

THE UNITED STATES AND UNESCO 1945-1985

WILLIAM PRESTON JR., EDWARD S. HERMAN, AND HERBERT I. SCHILLER

PREFACE BY SEÁN MACBRIDE INTRODUCTION BY ELLEN RAY AND WILLIAM H. SCHAAP

MANUSCRIPT PRODUCED BY THE INSTITUTE FOR MEDIA ANALYSIS, INC. NEW YORK, NEW YORK

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA PRESS • MINNEAPOLIS

CONTENTS

PREFACE, by Seán MacBride		ix
INTI	RODUCTION, by Ellen Ray and William H. Schaap	xiii
	HISTORY OF U.SUNESCO RELATIONS,	
•	Villiam Preston, Jr.	3
	Introduction: An Overview	5
	The Indictment in Context	9
Ш.	Patterns and Problems in the American Past	14
IV.	The Nazi Challenge and Two World Wars: The Hostile Imagination Unleashed	24
V.	UNESCO's Origins: Liberal Hopes and Liberal Assumptions	32
VI.	Politicizing UNESCO in the U.S. and Abroad: Cold War Intrusions, 1946-1960	48
	A. Information and Mass Communications	48
	B. Anticommunism	60
	C. Culture	70
VII.	Challenge and Change Confront Cold War Concepts: The 1960s	87
VIII.	Backlash and Reaction:	
	The Road to Withdrawal, 1968–1981	120
IX.	The United States Exits: 1981–1985	148
X.	Epilogue: A Post-Mortem Interpretation	188
	MASS MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE U.S. WITHDRAWAL	
FROM UNESCO, by Edward S. Herman		203
	Introduction .	205
	A. Objective Coverage Versus Propaganda	205

	B. The Record of Earlier Studies of Mass-Media	
	Treatment of UNESCO	207
II.	An Analysis of U.S. Mass-Media Treatment of the U.S. Withdrawal From UNESCO	213
	A. Sourcing	214
	B. Premises, Frames of Reference, and Agendas	228
	C. Ideological Language and Tone	244
	D. Rewriting History	253
	E. Programmatic and Management Deficiencies: Misrepresentations and Suppressions	258
	F. Misrepresentation of the NWICO Threat to a "Free Press"	267
	G. The Non-Correctability of Error	273
	H. Non-Disclosure of Corporate Interest	277
III.	Summary and Conclusions	281
	HERE A UNITED STATES INFORMATION ICY? by Herbert I. Schiller	285
	Introduction	287
II.	U.S. Dominance in the Early Postwar Period	289
	The Hutchins Commission on Freedom of the Press: The Cooperative Option	290
IV.	The Western Doctrines of Free Flow and Free Press	292
V.	Hey-Day of Free Flow and the Emergence of the New Nations	294
VI.	The Call for a New International Information Order	296
VII.	The Western Counter-Attack against the NIIO	298
	The Technology Gambit	299
IX.	The United States Attack on UNESCO	303
X.	U.S. Information Policy in the 1980s: The Reagan Era	306
XI.	Conclusion	308
APP	ENDIXES	313
I.	Constitution of UNESCO	315
II.	The Directors-General of UNESCO	327
III.	Anatomy of a Smear: Ed Bradley and "60 Minutes" on UNESCO, by Edward S. Herman	328
IV.	Speech of E. Gough Whitlam, April 13, 1985	338
V.	Interviews Conducted by William Preston, Jr.	350
BIBI	BIBLIOGRAPHY	
INDEX		359