

The New International Economic Order: Links between Economics and Communications

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Preface

This report was undertaken in response to a paragraph (4398) in Unesco's Approved Programme and Budget for 1981-1983, which called for a study on "the relationship between a new international economic order and a new communication order". The aim of its authors, Breda Pavlic and Cees J. Hamelink, is to trace and analyse the relationship between the two concepts, the steps taken towards their practical implementation, the various shifts and deepening of perspective that have been seen, and in so doing to attempt a more precise definition of the contribution that information-communication means can make towards the establishment of a new economic order. The study attempts to bring out the nature and scale of those obstacles that inequalities and imbalances in communication (including technological dependence) place in the way of a new economic order, and to consider the consequences for information and communication should such an order be established.

The authors have deliberately adopted a broad view of communication, seeing issues of specialised information and transborder data flow as the most

fundamental linkage between the two orders. They take the concept of self reliance as a principal common denominator and use this as a main thread in tracing their history and terminology, before moving on to a more specific review of specialised information activities, with particular reference to trade relationships, legal aspects, the rôle of transnational enterprises, the relative positions of industrialised and developing countries, and relationships among the developing countries themselves, in matters of collective action and negotiation. The authors emphasise that, while they have tried to take account of the concerns and positions of all geo-political groups, the main focus of their study is on the problems and preoccupations of the developing countries.

The analysis and presentation of data in this report, and the opinions expressed, are those of the authors themselves; they do not necessarily reflect the views of Unesco. They should be read as a particular and personal interpretation, by two scholars actively engaged in the field, of a major contemporary theme which is open to many interpretations and points of view.

Acknowledgements

This study is the result of cooperation among a number of researchers and research institutions who have been exchanging their views and writings within the framework of the International Communications Section of the International Association for Mass Communication Research, notably Oswaldo Capriles, Institute for Research on Communication (ININCO), Caracas; Rita Cruise O'Brien, Institute of Development Studies (IDS), Brighton; Cees J. Hamelink, Institute of Social Studies (ISS), The Hague; Meheroo Jussawalla, East-West Communication Institute, Honolulu; Breda Pavlic, Research Centre for Cooperation with Developing Countries, Ljubljana; Rafael Roncagliolo, Latin American Institute of Transnational Studies (ILET), Mexico; and Tamas Szecsko, Mass Communication Research Centre, Budapest. The actual writing was done by Breda Pavlic, who is particularly responsible for the Introduction, the First Chapter, the first two parts of the Second Chapter, most of the Third (Concluding) Chapter, the two selected bibliographies and the coordination of the project. Cees J. Hamelink contributed the significant part on "(Specialized) Information, trade and self-reliance" in Chapter Two, and a fair share of the Concluding Chapter. While it is a most gratifying feeling to know that the report was produced through such a joint effort, Breda Pavlic nonetheless bears the final responsibility for the views expressed and whatever errors might have occurred.

The Unesco-sponsored IAMCR Consultation which

took place in Leicester, England, from 18 to 22 July, 1982, and which was attended by N. Dajani, K.E. Eapen, F.-J. Eilers, F. Fleck, C.J. Hamelink, J.D. Halloran, Z. Jakab, M. Jussawalla, H. Mowlana, B. Pavlic, R. Roncagliolo, A. Sreberry-Mohammadi, R.A. White and P. Henquet (Unesco) discussed the original text and made some minor improvements.

In addition to the above-mentioned, the works of many colleagues and friends have served as inspiration and information. They are too numerous to be mentioned individually, but we hope that each will find his or her views incorporated appropriately in the study, and that this will encourage further cooperation in our pursuit of greater knowledge and better understanding of the world in which we live, and in our efforts to build a peaceful future.

Besides acknowledging our gratitude to Unesco which gave us both financial and moral support, and the Yugoslav Commission for Cooperation with Unesco, special thanks should also be addressed to the Research Centre for Cooperation with Developing Countries (Ljubljana) and the Institute of Social Studies (The Hague) for providing time and technical facilities. Last, but certainly not least, it was a great help to have the excellent services of Ankica Šokčević, who typed the manuscript.

Breda Pavlić
Cees J. Hamelink

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Introduction

Shortly after the idea of a new international economic order was launched in the early seventies¹, the international community was asked to recognize that "the establishment of a new international economic order depends not only on political and economic factors, but also on socio-cultural factors, the rôle of which in development is constantly growing and which are crucial in the struggle of peoples against all forms of domination."² As explained in *Moving towards Change*, "the very purpose of a 'new international economic order' thus goes beyond the economic sphere proper; it is directed not only to making the best use of things and sharing them out more fairly, but to developing all men and women, and every aspect of the individual, in a comprehensive cultural process, deeply permeated with values, and embracing the national environment, social relationships, education and welfare. It is also concerned with providing a basis for the development of the international community itself."³ In terms of theory, such an approach (as well as others which were expressed subsequently in background papers, notably *The Future of the Third World* and *The Challenge of the Year 2000*) represents the continuation of the best theoretical traditions, such as the one developed most notably by Gunnar Myrdal, who pointed out that it is basically unrealistic to think that there are certain elements of social reality which can be characterized as exclusively "economic factors" and that a theoretical analysis of society can only be rationally carried out in terms of the interaction of these factors. This is unrealistic, according to Myrdal, because it is precisely in the sphere of the major part of the social realities, which are ignored in classical economic analysis with its separation of "economic" from "non-economic" factors, that changes occur which are of overriding importance for the overall development of a given society. Thus a comprehen-

sive and sound analysis of a society must take into account both "economic proper" and the so-called "non-economic" factors, and might only distinguish, for sake of methodology, between "more relevant" and "less relevant" factors (relevant in view of development processes).⁴

On the basis of such arguments it was soon realized that the world needs, as an integral part of the establishment of the new international economic order, also a new international socio-cultural order, the demand for the latter expressing itself foremost, for the time being at least, in the demand for a *new international/world information and communication order*⁵. With the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries (Colombo 1976) and the 19th General Conference of UNESCO (Nairobi 1976) the idea of a new international order in information (and communication) was officially launched in the international arena (although its beginnings are of earlier date, as indicated in the following chapter) as an essential counterpart in the efforts to create the NIEO.

Since then, a large number of professional meetings and various international conferences as well as an impressive amount of literature has concentrated on the conceptualization of the two orders⁶. So far, more attention has been given to the new inter-

¹ The Declaration of the Establishment of a New International Economic Order was adopted at the Sixth Special Session of the UN General Assembly in 1974, followed by the adoption of the Action Programme at the Seventh Special Session (Resolutions 3201 and 3202/S-VI and Resolution 3362/S-VII); this is generally regarded as a direct outcome of the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Nonaligned Countries, Algiers, 1973.

² See: 18th General Conference of UNESCO (Paris, 1974), 18C/Resolution 12.11.

³ *Moving Toward Change* (Some thoughts on the new international economic order), Unesco, Paris, 1976, p. 19.

⁴ Gunnar Myrdal, *Economic Theory and Under-Developed Regions*, London, 1969, p.10.

⁵ Mindful of the fact that the initial term used by the nonaligned countries was a "new *international information* later "communication" was added) order" and that this later turned into the now predominantly used term "new *world information and communication order*", and assuming that this change in terminology has substantive, i.e., political, significance (which will be at least partly dealt with also in this study), both terms will be used in spite of its cumbersomeness. Further elucidation on this matter will be given later. The concepts information and communication, which are not precisely delineated here, will be coupled throughout the study. This is done in order to avoid any undue restrictive approaches to the problems investigated.

⁶ For methodological reasons we speak of the NIEO and a NWICO as two orders, although it would be more accurate to speak of two aspects of one order since they are in fact deeply interlinked and interdependent. We return to this question in the concluding part of the study.

national economic order, but the information-communication order is mentioned in a rapidly growing body of literature, coming from practically all parts of the world¹. Admittedly much of it, particularly the latter, tends to be still of an exploratory nature, i.e., built on assumptions rather than empirical evidence, and of rather limited scope in terms of theoretical approaches and the ability to encompass the totality of processes (which are not simply of a "cause-effect" nature but are characterized by dialectical interrelationship) - all of which makes both orders vulnerable to attacks coming from both "the right" and "the left". However, the real value of the debate so far lies primarily in its ability to sort out the various complexities with which the two orders are meant to deal.

The substance of the relationship between the two orders, however, remains a particularly neglected issue, although it is often sporadically mentioned in some of the basic documents (such as those of the movement of the nonaligned countries, of the United Nations system, etc.) and in the works of some authors. What still prevails is "the communication gap between the economist and the communication scientist, both of whom are interested in helping the Third World",² but seem to have difficulties in finding a common language. This is true not only on the international scene, but just as much (if not even more) at the national level; moreover, a communications break-down exists even among the "communications people" themselves. The latter manifests itself in various ways, the most striking being the systematic reduction by some communication professionals of the efforts to create a new international/world information-communication order to just one of its aspects, i.e., the rôle of the press and the defense of its freedom.

One of the reasons for this is no doubt the longstanding practice of understanding information-communication problems as involving foremost, if not solely, the mass media, i.e., the press, radio, television and film. These are traditionally considered as components of a society's "cultural sphere" or, in the vocabulary of the Marxist approach, the "superstructure" of a society, even though they have long since developed into industrial and business activities and are linked to a society's economics in more than one way³. While this, in fact, reflects an already outdated approach which separates the "economic" from the "non-economic" (in this case, "cultural"), as has already been mentioned, it also demonstrates either ignorance or a deliberate avoidance of other, more recent forms of information-communication (such as new forms of telecommunications⁴, computer communication,

satellite communication and telematics, i.e., the merging of computer communication and telecommunications) which are (as shown in this study) penetrating all spheres of economy by above all the most crucial, such as the monetary and financial sector, trade and industry. The powerful nature of these information-communication means, and the deep consequences each has for the economy of all countries, and particularly for the developing ones, makes the claim for a new international/world information-communication order indeed a very relevant one to the establishment of a new international economic order. At this point it needs to be realized that today's advanced information-communication technology is not just another area of technical knowledge, but that it can rightly be called 'the command and control system' for all other technologies. The control of this technology is a vital component in the distribution and execution of social power. Differential access to such technologies as implied in data processing and telecommunication determines differential access to the capacity to collect, process and use information: a conclusive factor in social decision-making. The struggle about the control over this technology in society is essential, because the outcome will determine how decision-making power will be distributed and hence how all major social decisions will be made. Social decision-making will affect the development and application of the whole range of technologies.

It also deserves to be noted that information-communication technology is essentially a 'convergence technology'. More and more, it represents (particularly through the integration of data processing and telecommunication technologies) the indispensable infrastructure for the whole gamut of industrial production processes. All these become increasingly information-extensive. Rapid developments in micro-electronics technology in particular, will bring industries to realize that the volume and differentiation of their production are determined by the application of highly advanced information technology. In its applied form (e.g. micro-computers, robots) that technology will largely replace the factor of unskilled and semi-skilled labour, and will define skill requirements on the level of high technology management.

The convergent nature of information-communication technology also implies strong industrial concentration. Formerly separate fields such as data processing, text processing, information storage, photocopying and information transmission are increasingly integrated through the merger of technologies and can be operated by a single, vertically-integrated corporation.

This study thus sets out to establish an initial framework for the study of the effects of various kinds of modern information-communication technologies which need to be taken account of in conceptualizing the NIEO. Although attention will be given to both the mass media and other forms of information-communication technologies, emphasis will be laid on the latter due to the fact that this is of greater direct relevance to economic issues and because it has so far tended to be left out of this context⁵. One of the basic assertions of this study is that developments of technology such as digitalization of information require that mass communications and computer

¹ See the select bibliography on each of the orders attached to the study.

² Meheroo Jussawalla, "The Economics of International Communication", *Third World Quarterly*, Vol.1, no. 3, London, 1979, pp. 87-94. There are some notable exceptions such as M. Jussawalla herself, Thomas H. Guback, Thomas L. McPhail, Jan Pronk, Herbert I. Schiller, Dallas W. Smythe, Juan Somavia, to name a few but generally speaking communication and co-operation between the two disciplines is still weak.

³ This is described in much literature including UNESCO's *Many Voices, One World*, Paris, 1980.

⁴ Defined by the International Telecommunication Convention of the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) as: "any transmission, emission or reception of signs, signals, writing, images and sounds or intelligence of any nature by wire, radio, optical or other electro-magnetic systems". U.N. document A/Conf. 104/7/Add.20, p.1.

⁵ Due to length limitations of this study the issue of national and transnational news agencies, which has so far received the largest amount of attention in communications research and the debate on NWICO, is mentioned only in passing.

communications (including telecommunications) be no longer treated as separate issues. Media-data convergence, as this process is called, lies at the heart of the present technological revolution in the information-communication area, and is crucial to understanding the relationship between economic and communications process and, consequently, the relationship between the NIEO and a new order in information and communication.

At the same time, it should be kept in mind that changes which are expected to develop in the process of creating the new international economic order, understood in the broadest sense, will necessarily affect the entire information-communication sphere in various ways and at various levels, including national information-communication systems and international communications. This is a valid expectation particularly if one understands the establishment of the NIEO as a *de facto* demise of the present system of economic relations in which the transnational enterprises (TNE) are the dominant economic factors (largely due to their use of modern information-communication means) and in which information-communication is an essential element of the overall processes of transnationalization. Furthermore, such an expectation is supported by the understanding of the NIEO as involving fundamental changes not only in the existing relations between countries but also in economic and socio-political relations within each country. In other words, "economic independence is the cornerstone of the New International Economic Order"¹ and its more immediate goal, but in the broader, long-term vision, the NIEO, as well as a new international/world information-communication order, are seen as materializations of the historic possibilities for genuine equality and democracy at both the national and international levels.

The interdependence between the new international economic order and a new international/world information-communication order is, however, not as easy to establish in a scholarly way as it may appear at first glance. The relatively undeveloped methodology of the social sciences, particularly in the information-communication area² is ill-equipped to tackle the wide gamut of phenomena and processes which need to be examined and their inter-relatedness established. The paramount problems arise no doubt from the need to examine the complex issues which these two orders signify in a thoroughly interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary way, involving various disciplines :

economics, political science, communications, sociology, anthropology, philosophy, law (including international law)³ and technical sciences. Given the traditional break-down ("division of labour") of science, which reigns supreme in all modern societies with rather insignificant variations that can be found in one or another national system, it is very difficult to develop a genuinely inter- and multi-disciplinary approach to contemporary information-communication problems. The obstacles are both in the established methodologies of each discipline and modes of operation as well as in the heads of the scientists who have been brought up in certain scientific traditions and find it practically impossible to understand other patterns of thinking. Furthermore, better understanding of the issues involved requires a deeper, more comprehensive and up-dated approach in terms of the theories of social classes and class struggle. This has become a highly complex and difficult undertaking particularly in view of the specific conditions of development in the developing countries and the overall conditions created worldwide by the processes of transnationalization. While a number of very stimulating works with this approach exist on some aspects of either the economic or the information-communication complexities, a valid synthesis of the totality of processes still remains to be achieved. In this context, the mass media (or mass communication) and other forms of information-communication technologies (computers, satellites, etc.) need to be examined in an integral way, i.e., as components of a whole, which is a national system, at one level, and the international system, at the other level. The hitherto prevalent practice of separating these two when speaking of information-communication problems can be tolerated only as a methodological tool at a certain stage of analysis, but further adherence to it results in a serious deformation of the individual issues and the whole complex critique of the present situation which is being expressed through the demands for a new international economic order and a new international/world information-communication order.

Further problems, no less important than those mentioned above, are caused by the necessity of assessing the two orders not only from the point of view of the developing countries' needs and interests, but also from the point of view of the developed countries. It goes without saying that in the present state of world affairs, the plight of the developing countries⁴ is of central concern; nonetheless, in what may be considered the best writings on these subjects so far, it is frequently underlined that a thorough re-shaping of present international relations in economics and information-communication is ultimately a necessity for the entire world. It concerns the developed countries as well, not only because of the mounting pressures coming from the developing countries' aggravating problems, but also because of the developed countries' internal problems (such as unemployment, repressive use of modern information-communication means, concentration of financial and other forms of power, etc.) and the relations between/among the developed

¹ Janez Stanovnik, "Towards the New International Economic Order", *Review of International Affairs*, Vol.29, no. 683, Belgrade, p.1.

² The kind of methodological problems one meets in this regard are at least partly described in the following works: *Communication Research in Third World Realities*: Report of a policy workshop on communication research, held at the ISS, Den Haag, February 1980; Oswaldo Capriles, "From National Communication Policies to the New International Information Order: Some Lessons for Research", paper presented at the 12th Scientific Conference of IAMCR/AIERI, Caracas, August 1980; Luis R. Beltran, "Alien premises, objects, and methods in Latin American communication research", *Communication Research*, no. 3, 1976; Peter Golding and Graham Murdock, "Theories of Communication and Theories of Society", *Communication Research*, no. 5, 1978; Thomas L. McPhail, *Electronic Colonialism*, Sage, 1981. For an indication of an even more comprehensive and creative approach which is needed, see: Antonio Pasquali, "Understanding Communication or the Media?", *Cultures*, Vol.VI, no.3, Unesco, Paris, 1979.

³ A rare attempt in developing a comprehensive approach which places emphasis on the legal aspects of NIEO is the work of Mohammed Bedjaoui, *Pour un nouvel ordre économique international*, published by UNESCO in 1979 in its series "Nouveaux défis au droit international".

⁴ The term "developing countries" is used in spite of the authors' awareness that they are not a homogenous group. The term is used to indicate foremost the non-oil exporting developing countries.

countries themselves, which are likely to become worse in the coming decades¹.

For these reasons, the present study had to limit itself to only some of the aspects of the two orders. The principle of individual and collective self-reliance was singled out as a particularly important aspect (goal) to be considered, firstly, because it is one of the fundamental principles of the two orders, and secondly, because it seems to be one of the aspects which are deeply and perhaps most directly dependent on information-communication developments. This will be argued (tested) both at the level of individual (national) self-reliance and collective self-reliance (cooperation between the developing countries), but an attempt will also be made to confront it in two other respects: in terms of what is expected of the information-communication means in the process of creating self-reliance, and in terms of what is actually happening in the area of information-communication technologies and how this is likely to affect the aforementioned expectations.

Combining the immediate with the long-term and the practically-oriented with the visionary is difficult and ultimately disappointing: it is likely to disappoint those who will expect this study to offer practical solutions to a variety of problems which are in some parts of the world already looming large when discussing national information-communication policies within the context of a new international/world information-communication order; and it will also disappoint those who think of the NIEO and a NWICO as blueprints for a better world and are therefore looking for neatly formulated, comprehensively defined concepts of the two orders, or, more accurately, of the two aspects of a better world order. None of this will be found in this study, although an effort will be made to bring together in as synthetic a way as

possible some of the dominant views on the two orders, and to identify at least some of the essential points which prove their mutual interdependence. Furthermore, the principal concern has been to show, on the basis of a concise yet sufficiently substantive chronological review of the development of the notion of a new international/world information-communication order, and by relating this to the idea of the new international economic order, that the two are embodiments of larger challenges to the present system(s), that they have arisen from deeply-rooted and long-accumulated needs of the developing countries, and that they both reflect certain historic realities and necessities, the realization of which is of vital importance not only for these countries but for the whole world, i.e., for the entire international community. Both represent complex processes rather than any given set of conditions and practices (which is a frequently-found but erroneous approach to each of the orders), which should lead to fundamental structural changes that will increase the possibilities for achieving genuine justice, equality (meaning not only equality in terms of social classes, race, minorities, etc., but also in terms of equality between men and women which still remains a cardinal injustice, manifested by myriad ways, in most parts of the world), democratic participation in decision-making, multi-faceted development and pluralism at the international as well as at the national level.

Even with the aforementioned limitations, the study is an ambitious undertaking; aware of the enormous complexities involved and the limited abilities of those who worked on it, we take courage from the saying: "Only the imperfect (inadequate) is productive" (Goethe), and that its real merit will be in stimulating further research in this area.

¹ D.W. Smythe, T.L. McPhail, C. Duke and others show that developed countries such as Canada, Australia and those of Western Europe are becoming increasingly worried about their economic and political sovereignty and their cultural identity with the development of the so-called "informatization of society" and "electronic colonialism". See: Dallas W. Smythe, *Dependency Road: Communications, Capitalism, Consciousness, and Canada*, Ablex, N.J., 1981; Thomas L. McPhail, *op. cit.*; Chris Duke, *Impact of Modern Communication Technology: Australia*, Unesco series on the New Communication Order, No.1, Paris, 1980.

Chapter 1

A New International/World Information Communication Order

1.1. The development of a concept

In the early and mid-seventies, the term a "new international information order" appeared as the embodiment of the developing countries' growing awareness of their deeply disadvantaged position in the sphere of information and communication in the world. Drawing knowledge from the research efforts of the sixties, particularly those that revealed the existing information-communication imbalance and inequality between the industrially developed and the developing countries¹, the latter, notably within the framework of the movement of nonaligned countries, brought the information-communication problems before their own as well as other major international fora, thus demanding that greater attention be given to the hitherto rather obscure topic of international relations.

World surveys of the use of mass media, done largely at UNESCO's initiative, "sounded the first alarm", as expressed by Bogdan Osolnik. Hence at the symposium which was held in Montreal in 1969, "a UNESCO-sponsored group of experts stated in its report that prevailing disparities made the free circulation of news and information more a one-way flow from the developed world towards the developing countries than a real interchange. The symposium stressed the need to safeguard the cultural integrity of the developing countries from the destructive onslaught of programmes carrying alien substance and values into local environments."² That same year, within the United Nations' Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space (COPUOS) the debate on direct broadcast satellite (DBS) manifested first signs of serious disagreement among Member States. During COPUOS' annual session, the Soviet Union took the stand that countries should be legally bound to obtain "prior consent" from receiving governments before broadcasting

from space by satellite. This was opposed by the United States as being contrary to Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and as "a threat to the free flow of information". As a result of a joint Swedish-Canadian proposal, an *ad hoc* Working Group on Direct Broadcast Satellites was formed to consider the technical, legal and political aspects of DBS. However, no consensus was reached (after five meetings between 1969 and 1974) to establish legal instruments to govern DBS. Moreover, some participants felt that the possibility of widespread application of such technology would not come until 1980 and, thus, the call for regulation of DBS was deemed "premature"³.

The following year, in 1970, the General Conference of UNESCO at its sixteenth session authorized the Director-General "to help Member States in the formulation of their mass communication policies"⁴. One of the results of this decision was the subsequent publication of the UNESCO series on communication policies in selected countries which represents a first step in a more systematic depiction of how communication is organized at the different levels: public, institutional, and professional. Although some of these studies appeared only a few years later, they nonetheless confirmed in many respects the problems and fears which had started to be expressed more clearly by the developing countries at the beginning of the seventies.

In 1972 a meeting of experts on communication policies and planning, convened by UNESCO, was among the first to bring up a number of information-communication problems described as aspects of "cultural neo-colonialism"⁵. The basic concern common to most of these problems was directed towards a more critical assessment of modern information-communication technology and its rapid development. The hitherto prevailing attitude of major international organizations, developed mostly from the works of communication experts such as Wilbur Schramm, Daniel Lerner, Lucian Pye, Ithiel de Sola Pool and others, were questioned in view of the evident deepening of the gap between the developed and the developing

¹ Some of these were presented in 1968 at the international symposium "Mass Media and International Understanding" held in Ljubljana, Yugoslavia, in cooperation with UNESCO; this was one of the first international meetings to discuss the need of fundamental changes in the area of international information-communication. See the proceedings of the meeting published in *Mass Media and International Understanding*, School of Sociology, Political Science and Journalism, Ljubljana 1969, 426 pp.

² Bogdan Osolnik, *The New International Information and Communication Order*, Jugoslovenska stvarnost, Belgrade 1980, pp. 15-16; see also *Mass Media in Society: The Need of Research* (Reports and Papers on Mass Communication, No. 59), Paris, Unesco, 1970.

³ See K. Queeney, *Direct Broadcast Satellites and the United Nations*, Sijthoff and Noordhoff, The Hague, 1978; Ithiel de Sola Pool, "The problems of WARC", *Journal of Communication*, Vol.29, no. 1, 1979.

⁴ See Documents of the 16th General Conference, 16 C/4, UNESCO, Paris, 1970.

⁵ Meeting of experts on communication policies and planning, Paris, 17-28 July 1972. *Final Report*. COM/MD/24, 24 pp.

countries. At the seventeenth session of the General Conference of UNESCO, which was held that year, the idea of a Declaration of the Fundamental Principles Governing the Use of the Mass Media with a view to Strengthening Peace and Understanding and Combating War Propaganda, Racism, and Apartheid was first officially expressed. Parallel to this, the debate over DBS (Direct Broadcast Satellite) began to intensify as the Soviet Union introduced a proposal to the United Nations General Assembly for "a binding convention of principles for television transmission from satellites. In essence, this was a call for a more 'regulatory' response to DBS than previous policies, which had been characterized by a Western *laissez faire* attitude. Some delegations considered this necessary, since the Outer Space Treaty had not dealt with outer space activities the direct effects of which would be essentially earthbound (such as direct television broadcasting from space, which appeared to have very definite political implications)." ¹

According to the USICA information, "the United States took a strongly negative stance toward the Soviet proposals, calling them premature and unduly restrictive. Consistent with previous (and present) American policy, it was felt that any outside regulations whatsoever would constitute a threat to the cherished tradition of unrestricted flow of information. Much to the Americans' dismay, however, the desire to establish some measures of regulatory principle governing DBS extended far beyond the Soviet Union. By a vote of 102 to 1, with the United States the lone nay vote, the United Nations General Assembly called upon CUPUOS to 'elaborate principles governing the use by States of artificial earth satellites for direct television broadcasting with a view towards concluding an international agreement or agreements'. Behind this astoundingly lopsided vote was the fear widely expressed by a large number of states that the U.S. would use its tremendous technological advantage for political, cultural or commercial purposes." ² This, as will be seen later, was the first expression of an apprehension which has increased with time.

1973 was marked by a number of events among which particular mention should be made of the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries (Algiers) which is considered as the beginning of the non-aligned countries' involvement in the information-communication area in a more organized way. In items xiii and xiv of the Action Programme for Economic Cooperation, which was adopted by the conference (attended by 75 Member States, 24 observers and 3 guest countries), the following is stated :

"Developing countries should take concerted action in the field of mass communications on the following lines in order to promote a greater interchange of ideas among themselves.

a) Reorganization of existing communication channels which are the legacy of the colonial past and which have hampered free, direct and fast communication between them.

b) Initiate joint action for the revision of existing multilateral agreements with a view to reviewing press cable rates and facilitating faster and cheaper inter-communication.

c) Take urgent steps to expedite the process

¹ *The United States and the Debate on the World "Information Order"*, USICA, Washington, D.C., 1979, pp. 20-21.

² *The United States ...*, *op. cit.*, p. 21; emphasis added.

of collective ownership of communication satellite and evolve a code of conduct for directing their use.

d) Promote increased contact between the mass media, universities, libraries, planning and research bodies and other institutions so as to enable developing countries to exchange experience and expertise and share ideas." ³

The remaining part of the text emphasizes the need of the non-aligned countries to exchange and disseminate information through all forms of mass media concerning their mutual achievements in all fields; to formulate plans for sharing experience in this field through reciprocal visits and the establishment of regional and inter-regional scientific and technical research institutes; facilitate training of scientific and technical staff; exchange radio and television programmes, etc.

The same year, i.e., one year after the United States launched Landsat I (in 1972), the U.N. Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space expressed increased concern regarding the social, political and legal implications of "remote sensing", which has been defined by the U.N. Panel as "a system of methods for identifying the nature and/or determining the condition of objects on the earth's surface and of phenomena on, below or above it, by means of observations from airborne or spaceborne platforms" ⁴. Although it seems that there was general agreement in the Committee that the potential benefits from remote sensing are enormous and hence prevention or restriction were not seriously considered, controversy arose over how the data obtained through remote sensing should be disseminated. The Soviet Union submitted a draft list of principles for regulation of remote-sensing activity from outer space. One of its central provisions reaffirmed the sovereignty of states over their natural resources and went on to add that this sovereignty should cover information concerning these resources, which was based on the 1962 Resolution on Permanent Sovereignty Over Natural Resources, adopted by the UN General Assembly. This proposal included also a provision stating that the consent of the sensed state should be required before information about its natural resources could be disseminated. However, an even more restrictive regime was put forward by Argentina (with the support of some other Latin American states, notably Brazil), demanding "prohibition of any remote-sensing activity relating to natural resources under national jurisdiction without prior consent" ⁵. As could be expected, the United States took a nearly opposite position to the two above proposals, supporting a policy of open sensing of earth's natural resources and the free distribution of data derived therefrom ⁶.

At the 18th session of the General Conference of UNESCO (1974), a great deal of attention focused on the "free flow of information" issue. The general view which dominated was that "free flow of information", as it has been understood and practised so far,

³ Documents of the Fourth Conference of Non-Aligned countries, Algiers, 1973: Action Programme for Economic Cooperation; also in: Vladislava Bulatović, *Non-Alignment and Information*, Federal Committee for Information & Jugoslovenska stvarnost, Belgrade, 1978, p.71.

⁴ UN Doc. A/AC 105/98, January 1972.

⁵ Hamilton De Saussure, "Remote Sensing by Satellite: What Future for an International Regime", *The American Journal of International Law*, 71:4 (October 1977), p.720.

⁶ *The United States...*, *op. cit.*, p.23.

was practically meaningless for those countries (and that is the majority) which lack the information-communication means, i.e. whose information-communication infrastructure and technology is highly undeveloped. As a result, practical action was requested which would strengthen and expand communication capabilities of the developing countries and thus help correct the present imbalances and inequality¹.

In 1975 three important actions in the information-communication area took place within the movement of non-aligned countries. First, on 20 January TANJUG, the Yugoslav news agency, initiated officially the Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool based on the cooperation of 11 news agencies from non-aligned countries (today there are 68 news agencies involved), and some 30 agencies either participating in its work directly or having expressed their wish to do so during the first twelve months². According to V. Bulatović, "during the first twelve months of its activity the Pool received 3.500 news and information items which were rebroadcast via TANJUG both from the Yugoslav information media and foreign broadcasting service in English, French and Spanish. Another 1.000 news reports and other items from Yugoslavia or TANJUG's correspondents abroad transmitted through the Pool should likewise be mentioned in this context"³. Considering its success, the Declaration of the Coordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries, which met in Havana in March 1975, recommended (in Point 28) that this scheme be continued and other forms of cooperation in the domain of information be introduced and promoted. In August, at the Meeting of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries in Lima, a Resolution on Cooperation in the Field of Diffusion of Information and Mass Communication Media was adopted. This resolution, according to Osolnik, "is a landmark because it went beyond defining the political, economic and cultural substance of the problem and turned to wide-based practical action by the non-aligned. An intergovernmental council for coordinating their cooperation at the international level was agreed on and Tunisia elected as coordinator."⁴ As a follow-up, Tunisia offered to host the first symposium of the non-aligned countries on communication issues, which took place in March 1976, and a preparatory meeting for this symposium took place in Belgrade in May 1975.

The symposium which took place in Tunis in the presence of delegates from 38 member countries, seven observers and some six international organizations, was one of the first international events at which the need for the establishment of a new international order in the fields of information and communication as an important element of NIEO was officially presented in a more comprehensive way. The assessments and proposals made on this occasion included the following⁵:

* The public information and mass communication media are invested with an exceptionally important rôle in the common struggle for liberation (the affirmation of political and economic independence), development, the laying of new foundations for the creation of more equitable international relations.

¹ See documents of the 18th General Conference of UNESCO, particularly : 18C/90 (Paris, 20/9/74); 18C/COM/3/Corr. of 16/11/74; 18/123 of 20/11/74.

² Vladislava Bulatović, *op. cit.*, p.34.

³ *Ibid.*, p.34.

⁴ Bogdan Osolnik, *op. cit.*, p.17.

⁵ Vladislava Bulatović, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-40.

* The analysis of economic trends in the international community and particularly in the non-aligned and developing countries indicates that the manner in which these problems are presented and commented upon in the developed countries is causing concern among the developing ones. It was therefore stressed that the information media in the non-aligned and developing countries should assume the rôle of coordinators of all activities pertaining to international cooperation, or more exactly, that they should encourage the efforts of these countries aimed at assuring the necessary conditions for the establishment of a new, more equitable economic order, this being the only way of overcoming the economic disparities between the members of the international community. It is only under such conditions that information media will be capable of assuring the social, economic and cultural independence of the non-aligned and developing countries.

* The right of peoples to objective information on all national and international events was reaffirmed. Nevertheless, such information is subjected on the one hand to state control in those cases where the latter exercises a monopoly over the information media and flow of information, and is exposed to tendentious distortion by the major world news agencies, on the other hand.

* In spite of the fact that they are fundamental elements of the human heritage, the cultures and civilization of the non-aligned and developing countries have for a long time been presented by the colonialist powers in a prejudiced, inadequate and inaccurate way. The tendency to ignore, disregard and minimize these cultural traditions has inevitably led to the imposing of their own models of civilisation by the colonialist powers. These models were both incompatible with the national heritage and completely at variance with the actual needs of these countries and peoples.

* A one-way flow of information is due to the monopoly imposed by the major transnational information systems, whose reports, generally speaking, often provide an inadequate, inaccurate and tendentious picture of the overall social trends and processes in the developing countries.

* The inadequate infrastructure, shortage of professional and technical personnel and the concomitant problems of their training and specialization require prolonged and systematic efforts in order to be overcome. The rapid technological progress achieved in the domain of mass communication media has, in a certain sense, tended to aggravate the unequal position of the non-aligned and developing countries in relation to the developed ones, thus in fact deepening and broadening the existing gap between them. As means of overcoming this situation, the following were proposed :

* The development and strengthening of national infrastructures pertaining to all spheres of information should be considered a priority task ; the more developed non-aligned countries are expected to extend appropriate assistance in this regard to the less developed ones.

* Establishment, promotion and strengthening of all forms of cooperation through an exchange of programmes, know-how and experience should be encouraged ; this is particularly important in the area of science and technology.

* Necessary incentives should be given to research work in the information-communication area and the expansion and development of institutions which are engaged in this work.

* Establishment of technical and professional training centres for information-communication personnel,

and the concurrent extension of organized assistance on the basis of solidarity with those developing countries whose training facilities are still at the incipient stage.

Broadly speaking, the final report of this symposium contained suggestions for a study of mass media potential for self-reliance within the non-aligned and other developing countries, the development of national news agencies, the creation of regional exchange centres for journalists and technologies, including the common acquisition of communication satellites, and the future development of an appropriate infrastructure capable of communication production and distribution.

The recommendations of the Tunis symposium were first discussed at the Meeting of Ministers of the Non-Aligned Countries (New Delhi, 1976) and immediately after that at the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries (Colombo, 1976). The heads of state of 84 participating countries endorsed these declarations and recommendations, adopting as part of the Conference's Political Declaration the following wording :

"160. A new international order in the fields of information and mass communications is as vital as a new international economic order.

161. Non-aligned countries noted with concern the vast and ever-growing gap between communication capacities in non-aligned countries and in the advanced countries which is a legacy of their colonial past. This has created a situation of dependence and domination in which the majority of countries are reduced to being passive recipients of biased, inadequate and distorted information. The fuller identification and affirmation of their national and cultural identity thus required them to rectify this serious imbalance and to take urgent steps to provide greater momentum in this new area of mutual cooperation.

162. The emancipation and development of national information media is an integral part of the overall struggle for political, economic and social independence for a large majority of the peoples of the world who should not be denied the right to inform and to be informed objectively and correctly. *Self-reliance in sources of information is as important as technological self-reliance* since dependence in the field of information in turn retards the very achievement of political and economic growth.

163. Non-aligned countries must achieve these objectives through their own efforts as well as by more active cooperation on a bilateral, regional as well as inter-regional basis and by coordinating their activities in the United Nations and other international fora. It is particularly necessary for non-aligned countries to strengthen their existing infrastructures and to take full advantage of the scientific and technological breakthroughs already made in this field. This would facilitate more complete dissemination of objective information amongst their own public as well as in the world at large about developments in non-aligned countries in the social, economic, cultural and other fields and their growing rôle in the international community."¹

Almost parallel to these events, in July of that same year the first regional intergovernmental conference on communication policies ever held - the Intergovernmental Conference on Communication

Policies in Latin America and the Caribbean - initiated by UNESCO, took place in San José, Costa Rica. The importance of this conference is considerable². In terms of the development of the concept of a new international/world information-communication order the following ideas expressed in the Recommendations of this conference deserve particular mention :

* The Conference recognized that "a balanced flow of messages must be one of the factors directly operative in bringing about the new economic and social order to which our countries aspire".

* It also recognized "the need for new national policies for the sovereign determination of respective needs and priorities with regard to the international flow of messages;

* "that the principle of the 'free flow of information' will not be applicable unless all our countries have equal access to all the sources of information and take part on an equal footing in the control over and use of international channels of dissemination." In this respect, seven proposals addressed to Member States of the region were formulated in Recommendation no.1 ; point 4 states "(Member States need to) define and implement policies, plans and laws that will make possible the advent of more balanced communication relations at both the national and international levels." Furthermore, in Recommendation no.6 it says :

* "Considering that the development of communication and information systems is one of the essential requirements for the achievement of integral economic, social and cultural development at both the national and regional levels,

² For more insight into its content, see : *Final Report of the conference, Unesco document COM/MD/38, Paris, October 1976.* The nature of the political pressure which manifested itself in regard to this conference can be detected from Rosemary Righter's account : "These meetings (preparatory meetings in Bogotá and Quito) and the Costa Rica Conference were explicitly intended to set the pattern for UNESCO's long-term plans to promote national communications which, in the words of its Costa Rica working paper, would 'strengthen national sovereignty in all its aspects, particularly with regard to culture.' ... Quito was also to have been the site for the Inter-Governmental Conference. But as the reports of the two preparatory meetings circulated, and when the provisional agenda for the Quito Conference was issued in March 1976, the Inter-American Press Association and other organizations launched a campaign against UNESCO's policies and the conference itself. The Inter-American Broadcasters' Association and IAPA issued a joint statement on 27 April that the conference was contrary both to UNESCO's constitution and that of many of the participating countries. Ecuador withdrew its invitation, and the conference was switched to San José." (Rosemary Righter, *Whose News?*, Burnett Books, London, 1978, pp.153-154). See also: Raquel Salinas Bascur, "New Agencies and the New Information Order (The Associated Press coverage of the Intergovernmental Conference on Communication Policies in Latin America and the Caribbean held in Costa Rica, July, 1976)", in: *International News and the New Information Order* by Tapio Varis, Raquel Salinas and Renny Jokelin, Institute of Journalism and Mass Communication Reports N0.39, Tampere, 1977. An account of what happened as a response to the Bogota and Quito meetings as well as at San José is given also in Thomas L. McPhail, *op. cit.*, pp.95-98.

¹ Documents of the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries (Colombo, 1976), Political Declaration ; emphasis added.

* Considering that any integral development process calls for the use of planning, whatever model may be adopted therefor,

* Considering that the rational use of planning in any sector requires the prior *formulation of coherent policies* integrated with general development goals,

* Aware that in the vast majority of the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean, *no integrated national policies have been formulated*, nor have any development plans been drawn up in the information and mass communication sector,," this being followed by eight proposals, in which it is recommended to the Member States of the region "that they recognize the vital and urgent need to include the communication and information sector in the planning of economic and social development."¹

Explicit reference to the new international economic order (NIEO) is made in recommendations nos. 18 and 19, which state :

* "Considering that the immediate objective of communication policies is presumably, among other things, to promote the regional integration of the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean, and that this should be accomplished within the general context of strengthening the New International Economic Order based on the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States,"

* "Considering that co-operation between developing countries, known as 'horizontal co-operation', including technical co-operation, constitutes one of the main ways of achieving the New International Economic Order, considered as a structure of economic relations qualitatively different from and superior to the present one,

* Considering that the aim of such co-operation is to bring about greater solidarity and mutual support for the economic and social changes in each of the countries - which is another aspect of the New International Economic Order - and to *strengthen their ability to negotiate* with the central countries, both directly and through their influence on certain market mechanisms,

* Considering that 'horizontal co-operation' may mean a *direct contribution to the solution of some of the economic problems arising from 'collective self-reliance'*, both through trade and the financing and transmission of technology, which also contribute to autonomous development,

* Considering that this political dimension confers upon 'horizontal co-operation' a fundamental rôle in the processes of integration between the developing countries and their reintegration with the rest of the world in an authentically interdependent and equitable structure,

* Considering that communication systems form an important part of the structure of international relations at every level and that consequently there should be suitable horizontal co-operation in the field of communication, particularly in the processes of regional and sub-regional integration," and this is followed by two recommendations addressed to the Director-General of UNESCO².

Another international meeting on the topic of a new communication order took place in the spring

¹ *Final Report, op. cit.*, p.28, emphasis added.

² *Ibid.*, p.37-38 ; emphasis added.

of 1976 in Mexico : a seminar on "The Rôle of Information in the New International Order" organized by the Instituto Latinoamericano de Estudios Transnacionales (ILET), in cooperation with the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation and under the auspices of the Third World Forum. This was in fact a follow-up of the Dag Hammarskjöld Third World Journalists' Seminar which met in New York during the Seventh Special Session of the UN General Assembly (September 1975) which stressed that "for the new international economic order to emerge, *peoples of both industrialized and Third World countries must be given the opportunity of understanding that they share a common interest in creating international conditions that will permit another development* of societies in all parts of the world,"³ as well as the *RIO Report*, stating that "the widening of the capacity to inform must be viewed as an essential component of attempts to create a new international order and, as such, the monopolistic and discriminatory practices inherent in current international information dissemination must be deemed as one of the worst, though subtle, characteristics of the present system."⁴ The Mexico seminar stressed that the effects of cultural domination and dependence fostered by most of the prevailing information patterns "are much more penetrating than those of purely economic domination and dependence. Many and strong vested interests, those of the transnational power structure and of the local élites - in terms of power, finance and professional complacency - stand in the way."⁵ This is followed by three fundamental points which are here extensively quoted⁶:

1. Just as *another development*, centred on the satisfaction of peoples' needs, endogenous, self-reliant and ecologically minded and based on a *profound transformation of the social structures at the national level*, is the only justification of the New International Order, any new International Information Order will be legitimized only insofar as it contributes to the promotion of *another information*, one which will fight preconceived ideas, ignorance and alienation, and facilitate the 'conscientization' of citizens to ensure their control over decision-making. *Change will require major conceptual and practical advances* in both the content and methods of information, since the relationship between the 'professionals' and the 'public' is also one of subservience.

2. The present situation in the field of information is largely a legacy of the past and of the continued oligopolistic position of four transnational news agencies. The scope for self-reliance in this field is, however, vast. In addition to the creation of the news agency pool and the implementation of a Third World feature service and other indispensable practical measures, it requires a change of mind on the part of many journalists, who do not perceive critically or are unable to resist an information model permeating cultural, political and economic behaviour. Self-reliance in the field of information implies a higher degree of political awareness on the part of those who produce news.

3. *Another information* requires that the principle

³ *Development Dialogue*, No.1, Uppsala 1976 ; first emphasis added, second emphasis original.

⁴ Jan Tinbergen *et al.*, *Reshaping the International Order*, New York, 1976, p.111.

⁵ "Moving Towards a New International Information Order", *Development Dialogue*, No.2, Uppsala 1976, p.9.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.10-11 ; first emphasis in original, the rest is added.

of free flow of information be given its full, meaningful and democratic content. This means that the domination of the transnational news agencies over the media should be curbed, but *this is not coterminous with governmental control over information*. While it cannot be said that there is no rôle for governments in information, a rôle that is as varied as the circumstances, it should be remembered that societies are permanent, and governments - though they may be devoted to the public good - are transient. Societies and individuals who constitute them are richer in their diversity, needs and aspirations than the states and their bureaucratic machineries - which should only be their servants. *A New Information Order and another information are not designed to replace the domination of the transnationals by that of national bureaucracies, however well intentioned; they are not a move towards 'a more restricted press', but towards a freer one, which would really meet the need to inform and to be informed - one of the fundamental human needs.*

Last, but by no means least, 1976 was also the year of the nineteenth session of the General Conference of UNESCO (Nairobi) at which the debate over the world information order "rose to a high pitch"¹. Most of the heat at this conference was generated in connection with the draft of what would later (at the 20th General Conference) be adopted as the "Declaration on Fundamental Principles Concerning the Contribution of the Mass Media to Strengthening Peace and International Understanding, to the Promotion of Human Rights and to Countering Racialism, Apartheid and Incitement to War", but some of it came as a response to the resolution which was offered by Tunisia on behalf of the non-aligned countries, i.e., their decisions regarding the new international information order which were approved at the Colombo Summit, and which asked for UNESCO's support for some of the movement's positions. The final outcome of the conference was the adoption of a special resolution (Res.100) by which the Director-General was authorized to form an international commission for the study of the totality of communication problems in the world today. The commission was asked to prepare an interim report for the twentieth UNESCO General Conference and a final report for the twenty-first General Conference. Its mandate included, among other things: "to analyse communication problems, in their different aspects, within the perspective of the establishment of a new international economic order and of measures to be taken to foster the institution of a 'new world information order'; and secondly, to define the rôle which communication might play in making public opinion aware of the major problems besetting the world, in sensitizing it to these problems and helping gradually to solve them by concerted action at the national and international levels."²

The International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems began its work in December 1977. Meanwhile, during that year, the first Conference of Broadcasting Organizations of Non-Aligned Countries was held in Sarajevo, Yugoslavia (end of October) which urged in its final document a joint and co-ordinated approach by the non-aligned countries in relevant international fora, conferences and organizations on matters of common interest, particularly in the field of telecommunications, technical development,

1 *The United States...*, op. cit., p. 29.

2 See *Records of the General Conference 19th Session, Nairobi, 26 October to 30 November 1976*, esp. vol.1 (Resolutions).

standardization, satellite broadcasting and other areas³. A few weeks before that, however, a conference on "International Communications and Third World Participation: A Conceptual and Practical Framework" was held in Amsterdam, organized by ILET, with major financial backing from the Dutch government. Its explicit aim, according to the draft documents, was to connect UNESCO's resolutions and the initiatives of the non-aligned countries in information-communication with international legislation, i.e., the establishment of principles to form a juridical framework for the media. Although much still remains to be done in this area, the conference was a first step in that direction.

By 1978, the cumulative effect of the preceding and other⁴ meetings and deliberations manifested itself in the first place at the twentieth UNESCO General Conference (Paris) which was marked by two important achievements:

- (i) as already mentioned, the *Declaration of Fundamental Principles Concerning the Contribution of the Mass Media...* was adopted by consensus; and
- (ii) the Conference adopted a resolution specifically on establishing a new information and communication order in the world (Res.20 C/DR 311), which was passed by a majority vote with several Western countries abstaining. The resolution, in part, states:

"The General Conference,

.....

Reaffirming the manifest need to end the dependence of the developing world in the sphere of information and communication,

Considering that the imbalance in information flows is becoming increasingly marked at the international level despite the development of communication infrastructures,

Aware that the present communication order in the world is far from satisfactory,

.....

1. *Endorses efforts to establish a new, more just and more balanced world information and communication order;*

2. *Invites the Director-General... to continue his efforts with a view to the establishment of this new order, entailing in particular the promotion of national systems in developing countries and the establishment of a new equilibrium and greater reciprocity in the flow of information."*

As noted by B. Osolnik, this is the first document adopted within the United Nations' framework, and by a large majority vote of the UN membership, affirming the need for a new information and communication order. Shortly afterwards, the UN General Assembly adopted at its 33rd Session by consensus Resolution 33/115: *International Relations in the Sphere of Information and Mass Communications*, which reasserted the need for a new international/world information-communication order by stating:

"*Affirms* the need to establish a new, more just and

³ See Vladislava Bulatović, op. cit., pp.58-65 and "Documentation" in its Annex.

⁴ Among these particular mention should be made of the meeting "Towards a New World Information Order: Consequences for Development Policy" which was organized by the Institut für Internationale Begegnungen and the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in Bonn, 4-6 December 1978. A report on this has been edited by Dieter Bielenstein (see Bibliography).

more effective world information and communication order, intended to strengthen peace and international understanding and wider and better balanced dissemination of information ;

Approves the efforts being made to establish this new world order, which should reflect in particular the concerns and legitimate aspirations of the developing countries and the views expressed at the twentieth session of the General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization ;

Stresses the essential rôle of the United Nations system in the attainment of this objective." ¹

The next large-scale international meeting of direct relevance to the topic discussed here was the second UNESCO intergovernmental conference, i.e., the Intergovernmental Conference on Communication Policies in Asia and Oceania, which was held in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, in February 1979. The Conference adopted 51 important recommendations on various aspects of communication policies, ranging from national to regional and international level. These, as well as the Declaration of the Conference, reflect the evolution which the notion of a new international/world information-communication order underwent since the San José Conference. Thus the Kuala Lumpur Declaration states, among other things :

"*...since each nation has the right to determine its own communication policies, we call for the elaboration, by States and citizens together, of comprehensive national policies and programmes based on a global vision of communication and on the goals of economic and social development. Countries planning the implementation of these policies and programmes should do it as an integral part of overall national planning.

*... call for greater participation of people and individuals in the communication process and for more freedom and autonomy for and the assumption of greater social responsibility by mass information media and the same time for greater individual responsibility by and protection of those who run the media and prepare messages for circulation.

*... that every effort be made to eliminate the many obstacles impeding the exchange and circulation of information...

*... call for greater awareness on the part of communication media of their potential as catalyst of socio-economic progress and reform.

* A new, more just and more effective world information and communication order, the basis of good neighbourliness, demands in turn an opening to the world. Professional, cultural and scientific collaboration between groups, nations and regions must be a vital element of the order we seek to establish.

* We urge the United Nations system as a whole, and more specifically UNESCO, to support these objectives, promote various forms of regional and international co-operation and thus pave the way for a new, more just and more effective world communication and information order which is an integral part of the efforts to achieve a new international economic order. We believe that such a new communication and information order would be one of the most vivid contemporary manifestations of the ideals of justice, independence and equality between men and nations." ²

¹ See : United Nations General Assembly, Thirty-third session : *Questions Relating to Information*, document A/33/144, 6 October 1978.

² *Final Report*, UNESCO document CC/MD/42, Paris, June 1979, pp.31-34 ; emphasis added.

Among the recommendations of the Conference particular mention should be made of Recommendation No.8 which says :

"Considering that planning is an essential process for the achievement of planned and desired social and economic growth,

Recognizing that communication plays a vital rôle to inform, educate and motivate the people in achieving the goals of planned development,

(The Conference) Recommends to Member States of Asia and Oceania that they *treat the communication sector not only as a support to development but as an integral part of the development plan itself*, and provide necessary resources for the planned development of the communication sector with a view to fully realizing the fruits of the overall development plan." ³

Similar attitudes were pronounced a year later, i.e., in 1980, at the First Intergovernmental Conference on Communication Policies in Africa, which took place in Yaoundé, Cameroon. At the very beginning of the conference's working paper clear reference was made to the rôle of communication in development, and the following was pointed out : "communication components have been built into the plans and strategies of governmental and non-governmental agencies, whether they are concerned with agriculture or industry, population control or maternity and child welfare, education or nutrition, etc. Generally, however, the rôles assigned to communication have not always been well thought out from the start so that both the substantive development sector concerned and communication itself have not been able to reach their potential effectiveness, either separately or jointly. If then communication is viewed not as merely supporting another particular development sector, but all development activity and as a development sector in its own right and with its own infrastructure - it becomes very clear that it is essential that co-ordinated efforts be undertaken to that the whole is far greater than the sum of the parts of a nation's development efforts - especially if it is a developing country with limited resources." ⁴ Furthermore, in the Declaration which was adopted at this conference, the following explicit statements were made :

* "But the solution of communication problems cannot be reduced simply to the transfer of technology or the mere redistribution of resources, although both for Africa and for the world these measures are an essential part of a new information and communication order. The solution of our problems remains intimately bound up with the defence of the fundamental freedoms of individuals and peoples - all peoples, and especially those who still remain the most underprivileged."

* "The success of development in African countries will increasingly depend on the practice of collective self-reliance. This policy, based on increased confidence in inner resources and their capacity for innovation, is the only one calculated to reduce excessive dependence on the outside world. This is true in politics as in culture, in economics as in communication." ⁵

Skipping over some other relevant international activities which took place in the period between 1979 and 1981, notably the General World Administrative

³ *Ibid.*, pp.38-39 ; emphasis added.

⁴ UNESCO document CC-80/CONF.210/COL.5, Paris, July 1980, p.1 ; emphasis added.

⁵ *The Yaoundé Declaration*, art. V. and VI., 1980 ; emphasis added.

Radio Conference (WARC-79), held again after its usual twenty-year lapse¹ and the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned countries (Havana, 1979) which endorsed the efforts undertaken by the movement's bodies, adopted a programme for cooperation among the non-aligned countries in the information area, and reasserted the importance of the struggle to establish new international relations in general and the new international information-communication order in particular (Political Part of the Final Declaration, art. 267 and 285), special mention should be made of the twenty-first session of the UNESCO General Conference (Belgrade, 1980) at which the Final Report of the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems (the "MacBride Commission") was presented and the notion of a new world information-communication order given further impetus. Inasmuch as this has been dealt with in several writings² attention will be given only to some parts of the report which have a direct bearing upon the topic discussed.

The idea of a new international/world information-communication order was present in the Commission's work from the beginning. Several background papers were prepared on this subject³. These confirm what Sean MacBride said, namely: "Many difficulties lie ahead, particularly in organizing and implementing concrete measures to help to construct the new order, which call for continuing review. There are many varying views as to the meaning of the 'New Order' and as to what it should encompass, just as there are diverse opinions on ways and means of achieving it. But, in spite of these divergences, there was nobody in the Commission not convinced that structural changes in the field of communication are necessary and that

¹ For further information, see: I. de Sola Pool, "The Problems of WARC", *Journal of Communication*, Vol.29, no.1, 1979; Thomas L. McPhail, *Electronic Colonialism (The Future of International Broadcasting and Communication)*, Sage Library of Social Research, Vol.126, 1981 (see esp. Chapter 6: "The Medium: International Telecommunications Union and the World Administration Radio Conference"); Anne W. Branscomb, "Waves of the Future: Making WARC Work", *Foreign Policy*, 1979.

² E.g.: Cees J. Hamelink (ed.), *Communication in the Eighties: A Reader on the "MacBride Report"*, IDOC International, Rome 1980; Brigitte Weyl, "Freiheit der Information? Zur Medienpolitik der UNESCO", *Publizistik*, Konstanz, 1981:1; Rosemary Richter, "Battle of the Bias", *Foreign Policy*, 1979; Kusum Singh and Bertram Gross, "MacBride: the Report and the Response", *Journal of Communication*, Fall 1981.

³ These are: Mustapha Masmoudi, *Le nouvel ordre mondial de l'information*, Unesco; Commission internationale d'étude des problèmes de la communication, No.31, Paris 1979; Bogdan Osolnik, *Objectifs et stratégies d'un nouvel ordre international de la communication*, Unesco; Commission internationale..., No.32, Paris, 1979; Gamal El-Oteifi, *Pour un nouvel ordre international de l'information: remarques préliminaires*, Unesco: Commission internationale..., No.33, Paris 1980; Cees J. Hamelink, *Le nouvel ordre économique international et le nouvel ordre international de l'information*, Unesco: Commission internationale..., No.34, Paris 1979; Jan Pronk, *Observations sur la relation entre le nouvel ordre international de l'information et le nouvel ordre économique international*, Unesco: Commission internationale..., No.35, Paris 1979.

the existing order is unacceptable to all."⁴ The report, in fact, in spite of these difficulties, offers some encouraging points of departure particularly in its conclusions and recommendations (Part V). It stresses the need to strengthen independence and self-reliance through development of appropriate national information-communication policies (including development of national capacities for selection of appropriate technologies) which would give priority to satisfying their people's essential (basic) needs; and furthermore, the need to integrate communication policies into overall national development strategies by considering information-communication as a "major development resource, a vehicle to ensure real political participation in decision-making, a central information base for defining policy options, and an instrument for creating awareness of national priorities."⁵ It also underlines the importance of access to technical information, the flow of which both within nations and across national boundaries is a major resource for development. In this regard it says: "Access to such information, which countries need for technical decision-making at all levels, is as crucial as access to news sources. This type of information is generally not easily available and is most often concentrated in large technostuctures. Developed countries are not providing adequate information of this type to developing countries."⁶ (The recommendations that follow will be discussed later.) Last but not least, speaking of the need to reduce the commercialization of communication, the report recommends that "in expanding communication systems, preference should be given to non-commercial forms of mass communication;... as in the field of education, public funds might be made available for this purpose," and, further, "while acknowledging the need of the media for revenues, ways and means should be considered to reduce the negative effects that the influence of market and commercial considerations have in the organization and content of national and international communication flows."⁷ In its conclusions the report does not spell out that this refers largely to the problems created by transnational enterprises (TNEs) and transnational advertising (which often involves also the responsibility of national advertising and national communication systems); but parts of the report discuss this theme, as does a growing body of literature⁸.

The debate that took place at the Belgrade conference on the basis of the Commission's report and other issues led to the adoption of two important resolutions:

⁴ *Many Voices, One World*, Kogan Page-Unipub-UNESCO, 1980, p. xviii.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p.258; emphasis added.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p.260.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p.260; emphasis added.

⁸ See: *A Survey of the Transnational Structure of the Mass Media and advertising*, ILET, Mexico, 1978; United Nations, *Transnational Corporations in Advertising*, UNCTC, New York 1979, ST/CTC/8; Herbert I. Schiller, *La Communication suit le capital*, UNESCO Commission internationale d'étude des problèmes de la communication, No.47, Paris 1980; Michael H. Anderson, "Transnational Advertising and Politics: The case of Indonesia", *Asian Survey*, Vol. XX, No.12, December 1980; Michael H. Anderson, "China's 'Great Leap' Toward Madison Avenue", *Journal of Communication*, Vol.31, No.1, Winter 1981; Fred Fejes, "The growth of multinational advertising agencies in Latin America", *Journal of Communication*, Vol.30, No.4, 1980.

(i) on the Report of the Director-General on the Findings of the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems (passed by consensus), and (ii) on the International Programme for the Development of Communication (IPDC) which was also adopted by consensus after two annexes were agreed upon. The first resolution states, among others :

"(h) (The General Conferences invites the Director-General) to undertake or sponsor, in particular, the studies and analyses necessary for the formulation of specific and practical proposals on the establishment of a new world information and communication order, and to convene an international meeting of experts for that purpose ;

VI

1. Considers that :

(a) This new world information and communication order could be based, among other considerations, on :

(i) elimination of the imbalances and inequalities which characterize the present situation ;

(ii) elimination of the negative effects of certain monopolies, public or private, and excessive concentrations ;

(iii) removal of the internal and external obstacles to a free flow and wider and better balanced dissemination of information and ideas ;

(iv) plurality of sources and channels of information ;

(v) freedom of the press and information ;

(vi) the freedom of journalists and all professionals in the communication media, a freedom inseparable from responsibility ;

(vii) the capacity of developing countries to achieve improvement of their own situations, notably by providing their own equipment, by training their personnel, by improving their infrastructures and by making their information and communication means suitable to their needs and aspirations ;

(viii) the sincere will of developed countries to help them attain these objectives ;

(ix) respect for each people's cultural identity and the right of each nation to inform the world public about its interests, its aspirations and its social and cultural values ;

(x) respect for the right of all peoples to participate in international exchanges of information on the basis of equality, justice and mutual benefit ;

(xi) respect for the right of the public, of ethnic and social groups and of individuals to have access to information sources and to participate actively in the communication process ;

(b) this new world information and communication order should be based on the fundamental principles of international law, as laid down in the United Nations Charter."

The resolution on the IPDC is more practically oriented; for our purposes, however, it is important to note that it explicitly recommends that Member States promote the formulation, at national and regional levels, of *general communication development policies*. One of the main objectives of the programme is "to promote in developing countries, according to their communication policies and development plans, the creation or extension of infrastructures for the different communication sectors, in order to increase particularly the contribution of the means of communi-

cation to endogenous economic, social and cultural development, as well as to promote improved international exchange of information."¹

Besides these two documents, mention should be made also of the draft resolution submitted by Venezuela on "Measures to initiate studies necessary for the elaboration of principles related to a New World Information and Communication Order", which invites the Director-General to initiate promptly studies in this direction and to submit a report on this subject at the twenty-second session of the General Conference. The results of the voting on this proposal were 51 for, 6 against and 26 abstentions².

The determination with which these resolutions were introduced, as well as the vehement campaign against the work of the "MacBride Commission" and the efforts to create a new international/world information-communication order, which have become particularly apparent during the last two years³, only confirm how vitally important is this issue, especially when seen in relation to the fundamental questions of economic development and the position of the developing countries in the international economic (and by consequence also political) sphere.

Before addressing ourselves to this dimension of the issue, let us attempt to summarize some of the essential points and components of a new international/world information-communication order which need to be kept in mind for further elaboration of our topic.

1.2. The new order in brief

1. A new international/world information-communication order is understood by most as a process rather than any given set of conditions and practices. It is a process which is an important integral part of the efforts to create the NIEO, seeking a more just and equitable exchange in the international flow of information, in terms both of quantity and quality of information, especially in view of the present deeply disadvantaged position of the developing countries in the world flow of information. The existing information-communication patterns in the world, which the new order is expected to replace, have been recognized

¹ Quoted from : *Inter-Media*, Vol.8, No.6, IIC, London 1980, p. vii ; emphasis added.

² *Ibid.* p. vi.

³ See the Declaration of Talloires on press freedom which, according to Cushrow Irani, "has now become the considered response of the free press to the variety of demands under UNESCO's catch-all phrase, the New World Information Order" (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, December 25, 1981, p.28). Regarding this Declaration, the U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs, Elliott Abrams, has said : "We strongly endorse the Declaration of Talloires. We will pursue it in the U.N. system as a *basic statement of U.S. values*." (Statement to the Congressional Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights and on International Organizations, July 9, 1981 ; reprint by USICA.).

Among international professional discussions which supported the "MacBride Report", while also pointing out some of its weaknesses, particular mention should be made of AIERI/IAMCR 12th Scientific Conference, held in Caracas, August 25-29, 1980 which was among the first to discuss this report. See : Breda Pavlič, "The New International Order in Information and Communication", *Review of International Affairs*, Vol.31, No.732, Belgrade 1980.

by a large part of the international community, but particularly by the developing countries, as being a legacy of the colonial past which has hampered free, direct and fast communication among them; moreover the present communication systems are still vehicles by which their dependence on the industrially developed countries and, above all, on the transnational enterprises within those countries is perpetuated. This reflects itself in various ways, but most importantly in the form of their technological dependence (in many areas wide ranging, from technical equipment to "know-how", management patterns, training of professionals, etc.) which is becoming even more pronounced with the rapid development and the expanding use of various forms of modern information-communication technologies such as computer communication, communication satellites, telematics, etc.

2. As a means of overcoming the present situation, the developing countries have set out to create new relations in the information-communication area based primarily on the principles of individual and collective self-reliance. This implies two basic recognitions: (i) the urgent need to develop comprehensive national information-communication policies which should include the development and use of the mass media as well as more sophisticated forms of information-communication technologies and should, above all, be geared to the overall development strategy of a country; and (ii) intensification of subregional, regional and inter-regional cooperation among developing countries in all areas of information-communication.

3. *National information-communication policies* should serve as guides in determining national information-communication priorities and selecting appropriate technologies. In a broader sense, communication policies "constitute coherent sets of principles and norms designed to act as general guidelines for communication organs and institutions in individual countries. They provide a frame of reference for the elaboration of national strategies with a view to the setting up of communication infrastructures that will have a function to fulfil in their educational, social, cultural and economic development."¹ The "MacBride Commission" thus recommended that "*communication be no longer regarded merely as an incidental service and its development left to chance*. Recognition of its potential warrants the formulation by all nations, and particularly developing countries, of comprehensive communication policies linked to overall social, cultural, economic and political goals. Such policies should be based on inter-ministerial and inter-disciplinary consultations with broad public participation. The object must be to utilize the unique capacities of each form of communication, from interpersonal and traditional to the most modern, to make men and societies aware of their rights, harmonize unity in diversity, and foster the growth of individuals and communities within the wider frame of national development in an interdependent world."²

4. *Subregional, regional and inter-regional cooperation* is an essential requisite, particularly for the developing countries in their efforts to overcome the present state of information-communication underdevelopment and the various forms of dependence. The complex

¹ *Final Report of the Intergovernmental Conference on Communication Policies in Latin America and the Caribbean*, Paris 1976, p.52; see also: Luis R. Beltran S., "National Communication Policies in Latin America: A Glance at the First Steps", paper prepared for the International Conference on Communication Policy and Planning for Development, April 5-10, 1976, EastWest Center, Honolulu (mimeo).

² *Many Voices...*, *op. cit.*, p.255; emphasis added.

problems they are faced with, especially in regard to development of infrastructure, modern technology, training of communication professionals, etc., can be overcome only through joint effort and the pooling of their scarce resources, as is the case of the non-aligned countries' News Agencies Pool and their cooperation in broadcasting. These, however, are only the initial steps, and further possibilities for joint-venture forms should be developed particularly in view of the growing use of communication satellites and other forms of sophisticated and very expensive information-communication means³.

5. Creating a new international/world information-communication order implies by necessity bringing about fundamental changes also at the national level. The ultimate aim of the new order is to create possibilities for genuine democratic relations both internationally and within nations. This means bringing democracy to life through an ever greater involvement of entire populations in the decision-making process regarding all important economic, political, social and cultural issues in society, including the information-communication issues. This can be achieved only by developing new forms - some call them alternative forms - of government and management, which go beyond the present forms of organization known as the State on the one hand, and private enterprise on the other.

Given the already deep - and ever increasing - interdependence at the global level, which is at least partly caused also through the modern information-communication means, it would be illusory to expect fundamental structural changes at the world level without counterpart actions taking place within each nation. The forces and circumstances of the past, and the present transnational system no doubt bear the greatest part of responsibility for today's imbalance and disparities; nevertheless, certain realities at the national level have contributed their share to it, and these need to be examined thoroughly within the framework of a comprehensive analysis of social classes in the contemporary world and the rôle of the information-communication means (particularly the mass media)⁴.

6. Finally, it needs to be stressed again, the idea of a new international/world information-communication order was from the very beginning linked with the efforts to establish the new international economic order, thereby emphasizing that the relationship between the two orders was a very close one, i.e., that one is indispensable to the other. This was reiterated in later documents such as, for example, the Kuala Lumpur Declaration which states that a "new, more just and more effective world communication and information order" is "an integral part of the efforts to achieve a new international economic order", and the final report of the "MacBride Commission". Most of the debate on the new information-communication order, however, has so far tended to evolve outside

³ This will be discussed at greater length in the following chapter.

⁴ See: Seth Siegelau and Armand Mattelart (eds.), *Communications and Class Struggle*, New York, International General Editions, 1978; Armand Mattelart, *Mass Media, Ideologies and the Revolutionary Movement*, The Harvester Press, Sussex, 1980; John Downing, "Mass Media as Ideological State Apparatuses", *Prikazi*, No.2, Zagreb 1978; Hans Magnus Euzensberger, "Raids and Reconstructions", in: *Essays on Politics, Crime and Culture*, Pluto Press, London 1976; Nicholas Garnham, *Towards a Political Economy of Mass Communication*, London 1978, 59 pp. (mimeo).

this framework, i.e., it has tended to look at it as a "purely communication" matter, focusing foremost on only some aspects such as the rôle of journalists and to a certain extent also on news agencies, the flow of television programmes, problems of tariffs,

development of communication infrastructures, etc. These are by no means unimportant or even less-important issues, but they are not all that is central to the establishment of a new order.

Chapter 2

NIEO and NWICO: Self-Reliance as a Common Denominator

A comprehensive analysis of the interrelationship between the NIEO and a new international/world information-communication order, both in terms of short-term and long-term goals, must take into account a very wide range of phenomena and processes, most of which do not lend themselves to concise explanations. Particularly not when keeping in mind the variety of theoretical approaches and frames of reference which reveal fundamental, and often irreconcilable differences stemming from different, sometimes even opposing, socio-political interests. None the less, an effort must be made to probe more deeply into the essence of the two concepts, such as can be derived from existing knowledge (or at least a fairly representative part of it) in these areas.

In order to make this complex subject manageable for further analysis, the concept of individual and collective self-reliance, which has been declared as one of the basic principles of the NIEO and a NWICO, was chosen as the instrument around which the outlining of the major issues concerning the two orders (i.e., the two aspects of the new order) can be organized. This no doubt narrows down the meaning of the two orders to a certain extent, but it makes for greater clarity in pointing out the concerns which are central to this study. Likewise, from the large number of issues involved in the debate on the new order(s), attention will focus on the rôle of mass communications (with special regard to public involvement and education), computer communication (transborder data flow) and remote sensing by satellites.

Attempting to show the vital importance of information-communication for both the establishment of the NIEO and for the preservation of the existing international relations, in which the modern information-communication means are an important element in the transnational power structure, the issues will be presented intermittently at two levels: (i) the level of the expected, which derives from major documents and other writings on these topics; and (ii) the level of present realities, which tries to point out that much of hitherto development in this area has gone in other directions and that hence these means should be examined more carefully as both possibilities and as obstacles to creating a better international/world order.

2.1. Self-reliance as a fundamental principle of NIEO and NWICO

Searching for solutions to their ever worsening problems, the developing countries introduced the concept of individual and collective self-reliance into their political programmes and into the international arena. This concept was first enunciated at the Third Conference

of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries (Lusaka 1970)¹ and was further developed at subsequent high-level meetings of both the non-aligned countries and of the Group of 77². In the Economic Declaration adopted at the Fifth Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries (Colombo 1976) the following is stated:

"The achievement of full economic potential rests on the developing countries and entails the following factors: (a) individual self-reliance in order that developing countries may utilize their economic potential to co-operate among themselves to set up the New International Economic Order; (b) intensification of economic co-operation between developing countries; (c) strengthening of their solidarity and the co-ordination of the activities of the developing countries in a common front against all attempts of imperialists to sow division and to apply pressure."³

The representatives of the non-aligned countries attending this conference also expressed their "firm belief that only a confident spirit of collective self-reliance on the part of the developing countries can guarantee the emergence of the New International Economic Order. Self-reliance implies a firm determination on the part of developing nations to secure their legitimate economic rights in international dealings through the use of their collective bargaining strength. It also involves readiness on their part to follow internally the discipline required of them by the process of economic development with justice. And, most importantly, it means willingness to explore and pursue the immense possibilities of cooperation among themselves in financial, technical, trade, in-

¹ See: Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, "Declaration on Non-Alignment and Economic Progress", in: *Main Documents Relating to Conferences of Non-Aligned Countries*, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Georgetown 1972; also: Odette Jankowitsch and Karl P. Sauvart (eds.), *The Third World Without Superpowers: The Collected Documents of the Non-Aligned Countries*, Oceana, Dobbs Ferry, N.Y., 1978.

² See: "Arusha Programme for Collective Self-Reliance and Framework for Negotiations" adopted at the Fourth Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77 in Arusha, February 1979; published in: Karl P. Sauvart (ed.), *The Third World without Superpowers, 2nd Ser.: The Collected Documents of the Group of 77*, Oceana, Dobbs Ferry, N.Y., 1981.

³ Documents of the Fifth Conference, in: Jankowitsch and Sauvart, *op.cit.*

dustrial and other fields. The focal point of this process of growth with social justice will be eradication of unemployment and poverty. It calls for the formulation and implementation of a policy for satisfying the basic minimum needs of the population of the developing world."¹ The declaration of this conference was adopted together with the Action Programme (outlined first at the Meeting of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries in Lima in 1975) which encouraged further cooperation among the non-aligned countries in practically all important sectors: raw materials, trade, transportation, industry, financial co-operation, scientific and technical development, technical co-operation and engineering, food and agriculture, fishing, telecommunications, insurance, health, employment and development of human resources, tourism.

An even more detailed programme of action was approved at the Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77 (Manila 1977). In addition to basic statements of principle, which are similar to those of the non-aligned countries, the *Manila Declaration* emphasized the urgent need to bring about fundamental changes in international economic relations and to thus abolish the exploitation of the developing countries. Individual and collective self-reliance is stressed as one of the principal tools by which this can be achieved.²

In its broadest sense, the concept of self-reliance expresses strategies of social and economic development which are based on the mobilization and utilisation of the community's own resources, both material and human, instead of relying on resources and ideas acquired from outside. As such, it may be implemented at different levels: local, national, regional and inter-regional.³ At the regional and inter-regional levels, i.e., collective self-reliance, the following objectives are most frequently mentioned: (i) the severance of existing links of dependency operated through the international system by the dominant countries, (ii) a full mobilization of domestic capabilities and resources, (iii) the strengthening of co-operation with other developing countries, and (iv) the re-orientation of development efforts in order to meet the basic needs of the peoples of the developing countries.⁴

As underlined by Janez Stanovnik, "Self-reliance is not autarchy. It represents a state of self-confidence. It also implies solidarity among the developing countries. As such, it affects profoundly the patterns of national socio-economic development and the negotiating position of the developing countries in international relations."⁵ What is particularly important to understand

when speaking of self-reliance is that a self-reliant development pattern has the welfare of the people and not growth of GNP as its principal objective. Economic growth is only a means to the achievement of public welfare and social transformation. The objective is therefore development - i.e., social change, structural transformation and public welfare.⁶ These various dimensions of self-reliance are well brought together in the explanation given by Karl P. Sauvant: "the essence of a self-reliance policy is to strengthen autonomous capacities for goal setting, decision-making, and decision-implementation in all areas of a developing society. This requires that the patterns of interaction between North and South and the structures of unequal international relations that result from them be changed. Self-reliance seeks, therefore, to de-emphasize the predominant reliance of the developing countries on linkages with the developed countries in favour of a greater selectivity in traditional linkages and better mobilization of indigenous resources for primarily indigenous needs."⁷

In one of his earlier works the same author explains furthermore that self-reliance is a programme which requires "in its collective dimension, that the political, economic and socio-cultural structures created to link colonies to metropolitan countries (in a status of dependence) be altered to link developing countries to one another (in a status of interdependence)."⁸

Elaborating this in another work, the following was stressed: "Regardless of how self-reliance is being sought (i.e., either through direct action, which is attributed to the non-aligned countries, or through bargaining, which is characteristic of the Group of 77) organizational arrangements are required that offer the infrastructure for effective co-operation. These arrangements are the basis for improved communication and intensified contacts among developing countries, and the involvement of a growing number of countries into matters of mutual interest. The establishment of horizontal lines of communication is all the more important since the communication structures inherited from the past are normally of a vertical nature, linking the former colonies to the respective metropolitan countries. *Horizontal communication becomes, therefore, a prerequisite for sharpened awareness of issues of common concern, the recognition and definition of common problems and possibilities, the formulation of common response, and the pursuit of co-ordinated policies.* An organizational infrastructure is a precondition for a joint approach, be it for the purpose of direct actions or international bargaining."⁹

Even so fleeting a glance at self-reliance as the above reveals that information-communication is an important element in its materialization. Before venturing to outline in more detail what various forms

¹ Quoted from: *Review of International Affairs*, No.634, Belgrade 1976, pp.34-35.

² See: *Manila Declaration and Programme of Action*, UNCTAD, TD/195, February 1976.

³ As examples of self-reliance at the national level, Raimo Väyrynen points out PR China, Cuba, North Korea (juche), Sri Lanka and Tanzania (ujamaa). See: Raimo Väyrynen, *Interdependence vs. Self-Reliance: Two Approaches to International Economic Relations*, Tampere Peace Research Institute, Research Reports, No.16, 1978, p.22.

⁴ See: Enrique Oteiza and Franco Sercovich, "Collective Self-Reliance: Selected Issues", *International Social Science Journal*, No.4, 1976; Anton Vratuša, "Cooperation on the Basis of the Principle of Collective Self-Reliance", *Review of International Affairs*, Vol.32, No. 756.

⁵ Janez Stanovnik, *Towards the New International Economic Order*, Jugoslovenska stvarnost, Belgrade 1979, p.103.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p.106.

⁷ Karl P. Sauvant, "Organizational Infrastructure for Self-Reliance: The Non-Aligned Countries and the Group of 77", paper presented at the International Workshop on the Promotion of Economic and Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries" organized by UNCTAD and the Research Centre for Cooperation with Developing Countries, Ljubljana-Bled, 2-7 November 1981, p.2; emphasis added.

⁸ Karl P. Sauvant and Hajo Hasenpflug (eds.), *The New International Economic Order (Confrontation or Cooperation between North and South?)*, Westview Press, Boulder, Col. 1977, p.5.

⁹ Karl P. Sauvant, *op. cit.*, 1981, p.2, emphasis added.

of information-communication can contribute, let us recapitulate briefly what individual and collective self-reliance stand for.

1. The essence of a self-reliance policy is to strengthen autonomous capacities of the developing countries for goal-setting, decision-making and decision-implementation in all areas of a developing society. This implies mobilization and utilization of the community's own material and human resources (at the national level, i.e., as individual self-reliance) and greater cooperation among developing countries (at the bilateral, subregional, regional and inter-regional level, i.e., as collective self-reliance) in using the available material and intellectual potential in matters of common interest.

2. Greater co-operation among developing countries is envisaged primarily as intensified economic and technical co-operation among them in all crucial areas: raw materials, trade, industry, finance, food and agriculture, fishing, transportation, communications, science and technology and so forth. The primary objective of this, besides the fundamental goal which is improvement of each country's situation in each of these areas, is to increase the developing countries' collective bargaining strength in existing power relations in the world, especially with regard to the dominant position of transnational enterprises. This includes an important element which is the building and strengthening of self-confidence both at the level of individual countries and that of the developing countries as a collective entity, and feelings of solidarity, i.e., awareness and recognition of their common problems and common position in international relations.

3. Self-reliance also implies the re-orientation of development efforts towards faster and better satisfaction of the basic needs of the vast majorities of people in developing countries, meaning in the first place satisfying their needs in food, housing, health-care, education, employment. This corresponds to the more comprehensive understanding of *development* which has been evolving within the United Nations system in the past decade. By this concept development is, in the words of Hans Singer, "growth plus structural transformation"¹. This goes beyond the hitherto dominant concept of development (by which development was equated with economic growth, i.e., with the growth of GDP) by emphasizing: (i) that intensification of economic growth and the satisfaction of wider social, political and cultural needs of the people should be recognized as complementary and not as one following the other (by which it is usually understood that the latter follows the first); there is plenty of evidence so far that the latter does not follow by itself and, moreover, by neglecting it from the very beginning the "development" which results tends to be distorted and ultimately dissatisfactory; (ii) the central purpose of social development is the creation of conditions for a free and multidimensional development of men and women in harmony with the interests, needs and goals of the human community. Men and women must therefore be subjects and not merely objects of the development process; men and women must have the possibilities to contribute to creating their own reality; development implies satisfying both material and non-material needs, the respect of human rights, respect of equality and the abolition of all forms of discrimination².

4. Finally, it should be stressed again that self-reliance

¹ Quoted from Jan Pronk, *Quelques remarques...*, op. cit., p.3.

² See: Report of the Secretary-General of U.N., 35th Session, Commission on Human Rights, ECOSOC document E/CN.4/1334, New York 1979.

does not mean autarchy; quite the contrary, it is a quest for even greater co-operation among nations - all nations, and not just the developing ones - but co-operation built on new foundations, i.e., through a strengthened position of the developing countries both in terms of greater individual and collective self-confidence, and in terms of a better place for them in the international division of labour, which in fact means changing the present international division of labour. The development of such foundations and a corresponding international co-operation, however, depends to a large degree on the use of modern information-communication means.

2.2. The rôle of mass communications in implementing self-reliance

With respect to information-communication development, the implementation of self-reliance, both individual and collective, stresses first and foremost the need to develop the developing countries' access to and capacities for technical information; the flow of such information within nations and among them is considered a major resource for development³. While this aspect of information-communication rightfully deserves central attention, as will be shown later, it is equally important to examine the rôle of *mass communications* within the framework of self-reliance objectives.

Theoretically speaking, mass communications - known also as the mass media (which means primarily the press, radio, television and film, but includes in a broader sense also records, books, audio and video-cassettes, etc.) - can contribute to the implementation of self-reliance, and by implication also to the establishment of the NIEO and a new international/world information-communication order, in a number of ways and at different levels: the local ("grass-roots"), national, bilateral, subregional, regional, inter-regional, i.e., international and world-wide. Even taking into account the doubts expressed by some communication researchers regarding the actual power of the mass media to influence and persuade, these means are none the less being recognized as an important factor in creating *public opinion* and, moreover, *public involvement* on matters of interest for a community. In the content of self-reliance, public opinion and public involvement are important both (a) at the local and national level, and (b) at the international (world) level; in both cases these can be either significant supporting factors or, conversely, obstacles which can prove detrimental to whatever efforts are being made to implement this principle. Later, an attempt will be made to outline some important expectations and problems in this regard.

The other area which is of great relevance to self-reliance and in which mass communications are also of much significance is education, understood in its broadest sense, i.e., including all levels of learning from the elementary to the highest levels of training

³ See: *Many Voices, One World*, op. cit., Conclusions and Recommendations, pp. 260-261. The conclusion states: "The flow of technical information within nations and across national boundaries is a major resource for development. Access to such information, which countries need for technical decision-making at all levels, is as crucial as access to news sources. This type of information is generally not easily available and is most often concentrated in large technostuctures. Developed countries are not providing adequate information of this type to developing countries."

and specialization, and encompassing both formal and informal types. So far, however, education has received relatively little attention in the debate on the NIEO and a new international/world information-communication order, particularly in terms of a comprehensive analysis cutting across the various levels of education, from the lowest to the highest, including formal and the non-formal means, and concentrating especially on the rôle of modern information-communication means, both mass communications and other forms such as computer communication, especially their convergence and forms of interlinking. Such an ambitious undertaking cannot be compressed into the framework of the present study, but an effort will be made to outline at least some of the elements that need to be considered in such an analysis, and which are of particular importance for self-reliant development.

2.2.1. Public involvement as an element of self-reliance

In an age of massive technical and technological advances in information-communication¹, broad public involvement is both possible and necessary: possible, because technically speaking the means are available (though the economic and political aspects remain unsolved); and necessary, not only because democratic decision-making is a generally proclaimed goal, but also because the potential of these information-communication means, in relation to the political, economic and cultural power which they bestow upon those who have these means, is enormous and therefore cannot be left to any single social group(s) (which inevitably defends more-or-less limited (selfish) interests against the interests of the community)².

However, on closer examination, existing national information-communication policies, be they explicit or implicit (or a combination of both), reveal that the powerful information-communication means (both mass communications and other) are still very much

¹ See: *Les techniques de la communication dans les années 1980 (I, II et III)*, Commission internationale d'étude des problèmes de la communication, Unesco, no. 81, 82 et 83, Paris 1979-1980; Ithiel de Sola Pool, *Techniques et changements dans les communications modernes*, Commission internationale d'étude des problèmes de la communication, Unesco, no. 84, Paris, 1980; Simon Nora et Alain Minc, *L'informatisation de la société*, La Documentation Française, Paris, 1978.

² The economic, socio-political (including legal) and cultural underpinnings of the information-communication system have always been of crucial importance; however, at present, the rapid development of micro-electronics and its impact upon modern information-communication means have sharpened the questions of who controls (i.e., decides) the use of these means. Difficult and disconcerting questions are being raised, both in the developing as well as the developed countries; these include a wide range of issues which concern basic human rights, such as: to what purpose are these means being used? what does "confidential information" (at the individual, i.e., personal level, as well as at the national level) mean in present circumstances of highly sophisticated information-communication techniques? what has become of "national sovereignty", and what of "right to privacy" and "personal freedom"? - to mention but some. See Jean-Louis Missika et Jean-Philippe Faivret, "L'informatique et les libertés" (I et II), *Les Temps Modernes*, nos. 373-374 and 375, Paris 1977.

out of the control of the public. Whatever may be true in particular countries at the level or normative and theoretical formulations, i.e. at the level of formal declarations, when examined at the level of day-to-day practice the position of the public as the "object" ("consumer" of information) and as the "subject" ("creator" of information) leaves much to be desired. In the first case, it is more often than not an object of manipulation (for commercial, political or state-bureaucratic reasons); in the second case, existing patterns of organization in the information-communication area make large-scale public involvement nearly impossible apart from the limited scope of "letters to the editors", "phone-in broadcast programmes" and similar palliating expedients. Hence the central concern which is at the heart of the idea of a new international/world information-communication order: How to organize the powerful information-communication means to serve the people - all peoples - world-wide, and not just some social groups, be they state bureaucracies or private profit-making entities, or whatever other "élites".

The basic documents on both orders, and especially that of communication, emphasize the importance of large-scale public involvement both in terms of achieving public opinion support (within nations and internationally) and in terms of increasing public access to information-communication media (and to information in general) and greater involvement (participation) in decision-making about information-communication means at various levels of their functioning and in all important aspects, i.e., on matters of content, structural organization, purchase and development of equipment and technology, etc. Thus in the documents of the Tunis symposium of the non-aligned countries (1976) it was stressed that the public information and mass communication media are invested with an exceptionally important rôle in the affirmation of political and economic independence, development, and the laying of foundations for the creation of more equitable international relations. The Colombo Summit Conference reinforced this by underlining that the non-aligned and other developing countries must strive to create the capacities that would facilitate more complete dissemination of accurate information amongst their own public as well as in the world at large about developments in these countries, their achievements and problems in the social, economic, cultural and other fields and their increasing rôle in the international community. In a similar vein, the Dag Hammarskjöld Third World Journalists' Seminar (New York, 1975) stressed that creating the NIEO demands that peoples of both industrialized and developing countries must be given the opportunity of understanding that they share a common interest in creating international conditions that will permit another development of societies in all parts of the world. These demands were reiterated at practically all subsequent international meetings, the presentation of which was given in Chapter One.

The rôle of the public and public opinion also received considerable attention in the report of the "MacBride Commission". Taking due note of different understandings of this concept (and especially of the tendency to exaggerate the power of the mass media to influence the public)³, the report then states: "In no way, however, can the rôle of the public in the development of communication within and between nations be slighted. Indeed, its involvement in political decision-making and in general public affairs is of world-wide importance."⁴ But it can be so only if

³ *Many Voices, One World*, op. cit., pp.195-196.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 196.

more democratic relationships are created by integrating citizens into the decision-making processes of public affairs. "Public opinion would then no longer be only opinion, but rather a consciousness transformed by knowledge of public affairs and the experience of social practices, and thereby uniquely qualified to judge. What is needed is a rethinking of our communication systems and practices. Is not a common goal to transcend one-way communication, which all too frequently leads to political indoctrination, unbridled consumerism and dictated social behaviour patterns?"¹

Parallel to these statements, however, one finds assessments of public opinion and its power which are probably more accurate, but also more disheartening. Regarding the public's level of information, McPhail, for instance, claims that a major paradox is evident. While it is true that technology is providing more choices, and optic fibres, lasers, minicomputers, cable, DBS, video discs, view data systems, and a host of other innovations could make the world of information available at one's fingertips, "people in both the West and in LDCs may have less international information in the future rather than more"². He explains this by pointing out that in the case of developing countries illiteracy is increasing and costs are keeping other media options at a low level, while in the developed market economies the decline in international information is attributed to the reduction of foreign correspondents (due to high costs), rising costs of energy, labour, newsprint, etc., and an increasingly "introspective mood" of the editors which seems to have resulted from the current controversy over the "free flow" and communications in general and manifests itself in an evident focusing on domestic news³. Moreover, even at the present stage, according to McPhail, much of what goes on in the international arena, and especially in the developing countries, receives the attention of only a very limited number of people. As he puts it: "Basically we are talking about the élites on both sides of the issue (the NWICO debate). In terms of the Western press we are talking about either academic élites or publisher élites represented in many cases by giant transnational corporations. Critics from LDCs are also either academic élites, many educated in the West, or bureaucratic and government élites whether in home nations or as representatives within international organizations. The average person on the street, whether in the West or in a LDC, is totally unaware of the NWICO debate; indeed, even if he or she was aware, he or she probably would not care a great deal about it unless he/she were to lose his/her popular game shows, soap-operas, or Hollywood feature films. Very few are aware of either the NIEO or the NWICO. Many more should become aware of them."⁴ Some may find this claim exaggerated and not a reflection of reality; none the less, it is a useful reminder of the fact that there is indeed a deep alienation of the public in matters both of mass communications and of international relations, since it is in most cases rarely involved (and even then only superficially) in the decision-making processes in either areas. This is true of the public in the developing as well as the developed countries, but the forms of alienation and its manifestations may be different⁵.

And yet, large-scale public involvement is the *sine qua non* of major changes the objective of which is democracy. As MacPhail himself points out by quoting

Dennis Schroeder: "Such an attitude (of the prevailing introspective mood) can only lead to future misunderstandings and tension. It is absolutely impossible to comprehend major domestic social, political or economic developments adequately unless they are put into the global context. Nor is it possible, in an increasingly interconnected world, to respond intelligently to developments elsewhere in the world unless we are well informed. The Third World, in particular, is assuming increasing importance in global affairs. Decisions made there strongly influence world prices of oil and other essential commodities; political unrest in Africa, the Middle East, Southeast Asia, and elsewhere affect people elsewhere. The flow of news from other parts of the world can be turned off with the flick of a dial, but the flow - and the impact - of events cannot."⁶ The need to develop world-wide awareness of the international dimensions of current economic and other processes, and particularly the situation of the developing countries in this, is a consequence of the increasing interlinking, i.e., interdependence, produced by the existing international division of labour. The information-communication means have had an important place in this all the while, and have played a multidimensional rôle; the mass communication media, however, have yet to contribute their part.

On the importance of public involvement in the efforts to create the NIEO and a new international/world information-communication order and the deep connections between the two orders (or two aspects of the new order), a view worthy of attention has been expressed also by Rosemary Righter. "Press coverage of the Seventh Special Session of the UN, in 1975," she says, "had put the outline and scope of their strategy on the international map. But the forum of the United Nations, as a rule, can produce resolutions and even covenants for the numerical majority more easily than it can assure public awareness of what most developing countries believe to be the critical political evolution of the late twentieth century. The international purpose of the efforts to establish a New Order for Information is therefore based on the need to gain access to the microphone in order to increase the pressures on the industrialized countries. *The harder it proves to extract agreement on the economic front, therefore, the more solidly unified the support for a new structure in communications is likely to be.*"⁷ This is particularly noteworthy because the author known for her systematic criticisms of a new international/world information-communication order as proposed in Unesco, in fact confirms the validity of the developing countries' claim that the basic structures of the present world economic system (which is dominated by the transnational enterprises and is fundamentally detrimental to the developing countries' prosperity) are deeply interlinked with the dominant information-

⁵ It is useful to remind oneself in reference to alienation and the mass media of the classical works of C. Wright Mills and the Frankfurt School, as well as Robert K. Merton and Paul Lazarsfeld's piece "the Narcotizing Dysfunction of the Mass Media and Social Action", in: *Mass Communications*, ed. by Wilbur Schramm, University of Illinois Press, 1960. Also: Claus Mueller, *The Politics of Communication*, Oxford University Press, 1973.

⁶ Dennis Schroeder, *A survey of international news coverage by the Canadian media*, IDRC Manuscript Reports 20, 1980, pp. 3-4; quoted in: MacPhail, *op. cit.*, p. 243; emphasis added.

⁷ Rosemary Righter, *op. cit.*, p. 244; emphasis added.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 200.

² MacPhail, *op. cit.*, pp. 242-243; emphasis added.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 246.

communications structures, and that they jointly and adversely affect the interests of the developing countries. Changing one therefore entails changing the other; public awareness both at the national and international level must be raised in order to achieve genuine changes in the present state of conditions, but a raised awareness without the possibilities for action, i.e., for active participation in a society's development processes - which in the last analysis brings us back to the economic structure - inevitably leads to frustration, passivity and, ultimately, a destructive attitude towards society. Examples from history - even of very recent date - demonstrate the logic of this dialectical inter-relationship¹.

2.2.2. Education, mass communications and self-reliance

Great hopes have been attached to the usefulness of communication, especially mass communication, in carrying out large-scale educational efforts in any society, but above all in the developing countries where mass illiteracy is still one of the major obstacles to development. As summarized by Göran Hedebro, the following was attributed to (mass) communication by some renowned communication experts in the 1960s, notably Wilbur Schramm and Lakshmana Rao:

1. Communication/the mass media can create a climate for change by inducing new values, attitudes, and modes of behaviour which are favourable to modernization.
2. Communication/the mass media can teach new skills. "...from literacy to agriculture to hygiene to repairing a motor car" (Schramm, 1967, p.18).
3. The mass media can act as multipliers of resources of knowledge.
4. The mass media are unique in the sense that they can mediate vicarious experiences, thereby reducing the psychic and economic costs of creating mobile personalities.
5. Communication can raise levels of aspiration which act as incentives for action.
6. Communication can make people more prone to participate in decision-making in society.
7. Communication can help people to find new norms and harmony in a period of transition (Rao, 1966).
8. Communication can change the power structure in a society of a traditional character by bringing knowledge to the masses. The informed man takes on greater significance, and traditional leaders whose power is based on other factors will be challenged.
9. Communication can create a sense of nationness.
10. Communication can help the majority of the population realize its own importance, which may lead to increased political activity (Rao, 1966).
11. Communication facilitates the planning and implementation of development programmes which correspond to the needs of the population.
12. Communication can make economic, social and political development a self-perpetuating process."²

On closer examination, however, especially during the seventies, it became evident that mass communica-

tion in the developing countries could not stand up to such expectations and that economic and sociopolitical underpinnings of the entire development model, of which this approach to mass communication was a part, needed thorough reassessment. Since then, much has been written on this subject; for the purpose of this study only some of its aspects will be sketched briefly, i.e., those aspects which need to be considered with respect to the implementation of developing countries' self-reliance. These include formal education as well as informal (education in the broadest sense, i.e., as the process of socialization), and reference will be made to various levels of education, including training for highly specialized jobs³.

What is particularly important to underline in this presentation are the processes of convergence and mutual reinforcement which are taking place in different contexts of education, most notably the ways in which communications (mass media) are used on the one hand, and of how other forms (such as computer communication) are affecting educational systems in various countries. Looked at within the context of efforts to create the NIEO, especially its long-term objectives, these processes may produce serious adverse effects upon the developing countries, in terms of their place in the international division of labour and in terms of their own internal social, i.e. class problems. One such consequence may be an even deeper "technocultural gap" which, as expressed by 'Ali A. Mazrui'⁴, results from a "profound incongruence (that) lay at the heart of the imported educational system in the colonies. The wrong Western values were being provided as an infrastructure for the wrong Western skills. This gap between norms and techniques may be called the 'techno-cultural gap' of the Western heritage in Africa and parts of Asia." To understand the substance of this penetrating observation, a lengthier quote is needed of the text that leads to the above statement:

"From a social point of view, 'acculturation' implies the diffusion of particular values, techniques and institutions and their modification under different condi-

² Göran Hedebro, *Communication and Social Change in Developing Nations (A Critical View)*, Stockholm School of Economics, and the School of Journalism, Stockholm, 1979, p.19; references made to: Wilbur Schramm, "Communication and Change", in: *Communication and Change in the Developing Countries*, ed. by Daniel Lerner and Wilbur Schramm, East-West Center Press, Honolulu 1967; Lakshmana Y.V. Rao, *Communication and Development*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, Minn., 1966.

³ Ali A. Mazrui distinguishes between formal and informal processes of education as follows: "In literate societies the formal aspects are pre-eminently realized in schools and colleges and in formal private lessons. But the informal processes of education are broader, sometimes omnipresent. They range from special educational programmes on television and other media to the instructive experiences of life itself. In pre-literate societies the distinction between formal and informal processes of education is less sharp, though it still exists. The ritual aspects of an initiation ceremony, for example, are clearly formal. But children are socialized and trained in informal ways as well, ranging from listening to conversations of adults to observing the behaviour of cattle when a tropical storm includes thunder and lightning." Ali A. Mazrui, "Churches and Multinationals in the Spread of Modern Education: A Third World Perspective", *Third World Quarterly*, Vol.1, no.1, London, 1979, p.39.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

¹ This, it must be stressed, concerns just as much the developed countries. The new information-communication technologies are pressing everywhere the question of greater public access to information (especially politically relevant information) and the possibilities to act on the basis of information. On possibilities and problems regarding this, see: Chris Duke, *Impact of Modern Communication Technology*, op. cit.

tions. It is indeed worth accepting this distinction between values, techniques and institutions when we are exploring what Africa has borrowed from the West. The modern school itself is an institution so borrowed. The style of instruction, the general ethos of the school, and the curriculum help to determine what values and techniques are transmitted within those walls. *Techniques require an infrastructure of supportive values.* This is particularly clear in economic behaviour. As indicated earlier, certain commercial techniques from the West can only be transferred to an African society if there are supportive entrepreneurial values in the host society to sustain the techniques. Britain and France did not try to transmit either all their values or all their techniques to the colonies, had this even been possible. *Only some Western values and some Western skills were promoted in African schools. But did these partial values match the partial skills? Given the skills which were being sought, were the African schools fostering the right normative orientations?"*¹

The answer which Mazrui gives, and which is well argued in his analysis of the foreign forces that moulded the African educational systems, including the rôle of the transnational enterprises, stresses an important point that tends to be overlooked in the present debate on the NIEO and a new international/world information-communication order, which is: the importance of the quality of information and how particular information functions in the context of the economic and socio-cultural environment that it penetrates². The importance of this question is multidimensional and can be seen both in formal education and in the informal educational effects of the mass media that are transmitted by the general content of the mass media, including advertising³.

The quality of information, i.e. the kind of knowledge and values it carries and how it functions in a particular environment is of cardinal importance in assessing the purposefulness of systems of formal education and various training programmes in any country, but especially in the developing ones. Education has been, and is still used as an important instrument of long-term influence, and as a vehicle for enforcing various forms of submission, both within the class system of a country, and in relations between the dominating and the dominated (in the past) and the developed and developing countries (in contemporary times). The knowledge which, under such conditions, is passed on to those who are in a position of dependence is carefully selected in terms of what the other party needs. There is ample literature to support this statement, hence it will not be dealt with further. What should be pointed out, however, is the

¹ *Ibid.*, emphasis added.

² Among those who do consider these issues, special mention should be made of Rita Cruise O'Brien and G.K. Helleiner's work: "The Political Economy of Information in a Changing International Economic Order", *International Organization*, Autumn 1980.

³ This is usually not considered as part of education but rather as "just entertainment" or "just information"; the conclusions of the "MacBride Commission", however, support the view that all this should be considered as having definite socializing and acculturating effects, i.e. "educational" in the broadest sense of the word, which in the long run affect the individual's rôle in society and, *mutatis mutandis*, a country's rôle in the world. Source: *Many Voices, One World*, op. cit., pp. 152-155. For a more elaborate approach to socialization see: James D. Halloran (ed.), *Mass Media and Socialization*, Kavanagh & Sons, Leeds, 1976.

impact that some more recent phenomena in information-communication might have upon this situation, notably the convergence which is occurring between the mass media and newer forms of information-communication (such as computer communication, telematics, etc.) and the merging of the world's most powerful (i.e. transnational) producers of hardware and software technologies, which includes also a part of mass communications.

Developments in technology demand that the hitherto prevalent treatment of public (mass) media and computer communications as separate issues be abandoned. There is a rapid computerization of public (mass) communications rendering all information flows data flows. This process, referred to as the media-data convergence, has as its basis the digitalization of different forms of information which, according to Juan Rada and others, creates a tremendous potential increase in productivity, but also affects the forms and means of information flows. As pointed out by these sources, the digitalized network produces a fusion of print, voice and video, blurring the traditional distinction between the different means of communication⁴. Moreover, media-data convergence leads to further blurring of public/private distinctions, which has important social, economic and cultural effects to be considered in the light of present politico-economic structural problems and forms of inequality. This becomes particularly manifest in the mergers which are occurring among some of the world's most important producers of communications hardware and software. One of the most striking recent examples is the merging of Matra, the French electronics producer, and Hachette, one of the leading publishing houses with more than 30 journals, video-cassettes, etc. As expressed by the representative of the new Matra-Hachette, with this merger the electronics producer Matra acquired its "most powerful weapon" - the ability to spread its influence world-wide through the written word and other forms of mass communication. This is but one of the latest examples; in the mid-seventies Armand Mattelart indicated this phenomenon in the cases of ITT's purchase of two publishing houses, Bobbs-Merrill and Howard-Sams; Xerox acquired R.R. Bowker Co., a company more than a century old, known for its bibliographical reference works; Ration absorbed D.C. Heath & Co. (and its division Lexington Books), which specialized in school texts and books on elementary mathematics, the applied social sciences, physics, and learning French for university level⁵. Furthermore, as pointed out by Mattelart:

"Parallel with this wave of acquisitions, the electronic companies which were already the owners of means of mass communication, such as Westinghouse and General Electric, have reformulated their policy of production of programmes as a function of the importance adopted by new markets. A report by Westinghouse in 1970 revealed the concern of these large electronic companies in education: 'Westinghouse, convinced that radio and TV will in the future play

⁴ Juan F. Rada, "The Microelectronics Revolution: Implications for the Third World", *Development Dialogue*, Uppsala, 1981/2, p.53.

⁵ Armand Mattelart, "The New Multinational Educators", paper presented at 10th IAMCR/AIERI Conference, Leicester 1976, p.7; written on the basis of information from *Xerox Annual Report 1972* and *Raytheon Annual Report 1974*; this phenomenon, its social and cultural implications, and some policy recommendations are discussed also in: Cees J. Hamelink, "Public Media and Transborder Data Flows", paper presented at IBI World Conference on Transborder Data Flows Policies, Rome, June 1980.

a more and more important part and will have growing responsibility, particularly within the field of education and journalism, last year launched TV programmes on black culture, prisons, pollution and environment, the psychiatric institutes and welfare.' General Electric, owner of six radio stations and three television stations, has established, together with the publishing group Time-Life, a company specializing in the production of audio-visual educational equipment, the General Learning Corp. Westinghouse, which also possesses seven radio stations and five television stations, is engaged in preparing programmes for younger persons. In 1972, it bought Linguaphone Institute Limited, the most important system in the world for teaching languages by the audio visual method..."¹

Mergers of this kind are clearly taking place. What this means for the educational processes worldwide, but particularly in the developing countries, has so far escaped deeper examination, with the exception of a few scholarly attempts such as those mentioned above. If establishing the NIEO is basically aimed at creating new international relations in which the power of the TNEs will be at least substantially curbed², it would seem to follow logically that the long-term implications of such mergers and their plans in the educational sphere would merit more concern than expressed so far on the part of policy-makers in education, especially in the developing countries. To take but one example, in the area of computers and computer programming, according to Mattelart, the President of Control Data summarized why the company has centred its interest on computer programming by using the Chinese proverb "If your plan extends over a year, plant rice; if your plan extends over ten years, plant trees; if your plan extends over one hundred years, educate men."³ What is happening in the sphere of education today is yet another expression of the TNE's abilities to plan far ahead of everyone else. Developing countries' policy-makers in education and in information-communication should endeavour to have a clear picture of how such projects of the TNEs are affecting their countries' development strategies and should, to every possible extent, try to assimilate whatever positive experiences are available.

The full implications of the above, however, can be appreciated only when other forms of education, both formal and informal, are taken into account. Thus training of specialists in the developing countries remains a particularly serious problem in all areas, including information-communication. This has been

stressed at all intergovernmental conferences on communication policies (San José, Kuala Lumpur and Yaoundé) and in several valuable scholarly works⁴. Steps have been taken in the direction of developing bilateral, subregional, regional and inter-regional co-operation among developing countries in training information-communication personnel, mostly for the needs of mass media, and such actions are also going on within the movement of the non-aligned countries. As a result, training centres such as CESTI (Centre d'Etudes des Sciences et Techniques de l'Information) at the University of Dakar, CIESPAL (International Centre for Higher Studies in Journalism for Latin America) in Quito, AIBL (Asian-Pacific Institute for Broadcasting Development) in Kuala Lumpur, and the Yugoslav Institute of Journalism (Belgrade) for training students from the non-aligned countries, to name some major examples, have developed into important institutions, and new ones such as CEETEM (Centro de Telecomunicaciones para el Tercer Mundo) in San José are appearing⁵. But progress in this direction is, generally speaking, still slow, and especially so in the area of computer training and other new information-communication forms. The largest amount of training in these areas is still organized (directly or indirectly) by the TNEs.

The problems facing developing countries in informal education are even more complex; at the same time, they tend to be considered even less in terms of what is necessary for the establishment of the NIEO, in spite of the fact that some of them are clearly related to economic processes, the rôle of the market in individual societies and the world at large and, above all, to the rôle of TNEs. Although the "MacBride Commission" made an effort to underline the importance and the mostly negative effects of market dominance and commercialization of the mass media in general⁶, in the final chapter this resulted in a meagre conclusion which reads: "The social effects of the commercialization of the mass media are a major concern in policy formulation and decision-making by private and public bodies." And then it recommends:

"31. In expanding communication systems, preference should be given to non-commercial forms of mass communication. Promotion of such types of communication should be integrated with the traditions, culture, development objectives and socio-political system of each country. As in the field of education, public funds might be available for this purpose.

32. While acknowledging the need of the media for revenues, ways and means should be considered to

¹ *Ibid.*, p.8.

² In connection with this it is worth noting Juan Somavia's critical observation that in the declaration on the NIEO there are 20 principles that should guide the implementation of the NIEO, and in the Programme of Action there are 10 chapters on the manner in which the NIEO could come into being. "Of the 20 principles, there is one that refers to control and regulation of transnational enterprises. And of the 10 chapters, there is one that refers to control and regulation of transnational enterprises. In those terms, it would appear that transnationals are a sort of separate subject from the rest of the economic order and that they have to be dealt with as such, even with reference to the solution that has been given to them. (...)" ; Juan Somavia, "Democracy and the Process of Transnationalization", *Human Rights*, No.1, Helsinki, 1981, p.12.

³ Armand Mattelart, *op. cit.*, p.5; the source he used: The Institute for Advanced Technology (IAT), *Seminars for professionals in management and data processing*, Control Data Corp., Rockville, Mar.

⁴ See especially: Intergovernmental Conference on Communication Policies in Africa, *Working Paper, op. cit.*, pp. 31-34; Rita Cruise O'Brien, *Professionalism in Broadcasting: Issues of International Dependence*, Institute of Development Studies, Brighton, Discussion Paper No.100, 1976; Elihu Katz and George Wedell (with Michael Pilswort and Don Shinar), *Broadcasting in the Third World*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1977.

⁵ For the time being, CEETEM limits its activities, which are "to inform, assist and organize developing countries in utilizing telecommunications as an instrument of social, economic and cultural development. It identifies, selects and distributes documents, research reports and experiences in telecommunications that are relevant to the DCs". However, it will also formulate recommendations and models for the organization and training of users according to their common interests and needs. *CEETEM News letter*, No.2, April 1961, San José.

⁶ *Many Voices, One World, op. cit.*, pp. 152-155 and elsewhere.

reduce the negative effects that the influence of market and commercial considerations have in the organization and content of national and international communication flows.

33. That consideration be given to changing existing funding patterns of commercial mass media. In this connection, reviews could be made of the way in which the relative rôle of advertising volume and costs pricing policies, voluntary contributions, subsidies, taxes, financial incentives and supports could be modified to enhance the social function of mass media and improve their service to the community."¹

In the last analysis, the report fails to show the important interlinkings in this regard and how this affects the development of values in particular societies, especially in the developing countries. Two aspects would merit particular attention: (i) the rôle of transnational (and national) advertising and its overall impact upon the formation of values in particular societies², and (ii) the attitude of the mass media towards women, which is deeply linked to the first, but also has other important dimensions. Both subjects are very complex and have come to the attention of a number of researchers³; in the following, an attempt will be made to summarize some of the findings and conclusions that are relevant to the present discussion, i.e., the interrelationship between NIEO and a new international/world information-communication order, only with regard to the second topic, i.e., the role of women in development and how the mass media relate to this, as this is a particularly avoided (or, at best, misinterpreted) topic of modern social sciences.

Since the UN World Conference of the International Women's Year (Mexico, 1975), the promotion of the status of women has been recognized as a global international issue, i.e., as a strategic question of development which needs to be considered seriously within the efforts to create the NIEO, having a direct bearing upon the mobilization of the entire human potential in the struggle for material and social progress in the world, and especially in the developing countries. As pointed out by Vida Tomšič, "the developing countries have for many years been drawing attention to the circumstances which cause their nations to live in extreme poverty and backwardness and to the continuous increase of the gap in the development level between them and the developed countries. A dramatic reflection of this general situation is the difficult social and economic situation of women in these countries. In such conditions, actions of the international communi-

ty in individual social fields (health, children, illiteracy, family planning, housing, food and agriculture, etc.) have had limited effect. They have more and more revealed the truth that consequences cannot be eliminated unless the action goes to the causes, to its roots in anachronistic and unjust international economic and political relations."⁴ Subsequent international meetings⁵ reiterated as the basic starting point for all further discussion on this topic the statement that the full integration of women in development and their full participation in planning and decision-making in the development process are goals that are closely linked with the search for new and more equitable international economic relations⁶.

In addition to the above, it was recognized that information-communication means play an important rôle in this regard and that efforts to create a new international/world information-communication order must also involve this dimension of the problem. In this context it was pointed out that several important aspects need to be examined such as: the rôle of information-communication means (especially the mass media) in the lives of women (as indicators of development), the rôle of women in the information-communication profession (as journalists, directors, managers, etc.); and the portrayal of women in the mass media. On all three accounts the documents prepared for the Copenhagen World Conference of the UN Decade for Women (1980), as well as the report of the "MacBride Commission", offer information which is most eloquent. Thus, studies in India indicate that 60 per cent of rural women claim never to have listened to a radio broadcast, compared with 30 per cent for urban women⁷, and 78 per cent had never seen a film (and India, it is worth recalling, is one of the world's major film producers). Similar results were obtained in Kenya. Furthermore, it is estimated that of the 800 million illiterates in the world, 500 million are women, and 51 per cent of the women in Asia, 83 per cent in Africa and 85 per cent in the Arab States cannot read newspapers or other forms of print media⁸. The report of the "MacBride Commission" states furthermore: "of all the violations of human rights, the most systematic, widespread and entrenched is the denial of equality to women. Despite some progress in recent years, there is no country in the world where women have achieved full equality. Although making up half or more than half of the population, they are treated as a minority group,

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 260.

² This will be partly dealt with in the concluding chapter.

³ Some references regarding transnational advertising have already been mentioned; for the second topic, women and mass media, see: *Information and Communication as Development Resources for the Advancement of Women*, World Conference on the United Nations Decade for Women, Copenhagen, 14-30 July 1980, doc. A/CONF.94/27; Esmeralda Arboleda Cuevas, *Influence of the Mass Communication Media: Some Aspects of their Portrayal and Participation*, Seminar on Women and the Media, UN Headquarters, New York, 20-23 May 1980, doc. WCUNDW/SEM.1/2; Nalini Singh, *Women and Mass Communication Media: Review and Guidelines*, working paper for Meeting of Experts on Women and Media, Vienna, 24-27 November 1981, Branch for the Advancement of Women of the Centre for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, doc. AWB/EGM.81.1/CRP.1.

⁴ Vida Tomšič, "The Position and Rôle of Women in Development", *Review of International Affairs*, Vol. XXXII, No. 758, Belgrade 1981, p. 2; emphasis added.

⁵ Particularly the Conference of the Non-aligned and other Developing Countries on the Rôle of Women in Development, held in Baghdad (May 1979), the World Conference of the UN Decade for Women, Copenhagen (July 1980), and the High-level Meeting of Experts of Non-aligned and other Developing Countries on the Rôle of Women in Development, in Havana (May 1981).

⁶ This was adopted also by UNESCO and other specialized UN agencies; see "Unesco's contribution towards improving the status of women", doc. 21/C416 prepared for the 21st Session of UNESCO General Conference, Belgrade 1980.

⁷ See: Margaret Gallagher, "The portrayal and participation of women in the media", doc. CC.79/WS/130.

⁸ "Information and Communication as Development Resources for the Advancement of Women", *op. cit.*, p. 4.

disadvantaged and powerless. Often, the burdens of poverty, unemployment and educational backwardness weigh more heavily on women than on men. As an alarming example, two-thirds of the illiterates in the world are women, and education given to girls as compared to boys tends to be inferior and is more often curtailed at an early age." ¹

The rôle of education (formal and informal) and that of the mass media deserve particular attention in this regard. Although much has been written on this subject, some of the main dimensions still fail to be understood, mostly because of an entrenched tendency to compartmentalize problems and to leave complex issues separated one from another. Thus very little attention has been paid so far to identifying all the important interlinkages between, on the one hand, the need to keep a large number of women (especially in the developing countries) in submission through educational discrimination, (i.e.: barring them from higher education and even from higher levels of awareness in general) and with the help of the mass media's daily diet of the well-known stereotypes of the "typically feminine" ² and, on the other hand, the demands of modern industry, especially (micro)electronics, pharmaceuticals, textiles, leather, plastic goods, appliance parts, etc., for a thoroughly docile, unskilled and, above all, cheap labour force which can be exploited in what is mistakenly thought of as an already forgotten practice of the past centuries ³. The micro-electronics industry is estimated to employ some 200,000 workers in Asian FTZs (free trading zones). Rather than resituate workers whose jobs have been eliminated, however, the industry addresses a new labour group. Approximately 80 per cent of the labour force in the FTZs consist of women between 16 and 24 years of age who are often recruited from peasant households. They are particularly useful (so the explanation goes) because of their delicate fingers, their working tempo, their readiness to carry out monotonous jobs, and because they get half of what men would earn. In most of the FTZs women live in miserable conditions in crowded barracks. When their usefulness ends (mostly because of severe eye damage and other health problems, which occur in even less than 10 years) they are easily "dumped" (into prostitution "if they are lucky") ⁴. The tremendously difficult situation of women in these industries, especially in (micro)electronics - which is not only the case in the developing countries but in the developed as well (except that in the developing countries the exploitation is even more ruthless because the laws are even less protective) - is presented in a number of important international documents ⁵. But the mass media in

¹ *Many Voices, One World, op. cit.*, p. 189, emphasis added.

² Margaret Gallagher's review is a fairly thorough presentation of the prevalence of this model in practically all countries.

³ For recent depictions of these situations, see: Barbara Ehrenreich and Annette Fuentes, "Life on the Global Assembly Line", manuscript, January 1981; *Women Workers in Multinational Corporations: The Case of the Electronics Industry in Malaysia and Singapore*, by Linda Y.C. Lim, Michigan Occasional Papers in Women's Studies, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1980.

⁴ For the first part of this statement, see: Cees J. Hamelink, "The Third World in the Information Age", *Dies Natalis 1981*, ISS, The Hague, 1981, p.30; for the last part, see: Ehrenreich and Fuentes, *op. cit.*

⁵ See: "Technological Change and Women Workers: The Development of Microelectronics", World Conference of the UN Decade for Women, Copenhagen 1980, doc. A/CONF.94/26.

most countries remain strikingly uninterested in this matter. The gender break-down of the international division of labour which has emerged with the modern industries (especially microelectronics), by which 80 to 90 per cent of low-skilled assembly jobs are done in the developing countries by women, carried out in extremely difficult and dehumanizing conditions, is apparently not newsworthy by the criteria which now dominate in most of the mass media world-wide.

What has been said so far shows that a constructive approach to creating a new order in information and communication, and especially of its significance vis-à-vis NIEO, requires a new approach to mass communications, i.e. an approach which goes beyond the hitherto prevalent, rather limited understanding of the mass media and their function in modern societies. Developments in technology - the information-communication technology specifically and modern technologies generally - make the treatment of the mass media (or, public media) and the more sophisticated forms such as computer communications, telecommunications, etc., as separate issues obsolete and misleading. The developments of the past decade show that the rapid computerization of all information, including public communications - or, more accurately, the mass media - are changing all information flows into data flows, which has important consequences for the structure of mass communications in terms of their social, political and cultural function in society and, moreover, has essential economic implications ⁶. Furthermore, it has also become evident that the rôle of the market, trade and information as a commodity is much more crucial to the present world efforts to change the existing economic and information-communication structures than is generally recognized.

2.3. (Specialized) information, trade and self-reliance

International trade has always been unthinkable without the exchange of information. Throughout history, trading routes and information routes have developed together; trading obviously needed information about markets, commodities and prices, and trading routes carried, through the merchants, a wide variety of information on political developments and technical innovations.

Elaborate South-South trade-cum-information exchange existed long before the late 15th century, when European colonial expansion began. It had its origins in pre-history and spread with the growth of Egypt, China, India and Mesopotamia. Trade and information routes linked Asia, Africa, the Pacific and the Mediterranean shores.

By the second half of the 18th century a fully fledged international colonial economy had materialized, which rerouted trade and information from South-South to South-North. Today most exports from developing countries are directed towards the North. In 1979, over 72 per cent of exports from developing countries went to the developed world. Even today, more information flows between the South and the North than between the developing countries. Taking data from 1976, out of the totality of inter-regional telephone traffic, only 2 per cent occurred between

⁶ For further elaboration see: Cees J. Hamelink, "Public Media and Transborder Data Flows", *op. cit.*; Benjamin M. Compaine, "Shifting Boundaries in the Information Marketplace", *Journal of Communication*, Winter 1981.

developing countries themselves and 98 per cent between developing countries and OECD countries. A similar distribution was exhibited in telex traffic, and in telegraphy 10 per cent occurred between developing countries and 90 percent between developing countries and OECD countries ¹.

The paucity of South-South information traffic is a serious obstacle for horizontal forms of co-operation among developing countries. Most international information routes, be they telephony, mail or shipping, still reflect colonial times and link the countries of the South only via the North. Recent gatherings on co-operation among developing countries have recognized this. Thus the United Nations Conference on TCDC (1978 in Buenos Aires) declared as one TCDC objective the increasing and improving of "communications among developing countries, leading to a greater awareness of available knowledge and experience as well as the creation of new knowledge in tackling problems of development". Similarly, the high level Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries in Caracas (May 1981) emphasized the crucial rôle of information exchange and communication capacity, particularly for the promotion of trade among developing countries ².

2.3.1. Expanding industries

The international expansion of industrial production in recent decades has brought about an expansion in related services, such as travel, finance, marketing and advertising, which are often highly information intensive. The transnationalization of banking also drastically increased the need for international information networks. During the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, US banks, followed by the top West European and Japanese banks, spread worldwide. A major factor was the growth of international trade. This led to the increase in financial transactions, since a large part of global exports was financed with trade credits arranged by the major banks. Another key factor was the internationalization of production and the concurrent increase in overseas investments by the large transnational industrial corporations. This made the system of doing financial business from the home office or through correspondence banks inadequate. "Banks had to provide more information on the chances of business abroad, and they could only provide such information if they themselves were represented abroad ³. This gave rise to the establishment of representative offices in foreign countries which soon turned out to have an important weakness because they could do no business themselves and had to continue to rely on the correspondence banks.

At present the most important forms of transnationalization of banks are international branch networks, international banking groups, and international consortia banks ⁴. To respond adequately to the communication needs created by this transnationalization, the

banks created networks for their individual use and for interbank use.

Over the past decade several of the large transnational corporations have also expanded their activities into information-related areas. As early as the end of the 1950s, the classical core industries, such as textiles, steel, rubber and automobiles, began to lose their original meaning and have been increasingly replaced by new industries, such as electronics, aerospace, bio-chemistry and the exploitation of the seas. These are all industries in which information is an essential and characteristic element.

As industrial production processes increase in complexity, the importance of information increases greatly. The manufacturing of simple products requires large amounts of labour force, material and manual skill, but relatively little information. This changes with the production of more complicated machinery, with information becoming increasingly significant in relation to labour and material. More and more production processes have in fact become information processes (cf. the application of industrial robots). Thus much of the cost of industrial production can be seen as information costs. These include costs of research and development, market exploration and advertising. Also, the internationalization of industrial production demands more information traffic, the geographically spread units of transnational corporations have to be coordinated through elaborate information networks. Today a large corporation with sales of \$ 1 billion will spend some \$ 14 million on telecommunications alone ⁵.

According to an OECD report, the increased economic significance of information activities has had three major impacts on international economic relations. "First, it has stimulated international trade in several new information-related goods and services, while at the same time increasing international demand for the more mature information-related product lines. Second, it has given rise to international investment activity in information-related industries, particularly those involving new products and services. And, third, it has encouraged - particularly in the electronics sector - the formation of a network of technology transfers linking firms in different countries through licensing agreements and patent exchange." ⁶ Regarding the second type of impact, the economic dimension of the information industry has indeed attracted the attention of large transnational corporations that formerly had little or no operations in the informational area but, recently, decided to move in. Some examples are Exxon, the oil company, with Exxon Information Systems encompassing fifteen computer firms, such as Periphonics - in 1979 among the largest US data communications equipment manufacturers; Boeing, the aircraft manufacturer, with Boeing Computer Service Company - a \$ 96 million computer services operation (in 1979) for commercial customers; Saint-Gobain-Pont-à-Mousson, the French building materials and metal product giant, with 10 per cent stock of CII-Honeywell Bull and one-third control of Olivetti, thus linking two important computer firms; Volkswagen, the automobile manufacturer, with almost three-quarters control of the mini- and microcomputer producer Triumph-Adler; and the French missile and electronics

¹ H. Ergas, "The structure of inter-regional telecommunications traffic", unpublished paper, Paris, June 1978.

² The Caracas conference recommended the implementation of the Trade Information System (suggested by the Arusha Action Plan) for the dissemination of adequate data on trade flows and market opportunities.

³ G. Junne, "Multinational Banks, the State and International Integration", in: K. von Beyme (ed.), *German Political Systems*, London, 1976, p. 120.

⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁵ W.N. Barnes (vice president Collins Communications Switching Systems of Rockwell International) in 'Fortune', January 28, 1980.

⁶ "The Role of Information Goods and Services in International Trade", a working paper prepared for the OECD working party on Information, Computer and Communications Policy, Paris, May 1979.

manufacturer mentioned above, Matra, which acquired 51 per cent of the stock of the publishing firm Hachette in December 1980¹.

Furthermore, during the 1970s many of the major industrial corporations became heavily involved with information through the setting up of their own media systems. According to one observation, by the end of the 1970s "some three hundred United States firms whose principal business is outside of the media have developed a major video-tape capacity for in-house corporate newscasts - some with film, video-tape and computerized editing facilities that rival those of the national networks"². Responding to the emerging wave of questions directed at the legitimacy of modern corporate business, the latest technical possibilities are being used in order to "tell our story more effectively than ever before"³.

Over the past decades productivity in agriculture and industry turned out to be no longer sufficient to sustain economic growth. Therefore, productivity had to be increased in the services sector of the economy as a possible remedy. And indeed the services sector has in most advanced countries become more and more important. By 1978, in the countries of the European Community, some 50 per cent of the labour force was employed in services. And in 1980 as much as 70 per cent of the US labour force was working in the services sector and they contributed some 65 per cent to the Gross National Product⁴. With the expansion of the services sector, information handling grows since many activities in this sector are information intensive. Examples include data processing and computer software services, banking, professional and technical advisory services, accounting, motion pictures, advertising, insurance and transportation. In 1980, the total world trade in services amounted to US \$ 400 billion, which is over 20 per cent of overall world trade.

Information trade has indeed become an essential factor in both domestic and international economies. In the US economy, for example, the activities of the information industry are considered to be crucial in terms of economic survival⁵. US exports in this field increased two to three times between 1972 and 1977. In 1977 telecommunications and information merchandise exports represented 10 per cent of overall US merchandise exports⁶. In 1980, the US balance

¹ Matra has in recent years already diversified into radio (Europe 1), television (Télé Monte-Carlo), satellites, telematics and press (Jacinte, 20 Ans, Biba).

² S. Horwitz, "On the Road to Wired City", in: *Harvard Magazine*, September/October 1979, pp. 18-19; quoted in Herbert I. Schiller, *Who Knows: Information in the Age of the Fortune 500*, Norwood, Ablex Publishing, 1981, p.88.

³ L.H. Warner, chairman of General Telephone & Electronics, quoted in Herbert I. Schiller, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

⁴ H.L. Freeman and J.E. Spiro, "Services are the major issue of the 1980s", in: *Transnational Data Report*, Vol.4, No.7, 1981, p.45.

⁵ The National Association of Manufacturers has stated in a letter to the Chairman of the U.S. House Subcommittee on Government Information and Individual Rights (March 1980) that "the information technology sector will be critical for the United States".

⁶ Henry Geller, Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Communications and Information, in a statement before the U.S. House Subcommittee on Government Information and Individual Rights, March 27, 1980.

of trade showed a deficit exceeding \$ 30 billion, but in the manufacturing of computers there was a trade surplus of over \$ 4 billion⁷. This was even larger in 1980 and forecasts show a considerable growth for the information market in the US, as shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1

PROJECTED REVENUES
US INFORMATION MARKET

Industry Sector	1980 Revenues \$ billion	1990 Revenues \$ billion
Cable TV	2.35	21.5
Pay TV	1.06	12.7
Home computers	0.75	10.0
Teleconferencing	0.55	5.0
Satellite communication	0.205	2.3

Source : Channels and Wall Street Investment Corporation, 1981.

The sector within the information industry with the fastest rate of growth is the computer services and software sector. Today estimated as having a revenue of some US \$ 14 billion, it is expected to be the largest US industry by the end of the 1980s⁸. Certainly this sector offers strong incentives for investors since its rate of growth and return on equity outpace the rate of inflation, and its stability is attractive for financiers. Software is not as changeable as hardware, with its constant offering of newer generations with higher performances at lower prices. In terms of monetary value there is at present three times more software than hardware installed in the US.

In 1976, the total revenues for the 86 largest transnational information corporations amounted to US \$ 147 billion. The major part of this came from the sales of hardware goods - 48 per cent from telecommunications, 20 per cent from data processing and 13 per cent from consumer electronics. In 1980, the world market for telecommunication services totalled US \$ 40.2 billion. For telecommunication equipment this was approximately the same. The largest DP manufacturers in the world received some US \$ 60 billion in revenues. To this should be added that part of the world market for services that is primarily linked to information and that could be estimated in 1980 to yield some US \$ 150 billion. Adding to this the sales from such sectors as electronic components and consumer electronics, the 1980 world information market can be estimated at some US \$ 350 billion or some 18 per cent of total world trade, as in 1976 the largest part of the market was related to the products of information technology.

Information technology is certainly to be counted among the spearhead technologies. As the US National Association of Manufacturers has stated, "The indications are that the information technology sector will be critical for the United States as it faces the intensely competitive world economic situation for the 80s.

⁷ *Computerworld*, March 31, 1980.

⁸ A.R. Berkeley, "Millionaire Machine", in *Datamation*, August 25, 1981, pp. 20-36.

TABLE 2

TRADE BARRIERS TO TELECOMMUNICATIONS,
DATAFLOWS, DATA PROCESSING SERVICES

Country	Type of barrier	Trade implication
Japan	Administrative measures to discourage or deny the leasing of private circuits.	Increases costs to large users of data communications ; present level of data communications may become unfeasible.
Federal Republic of Germany	International leased lines prohibited from being connected to German public networks unless the connection is made via a computer which carries out at least some processing.	Increases costs to users, particularly to smaller users.
Brazil	International links for teleprocessing systems are subject to approval by government.	Limits opportunity of foreign vendors to provide services to Brazil.
Canada	Government recommendation that data processing of Canadian operations be done in Canada.	Restricts business opportunities for foreign data-processing service firms.
Nigeria	Local ownership requirement of 40 per cent for data-processing service companies and communications equipment manufacturers.	Discriminates against foreign investment.
France	Data protection law restricting the flow of information.	Affects ability of transnational corporations to obtain information they need for their foreign operations.

Source : Office of the US Special Trade Representative - March 1981.

Our world leadership in this field will benefit American trade directly, through the export of goods and services in this sector itself, and indirectly through improving the competitive efficiency of US companies worldwide in all sectors." ¹. And as Charles Lecht, president of the Advanced Computer Techniques Corporation, claimed, "There is little doubt the entire US economy will be adversely affected if we manage to lose the decisive position of strength and leadership we now hold in computer technology." ²

The information-trade connection presents itself also in increasing concern vis-à-vis the trade issues implied in governmental regulatory efforts that pertain to telecommunications, transborder data flows and data processing services. The key issues usually identified are the regulation of transborder data flows, legislation restricting the use of foreign data processing facilities, measures to abolish private telecommunications lines or to increase the prices charged for these lines, the regulation of equipment that can be connected to the public communications network, and the establishment of standards for communication-related services. As the Assistant U.S. Trade Representative for Policy Development, Geza Feketekuty, has commented, "There is major concern regarding the potential disruptions and distortions of trade which could occur if governments were to implement proposals currently being considered or if governments were to adopt a restrictive interpretation of laws that have been

passed but not yet implemented ... Beyond these concerns, the uncertainty that has been created by the strong possibility of future restrictive actions by governments has discouraged many firms contemplating major investments in international communication and data processing facilities from proceeding with such investments." ³

2.3.2. Transborder data flows and the TNEs

The key actors in world trade, the large industrial and financial transnational corporations (or enterprises) are increasingly information-centred. For the transnational corporation to cope effectively with its widely varying and often quickly changing environments, four areas of information requirements can be identified :

- (a) Information about the competitor's behaviour is necessary. The complexity of this evidently increases with the degree of transnationalization and diversification. An important part of this information relates to technological (product) development.
- (b) Information about the behaviour of consumers in the market sectors where the corporation operates is also essential.
- (c) There is an obvious need for that type of scientific/technical information that relates to the specific products which the corporation manufactures.

¹ See note 5 on page 36 ; Data 1976 information industry sales come from Cees J. Hamelink, *Finance and Information*, Nordwood, Ablex Publishing, 1982.

² Ch. P. Lecht quoted from *Computerworld*, June 5, 1978.

³ Source : *Transnational Data Report*, Vol. 4, No.5, 1981.

- (d) Lastly, there is a constant need for information about the economic, fiscal, legal and political environments in which the corporation conducts its operations.

In addition to responding to its external environment, there is the internal demand for effectively coping with the requirements of a complex organization. Complexity is introduced as a result of the volume of operations, the geographical distribution of plants and markets, the diversity of products and services and rapid growth.

The use of information to conduct business is no new phenomenon. Information has always been an intrinsic part of a variety of business transactions, but recently this information-business interlock has undergone important changes. There is a quantitative change in that the volume of information for the conducting of business has drastically increased, to an extent where only electronic intelligence can cope with it. This is due to the growth of international trade, of direct foreign investments and of the institutions involved. The rapid transnationalization of industrial and financial business since the 1950s has created large, complex institutions with specific organizational models and strategic designs which imply new information requirements. Increasingly the effective operation of these transnational corporations has relied as much on their traditional direct productive activities as upon their capability to collect and transport data and to process them into productive information/knowledge. The structure of the transnational corporation became information-centred. As a consequence, a series of new activities sprang up: specialization in the collecting, storing, processing and transmission of information. These are industrial activities that need the hardware and software supplies of a growing sector of domestic and international economies: the information industry.

There is also a qualitative change in that the rôle of information developed from being an important support factor into being the essential factor. Information handling used to be necessary in order to execute industrial and agricultural activities; with increasing automation, information handling becomes the activity itself. Robots taking over from factory workers are a case in point, as is the micro-processor application in agricultural mechanization. The services sector of the economy is an even clearer illustration, with such developments as the automated office, electronic mail and electronic funds transfer.

Such quantitative and qualitative changes have turned information into the crucial resource for the transnational corporation. This is particularly clear in the rapidly increasing involvement of many large transnational corporations with transborder computer data networks, which have today become the backbone of international trading. Transnational corporations create or participate in such networks for a number of reasons:

- Direct financial benefits might accrue from the sharing of expensive communication facilities with more users in different locations. Alone, an airline could not afford to maintain a world-wide reservation system, while as a joint network between many airlines it is possible.

- Such benefits might also accrue from the sharing of access to information that would otherwise be very expensive to use.

- Benefits might also accrue from the possibility of transporting and processing large volumes of data in a fast and reliable manner for improved management, marketing and productivity.

- Networks can meet the need for centralized infor-

mation management in order to monitor fluctuating exchange rates and commodity prices.

- Networks can reduce inventory costs by improving the flow of materials between the units of the corporation.

- Benefits might accrue from the possibility of sharing otherwise dispersed resources¹.

Recording the voices from industry representatives, there can be little doubt that they share the observation made by F.A. Bernasconi, director general of I.B.I. (the Intergovernmental Bureau for Informatics), that "transborder data flows are the life-blood of transnational corporations"². This is confirmed by examples such as the following: "As an international bank, our business is entirely dependent upon the free flow of instantaneous communication. In the course of our banking business, we need to have minute-by-minute intelligence from the money markets across the world", states Robert E.L. Walker, vice president of Continental Illinois Bank³. Another banker, Rossiter W. Langhorne, vice president of Manufacturers Hanover Trust, broadens this to the whole business community. Without the present state of data processing and communications technology this could not be accomplished."⁴ John L. Rankine, director of Standards, Product Safety and Data Security for IBM, elaborates this further: "We need this flow of information in order to communicate world-wide engineering design and manufacturing information as well as to inform our customers about technical changes and improvements to our products on which, in turn, their operations depend. It is also necessary for us to match available engineering, technological and marketing support with user requirements. All this inevitably requires that we maintain an inventory of the employee skills available worldwide so that we can provide people with necessary skills wherever they are needed. We must have the ability to move financial and operation information among our various organizations as freely as possible. Finally, we must interact continuously with international banking and transportation facilities, such as airlines, which, in turn, also depend on a free flow of information to conduct their operations."⁵

For some transnational corporations, transborder data flows become a major product line. They include the databanks and databases, on-line database publishers, value-added networks, or computer service companies. For other transnational corporations data flow are virtually their "life blood". This is the case with the airlines and the international banks. On several occasions bankers have expressed the opinion that

¹ Ford Motor Company installed its data network in 1978 and claims to have saved US \$180 million in the design of the new Escort model through the international pooling of its best designers from different locations. Source: *Transnational Data Report*, Vol.3, No.6, 1980.

² F.A. Bernasconi in his address to the I.B.I. World Conference on Transborder Data Flow Policies, Rome, June 1980.

³ R.E.L. Walker in his testimony before the Subcommittee on Government Information and Individual Rights of the U.S. House of Representatives, March 13, 1980.

⁴ R.W. Langhorne, "Private enterprise concerns about data protection and transborder data regulation" in *Data Regulation*, Oxbridge, ONLINE, 1978, p.141.

⁵ J.L. Rankine, quoted in *Transnational Data Report*, Vol.3, No.1, 1980.

data traffic can indeed be seen as the bank's "life blood". R.D. Hill, for example, who is chairman of the First National Bank of Boston, observes: "The degree of information flow among our offices largely determines the degree to which we can actually manage and control our international operations. If we were prevented from moving vital information to headquarters, it could significantly impact our ability to manage the corporation as a total entity."¹

For an increasing number of corporations, the use of transborder data flows is becoming an effective management tool. For integrated management - i.e. centralized control and decentralized operations - the new data processing technology offers the necessary flexibility. A large computer system for central processing can be combined with word processing, electronic mail and video-teleconferencing that enable varying degrees of decentralization. Data flows in the transnational corporations can generally be seen as performing the following functions :

- support system for management decision-making ;
- maintenance services to the firm itself and clients ;
- monitoring of inventories and production volumes ;
- monitoring of market, price and currency developments ;
- transfer of funds - intra- and intercompany ;
- intracompany accounting ;
- access to scientific/technical databases ;
- transport and processing of R&D data ;
- transport and storing of personal records.

Large corporations need information for "pro-active adaptation to their dynamic environments. This requires management to deal with comparatively uncontrollable, qualitative, external, future-oriented data sources and unaccustomed processes for analysis, simulation and consolidation of diverse data types into management information"². This confronts management increasingly with the necessity to access processing systems through which the data are programmed into applicable information. Data as a tool for management requires the installation of decision supporting systems (DSS) and interfaces between DSS and databases.

The impact of the utilization of computer networks by transnational corporations as it relates to international trade can be discussed in terms of the impact of internal environment and external environment.

(i) *Internal environment* : The use of dataflows gives the transnational corporation greater capacity to respond to the requirements of its internal environment. It provides management with a tool to allocate corporate resources more efficiently and effectively : the essence of industrial management. An example is the allocation of human resources : the international division of labour with the corporation. Data networks facilitate more adequate patterns of job location. As Alain Madec has observed : "This often consists of locating industrial jobs in the developing countries, where manpower is cheap, while intellectual jobs are located near to stocks of internal data, or in the place where there is a pressing need for help in decision-making, i.e. at headquarters."³ The use of dataflows thus enables transnational corporations to realize economies of scale through the expanding production specialization among their subsidiaries. Data networks

contribute to close co-ordination between units in geographically widely distributed locations.

The use of dataflows also make it possible to cope with the complexity of hierarchically structured management processes which can easily be disturbed by time delays and distortions of less sophisticated communication facilities and by the absence of effective headquarters monitoring facilities. The optimum functioning of the "centralization-decentralization model" that characterizes the transnational corporation depends upon fast and reliable data networks. Internationally operating corporations demand both centralization and decentralization in organization. Centralization is necessary to be able to check on the performance of the total corporate system. A financial strategy that demands the assurance of a continuous financing of the trading operations and protection of the corporate profits needs a continuous and co-ordinated monitoring of rapidly fluctuating money markets and price developments. Also, centralized information about production is needed to facilitate the international specialization of labour with the corporation. However, production specialization is a major requirement of transnational corporations and this makes decentralization essential for an optimum performance of local/national chapters.

Corporations design management information systems to respond adequately to the requirements of the corporate organization. This is often a laborious task and the centralization-decentralization model creates complicated logistical problems for worldwide corporate information facilities. Potentially, transnational data flows could contribute to the solution of such problems. They can function as the management tool that makes this centralization-decentralization mode workable. "Management will be able to determine which controls and standards should be applied throughout the organization to facilitate meaningful corporate control, based on business considerations, rather than the limitations of communication/computing facilities. Planning can be decentralized within meaningful constraints and yet controlled centrally."⁴

Transnational data flows can theoretically optimize the performance of what Chamoux has referred to as the organizational innovation of the transnational corporation : the "profit centre". The local subsidiary is free to fix its policy in order to achieve the goals determined by headquarters. There is decentralized autonomy as long as profits are made. Data traffic is an essential component of this organizational model. There has to be continuous reporting back from subsidiaries to headquarters and a flow of instructions from headquarters to subsidiaries⁵.

Management's effective and efficient decision-making is largely dependent upon information. Decision-making capacity can, however, be seriously hampered if there are no reliable media for storage, distribution and retrieval. Management information systems designed to cope with this have often turned out to have serious shortcomings, such as the fact that they usually do not provide informal data but

¹ Source : *Transnational Data Report*, Vol.3, No.3, 1980.

² R. Alloway, "Decision support systems and information flows in the 1980s" in E.J. Boutmy and A. Danthine (eds.), *Teleinformatics '79*, Amsterdam, North Holland, 1979, p.4.

³ A.J. Madec, "Economic and Legal Aspects of Transborder Data Flow", paper for the High Level Conference on Information, Computer and Communication Policies in the 1980s, OECD, Paris, October 1980.

⁴ D.A. Woodland and P.S. Doepel, "Management of Distributed Organizations", in E.J. Boutmy and A. Danthine (eds.), *op. cit.*, p.10.

⁵ J.P. Chamoux, *L'information sans frontière*, Paris, La Documentation Française, 1980, p.90.

mainly quantifiable data, that they are too general and that the data often come too late. Management information systems were in the main designed to deal with routine problems, whereas management is constantly confronted with the unusual and unexpected. Potentially, computer-based interactive management information systems could avoid such shortcomings and offer the inclusive, timely, detailed, informal and flexible information tool that management needs.

The use of data flows could further contribute to "computerize" the corporation. In administrative, financial and manufacturing processes, data manipulation through computer intelligence could be the core activity, replacing and significantly changing human labour. The fact that banks become increasingly involved with computer-communications also has effects on the banks themselves. Electronic funds transfers, computerized tellers and automated administrative procedures may have significant influence on the employment in the banking sector. The Nora/Minc report projects that the installation of new computer systems could lead the banks to need 30 per cent less personnel in the next ten years ¹.

(ii) *External environment*: Impact on the *external environment* of transnational corporations can be discussed under a number of headings:

(a) *Concentration*: The basic processes through which industrial concentration takes place, namely diversification, horizontal and vertical integration, can be facilitated through the use of transnational data flows. They all imply complex coordinating tasks and need fast and reliable monitoring of dispersed markets.

At present, small and medium-sized companies do not have the same access to data flow facilities as the large transnational data network-users. This tends to give large transnational corporations a vital competitive advantage, may create serious barriers to new entrants and lead to increasingly oligopolistic markets in different sectors of the economy. For example, the large-scale application and development of international telecommunication networks is likely to give advantages to large banks against their smaller competitors. According to Rose, the electronic transfer of funds (EFT) will contribute to the raising of savings and will release a considerable amount of human and other resources now locked up in an oversized and inefficient financial industry. He expects, through a re-deployment of these resources in sectors of the economy where they can be more profitably used, a rising national output and an increase in the supply of goods and services which will hold down the price level ².

The implication of this statement is that EFT will strongly contribute to the concentration of the banking system. EFT will lead to a situation where fewer banks hold the major portion of a society's financial assets. An important factor here is the capital intensity of the necessary technological infrastructure and its maintenance. It is likely that the largest banks will be the first to install the most advanced data processing machinery and this could seriously affect the capacity of smaller banks to compete.

The question obviously is whether this will change with decreasing costs for data processing related equipment and services. So far it can be observed that cost reductions have mainly been to the benefit of

the largest users. It can be expected that the costs of long-line services for data flows within the corporation will decrease for the large transnational users. At the same time, it seems that costs of local data transport do not decrease at the same pace, thus making access to data networks for the small users very difficult. Cost reductions are also unlikely to affect large scale equipment and related programming and maintenance expenses, thus leaving them mainly to the largest corporations.

(b) *Standardization*: The need for centralized data processing may lead to the wish to install standardized equipment in the dispersed units. This could tend to strengthen further the oligopolistically structured computer and telecommunication industry.

(c) *Regulatory environment*: The large transnational data flow users have important stakes in the free flow of data across borders and are likely to attempt to influence their environment for the appropriate deregulation. As IBM president John Opel states, "Except when it threatens privacy and national security, data flow should be as uninhibited as possible" ³. Similarly, John Diebold, chairman of the Diebold Group Inc., explains the consequences in case a free flow of data is not secured: "dramatic reductions in the rapidly growing information sectors of the United States economy and increased costs and poorer services to all international users; higher costs for long haul and overseas communications; serious reduction of information available in the United States about the rest of the world" ⁴.

(d) *Private circuits*: Telecommunication is a vital part of transnational data flows and a worrisome item for transnational corporations. Telecommunication tariffs are an important factor in the use of computer networks, and prices determined by national political and economic considerations can restrict data flows ⁵. As a consequence, transnational corporations will emphasize the need of privately leased circuits with volume-intensive tariff systems. As Phillip Onstad, Control Data Corporation manager of telecommunication policies claims, if such circuits are not available, "advances in distributed processing and shared data base development will be severely retarded. In addition, the effectiveness of many existing teleprocessing systems will be degraded, and in many instances their services will have to be withdrawn" ⁶. This particular need of the largest data flow users could have a serious impact on the revenues of national public telecommunication services.

(e) *Division of labour*: Transnational data flows are likely to encourage transnational corporations to apply the theory of "comparative advantage" also to the field of advanced information technology. In terms of this theory, each nation contributes to the international exchange what it can produce most advantageously. The availability of satellite communication plus inexpensive terminals for remote accessing of large data bases and large computer systems tends to lead to the concentration of data processing in relatively

³ Source: *Transnational Data Report*, Vol.2, No.5, 1979.

⁴ Source: *Transnational Data Report*, Vol.3, No.1, 1980.

⁵ "Going Global", in *Datamation*, September 1980; D. Hebditch, "Will data flow be stemmed?", in *Telecommunications*, May 1979, p.75.

⁶ Source: *Transnational Data Report*, Vol.2, No.5, 1979.

¹ S. Nora and A. Minc, *L'informatisation de la société*, Paris, La Documentation Française, 1978, p.36.

² S. Rose, "The unexpected fall-out from electronic banking", in *Fortune*, April 24, 1978.

TABLE 3
COMPUTER AND OFFICE EQUIPMENT IMPORT AND EXPORT - 1978
(World Trade : US \$ 14.9 billion) *

Major Exporting Countries	United States	Fed. Rep. Germany	Japan	United Kingdom	France	Italy	Netherlands
Major Importing Countries							
United States	1,961.5	4,682.8	2,001.9	1,654.3	1,478.9	1,238.9	765.1
Federal Republic of Germany	1,875.4						
United Kingdom	1,533.1						
France	1,531.3						
Canada	787.4						
Italy	782.1						
Netherlands	640.1						

Source : Datamation, January 1981, expressed in millions \$ US.

* Data refer to the trade classification 714 which encompasses for 85 per cent computers, data processing equipment and related parts.

few locations. Data processing is done where it can be most cost-effectively carried out, i.e. in US-owned facilities. The Canadian case provides an example. Through the transfer of data processing to the US up to 1975, 4,000 jobs were lost. By 1980 this had increased to 10,000 and was expected to reach 25,000 in 1985¹.

Transnational data flows could provide corporate management with a tool for more efficient and effective allocation of the human resources within the corporation. Using this tool, transnational corporations will be inclined to maintain their core activities, administratively, financially, and technologically, close to headquarter locations and keep that part of the industrial production in developing countries that does not improve the trading prospects of these countries. A likely construction is the location of research and development intensive parts of industrial production in the developed world and the manufacturing of end products in the developing countries. "The decreasing costs of communications and data transmission and the concentration of information in developed countries implies that it is becoming cheaper for enterprises and firms in developing countries to 'solve' problems in a remote location rather than through the development of local facilities."²

2.3.3. Developing countries' position in world trade in information goods and services

The differential access to the management of information in the present international order puts the developing countries particularly at a sharp disadvantage in world markets. Their lack of capability to collect, process and apply information to their specific requirements compromises their national sovereignty. Increasingly the capacity to influence the deployment of their resources is located extra-territorially with foreign entities. In domestic and international economies, the large transnational corporations have become the key allocative controllers over the volume and direction of natural, human, financial and scientific resources. The allocative control of these corporations is closely related to their capacity to access large quantities of data, to transform these data into functional information and to apply the knowledge thus acquired.

Transborder data flows represent the most advanced form of information management and at present one can safely assume that transnational corporations are their largest users. They can mobilize the financial resources for the hardware, software and transmission costs involved in the use of data flows. They can also mobilize the analytical skill and the industrial networks through which data can be most effectively used. Thus transborder data flows add yet another component to the large discrepancies in the informational capacities, and by implication in the trading capacities, of developed and developing countries.

A significant part of today's transborder data flow consists of financial data. The traffic of such data is mainly controlled by the large transnational banks that own or operate international computer-communications networks. The differential access to financial data is detrimental to the developing coun-

tries. This is illustrated by the case of expanding private international lending. Vis-à-vis their growing debt to the private banking circuit, the question for developing countries is how to acquire information about all the complex and swiftly changing aspects of the international financial system. How can they know sufficiently early and reliably about rates of exchange or rates of interest? This would imply not only access to the international financial data brokerage circuit, but also to the vast and expensive systems for the processing and distributing of information.

Today's global information discrepancies, corroborated by the phenomenon of transborder data flows, are critical factors in hampering self-reliant development in the developing countries. Self-reliant development implies the capacity to manage one's own affairs: to take autonomous allocative decisions. Pursuing independent development creates new information requirements. Present transborder data flows do not meet such requirements. They are oriented towards the needs of the transnational corporations and do not provide the developing countries with the information pertinent to their needs and priorities. They weaken, in fact, the developing countries' national capacity for decision-making about their own resources.

A series of empirical data illustrate the structure of world trade in information goods and services and the relative position therein of the developing countries. First, the major traders of such goods as computers, telecommunication equipment, and consumer electronics are North America and Western Europe, as shown in Tables 3, 4 and 5.

TABLE 4

MAJOR EXPORTERS OF TELECOMMUNICATION EQUIPMENT 1979

(World export : US \$ 24.7 billion)

Country	Rank in order of share in world exports (%)
Japan	26.6
Federal Republic of Germany	13.0
Switzerland	13.0
United States	11.3
Netherlands	5.8
United Kingdom	5.2
France	4.6
Sweden	4.2

Source : United Nations Yearbook of International Trade Statistics 1979

In 1979, the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, France and Italy accounted for over 52 per cent of world telecommunication equipment exports. The same countries accounted for over 47 per cent of all imports. (The leading exporters of the developing countries (South Korea, Hong Kong, Brazil, Singapore and Mexico) have together a 12.7 per cent share in world exports.) In 1980, the world market for telecommunication equipment reached an estimated US \$ 40

¹ P. Robinson, "The Economic Impact of TDF", paper for the I.B.I. World Conference on Transborder Data Flow Policies, Rome, June 1980.

² J.F. Rada, "Micro-electronics, Information Technology and its Effects on Developing Countries", report for the ILO, Geneva, 1980, p.29.

TABLE 5

RADIO AND TV RECEIVERS
IMPORTS AND EXPORTS 1976

RADIO RECEIVERS IMPORTS AND EXPORTS 1976

	Imports (% of world total)	Exports (% of world total)
North America	31.7	2.4
Western Europe	44.0	22.9
Developing countries	19.5	20.3

TV RECEIVERS IMPORTS AND EXPORTS 1976

	Imports (% of world total)	Exports (% of world total)
North America	30.5	7.6
Western Europe	46.9	43.2
Developing countries	14.9	5.8

Source : United Nations Yearbook of International Trade Statistics 1977

billion. The combined share for Africa and Latin America was 1.4 billion dollars ¹.

In terms of the international trade in computer products and services, the United States and Western Europe are by far the largest exporters and importers. 1978 figures for world import markets for computers and office equipment show a share for Western Europe and the United States of 71 per cent and for developing countries of 10.2 per cent. In 1979, 54 per cent of American computer exports went to Western Europe and 12 per cent to Canada. 85 per cent of French exports went to other West European countries and 5 per cent to the United States. 79 per cent of British exports went to other West European countries and 8 per cent to the United States. 23 per cent of imports in the United States came from the United Kingdom, France and the Federal Republic of Germany. 71 per cent of imports in the Federal Republic of Germany came from the United States, the United Kingdom and France. 73 per cent of French imports came from the United States, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany. Most of the international computer trade indeed takes place within and between Western Europe and North America. These trading patterns are corroborated by an increasing number of know-how exchange agreements that have been signed over the past years. Examples include arrangements between the General Electric Corporation in the United Kingdom and Fairchild in the United States, between Siemens (Federal Republic of Germany) and Advanced Micro Devices (United States), between Thomson CSF (France)

¹ Source : A.T.&T., quoted in *The Economist*, August 22, 1981.

and Motorola (United States), and between Philips (the Netherlands) and Signetics (United States).

Secondly, the developing countries' share in world exports has hardly changed over the past years to the benefit of these countries, as indicated in Table 6.

Furthermore, as indicated in Tables 7 and 8, trading in information goods leaves the developing countries with deficits on the balance of trade.

In 1978, the average export/import ratio for the five leading computer traders in the developing world (Brazil, Hong Kong, Argentina, South Korea and Singapore) was 0.88. For the major traders in the developed world (United States, Japan, Federal Republic of Germany, United Kingdom and France) the average was 1.64.

In the developing countries, the export/import ratio for radio receivers in 1976 was 0.82 and for TV receivers 0.22. In 1976, for the major traders in printing machines in the developing world the average import/export ratio was 0.48. For the major traders in the developed world (United States, France, United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany) this was 3.04.

Thirdly, it has to be observed that the developing world is gaining importance as a computer import market. Between 1972 and 1975, average annual imports grew in Asia by 13.9 per cent (Japan of course occupying the leading rôle for an industrialized nation), in Africa by 44.2 per cent and in Latin America by 38 per cent. During the 1970s, Latin America became the largest importer in the South, especially with countries such as Chile and Cuba reaching import growth percentages of 202 per cent and 97 per cent respectively. Also in the second half of the 1970s, Latin American imports continued to grow, although slightly less, but still above the world average rate of growth (28.2 per cent between 1977 and 1978). Brazil is becoming the leading computer importer of the region and by 1978 this country became the 16th largest computer market in the world with a growth rate of 43.3 per cent. Mexico is the 20th largest importer, Argentina and Venezuela are respectively 24th and 26th. Among the fastest growing import markets is the People's Republic of China: its 1977-1978 growth rate was 164 per cent and its market size exceeded US \$ 21 million (see Table 9).

Growing computer imports pose a number of problems :

- * The strong oligopoly in the production of computer equipment makes the importing countries dependent upon a very small number of suppliers.
- * The importing countries usually lack the specialized expertise for assessment and integration of computer technology.
- * Importing countries are often sold obsolete technology.
- * Importing countries often get package deals with decreasing prices for the hardware and increasing expenditures for the software parts of the systems.

Fourthly, over the past years the developing countries' share in imports by OECD countries of office machines, telecommunication equipment and semi-conductors has grown rapidly ².

For telecommunication equipment, the share of OECD imports from developing countries increased from 3.5 per cent in 1965 to 18.7 per cent in 1977. For electronic components the share of OECD imports

² "The rôle of information goods and services in international trade", paper prepared for the OECD working party on Information, Computer and Communication Policy, Paris, May 1979, pp. 36-41.

TABLE 6
CHANGES IN SHARE OF WORLD EXPORTS
(% of world market economies)

	1968	1970	1974	1976
TELECOMMUNICATION EQUIPMENT EXPORTS				
Developed countries	97.1	96.3	92.5	92.8
Developing countries	2.9	3.7	7.5	7.2
PRINTING AND BINDING MACHINES				
Developed countries		99.6	99.6	99.3
Developing countries		0.4	0.4	0.7
RADIO RECEIVERS				
Developed countries			78.9	79.7
Developing countries			21.1	20.3
TV RECEIVERS				
Developed countries			94.9	94.2
Developing countries			5.1	5.8

Source : United Nations International Trade Statistics Yearbook 1977

TABLE 7
TRADE BALANCE OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES
COMPUTER AND OFFICE EQUIPMENT - 1978
(in \$ millions)

Country	Value of imports	Value of exports	Trade balance	Export/import ratio
Brazil	193.7	129.1	- 64.6	0.67
Hong Kong	180.4	237.1	+ 56.7	1.31
Argentina	99.8	42.9	- 56.9	0.43
South Korea	96.2	69.6	- 26.6	0.72
Singapore	61.3	82.7	+ 21.4	1.34

Source : Datamation, January 1981.

from developing countries increased from 2.2 per cent in 1965 to 29 per cent in 1977. It has to be noted, however, that the imports came predominantly from a limited number of countries with very narrow ranges of specialization in specific products. Moreover, this production was mainly a result of foreign investment. Eight countries accounted for more than 90 per cent of the increase of OECD imports of electronic goods from developing countries between 1970 and 1976; these were Mexico, Brazil, Malaysia, India, Singapore, Korea, Taiwan and Hong Kong.

This reflects the general pattern of direct foreign investment that tends to be channelled (approximately 70 per cent) to a selected number of countries (some fifteen) that are chosen for their political stability, economic incentives (such as tax privileges, large

domestic markets and low wages), and linguistic convenience (anglophone countries have clear preference). In the period 1970-1976, six countries (South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, Mexico and Brazil) represented almost 70 per cent of total developing countries' exports of manufactured goods.

The countries from which the majority of OECD imports of electronic goods came specialized in specific products: Taiwan in television receivers, Korea in electronic components, and Mexico in switchgears. This reflects the strategy of transnational corporations in selecting those products for foreign investment that need unskilled labour in a specific (isolated) phase of the production process, demand little investment in fixed assets and imply low costs for transportation of the intermediate goods between headquarters and

TABLE 8
TRADE BALANCE OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES
PRINTING MACHINES - 1976
(in \$ thousands)

Country	Value of imports	Value of exports	Trade balance	Export/import ratio
Brazil	32.195	1.041	- 31.154	0.32
Mexico	24.271	129	- 24.142	0.53
Thailand	7.110	41	- 7.069	0.58
Malaysia	5.447	393	- 5.054	0.72
Argentina	2.180	493	- 1.687	0.23

Source : United Nations Yearbook of International Trade Statistics 1977

TABLE 9
FASTEST GROWING COMPUTER IMPORT MARKETS

Rank	Country	1977-1978 Rate of growth in %	Market size 1978 in US \$ millions
1	Iraq	219.7	47
2	China	164.5	21
3	Saudi Arabia	105.3	80
4	Hong Kong	61.9	180
5	Thailand	59.1	21
6	Mexico	50.6	161
7	Romania	49.7	25
8	South Korea	48.9	96
9	South Africa	48.1	167
10	Brazil	43.3	194

Source : Datamation, January 1981.

off-shore plants. Particularly in the manufacturing of electronic equipment, developing countries share in only one stage of a vertically integrated and centrally controlled operation.

Most of the imports reflect particular geographic patterns. Mexico, Taiwan and Hong Kong accounted for over 50 per cent of American imports. Hong Kong, Taiwan and Singapore accounted for almost 70 per cent of EEC imports. Korea, Taiwan and Singapore accounted for some 80 per cent of Japanese imports. These patterns represent flows of foreign direct investments. Almost 80 per cent of American imports from the eight countries are in fact related to intra-firm transactions¹. Exports from these low-wage countries result in the majority of cases from the investments which large transnational electronics manufacturers

make in off-shore production and assembly operations by their subsidiaries. This again reflects the general pattern of international trade in which some 30 per cent is related to intra-firm transactions by transnational corporations.

By way of conclusion, the following points should be emphasized :

* In an expanding and ever more significant branch of world trade, the developing countries have only a small share that has hardly grown over the past years.

* In so far as developing countries have grown as export markets, this is mainly the result of foreign investment by transnational corporations. It is likely that for many years to come the production and export of communication equipment and components in developing countries will remain controlled by the largest transnational electronics manufacturers.

* In so far as developing countries increase as import markets for advanced communication technology, they become more dependent upon the industrialized economies.

¹ P.A. Blesch, "Developing Countries' Exports of Electronics and Electrical Engineering Products", report for the World Bank, Washington, 1978.

Chapter 3

Moving Towards What Change ?

3.1. (Mis)understanding the new order

The overall framework of the international economic order that emerged after the Second World War was created by the 1943-1944 Bretton Woods Conferences, held in New Hampshire in the United States. With almost no involvement of the developing countries, a basis was established for such institutions as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and GATT. These institutions offered a development model to the developing countries in which the growth of the latter would be intimately linked to the existing colonial metropolis-satellite structure. The model projected a type of industrial development in the developing nations that would be strongly oriented toward markets in the metropolitan countries. It was assumed that with the growth of metropolitan markets, the demand for goods produced in developing countries would also vastly increase. Many of the developing countries would have a very weak industrial base, but by using the comparative advantage of cheap labour, a certain type of labour-intensive industry could be established which would allow them some participation in the international trade of manufactured goods.

Instead of encouraging the receiving countries to build up their own infrastructure of finance and technology, the new industries would be established with the support of large financial and technological transfers from the metropolis, especially through the emerging economic structure of the transnational enterprises. The industrially less-developed countries would thus become better integrated into the world economy, and the increased employment that the new industrialization offered would at least lead to higher national incomes and, supposedly, to a more equal distribution of that income.

After the Second World War, and especially since the mid-1960s, many developing countries have indeed experienced an industrialization process, but one that has a strong external dependence on the markets of the wealthy, advanced industrial countries. Generally, such export-linked production has become part of the vertically integrated manufacturing structure of the transnational enterprise.

However, this model did not generate the kind of improved economic conditions in the developing countries that were expected. Whereas during the 1960s the market economies of the metropolitan countries enjoyed an unprecedented growth, the countries with a dependent industrialization experienced an increasing economic lag, and the international development efforts that were loudly promoted in such plans as the First United Nations Development Decade met with almost total failure. This raised serious questions about the validity of a model that was still based essentially on a "colonial" structure, and its fundamental

assumptions came increasingly under fire both from political leaders and academic economists. In the late 1960s and especially at the beginning of the 1970s, this questioning brought about proposals for alternative development models based on concepts such as "basic needs", "self-reliance" and "a new international economic order".

A main reason for demanding a re-structuring of the international economic order is the fact that the developing countries are still faced with a share in world trade of such minimal volume and on such adverse terms that an already serious economic imbalance keeps deteriorating further. Between 1964 and 1979, the share of developing countries' exports in total world exports only increased from 22.2 per cent to 25.1 per cent. The industrial capacity to increase their share in world industrial output is still weak in most developing countries. There is insufficient diversification of export products, and too much of the trade is limited to bi-lateral relationships. The trading system is based upon bargaining, and with partners of unequal power that aggravates the position of the weakest parties. Moreover, the developed countries erect a growing number of protective walls against imports from the developing countries. And, finally, international trade is intimately linked with the international division of labour. The current world trading system offers no real perspectives for a more just and balanced allocation of material and human resources in industrial production.

Briefly, the once prevailing belief that development of the developing countries would emerge in due course as a result of their more intense integration into the existing international division of labour and the present patterns of trade, transfer of technology, technical assistance, etc., including such aid in the information-communication area, proved to be a fallacy. Realization of this fact led the developing countries, headed by those adhering to the policy of non-alignment, to put forward the idea of creating a new international economic order. The establishment of such an order, expressed in the most basic form, has been generally understood as a process, carried out through conscious policy decisions, which will eventually "change the existing ground rules in international relations and usher in an era of international co-operation in which the developing countries will no longer have to shape their economic activity mainly to suit the interests of the developed countries and will be better able than in the past to shape their economic activity to suit their own interests."¹ This

¹ UNESCO's Contribution to the Establishment of a New International Economic Order: Report by the Director-General, Doc. 21 C/12, Paris, 3 September 1980, p.4.

means organizing international economic relations in such a way as to make it possible for all countries to develop their respective economic system in an autonomous way, with complete sovereign control of resources, and to fully and effectively participate as independent members of the international community. In the broader sense, the NIEO means establishment of an international economic system which will link countries of different socio-economic systems, with the aim that they should co-operate among themselves in solving urgent world economic problems, based on the participation of all, and in the interest of all countries and peoples; it also means the selection and development of methods for international action in which confrontation will give way to dialogue, negotiations and agreements. Thus the NIEO programme is the first international economic programme to declare explicitly that it aims at large-scale structural changes which, according to some, would also involve changes in norms and values, rules and practices, and the institutions which are invested with decision-making power¹, while in the minds of others it is of more limited scope².

Such objectives served as the underlying inspiration in the original documents of the non-aligned countries and other major international fora. However, in the course of the seventies, important nuances (to say the least) surfaced in the debates and the understanding of the NIEO underwent certain alterations even among the advocates of the original idea. The principal differences are those concerning the depth and the dynamics as well as the priorities of those changes that are needed in current structural (institutional) set-ups, and are encapsulated by the question "Is NIEO to be a reformist or a revolutionary process?", when speaking of its essence, and by the question "Through confrontation or co-operation?" (with the developed countries), when thinking of the means by which to achieve it. The importance of these changes for the present study lies primarily in the fact that they strike one as being analogous to a fundamental change which occurred during the debate on a new international/world information-communication order, when the original term "international" order was replaced by "world" order. An attempt will therefore be made to identify the possible interrelatedness of these changes, and what this might mean for the future of those high aspirations which were embodied in the original idea of creating new relations among countries and peoples of the world. Considering the complexity of the matter, and the difficulties of tracing these developments in detail on the basis of a large variety of documents, the rôle of the TNEs will be singled out as an issue which offers some insight into the underlying currents of the debates both on the NIEO and on the information-communication area.

A well-documented critical analysis of the principal

¹ Jan Pronk, *Observations sur les relations... op. cit.*, pp.2-12.

² In *Moving Towards Change*, *op. cit.*, it says: "the word 'order' may have three quite different meanings, depending on whether it is taken as a type of organization, a legal structure, or a system of values". See pp. 23-27. Our understanding of the NIEO is that it aims at a new system of values which will be based on a new vision of the meaning and results of economic activities, i.e. the goals, means and ways in which the system is put into effect. In this respect, as pointed out by Tomislav Popović, it is obvious that a reappraisal is needed of many present and future achievements of consumer and technocratic societies. See: Tomislav Popović, "The Basic Assumptions Underlying the New International Economic Order", *International Problems* (Special issue on NIEO, 1976-1977), Belgrade, p.51.

NIEO documents (the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order adopted in May 1974 by the Sixth Special Session of the UN General Assembly, the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States adopted in December 1974 by the 29th Session of the General Assembly, and the Resolution on Development and International Economic Co-operation adopted in September 1975 by the Seventh Special Session of the UN General Assembly)³, such as the one made by Karl P. Sauvant, leads to the observation that "given the underlying philosophy of the NIEO programme and given especially the rôle it assigns to TNEs, it is not a new and more equitable world economic order that is established in the framework of the NIEO programme. Rather, it is the old international order writ large - and blessed by the developing countries."⁴ Explaining this further, the author stresses that this does not mean that the measures of the NIEO programme are faulty or unnecessary (in fact, they are certainly needed to alleviate immediate and pressing problems facing the Third World), but it is doubtful that this approach can lead to the structural changes which the programme itself has set as its objective. This conclusion is reached on the basis of a lucid examination of the NIEO's main premises, which exposes in particular the prevailing attitude towards the TNEs as the major factors - indeed, as the spine - of today's world economy⁵.

According to this analysis, the NIEO programme's view of the rôle of transnational enterprises underwent a considerable change in the period between the adoption of the first two basic documents (in 1974) and that adopted in late 1975. As expressed by Sauvant, "it is an evolution from a mixed view - in which a strong call for the control of TNEs is only somewhat balanced by encouragement of their operations - towards one of benevolent neglect, punctuated by a solicitation of their services"⁶. In fact, the resolution which was adopted at the seventh special session (in 1975) "does not contain one reference to TNEs - and this after two years of intensive (and critical) discussions of their activities in the United Nations, culminating, at the end of 1974, in the decision to create a United Nations Commission of Transnational Corporations and a United Nations Centre on Transnational Corporations"⁷. Moreover, there is no mention of the need to control TNEs or of a code of conduct. Even among the developing countries themselves, and in the framework of the politically conscious and motivated non-aligned movement, no agreement could be reached on a text which would set some guidelines for TNEs⁸.

³ Resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI), adopted on May 1, 1974; resolution 3281 (XXIX), adopted on December 12, 1974; and resolution 3362 (S-VII), adopted on September 16, 1975.

⁴ Karl P. Sauvant, "The Rôle of Transnational Enterprises in the Establishment of the NIEO: A Critical View", in: Jorge Lozoya and Rosario Green (eds.), *International Trade, Industrialization and the New International Economic Order*, Elmsford: Pergamon, 1981, p.141.

⁵ The prevalent attitude of the developed countries regarding the TNEs is expressed in the documents of the Trilateral Commission. Their vision of world economy is in fact a system of transnational enterprises.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p.110.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p.112.

⁸ As Sauvant points out, "this approach is not, as one might be tempted to think, the compromise result of tough bargaining during the session. On the con-

Trying to explain this, Sauvant analyses the importance of the two main factors which might be responsible for the shift which took place from the original statements of the early seventies. One of these factors is the 1974-75 world recession and its effects on the developing countries and their bargaining power (which may be a temporary phenomenon), while the other is "of a fundamental nature and involves the philosophy underlying the NIEO programme and thus, ultimately, the definition of the rôle of TNEs."¹ Passing over the first factor, which is of lesser relevance to the topic of this study, his observations on the second seem particularly pertinent.

The key characteristic of the development model which underlies the NIEO programme, according to Sauvant, is "that its frame of reference is the world economy and the world market. The close integration of the Third World countries in the world economy and their orientation toward the world market is expected to trigger - and then to maintain - the development process ... In this model, free access to the markets of the developed countries and the elimination of any impediments to trade, such as restrictive business practices and tariff and non-tariff barriers, are therefore of crucial importance. As a matter of fact, the core of the NIEO trade programme is a set of proposals aimed at achieving exactly these purposes. Ideally the developing countries wish to establish a one-way free trade zone."²

The implications of such an integrative approach extend also to the nature of the production capacities to be established, which raises the paramount question of technology and its transfer from the developed to the developing countries. The creation of production capacities, "furthermore, has to take into account the existing distribution of the factors of production and the conditions under which they can be utilized (such as availability of capital, skills and government support for R & D; large and sophisticated markets; various external economies; and perceived investment climate and political risk). In the North-South context this means that production in the Third World (apart from raw materials) tends to be labour-intensive and low-technology-oriented. Industrial processes and industries exhibiting these characteristics are, therefore, encouraged to expand in, or be redeployed to, the Third World."³ This analysis, of which the paragraph quoted is but a part, permits Sauvant to point out

that "the objective is thus not so much a 'new' but a 'cleaner' international division of labour, a division which is not distorted by existing administrative impediments or considerations of political expediency. A 'system of consultations' (see the Lima Declaration and Plan of Action on Industrial Development and Co-operation adopted by the Second General Conference of UNIDO, at Lima, March 12-26, 1975 ... and section IV, Paragraph 3, of the resolution of the seventh special session) through which the achievement of this objective should be facilitated, is therefore a key plank of the industrialization section of the NIEO programme. *Arrangements for industrial co-operation and the encouragement of the participation of TNEs are its logical consequences. The international division of labour resulting from these processes is not a horizontal one, that is, a division where one group of countries specializes on one set of industries and another group on a set of comparable industries. Rather the division is a vertical one, cutting across industrial processes (typified by assembly operation) and industries according to their degree of standardization, allocating the more sophisticated ones (including R & D) to the developed countries. The main directionality of the linkages in this division of labour - and the international economic system of which it is a part - is such that the developed countries provide consumption patterns, technology, skills, capital, and so on to the developing countries, which then establish production facilities to service the markets of the North."⁴ Such an analysis (carried out correctly in terms of methodology and with considerable knowledge) leads back to the starting point of this chapter in which it was underlined that the fundamental purpose of the NIEO, according to the initial documents, was a fundamental change of the existing ground rules in international relations in order to make it possible for the developing countries to shape their economic activity according to *their* needs and interests rather than to suit the interests of the developed countries. Has the primary objective of the NIEO indeed become diluted to the point that it is no longer recognizable in the more recent documents of the major international fora? If the answer is an affirmative one - and there are indications in this direction worthy of serious consideration - then a still deeper examination of the principal (f)actors in present international relations is needed.*

This brings us back to the information-communication issues, which now need to be looked at in view of the rôle of the TNEs, the meaning of "government", and the importance of these for the NIEO; ultimately, this should help identify the degree and nature of correlation between the economic and the information-communication aspects of a new order, and the importance of self-reliance of the developing countries.

3.2. The NIEO-NWICO dialectics

The principal aim of the preceding chapter was to show the importance of the various forms of information-communication - ranging from mass media as instruments of general information and for influencing public opinion (including their rôle as instruments of advertising, stereotyping in regard to women, etc.) to the presently most sophisticated forms of information and communication such as remote sensing by satellites and transborder data flows by computers - for development of the developing countries' individual and collective self-reliance, which has been recognized as one of the fundamental principles of the NIEO. In presenting the different aspects that need to be

Note 8 continued from preceding page :

trary: the basic negotiating paper prepared by the Group of 77 for the seventh special session contains a paragraph that is virtually identical with the one that was ultimately adopted, and it also does not touch upon the control question." The paragraph proposed by the Group of 77 reads: "Developed countries should encourage whenever possible their enterprises to participate in investment projects within the framework of the development plans and programmes of the developing countries concerned." The paragraph adopted at the seventh special session reads: "Developed countries should, whenever possible, encourage their enterprises to participate in investment projects within the framework of the development plans and programmes of the developing countries which so desire; such participation should be carried out in accordance with the laws and regulations of the developing countries concerned." See K.P. Sauvant, *op. cit.*, pp. 112 and 160.

¹ *Ibid.*, p.112.

² *Ibid.*, p.126.

³ *Ibid.*, p.127.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p.128; emphasis added.

taken into account, an issue which appears in practically all of the mentioned aspects is that of the transnational enterprises. Since this is evidently also a key problem in the conceptualization of the NIEO, a summary needs to be made of the TNEs' involvement in the information-communication phenomena and processes.

1. The newer forms of information-communication technologies, such as computer communication, telecommunications, communications satellites, etc., are clearly of vital importance to the TNEs; they have been produced by this system and, in turn, they contribute to its maintenance and further growth. To add but one more example to those already mentioned in the previous chapter. Speaking of "food power", Mohammed Bedjaoui states that even the existing mechanisms of regulation in this area, and especially the respectable International Wheat Council (having its seat in London), could not erode the dominant positions of the five big international (transnational) companies - Cargill, Bunge, Continental Grain, Louis Dreyfus and Cook Industries - which, he says, terrorize the planet simply by the telex, i.e. by the classical technique of confronting supply and demand at the grain brokerage centres of Chicago, Winnipeg, Sydney and London. The new information-communication technologies make it even more possible for these giants to be perfectly informed, much in advance of anyone else, of the state of harvests in all parts of the world, the evolution of situations in each country, the alimentation needs of practically everyone ... all of which makes it possible for them to dictate prices at the world market and thus wield one of the most terrible forms of power. Quoting Bertold Brecht, Bedjaoui reminds us that "les famines ne surviennent pas. Elles sont organisées par le commerce du grain"¹. Having underlined that, it needs to be said immediately that this has nothing to do with any kind of "conspiracy theory" (which is indeed too simplistic to merit attention); it does, however, point to a deeper logic, which exists as a consequence of capital's struggle for survival and which compels it to use whatever means are available; this logic functions also in regard to the use of information-communication means and their further development.

2. The rôle of the TNEs in the mass media has so far received the largest part of attention. Most of it has focused on transnational news agencies (AP, AFP, UPI, Reuter and TASS), news film agencies, the film industry, publishing and record industries and transnational advertising². Whatever the limitations of the approaches developed by particular researchers on each of these topics, the general underlying insight, that the TNEs are deeply involved in each

of the areas and have high stakes in them, is amply confirmed by data and statements coming from the TNEs themselves. Besides being instruments for influencing political public opinion (through the selection of news, its presentation, etc.), the mass media are also recognized by the TNEs as important vehicles for influencing consumption patterns practically all over the world, thus opening the way to creating huge markets in general (including those for information-communication equipment)³, and for securing a reliable, cheap labour force which sees in the local plants of the TNEs and their subsidiaries a way to "the modern life" which the mass media present.

This is true above all in the case of advertising. The foreign expansion of American advertising agencies, for example, is directly linked with the overall expansion of American manufacturing, assembling, mining and agricultural activities. In their study on transnational advertising, Janus and Roncagliolo suggest the following factors as elementary in this transnationalization process: (i) higher growth rates outside the domestic market, (ii) higher profit margins outside the domestic market, (iii) "pull" from local markets, (iv) the spreading of financial risk⁴. As a representative from IT&T states: "As a multinational company with corporate responsibilities in countries at every level of industrial development and technology, we feel that the need for responsible advertising is far greater than ever before."⁵ Advertising is indeed characterized by rapid growth. In most industrialized countries expenses for advertising have been rising since 1976 and increasingly exceed the growth of the gross domestic products. World-wide spending on advertising was US \$ 70 billion in 1977, and in 1979 it reached US \$ 96.8 billion⁶. Some observers expect a growth of up to US \$ 125 billion by 1985⁷. How this affects the value systems of the developing countries has been examined in a number of noteworthy studies⁸.

³ Meheroo Jussawalla states that despite the hazards of computer and satellite communication, "LDCs (less developed countries) are ready to use computer technology, data banks, and their own system of satellite communications. In economic terms, they offer the biggest market for data flows and equipment." See: Meheroo Jussawalla, *Bridging Global Barriers (Two New International Orders: NIEO, NWIO, papers of the East-West Communication Institute, No.19, Honolulu, 1981, p.9.*

⁴ N. Janus and R. Roncagliolo, "A Survey of the Transnational Structure of the Mass Media and Advertising", report for the United Nations Centre on Transnational Corporations, Mexico, July 1978, p.126.

⁵ Harold S. Geneen, quoted in Herbert I. Schiller, "Communication accompanies capital flows", paper 47 for the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems, UNESCO, Paris, 1979, p.3.

⁶ *Advertising Age*, March 24, 1980.

⁷ McCann Erickson, *Annual Report 1975*.

⁸ Krishna Kumar, *The Social and Cultural Impacts of Transnational Enterprises*, University of Sydney, Transnational Corporations Research Project (Working Paper No.6), 1979; Karl p. Sauvart and Bernard Mennins, "Socio-Cultural Investments within the International Political Economy of North-South Relations: The Rôle of Transnational Enterprises", paper presented at 2ème Colloque de l'Association française pour l'étude du Tiers-Monde sur "L'Information et le Tiers-Monde", Dijon, 1979; Meheroo Jussawalla, "Communication Technology Transfer (Impact on Economic Development)", *Telecommunications Policy*, December 1980.

¹ Mohammed Bedjaoui, *op. cit.*, p.40.

² Besides works that have already been mentioned, see also: Tapio Varis, "The Mass Media TNCs: An Overall Review of their Operations and of Control Options", *Cooperation and Conflict* (Nordic Journal of International Politics), No.4, Aarhus, 1978; Fernando Reyes Matta, "La evolución histórica de las agencias transnacionales de noticias hacia la dominación", *La información en el nuevo orden internacional*, ILET, Mexico, 1977; Thomas H. Guback, *The International Film Industry*, Indiana University Press, 1969; Noreen Janus and Rafael Roncagliolo, "Advertising, Mass Media and Dependency", *Development Dialogue*, No.1, Uppsala, 1979; Allan Ashbolt, "Mass Media: Structure, Functioning and Control", *Essays in the Political Economy of Australian Capitalism*, (Vol.1), Australia-New Zealand Book Co., 1975.

3. Although the influence of the TNEs on various forms and levels of education through information-communication means (as pointed out in the previous chapter) has received less notice, especially in terms of a more thorough analysis of the long-term implications for the developing countries, there is sufficient reason to believe that the TNEs have successfully penetrated those major areas which are either directly or indirectly linked to education and training at various levels. Besides being very active in organizing training for their own purposes, they are involved in many national, even government-sponsored training programmes, especially in areas of highly specialized knowledge (such as computer education). Furthermore, they have become deeply involved in the publishing business, the electronics producers having incorporated most of the major publishing houses, particularly those active in producing school text-books and other educational material. The implications of these trends should be assessed in connection with the overall involvement of the TNEs in information-communication, i.e. in the context of their involvement with the computer and telecommunications industries and with other forms, such as advertising and the mass media in general.

"The crux of the debate on the new world orders", as pointed out by Meheroo Jussawalla, "lies in the emergence of developing countries as a *tour de force* in a dynamic international system"¹. In addition to this, its central question is, moreover, how to organize the powerful information-communication means to serve the people of each nation and not just some social groups, be they private profit-seeking entities (national or transnational), or state bureaucracies (usually with their technocratic apparatus), or whatever "élites" may exist. The basic demand in all the documents cited regarding a new order has been a quest for more democracy, more public involvement in decision-making, and more public control in all important areas of economic, socio-political and cultural life. In order to relate this to what has been said above, i.e. to the clearly vital importance of the entire information-communication complex for the industrial powers, especially the TNEs, and to the trends that have appeared in the NIEO debate regarding the rôle of the TNEs, several observations need to be made.

1. Economic development - like development in general - has always been deeply linked to a society's information-communication potential considering, as expressed by Antonio Pasquali, "the natural interdependence (recognized throughout the ages despite terms for it) between *communication* and *community* as basic interchangeable categories of relationship in its anthropological dimension"². This natural interdependence, expressed also in the fact that "the fulfilment of man's social potential has always depended on his capacity for communication with his fellows, and on the actual human forces that controlled the means"³, still remains the essence of discussions on development and the rôle of information-communication means, even though the latter, having become highly sophisticated and capable of bestowing unprecedented degrees of power on those (human groups) who use them, are frequently presented as some kind of "independent, autonomous products capable of creating new human societies or human conditions by some

irreversible, spontaneous evolutionary process"⁴. The central question of today's debate on NIEO and a new information-communication order is therefore still the basic question: who (in terms of specific social groups) decides how information-communication means are to be used in a society - and globally - and for what purpose? Everything else, including questions which deal more directly with the interrelationship between economic development and the development and use of information-communication technologies, derives from this basic question.

2. Notwithstanding the preceding statement - indeed, even more because of it - it should be recognized that the quantity and quality of information-communication means which are now available, and the speed with which they have been developing and penetrating all spheres of human activity, especially in the industrially developed countries, has introduced hitherto unknown dimensions of power, expressed both in terms of possibilities and dangers for human progress, the achievement of equality and justice, and a higher degree of democratic participation of people everywhere. Information-communication has become (and is gradually recognized as) a major development resource⁵, which expresses itself in many ways. (This study has attempted to point out some which are more directly relevant to economic development.) Thus, in the case of business transactions, of which information-communication has always been an intrinsic part, new developments in technology have brought about important quantitative and qualitative changes: the volume of information for conducting business has drastically increased, to the extent where only electronic intelligence can cope with it. As shown in the preceding chapter, this is due to the growth of international trade, of direct foreign investments and of the institutions involved in them, i.e. the transnationalization of industrial and financial business which has created large, complex institutions with specific organizational models and strategic designs that imply new information-communication requirements. Regarding qualitative changes, it should be stressed that the rôle of information has developed from that of being an *important* support factor into that of being the *essential* factor. Again, as explained earlier, information handling used to be necessary in order to execute industrial and agricultural activities, but with increasing automation, information handling becomes the activity itself. This can be seen in the case of micro-processor application, the use of robots, etc.

3. Such a complex and highly sophisticated information-communication environment has in fact been created by large corporations, especially the TNEs, and is one of their principal instruments of power. As pointed out, the TNEs have become, both in domestic and international economies, the key allocative controllers of the volume and direction of natural, human, financial and scientific resources. The allocative control of these corporations is closely related to their capacity to access large quantities of data, to transform these data into functional information and to apply the knowledge thus acquired. In view of this tremendous power (the vulnerable points of which have still not been fully identified), the developing

¹ Meheroo Jussawalla, *op. cit.*, p.5.

² Antonio Pasquali, *op. cit.*, p.16; emphasis added.

³ *Ibid.*, p.14.

⁴ See A. Pasquali's excellent critique of such tendencies among communication scholars in the already quoted work, as well as in *Comprender la comunicación*, Monte Avila Editores, Caracas, 1978.

⁵ Interesting insights on this subject can be found in Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber, *Le défi mondial*, Fayard, Paris, 1980, especially Third Part.

countries are experiencing new - i.e. additional - forms of subjection which are introduced under an information-communication and cultural guise but are in fact of an economic and political nature.

4. As a reaction to this situation, the efforts to establish an NIEO and new relations in information and communication seem most promising in terms of increasing the developing countries' individual and collective self-reliance. The essence of such a policy is to strengthen autonomous capacities for goal-setting, decision-making and decision-implementation in all areas of a developing society. This implies mobilization and utilization of the community's own material and human resources and greater co-operation among developing countries at the bilateral, subregional, regional and inter-regional levels, in using available material and human resources in matters of common interest and in creating a new ethical framework which stresses the importance of improved *communication* (as relationships, exchanges of information) rather than improved *communications* (as technologies)¹. Briefly, pursuing self-reliance in the information-communication area requires that the developing countries (a) develop a new understanding of the rôle of communication in the development processes; (b) reorganize national information systems towards more decentralized communications and broader participation of all social groups; (c) establish new linkages of regional co-operation and information exchange (general and specialized); and (d) improve all supporting activities (development of infrastructure, training, etc.).

However, it is important to recognize at the same time that today's global information-communication discrepancies, corroborated by such phenomena as transborder data flows² and remote sensing by satellites, are among crucial factors in hampering self-reliant development in the developing countries. As already pointed out, self-reliance implies the capacity to manage one's own development, i.e. to take autonomous allocative decisions. Pursuing independent development creates new information requirements which are not (and probably cannot be) met by present transborder data flows, as these are oriented towards the needs of the TNEs and do not provide the developing countries with essential information that is pertinent to their needs and priorities.

5. In the light of the above, there are currently some promising signs of increasing commitment from the developing countries to engage in economic and technical co-operation among themselves. This can reinforce local capacity for self-reliant development and enhance conditions for collective bargaining power. During the 1970s the share of the developing countries' trade among themselves in the total world trade increased from 3.5 per cent in 1970 to 6.1 per cent in 1979. Whereas between 1955 and 1970 the annual average growth rate of trade flows among developing countries was 6.6 per cent, which was well below rates of growth for other trade flows in the world, since 1971 the annual growth rate has been 28 per cent. There has been a particularly rapid increase in the trade of manufactured products. In 1978 the share of manufactured products in total trade among developing countries was 52.7 per cent. This compares to slightly over

25 per cent in 1960 and 42 per cent in 1970³. Some manufactured products seem to have a strong potential to substitute for imports from the metropolitan countries. They include products for which developing countries have an increasing industrial potential, such as consumer electronics (radio and television receivers), electronic components (transistors) and telecommunication equipment.

There are, however, serious obstacles to overcome if this horizontal co-operation is to gain strength. Among the problems are the residual metropolis-satellite links that influence the direction of international trade, especially through preferential schemes offered by the metropolitan market economies and through various strings attached to aid programmes. The deficiencies in transportation and communication infrastructures among the developing countries are also impediments. The perennial problems of balance of payments and of obtaining long-term credits add to these difficulties. Many developing countries do not have adequate trade policies to foster co-operation among themselves, and exorbitantly high protectionist charges are imposed on products from other developing countries.

6. More adequate trading policies would have to be corroborated by more adequate technology policies, particularly in the field of advanced communication technology. The present state of policy formulation and implementation in the field of computer communications, for example, leaves much to be desired. In most developing countries the emphasis is more on the procurement of equipment than on the training of computer experts. There is also generally little interest in developing national or regional industrial independence, in establishing public enterprises in the data processing field or in controlling foreign firms.

Moreover, in most developing countries there is very little capacity for technology assessment. This should comprise the whole process of evaluation, distribution, application and production of technical knowledge. The development of a technology assessment capacity is an urgent requirement and demands national and regional training programmes, the sharing of training resources and experiences among developing countries, and adequate international support in material and intellectual resources.

In order for technology assessment to become operational and functional, it needs structural support through national policies and their implementation and monitoring by adequate institutional bodies. Such policies should integrate formerly distinct fields such as planning for general technology, informatics, telecommunications, mass media and patent law. They should define information needs and priorities and balance the application of advanced communication technology with available resources. They should furthermore make projections regarding the secondary impact of the introduction of such technology, and stimulate the transfer of technical information between countries with comparable levels of technological development.

7. Developing appropriate national information-communication policies is in fact a major challenge to hitherto prevalent notions of information-communication as the exclusive right of either private enterprise (and "the free press") or the state bureaucracy (equated usually with "government"). A great deal of the debate on a new order in information and communication (whatever wording is used) has revolved round this dichotomy, demonstrating a considerable lack of ima-

¹ See: Hamid Mowlana, "Communication, World Order and the Human Potential: Toward an Ethical Framework", mimeo, The American University, Washington D.C., 1982.

² For more information on this see: *Transnational corporations and transborder data flows: A technical paper*, UN CTC, New York, doc. ST/CTC/23.

³ For a more detailed account of these trade statistics, see UNCTAD, *Trade among Developing Countries by Main SITC Groups and by Regions*, TD/B/C.7/21, Geneva, September 20, 1978, and TD/B/C.7/45, May 21, 1981.

gination in developing new forms of government that would go beyond these classical forms (both of which show unmistakable signs of deep crisis) and permit more democracy both in internal and external matters. The new order has been understood as also having its internal, social dimension. As expressed by B. Osolnik, "one of its principal objectives would be to seek to ensure that all technological progress serves the needs of man, rather than be used as an instrument of his alienation and enslavement. The problem exists as such not only in the developing countries but in the industrialized world as well, and, indeed, it is in the latter that it sometimes takes on a particularly acute form."¹ And, one might remember, it exists in capitalist countries as well as in countries with state-bureaucratic socialism. Hence, creating a new order was not meant to imply only a "more effective and more balanced system of information and communication", which would be simply an improvement on the present one in the technical and technological sense, but rather, developing essentially new types of relations at the national and international level with regard to the historic possibilities embodied in information-communication means (both the modern and the traditional, appropriately combined through new organizational schemes). It is a matter of creating new quality and not just new forms. The criteria for evaluating this new quality must stem from the need, increasingly recognized world-wide, for more democracy (and hence more democratic communication structures) at both the national and international levels. As expressed by G. Garcia Marquez and J. Somavia in the MacBride Commission's report: "More democratic communication structures are a national and international need of peoples everywhere promoting access, participation, decentralization, open management, and the diffusion of power, concentrated in the hands of commercial or bureaucratic interests, is a world-wide necessity. This is particularly crucial in Third World countries dominated by repressive minority régimes."² Placed within the perspective of the NIEO, democratizing present communication structures at the national and international levels means giving the majority of people(s) access to information, both general and specialized, that is most relevant economically and politically. The withholding of such information is one of the central instruments (sources) and manifestations of power in society, especially the power to manipulate individuals and groups as well as national and world public opinion³. The strengthening of horizontal communication networks acts as a counterpart to the predominant vertical (hierarchical) communication structures⁴.

¹ Bogdan Osolnik, "The Objectives and Principles of a New International Order in the Field of Information", *Review of International Affairs*, Vol.30, no.711, 1979, p.13.

² *Many Voices, One World*, op. cit., p. 281.

³ Democratization within communications has been defined in *Many Voices, One World* as the process whereby: "(a) the individual becomes an active partner and not a mere object of communication; (b) the variety of messages exchanged increases; and (c) the extent and quality of social representation or participation in communication are augmented." *Many Voices, One World*, op. cit., p.166.

⁴ See Robert A. White, "Priorities for National Communication Policy in the Third World" (mimeo; to appear in the *Information Society*), Centre for the Study of Communication and Culture, London, 1982.

8. Such a new quality, however, can be achieved only through complex changes which need to be carried out simultaneously in the economic and the information-communication spheres, besides involving all other spheres of human endeavour. The idea of creating a new international economic order and a new international information-communication order, as expressed initially in the major documents of the developing countries (particularly the non-aligned countries), aimed precisely at such fundamental changes, having in mind democratization (internal and external) as the key process. Whatever the reasons may be for having changed the previous terminology in the case of the information-communication order, which was addressed clearly to nations as the principal subjects in international relations and which furthermore stood as an explicit link with the demand for a new economic order, the fact still remains that neither of the orders can be brought about without also achieving the other. Or, more accurately, a truly new order can be brought about only through concerted action in both areas. This is particularly true since the two orders have become interrelated not only at the conceptual level, but increasingly in actual practice. Their most crucial points of convergence are the following five:

Information technology

Today's advanced information-communication technologies are not only the key carriers and processors of information content, but are increasingly vital technologies for economic development. They provide an indispensable infrastructure for all industrial production processes. They are also 'synergetic', i.e. they lead to growth in many other industries. They create an elaborate infrastructure around their products and services, similar to the automobile industry earlier in this century.

Finance and information-communication

The two vital resources of the two orders - money and information - are rapidly becoming more and more intertwined. There is first the technical convergence that creates the digital transfer of all kinds of information. Money flows and information flows converge into digital data flows. There is also a financial interdependence, in which information providers need ever larger scale funding and large transnational banks become their major credit suppliers.

Trade and information

As was elaborated earlier, international trade in information-communication products and services has become an essential factor in world trade. For 1980 the world information-communication market can be estimated at some US \$ 350 billion or some 18 per cent of total world trade.

International division of labour

A crucial component in the effort to bring about new economic structures is the demand for important changes in the present division of labour. In this context it has been projected that - following the doctrine of comparative advantage - while the North, with its knowledge advantage, would lead in the area of high technology, such as nuclear, space and data processing technologies, the South - with its low wage advantage - would lead in labour-intensive industrial production. A 25 per cent share for developing countries in global industrial production has even been foreseen on this basis. The low wage advantage of developing countries, however, is increasingly undermined by the higher productivity level achieved in the industrialized countries through the application of microelectronics. Automation makes labour costs a less important factor vis-à-vis investment in advanced equipment and top level management.

There are already indications that industries which might have been expected to move South are likely to remain in the North. The electronics industry, heavily involved in off-shore operations, seems to be planning new generations of factories in the North as a result of automation techniques.

Transfer of technology

In the proposals for a new international economic order the demands for fairer terms of transfer of technology figure prominently. Transfer of technology is in essence the transfer of information. Technology is information represented by models, diagrams, plans and formulae, embodied in studies, training programmes and equipment, and transferred through sales and licensing of patents and via technical experts. At heart, technology transfer is the transmission of

information and, as such, is dependent upon the technology that provides the appropriate mechanisms: information technology. The volume and structure of technology transfer are intrinsically related to the presence and quality of information infrastructures. The development of technology at large is also dependent upon those infrastructures, which facilitate technological innovation through exchange of data, the remote processing of data, simulation exercises, and distribution networking for joint research.

In conclusion, therefore, any attempt to separate the two orders in their essence may well lead to change, but not the kind of change which has been discussed in this study as the embodiment of those high aspirations which should lead to a better world for all nations and all peoples.

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