ABSTRACT
        Some of the major problems of the emerging African
nations are examined in this paper. An attempt is made to define the
role communication can play in helping to solve these problems and to
lead these nations toward the goals of national integration and
political development. A 25-item bibliography is included in the
document. (TO)

COMMUNICATION AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT
IN THE
EMERGING AFRICAN COUNTRIES

by

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A Paper Presented at the International
Communication Seminars in
Sali, Yugoslavia
June 30, 1972

Communication and Political Development in the

Emerging African Countries

Before getting into the development of the above

theme, it is necessary for me to state what I think communi-

cation, and political development mean and why I use the

adjective "emerging" to modify African countries. This is

necessary because I have found out that ~~many~~ people under-

stand communication to mean various things, and see this

essential human process as "something" rather than a unique

process.

Communication is not something someone does to

somebody. It is not something somebody does with someone;

nor is it exactly the talking to or with somebody. Rather

communication should be perceived and/or realized as what

people take into account and are susceptible to$_\wedge$ the way
                                                  and

they take these things into account and become susceptible

to them. It becomes a mass concept when a group or an

epistemic community, or say society takes something into

account towards a concerted goal. As Thayer puts it:

> Communication may...be conceived of as the dynamic
> process underlying the existence, growth, change
> the behavior of all living systems--the individual
> or organization. [It] can be understood as that
> indispensable function of people and organizations
> through which the organization or organism relates
> to its environment, and relates its parts and its
> internal processes one to another.[1]

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[1]Thayer, <u>Communication and Communication System</u> p.17.
  Homewood, Illinois,

The basis of a genuine communication process is the ability of individuals to talk to themselves. Communication involves the sum total of our recognition of our reality process, whether these be conceptual, perceptual and/or interactional. Through this process, men construe and co struct their own world, fix the boundaries of their ever e olving realities and perceive them as such or not. It is in this light that communication becomes a mass concept although the concept of "mass" in communication is, in my own opinion, always erroneously placed on the media only, rather than include the people using the media. The mass in communication largely refers to the individuals involving themselves in the process and using the media they have made available to themselves as some physical tangibles for the visible articulation of an otherwise invisible but primary process of human existence and interaction.

Communication, if envisaged as enunciated above, and in its broadest term, is not everything. We feel nothing, say nothing, do nothing that we have not taken-into-account and become susceptible to. Life for all men is a world of their own constructs--their take-into-accountabilities and susceptibilities.[2] Therefore within our communicational limits, we construe and construct our real world, we make

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[2]Thayer uses these phrases in his book _Communication and Communication System._

and/or create our perceptual and conceptual realities and ideals. Politics is one of our construed and constructed ideals.

The concept of political development cannot therefore be looked upon as one existing on its own outside the world of communication. Political development, in my own opinion, is a development within an epistemic community (in this case nations of Africa) of a sense of national take-into-accountabilities and susceptibilities that will put the interest of all the individuals in the community, and the community itself as a supra-epistemic body, above everything else politically and above the interest of other existing epistemic units or communities outside it.

To further explain what political development is, it is necessary to say what it is not. Political development is not the adoption or creation of an ideology. It is not the election of politicians to the houses of representatives, assemblies and to the Senates. It is not the election campaigns and the expenditure of money involved in this process of exercising the so called concept of parliamentary democracy. Political development does not even mean political independence since a nation may achieve the popularly known status of political independence without being politically developed. Nor does political development mean the recognition of a country by other countries, or its admission thereof into the United Nations. Rather, the concept of political

development may include all of the above and more.

Political development involves the fashioning out and practice in the exercise of politics towards the goals of national integration, economic and social well-being of a nation and all its people. It includes the abilities and capabilities of a nation to develop its resources and tap those available without over-reliance on the technical know-how of others for too long a time. It is, broadly speaking, the ability of a nation to manage its own affairs with a maximum amount of internal cohesion and external balance. Within this frame work of political development, most, if not all African countries are in fact, hard put to make. It is in this light that I describe these African countries as emerging. Most of them have seen the handwriting on the walls and are emerging from the umbra of internal and international political development to its penumbraic region. This emergence is fraught with problems that are unique to these African nations. Problems that were not experienced by most other nations of the world during their comparable period of emergence. We may then examine some of these problems, at least some of the major ones, and try to define what role communication can play in helping solve these problems, and helping lead these nations towards the goals of national integration and political development.

Slavery vs. Humanism

One of the basic problems of communication and
political development in Africa is the existence, within
the experiential social fabric of these nations, of two
antagonistic concepts and practices--slavery and humanism.
It may be impossible for people to see the relationship
between slavery and communication, but if my defination of
communication as what people take-into-account and are
susceptible to is borne in mind . then some reasonable
relationship may be seen. Africa was the home of most
slaves. It still is. Africans were not only sold out into
slavery outside their own homes but were and are in some
instances still enslaved in their own homes. Slave labor
which could actually be called human exploitation was the
basic fuel that led to the industrial and subsequent techno-
logical revolutions. Thus in the Americas, West Indies, and
many parts of Western Europe, African slaves were the
initial bull-dozers, catapillars, and tractors. They were,
to the present humanistically outspoken Europeans, the beasts
of burden, tools to be used that were used. It was not
until Africans were utmostly exploited to their limits of
human physical and mental abilities and used to exhaustion,
the products of their labor adequately accumulated as wealth
that could stimulate and did stiumulate new capital and new
wealth for their masters, that conditions in those countries

were ripe enough for industrial and mercantile revolutions.
The African slaves had produced, in most cases, enough goods
to meet the local demands, as well as excesses for export.
Trade became a necessary and useful product of human exploita-
tion for material built up. It also served as the founding
stone of international politics and relations. Such experiences
live with them.

The situation today in these emerging African
countries is different. These emerging or developing
African nations,as they are often called, find themselves
presently at a fix. They have been enslaved although they
are characteristically humanistic. They are also emerging
at a time when there are international conventions prohibiting
even their use of themselves to stimulate the wealth and
national development of their countries. They come into
being when industrial disputes get rewarded by increases in
remuneration instead of arbitrary execution or merciless
thrashing. What was the basic step for economic and national
development of the now developed or industrial nations of
the world must now be side stepped by these emerging African
nations as a matter of fact, human necessity,and living
reality. With regards to the economic development of these
emerging African nations, their take off stage has to be
side stepped. They cannot or are not to count one before two.
They must jump one and count two, but can they even count or
be allowed to count two? This question leads us to another

perenial problem of African political development and human
communication or human take-into-accountabilities and suscep-
tibilities.

Colonialism vs. Nationalism

Behind the heels of missionaries, slave dealers
and western European slave and commodities' traders and
explorers in and around Africa were colonialists. Some
came under various cloaks, pretences, and camouflages. One
of these was the so called missionary zeal to "christianize"
Africans in Africa. Having been succesful in "christianizing"
Africans in the various European and American continents to
be docile slaves, the zeal to "christianize" Africans in
Africa was overwhelming. So the colonialists, with the
efficient use of their agents, effectively deprived those
Africans in Africa from counting two. Slavery was replaced,
this time in these African countries, with its effective
euphemism--colonialism. Africans in Africa started
laboring and producing goods and capital for exports to the
home countries of their colonizers. The main difference
between slavery and colonialism was that in slavery, the
Africans were used to produce the goods of their masters,
for their masters; whereas in colonialism Africans were made
to produce African goods and wealth in Africa for the use,
enjoyment, and hoarding of their colonial masters and their
offspring or beneficiaries.

        In most European countries as well as in the Americas,
the production and accumulation of wealth by nationals of
these countries and their African slaves had stimulated a
strong spirit of nationalism; the need and desire to excel
other nations. There was a spirit of national interests
and competition--the development of a sense of belonging
rather than a spirit of rejection, frustration, and introver-
tism, whereas the Africans were subjected to fear and
intimidations at home and abroad, fright was all they could
talk to themselves about. Self reliance, the primary force
necessary for political development and the unique ingredient
of man talking to himself, was a matter of hope not a reality.
On the contrary European nationalism was substantive
since there was enough wealth accumulated and enough personnel
and psychological resources to stimulate strong national
consciousness and internal competition. Nationalism in their
case was not a vain struggle for a small piece of their own
pie, but was a need and desire, not only to preserve their
cherished wealth, but to increase and multiply it by
robbing Peter to pay Paul. Even in today's world, African
nationalism, on the other hand, has been and still is a
continuous fight for shallow political or even representative
power. It has been, and still is, a struggle to establish
a token base from which they may start to operate towards
national and political development--a need that has been
made belated by factors beyond their control. Most of them

have achieved this shallow base only to find out that they either cannot have an operational base for political and national development, or that the stages of devolopment in other parts of the world have made it impossible for them to operate towards their own interests and development. At this juncture people may observe that colonialism is dead or almost completely dead in Africa. Truly, colonialism may have died in most parts of Africa. However, the real fact is that it has not died. Rather, it has undergone a progressive metamorphosis to a type that may now be christened technology. Technology to me is a more domineering colonialism--an octopus that bars African political development and real national independence and integration. This is our other problem.

Technology and Political Development

Max Weber in his examination of the capitalist economic activity introduces a concept that he calls "rationality". He sees rationalization as the extension or expansion of areas of the general society within its bounds of rational decision, and the industrialization of social labor which makes available the criteria of instrumental action for the penetration of other areas such as urbanization, technification of transport and communication, etc. Thus we can say that "the progressive 'rationalization' of society is linked to the institutionalization of scientific and technical development. To the extent that technology and science permeate social institutions and thus transform them, old legiti-

mizations are destroyed."[3] How can old legitimizations be destroyed at this stage in the emerging African countries which probably have had no chance to step on the first rung of the ladder that may take them two flights further to this stage of techonological development? This question can even be made un-necessary if one accepts the fact that technification of a social system even within the confines of a purposive rational-action has its profound political weight and substance which are aimed at institutionalizing domination.

Thus these African nations find themselves almost perpetually dominated. They are moving, one may say with some acceptable degree of exaggeration, from a political frying pan into a political fire. Technology, or lack of technology in these emerging African countries, keeps them in a position either as bad as that of the pre-colonial or colonial times, or even worse.

> Today domination perpetuates and extends itself
> not only through technology but as technology, and
> the latter provides the great legitimation of the
> expanding political power, which absorbs all spheres
> of culture...Technological rationality thus protects
> rather than cancels the legitimacy of domination...[4]

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[3]Jungen Habernas, Towards A Rational Society, Beacon Press, Boston, 1968, p. 81.

[4]Ibid.

Where do we go from here, especially if the so called organs of mass communication are also technological realities? Whereas the prupose of this paper is not to paint a picture of an inescapable trap that these emerging African countries have found themselves in, it is however meant to emphasize the fact that the only way these African countries can get out of the trap is to recognize the existence of these realities, take them into account, and become susceptible to them enough) to act on them and reassess their approaches and priorities towards political and national development. I would also hope that the consciences of the now developed or technologically saturated superpowers will be aroused to help rather than further enslave these so called underdeveloped or developing nations.

Some people have suggested that these developing countries of Africa and those of the so called third world, jump at once to a stage of communication technology that is operating in the so called developed nations today. One may ask, for whose good? Have the minds of men in these emerging countries been adequately prepared to stand such a jump? Can there be a succesful technological advancement if there has not been a basic psychological, mental, as well as social advancements? Can communication be facilitated without an obsession for a technological catch up and its inevitable back-lash of a more dominant subjugation or enslavement? My suggestion is that   these emerging African countries are

in the business of developing political and communication

realities for the utmost good of most of their citizenry, and

if such communication realities are to enhance national

integration, then the zest to catch up with the rest of the

world in luxurious consumer technology should come secondarily

to the zest to catch up with themselves in the development

of life sustaining and enriching technologies, as well as

technology for national cohesion and political unity and

maturity. Technology for building good roads, ensuring quick

and safe transportation of goods and services amongst the

citizenry may be more necessary than military technology

and sophisticated and exhorbitant investment in satellite

communication for intercontinental or international use,

while people within these countries find it impossible to

talk to each other within short reasonable distances or

travel safely along comparatively short distances. National-

ism should lead to internationalism and not the reverse.

One of the major problems of these emerging

African countries is that they spend just all of their

left over economic resources in purchasing at unreasonable

rates, technological goods that they least need at this

stage at their emergence, from their detractors, to their

continous economic, social, and political detriment. The

rich get richer. The poor continue to be poorer even when

what made the rich richer came originally from, and to some

extent still comes from the poor. (Eg. the development of the

U.S. space and other communication and technological

development would not have been entirely possible without

the copper from the Union Mines of the Congo, the same

copper that led to the civil war in Congo and the death

of its nationalist leader--Patrice Lumumba). It would not be

unreasonable to say that advancement and/or development

should not mean a crazy craving for technology. This may

adversely affect the structural set up of these countries.

Communication that lends itself to useful political develop-

ment and national integration would articulate this fact.

Such a communication feat must make people aware of the

fact, that

> what characterizes the passage from traditional
> society to society commencing the process of
> modernization in NOT that structural modification
> of the institutional frame-work is necessitated
> under the pressure of relatively developed produc-
> tive forces, for that is the mechanism of evolution
> of the species from the very beginning. What is
> new is a level of development of the productive
> forces that makes permanent the extension of
> subsystems of purposive-rational action and
> thereby calls into question the traditional form
> of the legitimation of power.... Thus on the base
> of market economy political domination can be
> legitimated henceforth 'from below' rather than
> 'from above' (through the invocation of cultural
> tradition.)[5]

Religious Malnutrition

Another problem of communication in the development

of politics in the emerging African nations is the residual

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[5]_Ibid._, p. 96-97.

but influential effect of what I choose to call religious
malnutrition. Religion has a very influential effect and/or
impact in the political development of any and all nations.
History vindicates this fact. The capitalist political
ideology of the United States and of many Western European
countries has its roots in Puritanism. Orthodoxy has
influenced the political concepts and practices of the
Russians and Greeks. Hinduism and Islam have influenced
the political concepts and practices of the Indians and
Asian countries. Confucianism finds expression in Maoism,
or what you may want to call the Chinese brand of Communism.

Within the African nations or in the African conti-
nent, the setting is different. Not only were most if not
all of the African countries colonized through the instru-
ment of Christianity, but these Africans were also coerced
out of their religious beliefs. They were taught to accept
"an inferior position that was designed for them by God."
Morevoer, multiplicity of religious beliefs owing allegiance
to foreign potentates set in to displace African totemism
or spiritual animism. Elements of society subscribing to
these foreign religious beliefs put their allegiance to
those religious authorities over that of their religion
and hence put their responsibilities to themselves and their
nations least over those of the foreign powers. Religion
therefore has had and in some cases still has a great
fragmentary effect on the political life of most African nations.

These various religious bodies created more problems
in Africa with their teachings. Not only was submission to
God and His agents on earth--the missionaries,-an ideal and
an enforced religious belief, it was made, too well, a
Christian practice. Christianizing the Africans meant
rigorously subjugating them. Good Christians were those
who accepted without questioning, and who proselytized with
equal zeal, the teachings of the missionaries, by subverting
their nations and fellow nationals.

For a communication situation to exist that will
enhance political development, citizens and leaders of these
emerging African nations must learn ~~presently~~ soon to separate
religion from politics. They must unlearn the politics of
religious fanaticism and practice that of political pragma-
tism. They must appreciate the fact that some traditions
need to exist and persist if values that lead to cohesion
are to be developed and propagated. These malnurished
Africans must be fed, through the instrument of effective
and realistic communication, with a new type of religious
and political menu that emphasizes sovereignty and pride,
service instead of serfdom, humility instead of indignity.
All forms of ideological ~~alienism~~ Concepts e.g. herrenvolk egali-
tarianism, must give way to a new concept and practice of
Africanism.

There are other problems of communication and
political development in the emerging African countries

which are not uncommon to many other countries of the world.

Such problems which include literacy, languages, urbaniza-
tion, and poverty have been covered by such eminent

scholars as William Hachten, Lerner, Schramm, and many others.

These problems could be more easily solved should the

complexes posed by the above mentioned perennial problems

be removed or cleared. For instance, illiteracy in many

African countries involves inabilities by the so called

illiterates to read and write foreign languages--English,

French, Spanish, and Portuguese, because of a multiplicity

of the languages spoken in many African countries. Many

Africans can read their own native languages and there is

no reason why communicators, who are genuinely interested

in the political development of their own countries, cannot

first try to reach the populace at their own level of

communicational competence and through such a medium attempt

to bring them up to higher and more perceptive levels.

Although there is a great need to improve literacy we must

not loose sight of a basic communication fact that people

are motivated to learn if they satisfy a basic need through

learning. Improvement of the literacy rate may best begin

with the ~~improvement~~ achievement of the basic needs of these people.

     As previously mentioned, many African countries,

if not all, have a multiplicity of languages and dialects.

These languages and dialects present basic communication

and/or political problems. These however can be solved.

It is interesting to note that some of the developed
countries of the world, (as they are called) like Russia,
also have multilingual groups, but these do not seem to
impede their political development. These languages not
withstanding, as a matter of fact, these nations have
established communication and technological feats as well
as political cohesiveness that have broken language barriers
and enhanced national integration. If the African nations
attempt to and do present their multilingual citizens with
some basic and popularly identifiable concept and an
operational and useful political reality, language may no
longer pose divisional and/or communicational problems.

Urbanization may be the other important problem
of these emerging African nations. The Urban regions of
many African countries, following the examples of the
colonial setting, have continued to serve as political,
communicational, and administrative as well as the industrial
life stations, or nerve wires, of these countries. This has
led to the concentration of the intelligentsia mostly in the
urban area, and to what I call the rural brain and man-power
drain. It has also restricted the consumption of information
by those in the rural areas that habitate a large population
of the politically viable villagers. What these emerging
nations of Africa need may not, (in this case, be) increased
urbanization, especially when the technological know-how
and the economic cost needed to carry out such an expensive

program may not be easily available. Probably, de-emphasizing
the city and recreating a lively, progressive, communicable
and accessible village setting may provide some solution.
It may also prevent these emerging nations from falling into
the same problematic situation that may cost the so-called
developed nations a handsome amount of money to clear up,
viz: pollution. Rural electrification, rural housing
projects, rural telecommunication, rural road construction,
rural learning and communication centers, rural water supply
and sewage systems, rural cooperative and agricultural
enterprises, etc. may do more to enhance the quality of
individual and group lives, foster communication, and stimulate
healthy and cohesive political development--hence national
integration. It is the job of well-meaning African communi-
cators to suggest and articulate these things if they are
to constructively contribute to the political development
of their nations.

There are many other problems that can be expressed
among those already mentioned above, but we must devote
some time to attempting an answer to a perennial question:
What type of communication or mass communication as it is
popularly known will enhance political development and
national integration in these emerging African countries?
The answer to this question is not simple, but must be
briefly attempted. Theoretical constructs need be put
through practical applications to eliminate some basic

fallacies. Some suggestions have already been made at
various points during the process of defining the above
problems. What we need do now is to attempt to suggest in
broad concepts what could be done to improve the situation.
Let us look back on an attempt.

As we have earlier discussed here, recent studies
of the mass media in relations to their functions within
a society have emphasized greatly the propaganda aspects:
their function and control. Developing nations are caught
in a cross fire. These nations have the urge to develop
and catch up with the developed nations but are hindered
by criteria set up by these developed nations for the
developing nations to abide by, or take into account. These
criteria unfortunately were not taken into account nor were
they used by these developed nations when they were in the
process of development. Developing nations, then, are struggling
from a rather uncomfortable situation, to develop national
identity, take into account human values and human rights,
which the now developed nations neither cared about nor took
into account. They must grapple with the problem of lack
of technology which the developed nations are using as a
new means of exploitation, to replace their earlier gross
human exploitation, prior to the age of technology. Playing
a great role in the prardox of national development, especially
for these developing countries, are the mass media. It
becomes necessary therefore to think of some criteria for a

national communication system that can maximize the potential
of its media in such a way that they positively contribute
more effectively to the general economic, social, and
political development of a country. Such criteria should
include broadly (1) programs of mass education for political,
social, and individual consciousness, (2) a program of
legitimization of the national government, (3) a program of
promoting, initiating,and sustaining healthy economic growth.

There is a complex but demanding relationship
between the mass media and the social systems, in relation
to nation building. The process of national development,
if it is to be functional and successful, must first be
geared towards the development of the minds and bodies of
the people in the society as individuals and a social group.
These two developments should take place at the same time--
the mind along with the body. Citizens need be aware of
all the ills and goods of the society they live in. They need
to know as much as possible where they are and where they
should be going from there. They need be aware of the world
around them, their relationship to the other part of the
world in which they are part of, and in which they function
indirectly. They need to know too, that what is food for
one may be poison for the other, but what is good for the
goose is good for the gander. The sum total of these is
political awareness by all in the society. A responsible
mass media system for these developing nations must not
only lay open to masses—the available political systems,

talk about them exhaustively to and with the people, but
must also suggest which of the alternate systems available.
may best serve them and their situation. Then and then only
should the media let the people decide or choose for them-
selves which of the systems they desire. One may ask,
how can the media do this?

The mass media of these emerging African nations
have been active all along in this direction. The difference
is that instead of serving their national goals and
working for the general good of the populace they represent,
they have unconsciously been serving the needs of their
political detractors. In most of these emerging African
nations, the mass media have been involved in the dissemina-
tion and promotion of those aspects of life that aru alien
to their consumers, or are not part of their everyday
experiences and cultural belingings. Thus, the media of
these emerging countries engage themselves in the creation
of a

> revolution of rising expectations. [They] create
> knowledge of desireable things faster than these
> things themselves can be produced. It is easier
> to bring in movies, newspapers,and radios than it
> is to bring in housing,automobiles, bicycles, and
> medical facilities. [But] like all revolutionary
> forces [the media] prepare men's minds for new
> desires more rapidly than those new desires can be
> satisfied.[6]

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[6]Ithiel De Sola Pool, "Communication and Development."
Topic Issue No. 66, USIS. p. 4.

Such activities of the media, well intended as they may be,

do not help create positive political thinking amongst

the citizens. The citizens soon become disillussioned

with their government. They believe their government is

doing nothing to meet their needs and cater for their

welfare. Instead of creating harmony, dissension becomes

the rule. Demands soon exdede needs and aspirations

overwhelm availabilities. A tug of war developes between

the governments and their people with the government loosing,

but the people losing more in the long run. It is the

duty of the media of these emerging African nations to

present to both the government and the people a balanced

diet of information. The media therefore must be efficient

enough to suggest to the government what approaches it should

take for the common good of all, as well as suggest to the

people how they should relate both to themselves and their

government in order to further their political and national

interests.

In many cases, locally made goods may be more

useful and durable than imported goods. Riding bicycles

for a few more years so that some money may be diverted

towards some more pressing social and capital development

may be better than the promotion of the sales of Pegout or

Opel cars. Developing mass transit may be of greater national

interest than the importation of luxurious cars etc. It

will be the duty of responsible mass media systems of these

emerging African countries to put these things across
to the people and government as accurately and persuasively
as they can possibly afford to. Success in any or all of
these suggestions demands social mobilization and collective
responsibility.

Individuals may be politically aware as individuals
but this awareness must gather social or collective momentum
before any type of progress or achievement socially or
politically could be realized. It becomes necessary for
mass media systems and developing nations to propagate
social norms aimed at promoting group consciousness and
motivating the people collectively. When individuals take
into account their inadequacies and adequacies and those of
others and stand ready to make sacrifices for the good of
most of the poeple most of the time, then the society can
move as a unit towards national intergration. Leadership
is not only available because individuals have been developed
but receive popular followership because there is a group or
social (collective) identity. The extent to which a reliable
and identifiable cohesive society emerges depends on the
reliability and dedication of the mass media system to the
goals of social or mass positive education, for political,
individual, and social awareness.

If values are sold but are not bought, then the
process of acquisition is incomplete. To this end therefore,
the mass media should try to legitimize the government whose

aims and purposes cater ᵗᵒ̶ ̶f̶o̶r̶ the overall good of the people.
Constructive criticism is one way of doing this. The other
involves backing up and promoting the aims and purposes of
the government. The role of the mass media at this stage
is to convey to the people. the political authority of the
government while stimulating in them (the masses) a political
identity. When this happens, the mass media become a
representative of the polity not the society nor the govern-
ment. Coercion is absent since common identification will
result in the development of mass culture and mass purpose.
When this stage of mass culture is reached, then the mass
media serves the society rather than the polity since
there has been a total integration of both forces in the
society. With the establishment of national identity or
legitimization of the government will come a free flow of
feed-backs and constructive suggestions and/or criticism.
This leaves the media free and unpartisan to report both
what the government is doing and how the people see and
appreciate what the government does, and above all what
the people want.

One would probably think that at this stage the
mass media system would have accomplished all their tasks.
This, however, is not true especially with regards to the
developing nations. In these countries or nations, the
process of modernization or development have taken wrong
orders. There are no urbanizations, no economic well being

or stability, and the society though integrated remains
fragile! The mass media, having completed a structural
integration have to complete also the developmental integra-
tion. To this end, the people have to be made aware of the
need to pass through, not without hardship, stages of
economic development. This will enable the people to turn
their attention to national development and recognize how
important it is to develop not only the self and the society
but the units of both as a nation. The masses will then
focus their attention on the process of national development
with full knowledge of what it takes and what it costs,
thus eliminating the fragility of an otherwise weak economic
base that would have left the government and the nation
susceptible to external and internal subtle forces.

A mass media system that has beaten the social
infrastructure of a developing society, by providing a
binding union probably through the efficient selling of
common or desiirable norms, that transcend language and
individual differences, provides the people with a common
ideology and/or identity and there-by these nations with
a common goal, is most likely to contribute to the political
development of these emerging nations, their general economic,
and social development, and above all to national unity and
integration. Developing countries, in my own opinion,
may have to follow this channel or adapt such a channel
to suit their individual national situations. Catching

up or developing in an otherwise developed world, especially
when most of your resources have been used to develop the
rest of the world, demands some stringent discipline on the
part of these developing nations. The mass media of the
emerging African nations must have to articulate this to
the people while acting also as a watch dog of the govern-
ment for the good of the people. As De Sola Pool puts it:
"media development cannot stand alone. If the media are to
do more than add to frustration, they must be part of a
program of sustained development."[7]

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[7]_Ibid._ p. 4.

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