cinema: Production and Programming

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Annual Average Films</th>
<th>Total Films</th>
<th>National U.S.A. exhibit. production</th>
<th>From U.S.A.</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nation. from Films</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Feature films)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolivia</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>417</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costa Rica</td>
<td>- 200</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>- 200</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Salvador</td>
<td>- 150</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haiti</td>
<td>- 200</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honduras</td>
<td>- 185</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>75 147</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicaragua</td>
<td>- 230</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panama</td>
<td>- 225</td>
<td>412</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraguay</td>
<td>- 210</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>4 234</td>
<td>585</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rico</td>
<td>- 175</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. Dominicana</td>
<td>- 200</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uruguay</td>
<td>- 150</td>
<td>307</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Kaplan /40, p. 94)
Film distribution is dominated by MGM, 20th Century Fox, United Artists, Columbia-Paramount, and Warner Bros., all operating under the cartel of Motion Picture Export Association of America. The MPEAA is permitted under the Webb-Pomerene Export Trade Act of 1918, which permitted domestic competitors to cooperate in trade by forming export associations which might otherwise have been held illegal under the Sherman and Clayton Antitrust Acts. In effect, this exemption allowed American companies to combine and fix prices and allocate customers in foreign markets (Guback /36, p. 93)

In many countries international film companies also directly own the theaters to which their films are distributed (Matellart /49, p. 139).

U.S. originated magazines and comic books are widely distributed to the Latin American public. U.S. films represent an average of 55% of films shown in the region.

C. POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

The production and distribution of messages by a non-national government, in this case the U.S. government, is accomplished in two manners: (1) the distribution of messages to national media institutions, and (2) the direct distribution to the public of a country. We will discuss both types in relation to U.S. activities in Latin America.

The Office of Coordination of Inter-American Affairs: During the second world war, Nelson Rockefeller was named Director of the Office of Coordination of Inter-American Affairs. When the United States entered the war, this office was concerned with open propaganda in favor of the Allies. According to Epstein /29, Rockefeller convinced the Treasury Department to accept as tax free deductions funds spent by North American companies in advertising in those media sympathetic with the Allied cause. This tax free advertising accounted at one point for 40% of the earnings of the press and radio in Latin America. Newsprint was also selectively administered by this office to the "cooperative" newspapers. The Rockefeller office, with a staff of 1200 in the U.S., included journalists, advertisers, P.R. analysts, and pollsters, and had a budget of 140 million dollars over 5 years. They prepared editorials, photographs, and feature articles for the Latin American press, in addition to the direct distribution of magazines, pamphlets, books and films. A weekly commentary letter was sent to 13,000 pre-identified "opinion leaders" in the continent. Rockefeller also organized trips to the States for influential Latin American editors and later provided scholarships for their children.
During the war over 1,200 newspapers and 200 radio stations received a dosage of 3,000 words a day of news in Spanish and Portuguese, administered by U. S. news agencies and radio chains through the Rockefeller office.

By the end of the war, the Inter-American Affairs Office calculated that over 75% of the world news that reached Latin America originated in Washington under their control and that of the State Department (Epstein /29, pp. 4-5)

Current U. S. activities of the type referred to above are under the auspices of the United States Information Office, established in 1953 as an executive office of the government. Total USIS staff is 9,800, 4,400 of which are American and 5,400 nationals. USIS has 22 offices in Latin America, and employs 169 Americans and 660 nationals. The 1973 budget for Latin America was approximately 20 million dollars /30, p. 6.

In a recent interview with U. S. News and World Report, Frank Shakespeare, former director of USIS, explained the principal facets of this organization as: (1) to assist the foreign policy of the United States by clarifying, seeking support for and diminishing opposition to this policy, and (2) to evaluate international attitudes to the degree that these are relevant to U. S. foreign policy and its formulation. The former function, he explained, is achieved through worldwide radio transmission (The Voice of America) in 35 different languages, production and distribution of films for television and theater, libraries, and art shows, and press and cultural offices all over the world. He gave no explanation for the latter. (Shakespeare /81, p. 105)

USIS Latin American operations also include the direct distribution of films for television and theaters, and recordings for radio, art and music exhibitions, and free international cable service for national newspapers, in addition to the direct service of La Voz de las Americas.

According to Fresenius, USIS also directly distributes comic books in Latin America, among recent examples of which are: "La Palmada en la Frente," distributed in Chile.
on the eve of the last presidential elections, portraying the situation in the country if the socialist Unidad Popular were to win the elections as a nation controlled by a huge arbitrary Soviet Bureaucracy, and "El Desengaño", 147,000 copies of which were distributed simultaneously in 1969 in 11 countries of the region. This depicts the urban guerrilla as a trap and false solution to social problems.

One year after this was anonymously distributed, USIS publicly acknowledged authorship (Fresenius /33, p. 12)

The following are examples of the radio soap operas distributed free of charge in Latin America as they are described in the USIS Catalogue. La Trampa (The Trap) (52 episodes, 30 minutes), each episode presents the story of an individual who fell into the trap of communism (recorded in Mexico and Bogota). El Lobo del Mar (78 episodes, 30 minutes); the protagonists, Captain Silver and Tex, combat subversion and extremism throughout the Latin American hemisphere.

The USIS is also involved in the edition and distribution of books in Latin America through agreements, among others, with Editorials Sudamerica, Paidos, and Troquel in Buenos Aires (Mattelart /49, pp. 151-159).

Alan Wells, in his book on U. S. television in Latin America, reports the case of Radio Swan, which operated a 50,000 watt station from Swan Island in 1970.

Like the other stations, Radio Swan (later renamed Radio Americas) had its own civilian "front" office in New York, in this case headed ---none too tactfully for Latin sensibilities--- by a former president of the United Fruit Company. Under allegedly "absolute CIA control", the station played an intimate part in the unsuccessful Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba (Wells /88, p. 101).

A recent official U. S. document provides extensive detailed information on certain activities of the CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) in relation to the mass media of one Latin American country. This document is the Staff Report of a special group of the U. S. Senate, the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities /17.

The information of the Select Committee of the U. S. Senate illustrates the operations related to the Chilean mass media that the CIA conducted between 1963 and 1973, and particularly during the last three years of this period when the first democratically elected socialist government in Latin America was in office. The report was presented by the Senate Committee during the special hearings in 1975 in which this legislative body reviewed the CIA activities in general.

The report commences affirming that in 1965, as indirect support for the Christian Democratic Candidate Eduardo Frei, "the CIA mounted a massive anti-communist propaganda campaign" and, "a scare campaign which relied heavily on images of Soviet tanks and Cuban firing squads and was directed especially to women" /17 p. 15. The report considers this campaign to have been "enormous", provides
details regarding its magnitude, and demonstrates that, "the CIA regards the anti-communist scare campaign as the most effective activity undertaken by the U. S. on behalf of the Christian Democratic candidate" /17 p. 16. The report continues to explain that the CIA supported various similar projects: one involving new agencies, another wall posters, leaflet campaigns and public heckling, a third supporting a right-wing weekly newspaper. "Other assets funded under this project placed CIA-inspired editorials almost daily in El Mercurio, Chile's major newspaper, and after 1968, exerted substantial control over the content of that paper's international news section /17 p. 18-19.

The Senate report also includes considerable information on the media oriented activities of the CIA during the elections of 1970, directed towards thwarting the victory of the socialist candidate, Salvador Allende. The strategy was the same as that employed before, "an Allende victory was equated with violence and repression" /17 p. 20. The report points out that the CIA undertook half a dozen projects, "an intensive propaganda campaign which made use of virtually all media within Chile and which placed on replayed items in the international press as well" /17 p. 21. Among the details the report provides of this campaign are the following:

The CIA's propaganda operation for the 1970 elections made use of mechanisms that had been developed earlier. One mechanism had been used extensively by the CIA during the March 1969 congressional elections. During the 1970 campaign it produced hundreds of thousands of high-quality printed pieces, ranging from posters and leaflets to picture books, and carried out an extensive propaganda program through many radio and press outlets. Other propaganda mechanisms that were in place prior to the 1970 campaign included an editorial support group that provided political features, editorials, and news articles for radio and press placement: a service for placing anti-communist press and radio items; and three different news services. /17 p. 22.

The Senate report continues:

The propaganda campaign included several components. Predictions of economic collapse under Allende were replayed in CIA-generated articles in European and Latin American newspapers. In response to criticisms of El Mercurio by candidate Allende, the CIA, through its covert action resources, orchestrated cables of support and protest from foreign newspapers, a
protest statement from an international press association * and world press coverage of the association's protest. In addition, journalists -agents and otherwise- traveled to Chile for on-the-scene reporting. By September 28, the CIA had agents who were journalists from ten different countries in or en route to Chile. This group was supplemented by eight more journalists from five countries under the direction of high-level agents who were, for the most part, in managerial capacities in the media field. /17 p. 24

The Senate Report also affirms that:

Second, the CIA relied upon its own resources to generate anti-Allende propaganda in Chile. These efforts included: support for an underground press; placement of individual news items through agents; financing a small newspaper; indirect subsidy of Patria y Libertad, a group fervently opposed to Allende, and its radio programs, political advertisements, and political rallies; and the direct mailing of foreign news articles to Frei, his wife, selected leaders, and the Chilean domestic press.

Third, special intelligence and "inside" briefings were given to U. S. journalists, at their request. One Time cover story was considered particularly noteworthy. According to CIA documents, the Time correspondent in Chile apparently had accepted Allende's protestations of moderation and constitutionality at face value. Briefings requested by Time and provided by the CIA in Washington resulted in a change in the basic thrust of the Time story of Allende's September 4 victory and in the timing of that story. /17 p. 24-25

The report is of the position that these campaigns had considerable influence on the publics to which these were directed, and provides the following details of the size of these efforts:

* According to a dispatch of France Press on April 8, 1976, from Aruba, the Inter American Press Association in its latest meeting in this country condemned the "Introduction by the CIA and other intelligence services in the press of the Americas." The dispatch continues, "a resolution approved in the semester meeting of the IAPA stressed that 'recent studies of the United States Congress revealed that in the past the policy of the Central Intelligence Agency was to assign secret agents in the press media, both in and outside the country, to collect secret information and for other purposes" /81a.
A few statistics convey the magnitude of the CIA's propaganda campaign mounted during the six-week interim period in the Latin American and European media. According to the CIA, partial returns showed that 726 articles, broadcasts, editorials, and similar items directly resulted from Agency activity. The Agency had no way to measure the scope of the multiplier effect—i.e., how much its "induced" news focused media interest on the Chilean issues and stimulated additional coverage—but concluded that its contribution was both substantial and significant. /17 p. 25

After the electoral victory of Allende, the CIA directed its efforts towards opposition propaganda. The Senate Report states in regard to the cost of this campaign:

Besides funding political parties, the 40 Committee approved large amounts to sustain opposition media and thus to maintain a hard-hitting propaganda campaign. The CIA spent $1.5 million in support of El Mercurio, the country's largest newspaper and the most important channel for anti-Allende propaganda. According to CIA documents, these efforts played a significant role in setting the stage for the military coup of September 11, 1973.

The 40 Committee approvals in 1971 and early 1972 for subsidizing El Mercurio were based on reports that the Chilean government was trying to close the El Mercurio chain. In fact, the press remained free throughout the Allende period, despite attempts to harass and financially damage opposition media. The alarming field reports on which the 40 Committee decisions to support El Mercurio were based are at some variance with intelligence community analyses. For example, an August 1971 National Intelligence Estimate—nine months after Allende took power—maintained that the government was attempting to dominate the press but commented that El Mercurio had managed to retain its independence. Yet one month later the 40 Committee voted $700,000 to keep El Mercurio afloat. And CIA documents in 1973 acknowledge that El Mercurio and, to a lesser extent, the papers belonging to opposition political parties, were the only publications under pressure from the government. /17 p. 29.

Finally, in regard to the international aspects of the campaign, the report affirms that:
The freedom of the press issue was the single most important theme in the international propaganda campaign against Allende. Among the books and pamphlets produced by the major opposition research organization was one which appeared in October 1972 at the time of the Inter-American Press Association (IAPA) meeting in Santiago. As in the 1970 period, the IAPA listed Chile as a country in which freedom of the press as threatened. 17 p. 29.

U. S. political institution USIS extensively distributes information either directly or through the Latin American media in this region in the forms of radio soap operas, comic books and radio broadcasts. In addition the CIA has carried out operations related to the Latin American mass media, directed towards financing messages against popular political movements of a reformist social democratic orientation.

C. MIXED INSTITUTIONS

Satellite

One non-national media institution which in effect constitutes a mixed institution—economic, political and communication—is the case of the regional satellite for Latin America. Ballochi 12, in a review of the steps leading up to the educational satellite for Latin America, reports that:

(1) In June 1967, Stanford University published a study on educational satellite use for Latin America.

(2) In April 1969, a meeting was held in Santiago de Chile to consider a proposal by several U. S. institutions to use educational satellite in the region. This meeting was attended by Latin American and U. S. institutions and various U. S. foundations and companies, among these COMSAT and General Electric. The product of this meeting was CAVISAT, an organization that was to perform studies and promote the design of the educational use of satellites in Latin America. Ten U. S. and ten Latin American universities were chosen by the meeting for the elaboration of the educational programs. This was the first and last direct non-governmental effort in the area of educational satellites for the region (Ballochi 12, pp. 117-121).
(3) In 1970 UNESCO published a preparatory study of educational satellite use for development purposes in Latin America which had been requested by the governments of Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Perú, Uruguay and Venezuela.

(4) Also in 1970, the Educational Ministers of the Andean Pact signed the Andrés Bello Agreement for Scientific, Cultural and Educational Integration of the region. The Andrés Bello Agreement assigned to Venezuela the task of studying the feasibility of carrying out educational, scientific and cultural programming for the region via satellite. This study was undertaken under the sponsorship of UNESCO and the Inter American Telecommunications Union, and financed by the United National Development Fund. The Venezuelan study included satellites and other systems of educational television production, transmission, distribution and the legal, financial, and economic aspects of a regional educational television system. This study was published in 1973 and presented and discussed in Caracas by a group of experts in 1974 (Serlo /59).

Brazil is the only country in the region where a satellite is actively functioning. The different stages of the establishment and development were designed in a 1967 study by Stanford University. A feasibility study was carried out by the Brazilian National Commission for Space Activities in 1968, and a UNESCO experts mission. Since then the project has been administered by the Institute of Space Research of Brazil. The first stage of the experiment used the NASA ATS-3 satellite and studied the reception of telephone and documents in the region; the second stage planned the utilization of the ATS-6 for an experimental program.
for educational television that reached 500 teaching centers and 1,500 students in North East Brazil (Sommerlad /82)

Other Institutions

There are other areas that form part of the structure of the international exchange of information between the United States and the countries of Latin America which at this point it is impossible to enter into in greater detail. One of these is technology, and another research and development activities in telecommunications in which the U. S. performs the active role of leader and exporter.

As the National Academy of Engineering, Committee on Telecommunications noted in a recent review of telecommunications research in the United States and selected foreign countries /56, prepared by the National Science Foundation:

Certainly the recent levels of telecommunications research and development for the requirements of the Department of Defense (250 million a year) the National Aeronautic and Space Administration (100 million/year) the Bell Telephone System, (400 million/year) and other major users of telecommunications has been adequate to maintain a technological lead for the U. S. in these mission areas /56, pp. 7-8.

U. S. private enterprise and government institutions have also played important roles in financial and technical assistance and training for the design and implementation of national media systems, such as the role of USAID and the Peace Corps in the Colombian Educational Television System, * and AID's role in the Educational Television System for San Salvador.** Not to mention the role of hardware sales by U. S. telecommunication manufacturing companies, and supplier credits to national media institutions. Similarly U. S. Government institutions have also historically been instrumental in training and technical assistance in general audio-visual education and extension work in the region.

SUMMARY

Identification and Classification

The non-national economic institutions concerned with the media commenced their activities in Latin America with the direct investments of the U. S. networks and other companies in the radio and television for the region. This investment, which

* For summary treatment of this project, see Bennett /9.

** For summary treatment of this project, see Hornik /37.
was quite important during the 1960's, has been gradually replaced by the non-national investment in advertising agencies that support the media, and non-national advertising clients as economic institutions that are influential in the Latin American media.

The management of international and regional news flow in the region has been assumed by U. S. agencies since the second world war. During this time, programming sales and direct distribution also grew. The use of non-national political institutions that involved the media also appears to have had its birth during the war and continues today. In summary, direct non-national economic investment has been replaced by non-national media "service" institutions and more directly by non-national communication institutions, as is the case of programming sales and news flow, in addition to non-national political involvement with the media. Reference is also made to other areas that form part of information exchange, such as the transfer of technology and technical assistance on the part of the U. S. Government.

More specifically, U. S. advertising companies lead the field in the majority of the countries of the region in addition to U. S. public opinion and public relations firms. U. S. news agencies manage 80% of the international news in Latin America and in many cases also the national and regional news. U. S. programming dominates an average of 31.4% of TV programming in the region. U. S. records and comic strips also flood the market. The U. S. directly distributes magazines and films in the region, the latter constituting 55% of all films shown in Latin America. The political institutions of the U. S., more exactly the USIS and the CIA, extensively distribute information, in addition to other activities in relation to the Latin American media.

III. INFLUENCE OF NON-NATIONAL MEDIA INSTITUTIONS IN LATIN AMERICA

This section addresses how the organization and activities of the institutions described in the first section influence the national media in Latin America. This phenomenon is examined in three principal areas: (1) the influence of economic institutions (direct investment and advertising and services); (2) the influence of the communication institutions (news flow and programming flow); (3) the influence of the political institutions; and (4) the influence of the mixed institutions (satellite).

One type of influence which we do not attempt to gauge is how the international investment activities of the U. S. networks and the other organizations determined the predominantly commercial nature the media in Latin America assumed in the first place. In other words, would the Latin American media have been more like some European publicly owned media systems if it had not been for the influence of the U. S. institutions on these? This point, in regard to television,
is explored by Williams /90 in a recent publication on television:

"The "commercial" character of television has then to be seen at several levels: as the making of programmes for profit in a known market; as a channel for advertising; and as a cultural and political form indirectly shaped by and dependent on the norms of a capitalist society, selling both consumer goods, and a "way of life" based on them, in an ethos that is at once locally generated, by domestic capitalist interests and authorities, and internationally organized as a political project, by the dominant capitalist power. It is then not too much to say that the general transition, in the last twenty years, from what was normally a national and state controlled sound broadcasting to what now, in world terms, are predominantly commercial television institutions, is a consequence of this planned operation from the United States /90, pp. 41-42.

The purpose of this section is to document with empirical evidence the influence of the U. S. media related institutions on existing Latin American media, in three specific areas: economic, communication and political, always referring back to the initial definition of these institutions stated in the introduction.

A. ECONOMIC INFLUENCE

We have examined two types of economic relationship between the U. S. and the Latin American media institutions: (1) direct investment, and (2) indirect investment through advertising and services.

1. Investment Influence

The fact that ownership is a determinant of bias of media content according to the vested interests of the owners was documented in a study by Luis Roca on economic interests and the orientation of news concerning the peasant movements in Peru, (Roca /69) in which the hypothesis was proven that the interests of the owners, among these U. S. firms, conditioned the orientation of the information in the press.

2. Advertising Influence

Advertising influence has been examined in Venezuela by Diaz Rangel /23, who documented various cases of intervention of advertising in the national press. One case was the advertising boycott of El Nacional between 1961 and 1962, because of its independent and at times sympathetic line with the Cuban revolutionary process. Leading multinational and national advertising clients carried out an effective boycott of the paper until the board of directors was forced to change the editor and the editorial line of the paper.
Specific news suppression cases were, according to Diaz Rangel /23, the following: the case of the investigation by the Labor Ministry of corporal punishment practices by the Venezuelan General Electric subsidiary, which was not carried by any paper in spite of official news releases on the subject, and a banner headline on the illegal entry of television sets into the country by Sears of Venezuela which was squashed because of advertising pressures against the paper.

Other cases were documented in Peru prior to the present government's arrival to power in 1968, reported by Benavides Corres /8 as examples of overwhelming advertising pressures against a radio station, a television channel and a political weekly which took a line favorable to the re vindication of national interests from the domain of the International Petroleum Company.

Theotonio Dos Santos, in his book La Nueva Dependencia, documents "the expulsion of journalists from two Brazilian publications, Correio de Manha and Manchete, because their independent and nationalist position were not tolerated by foreign interests in the press" (Benavides /8, p. 118). Concluded Benavides /8, p. 118, "Advertising has an eminently political character and it is only channeled to the media which defend the political positions that the group of large (particularly foreign) firms desires."

Muraro /54 describes a recent advertising lock-out organized in Argentina by the multinational corporations with the purpose of creating a negative environment for the imminent nationalization of the television channels in that country. Through the massive decrease in advertising investment they hoped to simulate an economic recession during those precise months when employment was highest.

A U. S. marketing specialist, Leo Bogart /11, reproduces a statement of advertising philosophy for Latin America which Bogart found in a "brochure sent out by a large international publication":

It is dangerous to spend advertising appropriations to appeal to the millions, most of whom have no buying potential. It is enough of a task for any advertising budget merely to concentrate on those who do have the buying power, and to aim to turn these prospects into buyers of your particular product. The goal of the advertiser in Latin America, therefore, should be to reach not the largest number of people, but the largest number of prospects. The advertiser in Latin America should concentrate not on turning people into prospects but in turning prospects into customers /11, p.161.
B. COMMUNICATION INFLUENCE

Communication influences include the influence of news flow into and out of the region and the influence of direct and indirect programming flow.

1. The Influence of News Flow

The influence of news flow has been documented by various researchers within the region and in the U.S. This influence has two directions: one concerns the nature of news reaching Latin America from the rest of the world, and the other, the nature of the news about Latin America disseminated outside the region. As has been observed in the previous section, both these flows are almost exclusively regulated by non-national news agencies, in particular, by United Press International and by Associated Press.

News Flow into the Region

One of the few studies that examined the nature of news flow into the Latin American region is a 1967 study by Venezuelan Senator and journalist, Eleazar Diaz Rangel. In an analysis of the international and national news in the 14 major dailies of the region, he found on one specific day that the most important international items for the 14 papers were the U.S. offensive in Vietnam and the royal visit of a pair of newly-weds to the Dutch Parliament. A conference of African leaders held the same day was completely ignored. The news disseminated about the third world consisted of a story of a confrontation between an African tribe and some gorillas, and "the discovery of Noah's Ark in Turkey." A military uprising in Ecuador and the Dominican Crisis were passed over by the 14 papers. Other Latin American stories were the capture of a witch in Bogota, and the birth of a pig with two legs in Caracas (Diaz Rangel /22).

The Vietnam coverage in the Latin American press is a singular case of the role of the news agencies. The Latin American public received almost exclusively the U.S. version of the war, to the extent that even the more critical U.S. reporting of the war never reached the continent. The cables from the news agency of North Vietnam never appeared, and little news reached Latin America of the U.S. war protest within the country.
Information from the United States

In regard to Latin American print media coverage of the United States, Markhan /47 found that Latin American dailies publish about twice as much foreign news, generally, as the U.S. Latin American dailies devoted about 38% of their foreign news space (50 column inches) to the U.S., in contrast with the 2 to 3 inches per day U.S. dailies devoted to Latin American news.

A study of 29 of the major Latin American dailies showed that of the proportion of space they allocated to information from North America, the largest portion was assigned to the U.S. and only minimal attention went to Canada and to Caribbean territories (CIESPAL /16).

Merril /53 concentrated on the image of the United States in ten Mexican dailies. He found that (1) very little, if any, was reported which gave the reader a real idea of how Americans live, (2) the heavy emphasis on official news of the U.S. makes the general picture of the country off balance, and (3) almost all the U.S. news is from Washington and New York City. Merril noted that, for instance, very little material dealt with the American man in the street, with religion and education, and with people in the small cities and in the rural areas of the U.S.

There have been few studies of the image of the U.S. in exported television. From an analysis of some of these surveys, Browne /13, p. 315 concluded that American television programs more often than not have given foreign viewers a rather favorable impression of life in the United States. This has been chiefly, he specifies, through the portrayal of harmonious family life, a high standard of living, and a general sense of freedom and equality for and among Americans.

Judging the inadequacies in both directions of the inter-American flow of news, Graham /35 of the Washington Post observed:

It is this kind of mutual lack of knowledge that could cause the people of the United States to be astounded in 1958 when Vice President Richard Nixon was stoned and mobbed in Caracas, and again more recently when Governor Rockefeller met his stormy reception in Latin America /35, p. 3

Bias of U.S. Wire Services

Two documented cases of the operations of the U.S. wire services against Latin American interests are those of Reyes Matta /67 of Stanford Institute of
The object of the Ramos study was the treatment given by the U. S. wire services to the 1972 UNCTAD * meeting in Santiago de Chile. She found an overwhelming bias on the part of the AP and UPI towards covering the positions of the ten industrialized countries attending, although the participation of the Latin American countries was quite active. The Colombian press had sent no reporters to the meeting, and used only wire services in their reporting of the conference. They used mainly UPI and AP cables in spite of the fact that agencies such as AFP gave slightly more coverage to the countries of the region in the conference.

Reyes examined the conduct of the UPI in the February 1974 meeting of the Latin American Ministers of Foreign Relations with Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. The majority of the information that UPI dispatched from the meeting was used by Latin American papers. He examines incidents such as: (a) the publication by wire by UPI of a U. S. draft that contained concepts that had not been accepted by the Latin American delegates as the final text of the meeting; reporting that a proposition had been presented by the Latin Americans and accepted by Kissinger, when in fact it was just the opposite; (b) the complete silence of the UPI on issues planted by the Latin American delegations such as economic coercion, the balance of payments, and the role of the multinational enterprise; and (c) the selection by the wire services of key issues out of the context of the meeting. Reyes concluded that:

The UPI selects information on Latin America according to a criteria of interest which coincides with the structure of U. S. domination, and informs Latin Americans of a reality which is not that which they live but which they end up believing given the communicative force of the agency /67, p. 56.

An example of national news reporting by institutions that do not necessarily concur with national development goals is the case of oil exporting Venezuela, where all the information concerning OPEC * in the national papers is originated in agencies located in petroleum importing countries (Pasquali /61, p. 20)

The control of news flow into the Latin American region is dominated by the U. S. wire services that systematically distort, through selection and manipulation, the image of the world outside presented to the Latin Americans through their papers. This distortion by the wire services also extends to the coverage of specific Latin American items.

* United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

** Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries.
News Flow out of the Region

There are few systematic studies of the bias of information transmitted by the news agencies from the Latin American region; however, there are a variety of opinions about its nature and the role of the U.S. papers and news agencies.

Former President of Venezuela Rafael Caldera (14, p. 1) addressed the National Press Club, in Washington, in this respect:

Perhaps the phrase, "no news is good news" has become "good news is no news." Only the most deplorable incidents, be they the work of nature or man, gain prominence in the mass media (of the U.S.) Little or nothing is said about literary or scientific achievements; little is said about man's efforts to tame nature and put it to his service; little is said about social achievements and about defense against the dangers which threaten our peace and our development. It is far more easy to present the Latin American as a disorderly, difficult neighbor, unable to achieve that which other have already attained in the economic and technological fields".

Perez /62, the actual president of Venezuela, voiced similar complaints in an October 1974 speech before the Inter American Press Association:

The Latin Americans have just reasons to complain because we are an underinformed region in the developed world. The big press of the big countries does not report about our realities, our struggles, and our goals, and in many opportunities, it ignores us in spite of the fact that we are struggling.../62, p. 8.

Images of Latin America in U.S. Media

The analysis of biases has concentrated on the images of Latin America that are published by U.S. media, especially the print ones. For example, Markham asserts that "it has become a truism that it takes a revolution to get Latin America in the news" /47, p. 249. Whitaker's data /89 suggest, and a study by Lewis /44 confirms the fact that a successful Communist revolution isn't even enough. Lewis monitored news coverage by U.S. dailies of the 31 days prior to Castro's take-over of the Cuban government, and concluded that little coverage was given until the last six days of that period.

Whitaker concluded that Latin information in U.S. magazines "was concentrated on what U.S. tourists should see, eat, drink or buy, or on the discomforts (if not outright perils) of living and traveling in Latin America." Whitaker also reported a patronizing attitude toward persons, places and things of Latin America.
In 1962, the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions published a report on the news from Latin America concerning UPI, AP and New York Times coverage of the region /15. The review of the AP was conducted by Hendrix, of the Miami News, who concluded that:

Through the years the United States reader has caught an occasional glimpse of Latin America from reports of catastrophe, war, looting, piracy and political upheaval. After the first flash of violence, little has been done to explain the causes of the events or acquaint the North American reader with the personalities involved.... The imbalance in the flow of news from Latin America, compared with the flow from other parts of the world today, results in a continuing distortion of perspective /15, p. 51.

Another journalist, Lyford, conducted the examination of the New York Times in the same Center Report in which he observed:

If news is what "happens" on a particular day at a particular place, then the Times has carried out its responsibility in at least a handful of Latin American nations. If news is to be defined as information that illuminates a situation, that builds a sophisticated understanding of a nation and its people, that is obtained first-hand by a reporter from primary sources, that is checked independently of hearsay or political sources, the Times may be fairly charged with having provided much less than is needed. Yet it has done a far better job than any other American newspaper: and this is the most ominous fact of all /15, p. 56.

U. S. Media Coverage of the Cuban Revolution

Francis /32 studied the coverage of the Cuban revolution in 17 leading U. S. dailies. He concentrated on nine events between the flight of Batista in January of 1959 and the failure of the Bay of Pigs invasion in April 1961. In addition to determining that "Republican" newspapers had printed much more anti-Castro stories than "Democrat" newspapers, Francis found that a number of papers consistently over-emphasized: (a) the probability of using the economic strength of the U. S. to bring down the Cuban revolutionary government, (b) the trips of Cuban officials to communist countries and (c) rumors of guerrilla threats against the Cuban government. "Anti-American sentiments", Francis noted, "were widely publicized while little coverage was given to the more important, from the point of view of the average Cuban, social and economic changes which characterized the revolution. And, rather than discussing which should the U. S. policies be about the revolution, some dailies simply demanded the invasion of the island while others demanded a better treatment for Cuba" /32, p. 265.
Houghton /38 also studied U. S. journalistic coverage of the invasion of Cuba in 1961. He found that emphasis was given to U. S. denials that the government of the U. S. was involved in that invasion, even when Cuban accusations had anticipated such involvement and when information became available to demonstrate it.

In January of 1966 the first "Tri-Continental Conference of Asian, African and Latin American Revolutionary Solidarity" took place in Havana. The conference prompted the Organization of American States to hold an extraordinary session since the event was rated by some as a threat almost comparable to that of the nuclear weapons uncovered in Cuba in 1952. Yet, according to Bethel /10 and to Kipp /41, most of the U. S. mass media gave that conference little or no coverage.

Although it is impossible to equate social change in Latin America with U. S. press coverage of social change in this region, however, one can conclude, as does Knudson in a paper presented at the International Communications Division of the Association for Education in Journalism in 1974, that:

Goverments may come and go in Latin America, but one thing remains constant in the U. S. press -- a seemingly implacable hostility toward social change elsewhere in the hemisphere, whether accompanied by violence or not. Any one examining the record can find that newspapers and magazines in the United States have resorted mainly to sensationalism and ridicule in reporting or commenting upon the social revolutions which occurred in Mexico after 1910, Bolivia after 1952, Cuba after 1959, Peru after 1968 and Chile between 1970 and 1973 /43, p. 1.

Houghton, who had studied U. S. journalistic coverage of the invasion in 1961, also felt that:

There may be ....Castro type revolutions in some other parts of Latin America in spite of the Alliance for Progress -- not primarily because of Castro or Communism -- but because of basic social conditions, too long neglected .... Our government, our economic interests, and our people will react to such developments. Can the reactions be more enlightened ones? Can the press be relied upon better to lead toward that enlightenment /38, p. 430.

Press flow out of the region has been shown to be equally distorted and manipulated, especially from the U. S. wire services. The images of Latin America in the U. S. media are sensationalistic and untrue, with a special bias against situations of directed social change and revolution.
Inter American Press Association

One last aspect of non-national influence on the Latin American press is the case of the Inter American Press Association (Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa), an association of newspaper owners and editors founded in 1926. Originally the IAPA was organized on a country basis, in which each country had one vote. However, according to Mary Gardner,

The communists attempted to manipulate the early meetings to their own advantage.... they wished to gain control of an international group whose membership would supply both the prestige and the organs for spreading communist propaganda /34, p.2.

After the 1950 meeting in New York, in which the IAPA statutes were revamped to allow one vote per newspaper, the U. S. gained control, with 424 of the 768 members (314 were Latin Americans and 22 Canadians and Europeans).

One of the principal activities of the IAPA is a yearly review of press freedom in Latin America which began in 1946. One of the "principal targets of this analysis has been the Cuban regime" (Gardner /34). As reported by Fortunato de Barrios, and cited in Benavides, under Peron in Argentina, the IAPA attacked the closure of La Prensa organ of the Argentine elite, but it did not attack the closure of other publications of different leanings by Peron (Benavides /8, p. 149). Not did IAPA censure the closure in Venezuela of La Republica, under Dictator Perez Jimenez, for which act IAPA official Jules Dubois was not permitted to return to that country when the democratic system was reinstated (Benavides /8, p. 144)

A similar denial was issued by Peruvian ex-President Velasco Alvarado, who replied to George Beebe, president of the Executive Committee of the Inter American Press Association, regarding his request for an audience as follows:

.....The enactment of the Statute of Press Liberty is a sovereign act for which no Government has to give an explanation to a foreign organism, and even less to the Inter American Press Association, given that this is an entity that defends the interests of companies, and not the genuine liberty of expression as this is considered by the popular classes of America... in consequence, the President of the Republic does not grant you the audience requested in your letter of January 8.....(Benavides /8, p. 148)

A recent review of IAPA activities between 1952 and 1973 in Bolivia, by Knudson, challenges the assertion that "the IAPA has proved to be an effective instrument in maintaining and perpetuating freedom of the press in the Western
hemisphere" (Gardner /34 ). Knudson argues that, during the revolutionary government in that country between 1952 and 1964, IAPA denied that freedom of the press existed, while, after 1964, during the right wing military regimes, freedom was reported to exist by the IAPA. He concluded that:

Every government -- as every person -- has the right to self-defense.... But to the IAPA that right seems limited only to conservative or reactionary governments pledged to the protection of private property.... The IAPA judgements on freedom of the press in the hemisphere should not, therefore, be accepted without question (Knudson /42, pp. 14-45)

2. Influence of Programming Flow

The discussion of available information on the influence of non-national programming flow into the Latin American region includes two basic dimensions. The first is the analysis of the latent* content of the programming itself, which potentially acts on the public, while the second is the measurement of this action on the public. In Latin America, the former, the analysis of the latent content of the programming, in recent years has been applied to various media, using variations of the semiotic ** tools of analysis.

Content Analysis

Ariel Dorfman /26, and Dorfman and Matellart /25, carried out two analyses of this type with studies of the Reader's Digest and Donald Duck comic books. In the analysis of Reader's Digest, Dorfman identifies several key concepts which dominate the bulk of the articles.

a. A false leveling and democratization of knowledge for the general public, coupled with the impression that, in the real world, knowledge and technology are also equally distributed among all members of the population in a society where science is neutral and good for everyone.

b. A perception of achievement and fame linked with this idea of knowledge, in which everyone has the same opportunities for success.

c. The lesson that in spite of the conditions explained in numbers 1 and 2, knowledge and science only favor those who are good and ethical. In other words, they only help him who is deserving.

* Latent, not manifest

** Semiology, the science of signs.
d. Given this interpretation of science, progress and goodness, Reader's Digest depicts the state of the underdeveloped world as due to strange customs, fatality, bad climate, and lack of a tradition of great thinkers.

e. The solutions, therefore, for this part of the world, is the transfer of knowledge, the lack of which produces underdevelopment, for with knowledge, food will come along by itself.

Dorfman and Mattelart /25 analyze the latent content in Walt Disney's creation of Donald Duck and others. They show the portrayal of a society without a family structure in which the main activities are leisure-time activities; a society where the economy has been reduced to primary and tertiary sectors; an underdeveloped world with the only characters that are human in the stories and are backward and silly, and for the most part dangerous; and a world in which material aspirations are the moving forces of society.

The book was first published in 1971 in Chile. After the September 11 1973 coup, it was banned in that country. It has since had 15 editions, one of them was published in May 1975 in Great Britain in English. According to International General, upon attempting to import the book into the U. S. on June 1975, the U. S. Government seized the books and have been holding them ever since, pending legal action by the lawyers of Walt Disney Productions (International General /39).

A similar analysis was conducted by Tapia Delgado /83, p. 65 of the Flintstones television series. The Flintstones live in a primitive society with all the characteristics of a modern consumerism. There are no class conflicts and all problems are presented on an individual level. Hence, development is shown as moving in one direction - towards modern capitalism. Success, competition and status are constant themes, all measured in buying power and coupled with escapist solutions to problems. The series is riddled with the general theme of conformism.

Analyses have been conducted on film (Colina and Diaz /18) in which the use of status, submission, impotence against change, clothed in melodrama and sentimentality are identified in the films shown in the region. * In 1970, a study was carried out in Chile on movie fan magazines along similar lines (Piccini /65).

* See Table #3. Production and Programs of Cinema by Country of Origin.
Effects on Audiences

Conclusive results on the actual behavioral effects of this latent programming content are difficult to achieve, given methodological problems such as the isolation of key variables and measurement over time. In spite of these limitations, there is empirical evidence that relates the content of media in Latin America and social phenomena such as conformity and the formation of stereotypes. One of the few effects studies was done in Venezuela by Eduardo Santoro, a psychologist from the Universidad Central de Venezuela, who researched the formation of stereotypes induced in children by imported programs. Among his findings were:

- the fixation of 63% of foreign language terms.
- the belief that the hero was a North American 86.3% of the cases, or at least English speaking in 82% of cases;
- the belief that the Chinese is 17 times more bad than good, while the white man is 11 times better than the black;
- the belief that the rich man is good in 72% of the cases, and poor is bad in 41% of the cases (Pasquali /6/, p. 12)

Another survey in Venezuela indicated that 68% of the programs in a typical week of television encouraged physical, emotional and moral violence. This figure reached 83% on Saturdays and 73% on Sundays.

C. POLITICAL INFLUENCE

With the possible exception of non-house studies * conducted by the United States Information service there are no studies available that have attempted to gauge the direct and indirect influence of the non-national political institutions on the Latin American media and audiences. In short, the possible effects of U. S. propaganda on the audience are not publicly documented.

D. INFLUENCE OF MIXED INSTITUTIONS

The regional educational satellite for Latin America has not yet gone into operation in the region. However, various organizations and individuals have predicted a negative influence on the part of the satellite for Latin America.

The 1969 CAVISAT proposal met with opposition from the official educational and cultural sectors of the different countries (Balocci /2/, p. 117-121).

Numerous national and regional meetings were held while the Venezuela study

* Copies of these studies can now be requested under the Freedom of Information Act by any U. S. citizen.
was being conducted, in which serious doubts were raised by the representatives of the countries and of the region as to the educational use of satellites for the region.

The study of a Regional System of Educational Television for South America was published in May 1973 and analyzed in Caracas in 1974 by representatives of the participating countries. Revisions were made according to these comments and the final document is now in limited circulation (Sommerlad /82, p. 10)

The use of satellites for educational purposes has been strongly attacked and defended in the region of Latin America. Jose Galat, an advisor to the Colombian president, in 1969 made the following statement in regard to the pending regional satellite program.

The North American project to educate Latin America by Television via Satellite appears to be a vast plan for the ideological occupation of the continent (Santos /72, p. 135)

The Colombian National Planning Department concluded in 1972 in respect to the regional education satellite system that:

The producers and salesmen of communication systems by satellite constitute a quasi-monopolistic offer, which implies for the buyer the acceptance of harmful conditions in prices and technological dependence. The cost of the educational television via satellite project exceed any financial possibility for Colombia (Santos /72, p. 135)

Similar objections have been raised by representatives of other countries of the region. They ask, Who will do the programming? Who will bear the cost? and conclude by questioning the use of the satellite itself before the other alternative educational systems are explored by the countries (SECAB /79)

The potentially harmful effect of the latent and manifest content of non-national programming in the region has been shown. In some cases these effects have been actually documented as is the case of Venezuela with the formation of stereotypes and the induction of violence. In the case of the regional satellite, the call for a closer examination of the nature and origin of the programming illustrates the strength of this "programming" preocupation in Latin America.

SUMMARY

Influence of Non-National Media Institutions in Latin America.
This section reviews the influence non-national media related economic institutions exercise through: (1) direct investment, and (2) advertising pressures. Specific cases of bias, censorship and pressuring are documented in Venezuela, Peru, Brazil, and Argentina. The influence of non-national communication institutions is reviewed in that which refers to news flow, in which the bias and manipulation of news flow into the region, the image of the life in the U.S., and the distortion of the U.S. wire services are shown. The analysis of news flow out of the region reveals a similar distortion of life in Latin America portrayed in the U.S. media, especially in several cases of directed social changes in the region. The activities of the Inter American Press Association are also briefly described.

Two dimensions of programming flow are explored, the latent, conformist, pro-status quo nature of programming and their effects on audience in introducing negative stereotypical interpretations of reality. Data on the influence of political institutions is not available.

The last part of this section deals with the potentially harmful influence of the Regional Educational Satellite for Latin America.

In summarizing the data in sections one and two, we have explored the nature and influence of non-national and particularly U.S. institutions operating in relation to the media in Latin America. On the basis of this data we fully second the following statements made by Naesselund:

Analysis and research on the international communication processes have established a picture of an international flow of information with the following characteristics (or defects): (a) The distribution of communication resources in the world is strongly disproportional to the distribution of population and the information needs of the people. Thus an imbalance of the potential. (b) Quantitatively it is estimated that the total flow of communication from the industrialized part of the world (with one third of the total world population) to the developing countries is 100 times the flow in the opposite direction. Thus an imbalance in the flow of information. (c) The fact that the media in many developing countries fail to diversify their content sufficiently to give it some significance to all audiences (in particular in rural areas) leads to an irrelevance of content to the social and cultural problems encountered in those countries. /55, p. 3.
IV. NATIONAL AND REGIONAL POLICIES THAT AFFECT THE INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION IN LATIN AMERICA

Professor Herbert Schiller observed that the emergence of national communication policies is "the reflection of generally still unresolved battles between contradictory interests and demands in the cultural information sector" (Schiller /76, p. 1). These unresolved battles are especially the case for some Latin American countries commencing to systematically and systemically regulate their national communications in line with national development goals. In these efforts, contradictory interests and demands in the cultural and information sectors become manifest, in particular when these involve confrontations between national and non-national interests.

Throughout this essay we have utilized three basic categories in order to describe and gauge the influence of non-national media related institutions in Latin America. These three categories were selected in an attempt to elaborate a more comprehensive and structural approach to the phenomenon of international exchange of information. This section briefly reviews some of the national and regional official policies that have been developed to partially address the situations referred to in the preceding two sections.

Following the categories used above, these policies are separated into those which affect the non-national economic, political and communication institutions related to the media in the region.

A. POLICIES THAT AFFECT NON-NATIONAL ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS

Schiller noted that "the struggle to overcome domination -- external, where the power resides outside the national community; internal, where the power is exercised by a dominant ruling stratum -- is the central, if not always recognized, issue in contemporary communication policy making" (Schiller /76).

Here we deal with those policies that attempt to address external domination by non-national economic institutions, first national policies and then regional policies.


Various countries of the region have some isolated and partial policies created towards the control in some manner or another, of non-national influences in the mass communication systems. Perú, Venezuela and Brazil have advanced the furthest towards the formulation of comprehensive communication policies that include the control of non-national influences.

One of the first measures of the revolutionary government of Peru was the Press Statute of December 1969. In respect to non-national investment in the media, this restricted to Peruvian born residents the right to own and run print media. When the capital city press was expropriated in July 1974 /64, it was established that only born Peruvians, residing in the country, in full exercise of their civil rights may participate in enter-

* For an extensive summary treatment of the movements in Latin America towards the formulation of National Communication Policies see Beltran /6a.
prises managing the press organs. All capital in these must be Peruvian and remain in Peru.

The Ley General de Telecomunicaciones of 1970/63 stipulated in regard to advertising that this must be totally produced in Peru and that no less than 60% of radio and television content must also be originated in that country. Media ownership is restricted to Peruvian born residents, and foreign investment is prohibited in the media. All personnel employed in radio and television must be nationals.

Colombia has also made isolated attempts to limit non-national content of television and the showing of non-national advertising, with limited success (Fox de Cardona/31).

The projected legislation in Venezuela will also address the non-national content and ownership of media in that country.*

2. Regional Policies.

The isolated cases of national communication policies regarding the non-national economic institutions in the region have been consolidated in theory by the Foreign Investment Code of the Andean Pact/1, which includes Peru, Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Bolivia, and Chile. This decision, which regulates foreign investment, was developed among other reasons, to obtain greater national control of the economies and a lessening of external domination.

The chief provisions of Decision 24 which affect the media are the rules governing the use of trademarks, rules governing transfer of intangible technologies, rules governing the ownership of investment, and rules governing profit remittance.

According to Article 43** advertising agencies and other service industries must divest at least 80% of their equity to local nationals within three years of the implementation of the Pact. In addition, foreign investment in advertising will not be allowed. A

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** Article 43, reads as follows: "New direct foreign investment shall not be permitted in domestic transportation enterprises, advertising enterprises, commercial radio stations, television stations, newspapers, magazines, or enterprises engaged in domestic marketing, enterprises of products of any kind."

Foreign enterprises which currently operate in these sectors must convert into national enterprises for which purpose they must place on sale at least 80% of their shares for purchase by national investors within a period not exceeding three years from the date on which this regime enters into force.
conservative reading of the Articles 43 and 44* of the Pact would indicate that foreign owned advertising agencies will probably have to divest equity as called for in Article 43 (80%), if the member nations enforce the Articles as written. The enforcement of Decision 24 has varied and its present position is not clear (United Nations 84).

B. POLICIES THAT AFFECT COMMUNICATION INSTITUTIONS

Regarding the content of the information from non-national sources employed by national media institutions, for news and programming, various countries have established partial policies to control national -- foreign balance, such as those described above. There has been no regional overall policy in this respect, as in the case of the economic institutions. The question of satellite content, and the case of news flow, however, have been addressed on a regional basis.

1. Policies that affect news flow.

News flow in the region has been addressed by regional efforts to formulate national and regional policies in accordance with national development goals. In Quito, Ecuador in June, 1975 UNESCO organized a meeting with CIESPAL to gather together experts to discuss the establishment of arrangements for the interchange of news in Latin America. The preparatory conference document was written by Professor John McNelly of the University of Wisconsin. In this paper he points out some of the needs for exchange of news, which include the need for a better informed citizenry for the participation in national and international decisions that affect the countries. He also shows the deficiencies in the actual flow of news in the region, especially the preselection by the North American news agencies, and the need for more sources, cheaper services and freer circulation of news /66.

In the meeting the failure of the current existing Latin American and U.S. news agencies in the region were diagnosed, among these the case of LATIN, which seems to be similar to the cases of other agencies in the region.

Latin

LATIN was formed on January 13, 1970 by thirteen leading Latin American newspapers, in order to gather and report primarily Latin American affairs from a Latin American perspective. LATIN was set up as a cooperative news agency privately owned by daily newspapers of different nations which was organized with the technical assistance and administrative training and staff education of Reuters. A recent study of LATIN concluded that:

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* Article 44.

"When in the opinion of the recipient country, special circumstances exist, that country may apply other regulations than those provided in Articles 40 to 43."
The content analysis also indicated that LATIN is becoming quite similar in news coverage to the large foreign news agencies already operating in Latin America. Perhaps the shift in content has been necessitated by competition with other news agencies for revenues, a competition in which LATIN has had considerable success. Thus, the battle for economic survival has possibly forced LATIN to change its mission from that of a supplemental news agency to one of direct competition with other news agencies. However, if through its success in economic competition LATIN becomes too similar to the established news agencies, it will have failed to give Latin America an independent regional voice (Nichols /57, pp. 1, 2, 18.)

At the Quito meeting, the experts, came to the following conclusions after a diagnosis of the current situation in regard to news flow in the region and the status of the national and regional news agencies:

- The need for an optimal flow of news in order to preserve national sovereignty and the better development of national identity and regional consciousness.

- In order to achieve this it is necessary to set up national news agencies that would operate according to national development goals, as public services, with an important state participation, although this in no way was meant to establish a state monopoly of news as mixed enterprises were also envisioned.

- The national news agencies would supply their news to a larger regional Latin American news service, also financed by the governments, for hemisphere wide distribution.

**Criticisms of the Quito Meeting on News Flow**

Editor and Publisher /27 published the following editorial note regarding the meeting of experts in Quito under the auspices of UNESCO:

It is laughable for anyone to conclude that a news agency controlled and financed by a government (and a majority of Latin American governments are dictatorships of one kind or another) can be 'impartial' and 'undistorted', and would be dangerous for the future of those countries and of the hemisphere to have the dissemination of news within and without subject to strict control. Such a system is tailor-made for the perpetuation in power of each dictator and the distribution of the big lie.

The Inter-American Press Association also protested against the Quito UNESCO meeting for national and regional news agencies (Pasquali /61, pp. 19-20)

2. Policies that Affect Satellite Use and Content.

El Convenio Andrés Bello was founded in 1970 as the organ of the Andean Pact for Cultural, Scientific, and Educational Integration in the region. The Convenio has
addressed communication policies from the message point of view, in particular the issue of direct transmission into a country by satellite.

Resolution No. 2 of the first meeting of the Education Ministers of the Convenio, held in Colombia in 1970/78 mentions among other subjects the fact of the danger of unilateral satellite transmission for the values and cultures of the receiving country and for its national sovereignty. The second meeting, held in Peru in 1971/78, stressed the need for the formation of national councils for the study of the regional satellite, the feasibility study for which was now under way by UNESCO. In the third meeting in Quito /78, the need to fortify the regional council for the study of the satellite was one of the major points. The fourth meeting in Venezuela /78, in the declaration concerning the regional satellite project, stressed the return to the article in the first meeting concerning the preoccupation that the content of the programs be determined by each country in order to preserve their cultural, social, educational and political values and that direct broadcast by satellites would not be permitted without previous agreement by the receiving countries.

Bolivia was the site of the fifth meeting in 1974/79 for which the feasibility study of UNESCO and the UIT was now available. Here the necessity to operationalize the national and regional councils on educational television was strongly recommended, in addition to the recommendation that the countries study alternative technology for tele-education and for a national plan for each country regarding television. The regional council was fortified for the regional exchange of experiences, training and studies of technology.

As can be observed, what occurred in the course of the five meetings of the Ministers of Education of the Andrés Bello Agreement was a progressive disenchantment with the regional educational satellite for the solution of the education problems of the region, and an examination of alternate use of educational technology. This was principally due to preoccupations of the communication - cultural nature regarding content, in addition to the cost factors involved.

This movement on the part of the Andean Pact-Andres Bello Agreement, although without force as law or national policy, follows the observation made in the Inquiry Paper of the Fair Communication Policy for International Exchange of Information of the East-West Center concerning the 1972 defeat in the United Nations by 102 to 1, the U.S. supported "open skies" concept of international satellite broadcasting. They continue in this paper to note:

It now seems apparent that most governments are adamantly opposed, on various grounds, to the notion that anyone should be able to transmit virtually anything to any part of the globe by direct satellite broadcasting. This opposition has become explicit in various statements of guiding principles by which aspects of international communication might be governed. If these statements are consistent in any respect, it is in their essentially negative nature -- their concern with restricting communica-
tion by establishing broad safeguards against forms of what they consider to be "communication imperialism" /20, p. 2.

C. OVERALL NATIONAL "COMMUNICATION POLICIES"

There have been no attempts so far at formulating policies that affect the non-national institutions in regard to their media activities; however, the 1970's have witnessed a unique regional effort for the formulation of comprehensive mass communication policies for the different countries.

In 1970, in fulfillment of the express mandate of the member states, UNESCO began to perform the promotion of National Communication Policies. The first step of this effort was a July 1972 meeting of communication experts in all fields of the trade in Paris. The purpose of this meeting was "so that the Organization and its member states may gain a clearer understanding of what national communication policies and planning imply." The result of this meeting was a paper which was circulated in 1972/52.

As it had done with other areas of promotion of national policy formulation, for instance culture, UNESCO decided to convene in 1975 an Intergovernmental Conference on Communication Policies in Latin America. Latin America was selected because it had demonstrated an outstanding preoccupation with the communication situation as related to development efforts, and as it had already gained a significant accumulation of scientific research on communication problems.

UNESCO decided that the first step was to move from the world-wide level of the first Paris meeting to a more regional gathering for Latin America. For this reason a similar meeting of Latin American and Caribbean experts was held in Bogota, Colombia in 1974 /52a. In spite of the diversity of professions and political backgrounds of the participants, the Bogota meeting apparently achieved appreciable consensus in various points. The meeting perceived the situation, externally, as unduly subdued to the dominant influence of extra-regional economic and political interests, mostly those of the United States of America. It considered that National Communication Policies are to be a paramount instrument to help overcome this unjust situation, and specifically affirmed that the Latin American countries must also have joint policies relative to the behavior of international communication forces affecting their territories.

In April 1975, another meeting of experts took place in San José, Costa Rica. Unrelated to UNESCO, it was organized by CIESPAL with the support of CEDAL /80. Among other suggestions of the meeting was that the governments include in their policies measures of control of the participation of foreign capital in the media and in the importation of alien communication materials, along with stimulation of the national production of these latter. Furthermore, it recommended that their policies include among their specific aims that of contributing to the elimination of the relationships of dependence which affect life in the majority of the countries of the region.
As has been mentioned in this essay, UNESCO sponsored an experts meeting in June 1975 on interchange of news in Latin America, which was held in CIESPAL in Quito Ecuador. Among other recommendations the meeting stressed the proposal that the governments of the region take the necessary steps to establish a regional news agency on the basis of national public news agencies.

These efforts of UNESCO towards the formulation of national communication policies culminated in the July 1976 Inter Ministerial Conference on National Communication Policies in Latin America and the Caribbean held in San José, Costa Rica.

As can be observed from the above summary, the institutions and the influence that constitute the international exchanges of information in Latin America have been the subject of much of the preparatory gestures towards the achievement of National Communication Policies.

GENERAL SUMMARY

This has been an exploration of the multiple dimensions that appear to make up the international exchange of information in Latin America. It found these dimensions to fall into the general categories of economic, communication and political institutions. And, in light of the available empirical evidences, it reviewed the influence of these institutions on Latin America's mass communication system and its relationship to this region's development.
The review yielded the following:

**Economic Influence**

1. Direct U. S. investment has been significantly present in several of the major privately owned mass media of Latin America.

2. Most of the major mass media of Latin America derive much of their financing from U. S. advertising agencies.

3. The majority of U. S. investment in Latin America through advertising comes from U. S. based multinational corporations, whose operations have been shown to be negative to many aspects of host country interests.*

4. The role of advertising in Latin America, a business in which U. S. interests play a predominant role, has been perceived as undesirable for social change and national development in this region, especially in terms of fostering consumerism.

5. The information contained in advertisements and that contained in the messages financed by advertising is oriented towards that small percentage of the population that is economically able to consume the goods presented in the media. For this reason, the information, culture, ethnic and social needs of the majorities are ignored by the media.

6. In addition, as by definition, advertising clients tend to support messages which reach a mass audience of consumers. Therefore, even within that limited audience to which the messages are directed, specific ethnic, cultural and economic differences are ignored, and a mass uniform content and homogeneous audience are fostered. In this manner the cultural and ethnical complexity of a country, an important element for autonomous national development and survival, is reduced.

7. Non-national clients utilize advertising investment as a tool to limit and manipulate the information that reaches the media audiences in line with their own commercial and political interests. In this way, an important principle of democracy, an informed citizenry, is thwarted.

**Communication Influence**

1. Direct U. S. influence on the Latin American audiences takes place mostly through films and Spanish versions of U. S. magazines and comic books.

* See among other studies: United Nations /84, /85.
2. On the one hand international news flow in the region is controlled heavily and in all directions, by U. S. agencies. These firms, although they operate under commercial criteria, appear to perform a distortion more from a political than a commercial point of view. News is often manipulated according to a situation of political domination. The reality presented to the region and from the region tends to be distorted according to political positions of the U. S. This is especially clear in the case of the presentations of efforts of directed and substantive change in the region.

3. On the other hand, the U. S. programming distributed either through the Latin American media (such as the case of television shows) or that which is directly distributed to the audience (such as films and magazines) operates under an unrestrained mercantile maximization and tends to play a more commercial than political role in their type of distortion of society. This type of programming is encouraged by the commercial structure of the media, and in particular by U. S. advertising companies and clients in that it fosters consumerism. This, however, does not deny the essentially conformist and pro status quo political orientation of this programming.

4. In both cases these communications portray the world in a way which thwarts the understanding of the national reality, in addition to distorting this reality in a direction that favors the economic and political dependency of Latin America on the U. S.

**Political Influence**

Political institutions are much less subtle in their aims than are the communication and economic institutions. The empirical assessment of their influence is rarely viable. Their business is propaganda—the organization of the sale of a political doctrine, a value system, a way of life—a common enough practice of many nations of the world. The point when this practice becomes noxious for the development of the nations subject to it is difficult to ascertain; however, some information was found to indicate that, in some of the Latin American countries these activities of U. S. political institutions have at times reached a level where they are damaging democratic practices, as is the case of alleged CIA bribing of some newscasters and telecasters in Chile and the USIS distribution of photonovelas before elections in that country, as reported in Congressional hearings in the U. S.

**Communication Policies**

Although efforts have been made to formulate national and regional policies in Latin America, those pertinent to the international communication situation which affect this region up to now have been inappropriate. This is true at country, subregion and regional levels. With few exceptions, their provisions are clearly
insufficient and inadequate to aptly defend the region from foreign domination. One of the reasons for their failure is that, for the most part, a fair and acceptable international exchange of information is perceived as an entity separate from any particular economic or political process. In reality, however, the international exchange of information, as has been shown in the proceeding sections, is an end product of a complex economic and political system with multiple components and processes, inserted in concrete economic and political realities.

Therefore, special policies, going beyond a simply declarative function, must address all levels of the system in an integrated, explicit and durable master policy guiding the overall communication process in a country in line with needs of national development based on social change and national independence.

Likewise, in addition to being internally systematic, national policies on international communication should aim in Latin America to be coordinated in a region-wide sense through inter-American cooperative mechanisms in which the U. S. does not have a dominating voice, i.e., the newly-born SELA (Latin American Economic System) and the Andean Pact, including the Andres Bello Agreement for cultural, scientific and educational activities. This should greatly aid their implementation vis-a-vis the strength of the foreign and national interests as stake.

VI. CONCLUSIONS

The inquiry paper for this conference wondered if there was any clear evidence of foreign penetration of a country’s communication system. It appeared to doubt that a communication imbalance necessarily existed between developed and underdeveloped nations; specifically, it wondered whether alien materials from any source effectively outweighed those native to a given country or group of countries. Furthermore, the paper asked whether international communication had indeed any necessary effects on a receiving society. And finally, apparently wondering whether such imbalance and influence truly existed, it implicitly doubted that they were noxious.

We believe that the information from a number of studies on international communication in Latin America, which we have summarized and appraised here, does begin to answer such questions. And it does so affirmatively in every respect:

1. The mass communication system of Latin America is so strongly permeated by economic, political and communication institutions of the United States of America that it is not unwarranted to talk of a case of foreign domination.

2. Most of the main mass media in this region, and especially the electronic ones, are directly and indirectly penetrated by major U. S. interests.

*Here the conference referred to is the April 1976 meeting on Fair Communication Policy for the International Exchange of Information. East-West Communication Institute, Honolulu, Hawaii.*
3. In regard to news sources in Latin America, U. S. originated material greatly exceeds that of the region itself. In film, foreign originated material constitutes a little over half of the total films exhibited in the region. United States television programs make up approximately one third of the total programming, with important variations among the countries. Although there are no global figures for comic strips, it is estimated that U. S. originated material constitutes over two thirds of the total. This lack of proportion indicates that the superior position of the United States is sufficiently large to constitute a threat to the communication autonomy of Latin America, especially if qualitative factors of impact are taken into considerations.

4. Proportion aside, and even in those cases where the disbalance is not sufficient to cause concern, the North American materials can directly influence the public, or indirectly influence the system, by establishing models for production which are imitated by the Latin American producers. This potentially augments the impact of the foreign products above that indicated by the simple import figures. The qualitative aspect, or multiplier effect, of the undesirable material, is more important than the purely quantitative considerations.

5. U. S. economic and communication institutions do appear to have some noticeable effects on the behaviour of many of the major Latin American mass communication institutions. The audience selection and content policies of many of these latter are inseparable from those of the respective U. S. sources. They are criticized for promoting consumerism, alienation, banality, violence, racism, elitism, and conservatism. This is deemed to be in line with the ideologies and interests of the investors and in discrepancy with the region's efforts to attain national development through social change, cultural autonomy and political sovereignty.

6. Political influence is extremely hard to assess but it is evident that U. S. propaganda and security agencies, not allowed by law to operate within the U. S., actively function in Latin America, recoursing at times to truly unethical and undemocratic procedures.

7. The U. S. economic, political and communication institutions, and their Latin American associates, subscribe publicly and militantly to classical notions of "information rights," "press freedom" and "free flow of news." Certain of their behaviors, however, hardly appear consistent with such a creed. Some of them, for instance, fall at times into monopolistic, coercive and even extortionate practices to secure the perpetuation of their power position. Those opposing them get labeled "totalitarian."

8. Moreover, some data suggest that such rights and freedoms exist mostly, if not exclusively, for the dominant native minorities and their foreign, mostly U. S., associates, whose communication media activities are linked to the sizable interests in the means of production in Latin American society.
Thus, in summary, the free flow of information, hailed by the United States and the United Nations as the fundamental tenet of democracy, is not obtained in Latin America. Sadly, in this region it has no real enforcement.


   Essay written upon invitation of the Right to Communication Working Group, Secretariat of the Campus of the University of Hawaii at Manoa in the Hawaii Research Center for Futures Study of the Social Sciences and Linguistics Institute.


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