

# BANDUNG, THE NON-ALIGNED AND THE MIDIA: THE ROLE OF THE JOURNAL “THIRD WORLD” IN SOUTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE

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## Introduction

Founded in 1974 in Argentina and subsequently launched in Mexico (1976), Portugal and Africa (1978), and also in Brazil (1980), the journal “Third World” endured over thirty years of extensive journalistic activity, covering international affairs from the perspective of political scientists, journalists and leaders of the South.

The originality of its editorial proposal and the extension of its coverage lead the journal to become an obligatory reference over decades for research in politics, history and international relations in academic circles in the Third World and in social movements, trade unions, non-humanitarian NGOs, human rights groups, environmentalists and international forums of various kinds. Its journalists have interviewed significant leaders such as Nelson Mandela, Fidel Castro, Rigoberta Menchú, Omar Torrijos, Velasco Alvarado, Yasser Arafat, Muammar Gaddafi, Saddam Hussein, Samora Machel, Agostinho Neto, Julius Nyerere, Sean MacBride, among others. By having circulated in Spanish, Portuguese and English in Latin America, Africa, Middle East and parts of Asia, the journal played a *sui generis* role of promoting South-South dialogue.

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## A Pioneering Experience, Inspired by the NWICO Proposal

The journal "Third World" was born as a direct consequence of the exile of thousands of political and union leaders, liberal professionals, journalists, students and activists from varied ideologies and backgrounds, caused by the cycle of Latin American dictatorships of the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s of the last century. But it is also inspired by the experience accumulated by the Non-Aligned Movement, which in the 1970s, particularly since the debates of the Fourth Summit held in Algiers in 1973, launched two ideas of huge impact and extraordinary significance: the need to implement a New International Economic Order (NIEO) and the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO). We will focus in these two proposals a little further, but it should be noted, meanwhile, that with the first initiative the Movement aspired (perhaps naively, as subsequent events suggest) to redesign the global economy, driving up prices of raw materials as the Non-Aligned countries members figured as the main producers. The goal was to establish a more equal relationship with the "market" value of industrialized products. In the gap formed by the persistent fall in commodity prices and the simultaneous rise of industrial products whose manufacture was in the very early stages in the Third World, was in - the analysis of the leaders of peripheral countries - the explanation for one of the causes of inherited colonial underdevelopment, only recently surpassed in most of them. Therefore, to change this equation was a *sine qua non* necessity to overcome or at least minimize the still very strong dependence on former metropolises. With the second proposal of a New World Information and Communication Order, the Non-Aligned intended to contribute to the debate and offer alternatives to the progressive monopolization process of the international media. Although this process have worsened in the first decades of the 21st century, in the 1970s of last century it was already clear that the mainstream media was, almost without exception, closely linked to financial capital and was controlled by the same segments of power on which depended the economies of most of the peripheral nations. Therefore, the democratization and the achievement of some balance on the flow of information was also a part of the issues seen as strategic to enable development.

In those years, in South America, the right-wing military dictatorships had declared illegal, and crowded prisons with militants from political, social and trade union progressive forces. Therefore even momentarily, they have suppressed popular resistance, armed or not. In the same period, Central America lived a dramatic revolutionary process, called "insurgency" in the headlines of regional media. In Nicaragua, the Sandinista Front was facing a

long-lived Somoza dictatorship with a very high social cost, and in Guatemala and El Salvador the repression of people's movements against their dictatorships - a resistance presented as a "civil war" in the media - plunged these small nations into the most violent period of the 20th century, whose painful legacy were two hundred thousand dead in Guatemala and eighty thousand dead and "missing" in El Salvador.

In this dramatic context the journal was founded in September 1974 in Buenos Aires. A small team of founders was made up of journalists Pablo Piacentini and Julia Constenla, argentinians, Neiva Moreira, brazilian, and me, then a young exiled Uruguayan, taking the first steps on my career, having had the privilege to live and learn from these and other great masters of the art of communication.

Argentina lived the brief period of María Estela Martínez government - "Isabelita - the widow of Juan Domingo Peron, who died on July 1 this year. Named by Perón to join him in the presidential formula, "Isabelita", who had neither experience nor political charisma and her weakness allowed the then Minister of Social Action and private secretary of Peron, José López Rega, to increase his direct influence in the government; gradually, there was no decision that did not need his approval. The country was in a permanent confrontation between the progressive forces, which lost power since Perón death, and the most backward forces, supported by López Rega, who organized themselves around a military core. The coup still would take over a year to happen, but paramilitary groups, particularly the Anti-communist Alliance Argentina, the "Triple A", were already acting with impunity. At that stage, began the era of what was sadly known as the "missing" politicians period, which was also known for the kidnapping and almost daily killings of prominent, Argentine and foreign, progressive political figures. Such was the case of the kidnapping and death of Uruguayan leaders Héctor Gutiérrez Ruiz and Zelmar Michelini and former Bolivian President General Juan José Torres.

The journalist Julia "Chiquita" Constenla, important writer and Argentine journalist, who died in 2011 at age 83, had in his resumé, among other works, the biographies of the novelist and essayist Ernesto Sabato, Cervantes Prize for Literature, and Ernesto's Che "Guevara mother, "who ended up becoming friends. She was the responsible for the Publisher La Línea, founded by Federico "Fico" Vogelius, and welcomed the *Third World*<sup>2</sup> journal project, cherished by Neiva Moreira along with other great Argentine journalist Pablo

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2 The magazine was launched in Buenos Aires named "Tercer Mundo" (Third World). It was renamed in Mexico in 1976 as "Third World" at its relaunch since there was another publication with the same name.

Piacentini. In the 1960s, Piacentini was a founder of the InterPress Service news agency (IPS), along with the Italian-Argentine journalist Roberto Savio, and had been press secretary under President Héctor Cámpora (1973), that at the time was the editor of the international section of the Argentine daily "Noticias". Neiva Moreira, exiled by the Brazilian dictatorship in 1964, whose rights were revoked in Institutional Act Number 1, alongside Leonel Brizola, Miguel Arraes and other leaders, had a long and recognized journalism career in Brazil, that launched his life in politics. He had exercised several terms as a state representative and later as a congressman for state of Maranhão, and was the Secretary General of the Parliamentary Nationalist Front, under President João Goulart.

The fact that the journal was launched by the publisher La Línea made the team "Tercer Mundo" share the same "roof", so to speak, with Eduardo Galeano and its magazine "Crisis", also edited by La Línea. Galeano was a great friend of Neiva, which before that time in Argentina had lived nine years in exile in Uruguay, when I met him. Galeano and Neiva Moreira had worked together with other journalists at the weekly "El Oriental" (a reference to the official name of Uruguay "Oriental Republic of Uruguay"). This publication, linked to the Socialist Party, reached an important movement in Uruguay before the dictatorship, thanks to the efforts of dreamers and quixotic activists who not only received nothing for the work of editing the weekly but also financed out of their own pocket, to a large extent, this publication.

The meetings with Galeano - and with Eric Nepomuceno, who was his collaborator - allowed a fruitful exchange of views about the difficult times we were living in our countries and future prospects. This interaction also used to be attended by the Uruguayan writer Mario Benedetti, exiled like us, and welcomed by Julia Costenla at the same publisher. Benedetti managed the collection "This America", dedicated to launch books of Latin American themes. Benedetti and Galeano became employees of Third World, particularly Galeano, that even after becoming a recognized writer in the world, not completely abandoned journalism.

The magazine's launch in September 1974 was an important political event in Buenos Aires; in spite of only having circulated nine editions before the full impossibility to continue with the project in Argentina, Tercer Mundo quickly reached a great success, since its editorial proposal made possible that significant names of journalism and the Argentine progressive political forces, the rest of the continent and the Third World, came together. This convergence, an innovative publishing project, as already clear in the pages of its first editions, which had articles signed by prominent names such as the Bolivian socialist leader Marcelo Quiroga Santa Cruz, later murdered by

the dictatorship of García Meza; Egyptian intellectual Anwar Abdel-Malek, the Palestinian writer Ibrahim Abu Lughod, african-French journalist Jack Bourderie, Brazilian journalists Josué Guimarães and Paul Schilling, the Argentine economist Carlos Abalo, Australian Wilfed Burchett journalist, the first foreign correspondent to enter in the city of Hiroshima after the bombing of the United States<sup>3</sup>, just to mention some of the publication of the employees from the outset.

But, as expected, this content caught the eye of paramilitary and Argentine fascist sectors. Soon the name of Pablo Piacentini, who appeared as the journal's editor, was entered in the list of sentenced to death by the Triple A. Shortly after the headquarters of La Linea suffered an attack that served as a warning: the situation was becoming unbearable for those seeking an alternative journalism. At one morning Neiva and I received a "visit" from three hooded and heavily armed men who gave us 24 hours to leave the country. We were living the first moments of the long stage of persecution, torture and death - a period now quite well documented - that eventually led to the withdrawal from Argentina of all the founders of "Tercer Mundo" and the dispersion of initial editorial staff.

When General Videla led a coup in Argentina 1976, nothing remained in Buenos Aires from the "Third World" journal, the journal "Crisis" and the Publishing House "La Linea". Julia Constenla sought asylum with her family in Italy. Neiva Moreira and I went to Peru, as well as Pablo Piacentini, Gregory Selser and Horace Verbitski, the latter also great contributors of the journal and journalists. And several writers and journalists, recognized figures from the left who had collaborated with us, thickened the lists of the "missing", including Haroldo Conti, Luis Guagnini<sup>4</sup> and Rodolfo Walsh; many others had left Argentina and searched for asylum in different countries.

A new dispersion of our team took place after the fall of the Velasco Alvarado government in Peru in 1976. Again we had a schedule to leave the country, now under the command of General Morales Bermúdez, we left for

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3 Wilfred Burchet arrived alone at Hiroshima on September 2, 1945, with the possibility to contradict the official version and report the effects of nuclear radiation resulting from atomic bomb. Anyone interested by the story may access: [http://assets.cambridge.org/97805217/18264/excerpt/9780521718264\\_excerpt.pdf](http://assets.cambridge.org/97805217/18264/excerpt/9780521718264_excerpt.pdf)

4 Luis Guagnini was assassinated in Buenos Aires at the age of 33, after being kidnapped with his wife, released a few days later, in December 1977. Apparently, he was arrested, tortured for some time. All point out that he was one of the political prisoners that were drugged and thrown into the sea by the Argentine military, as denounced by Horacio Verbitsky in his famous book "The flight," Today he is one of the leading researchers of the subject of human rights violations during the Argentine dictatorship.

Mexico and Pablo Piacentini, for Italy where, as mentioned, it was already "Chiquita" Constenla.

In 1976, the magazine was relaunched in Mexico. Since then, with ups and downs and facing different obstacles, it endured until 2005. In Mexico, it expanded the team of employees and circulation, launching two new editions, the first in English in 1977, mainly to the US public - but also to reach out to readers in Africa, the Middle East and Asia, through subscriptions - and later, in 1978, the second in Portuguese, based in Lisbon, to preferentially serve the public of young people African countries of Portuguese language. This was the golden moment of the journal: circulated in three languages and reached an audience on four continents, America (north to south), Europe, Africa and Asia, either through commercial distribution in newsstands and bookstores, either through subscription (most of the subscribing public in English).

The sad legacy of this period was that various collaborators were murdered in different parts of the world and those in Argentina came to thicken the list of the missing. Our collaborator Malcolm Caldwell, British journalist, researcher at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, Marxist, author of numerous works on the liberation struggles of Asia, where he lived for many years, was murdered in December 1978 in Phnom Penh, Camboja, a country that he frequently visited since 1975, when he became a part of the first group of Western journalists to visit the country, also known as Kampuchea at that time after Khmer Rouge took power. At the time it was said that the murder occurred under the order of Pol Pot, the country's ruler, shortly after both had an encounter in 1978.

## The International Context

While in the early 1970s, South America plunged into the toughest dictatorial period, with the armed and political resistance subdued and Central America lived the height of the armed conflict in Guatemala, Nicaragua and El Salvador, and Africa and Asia were experiencing the hard consequences the so-called "decolonization process", which began in the post-World War II and still simmered. In a Cold War scenario between the two superpowers, African-Asian countries were fighting for its structuring as a force with its own personality, independent from the two blocs, even though many of them maintained a relatively high degree of dependence on one or the other superpower in the economic or political, technological, military fields, or on all of them at once.

The starting point of this movement was the Bandung Conference

(Indonesia) from 18 to 24 April 1955, attended by twenty three Asian and six African countries. Focused on the ideal of creating their own space - it would be appropriate to call it an imagined community? – at the bipolar world of the time, people represented in Bandung were fighting for the promotion of peaceful coexistence, rejecting participation in any military pact. From the traumatic colonial experience, they also argued in favor of non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, enshrining the principles of sovereignty and the respect for the territorial integrity of all nations, to the defense of human rights as a fundamental value.

The Colombo Conference, prior to Bandung, was held a year earlier, in April 1954, with representatives from Indonesia, Burma (now Myanmar), India, Pakistan and the host country, Ceylon, now Sri Lanka. Although the Second World War had ended in 1945, the reality of much of the world was in conflict, since the post-war scenario came to be dominated by tensions between the superpowers and the struggle against colonialism. The war in Indochina was one of the bloodiest examples of this distressing reality. While the aforementioned Colombo Conference was in session, it unfolded, in Vietnam, the battle of Dien Bien Phu, and peace negotiations began in Geneva, that would lead to the armistice of July of that year between France and Indochina. As a result a provisional military demarcation solution of Parallel 17, dividing Vietnam into two, North Vietnam and South Vietnam, was adopted. It also established elections in 1956 to define the destiny of the country. In fact, the Geneva proposals were not achievable and the conflict led to the “Vietnam War” whose main protagonist, on the Western side, was no longer France but the United States.

The need to establish a common front to defend the self-determination and peace – at a time when, as mentioned, in addition to the different battles for independence we were faced by the greatest challenge with the possibility of nuclear war between the superpowers - took the participants of the Colombo Conference 1954 to approve the proposal to convene a larger African-Asian meeting, for the following year, in the Indonesian city of Bandung. The tone of the 1955 Conference was soon given by the head of the host State, President Sukarno, Indonesia, in his speech during the event’s opening session.

All of us, I am certain, are united by more important things than those which superficially divide us. We are united, for instance, by a common rejection of colonialism in whatever form it appears. We are united by a common rejection of racism. And we are united by a common determination to preserve and stabilise peace in the world. . . . Relatively speaking, all of us gathered here today are neighbours. Almost all of us have ties of com-

mon experience, the experience of colonialism. Many of us have a common religion. Many of us have common cultural roots. Many of us, the so-called "underdeveloped" nations, have more or less similar economic problems, so that each one can benefit from the others' experience and help. And I think I may say that we all hold dear the ideals of national independence and freedom. (Institute of Pacific Relations 1955)

Although Sukarno made a significant effort to emphasize the common trends that united participants, in a scenario that was dominated by the political and ideological divisions of the Cold War it was not an easy task to maintain a position of independence from superpowers. Without any doubt, most of the guests rejected colonialism and, in particular, imperialism. But if the question on how different delegations defined imperialism was posed, possibly many diverse interpretations would be found, if not contradictory explanations at all. So it's interesting to rescue a significant finding, that is rarely remembered: the reason for choosing April 18 as the opening day for the Conference. It was also Sukarno in his initial speech that provided the explanation:

The fight against colonialism has been long; do you know that today is the anniversary of an important even in this history? After all, it was on April 18, 1775 that at midnight Paul Revere<sup>5</sup> rushed through the rural areas of New England announcing the arrival of British troops and informing the outbreak of the American Independence war, the first anti-colonial war in history. (Institute of Pacific Relations 1955)

The reference to the United States as the first leader of the struggle against colonialism was not random. It was necessary to make it clear that the anti-imperialist position of those present did not stop them to separate the people of the United States, who had written a beautiful page in the history of mankind, from a government that, at that time, for many of them, represented a threat to their freedom and self-determination aspirations. And it was also a concession to the pressure of some governments, such as the Philippines, Pakistan and Thailand, invited to the Conference, which in September 1954 had signed with the United States, France and Britain the agreement

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<sup>5</sup> Paul Revere is remembered as one the protagonists of the US War of Independence. His "night races" are considered a symbol of patriotism. These night races began on 18 April 1775, when Revere came out denouncing the imminent arrival of British troops on the eve of battles that began the war of independence. He was part of an established intelligence network in Boston to control the movements of the British forces. His gesture was immortalized in the poem "Paul Revere's Ride," Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1860)

that established the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO).<sup>6</sup>

For many reasons, the Bandung Conference is considered a milestone in the history of international relations of the 20th century, but the relevant location of the event, purposely conducted outside the Western geographical scope, it is no doubt due to the fact that it has celebrated the emergence of the Non Aligned Movement and the Third World. Without any doubt, Bandung is certainly the starting point of this movement; included as main points of its agenda were goal of structuring a political force in the Third World, able to promote political, economic and cultural cooperation. This alliance was seen as strategic to overcome the tragic legacy of the colonial period that independence had failed to leave behind, since neocolonialism was sustained in many ways, even the most subtle ones.

The call for the realization of the Conference and its concepts were under the responsibility of two of the most important leaders of Asian nations who had recently had gained independence, Ahmed Sukarno, Indonesia and Jawaharlal Nehru, India, with support from Pakistan's leaders, Burma and Sri Lanka (formerly Ceylon), precisely the countries that took part in the Colombo Conference, a year earlier, and approved the proposal. Besides the presence of other leaders already mentioned, it is worth noting that among the other prominent figures present in Bandung one should mention Ho Chi Minh City, Prime Minister of Vietnam, and the representative of the US Congress, the African-American Adam Clayton Powell of Harlem. The participation of an African-American congressman was highly significant. In 1954, the US Supreme Court had ruled that school segregation was illegal, but the full repeal of so-called Jim Crow laws - a set of laws established by the Southern States, in force since the last decades of the 19th century, which required separate facilities for blacks and whites in public places, including transport – was still far from being a reality for people of African descent in the United States. This set of laws would only be fully repealed in 1964, after a long and painful process of social struggles.

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6 SEATO was part of the Truman Doctrine, that intended to establish defense collective pacts with allied nations in order to create a kind of "protective belt" of US interests, against the "communist threat." Initially founded in September 1954 in Manila, SEATO started its formal existence on 19 February 1955, after a meeting held in Bangkok, Thailand, where its headquarters were also located. SEATO was dissolved in 1977, after most of the members lost interest in taking part on the treaty.

## Principles for the Defense of Peace

The Final Declaration of Bandung, obtained by consensus, was a call to superpowers to suspend nuclear tests and defined the so-called “Ten principles for peace” that guided all subsequent activities of these nations and were incorporated by the Non-Aligned Movement. They were grounded in the “Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence” as defined in the declaration signed in 1954 by India and China, attended by Myanmar, to overcome their disputes, and emphasized the defense of sovereignty, non-aggression and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries and the defense of peace.

### **The Ten Principles of Bandung were:**

- 1.** Respect for fundamental human rights, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the UN Charter;
- 2.** Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations;
- 3.** Recognition of equality of all races and all nations, large and small;
- 4.** No intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries;
- 5.** Respect the right of every nation to defend itself individually or collectively, according to the UN Charter;
- 6.** Rejection of the use of collective defense treaties designed to serve the particular interests of the Great Powers, regardless of whether they are;
- 7.** Refraining from acts or threats of aggression or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of a country;
- 8.** Settlement of all conflicts by peaceful means such as negotiation or conciliation, arbitration or judicial remedy, as well as other peaceful means they can adopt the countries concerned, in accordance with the UN Charter;
- 9.** Promotion of mutual interests and cooperation;
- 10.** Respect for justice and for international obligations;

These *Ten Principles* and the general content of the Final Communiqué not only sketched a diplomatic action plan to make the will of the African-Asian countries clear but also their intent to make their voices heard, whereas speaking out clearly in favor of negotiations and diplomatic solution to the conflicts and in condemning a priori the use of force by the powers that have always had interventionist tradition. The Senegalese leader and poet Léopold Senghor, one of the drivers of “blackness” and fighter for the inde-

pendence of the African continent, thus defined the event: “Bandung was the expression, the scale of the planet, the awareness of colored peoples of its eminent dignity. It was the death of inferiority complex. “(Guitard 1962)

In addition to the important step towards their own agenda, the main political achievement of the Bandung Conference was to present a new form of understanding of that historical moment and of geopolitics, rejecting the ideological division between East and West and presenting as, an alternative, the concept of the North-South gap. In other words, the division of the world that mattered, and needed to be pointed out, was the one that separated the rich and industrialized countries from the poor, underdeveloped and commodity exporters.

## The Rise of the Non-Aligned Movement

Two important leaders of the young states of Asia and Africa, Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt and Jawaharlal Nehru, India, inspired by the Bandung experience, decided to follow up the conference determinations and began a series of meetings and negotiations. They were joined by a third leader, who despite belonging to the European continent, was identified with all the postulates raised in Bandung: Josip Broz Tito, Yugoslavia. In 1956, meeting in Brione (Switzerland), Nasser, Nehru and Tito issued a formal request to the superpowers to end the Cold War and start detente and consolidated the principles that led to the formation of a movement whose ambitious main objective was the adoption of a position of independence from the two blocks, capitalist and socialist.

In subsequent years, significant changes happened due to the advances in the liberation process. In 1960, seventeen countries in Asia and Africa that had gained independence were admitted as full members of the UN during the course of the XV General Assembly of the organization. A new correlation of forces emerged within the most important world body, qualitatively altering the landscape in favor of developing countries. The next step was the call for the Heads of State Summit Conference held in the city of Belgrade (Yugoslavia), 1-6 September 1961. Six years after the Bandung Conference, this meeting formally launched the foundations of Non-Aligned Movement, which was born with a broad representation as new countries had gained independence in the period. There were 28 countries represented in Belgrade, of which 25 were full members and three had observer status; among the full members there was only one Latin American country, Cuba, whose revolution triumphed two years before. The Self-determination of people, the rejection

of multilateral military pacts, the condemnation of apartheid, the struggle against imperialism in all its manifestations, non-intervention in the internal affairs of States, the strengthening of the UN, were strategic themes in the work of the Non-Aligned Movement since its founding in Belgrade.

In May 1963, the progress of the liberation struggles allowed 31 African countries to come together to found the Organization of African Unity (OAU), that strongly supported the non-alignment movement. The II Summit of the Non-Aligned was held in Cairo, 5-10 October 1964, at a time when the movement had grown to 47 full members, ten observers and 30 representatives of liberation movements. The final declaration stressed the need to ensure "peace and international cooperation", reiterating support for the fight against colonialism, racism and apartheid. In the following years, the Non Aligned Movement endured severe trials. Tensions between superpowers were expressed almost exclusively in conflicts in the peripheral countries, most of them, members of the Non-Aligned Movement. There was one reason for that: if a direct confrontation between the US and the Soviet Union was to happen, the world would be on the brink of a nuclear conflagration. Hence the effort to avoid this scenario. Nowadays, the fact that the Cold War was fought primarily in the Third World and not on European soil, is finally recognized after several decades of stating the opposite.

The Vietnam War and the various Arab-Israeli wars are significant examples of this scenario, and also the consequences of the bloody overthrow of Sukarno in Indonesia by General Suharto, which cost the lives of nearly one million people and the coup in Iran that brought to power with CIA support, Shah Muhammad Reza Pahlavi, after the dismissal of the first nationalist minister Muhammad Mossadegh, who had dared to nationalize oil can be put into this agenda. In Latin America there were also numerous progressive governments overthrown - The Nomination is wide and ranges from Jacobo Árbenz in Guatemala, which faced the United Fruit and was overthrown in 1954, João Goulart in Brazil in 1964 and Salvador Allende in 1973 - on the grounds of the fight against communism.

At the meeting in Cairo in 1964, economic recommendations were defined by advising member states to seek their own paths to development. The documents already mentioned the need of a change in the world's economy to reach the so-called "new and just economic order."

The circumstances in the Middle East, with the Six Day War of 1967 and the crisis in Indochina, among other reasons, led to a gap of six years between the Cairo Summit and the next one. (meetings on the heads of state level are usually carried out, even today, every three years). In the meantime there have been three meetings, one in October 1966 in New Delhi, India,

between the presidents of the United Arab Republic, Gamal Abdel Nasser, Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito, and the Prime Minister of India, Indira Gandhi, called so the “Tripartite Conference”. The other was held in Belgrade from 8 to 12 July 1969, with an advisory capacity. Representatives of the Governments of Non-Aligned Countries, at the time, 44 member countries and seven observers attended the meeting. Not only they reaffirmed the principles of the non-alignment, but they also demanded the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Vietnam and they expressed a clear support for “the Arab people of Palestine” and called for the “withdrawal of Israel from all Arab territories occupied after the war June 1967 “. It was also defended the right of the People’s Republic of China to join the United Nations. On the economic front, there was a clear reference to the need to adopt measures” to provide better access for developed countries to markets and financing for development “.

The Third Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned met in Lusaka, Zambia, from 8 to 10 September 1970, with the participation of 54 full members. At the end of the event it approved the “Lusaka Declaration on Peace, Independence, Development, Cooperation and Democratization of International Relations.” This document and also the “Lusaka Declaration on Non-Alignment and Economic Progress” showed that economic issues had received priority treatment in the debates, fact that showed difference of this meeting from previous ones. Since Lusaka, the debates of the Non-Aligned Movement started to have two focus: one political and the other economic. In the statement which addresses the economic focus, it declares that “the gap between poor countries and developed countries has deepened” and that “efforts should be intensified to urgently implement structural changes in the world economy.” Ripened by the experience of a decade since Bandung, the heads of state were beginning to show their understanding of the importance of economic factors to achieve the goals set by the Non-Aligned.

The IV Summit Conference of the movement, held from 5 to 9 September 1973 in Algiers, is considered one of the most important. The reasons are many, among them, the great attendance: 75 countries full members; Latin America, Argentina and Peru participated for the first time and the socialist Chile led by Salvador Allende, who was overthrown two days after the end of the Conference, was also represented. Also present were eight observer countries, three guests, Austria, Finland and Sweden, and twelve liberation movements. Among the latter, one should mention the presence of the People’s Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the African Party of Independence of Cape Verde (PAIGC), the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), the South West Africa People’s Organization (SWAPO, Namibia) and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

But, as we have seen, the Algiers Conference was also important for the topics discussed. The final declaration points to a deterioration of the international situation since 1970s, characterized by "tensions in the peripheral areas, due to the deteriorating economic conditions in developing countries." In fact, at this Conference, the traditional positions of the Non-alignment and of the socialist camp came together; Cuba had a prominent role in these talks that led the movement to adopt a more open attitude towards the socialist bloc. Fidel Castro, in his speech, defended this position, that was incorporated on the "Programme of Action on Economic Cooperation" one of the documents approved in Algiers. This document stated that "The Non-Aligned will seek to boost scientific and technical cooperation with the socialist countries, in particular by signing intergovernmental agreements, and through the creation, if necessary, of joint bodies".

The document approved at the Summit IV focuses mainly on the analysis of the international scene. Among "the main causes of inequality, which increases permanently and afflicts the developing world," the statement mentions the "various methods of economic domination and neo-colonial exploitation." And the old colonial powers are responsible for inequality, since (they) "remain in control of natural resources, despite the success achieved in the field of independence and political sovereignty." The document also denounces "the transnationals and their monopolistic role in the commercial, financial and industrial plans." The scenario requires, say the Non-Aligned, drawing up policies that lead to "the establishment of a new type of international economic relations".

The definitions adopted in Algiers, ratified and extended in Colombo, capital of Sri Lanka, where it was held, in 1976, the V Conference of Non-Aligned, show that in the 1970s, at the height of its operations, the move came to define strategies for the economic field, under the flag of the New International Economic Order (NIEO) and in terms of communications, also with an audacious goal: the establishment of a New International Information Order (NIIO). These proposals were the result of studies conducted in different areas and with different methodologies, which confirmed a dramatic diagnosis: overcoming underdevelopment would not be possible without the implementation of profound changes in the ground rules of the international economy and information flows. While prices of raw materials, the main source of income of the majority of the Non-Aligned, were deprecated and manufactured goods were, on the opposite, getting higher, the uneven development between the core countries and the periphery would deepen. On the other hand, the concentration of mass media and the social and technological inequalities between the developed and underdeveloped demanded a change

in the information system. That is, if you keep the imbalance in relation to the production and circulation of information in the world, with absolute predominance of control by the central countries, and information continue to be treated as a commodity, without recognizing its strategic role in international relations, traditional forms of colonial domination, would remain with new clothes.

The proposal of the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) also called New International Information Order (NIIO), and one that is its essential complement, the New International Economic Order (NIEO), caused great impact on the international agenda. Part of that impact can be measured by the fact that the New International Information Order was incorporated in 1978 to UNESCO programs (English acronym of UNESCO) and included on the agenda of the General Assembly UN. (Mattelart 2001).

This first step of UNESCO was complemented later with the appointment of an International Commission of Communication Problems Studies, chaired by the Irish Sean MacBride, founder of Amnesty International, a Nobel and Lenin Peace Prize winner. This Commission was formed by 16 members from every continent, but with a significant majority of representatives of the Third World. Among them were two Latin American, Colombian writer Gabriel Garcia Marquez and Chilean diplomat Juan Somavia. The result of the hard work of the Commission was a document entitled “One World and Many Voices” better known as the MacBride Report, published by UNESCO in 1980. For the first time a UN agency recognized the existence of imbalances in information flows and prepared a document with proposals for democratization in the field of information. Correctly, the document pointed out the fact that the generation and distribution of information circulating in the world was concentrated in four news agencies and that was the main reason for the existence of imbalances in the communication between the core countries and the peripheral countries. Considering these agencies, two were European, the French France Presse (AFP) and the British Reuters (now Thompson-Reuters), and two were American, the Associated Press (AP) and the United Press International (UPI).

The boldness to point out that these transnational news agencies, closely linked to major financial capitals was such “villains” aroused strong attacks from the Western capitalist countries media. These attacks were echoed by many of the most important business newspapers in the Third World countries. Diagnosis and proposals presented by the MacBride Commission were accused of bias and a “threat” to press freedom and the free flow of information. (Mattelart 2001).

The MacBride Report defined eleven principles for the consolidation of a New International Information Order, starting with the end of the imbalances and inequalities which characterize the current situation. To achieve this goal, the committee of experts called for the elimination of the negative effects of certain monopolies, public or private, and the excessive concentration of power; it also defined as priorities the removal of internal and external obstacles to the free flow and wider and more balanced dissemination of information and ideas, and the respect for the plurality of information sources and channels; defended the freedom of the press and the information and freedom for journalists and for all professionals of the media, but had a reservation: "freedom is inseparable from responsibility." The Commission also proposed the preparation of developing countries so that they could improve the information in their own nations, "particularly with regard to the acquisition of their own equipment" and capacity building, with the recovery of infrastructure, "besides making the information and media attuned to their own aspirations and needs." He extolled the need for a sincere commitment by developed countries to help others to achieve these goals; respect for the cultural identity of each people and the right of each nation to inform the international public about its interests, aspirations and their social and cultural values; and finally advocated "respect for the rights of all people to participate in information exchanges, based on equality, justice, mutual benefits and respect for the rights of the community, as well as ethnic and social groups so that they can have access to sources of information and actively participate in the communication flows. "

We recall that in the late 1970s and early 1980s the two countries that dictate the rules of world capitalism were the United States, governed by Ronald Reagan and Britain, under the leadership of Margaret Thatcher, two leaders closely connected to the imposition the neoliberal model. By arguing that that UNESCO was "overly politicized", both countries decided to leave the UN agency and, in doing so, cut their investments on it, causing a drop of 30% of the budget. Without the support of its two most important donors, the agency failed to implement the resolutions of the Commission chaired by Sean MacBride, and due to the economic hardship, entered a long period of ostracism.

More than 30 years after the diagnosis made by the Commission of experts, many of its formulations are still in force. Many experts consider that modern communication technologies open the possibility of re-evaluate and update the document drafted by the Commission MacBride. (Masmoudi 2005). The last summit of the Non-Aligned held in Tehran in August 2012, took up the theme of communications and defined the purpose of reinvigor-

ating the news agency of the Non-Aligned Movement<sup>7</sup>.

The correlation of forces at that historical moment did not favor this kind of alternative, and in a broader context, the objectives of the Non-Aligned were frustrated or were gradually dismissed with the consequent loss of leadership and political weight of the Movement internationally.

## A Grain of Sand Makes the Difference in the Desert

We have seen that since the launch in 1974 in Buenos Aires the journal “Third World,” was inserted in the multitude of initiatives that have been put forward in different parts of the world, to contribute to the challenge launched in Algiers by the Non-Aligned Movement to democratize information flows. But what could have been done by a journal launched by independent journalists without a significant structure or important capital behind it in face of the power of the big media conglomerates? It may seem a quixotic endeavor ... and it was! But the project was founded on the conviction of the founding group and several collaborators that joined it over the years: a grain of sand makes the difference in the desert.... The initiative could and should serve as an to encourage other multiple initiatives that together could bring a significant change in the information landscape.

Present in Algiers, where he covered the Fourth Conference of the Non-Aligned, the journalist Neiva Moreira had returned to Latin America convinced of the importance of getting the Latin American public opinion, so alien to these issues, to be aware of the debate developed in the event and all its impacts. In Algiers, he had established important contacts with African liberation movements, with leaders of independent countries of Asia and Africa, with journalists and communicators from all over the Third World, there present, and he expressed to them that he would return to the “mission “to bring together a group of Latin American journalists who accepted the challenge of launching a publication devoted entirely to the international theme, focusing on the Third World. And that’s what he proposed to several

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<sup>7</sup> The Non-Aligned Movement is currently the second largest international organization in the world, after the United Nations. With 120 full members and 17 observer members, it includes most of the countries and governments of the world. About two-thirds of UN member states are full members of the NAM. The African Union, the Organization of Solidarity of the Afro-Asian people, the Commonwealth of Nations, the National Independence Movement Hostosiano, the Socialist Liberation Front National Kanak, the Arab League, the Islamic Cooperation Organization, the South Centre, the United Nations and the World Peace Council are also observers.

colleagues: the foundation of a magazine that dealt with the issues discussed since Bandung and to report on the major events of the Third World considering the protagonists own voice. He was luck to find in Pablo Piacentini a colleague who had even taken a step in this direction, when he founded the agency Inter Press Service, and a colleague in Julia Constenla, who was already working in her publishing house with similar ideas alongside with Eduardo Galeano and Mario Benedetti. The result was this publication, a pioneer in our continent, which circulated from 1974 to 2006, with editions in Spanish, Portuguese and English.

The history of the **Third World** journal shows how much it was closely linked to the debate raised by the Non-Aligned Movement on the theme of information flows. A large network that it could bring together journalists, communicators, thinkers, activists, political leaders, trade unions, educators, students, diplomats, allowed it to stay in the countermovement for more than three decades. The challenges were many and sometimes seemed impossible to overcome, as demonstrated by the fact that the journal was founded and re-founded in various parts of the world. But through its pages several generations were formed mainly Latin American ones, but also African, mostly from Portuguese-speaking countries, and even Europeans and Americans, whose universities were assiduous buyers and subscribers of the publication.

By being present in locals so distant from each other with the same editorial message, it has become a real instrument of South-South communication, at a time when there were none of technologies that shorten the distances in space and time today.

The difficulties were reflected both whereas producing exclusive stories that were the hallmark of the publication, but also in the time of distribution, in order to make it within the reach of readers. Nevertheless, the Third World journal pages portrayed the war of liberation in Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe and highlighted the interviews of their leaders. They have shown the consequences of the long Vietnam war, which has spread to all of Indochina; they portrayed the struggle of the Palestinian people to achieve their state and with it, regain their dignity; special materials were devoted to the struggle of the Saharawi people, the struggle against apartheid in South Africa, the liberation struggle in Namibia, Zimbabwe, the resistance to the dictatorship of Mobutu, the oil issue; reporters and special correspondents covered the war in Lebanon, the Gulf War, all the summits of the Non-Aligned Movement; there was an exhaustive coverage of the resistance of the peoples of South America against dictatorships, the fight of the Nicaraguan against Somoza, the Cuban Revolution. The most several issues were analyzed by experts, including the issue of external debt, for example,

agrarian land reform, many of them raised pioneered by the editorial staff, such as the environmental agenda, the issue of GMOs, the fight for respect sexual plurality, the right of indigenous peoples to their lands and for cultural preservation of all Aboriginal people, etc.

In addition, the publication was a kind of informal school of communication, due to the fact that the headquarters in Brazil received trainees from various Third World countries, specially of Portuguese-speaking countries, which passed a few weeks in Rio de Janeiro - or even a few months - improving their knowledge and practice of investigative journalism, always supported by research and an adequate bibliography. Members of the editorial staff were also permanently invited for lectures, seminars, recycling courses for journalists in several countries.

## The Final Phase

In the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, Neoliberalism took over our countries, transforming the economy and political relations at a high social cost, and it profoundly affected the publishing editorial market of Latin America and the Third World journal was no exception. The crisis that eventually forced its closure was installed in the late 1990s and in 2006 the magazine was forced to end its circulation due to absolute financial infeasibility. In previous years there had been a large increase in production costs and efforts to keep the publication circulating were translating into mounting debts.

The breath to continue for some time came from a very loyal legion of subscribers - many of which today refer fondly to the importance that “Third World” had in their formation - and signed agreements with Secretaries of Education from the states of Rio de Janeiro, Pernambuco and Rio Grande do Sul. These signatures were destined to public schools and state and municipal libraries. The magazine has always been appreciated by the teachers to work in the classroom. These signatures represent significant financial support, as each teacher was also a promoter, this has generated an interesting movement, which increased the number of new subscribers, as was the case for many parents who accompanied the work of their children, with the magazine, in public schools.

With ups and downs, losing its periodicity, cutting expenses, it was possible to continue for a while. But under the neoliberal frills, the magazine was seen by many as a “dinosaur”, sustained on exceeded flags, as would be the own Third World. The defense of the state’s role, for example, was completely incompatible with the new political positions and economic as-

sumptions of the ones that could have had the power to change our situation. With each new edition debt increased as a snowball; the situation became untenable.

To resist in the face of the challenges of the moment it would have been necessary to rely on advertising, something that has never been easy for a publication as Third World. Only revenues from subscriptions, although very numerous, did not allow to balance finances. But then, no one was willing to help with publicity neither official companies nor private companies, nor the government. This results in the at least curious fact that an editorial experience that had endured throughout the cycle of Latin American dictatorships, would end at the moment that Brazil, a country which had its headquarters since 1980, was being ruled by a party with a progressive platform, the PT, whose President, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, a man of humble origins, had forged his leadership the heat of the union struggles. A theme to reflect, no doubt!

Currently, the increasing concentration of media in large conglomerates linked to the world of finance, at the national and international levels, has become a challenge equally or more important than in the decades in which the Non-Aligned Movement raised the issue of the New International Information Order. The people of South America, which at the beginning of the 21st century, through the ballot box, have shown their willingness to promote a renewal of the political and social life today realize the enormous difficulties to deepen this process without the existence of democratic and plural media, committed to the processes of change.

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**ABSTRACT**

The paper traces the history of the Third World journal since its ascension until the closure, analyzing the historical period, the Non-Aligned Movement, including its New International Economic Order and New World Information and Communication Order proposes, and the political conditions that caused the journal’s extinction.

**KEYWORDS**

Media; South-South Dialogue; Non-Aligned Movement; Communication.

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