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COMMUNICATING SOVEREIGNTY THE RIGHT FOR COMMUNICATING AS THE NEWLY OBTAINED HUMAN RIGHT

KOMUNIKACIJSKA SUVERENOST PRAVO NA KOMUNIKACIJU KAO NOVOSTEČENO LJUDSKO PRAVO

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Abstract

Information technologies, free flow of information, free media and the right for communicating are the pilowes from which communicative sovereignty springs and where it is based. It is the creation of XX century and it is actualized in XXI century globally and more completely. The civilization candidness and the ability of acceptance are the key categories of the prosperity of communicative sovereignty.

Sažetak

Informacijske tehnologije, slobodan protok informacija i pravo na komunikaciju su temelji iz kojih izvire suverenitet komunikacije i na kojem počiva. Nastao je u 20. stoljeću, a u 21. stoljeću doživjeo je svoju globalnu aktualizaciju i kompletnost. Civilizacijska otvorenost i sposobnost prihvatanja su ključni faktori za prosperitet komunikacijskog suvereniteta.

Historical background

Developed social systems are different from the others because for institutional or non-institutional, individual, group, etc. sense they have humanist dimension and they are open towards the surrounding, new views, ideas and progress in general. That openness and ability to accept the civilization acquisition is made through the information-communication system and communicative sovereignty of the participants regarding the technical possibilities. The category of civilization openness in those propositions is the key factor for accepting, expanding and interferences of the social progress and prosperity.

Unlike the Middle Ages, when the technological and other inventions were opposing the social structure and in a way 'bombing' the religious doctrine, in the new times, the connection between technological and social system is inseparable in the part of the socially and scientifically developed world. The development of the media resources affected the formation (integration and differentiation) of the social systems where also the informative-communication systems and subsystems are initialized. It turned out that the

social systems and their subsystems primarily occur in small communities and certain countries, while in the process of intracontinental, intercontinental and global interferences they expand to increasingly bigger number of countries and wider geographic areas and that they would further develop in the course of formation of the global network of information and communication.

Important factor of the technological development refers to the spatial and time dimension of communication and communicating sovereignty. Time dimension has become decreased, and spatial dimension increased: "Spatial dimension is reaching its maximum, and time dimension is reaching its minimum.". /1/, /2/

The accelerated development of media and circulation of knowledge and ideas, if there is a convenient ground, leads to the faster conversion of social and political relations such as creation of liberal movements and civil social structures /3/. America is developing as the part of European civilization and culture which is the direct consequence of more intensive connections, faster flow and exchange of the material and non material nature values. America, more specifically the USA and Canada join and become the parts of European

spiritual and technological evolution. That is how the complex social-economic systems were created which aimed to the natural mutual connection regarding the international proportions.

Media technologies and their development created bigger possibilities of obtaining the communicating sovereignty regarding the creation, processing and accepting the knowledge because they initiated the support of greater freedom and rights: "Therefore there is the connection between the technical characteristics of the communication system and human ability to react." /4/.

It is important that in the started process of mass information-communication sphere, the individual acquires the increasingly greater possibilities to participate in the social activities, the open perspective for obtaining greater individual rights including greater communicating sovereignty /5/.

At the same time it "means that the technical development regarding the value levelling of communications during the ontogenetic development of a man can not be neglected." /6/ According to that, the right for freedom in speech, to communicating sovereignty is expended, especially by the development of the technically increasingly powerful media and distribution channels, therefore the communicating-technical quality of the media includes, besides other things, also the humanistic potential as the component of communicative sovereignty based on the ethical values and normatives.

Simultaneously with those happenings, the media technologies have been developing and they intensified the international relations, as well as controversies. All that is happening to the mass and spatial communication extension.

In the positive direction of development and further process of affirmation of human dimension – individual and collective and changeable global consensus in that sphere there is the international-legal cristalization and normative setting for the individual rights as human rights within the intrenational and national right. Although the divided and still clearly undefined communicating sovereignty, the strong impulse to such development was given by entering the public media scene – radio-emitter in 1920. The radio technology development is significant because "the first time in the mankind history tehre is the technics as communicating medium which offered the unforeseen possibilities of time and space predomination" /7/ ie. the technology of transfer and distribution of knowledge and information in all directions. Although the radio is not two-directioned ie. dialog medium, it enabled to individuals, being literate or illiterate, to take part in the world of

information and thus also communications. It was until then the unexperienced level of mass conscious collectivization which, according to many people, considerably eased the occurence of various social economic formations which caused and negative phenomena regarding the value system, such as World War II, but on the other side, the powers which opposed. For example, Hitler, Stalin, Mussolini, Churchill and Roosevelt promoted their political programs exactly through radio. "Mobilization of huge social powers and emotion arouse through radio-waves were the specialities of the prewar and war world leaders." /8/. However, radio as the technical invention represents the communication step into the technical sphere of electronics and conquering the new communication dimensions. At the same time, it enables considerably faster knowledge transfer, socialization of people, etc.

Negative phenomena such as the occurence of fascism, which were identified and valorized by the democratic and progress media as anticivilized phenomenon, added to the development of civil consciousness and knowledge on the requirements to opress that occurence in the non-institutionalized area of the countries and interstate organizations. That is the case of founding the first non-state and non-interstate or, as named nowadays, nongovernmental organization of writers: *International PEN* in 1923. International PEN is the first group of citizens of the world which valorized the right to communicating sovereignty as the right to the freedom of creation. That was the answer to the totalitarian formations to the pretension of the permanent establishment of the communication monopoly which existed in the dark Middle ages. As the answer to the direct threats of the totalitarianism, International PEN brought the Charter of the International PEN in 1934 on the protection of rights to the freedom of creation. "Among important documents on human rights, which nowadays worldwide serve as the initial base in the fight for civil and personal freedoms, the Charter of the International PEN, refers primarily to the defense of the creative, spiritual and intelectual freedoms, the freedom of literature and artistic work and unobstructed thought exchange for the general welfare of mankind and human civilization." /9/, /10/.

The invention of transistor in 1948 considerably extended the range and advanced the radiodiffusion quality, and later it turned out laso in the development of new electronic media such as computer and everything that technological device includes and brings into the occurence of communicating sovereignty of all participants of communications /11/. In that sense, in its way and according to its technical characteristics, radio

extended the general and especially collective communicating sovereignty at the level of local communities, different groups of people or citizens and peoples. Simultaneously, radio was, also based on its technical characteristics, decreasing the communicating sovereignty of the countries because the administrative-state control of radiowaves was more difficult or inaccessible.

The UN General Declaration of freedoms and rights of a man was valorized in media also in the political-propaganda purposes in the so-called 'cold war', which was lead between East and West block. The radio station *Voice of America* insisted that the human rights are mass disobeyed in Soviet Union and communist world defined in pacts and declarations of the UN. As the opposite to that, *Radio Moscow* and other media of the East block, in the global propaganda acting towards the USA emphasised the specially disobeyance of the human rights of the Afro-Americans and racial discrimination within that country. Such propaganda competing produced also the positive effects regarding the human rights, which is confirmed by the fact that the United States Supreme Court rought the descision in 1954 on the abolishment of racial segregation in American schools /12/.

The planetarian media range, intensity of information exchange and propaganda competition generally and especially between the block which was lead through radio stations as well as through other mass media added to the affirmation of idea and developing the consciousness and the need to strengthen the human rights and freedoms in all domains, regardless the contradictory relation.

In the given circumstances of the general knowledge and global connection, which are inseparable from the media technological dimension, as the increased consciousness of mankind were created in 1945 by the UN. In 1948, they created and accepted General declaration of the rights of man, which from then until nowadays morally engage all members of that world organization, but after the ratification in the peoples representatives, the member countries are also legally obliged to obey the accepted declaration. In the Introduction of General declaration of the rights of man, the following is written in the second paragraph: "since the disrespect and disdain of the rights of man lead to the vandal actions which offended the mankind consciousness, and since the creation of the world where the human beings will exercise the freedom of speech and beliefs and be free of fear and scarceness, the General Assembly announces the General declaration of the rights of man as the highest aspiration..." /13/.

The contribution of the mas media is certainly important regarding the affirmation, acceptance and standardization of the right of the man in the national and international range. The acceptance of the UN declaration of the rights of a man, normatively regulated within the certain countries and partially and in different ways until then, were legally confined within those countries. With the foundation of UN and acceptance of Charter and other relevant documents, freedoms and rights of a man get the universal dimension, and the countries according to those principles regulate the rights of the individuals and citizens within their normatives.

The increase of the influence of media action in the specified context confirms especially one more phenomena. That is the foundation of Russel court in 1975. This court was established as the direct consequence of the uninterrupted media presentation of the war in Vietnam and the war war frights. As the answer to the morally aroused public opinion, Russel court morally convicted the USA for the war crimes they made in Vietnam and which the media presented to the world public. The court lawsuit and the verdict of Russel court, which was not legally effective, caused the strong reactions in European and American media with the emphasis of the moral character of the verdict.

Sovereign participants communication

Increasingly more powerful media technologies integrate and increase the media potentials. The quantity and speed of flow i.e. distribution is constantly increased. However, the most important is that it is simultaneously increased interactively, uninterruptedly or without limits, that is: sovereign participants communicaion.

The most important stimulus for the proportions change of the communicating sovereignty in the favour of user-citizen, i.e. individual gave the development and involving into the usage of technology of telecommunication satelites and computers, which was intensified in 70s. The satelites "became the integral part of the great number of emission networks – news agencies and newspapers, radio and TV programs, telephones and telecommunication networks, etc. therefore their numerous effects directly and indirectly influence the everyday life of most human beings." it was stated by UNESCO Committee in the book „Many voices – one world“.

Internet domination

Great or even revolutionary progress was reached by advancement and strengthening the computer.

Sputnik launching, as it was stated directly influenced the creation of the following communicating resource *Internet* as the first supermedium. It was the first medium which eliminated disbalances of the communicating investments, inequality of the freedom of communication and inequality of the communicating sovereignty and it enabled interactive communicating of everybody who has it. For the technology and structure of *Internet*, there is the immanent character of individualization of the informative-communicating interactions and reaching the high level of human rights in the area of informations and communications. A medium created by computer, *Internet* is the first integral medium with the essentially new potentials and characteristics of absorbing the classic media. Without *Internet* and other technologies, which occurred meanwhile, it would not be possible to imagine the extension of the rights to communicate, and especially obtaining the far reaching communicating sovereignty of the citizen-individual. It is consciously and intentionally emphasised the expression *citizen* i.e. the member of democratic community, because in authoritarian structures, in the dictatorships, the people are not citizens but servants of the regime, and as such they do not exercise the rights of man according to the democratic norms. However, technology, as it was shown at the beginning of its origin and development, does not accept dictatorships, absolutist regimes, nations, races, religions and ideologies. For the one who possesses it, it offers freedoms for which one does not have to ask anybody for.

What is the importance of communication technologies for the freedom of communication and communicating sovereignty of the user, there is the phenomenon of visual and virtual narrowing of the communicating area and shortening the time dimensions of the communications in general. *Internet* based on the powerful computer represents the infinite space without the beginning and the end – based on the monitor frames. Simultaneously, that computer enables the speed of communication and overcoming the planetarian spaces in the time intervals which can be measured in seconds /14/.

Besides the spatial and time contracting, *Internet* based on computer started also the media symbiosis in the way that it incorporates the contents and functions of classical media, which increases its own function of the supermedium of present and probably the future /15/, /16/.

Computer *Internet* as well as technological and scientific product enables for its users or citizens, who possess those technologies and competently communicate through them, the far reaching

communicating sovereignty which up to now, neither with the support of the powerful humanist impulses, none social-political formation enabled. It means that the informative-communicating technologies are fundamental, developing and applied potential and basic potential and guarantee of freedom of communication and communicating sovereignty in general.

Internet Decree

Domination of the *Internet* in the area of human communications, freedoms provided by the *Internet* and communicating sovereignty of the *Internet* users brought to the creation of *Internet Decree* which, based on the integrated technology, includes the value standards. *Internet Decree* represents the moral Constitution of this supermedium /17/.

The first version of the *Internet Decree* was created by the Association for progressive communications in 2001 – 2002 within the workshops held in Europe, Asia, Latin America and Africa. At those meetings the developed principles and goals strengthen and confirm "the right of people and organizations to use *Internet* freely, especially in their work for social, economic and entertainment justice." /18/. As an inspiration for the creation of *Internet Decree*, "Global communicating decree" and the concept „A Global Movement for People's Voices in Medija and Communication in the 21st Century“ were used. Until 2006, the adjusted version of the Decree is based also at the same settings of *Internet* board which were proclaimed at the United Nations World Summit on the Information Society – WSIS as well as in Tunis by accepted Agenda for Information Society and using the original name „APC *Internet* Right Charter“ and subtitle „*Internet* for social justice and sustainable development“ /19/.

Internet Decree represents the most complete value document regarding the universal values up to now, which is in harmony with the universal and multifunctional character of that medium.

Decree starts from the *Internet* as the global public area which must be open and in any sense approachable to everyone; as well as the process of globalization which is closely related to the *Internet*, the scope of the access to the *Internet* is matched with the disbalances and frequent difficulties and bitterness regarding the social and economic inequality worldwide; *Internet*, as well as other informative-communication technologies, can be a powerful means for the mobilization of people and social development, powerful means for the resistance to the injustice and expression of the differences and creativities; *Internet* can be the means for empowering people in the world when

it follows the rights which are accepted, protected and obeyed.

Internet Decree consists of seven parts or chapters which regulate all up to now identified elements and categories of the freedom of expression and the right to communicate:

- 1. Right to the access to everybody. The chapter in the introduction refers to the article 26. of the Universal Declaration on the human rights: „The education should be directed to the full development of the human personality and strengthening of the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.“
- 2. The freedom of expression and gathering. In the regulation of freedom of expression and gathering, Internet Decree refers to the articles 18, 19 and 20 of the Universal Decree on human rights: article 18: „Everybody has the right for the freedom of opinion, consciousness and religion“, article 19: „Everybody has the right for the freedom of opinion and expression; that right includes the freedom of persistancy in opinion without obstruction and freedom of inquiring, receiving and publishing the information and ideas through media regardless the borders“.
- 3. The access to knowledge refers to the article 27 of the Universal declaration on human rights: „Everybody has right to participate in cultural life of the community, enjoying the art and participation in the scientific progress and its welfare“.
- 4. Participation in learning and creation – free and open software sources and technological development. This right is based also on the mentioned article 27 of the Universal declaration on human rights.
- 5. Privacy, supervision and safety – article 12 of the Universal declaration on human rights: „Nobody can be set to intrusion into one’s privacy, home or correspondence, nor the attack to one’s honesty and dignity“.
- 6. Internet management.
- 7. Consciousness, protection and fulfilling the rights.

Decree on the Internet rights regards that the character and ability of Internet in the free integration of information and communication are vital for fulfilling the human rights established in Universal declaration on human rights from 1948, International convention on economic, social and cultural rights from 1976, International convention on civil and political rights also from 1976 and Convention on elimination of all types of women discrimination from 1980.

Mobile sovereignty

Although already widely represented especially in Norts America, where it originates, and Europe and, according to the general evaluations considerably exceeds the number of population at those continents in 2008, mobile phone represents the latest and the most perfect supermedium until these days. The mobile phone is technically the most perfect because, like antics play with the uniqueness of action, area and time, it enables and operates in the uniqueness of the communicative interaction (action), space and time without exception. Its superiority over all up to date classical and electronical media includes in operating range more than 15 (fifteen) functions, which exceeds the number of operating functions of the computer Internet. Within that, the mobile phone incorporates into its operating functions also the Internet based functions. Technical perfectness of this medium is manifested more in its uniqueness of the operating usage, immediate communicative contact and complete communicating sovereignty. That is the medium over medium so technically developed and perfect that all ages users can operate it without the expenses for training as it is the case with computer. In the relation to the computer Internet, the only functional missing of the mobile phone represents the minimized screen which does not allow for the display extension. But that functional fault is far more compensated for its characteristics: omnipresence, communicative competence and communicative sovereignty. Mobile phone is developed, as computer and computer Internet, based on convergence of the communicative technological findings, communicative technologies, communicative industries and communicative software as well as the continuous advancement in these technologies by the new inventions which also continuously increase communicatively power and communicating sovereignty of the user.

„Technical instruments finally in our hands“: communicative technologies as the triggers of value and normative directions of the freedom limits in communication and communicating sovereignty

Technological progress or better formulated: technological revival brought the radical questioning and revalorization of the existing legal normatives and value normatives in informative-communicative sphere at all levels: local, national and global. The human rights, regulated in the UN Universal declaration included also the rights in the area of information and freedom of expression in the first general definition in article 19: „Everybody has right to the freedom of opinion and expression,

which also includes the right not to be tortured for one's opinion, as well as the right to ask for, receive and deliver the information and ideas regardless the means and borders." In the international documents, which later regulated human rights in the specified area, narrowing of the interpretation occurs of article 19 and its defining as the right to information. That is the case with the documents of Conference of European safety and cooperation (KEBS) from 1975, where it is emphasised only „the right of individual to information“ /20/. KEBS served mostly with that right as it was in the general circulation in the time of block division of Europe and the world.

That narrow interpretation of article 19 of Universal declaration was regarded considerably earlier, though. Communicologist *Jean d'Arsy* did it in 1969. He referred to the increased technological potentials of the communication technologies and said that the right to information is the technically and semantically narrow model to name this member and it includes wider right: „Right of a man to communicate“ /21/. The phrase information, according to d'Arsy suggests the one direction action towards the certain object because it is connected through time with classical mass media and regarded as the one direction messages of those media. As opposite to the phrase *communication* etimologically and semantically includes the idea and practice of exchange and interaction. As a Frenchman d'Arsy analyses understanding and usage of the phrases *information and communication* in French and English and stated that the difference between these two phrases more semantic and that in *American- English*, *communication* as a phrase and term reflects fast technological progress and its connected further analyses of human behaviour. Simultaneously, the term of communication reflects and associates psychological, social and political approach, which is different from the approach in the countries of Roman tradition. It is basically technical progress of America regarding the media technologies and related social changes, stated D'Arsy.

Term and phrase communicating sovereignty us a new one. It was firstly found in the article „Who is sovereign in the New communicative strategy“ by the author N. A. Popović /22/. But it is evident that d'Arsy with the phrase *right to communication* includes identical content to it. For D'Arsy, the new media technologies are the fundamentals of expanding the human rights, from the right to information to the right to communication. Furthermore, D'Arsy represents the view that the new media technologies and the right to communication alias communicating sovereignty, which provide,

require also the new ethics, i.e. new normative and value determination. For obtaining the right to communication there are technical instruments which are „finally in our hands“: „The freedom of opinion, freedom of expression, freedom of print media, freedom of communication, that increasing line of freedom which people acquired through their national histories can be directing only what can be accomplished at the international level. It is not the intention to replace one freedom with the other, as some people believed at the beginning, but primarily to create the complete „factory of intellectual freedoms“ with one new which shall include all other freedoms.“ /23/

On the relation between new media technologies and new ethics, D'Arsy says: „Still, since our thoughts are limited by the inherited technology and technical devices, for us it will not be simple to understand the new circumstances. We of course accepted as an essence the whole far away and foreign world (of mass media, N. J.). Finally, we instinctively feel that our future is somewhere else, not in Marshall McLuhan dream on „global village“, but opposite to it, in the societies based on the human normatives (microsocieties) where communication goes on freely. The mere technology, which earlier underset those local narrow communities, now can be used for their revival“ /24/. Ideas and interpretations of D'Arsy about the new media technologies and new ethics as avalanche initiated the wide primarily scientific, and later political, ethical and legal discussion, which represented evolution and with which evolution started in the transformation on defining the new content, extended domain and extended term of human rights in the field of human communications. Regarding that, McRedmond states: „The right relates to the people, not ideas.“ /25/ Very soon, in the discussion which followed, there was the request for free flow of information as the part of the right to communication. That discussion will last for one decade. The right to communication obtains at the end of 70's into 80's one new meaning regarding the expression and thought exchange i.e. communication in the authentic sense of American English linguistic meaning *communication*. At the beginning of 80's, there is the role change of UNESCO and paradigm change from the New world information order to the New communicating strategy. As the object of professional and political discussion, the request for free flow of information and strengthening the communicating competencies of the media technologies users, was taken also by UNESCO /26/. Harms emphasises: „If thought would have an effect, it must be heard“ /27/.

Europe was also during 80's in XX century was ideologically divided, therefore political structures

of the separated continent represented opposite opinions about the new ideas and requests which were initiated by d'ARSI. However, even in such separated Europe to the East and West block, communicologists and independent intellectuals at the both sides of demarking line advocated mostly identical opinions about the right to communication alias communicating sovereignty as the natural right of a man and one's tight connection with the other rights and areas of life and work (Right to Communicate: A New Human Right, 1983). In discussion, it firstly had increasingly wider dimensions of meaning and content: „The right to communication is inseparably connected with the right to education, right to culture, right to work.” /28/ The direction of discussion as well as the basic opinions about new, technologically determined content and the term of area of information of communication were the documents of UN which refer to those issues, starting from the article 19 of the Universal declaration of the rights of a man (Harms, 1983, 196). Having in mind the technological development and increase in information-communication potentials originated from that, the first time in general and block discussion it was given the „aspect of participation as the first step in the realization of concept of the right to communication” /29/ or communicating sovereignty as that right determined by the new term. During the creation of the concept of the right to communication as the dynamic concept mostly world wide it was still believed that right was possible to be best made or even only possible by political-administrative means of countries like they will allow the citizens, groups, etc. to use that right. In that sens, UNESCO Declaration from 1978, with the full name *Declaration on the basic principles regarding the addition of the mass media in strengthening the peace and international understanding, advancement in human rights and fight against racism, apartheid and war provocations*, was still effective and it represented the gap, but in some elements also the bridge between the oppressed opinions regarding the relations East – west and North - South. The gap led to the presentation of the leading West countries led by the USA from UNESCO.

That direction of the events or on the other side solution, was included in 1982 in the UN Resolution about the Resolution Direct Broadcasting Satellite. Resolution was based on the dual concept so it accepted the differences and at the same time made some kind of compromise between the requests for the state control of the information directions and abuse of media freedoms. The dual concept was politically and legally stated as existing ideological differences and taking the mild form of

the restrictive interpretation of the article 19 of UN Universal declaration in the way it was included in the International pact about the political and civil rights from 1966. The most important and interesting above all in the specified Resolution was the fact that it on the one hand recognized the rights for freedom of expression, and on the other hand accepted the rights to the governments to the control of information i.e. limitation of individual rights to communication in the course of national security, public order and moral and protection of the rights for interest and honour of others.

The new extended interpretation of the article 19 of the UN Declaration which was given by Jean d'Arsi, represented the red line and a guideline in the efforts that it would be value and normatively valorized while all more progressive media technologies provided its practical usage which was developed in the direction of increasingly wider communicating sovereignty of the users of the communication technological resources. However, the quality turning in the paradigm change i.e. preorientation of the ideological-political concept of the New information order towards the pragmatic direction followed only after the stop of the block division. Further divisions enabled reaching the certain consensus and with the acceptance of New Communication Strategy at 25th General assembly of UNESCO in 1989. New Communication Strategy states that UNESCO “stimulates the free flow of information both at the international and national level, to promote their wider and better balanced expansion without any obstacles to the freedom of expression and to strengthen the communicating capacities in the developing countries, thus they can more actively participate in the communication process.”. Therefore UNESCO as freed from the weight of past and directed towards its primary purpose: „to promote the free flow of ideas by word and picture.” /30/.

New technologies require new values

From the occurrence of new ideas and concepts, for overcoming the ideological and political contradictions as well as other barriers such as underdevelopment, illiteracy, ignorance, etc, needed about two and a half decades for route setting and interpretation of those ideas to the new normative and new ethical principle. Besides the International telecommunication union with the other especially European organizations. Primarily, as the branch of International telecommunication union, started with the work the World Radiocommunication Conference – WRC, was founded in 1971. Its task was to regulate the frequencies and eliminate the disturbances of signal transfer. Thus was determined

the additional interstate and user service. In that sense, World Radiocommunication Conference started working in 1992 at the regional and world level.

Among other important organizations, there is the Europe Council, founded in 1949 in London, which brought at the establishment „The Convention for the protection of human rights and basic freedoms“ based on UN Universal declaration on the rights of a man. Article 10. paragraph 1. of the Convention remained actual up to these days: „Everybody has the right for the freedom of expression. This right includes the freedom of possessing the own opinion, acceptance and announcement of information and ideas without the intrusion of public government and regardless the borders.“ /31/ the Council of Europe „in that block times“ could not act as all European forum, but after finishing the block division it developed panEuropean activities and initiated democratization of societies and communications in general. In 1989, the Council of Europe brought in Strasbourg European Convention on out of border television which handles the principle of the protection fo human rights and basic freedoms. It represents and includes ethical concept and concretization of inseparability of informative-communication area regarding the audio-visual media as the component of the human rights. Because of the immaturity of political happenings, the Convention became effective only in 1993.

The important role has been played until these days KEBS/OEBS which, at the time when the Council of Europe was a block organization, lead and developed paneuropean activities and paralelly with the Council of Europe it leads them nowadays. KEBS/OEBS is the first paneuropean organization which, in normatively obliging form, promoted the right for information at the Conference in Helsinki in 1975. This organization still affirms noneuropean principles represented in their own and the documents of the Council of Europe regarding the rights and freedoms for information and communications /32/.

At the meeting in Moscow in 1991 (III conference about the Human dimension) KEBS is also the first paneuropean organization which understood and accepted technological-docial reality and also in the obliging form accepted the principle of *Right to communication* as an additional dimension of the framework of human rights in the field of infomration and communications. In the final document in the chapter I under the number 26, it is written: „The member countries again confirm the right for the freedom of expression, including the right to communication and the right of the infomration sources to collect and extend the information, news

and opinions“. By accepting that kind of content in obliging form for member countries represents the new quality of the legalized rights of the man and setting the European citizen-individual in the communicatively and normatively active position, free from force and limitations. At the same chapter and paragraph of that document, the following is written: „Every limitation of exercising that right is regulated by the law and it is in accordance with the international standards. they further state that independent sources of information are necessary for free and open society of power which are liable, therefore they are especially important for maintaining the human rights and basic freedoms. 26, 1: They (member countries – prim. N. J.) regard that print media and radio and television at their territories should enjoy unlimited access to the foreign information and information services. Public shall have the personal freedom to accept and transfer the informationand ideas without the intrusion of government regardless the borders, including also through publications and programs. Every limitation of that right is regulated by the law and it is in accordance with the international standards.“ /33/

At the meeting of renaming in OEBS (Organization for European safety and cooperation) held in 1996 in Lisbon, this organization accepted and proclaimed the principle of free media. At the same meeting, OEBS establishes the institution of Media representative, which is converted in 1977 into the permanent forum „Council of OEBS for media“ /34/. The supervisions of OEBS Council for media begin from the emphasise drole of media and the rights for communication include the supervision and care in obeying those principles and the help to the member countries in their conduction.

The principles of OEBS are adequate for the value requirements and they start from the knowledge that the technological convergence and occurrence of supermedium require also the normative convergence at the level of national and international legal regulative. That finding was manifested at the Ministry conference of OEBS about Global infomration networks in Bon in 1997. At the conference there are, as the Right for communication, equally participated members of the public i.e. state and private sector from Europe and the USA. At that Conference, OEBS accepted important documents for communication in XXI century. They were accepted qualitively new documents which normatively change up to date principles of communicating sovereignty. Communicating sovereignty or in the form of the term OEBS Right for communication considerably moves from the authority of states in charge and the rights of users

i.e. individuals-citizens, groups and users in general. But conclusion can go even further: Communicating sovereignty of the national countries in Europe is normatively minimized, even cancelled and at the same time, that sovereignty passed into the hands of citizen and user in general. The function of European national countries regarding normatives includes provision of communicating sovereignty of the citizens supervised by OEBS.

At that occasion, OEBS accepted three declarations: Ministry declaration, Declaration of industry and Declaration of user. All three declarations regard, each from its view, with the basic requests of development and functioning of the global networks through functioning primarily computer Internet and mobile phone freely and with no limitations.

Ministry declaration regulates the future role of the governments in creating the optimal framework, in developing the appropriate new services to the users and strengthening of the trust among users and towards users. The declaration of industry includes the most important principles and requests which the governments should obey and conduct in relation to the global informative-communicating networks. The declaration of industry include clear recommendations, requirements and rules for the domains of convergence, right for intellectual possession, protection of data and taxing. The declaration of user emphasises that the sovereignty in informative society belongs to people, i.e. users. In the Declaration of user, it is further emphasised that usage and way of application of new media technologies should support the rights of users as well as it is required to make further deregulation of global networks usage /35/.

Regarding the importance of this area, i.e. further fast development of media technologies and importance of social-political changes which are caused by them, in the activity of regulation of communications in XXI century, the EU took part. The EU in 1997 recommended to the International Communication Union to build Global Communication Charter. This Charter, according to the suggestion of the EU, should include main principles of informative society and represent the framework for global communication in XXI century. That suggestion of the EU was presented to the members of group G7 (the USA, Japan, Germany, the Great Britain, France, Italy, Canada) and it was supported by the Group G7 as the collection of basic principles, which would to different groups and individuals, such as citizens-users, industries and governments „would be a guide in coordinating their efforts and harmonization of their way of working“ /36/.

Supported by the technological development, intellectual and political movement for the right for communication, which started almost four decades ago could not be stopped and it acquired global proportions.

Before the creation of the Global communication charter, the representatives of non governmental organizations and different informal groups of citizens from the informative-communicating domain initiated the Conference on human rights in Vienna in 1993, the initiative of creation of Peoples Communication Charter which completely should include and clearly determine the right for communication i.e. communicating sovereignty of individual-citizen and user in general and based on much earlier set motto – tools are in „our hands“ so that for our right to communicate we do not need to ask anybody for and ask for no one's approval. Within that framework, the Peoples Communication Charter should include principles and specifications of individual and collective rights in the context of the New communicative strategy.

Peoples Communication Charter as a suggestion was done in 1996 in Amsterdam by the communicologist Cees Hamelink. Charter includes preamble and 18 articles where it is clearly and in detail stated the sovereign rights of citizens and responsibilities of national countries in the domain of transparency of government i.e. providing the information which are asked for in accordance with the value standards and legal normatives. It categorically and clearly regulates the following rights:

- Right for the respect of individual according to which the media are liable that all people are treated with respect according to the rights of a man;
- Right for the free access of communicative channels independent from the state or commercial control;
- Right for the access to all informative-communicating resources. Restrictions in that domain are allowed only if that is the right opposite to the standards of human rights and protection of democratic society based on the respect of the rights of others;
- Right for the independence at all communicating levels and all directions include fulfilling the human rights for participation, support and interest from action and development of communications including education, establishing the independent media, media organizations, syndicates and accepting the international standards in that field;
- Right for literacy, right for education and knowledge of literacy in the domain of classical and electronic media;

- Right for the protection of journalists based on which the journalists have the right for the legal protection including also the humanitarian right especially in conflict areas. Journalists must be safe. They must have unlimited access to the sources of information and they must inquire to the end even if it is required to be done with the help of international body;
- Right for the response and claim includes, according to this Charter, the request for the obedience of the international democratic normatives such as the right for response and claim for media disinformation;
- Right for the cultural identity according to which people have the right for protection of their cultural identity. Right for the cultural area and inheritance protection must not disobey human rights or normatives of this Charter;
- Right for the languages and language variety refers to the expression and access to the information in mother tongue as well as the right for speaking their language in state education institutions;
- Right for the participation in public decision making on communications in all areas;
- Right of children to media products which are relevant to their needs and interests and which nourish their physical health, mental emotional development. Besides that, children must be protected against the damaging media products, from commercial and other exploitation;
- Right for cyberspace includes right for the universal access and equal usage of that computer area including the freedom of electronic expression and freedom free from electronic supervision and force;
- Right for privacy includes the respect of personality and protection of personality and personal data according to the generally accepted standards;
- Right for oppression and prevention of media in hatred provoking, illegal verdict, violation and war including destructively effect of media in social areas in general;
- Right that people request from media holding away from the verdict allegations;
- Right for consuming useful and data information;
- Right for responsibility and explanation from media. For respecting and obtaining that human rights, media should establish mechanisms and organs of autoregulations.

The same 1993, when the initiative for the creation of Peoples communicative charter was started, until then the most comprehensive definition of rights for communication was done by the group of

independent experts in Bratislava, Slovakia and thus that document was named Bratislav declaration. In the creation of Bratislav declaration the following organizations took part: International Association for Mass Communication Research – IAMCR, NGOs with the consultative status in EU economic and social council – category II, NGOs with the status A in UNESCO, Slovakian Institute for journalism, World Conference for Human Rights in Vienna and Bratislava, Slovakian association for mass communications. Representatives of previously established Forum of Article 19 of United Nations Chart, Section for medias of the Directorate for Human Rights of Europe Council were present as monitors. Key premises of this representative as well as authorised expert group could be summed as follows: It is their believe that right to communicate is above the right of having free opinion, expression of it and printing it, and comprises also and following: right of the individual and people to inform and to be informed, including general right of free access to the governmental informations and to informations of public government officials or to the informations that governments possesses; right to speak and to be listened; right to speak out and to be answered; right to see and to be seen; right to group and of participation in public communicating; right of free access to any and to all receivers in the process of communication; right of language; right to knowledge; right to have privacy; right to be selective and to be silent. Right of communication comprises equal access to the channels of medial distribution and particular resourses for the fullfillment of human needs for communication during the enforcement of democracy and for the expression of any other human rights and fundamental freedoms“.

Authors of Bratislav declaration have worked out and presented to the european and world intelectual, political and technological public new, comprehensive value framework and categorized the crucial elements of their statements. Right to communicate i.e. accomplishing Communicating sovereignty that is causing change of classic paradigme within the deep change of classic relations that is taking place. They have been also quating the normative documents as well. Besides the Article 19 of the Universal declaration of United Nations, Bratislav's Declaration is based on Articles 19, 29 and 29 of International pact on civil and political rights UN, on Article 10 of European convention on human rights and on other relevant european documents. Authors of Declaration started from the, and adhered to the opinion that the Right to communicate as a newest component of human rights is the inherent right of the individual,

group or people and in the sense of technological-worthiness normative convergence, basic instrument for the democratisation of society, building and establishment of communicative community and communicative democracy, i.e. that the human right on free communicating is fundamental in the process of the democratic selfdevelopment of the individual within the communicative interactions and practice of democracy. Bratislav's Declaration represents one of the main foundation stones of the determination of human communication for the 21st century that is based on still very growing information technologies, beside being a new articulation of the Article 19 of the Universal Charter of United Nations on Human Rights authored by Jean d'Arsy. These technologies, helped by the humanistic values of quoted declarations, accomplish human appearance and so represent the big civilisation accomplishment that is making people free from slavery and heritaged clamps of various kinds ranging from highly compelling to mild ones. These clamps are in the process of diminishing. Deregulation process represents greatly resignation with newly established factual status that is clearly showing that neither national countries nor international bodies have power to enforce their will in the domain of human communication. New medial technologies are especially significant in the process of withholding the attempts of totalitarian regimes to return to classic control mechanisms of restrictions.

Bratislav's Declaration, along with technological impact, has been transformed into the Popular communication Chart and caused the regulation i.e. deregulation of human communication in national communities as well in international forums and that process has gone further in Europe, North America with tendency of global practice.

New final shapes and regulation mechanisms, i.e. deregulation of the present state are represented as quoted Memorandums and Declarations that are the matter of attention of representative, authorised expert associations, representative Non Governmental, the higher international instances and centers of continental and global power are groups G7, i.e. G8, European Union and United Nations.

Instead of Conclusion and Resume

Communicating sovereignty of everybody in XXI century

XXI started with the valuably determined rights and freedoms of human communications based on technologies which protect the rights and freedoms and communicating sovereignty of all

in wide range. Dominant, generally accepted value document of XXI century became in 90's years created Peoples Communicative Charter where the ideas, initiatives and concepts are included of the visionary communicologist Jean d'Arsy and Bratislav declaration. Newly acquired, belonging and defined Right for communication in 90's years in XX century, in normative documents of international and regional institutions, at the beginning of XXI century is replaced with the categories Right for free flow of information and Right for free media. Since it is the belonging right for all people, and it is conditioned by possession of information technology (Internet and mobile phones) and openness of the social system, it is marked that not many individuals can possess it. Its usage depend on education and material abilities of the individual, therefore in global dimensions, there is in the domain of physics and ethics of the human rights and freedoms. Since the technology provides their fulfillment, there is the question being asked how many countries, even democratisation countries, are afraid of the fusion of technology and right for communication in order not to be left without the parliamentary control? Media and information are categories globally spatially represented where the human rights originates from: Right for free flow of information and Right for free media. Are these two rights possible to obtain for those who have accomplished greater democratic and material standard and they become the tight passage for poor and insufficiently educated part of population?

With the intention to strengthen regarding the human rights, but also normatively direct and determine the communications for XXI century, in the middle 90's there started, simultaneously with mentioned organizations, bodies and forums few initiatives which do their activities from then until these days through interactive medium Internet. Activities are open type, i.e. for participation they invite that interested members of virtual community of computer communicative area. Regardless the already built technological determination of user communicating sovereignty, those initiatives are important from the base of communicative practice and applied new ethics of human communications in the conditions of technological domination through new media. Earth Charter International – ECI started in 1995 with the goal to create and promote the new strategy conceptualized for strengthening the individual, communities and organizations in including and promoting Earth Charter International worldwide. Strategy is based on the concept of decentralization of state power and with the intention that Earth Charter International is quickly expanded in great proportions. Regarding

the fact that the great part of the world is in the considerable technological delay compared to Europe and North America, this initiative, as well as other which would be talked about, conduct a certain mobilization of Internet-communicator, especially individuals and they support spreading of the communicating technologies which provide unaffected development of rights for communication and practice of communicating sovereignty in local, regional and planet proportions.

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/1/ Mirosljub Radojković, *Međunarodno komuniciranje*, Institute for Textbooks education materials, Belgrade, 1987, pp. 19

/2/ The scope of reduction of information and knowledge transfer rate caused by the media-technology development and widening the information distribution space is illustrated in following examples:

The news about death of Fridrih I Barbarose 1190, that was drown on his third crusade while crossing the river Salef in Asia Minor, arrived in Germany after several weeks, and after several months in all towns and villages.

This new was transmitted by couriers – cavaliers.

The new about the death of American president Abraham Lincoln in Washing , that took place some seven hundred years later, i.e. in 1865, was taking twelve day voyage by ship across the Atlantic to reach Europe.

About hundred years later, in 1963 to be precise, the new about the death of American president John F. Kennedy in Dallas went around the world just in few minutes by the mean of radio and telephone.

Only six years after that incident, on 21st of July, 1969, hundred millions of people as television spectators, watched the in live, directly the landing of human crew on Moon and listened telephone conversation of the astronauts from the Moon surface with the American president Richard Nixon in Washington (Helmut Floher, *Neue Technik – neuer Journalismus?*, in: *Idee und Wirklichkeit des Journalismus*, Herausgegeben von Hans Wagner, München, 1988, ppg 287).

“It took Columbo one year to bring the new about the discovery of the new continent. Information about the death of Napolian in exile took two months to be transmitted. One week time was necessary for the news from the world to reach first newspaper (telegraph) agency. For the knowledge and public announcement of the catastrophe of “Titanic”, however, only few hours were necessary.

Landing of allies in Normandy was transmitted by the radio directly.” (Radojković, 1987, pp. 26-27).

Examples are showing how the technological progress influenced the speed of information transfer and conquering the time and space distance.

Examples show the progress of communication technique concerning the transfer rate, i.e. reduction of time and conquering or decreasing of space. Technological progress from sequential toward simultaneous and synchrone was taking place in parallel.

/3/ Knowledge resource enlargement, connection of knowledge and exchange has inspired further technological progress in creating of all useful media technologies as are: telegraph – 1838, telephone – 1961, film – 1895, and so on. Entire progress could be recognized in even faster transfer of knowledge and is influencing the transformation of work processes and social relations in general.

/4/ Holger Rust, *Die Zukunft der Mediengesellschaft*, Ein ethnologischer Essay, Berlin, 1984, pp. 74

/5/ Historic turbulences in Europe, including revolutionary ones in 19th century (1830, 1848 and 1878 in France), are connected causally with the development of technique and new media technologies. Causal connection between the technical and social progress with the uprisings, liberating war and constitution of Serbia as an independent state /recognized by the big European countries and neighborhoods is also undisputable.

Causal connection between technique and media technology with social changes progress could be seen in all areas. Popularization of informational-communicational sphere, for example, was not possible to be accomplished neither with powerful technical universal means nor with abstract and obscure for wider audience codes as are Latin language, administrative-upper-class vocabulary or old Slavic language in Serbia, prior to Vuk’s language reforms. Affirmation of popular language through media was caused by previously carried out language reforms as are for example Martin Luther reform in Germany and reform done by Vuk Karadžić in Serbia. As a natural consequence of such development and influence of media, within the Europe, North America and worldwide national awareness is growing that would eventually cause the affirmation of the rights of people. In that context also the creation of political will should be regarded in the direction of regulating the rights of peoples and countries. Peoples’s Society was formed in 1919 in Geneva. The pact of Peoples’s Society for the first time in history included the principle of people for auto nomination and division of tow big European multinational formations: Austrougarian and Ottoman Empire. IN that way, the country as the political formation lost in international legal order, besides the communicating sovereignty, another one sovereignty which in XX shall produce considerable effects such as the great number of countries, especially in Europe.

/6/ Roland Burkart, *Kommunikationstheorie und Kommunikations-geschichte. Historische Dimensionen Kommunikationswissen-schaftlicher Erkenntnisziele*, u: *Wegzur Kommunikationsgeschichte*, Bobrowsky, Manfred/ Langenbucher R. Wofjgang (Hrsg), München, 1983, pp.161

/7/ Mirosljub Radojković, Stanko Crnobrnja, *Sredstva masovnih komunikacija*, Stručna knjiga, Belgrade, 1995, pp. 39

/8/ Ibid.

/9/ Predrad Palavestra, *Povelja međunarodnog PEN-a*, in: *Temelji Moderne demokratije*, prir. Dušan Mrđenović, Nova knjiga, Belgrade, 1989, pg. 175

/10/ Soon after that, or just three years after the establishment of the International PEN, in 1926 Serbian PEN Centre was established in Belgrade, with identical goals. It is worth saying that Serbian PEN Centre was rewarded by international PEN in 1985, which was also significant in comparison with future events in the last decade of 20th century. In International PEN, it was stated that Serbian PEN Centre “ by menas of their extraordinary service duly fulfilled two main goals of our organization: international intellectual cooperation and

Protection of freedom of communication.” (the same, pp. 177).

/11/ In the field of radiodiffusion, transistor contributed to total progress in distribution of media matters, including Affirmation and popularisation of UN General Declaration on Human Rights.This declaration was translated into almost all languages in the world. Some provisions of the declaration, entered legislation of member countries, while it was, in its intirety, published in print media, as a part of other matters or in the form of a brochure. In addition

to this, many international and national radio stations used their efforts to spread the content of the Declaration. However, radio is superior in technical manner, since radio waves neither meet, nor recognize administrative, or any other limits. Radio is inter- and trans-national medium. "No other means of communication, nowadays has those possibilities. Almost all countries have certain possibilities to create radio programs according to their political needs, cultural forms and basic values" (*Many voices – one world*, UNESCO, Pariz, 1980, pp. 63). After radio in 1925, there was new one and, it can be also said, the revolutionary medium – television, which shall all up to date media overcome by technically spectacular transfer and information presentation in tone and picture. Advancement of catode pipe in 1926 as the basic technical component of television marked qualitatively and quantitatively increase of potential of mass media The mobile 'live' picture of television medium, unlike other media (newspapers, books, etc.) reaches considerably stronger effects to audience in comparison to other media and it causes stronger actions and reactions to people to presented happenings. The view of racial discrimination, which was considerably advanced television, emission from Olympic Games in Berlin in 1936 (German dictator Adolf Hitler refused to welcome Olympic winner, Americ Afro-American Jessie Owens, because according to the nacist normatives, he is a being of low race) shocked democratic world and make quicker development of consciousness and knowledge on the need for fight against fascism and fight for the protection of rights of a man and humanistic values in the whole. The year 1936 marked the real beginning of television medium: „The television period started in 1936, when France and England started to broadcast the regular programs." (*Many voices – one world*, 1980, pp. 67). The first television stations are established then such as, BBC - in 1936 and the TV stations in Leningrad, MOscow and New York – in 1939. World War II slowed the development of television. But the terrors showed through television and other mass media, including film and literary piece, will cause powerful cognitive and emotional effects and it will lead to the action of progressiev world in the fight against unhumane totalitarianism.

/12/ More about it: Palavestra, 1989.

/13/ Dušan Mrdenović, prir, *Temelji moderne demokratije*, IRO Nova knjiga, Belgrade, 1989, pp. 187

/14/ Internet, which started at the beginning of 80's in XX century, today is the planetarian communicative network and at the same time storage and resource of knowledge, attitudes and view at the world in its complete variety starting from the facts to fictions. the development of planetarian network of Internet started at the first connections in WWW- network of scientific technological knowledge. Connection initiated in 80's, was continued in 90's in mass range by the countries, regions, towns, scientific and educational institutions and individuals. Connection in planetarian range reached its peak at the end of XX century by including almost all countries into the Internet network, but it shall not be finished until there is Internet.

/15/ see about that: Novak A. Popović, *Virtuelne komunikacije*. Institute for political studies, Belgrade, 1999, pp. 99 and further

/16/ The print media increasingly are transferred to Internet presentation of its content and there are possible annual payment for newspapers and other print issues on Internet. Classical exchange of written and printed postal messages has almost completely passed into computer produced Internet-exchange in e-mail. Computer Internet changes

also social structures because, besides classical human communities it forms virtual computer communities which connect and conduct social interactions in virtual computer area: That is the category of people which were, without body presence, 'meet' using the communicating symbols (words, graphics, etc.) in cyberspace (the same): „In cyberspace we chat and discuss, participate in intellectual discourse, do commercial activities, exchange knowledge, emotionally help each other, distrust, gossip, quarrel, love, make and break friendships, play and create games, flirt. We do everythin people do when they are together. But we do that with the codes with computer screen, leaving the body out of that. Millions of us have already formed communities, where our identities are mixed and interactives, independantly from local time or position. The way that few of us live nowadays can be the way that many populations will live in folloing decades." (Howard Rheingold, *Virtual Reality*. Summit Books, New York, 1991). In economically and technologically developed part of the world, these virtual communities reached great proportions and according to its mass number they can be compared and measured to classical organic communities (more about that: Jan van Dijk, *The reality of virtual communities*, in: *Trends in Communication/New Media Developments*, Amsterdam 1997). In the area of fun and entertainment, computer Internet offers a huge number of possibilities and children and youth, i.e. generation which originated, has been originated and mix with the new technologies.

/17/ It is known that classical media: press, radio and television have moral codex as intra-medial regulating and at the same time deregulating instrument. Regulating in function of redaction autocontrol and obeyance of media ethic. Deregulative in function of decrease of state control of media i.e. already started process of deregulation of informative-regulating area at national and international level. In comparison to Internet it is not to much to say that it is the fact that deregulation was supported mostly by media technologies because they exceed and disable administrative interferences, and especially state and political interventions regarding the area of freedom of communication and communicating sovereignty of user.

/18/ Association for Progressive Communications, <http://www.apc.org/english/rights/charter.stml>

/19/ Ibid.

/20/ *Leksikon novinarstva*, Savremena administracija, Belgrade, 1979, pp. 91

/21/ Jim Richstad, *News Media and the Right to Communicate*, u: *The Right to Communicate: a New Human Right*, Boole Press, Dublin, 1983. 1983, pp. 173

/22/ in magazine *Argumenti*, no 3, 2008, Banjaluka.

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/25/ Louis McRedmond, *A Human Right*, in: *The Right to Communicate: a New Human Right*, Boole Press, Dublin, 1983, pp. 58

/26/ L. S. Harms, *a Development Construct*, u: *The Right to Communicate: a New Human Right*, Boole Press, Dublin, 1983, pp. 13

/27/ Ibid, pp 61

/28/ Wolfgang Kleinwaechter, *Internal and International Aspects*, u: *The Right to Communicate: a New Human Right*, Boole Press, Dublin, 1983, pp. 104

/29/ Ibid, pp. 105

/30/ Alain Modoux, *Fostering Democracy and Human Rights Through Communication*, u: *The Right to Communicate: a New Human Right*, Boole Press, Dublin, 1998, str. 33

- /31/ Ranko Petković, prir, *Savet evrope 1949 – 1995*, Međunarodna politika, 1996, str. 4
- /32/ In the Parisian charter from 1990 and further there are pretensions of KEBS/OEBS to regulate the total relations in Europe: „Human rights and basic freedoms are relevant to all human beings, they can not be taken and they are proved by law. It is the main obligation of governments to protect them and advance them. Their obedience and completely fulfillment make the foundation of freedom, justice and peace.“ (*Dokumenti KEBS 1975 - 1995*, Međunarodna politika, Belgrade, 1995, pp. 143).
- /33/ Ibid.
- /34/ *Medienbericht '98 (Bericht der Bundesregierung ueber die Lage der Medien in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1998)*, Presse-undInformationsant der Bundesregierung, CD-ROM DC/MAC, Bonn, 1998.
- /35/ Wolfgang Kleinwaechter, *The people's „right to communicate“ and a „Global Communication Charter“*, published in. *Journal of International Communication*, No. ½, dec. 1998. IAMCR, Sydney-Australia, 1998, 108
- /36/ Ibid, pp. 110

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