

# **NEWS MEDIA AND WORKING CLASS**

English, Español, Français



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**16<sup>th</sup> World Trade Union Congress**  
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## **NEWS MEDIA AND WORKING CLASS**

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The analysis of the Mass Media has to centralize in their dual nature.

## **THE MEDIA – CAPITALIST OWNERSHIP**

On the one hand, the Mass Media are capitalist enterprises, means of production in the ownership of the dominant class, the bourgeoisie. Their product is information.

The Mass Media giants and the largest national mass media are owned by owners of monopoly groups, owners of oil companies, pharmaceutical companies, construction companies etc.

The basic contradiction in the Mass Media is that although they constitute means of production their owners do not, primarily, seek to make direct profit out of their use.

As owners of monopoly groups and owners of Mass Media they primarily seek to serve their personal and individual interests in relation to the state. They also seek to improve their position in the completion with other capitalists to eventually increase their profitability in the other sectors in where they have also invested. Finally, they seek for the fulfillment of their collective interests in the class struggle against the working class.

## **THE MASS MEDIA IN RELATION TO THE STATE**

Apart from the state media, the private media have a direct relationship with the state as well. The licensing of their operation depends on the state. State advertisements are their major source of income. The competition on who receive the largest piece of the state advertising is very high and significantly affects the content of information.

The interface with the state and its mechanisms spreads also in other dimensions. For example, the organization “Reporters Without Borders” (RSF), led by the former reporter Robert Menara, has its headquartered in Paris and the organization’s press releases are being distributed by «Saatchi & Saatchi Worldwide», a transnational advertising association, belonging to the “Publicis Group SA –France” the world’s fourth club in trade advertising, whose main customer is the U.S. Armed Forces!

Both the North-American **«National Endowment for Democracy», (NED)** and the RSF have a significant relevance with Haiti and Venezuela.

It is common knowledge that there are facts revealed by American officials themselves (e.a on September of 2006) regarding journalists who were being highly paid from the American government to denigrate Fidel Castro and Cuba.

There are hundreds of “contracts” like those that refer to similar situations in Ukraine, in Venezuela and other countries.

## **THE FRAMEWORK OF THE CAPITALIST ECONOMIC CRISIS**

In the period of the capitalist economic crisis the advertising expenses and the circulation of the publications drops. The capitalists choose the most convenient solution regarding their ownership in the Mass Media simultaneously with the ownership in the other means of production, bearing in mind that they do not have the average percentage of profit they seek for.

The capitalist system follows the classic procedure in all sectors to overcome its crisis: destruction of part of the productive forces, shut-down of companies, mergers.

At the same time, on the pretext of the crisis, a series of measures are being implemented concerning the Collective Bargaining Agreements, the introduction of the job rotation, the elimination of the work hours and the Sunday Holiday. In general they seek to have workers follow their needs, to work if and whenever the employers need them, with whichever salary they want to offer.

## **THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA AS CAPITALIST ENTERPRISES**

For these reasons their owners use the Media as:

- **Means of pressure on governments.**

Based on the power they have to influence the public opinion as Media owners, the capitalists manage to maintain their political personnel captive in the servicing of their interests. These interests are either individual (product of underground agreements for tax cuts, for money and cooperation with public investments) or collective which are “legally” conducted and relate to the pressure to implement the anti-

popular policies for the reduction of the price of the labor force and the elimination of labor rights.

- Means of manipulating the public opinion, mainly especially the popular factor and the working class, for the formation of the necessary consciousness, one that will accept the capitalist system and the policy of the bourgeoisie. They form a false consciousness to the working class, so not to think or act as a class for itself, but, on the contrary to share the problems and the concerns of the bourgeoisie as its own problems and concerns. They promote the truth of the working class as the one and only truth, as an objective truth, as the only possible way.

A characteristic example is the attitude of the media in the imperialist wars against Afghanistan, Iraq, etc. The blatant attempt to control the information circulated and the forming of a virtual reality for the justification of the criminal imperialistic war with the circulation of information on the “biological and chemical weapons of Saddam”.

- **Modulation means of developments.** Despite of the competition, the media are being utilized as an implement for the design and the promotion of the bourgeois strategy when it comes to matters concerning the secureness of the bourgeois power. The central theme as well as the scale, through which it is raised, is the same, whilst the approach and the central argumentation are mutual. This is obvious in times of imperialistic wars, as well as when the people's movement rises up and even nowadays under the circumstances of the capitalistic crisis.

A characteristic example regarding the role of the media is the reactionary position of the media against the Chavez Government that started even before April 2002, when four private television stations helped and incited actively the military coup against the government.

- **Terrorizing people means and defamation means of the modern and historic militant history of the peoples.** The rallies are presented as a breach of peace. The target is focused on the activation of the social automation, the corporate rationality, the turn of one part of the workers against the other.
- **Modulation means of a perverse reality.** By withholding the exploitative nature of the capitalist system , the causes of the social

problems, the militant fermentations, the procedures of the trade union and labor movement, as well as by hiding the true daily worries of a working family, they educate the working class and its children with the values of the bourgeois class such as individualism, the "easy" solution, passiveness or the active participation in "harmless" –for the bourgeois class- pursuits, submission, drugs culture, subculture, the perverse knowledge of history, anti-communism, misogyny, racism or cosmopolitanism, it depends on the interests of the bourgeoisie.

- **Advertisement and promotion means of the capitalists' products.** Through their most expensive advertising campaigns, the capitalistic enterprises advertise their products to increase their sales and profit. In order to succeed at the sale of their products, they are forced to modulate a perverse perception to the workers concerning their true needs. They attempt to convince them that true needs do not include steady occupation, decent wages, secure housing, education, free quality time, etc but what they include is an expensive car, which shall attract a beautiful woman, an opulent country house, that will be won through the easy path of gambling. Through the advertisements they alternate the values of the working class and they cultivate the morality of the bourgeoisie.

## **THE ROLE OF THE WORKING PEOPLE IN THE MEDIA**

Dual is also the role of the workers in the media enterprises. Even if they are workers in capitalistic enterprises, however they are by nature and by position defenders of the bourgeois power, turning against their true interests which are the working class interests.

A part of them consists of the labor aristocracy, a vendible part of the working class. It goes by with large wages, it is registered in parties' payrolls, and it is in continuing contact with the governments. It plays a conscious active part in the propaganda of the ruling ideology.

The biggest part, however, is about workers who work hard, often under difficult circumstances and by putting their lives in danger.

Under the pressure of dismissal, terrorism, directions of the mean they are working in, of censorship, and of the role of the compromised syndical trade unions in the media branch, the workers are forced to function wittingly or unwittingly as the staff of the ruling class and as communicants of the ruling

ideology and morality.

Their working conditions as well as their working rights are unfavorably influenced by:

- The centralization of media to lesser and lesser capitalists' hands.
- The international capitalists' crisis that leads to the destruction of productive forces (unemployment, business closing etc)
- The development of the technological means and the turn towards the networking information that is being implemented at the expense of working hours , working relations, wages and working conditions.
- The effort for complete abolition of the collective bargaining agreement and the enforcement of individual working contracts.
- The commercialization of news, the sale of the words, pictures or sound that concern the current political, social etc developments, the reality and the pain of whole countries that go through disaster, war, death, misery and unhappiness.
- The abolition of specialties and the centralization of work to other specialties.

The trade unions of the workers in the branch of media have to play an important role in the organizing of the workers' struggle for their syndical and working demands, as well as share an important contribution in the modulation of a militant position towards the context of the workers occupation.

The workers in media must resist the forceful pressure of the owners who push them to become implements of the bourgeois propaganda, forcing them to spill poison against the working popular demands, to disorientate, to lull the people.

The power lies within unity with the class oriented workers' movement. The workers in media have to rise up and reveal by all means the capitalist's ferocity.

WFTU has the ability and has to take part in the coordination of this struggle in an international level. The trade unions of the workers in media have to participate in the propagandism of the thesis and the activities of the class oriented trade unionist movement, to help along with their knowledge of

technology and their professional experience, in order for the trade unionist organizations in every branch to acquire a voice of their own and a direct contact to a larger part of the people. Information, exchange of experience and solidarity amongst the workers can help the creation of an ally between popular scales in their common struggle against the attack of the capitalist's ferocity.

For the reasons above, WFTU could create a TUI Media.

## **THE POSITION OF THE WORKERS AND THE CONTEMPORARY NEEDS**

In the maze of the todays information overload, workers of all sectors should be able to form such kind of criteria that will make them able to filter the received information, to hold the right elements of the news, to be able to distinguish the class ideological perspective with which they are promoted, to utilize the information in order to draw conclusion for the matters that concern their class and their interests.

These criteria may be formed by the participation in the working class movement, by the militant experience, by the deep knowledge and communion with the history of the international workers movement and also by the revelation of the real role of the Media.

The workers must be aware of the fact that the pluralism of information and opinions promoted by the Media does not necessarily come together with the projection of different class approaches that coexist in all subjects. It does not mean the projection of the position of the workers interests.

Since the media belong to capitalists they will always be against the working class, against anything progressive and radical. The Media of the capitalists will always be defending the perpetuation of the power of their owners –even if on the game of the competitiveness, they are putting forward the one or the other opinion, the one or the other government.

Even if, under the pressure of the popular factor the Media and the reality, they would be obliged to project the position of the class-oriented trade union organizations. Even then, these positions of the class-oriented trade unions are being projected incomplete or distorted.

The working class has its own interests which in conflict with the interests of the bourgeoisie. It has its own worries which are in conflict with the worries of the capitalists. It has its truth with does not go in line with the truth of the

exploiters.

This is why it has to have its own media.

Those kind of media that will play the role of the “collective propagandist and collective enlightenment but also the collective organizer”. Those kind of media that can be compared to the “scaffolding built around a building under construction, that carve the outline of the building, facilitate the communication between the different construction workers, they help them to allocate the work and have the oversight of the common results achieved by the organized work” (V.I Lenin “Where to Begin” Complete Works V.5 p. 9,11)

The publication and the circulation of the unions analysis and positions constitutes a primary issue for the promotion of these thesis, the coiling of forces, the coordination of the struggle for enlightenment of the working class, as a response to the propaganda of bourgeoisie.

The World Federation of Trade Unions, whilst ratifying its reconstruction and upward course on the benefit of the international proletariat, will have to further contribute to this duty more urgently.

To multiple its publications. To improve their content. This content should cover a wider range, more international developments, to promote the action of its member-organisations, to coordinate their action for the facilitation of the expression of their internationalist solidarity, to enlighten with the promotion of the militant history of the international workers movement. Moreover, to manage to create even more space for the open dialogue between the trade union organizations for all the matters that concern the workers.

The new edition of the “Reflects” magazine is an important effort which comes from the past. It should continue, it should be strengthened, it should be enriched with the support of the Regional Offices, the TUI’s and the member-organisations.

The website of WFTU should be renewed in such a range that it should be capable to cover the expanded needs of the contemporary conditions of the conducting of the trade union struggle. Foremost, we should realize and act on this so that with photos, video and sound, our positions and action must reach even the most remote worker. All these materials should be kept as historic documents for future reference.

We should continue the effort that started with the Trade Union Seminars regarding the role of the Mass Media and the support towards the trade union organizations that want to create their own media with contemporary and plausible ways.

The WFTU is capable to create its own webradio which will be able to broadcast globally and will turn into the voice of the international working class. Though this activity, the positions and the action of WFTU, its member-organisations and its friends will be promoted.

The 16<sup>th</sup> World Trade Union Congress is an open, democratic, militant, class-oriented Congress that will further strengthen the WFTU in all levels for the benefit of the struggle against imperialism and exploitation. We should use all the available means towards this goal.





**16º Congreso Sindical Mundial**  
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## **LOS MEDIOS DE COMUNICACIÓN MASIVOS Y LA CLASE OBRERA**

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El análisis de los medios de comunicación masivos tiene que centrarse en su naturaleza dual.

## **LOS MEDIOS - PROPIEDAD CAPITALISTA**

Por una parte, los medios de comunicación masivos son las empresas capitalistas, medios de la producción en la propiedad de la clase dominante, la burguesía. Su producto es información.

Los gigantes de los medios de comunicación masivos y los medios de comunicación nacionales más grandes son poseídos por los dueños de los grupos del monopolio, los dueños de las compañías petroleras, de las compañías farmacéuticas, de las empresas de la construcción etc. La contradicción básica en los medios de comunicación masivos es que aunque constituyan medios de la producción sus dueños no intentan lograr beneficio directo fuera de su uso. Como dueños de los grupos del monopolio y dueños de medios de comunicación masivos intentan sobre todo servir sus intereses personales e individuales respecto al estado. También intentan mejorar su posición con respecto a otros capitalistas para eventual aumentar sus beneficios en otros sectores, en los cuales también han invertido. Finalmente, buscan para el cumplimiento de sus intereses colectivos en la lucha de su clase contra la clase obrera.

## **LOS MEDIOS DE COMUNICACIÓN MASIVOS RESPECTO AL ESTADO**

Aparte de los medios del estado, los medios privados tienen una relación directa con el estado también. La autorización de su operación depende del estado. Los anuncios del estado son su fuente de ingresos importante. La competición en quién recibe el pedazo más grande de publicidad es muy alta y afecta perceptiblemente al contenido de la información.

El interfaz con el estado y sus mecanismos se separa también en otras dimensiones. Por ejemplo, la organización [reporteros sin fronteras](#) (RSF), llevadas por el reportero anterior Roberto Menara, tiene su jefatura en París y los comunicados de prensa de la organización están distribuidos por el «Saatchi & Saatchi Worldwide», una asociación publicitaria transnacional, perteneciendo al “Publicis Group SA –France” el cuarto club en la publicidad comercial en el mundo, cuyo cliente principal es las fuerzas armadas de arma de los E.E.U.U.!

Amba la norteamericana [dotación para la democracia nacional](#), (NED) y los

RSF tienen una relación significativa con Haití y Venezuela.

Se saben comúnmente también los elementos que han revelado de los dignatarios americanos (eg. en septiembre 2006) para los periodistas que fueron financiados áspero por el gobierno americano para el vilipendio de Fidel Castro y de Cuba. Los contratos relativos son numerosos y se refieren también a prácticas similares que fueron aplicadas en Ucrania, en Venezuela y otros países.

## **EL CONTEXTO DE LA CRISIS ECONÓMICA CAPITALISTA**

Durante la crisis económica capitalista que los gastos de publicidad y la circulación de formas están disminuidos, los capitalistas elija la mejor solución para ellos, con respecto a su propiedad en los medios de comunicación masivos, junto con la propiedad en los otros medios de producción, dado que no tienen generalmente la tasa de ganancia media que buscan.

El proceso clásico siguió por el sistema capitalista para superar sus crisis se aplica en todos los sectores: destrucción de parte de fuerzas productivas, despidos, cierres y fusiones.

Al mismo tiempo con pretexto la crisis, una serie de planes entra en vigor para la supresión de convenciones colectivas del trabajo, el establecimiento de trabajo por turnos, la supresión del horario y del domingo como día de fiesta. En verdad, buscan que los trabajadores trabajen cuanto y como los jefes los necesiten los jefes con el salario que quieran los dan.

### **El papel de los medios de comunicación masivos como empresas capitalistas**

A estos efectos, los propietarios utilizan los medios de comunicación masivos como:

- **Medios de ejercer presión a los gobiernos.**

Basado en el poder de influenciar la opinión común como propietarios de los medios de comunicación masivos, los capitalistas logran el control de su personale político para servir a sus intereses. Estos intereses son o individuos, convertidos generalmente con las maneras indirectos que extraen reducciones en los empuestos, dinero y colaboración con las inversiones gubernamentales etc, o se refieren a los intereses

colectivos de la clase urbana, llegan a ser con maneras respetuosas a la ley y se refieren a la presión para el uso de la política anti-popular que apunta en la reducción del precio de la fuerza obrera y de la supresión de las derechas de trabajo.

- **Medios de manipulación de la opinión publica y principalmente del pueblo y de la clase obrera** para la configuración de una conciencia conveniente que aceptará el sistema urbano y la política urbana. Esto significa que forman una conciencia torcida en la clase obrera, de modo que la clase obrera no piense y no actúe como clase para sí mismo, pero que considere los problemas y las preocupaciones de la clase urbana como sus propios problemas. Promueven la verdad de la clase urbana como la verdad objetiva. El ejemplo característico es la actitud de los medios de comunicación masivos en las guerras imperialistas contra el Afganistán, en Iraq etc.

El esfuerzo atroz del control del informe y de la configuración de una realidad virtual por la justificación de la guerra imperialista criminal con la canalización de información sobre **los brazos biológicos y químicos de Saddam**.

- **Medios de la configuración de los acontecimientos.** A pesar de la competición, los medios de comunicación masivos se desarrollan como instrumento en el planeamiento y la promoción de la estrategia urbana cuando se refiere a preguntas que impliquen la garantía del poder urbano. Las cuestiones fundamentales pero también la jerarquía con la cual aparecen son iguales, mientras que el acercamiento pero también su argumentación central es común. En tiempos de guerras imperialistas, en tiempos de la subida del movimiento popular pero también en las condiciones de la crisis capitalista, como ahora, esto es muy obvio. Es característico del papel de los medios de comunicación masivos el ejemplo de la actitud reactiva de los medios de comunicación masivos contra el gobierno de Chaves que comenzó antes del abril de 2002, cuando cuatro estaciones de televisión privadas ayudaron e incitaron activamente al golpe militar contra el gobierno.

- **Medios de aterrorizar el pueblo y de difamar la historia moderna e histórica de la lucha del pueblo.** Las movilizaciones se presentan como perturbación de la orden. El objetivo se centra también

en la activación del "automatismo social", las lógicas corporativas, la vuelta de un pedazo de trabajadores contra el otro.

- **Medios de la configuración de una realidad virtual torcida.** Ocultando la naturaleza explotadora del sistema capitalista, las causas de los problemas sociales, las actividades de la lucha, los procesos del movimiento de los trabajadores, ocultando las preocupaciones verdaderas que atormentan el diario la familia trabajadora, educan la clase obrera y sus niños con los valores de la clase urbana, el individualismo, la solución fácil, la pasividad o la participación activa en inocuos - para la clase urbana - ocupaciones, la subyugación, la cultura de la droga, el subcultura, el conocimiento torcido de la historia, el anticomunismo, la miseria, el racismo o el mundialismo dependiendo de cuál es en el interés, cada vez, de la clase urbana.

- **Medios de publicidad y promoción de productos capitalistas.** Con campañas publicitarias muy costosas, las empresas capitalistas publican sus productos para el aumento de sus ventas, el aumento de sus beneficios. Para alcanzar la venta de sus productos, se fuerzan para formar una opinión torcida en los trabajadores en quienes están sus necesidades verdaderas. Intentan convencer los que sus necesidades verdaderas no son el trabajo fijo, los salarios decentes, la azotea asegurada, la educación, el tiempo libre cualitativo etc pero el coche costoso que traerá la mujer hermosa, el lujoso casa de campo que será ganado vía la manera fácil de los juegos afortunados y de juego. Vía las publicidades degradan los valores de la clase obrera y cultiven las éticas de la clase urbana.

## **EL PAPEL DE LOS TRABAJADORES EN LOS MEDIOS DE COMUNICACIÓN MASIVOS**

También el papel de los trabajadores en los medios de comunicación masivos es doble. Aunque son trabajadoras en empresas capitalistas, sin embargo constituyen por su naturaleza y colocar defensores del poder urbano contra sus intereses verdaderos que sean los intereses de la clase obrera.

Una parte de ellos constituye la aristocracia de trabajo, parte comprada de la clase obrera. Viven con de salarios altos, están en la nómina de los partidos, están en comunicación constante con los gobiernos. Tienen un papel conscientemente activo en la promoción de la ideología dominante.

Sin embargo la parte más grande se refiere a los trabajadores que trabajan apenas, a menudo en condiciones difíciles, arriesgando su vida.

Bajo la presión del despido, el terrorismo, la dirección de los medios en los cuales trabajan, la censura pero también el papel de los sindicatos reconciliados en el sector de los medios de comunicación masivos, los trabajadores se fuerza conscientemente o in conscientemente funcionar como el personal de la clase dominante y participantes de la ideología y de los éticas dominantes.

Sus condiciones de trabajo y sus derechos laborales están afectados negativamente por:

- La centralización de los medios en los manos de los capitalistas.
- La crisis capitalista internacional se ha conducido en la destrucción de fuerzas productivas (desempleo, cierres de empresas etc)
- El desarrollo de los medios tecnológicos y del cambio por la información a cabo de internet que se realice a costa de horas de trabajo, relaciones laborales, los salarios y las condiciones de trabajo.
- El intento de la abolición pura de las relaciones laborales y la aplicación de los contratos individuales de trabajo
- La comercialización de las noticias, la venta es decir, de palabras, imagen o sonido a lado de la política actual, la evolución social y otros como la realidad y el dolor que a menudo experimentan los países enteros que han sufrido desastres, la guerra, la muerte y la miseria.
- La abolición de las habilidades y la concentración del trabajo en otras disciplinas.

Los sindicatos de trabajadores en el sector de los medios deben desempeñar un papel importante en la organización de la lucha de los trabajadores por sus demandas trabajadores y sindicales y contribuir de manera significativa en la formación de manera de actitudes en el contenido del trabajado

Los trabajadores de los medios de comunicación tienen que resistir la fuerte presión de los propietarios presionandoles a convertir en instrumentos de la propaganda burguesa, para verter el veneno en contra de las demandas del pueblo trabajador, para desorientar, para “dormir” al pueblo.

La fuerza está en la unidad con el movimiento obrero. Los trabajadores de los medios de comunicación deben ponerse de pie y de revelar cualquier manera la barbarie del capitalismo.

El FSM puede y debe desempeñar un papel de coordinación de esta lucha a nivel internacional. Los sindicatos de los trabajadores de los medios de comunicación juegan un papel en la propagación de las posiciones y acciones del movimiento sindical de clase, para ayudarán con conocimientos y experiencia profesional a los sindicatos de todos los sectores para tener una voz y el contacto directo con una parte mayor de la gente. La información, el intercambio de experiencias, la asistencia mutua y la solidaridad entre los trabajadores puede ayudar a crear la alianza de las masas populares en su lucha conjunta contra el ataque de la barbarie del capitalismo.

Por estas razones, FSM podría crear TUI media.

## **LA POSICIÓN DE LOS TRABAJADORES Y LAS NECESIDADES MODERNAS**

Dentro del laberinto de la sobrecarga de información, los empleados de todas las disciplinas deberían ser capaces de formular el criterio de que les da la capacidad de filtrar la información que reciben, para mantener los elementos de noticias, para distinguir la perspectiva ideológica de clase de los que aparecen utilizar esta información para sacar conclusiones acerca de lo que relacionado con la clase y sus intereses.

Este criterio se cultiva por su participación en el movimiento obrero, la experiencia de carreras, el conocimiento y el contacto con la historia del movimiento obrero internacional y la revelación del verdadero papel de los medios de comunicación ..

Los empleados deben conocer que el pluralismo de la información y las opiniones presentadas por los medios de comunicación no significa publicidad

de los diferentes enfoques de clase que existen en todos los asuntos. No significa proyección de las posiciones y de los intereses de los trabajadores.

Los instrumentos que pertenecen a los capitalistas están siempre en contra de la clase obrera contra cualquier cosa progresista y radical. Los medios de comunicación capitalistas siempre defender el poder de sus propietarios, incluso en el juego de la competencia se ven obligados a defender una u otra posición, o un gobierno a otro. Aunque a veces bajo la presión del popular actor son obligados a presentar faltantes o distorsionados, y las posiciones de los sindicatos de clase

La clase obrera tiene sus propios intereses en conflicto con los intereses urbanos. Tiene sus propias preocupaciones en conflicto con los cuidados de la burguesía. Tiene su propia verdad y no está en consonancia con la verdad de los explotadores. Debe tener sus propios medios.

Medios de comunicación juegan el papel de «propagandista colectivo y la Ilustración colectiva y un organizador colectivo» (...) que se puede comparar con «los andamios que se hacen alrededor de un edificio construyendo, y esculpir el contorno del edificio, facilitar la comunicación entre los diferentes constructores, ayudándoles a asignar un esclavo y tener la supervisión de los resultados comunes obtenidos por la organización pie de la letra (BI Lenin «¿Por dónde empezar, Obras T.5 p. 9.11)»

La publicación y difusión de los tratamientos que hacen los sindicatos y su ubicación es un tema primordial en la fermentación de estas posiciones, las fuerzas de la Alianza para coordinar la lucha y la iluminación de la clase obrera en respuesta a la propaganda de la burguesía.

La Federación Sindical Mundial asegurando la reconstrucción y el aumento de los intereses del proletariado mundial, debe contribuir con más fuerza a esta tarea. Multiplicar las publicaciones.

Mejorar su contenido. Este contenido se referirá a la evolución internacional, los problemas que enfrentan todos los países, destacando las actividades de las organizaciones miembros, para coordinar sus acciones para facilitar la expresión de la solidaridad internacional, iluminar y promover la historia de las carreras movimiento obrero internacional. Para poder dar el paso aún mayor en un diálogo abierto entre los sindicatos en todas las cuestiones relativas a los empleados.

La nueva versión de la revista «reflects», que es una continuación de esfuerzos anteriores se debe continuar, fortalecerse y enriquecerse con la ayuda de las

oficinas regionales de la UIS, sus organizaciones miembros.

El sitio web de la FCM será renovado y ampliado para satisfacer las necesidades de las condiciones modernas para el desarrollo del juego sindical. Hacer nuestra experiencia con fotos, vídeo y mensajes de audio, y nuestra acción debe llegar hasta el trabajador más remoto de permanecer como documentos históricos para su uso en el futuro.

Para continuar el esfuerzo iniciado con los seminarios sindicales en el papel de los medios de comunicación y para ayudar a las organizaciones a crear sus propios instrumentos con formas modernas y potentes.

El FSM puede crear su propia radio en línea difundirá en todo el mundo y se convertirá en la voz de la clase obrera mundial. A través de este posiciones de avanzada y el efecto de la FSM, actividades y temas que se abren por las organizaciones miembros y amigos.

El 16 Congreso Sindical Mundial será un proceso abierto, democrático, Congreso de clases que fortalezca la Federación Sindical Mundial en todos los niveles en beneficio de la lucha contra el imperialismo y la explotación. En esta lucha debe utilizar todos los medios disponibles.





**16ième Congrès Syndical Mondial**  
**6-10 Avril 2011**

## **LES MÉDIAS ET LA CLASSE OUVRIÈRE**

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La question principale en ce qui concerne les Médias est provoquée par leur nature duale.

## **LES MÉDIAS COMME PROPRIÉTÉ CAPITALISTE**

D'une part, les Médias sont des entreprises capitalistes, des moyens de production qui appartiennent à la propriété de la classe dominante, la classe bourgeoise. Leur produit est l'information.

Les colosses des Médias mais aussi les Médias nationaux les plus grands appartiennent aux propriétaires de groupes monopolistes, aux propriétaires des entreprises pétroliers, des industries pharmaceutiques, des entreprises de construction etc.

La contradiction principale concernant les Médias est que, même qu'ils ont de moyens de production, leurs propriétaires ne cherchent pas principalement pour le profit direct de leur utilisation. Car ils ont de propriétaires de groupes monopolistes et des médias, ils cherchent principalement à servir leurs intérêts individuels et personnels en relation avec l'Etat. Ils cherchent encore l'amélioration de leur position dans la concurrence avec d'autres capitalistes, ayant comme but ultime la rentabilité des autres secteurs où ils investissent. Mais finalement, ils tentent le service de leurs intérêts collectifs dans le cadre de la lutte des classes avec la classe ouvrière.

## **LES MEDIAS ET L'ETAT**

A part les médias publics, les médias privés sont directement liés avec l'Etat. L'autorisation de leur opération dépend de l'Etat. Les publicités publiques consistent une des sources de revenu principales pour eux. La concurrence pour qui obtiendra le plus gros morceau de la publicité publique est significative et influe le contexte de l'information. L'interface avec l'Etat et ses mécanismes prend d'autres dimensions. Par exemple, l'organisation «Reporters Sans Frontières» (RSF), dirigé par l'ancien journaliste Robert Ménard, dont le siège est à Paris, où la presse de l'organisation est distribuée par «Saatchi & Saatchi Worldwide», une association de la publicité internationale, appartenant à «Publicis Group SA» France - quatrième groupe du monde de la publicité commerciale, dont le principal client est les U. S. Forces armées!

Les deux le nord-américain «National Endowment for Democracy» (NED), et le «RSF» sont très engagés en Haïti et au Venezuela.

Communément connus sont les documents présentés par les autorités

américaines (par exemple, en Septembre 2006) pour les journalistes généreusement financés par le gouvernement américain pour nuire Fidel Castro et Cuba. Les contrats relatifs sont de centaines et ils sont connectés avec pratiques similaires appliqués en Ukraine, à Chypre (qui a financé la campagne de passer le «plan Annan») au Venezuela et dans d'autres pays.

## LE CADRE DE LA CRISE ÉCONOMIQUE CAPITALISTE

Dans la période de crise économique capitaliste les dépenses de publicité diminuent et les capitalistes choisissent la meilleure solution pour eux en ce qui concerne leurs biens dans les médias en relation avec la propriété qu'ils ont sur les autres moyens de production car ils n'ont pas le profit désirable. La procédure normale suivie par le système capitaliste, afin de surmonter la crise de celui-ci s'applique à tous les secteurs: destruction de forces de production, licenciements, fermetures et fusions.

En même temps sous le prétexte de la crise, un certain nombre de projets sont effectués pour l'élimination des conventions collectives de travail, l'introduction de la rotation des emplois, l'élimination de l' horaire et du férié du dimanche. En substance, ils veulent que les travailleurs travaillent quand et si leurs patrons en ont besoin, et avec les salaires que les patrons décident.

## LE RÔLE DES MÉDIAS COMME DES ENTREPRISES CAPITALISTES

A ces fins, les propriétaires utilisent les médias comme:

- **Moyens de pression sur les gouvernements.** Les capitalistes, comme propriétaires de medias, selon leur pouvoir d'influencer l'opinion publique, gardent en captivité leur personnel politique pour qu'ils servissent à leurs intérêts. Ces intérêts sont soit individuels (ils sont produits de contrats souterraines pour acquérir des réductions d'impôt, de l'argent et de la coopération avec les investissements publics, etc.), soit ce sont des intérêts collectifs de la classe bourgeoise, ils sont "légaux" et se rapportent à la pression pour mettre en œuvre la politique anti-populaire qui vise à réduction du prix de travail et à l'élimination des droits ouvriers.
- **Moyens de manipulation de l'opinion publique** et surtout de l'opinion de la classe ouvrière. Ils veulent former une conscience qui va accepter le système capitaliste et sa politique. Ils forment une conscience fausse

dans la classe ouvrière, pour qu'elle ne pense pas et n'agisse pas comme une classe pour soi-même, mais qu'elle partage les problèmes et les préoccupations de la bourgeoisie comme ses propres problèmes. Ils promeuvent la vérité de la bourgeoisie comme une vérité objective. Un exemple est l'attitude des Medias dans la guerre impérialiste contre l'Afghanistan, Irak, etc. La tentative flagrante de contrôle de l'information et le développement d'une réalité virtuelle pour justifier la guerre impérialiste criminelle par la transmission des informations sur les «armes biologiques et chimiques de Saddam.»

- **Moyens de formation de développements.** Malgré la concurrence, les médias sont utilisés comme un outil dans la conception et dans la promotion de stratégies capitalistes pour traiter les questions sur la maintenance du pouvoir capitaliste. Les thèmes centrales de tous les médias sont les mêmes, tandis que l'approche et l'argument central est commun. C'est très évident pendant les guerres impérialistes, pendant les périodes que le mouvement populaire est en hausse, mais et aussi maintenant dans les conditions de la crise capitaliste. Un exemple représentant sur le rôle des PME est de l'attitude réactionnaire des médias contre le gouvernement Chavez, qui a commencé bien avant avril 2002 lorsque quatre stations de télévision privées ont activement aidé et encouragé le coup d'Etat militaire contre le gouvernement.
- **Moyens de terrorisme du peuple** et de diffamation de l'histoire des luttes modernes et historiques du peuple. Les démonstrations sont présentées comme une perturbation. L'objectif et de se concentrer pour passer à l'activation de l'automatisation sociale, la logique d'entreprise, le tour d'une partie de travailleurs contre l'autre.
- **Moyens qui créent une réalité virtuelle.** Ils cachent la nature d'exploitation du capitalisme, les causes des problèmes sociaux, le processus militants, les procédures et le mouvement syndical, les véritables préoccupations que face à chaque jour une famille de travailleurs, ils éduquent la classe ouvrière et ses enfants avec les valeurs de bourgeoisie, l'individualisme, la solution facile, la participation passive ou active dans une classe de professions inoffensifs ou moyen, l'asservissement, les drogues, la sous-culture, l'anticommunisme, la misogynie, le racisme ou la cosmopolitisme en fonction de ce qui convient à chaque fois que la bourgeoisie.
- Moyens de publicité et de la promotion des produits du capitalisme. Avec les campagnes publicitaires coûteuses les entreprises capitalistes promettent leurs produits pour augmenter les ventes, augmenter la rentabilité. Pour réaliser la vente de leurs produits sont contraints à former une perception déformée des employés de ce que leurs

besoins réels. En essayant de les convaincre que leurs besoins réels ne sont pas un emploi stable, des salaires décents, garantie de logement, l'éducation, du temps de qualité gratuite, etc., mais voiture de luxe, chalet de luxe remporté par la voie facile de jeux et paris. En utilisant les annonces affectent les valeurs de la classe ouvrière, ils cultivent la morale de la bourgeoisie.

## **LES TRAVAILLEURS DANS LES MÉDIAS COMME PERSONNEL DE LA BOURGEOISIE**

Dual est le rôle des travailleurs dans les entreprises des Medias. Malgré qu'ils soient de travailleurs dans entreprises capitalistes, ils sont naturellement les défenseurs de la puissance capitaliste contre leurs intérêts réels qui sont les intérêts de la classe ouvrière.

Un peu d'une consiste l'aristocratie ouvrière, il est une partie de la classe ouvrière achetée. Il vit avec un salaire élevé, est inscrite dans les "payroll" de parties. Il est en communication constante avec les gouvernements. Il a consciemment un rôle actif dans la propagation de l'idéologie dominante.

Le plus gros morceau concerne les gens qui travaillent dur, souvent dans des conditions difficiles, au péril de leur vie.

Sous la pression du licenciement, le terrorisme, la direction du milieu dans lequel ils travaillent, la censure et le rôle du syndicat compromis sur le secteur des medias, les travailleurs sont contraints, consciemment ou inconsciemment servir de siège de la classe dirigeant, l'idéologie et la morale de la société dominante.

Les conditions de travail et les droits des travailleurs sont affectés par:

- La centralisation des médias dans moins de mains des capitalistes.
- La crise capitaliste internationale qui provoque la destruction des forces productives (chômage, fermetures, etc.)
- Le développement des moyens technologiques et le passage à l'information en ligne pour être mis en 'uvre au détriment du temps de travail, les relations de travail, les salaires et les conditions de travail. La tentative d'abolition totale de conventions collectives de travail et la mise en œuvre des contrats de travail individuels
- La commercialisation des nouvelles, la vente des mots, de l'image ou du son qui concerne les politiques actuelles, les développements sociaux et l'autres, la réalité et la douleur souvent rencontrées par des pays entiers qui ont subi des catastrophes, la guerre, la mort, la misère.
- L'abolition de compétences et la concentration du travail dans d'autres disciplines.

Les syndicats de travailleurs dans le secteur des médias devraient jouer un rôle important dans l'organisation de la lutte des travailleurs pour leurs demandes et apporter une contribution significative à façonner les attitudes correspondant au contenu des travailleurs.

Les travailleurs dans les médias ont à résister à la forte pression des propriétaires de pression sur eux pour devenir des instruments de la propagande bourgeoise, à verser venin contre les revendications du peuple de travail, à désorienter.

La force est dans l'unité avec le mouvement ouvrier. Les travailleurs dans les médias devraient se lever et de divulguer toute façon la barbarie du capitalisme.

La FSM peut et doit jouer un rôle de coordination dans cette lutte au niveau international. Les syndicats des travailleurs dans les médias jouent un rôle dans la propagation des positions et des actions du mouvement syndical de classe, pour aider avec l'expertise et l'expérience professionnelle les syndicats dans tous les secteurs pour faire entendre leur voix et le contact direct avec une plus grande partie de la population. L'information, l'échange d'expériences, l'entraide et la solidarité entre les travailleurs peuvent contribuer à créer l'alliance des masses populaires dans leur lutte commune contre la barbarie du capitalisme.

Pour ces raisons, la FSM pourrait créer TUI médias.

## **LA POSITION DES TRAVAILLEURS ET LES BESOINS DES MODERNES**

A l'époque de la surcharge d'information, tous les employés devraient être capables de formuler le critère qui leur donne la possibilité de filtrer les informations qu'ils reçoivent pour distinguer la perspective de classe idéologique duquel apparaissent, d'utiliser cette information pour tirer des conclusions sur ce rapport à la classe et leurs intérêts. Ce critère est cultivé par une participation dans le mouvement ouvrier, l'expérience de course, la connaissance et le contact avec l'histoire du mouvement syndical international et la révélation du véritable rôle des médias.

Les employés doivent être conscients que le pluralisme de l'information et de points de vue présentés par les médias ne considère pas la classe et les différentes approches qui existent dans tous les domaines. Il n'implique pas de présentation des positions des intérêts des travailleurs.

Les médias qui appartiennent à capitalistes sont toujours contre la classe

ouvrière, contre quoi que ce soit progressive et radicale. Les médias de capitalistes défendront toujours la puissance de leurs propriétaires, même dans le jeu de la concurrence sont obligés de défendre l'un ou l'autre position, un ou l'autre gouvernement. Même si parfois sous la pression de l'acteur populaire sont forcés à présenter manquantes ou déformées les positions des syndicats de classe.

La classe ouvrière a ses propres intérêts en conflit avec les intérêts bourgeois. Elle a ses propres soucis qui sont incompatibles avec les soucis de la bourgeoisie. Il a sa propre vérité n'est pas conforme à la vérité des exploiteurs. Pour cela doit avoir ses propres médias.

Media jouera le rôle de «*propagandiste collectif et d'agitateur collectif; il est aussi un organisateur collectif*» (...) qui peut être comparé avec *comparer à «l'échafaudage dressé autour d'un bâtiment on construction; il ébauche les contours de l'édifice, facilite les communications entre les différents constructeurs, à qui il permet de répartir la tâche et d'embrasser l'ensemble des résultats obtenus par le travail organisé»* (B.I. Lénine «Par où commencer», Travaux Vol.5 p. 9.11).

La publication et la diffusion des traitements qui font les syndicats est un enjeu essentiel dans la fermentation de ces positions, la mobilisation de forces, la coordination de la lutte et l'illumination de la classe ouvrière en réponse à la propagande de la bourgeoisie.

La Fédération Syndicale Mondiale en consolidant la reconstruction et la montée pour l'intérêt du prolétariat mondial, devrait contribuer plus fortement à cette tâche.

Il doit multiplier ses publications et améliorer leur contenu. Ce contenu portera sur les développements internationaux, les problèmes auxquels sont confrontés tous les pays, mettant en évidence les activités des organisations membres, de coordonner leurs actions pour faciliter l'expression de la solidarité internationale, d'éclairer et de promouvoir l'histoire de la course mouvement syndical international. Pour être en mesure de donner l'étape encore plus dans un dialogue ouvert entre les syndicats sur toutes les questions relatives aux employés.

La nouvelle version du magazine «Reflects» qui est une continuation des efforts précédents doit être poursuivie, renforcée et enrichie avec l'aide des bureaux régionaux, des TUI's, des organisations membres.

Le site Web de la FSM doit être renouvelé et élargi pour répondre aux besoins de la vie moderne pour la conduite du jeu syndical. Il faudra faire notre expérience qu'avec photos, vidéos et messages audio nos thèses et notre action doit être en place pour les travailleurs les plus reculées de rester en tant que documents historiques pour une utilisation dans l'avenir.

Il est important de continuer l'effort entrepris avec les Séminaires Syndicaux sur le rôle des Medias et l'aide des organisations à créer

leurs propres instruments avec des moyens modernes et performants. La FSM peut créer son propre radio en ligne qui sera diffusé dans le monde et deviendra la voix de la classe ouvrière mondiale. Ce radio présentera les théses, les activités et les questions qui sont ouvertes par les organisations membres et amis. Le 16ème Congrès Syndical Mondial sera ouverte, démocratique, combatif, un Congrès de classe qui renforcera la FSM à tous les niveaux au profit de la lutte contre l'impérialisme et l'exploitation. Dans cette lutte doit utiliser tous les moyens disponibles.







**16<sup>th</sup> World Trade Union Congress  
6-10 April 2011**

## **NEWS MEDIA AND WORKING CLASS**

Swadesh Dev Roye,  
Secretary in-charge, International Affairs  
Centre of Indian Trade Unions (CITU)



In 'The German Ideology', Marx and Engels wrote, "The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e., the class which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal has control at the same time over the means of mental production . . ."

## INTRODUCTION

Media is defined as all those medium of communications which reach masses of people and further enabling communication between people. "From this definition we can outline the main types of mass media: newspapers, television, radio and cinema, amusement parks... and the latest addition of internet which is reaching an increasingly mass audience."

However, in the present paper we shall focus on the news media i.e., newspaper and television. Of course it is necessary to note that a concept of 'new news' said to have come into being which "works via email, text-messaging, multimedia story-telling, web-logging, consumer magazines, 'popular' music and host of other media yet to be invented"

Of late the trade union movement and for that matter major left politics is given little bit of space in the media. And with this development a wrong impression has gripped a section the leadership of left and democratic movement including amongst the trade union leadership construing that media has changed characteristically. In fact in the current dispensation illusion about media has spread amongst different sections of the rank and file of our movement. Such erroneous understanding emanates from lack of clear understanding about the ownership profile and class character of the media and the role media plays in the class divided capitalist society.

In our pursuit for 'TV News Channel Bite' we must not turn blind eye to the stark reality that the coverage extended to the working class matters by media is not with any honesty of purpose but with the evil intention to paint a negative picture about the struggles of working class and creating bitterness amongst the general public against the left and progressive trade union movement.

## BOURGEOIS MEDIA TOOL OF CAPITALIST CLASS

With ownership of media with large private corporate, it is indeed effectively controlled by the capitalist class. It is, therefore, obvious that

pro-capital bias has been always in full play in media in capitalist society. Capitalist class uses the media to impose its values and ideas on society. Media is designed and developed to conform to the political and commercial requirements of the media owners and the owning class. Every day, the media tells us that capitalism is the only realistic choice, that government must reduce services for the poor in order to cut taxes on the rich, that workers must be denied rights so that the economy can grow.

However it is important to note that, media play the pro-capital role under pro-people mask. In the bourgeois democracy media is called the 'neutral watchdog of democracy'. In order to achieve accolade of people in general, media also masquerade as anti-establishment. However in the final analysis, capitalist media, to the toiling people, is glittering in form and poisonous in content.

All through the days of neo-liberal economic onslaught the media has been in service of the capitalist class in its campaign that finance capital driven imperialist globalization has no alternative. On the other hand all opposition to the policy of liberalization, globalization and privatization by the working class has not only been denied honest coverage by the media, on the contrary it has been active in creating hostility among the people in general against the working class for opposing the disastrous policies.

## **CORPORATE CAPTIVE MEDIA**

Corporate control of the media and culture industry has been fuelling the rise of consumer culture. This is what has been termed as "media-corporation-consumption nexus. Pro-capital media is also considered as a significant vehicle of legitimizing unjust production relations under capitalist production system.

With the domination of monopoly capital under neo-liberal globalization the media industry also has been coming under the clutch of monopoly business. Since the mid-1980s, the 50 biggest media corporations in USA have been merged into around nine or ten monopoly entities. These firms dominate the US media system. An observation on US media system is interesting to note, "*The media system is, in short, an anti-democratic force. But that should not surprise us. The media system in the United States does not exist to serve democracy; it exists to generate maximum profit to the small number of very large firms and billionaire investors.*" (FAIR)

In Britain five big media companies dominantly control the media

industry. The concentration of ownership in the mass media can be traced from the fact that these companies control 71% of daily newspaper circulation and 74% electronic media. The company with the largest share is News International which is controlled by Rupert Murdoch. In the year 1989 Murdoch had a 35% share of total circulation, owning top selling newspapers. And same is the picture in other leading capitalist countries.

Some of the monopoly companies in media business in world are Time Warner, Walt Disney, Viacom, News Corporation, Sony, TCI/AT&T and General Electric, USA, News International, England, Bertelsmann, Germany, Vivendi Universal, France. Among the media moguls are Michael Eisner, USA, Rupert Murdoch, Australian-American and Silvio Berlusconi, the 'famous' Prime Minister of Italy. Interestingly one of the world's media mogul, Berlusconi (the current Prime Minister of Italy) owns the holding company Fininvest which has controlling stakes in film production, publishing and television networks. He owns the three largest TV channels in Italy. In fact over 95 per cent TV media in the country he exercises his authority.

## MEDIA WORKERS DENIED FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

Journalists under neo-liberalism have been stripped off even the minimum freedom of expression expected under the ethics of journalism even in bourgeois democratic rule. Journalists today have no or near no right to express freely compared to the situation prior to the advent of neo-liberalism. Journalistic professionalism has been given a goodbye. It has been converted to conform to the neo-liberal political and commercial requirements of the media owners in particular and the capitalist class in general. Corporate and rightists bias has taken the centre stage in journalism.

Journalism today has become the victim of commercial and government encroachment obliged to serve for the interests of the owners who have the politics of the owning class. They (journalists) hardly have autonomy to decide what is and what is not news and how it should be covered. According to an observation, "*journalists have much less power and that they are largely the unwitting pawns of forces that make them the agents of the status quo.*" (Monthly Review, volume 55) Again, according to the Australian journalist John Pilger, known as a follower of Noam Chomsky, "*most journalists have become either puppets of tough proprietor like Rupert Murdoch or lazy and largely passive victims of public relations experts.*" (Ian Hargreaves).

Murder of journalists has been increasing day by day. And it does not require a war for journalists to die. According to the Committee to Protect Journalists, the murders take place in reprisal for reporting on sensitive topics including official crimes and corruption.

It is very important to note that the plight of journalists all over the world is extremely vulnerable. In the media controlled by the ruling class and business tycoons, journalist themselves are always in firing line and are victims to crude exploitation. Shockingly not only recruitment of journalists on regular basis has been stopped, contractual system of employment has been imposed on journalists who have been working for many years on regular basis under threat of retrenchment in the wake of current capitalist economic crisis. Regarding the poor service conditions of journalists, a study report has noted that, "it did not make sense to give away too much about employment conditions because wage boards and trade unions might use it."

Media workers are not spared of the onslaught of the current economic crisis. "Many corporate-owned media houses have sacked hundreds of journalists and non-journalists staff since late 2008. Hundreds of other journalists have suffered wage cuts. Of course, the 'right to know' of readers and viewers does not extend to this information. Why scare the poor lambs? And how can you tell that the truth about the once-again booming economy? It might lead audiences to ask that dull, boring question: 'If things are so good, why are you axing so many people'... Hundreds of sacked and ruined staff has little freedom to speak of. Even the professional communicators within media cannot tell their audiences their own story. Cannot tell them they were laid off, let alone tell them why." (Dr. Sainath, Rural Editor, the Indian News Paper: The Hindu 18.02.2010)

### **GRIP OF ADVERTISEMENT REVENUE IN MEDIA**

*"Advertisers' choices influence media prosperity and survival."* (Noam Chomsky). However, it is very important to understand that market under the current phase of neo-liberal globalization is deeply dependent on advertising. Economic marginalization of people has become a constant phenomenon and stagnation of economy and consequent cut throat competition has become regular feature of capitalist market. In the situation advertising has become an instrument to push products and services. Market driven liberalisation under imperialist globalization, advertising has become increasingly essential for advanced capitalism to accelerate the circulation

of goods, differentiate essentially similar products and create brands and raise barriers to entry to the market or marginalise competitors with smaller advertising budgets. Of course on top of all media is utilized in creating debt-based hyper consumerism, particularly amongst the middle class.

It has been argued that "*there is a strong link between the growth of advertising expenditure, media corporate convergence, the consolidation and convergence of advertising companies and pressure on government to liberalise the broadcast media.*" Studies have revealed that privatization of electronic media has abnormally pushed up the advertising space in TV programs. Immediately following the invasion of electronic media by the private sector, time on account 'commercial break' had gone up from 18 minutes per day to 12 minutes per hour. Governments of different countries were obliged to do away with regulation on space for commercial breaks in TV programs. Of course the current scenario is far worst.

With mind-boggling developments in communication and information technology media business has undergone a huge shift from labour intensive to capital intensive. The feature of the changed situation has been articulated thus: "*There was a working class public sphere fostered by the early nineteenth-century print media. At that time radical papers could cover their production costs by the cover price alone once they achieved a certain circulation figure. However, with the rising cost of new technology, raw materials and distribution, the media industry became more reliant on advertising.*"

It is this feature which has brought media all the more under the evil influence of advertising industry. The preferences of advertisers to spend their money on media advertisement with a more socially mixed readership that focused the affluent middle class has made media reliant on the likes and dislikes of the advertisers. Taking advantage of the dangerous dependence of media on advertisement revenue, advertisers have been shaping the media content in order to meet their commercial requirement. Media are compelled to conform to the commercial interest of the business class, including extending support to class exploitation and malicious propagation against the working class particularly denouncing the struggles of the working class both on national cause and economic issues.

The Indian situation has been well captured in a recent speech delivered by Hamid Ansari Vice President of India: Winds of economic liberalization brought with them the elements of the market economy that have changed the DNA of our media organizations, Today's media has been converted into large business entities. A scrutiny of the ownership of media industry in the country will clearly reveal that it has become the branch of big business houses with pursuit of profit. Commercial success of media has become a

function of advertising revenue rather than subscription and circulation figures. Higher circulation does not aim broader readership but attracting bigger advertisement pie. The advertisers have thus replaced recipients of media products. Today a media enterprise is seen as a necessary subsidiary for a growing business enterprise, a political party and even individuals seeking to leverage public influence for private gain. No space is given in media for the concerns of the marginalized, the dispossessed and the vulnerable.

In order to augment the advertisement revenue, TV channels have started heavily depending on cinema in India. From sheer telecasting a film, there has been a sudden surge in demand for television rights of latest releases from Bollywood. The rating of the TV channels is measured in terms of TRP (Television Rating Points) and GRP (Gross Rating Points). TRP indicate the percentage of viewers watching a programme at a given time. GRP are the total of TRPs over a period of time. Now according to survey reports, there have been many points jump of TRP and GRP of the channels during the television screening of latest release of Bollywood films. This in turn increases the advertisement market of the respective channels. The ad rates of some films fetched upto Rs.2.00 lakhs for ten seconds.

In India investment in all kinds of media has gone up stupendously. Between 1981 and 1989, it rose by five times. Between 1990 and 1996 it quintupled again. According to a study in absolute terms the amount spent for advertisement 1981 was Rs.320 crore and in 1996 it went up to Rs.4,200 crore. It goes without saying that the figures has been increasing by leaps and bounds.

## **MEDIA ETHICS AT ROCK BOTTOM**

Under the neo-liberal dispensation commercial consideration has pushed the media beyond the barest ethical decorum. Under the influence of the doctrine of 'market economy' media has become more and more a means of making money and machinery for making propaganda for the powerful classes (of course money power). Money power has killed the moral of media.

The 2009 parliamentary elections in India have brought down the morale of media to its lowest ebb. It has been aptly titled 'Money Media Nexus in

Elections 2009. Yet another elucidated expression was “opinion rigging in media is worse than ballot rigging in polling booths”. The both ways traffic was narrated thus, “In some cases it was politicians bribing the media while in some other it was the media demanding bribe.” So organized was the entire rot that marketing departments of media houses made Power Point presentations to the ‘war rooms’ of the resourcefully powerful beneficiary political parties about the entire scheme/package quoting prices. The operation module contained, “putting in place dedicated teams each day comprising political or city reporters and correspondents, sub-editors, area advertisement managers and area sales managers, to do the needful. Fifteen days’ general coverage was priced at Rupees Two million, while seven days of exclusive coverage was pegged at Rupees 2.5 million. Along with this, specially prepared four-page supplements in colour, exclusive interviews, positive views of the voters, positive editorials, ‘only positive coverage’ and ‘no negative publicity of opposition candidates or party and extra copies of the newspaper on payment basis, were on offer.” (The Hindu 19.11.09). With the TV channels, it was ‘live’ coverage, a ‘special focus,’ or even a team of the channel tracking you for hours in a day.

The influencing factor behind the shivering situation has been ascribed to the hyper-profit motive under market driven economic doctrine which has engulfed the media industry as well. The other integrally related development is the ever growing phenomenon of corporate and money power in parliamentary politics.

## DIVERSIONARY TACTICS OF MEDIA

Deliberate digression from real issue and creating dramatic sensation in society has been alarmingly increasing in media. Moreover sex and violence has been continuously occupying ever growing space in media resulting in pollution of the social environment and generating sense of perversion in people’s mind. Today the way social crimes related to sex and violence is increasing in the society, let alone playing positive role to prevent such development, the media’s role has been amounting to act of provocation. To capitalist media (‘the fourth pillar of parliamentary democracy’) shamefully sex has always been a commercial object. Ian Hargreaves in his book ‘Journalism’ wrote, “*Rupert Murdoch told staff that he wanted the Sun (newspaper) to focus upon ‘sex, sport and contests.’ One of its trade marks would be the ‘page three girl – a daily photograph of a naked woman.*” The moot point is that media diverts youth towards sex and

violence to detract them from the actual cause of their sufferings under capitalist system.

Now we must carefully draw a distinction in the diametrically different position the media adopts in covering cool blooded murder of a worker even at work place at the instance of management or in the hands of police and murder under influence of alcoholic drink in any dancing bar. Definitely every case of murder is shocking and unfortunate and must be condemned. But media go silent in case of the former and go dramatically vocal in case of latter. Covering crimes in high society carry commercial value for media (because it brings more TRPs to TV channels) but covering crimes against poor people comes in conflict with the class character of media.

## MEDIA UNDER NEO-LIBERALISM

In the era of neo-liberal 'market economy' the world of media also witnessed wide-ranging shift from state to private capital domination. The doctrine of globalization, liberalization and privatization, obviously, embraced the media right across the world with a paradigmatic shift, providing wide open avenues for extensive entry of private capital particularly in electronic media. The result has been that whatever little public orientation the media used to display has been replaced by commercial consideration directed towards 'consumer culture'.

With the process of media globalization since 1989, the central feature has been larger cross border flows of media outputs, growth of media trans-national conglomerates, centralization of media control, spread and intensification of commercialization. It has been observed that so called, "*consumer sovereignty was exalted, broadcasting was re-evaluated primarily as an industry, a commodity out of which money could be made and the key question for policy became how to ensure 'competitiveness' devoid of ethics and moral and promotion of vulgar culture (sex and violence) in the media industry.*"

Right from the days of introduction (rather imposition) of the neo-liberal economic policies driven by finance capital, media has been demonstrating their pro-capital bias by propagating the 'gospel' of imperialist globalization. TINA (there is no other alternative) 'mantra' had been preached by the media just like a tape-recorded version. Obviously the so-called 'intellectual' pen pushers of the capitalist class gorgeously occupied the print and electronic media. Over last two decades business news dominates the media. Corporate and rightist bias has made a dangerous inroad into the media systems. The affairs of Wall-Street, the pursuit of profitable investments and

the joys of capitalism are now presented as the interests of the privileged readership of the society. Journalists are obliged to rely on advocates of free-market economists as resources when covering economics stories.

Of course, the media demonstrating their class hostility denied space to the progressive Left forces, those have been carrying out relentless campaign propagating the inherent ingredients of instability of the neo-liberal policies and consequential sufferings of the people. However, the climax of the situation is that with the collapse of neo-liberal capitalist doctrine commencing from the same country (USA) from where the sermon was issued, the media did not dither in demonstrating solidarity with their class. Although the working class and the progressive Left intellectuals were vindicated, media continued to deny space to the working class.

The Indian experience in this regard is corroborative of the ideological understanding of the class bias character of the media and the imperatives of class struggles. Left led trade union raised their voice against the doctrine of neo-liberalism and fought tooth and nail the policies and steps of the successive Governments pursuing the dictates of the finance capital. Now the media solidly stood by the ruling class in silencing the voice of the working class and demolishing the opposition to anti-people and anti-national policies. Space was deployed by media in terms of pages and hours in hiding truth and distorting facts centering round the struggles of the working class in the country.

None but only the naives can deny the fact that, but for the struggles conducted by the trade union movement opposing privatization of public sector enterprises and stopping opening up of the financial sector to the Foreign Institutional Investors the disastrous impact of the financial meltdown and economic crisis on the Indian economy would have been manifold than the present scale. It is atrocious that the media then discredited and denounced our struggles, supported the Government decisions and now the credit of the fruit of our struggles is attributed to the ruling polity who surrendered to the pressure of the international finance capital and big private business houses in the country.

## BASHING OF LEFT POLITICS BY MEDIA

Media today is brazenly biased against left and democratic forces at an unprecedented scale. Class hostility of media against the Left is nakedly demonstrated in the distorted depiction of facts and formulation on

the socialist countries of China, Cuba, Vietnam, North Korea and on the Governments of Latin American countries run by the people oriented progressive pro-leftists political forces.

Apart from the historical existence of socialist Cuba, with the political development in the dominant majority of Latin American countries nervousness and intolerance of the world capitalist class is given expression and extended support by media through all unfair and foul means. "As the anti-capitalist character of the Chavez government revealed, it became starkly clear that democratic opinion was not being reflected in the established private media. Influential newspapers dropped their pretenses of varying "liberal" tendencies, and increasingly appeared to be acting from an agreed playbook ... All privately owned domestic media (not to mention the foreign press!) using their airtime and columns to denigrate Chavez government."

## **MEDIA SILENT ABOUT ATROCITIES ON TRADE UNIONS**

Trade union organizers have been facing assassinations, abductions, arrests and imprisonments as well as death threats, dismissals, harassment, acts of discrimination and intimidation all over the world. "A US\$ 4 billion union-busting industry exists in the United States to defeat union organizing drives through coercion and intimidation."

According to a report 115 trade union organizers were murdered, while around 1600 were subjected to violent assaults, 1700 were detained in jail and some 9,000 arrested. Nearly 10,000 workers were sacked from services for trade union activities during the year 2007. The conspicuous silence of news media on such onslaught on trade unions is clear proof of anti-worker character of media.

In India also the working class has been facing such onslaughts in a big scale. Union busting has been organized through victimization and intimidations including dismissal from services by managements. Violence and atrocities including murders have been taking place at the instance of management. But these are not reported in the media. We have been reporting the incidences of attack on our trade unions in our meetings and conference documents.

On the other hand whenever any news of strike is reported by media, it focuses on how the members of the public have been put into distress due

to the strike or the loss of production or financial loss to exchequer and of the kind. But it never reports about the reason for which the strike is launched. It does not say anything about high-handedness of employers against the employees by refusing to sit for negotiations or arriving at a reasonable settlement on the issues involved in the strike. Media has nothing to say about the vindictive steps by management and governments to terrorize the striking employees.

## **FOCAL POINTS FOR COMPREHENSION**

Major developments in the world of media and task before the working class movement on media front must be centering round the following focal points:

- 1) Revolution in Communication Technology**
- 2) Gigantic reach of media to people at every nook and corner of the world**
- 3) Ideological exposure of the role of media propagating the cause of capitalist system and capitalist ethos of selfishness and consumerism**
- 4) Alternate modern media network for the cause of working class**
- 5) Revolutionize People to People Contact**
- 6) Improvement of quality and increasing circulation of our journals**

Information technology has been witnessing revolutionary developments. Different modes of ultra modern communication has been witnessing multitude of growth. Today it is digital era of electronic news media based around the internet and other broadband communications technologies with 'World Wide Web' and again a fusion of economic liberalization and globalization.

Now utilizing this gigantic technological advancement media network has been expanding in leaps and bound and reaching vast population of the world through various means of medium.

The pro-capital media has been propagating the message of capitalism and either no message or distorted message of the working class. Our working class movement cannot remain silent spectator to this onslaught of the pro-capital media.

Advantage of communication technology must not be allowed to continue permanently as the domain of the capitalist class. Alternative modern media network by working class movement should come in our agenda. Creating alternative media system is not easy. It needs sustained effort, funding and aptitude. But it cannot be denied the real solution of the problem lie in ultimate development of people oriented media to counter the anti-people capital controlled media. Such steps are initiated in different parts of the world and some of the Latin American attempts should serve as models to us.

However, in a class divided capitalist society with ownership of all means of production with the capitalist class and capitalist production relations in operation, in the matter of access to the products of STR (scientific and technological revolution) the working class will continue to suffer from deprivation. This challenge must be met with aggressive intensification of our mass contact campaign to counter the damage inflicted by the bourgeois media.

Our people to people preaching must be in reiteration to our ideological understanding that the superiority of human resources cannot be superseded by technology. It is certain that if we conduct our man to man campaign with utmost sincerity and efficiency with revolutionary conviction and zeal, it will go long way in countering the capitalist media onslaught.

Through our mass contact we shall have to remove the mask of the bourgeois media that it is neutral and play the role of so called fourth pillar in bourgeois democracy. The wrong belief among the rank and file workers that whatever is written in the pages of newspaper and told in television are truth and impartial reporting of fact must be eliminated. In short the working class must be disillusioned about role of media. They must be educated about the real face and actual character of media.

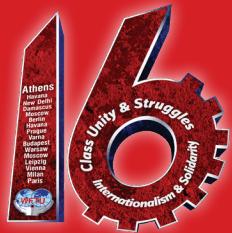
Within the working class movement a mindset has developed that if any of our programme of mass mobilization is covered by media, (particularly by TV news channels) then it is considered to have been a successful one. This is an erroneous understanding and must be eliminated. Success or failure of struggles launched by the working class from time to time must not be judged on the basis of the coverage in capitalist media. We should

not have any illusion that capitalist media will give positive coverage to trade union activities.

In conclusion we would like to focus upon the most vital point that working class must be awakened and mobilized behind the ideological understanding that as in the struggle for revolutionary social transformation social super structure has got a role, therefore countering capitalist media must be comprehended in that perspective. At the same time combating the all round offensive by the bourgeois media under neo-liberal order requires battle on all fronts and not merely a trade union issue. It is a political battle in economic, social, cultural fronts. And as vanguard, the working class must prepare to play the lead role. In his write-up, 'Journalism, Democracy and Class Struggle' Robert W McChesney has noted, "capitalist media reform is part of our broader struggles for democracy. It is impossible to conceive of a better world with a media under the ... thumb of the capitalist class."







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