

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN

Institute of Communications Research
College of Communications
222B Armory Building
505 East Armory Avenue
Champaign, IL 61820-6295
USA

23 Oct 1998

George Gerbner
Temple University
Philadelphia

Dear George:

Back in Urbana (until 7 Nov).

Hereby my new application to The
Wilson Center - essentially the
same as last year. They will
use your letter of reference
from last year.

Best,
Kearce

PERSONAL DATA



NORDENSTRENG

KAARLE

T

*Last Name**First Name**Middle Initial*

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Communication, University of Tampere, Finland

Proposed dates of fellowship 1 September 1999 - 30 June 2000

Field of study Mass Communication

REFERENCES Please ask the people whom you list below to send their recommendations directly to the Center by October 1st.

- 1) George Gerbner, Bell Atlantic Professor of Telecommunications, Temple University
Name and Occupation
- 2) Hamid Mowlana, Professor of International Communication, The American University
Name and Occupation
- 3) Alpo Rusi, Deputy Chief of the Cabinet of the President, Republic of Finland
Name and Occupation

PROJECT INFORMATION

Title of Project The Court of Public Opinion and the Fourth Estate:
doctrines of international communication, 1920-2000

100-WORD PRECIS OF ATTACHED PROJECT PROPOSAL AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE:

Woodrow Wilson's vision for the League of Nations as a court of public opinion enlisted the "collaboration of the press in the organisation of peace." This essentially new doctrine of open diplomacy both promoted the development of League doctrines on the press and encouraged professional journalists, through their international federation, to develop similar doctrines on international communication. This Fourth Estate's friendly partnership with the League grew apart in the early history of the United Nations. The project rediscovers this forgotten chapter of history and considers how it can help the world organization and the media face new challenges.

EDUCATION

Date

Institution

Major Field

B.A./B.S. 5/1963 University of Helsinki Psychology

M.A./M.S. 5/1965 - " - - " -

Ph.D. 12/1969 - " - - " -

Title of your Ph.D. dissertation Toward Quantification of Meaning: An Evaluation of the Semantic Differential Technique

Other Salzburg Seminar in American Studies, February 1962
Research Fellow at Southern Illinois University, Fall 1966
Finnish Air Force, officer training in military service, 1993-94
Finnish National Defence Academy, February 1976

PROFESSIONAL/OCCUPATIONAL EXPERIENCE *List current position first.*

Dates	Organization	Position
8/1971-	University of Tampere	Professor of Journalism and Mass Communication
4/1967 - 7/1971	Finnish Broadcasting Co	Head of Research & Planning
8/1965 - 3/1967	University of Tampere	Instructor of Mass Communication
6/1962 - 5/1963	Finnish Broadcasting Co	Editor of youth programs
9/1956 - 5/1962	Finnish Broadcasting Co	Freelance journalist in radio

FELLOWSHIPS/HONORS *List most recent first.*

University of Minnesota, Government of Finland & David and Nancy Speer
Visiting Professorship in Finnish Studies, Fall 9

Academy of Finland, Senior Research Fellow for research on normative
theories of the media, Fall 93 - Summer 94

Academy of Finland, Senior Research Fellow for research on doctrines of
international communication, Fall 85 - Summer 86

University of California, San Diego, Visiting Professor of Communication,
Spring 77

LANGUAGE

If English is not your native language, indicate your degree of fluency in English, using Excellent, Good, Fair, or Poor:

Excellent Excellent Excellent
 Reading Speaking Writing

In what languages relevant to your proposal are you proficient? Swedish, German, French

What language would you use in writing the final product proposed in this application? English

Kaarre Nardentun

Signature of Applicant

1 October 1998

Date

PUBLICATIONS
by Kaarle Nordenstreng

Books, monographs and edited volumes & journals

Of the total of over 20, below are listed those published in English.

Toward Quantification of Meaning: An Evaluation of the Semantic Differential Technique. Helsinki: Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae, 1969. (Doctoral dissertation: summary 35 pp., four published articles 62 pp.)

Informational Mass Communication (editor). Helsinki: Tammi, 1973. (198 pp.)

Television Traffic - A One-Way Street? A Survey and Analysis of the International Flow of Television Programme Material (with Tapio Varis). Paris: Unesco Reports and Papers on Mass Communication, 70/1974. (62 pp.)

National Sovereignty and International Communication (editor with Herbert Schiller). Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1979. (286 pp.)

The Mass Media Declaration of UNESCO. Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1984. (475 pp.)

Foreign News in the Media: International Reporting in 29 Countries (editor with Annabelle Sreberny-Mohammadi & al.). Paris: Unesco Reports and Papers on Mass Communication, 93/1985. (95 pp.)

New International Information and Communication Order: Sourcebook (with Enrique Gonzales Manet and Wolfgang Kleinwächter; Foreword by Sean MacBride). Prague: International Organization of Journalists, 1986. (392 pp.)

Useful Recollections: Excursions to History of the International Movement of Journalists, Parts 1 & 2 (with Jiri Kubka). Prague: International Organization of Journalists, 1986; 1988. (121 pp.; 193 pp.)

Journalist: Status, Rights and Responsibilities (editor with Hifzi Topuz). Prague: International Organization of Journalists, 1989. (317 pp.)

Few Voices, Many Worlds: Towards a Media Reform Movement (editor with Michael Traber). London: World Association for Christian Communication, 1992. (79 pp.)

The Global Media Debate (editor with George Gerbner and Hamid Mowlana). Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1993. (190 pp.)

Beyond National Sovereignty: International Communication in the 1990s (editor with Herbert Schiller). Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1993. (483 pp.)

Media Flows and Monitoring with Focus on Racism and Xenophobia (editor with Jukka Pietiläinen). *The Electronic Journal of Communication/La Revue Electronique de Communication (EJC/REC)*, 2-3/1995.

Special Issue on Media Ethics (editor). *European Journal of Communication*, 4/1995. (Pp. 435-558)

Towards Equity in Global Communication: MacBride Update (editor with Richard Vincent and Michael Traber). Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press, 1998.

International News Monitoring (editor with Michael Griffin). Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press, 1998. (Forthcoming)

100 Years of the International Journalist (with Ulf Bjoerk & al.). Greenwich, CT: Ablex, 1998. (Forthcoming)

Articles, reports and papers

Of the total of nearly 400, below are listed those issued in English. The list is comprehensive since 1990, earlier are included only selectively. Own chapters in edited volumes listed above are not included.

American and Finnish Journalists Look at World Leaders. *Scandinavian Political Studies* (Norway), 3/1968, 167-185.

Comments on "Gratifications Research" in Broadcasting. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, Spring 1970, 130-132.

Comprehension and Interest in Radio Programs (with Osmo A. Wiio). *Journalism Quarterly*, Autumn 1970, 564-566.

A Policy of News Transmission. *Educational Broadcasting Review*, 5/1971, 20-30. Also in D. McQuail (ed.), *Sociology of Mass Communications*, London: Penguin, 1972, 386-405.

Recent Developments in European Communications Theory. In H-D. Fischer & J. Merrill (eds.), *International and Intercultural Communication*, New York: Hastings House, 1976, 457-465. Also in B. Ruben (ed.), *Communication Yearbook I*, New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books & ICA, 1977, 73-78.

Free Flow of Information: The Rise and Fall of a Doctrine. *Review of International Affairs* (Yugoslavia), 640/1976, 12, 25-27.

Detente and Exchange of Information Between East and West. *Yearbook of Finnish Foreign Policy 1975*. Helsinki: Finnish Institute of International Relations, 1976, 57-65.

Helsinki: The New Equation (with Herbert Schiller). *Journal of Communication*, Winter 1976, 130-134.

New International Directions: A Nonaligned Viewpoint. In R. Haigh & G. Gerbner & R. Byrne (eds.), *Communication in the Twenty-first Century*. New York: Wiley, 1981, 192-199.

World Forum: The U.S. Decision to Withdraw from UNESCO. *Journal of Communication*, Autumn 1984, 93-95.

The New International Information and Communications Order (with Wolfgang Kleinwächter). In M. Asante & W. Gudykunst (eds.), *Handbook of International and Intercultural Communication*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1989, 87-113.

Theoretical Convergences and Contrasts: A View from Finland (with Veikko Pietilä and Tarmo Malmberg). *European Journal of Communication*, 2-3/1990, 165-185.

CSCE and Information; Proceedings of a Seminar of Experts, Tampere, April 24-27, 1992 (editor with Wolfgang Kleinwächter). Reports of the Department of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Tampere, B 36, 1992. (187 pp.)

The NWICO Movement: A Balance Sheet. In H-D. Kang (ed.), *Changing International Order in North-East Asia and Communication Policies*, Seoul: NANAM Publishing House, 1992, 33-42.

The New Information Order and Communication Scholarship: Reflections on a Delicate Relationship. In V Mosco & J. Wasko & M. Pendakur (eds.), *Illuminating the Blindspots: Essays Dedicated to Dallas W. Smythe*, Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1993, 251-273.

The UNESCO Expert Panel with the Benefit of Hindsight. In C. Hamelink & O. Linne (eds.), *Mass Communication Research: On Problems and Policies; In Honor of James D. Halloran*, Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1994, 3-19.

Journalist: A Walking Paradox. In P. Lee (ed.), *The Democratization of Communication*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1995, 114-129.

Media Scholar Between Science and Politics. In J. Lehtonen (ed.), *Critical Perspectives on Communication Research and Pedagogy*, St. Ingbert: Röhring Universitätsverlag, 1995, 189-193.

Reports on Media Ethics in Europe (editor). Reports of the Department of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Tampere, B 41, 1995. (129 pp.)

The NWICO Debate. In O. Boyd-Barrett (ed.), *MA in Mass Communications by Distance Learning* (Module Four, Unit 20). University of Leicester, 1995. (50 pp.)

Beyond the Four Theories of the Press. In J. Servaes & R. Lee (eds.), *Media & Politics in Transition: Cultural Identity in the Age of Globalization*, Leuven: Acco, 1997, 97-109.

Professional Ethics: Between Fortress Journalism and Cosmopolitan Democracy. In K. Brants & J. J. Hermes & L. Van Zoonen (eds.), *The Media in Question: Popular Cultures and Public Interests*, London: Sage, 1998, 124-134.

PROJECT PROPOSAL:

THE COURT OF PUBLIC OPINION AND THE FOURTH ESTATE: DOCTRINES OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION, 1920-2000

by **Kaarle Nordenstreng**, Professor of Journalism and Mass Communication
University of Tampere, Finland

The topic and its importance:

Woodrow Wilson's vision for the League of Nations defined public diplomacy as central to the organization's work and made the press an active partner in any efforts to conduct international affairs. In fact, Wilson, in presenting his fourteen points to the Congress convened on 8 January 1918, began the first point with the concept of "open covenants openly arrived at," stating that "diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view." For Wilson, the League of Nations would be "the court of public opinion," and the Fourth Estate would be its collaborator.

Wilson's dedication to public diplomacy resonated within both government and press circles. As a result, the League generated a number of initiatives and mechanisms to provide for a "collaboration of the press in the organisation of peace." Already on 25 September 1925, the League Assembly passed its first resolution on the topic, stating that "the Press constitutes the most effective means of guiding public opinion towards that moral disarmament which is a concomitant condition of material disarmament." It then mandated the League's Council to convene a committee of experts "with a view to determining methods of contributing towards the organisation of peace..." (The resolution is reproduced in Gerbner, Mowlana & Nordenstreng, 1993, Appendix 3.)

With this mandate in hand, the League convened a series of expert conferences: Geneva (August 1927), Copenhagen (January 1932), and Madrid (November 1933). These conferences examined both principal and practical aspects of the press and news agencies. In addition, the World Disarmament Conference, prepared and convened by the League between 1925 and 1934, had a special Committee on Moral Disarmament and further subcommittees which dealt with questions concerning the press. Moreover, in the beginning of the 1930's, "modern means of spreading information utilised in the cause of peace," along with the development of film and radio broadcasting, became an item on the League's agenda. This was part of efforts to create "intellectual cooperation" from which post-war UNESCO dates its origins. A major outcome of these efforts was the adoption of the International Convention on the Use of Broadcasting in the Cause of Peace in 1936. (For details, see e.g. Eek, 1979; Nordenstreng & Seppä, 1986.)

Simultaneous to these League activities, professional journalists themselves established in Geneva in 1921 the International Association of Journalists accredited to the League of Nations. Following a study on journalists done by the International Labour Office, a second organization, in Paris in 1926, the International Federation of Journalists (Fédération internationale des journalistes), formed as a fraternity of trade-union oriented journalist associations. Through the federation, the journalism profession itself pursued the same questions being discussed at the

League, with strikingly similar orientation. However, the profession took one additional step: defining normative standards for journalism. Through this effort, the journalism profession formulated its first international code of ethics as well as established an international court of honor in 1931. All this supported an emancipation of the journalism profession and the independence of "the Fourth Estate." (For details about this as well as about the prehistory of the international movement of journalists since the 1880s, see Nordenstreng, 1999.)

All these actions, except perhaps the Convention on Broadcasting, have been essentially forgotten within international communication scholarship. Instead, World War II has emerged as the cognitive watershed from which to initiate study of international communication cooperation, and few scholars have ventured past it to explore the foundations on which the post World War I efforts began. Furthermore, even such post war developments as the establishment of UNESCO (1945) and the United Nations Conference on Freedom of Information (1948) have been largely overlooked. Obviously, much of the fault for this neglect can be laid on the Cold War which cast an intellectually repressive shadow over these significant chapters of modern history.

The originality of the project:

The history of international journalism, particularly the relations of the press to the League of Nations and the United Nations, thus, remains largely unwritten. Today, with the end of the Cold War, this neglected history deserves to be examined carefully. The post World War II efforts of the United Nations, as well as the earlier efforts of the League of Nations, constitute a rich reservoir waiting to be discovered and analyzed, both in terms of its own time period and of the contemporary world.

The groundwork for such a major research project has been laid. Firstly, the late Swedish expert on international law, Hilding Eek reviewed some of the early stages (see Eek, 1979). Secondly, while working as a senior research fellow at the Academy of Finland in 1986, I searched for and discovered little published material on the subject in the League of Nations Archives in Geneva. However, I did discover a gold mine of primary materials waiting for interpretation. My preliminary findings were reported in an unpublished conference paper co-authored with my research assistant (Nordenstreng & Seppä, 1986). Since then, I, and other colleagues, have conducted several studies on the evolution of professionalism within journalism. I have also written about the international structures formed among journalists during the past hundred years. (See Nordenstreng, 1995; 1999.) Post World War II developments, including the Cold War and the controversy surrounding the New World Information and Communication Order, have been covered in Hamelink (1994), Mowlana (1996, 1997), Nordenstreng (1984) and Vincent & al (1998).

Basic ideas:

All this work suggests that despite geopolitical differences, a more or less dominant professional orientation among journalists as well as a set of doctrines regarding international affairs in general and the world organization in particular has existed throughout most of the Twentieth Century. This professional orientation, after first being virtually identical with the League's

doctrine, grew increasingly apart from the world organization's official doctrine regarding the media. And, obviously, under the mounting political pressures of the 1930s, which led first to World War II, and later to the Cold War, both the intergovernmental world organization and the international professional association failed to achieve most of their noble objectives. Thus, Woodrow Wilson's idea of the League as a court of public opinion remained as unimplemented as the rest of the great project.

The preliminary research suggests, however, that, even if the ideas did not change much of the reality, the definitions created in those idealistic times, definitions held both by the world organization and among journalism professionals, have lived on into the present. These definitions constitute the building blocks of the intellectual history this project proposes to examine. This intellectual history, with its two strands, one in the world organization, the other in the profession, provides quite a challenge. The controversies of the Cold War era need to be reexamined in light of that challenge as well as within the context of the current prospects for a renewal of the United Nations, albeit, now with more emphasis on public information and the prospects of journalism practiced in a digitalized global village.

Such prospects suggest that the new millennium may see a revival of Wilson's original idea of public diplomacy pursued by "the court of public opinion," side by side with "the fourth estate." Thus, it seems timely that research based on the League Archives' source materials should be continued. The League Archives confirms that no other scholars have looked at these materials since my first efforts in 1986. My research project proposes to correct that neglect.

Research tasks and methods:

This project proposes first to discover the role regarding international relations assigned to the press by the League of Nations and by the press itself in the years following World War I. This project proposes, secondly, to examine the doctrines held by the United Nations in its first years and by the press before the Cold War. This project proposes, thirdly, to explore the contemporary United Nations and the professional media in light of the aftermath of the post Cold War era and the fundamental changes challenging them both today.

Accordingly, the project works with two parallel levels or sources of doctrines: the intergovernmental world organization (the League of Nations followed by the United Nations and its relevant specialized agencies) and the non-governmental professional organizations of journalists and media. (While the latter is made up of too many associations and bodies to be covered in detail, the basic ideas of the varied groups will be summarized.)

On both levels, three time periods will be used to provide the basis for the sample data: 1925-33, 1945-48, and 1997-99. The Cold War/Détente Era, the four decades between 1949 and 1989, will remain outside the framework of this project. However rich and intriguing, this material runs in counterpoint to the efforts to create the collaborative international decisions that these other three periods emphasize. In other words, the project will focus on the first stage of the world organization--the implementation of Woodrow Wilson's idea--followed by two turning points: the early United Nations and the "late" United Nations. In that regard, the work of analysts such

as Rusi (1997) will be used to assist the effort to take a fresh look at perspectives for a global order within the 21st Century.

Source materials for this project will come from a variety of locations. Relevant source materials of both the League and the early United Nations periods are already to a large extent in my possession (including documents from Jacques Bourquin, the late Swiss publisher, who, in 1948, took part in formulating Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights). This project also involves a search for further materials. I intend to look in the Library of Congress and other archives, particularly to study the papers of Woodrow Wilson's chief communication advisor, Walter S. Rogers. (Rogers accompanied the President to the Paris Peace Conference where the role of the press was first brought into the international agenda.) Contemporary material, particularly relating to the role of media in foreign policy and diplomacy, will be located through the International Communication Program of the American University's School of International Service. The United Nations headquarters in New York, with its library and documentation service, will provide further resources.

The project will use methodology based within two major disciplines, the history of ideas and social scientific media studies, but will also incorporate philosophy (analyzing the concepts of freedom and responsibility) and political science, (concentrating, particularly, on international politics). Sources will come primarily from literature in the field of journalism and mass communication (including media history.)

The project will culminate in a book. A byproduct of the project will be the development of a collection of reference materials on the media related activities of the League of Nations; this collection will expand the core materials located at the League Archives in Geneva.

The project's bridge between the world of scholarship and the world of public affairs:

This project's topic provides fresh insights for an ongoing contemporary discourse: the role of the media in public affairs. Exploring the earlier discourse that considered how to promote a "court of public opinion" in international affairs through the media will enrich this current highly controversial debate, but bringing the project results into the public agenda will require moving cautiously. I have several suggestions that should keep the discourse free from political entanglements.

I am prepared to assist in organizing a seminar in the Woodrow Wilson Center on a related general topic--such as the legacy of Woodrow Wilson's idea of open diplomacy as seen in the contemporary world. I can also help organize a more professionally oriented seminar with foreign correspondents at the United Nations and in Washington in order to discuss the topic, using the project as stimulation. A round table with journalists and politicians (both American and foreign) at the National Press Club is another option, not to mention using the media themselves as platforms. Each would be carefully considered at the time of the fellowship, so that the basic academic work will not be jeopardized by excessive publicity and so that the basic ideas will not be distorted in the political winds of the day.

BIBLIOGRAPHY for the Project by Kaarle Nordenstreng:

Gerbner, G., Mowlana, H. & Nordenstreng, K. (eds) *The Global Media Debate: Its Rise, Fall, and Renewal*. Norwood, N.J.: Ablex Publishing, 1993.

Eek, H. 'Principles governing the use of the mass media as defined by the United Nations and UNESCO'. In Nordenstreng, K. & Schiller, H. (eds) *National Sovereignty and International Communication*, Norwood, N.J.: Ablex Publishing, 1979, pp. 173-194.

Hamelink, C. *The Politics of World Communication: A Human Rights Perspective*. London: Sage Publications, 1994.

Mowlana, H. *Global Communication in Transition: The End of Diversity?* London: Sage Publications, 1996.

Mowlana, H. *Global Information and World Communication*. 2nd Edition. London: Sage Publications, 1997.

Nordenstreng, K. *The Mass Media Declaration of UNESCO*. Norwood, N. J.: Ablex Publishing, 1984.

Nordenstreng, K. 'Journalist: A walking paradox.' In Lee, P. (ed) *The Democratization of Communication*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1995, pp. 114-129.

Nordenstreng, K. *100 Years of the International Journalist*. Greenwich, Conn.: Ablex Publishing, 1999 (forthcoming).

Nordenstreng, K. & Seppä, T. The League of Nations and the Mass Media: Rediscovery of a Forgotten Story. Paper presented at conference of the International Association for Mass Communication Research, New Delhi, August 1986, 28 pp. (unpublished).

Rusi, A. *Dangerous Peace: New Rivalry in World Politics*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997.

The United Nations Library at Geneva, The League of Nations Archives *The League of Nations 1920-1946. Organization and Accomplishments. A Retrospective of the First Organization for the Establishment of World Peace*. New York and Geneva: United Nations, 1996.

Vincent, R., Nordenstreng, K. & Traber, M. (eds) *Towards Equity in Global Communication: MacBride Update*. Cresskill, N.J.: Hampton Press, 1998.