

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER: LINKS BETWEEN
ECONOMICS AND COMMUNICATIONS.

by

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Fundação Cuidar o Futuro



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 Cess 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 opinion 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 perspective, by two scholars actively engaged in the field, of a major contemporary theme which is open to many interpretations and points of view.

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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 UMR 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. Sreberny-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 many 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

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I N T R O D U C T I O N

Shortly after ~~launching~~ ^{was launched} the idea of a new international economic order, in the early seventies, ^{1/} ~~the attention of~~ the international community was ~~drawn~~ ^{asked to recognise} to the recognition that "the establishment of a new international economic order depends not only on political and economic factors, but also on socio-cultural factors, the role 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) represent the continuation of the best theoretical traditions, such as the one developed most notably by Gunnar Myrdal, who pointed out that it is basically

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- 1/ The Declaration on 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.



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 ~~the~~ changes occur which are of overriding importance for the overall development of a given society. Thus a comprehensive 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).^{1/}

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.^{2/}

With the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries (Colombo 1976) and the 19th General Conference of UNESCO

1/ Gunnar Myrdal, Economic Theory and Under-Developed Regions, London 1969, p. 10.

2/ Respectful 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.



(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 orders.^{1/} So far, more attention has been given to the new international economic order, but the information-communication order is ~~not~~ mentioned in a rapidly growing body of literature, coming from practically all parts of the world.^{2/} *Admittedly* Although much of it, particularly the latter, tends to be still of ^{an} exploratory nature, i.e., built on assumptions rather than empirical evidence, and ~~is~~ 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* ~~sorting~~ out the various ~~aspects~~ *with* complexities which the two orders are meant to deal ~~with~~.

The substance of the relationship between the two orders, however, remains a particularly neglected issue, although it is, usually sporadically,

1/ 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.

2/ See Select Bibliography on each of the orders attached to the study.



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",^{1/} but seem to have difficulties in finding a common language. This is characteristic not only of 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 ~~no doubt~~ 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 role of the press and the defense of its freedom.

One of the reasons for this is no doubt the long-standing 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 way.^{2/} While this, in fact, reflects an already outdated approach which separates the "economic" from the "non-economic" (in this case, "cultural"), which has already been mentioned, it also demonstrates

1/ 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 cooperation between the two disciplines is still weak.

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





either ignorance or a deliberate avoidance to ² ~~consider the~~ other, ~~mostly~~ ^{more recent} ~~newer~~ forms of information-communication (such as new forms of telecommunication, ^{1/} 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 but above all the most crucial, such as the monetary and financial sector, trade, ² and industry ~~etc.~~. 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 realised 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 dataprocessing 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 of these become increasingly information-extensive. Rapid developments in micro-electronics technology ^{in particular,} ~~is~~ ~~in order,~~ 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 factor² 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 context.^{3/} One of the basic assertions of this study is that developments of technology such as digitalization of information require that mass communications and computer 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

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- 1/ 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.
- 2/ 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. 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 among 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 both at the national and international level.

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 area^{2/} is ill-equipped to tackle the wide gamut of

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.



phenomena and processes which need to be examined and their inter-relatedness established. The paramount problems arise no doubt from the necessity 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)^{1/} and technical sciences. Given the traditional break-down ("division of labour") of science, which reigns supreme in all modern societies with rather insignificant alterations 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 an immensely complex and difficult undertaking particularly in view of the specific conditions of development in the developing countries and the overall conditions created world-wide 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 the national system, at one level, and the international system, at the

1/ 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".



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 ^{these} the ~~above~~ ^{above} mentioned ones, are caused by the necessity to assess the two orders not only ^{from the point of} in ~~view~~ of the developing countries' needs and interests, but equally so 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 countries^{1/} is of central concern; nonetheless, in what ^{may} ~~can~~ so far be considered ~~as~~ the best writings on these subjects, it is frequently underlined that a thorough reshaping 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 countries themselves, which are likely to become worse in the coming decades.^{2/}

1/ 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.

2/ D.W.Smythe, T.L.McPhail, C.Duke and others show that developed countries as Canada, Australia and 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.



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 of information-communication developments. This will be argued (tested) both at the level of individual (national) self-reliance and collective self-reliance (cooperation among 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 afore-mentioned expectations.

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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 ^{FN} a better world and ^{are therefore looking} ~~will hence look~~ 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 ~~bringing it into relationship~~ ^{relating this to} ~~with~~ 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} ~~arose~~ 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} ~~either~~ 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 in myriad ways, in most parts of the world), democratic participation in decision-making, multi-faceted development and pluralism at the international as well as national level.

Even with the afore-mentioned 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. A NEW INTERNATIONAL/WORLD INFORMATION-COMMUNICATION ORDER



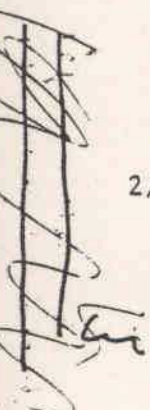
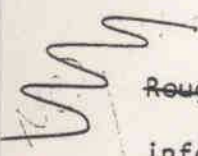
1.1. The development of a concept

and mid-
 Roughly ~~ten years ago~~, 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 ~~brought forth~~ ^{revealed} the existing information-communication imbalance and inequality between the industrially developed countries and the developing ones, ^{1/} the latter, notably within the framework of the movement of nonaligned countries, placed the information-communication problems on the agendas of 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, "an 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 programs carrying alien substance and values into local environments."^{2/} That same year, within the United Nations' Committee on the

1/ Some of these were presented in 1968 at the international symposium "Mass Media and International Understanding" held in Ljubljana, Yugoslavia, in co-operation 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, p. 15-16; See also: ~~... of experts ... and society, Montreal, 21-29 June 1969 ... Report (11 pp.), COM/INF/3, UNESCO, Paris.~~



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Peaceful Uses of Outer Space (COPUOS) the debate on direct broadcasting satellite (DBS) manifested first signs of serious disagreement among member states. During COPUOS's 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} ~~during~~ 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".^{1/}

The following year, in 1970, the 16th General Conference of UNESCO authorized the Director-General "to help member states in the formulation of their mass communication policies".^{2/} One of the results of this decision was the subsequent publication of the UNESCO series on communication policies in selected countries which represent 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 confirm 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 ~~a~~ meeting of experts on communication policies and planning, convened by UNESCO, was among the first to bring up a number of information-com-

1/ 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

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



munication problems described as aspects of "cultural neo-colonialism".^{1/} 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 on 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 countries. At the 17th General Conference of UNESCO, which was held that year, the idea of a Declaration on the Fundamental Principles Governing the Use of the Mass Media with a view to Strengthening Peace and Understanding and Combating War Propaganda, Racialism, 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 whose direct effects would be essentially earthbound (such as direct television broadcasting from space, which appeared to have very definite political implications)."^{2/}

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

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

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



- 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 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.^{1/}

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".^{2/} Although it seems

1/ Documents of the Fourth Conference on 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.

2/ UN Doc. A/AC 105/98, January 1972.

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 ~~forth~~^{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".^{1/} 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.^{2/}

session of the (1974),
At ~~the 1974~~ 18th General Conference of UNESCO, a great deal of attention focussed on the "free flow of information" issue. The general view which dominated was that ~~the~~ "free flow of information", as it has been understood and practiced so far, was practically meaningless for those countries (and that is the majority) which lack the information-communication means, i.e. whose

1/ 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.

2/ The United States ..., op. cit., p. 23.



* 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 role 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} ~~which~~ is followed by two recommendations addressed to the Director-General of UNESCO.

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Another international meeting on the topic of a new communication order took place in Spring 1976 in Mexico: a seminar on "The Role 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

1/ Ibid., p. 37-38; emphasis added.



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 role 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."^{1/}

The International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems began its work in December 1977. Meanwhile, during that year, the first Conference of Broadcasting Organisations of Non-Aligned Countries was held in Sarajevo, Yugoslavia (end of October) which urged in its final document a joint and coordinated approach by the non-aligned countries in relevant international fora, conferences and organisations on matters of common interest, particularly in the field of telecommunications, technical development, standardization, satellite broadcasting and other areas.^{2/} A few weeks before that, however, a conference on "International Communications and Third World Participation: A Conceptual and Practical Framework" was held in Amsterdam, organised 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., establishment of principles for a juridical framework for the media. Although much still remains to be done in this area, the conference was a first step in this direction.

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

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



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 inequality.^{1/}

In 1975 three important actions in the information-communication area took place within the movement of the 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 months.^{2/} 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,

1/ See documents of the 18th General Conference of UNECSO, 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.





* "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."^{1/}

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Skipping over some other relevant international activities which took place in the period between 1979 and 1981, notably the General World Administrative Radio Conference (WARC-79), held again after its usual twenty-year lapse^{2/} 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

1/ The Youné Declaration, art. V. and VI., 1980; emphasis added.

2/ 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 Administrative Radio Conference"); Anne W. Branscomb, "Waves of the Future: Making WARC Work", Foreign Policy, 1979.



be made of the 21st 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 received further impetus. Given the fact that this has been dealt with in several writings^{1/} attention will be given to only 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 subject.^{2/} 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 the existing order is unacceptable to all."^{3/} The report, in fact, in spite of

1/ 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 Righter, "Battle of the Bias", Foreign Policy, 1979.

2/ 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.

3/ Many Voices, One World, Kogan Page-Unipub-UNESCO, 1980, p. xviii.



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 of integrating 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."^{1/} 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 techno-structures. Developed countries are not providing adequate information of this type to developing countries."^{2/} (The recommendations that follow will be *discussed* mentioned 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

1/ Ibid., p. 258; emphasis added.

2/ Ibid., p. 260.



studies in this direction and to submit a report on this subject at the ^{Session of the} 22nd General Conference. The results of the voting on this proposal were: 51 for, 6 against and 26 abstentions.^{1/}

The determination ~~of the developing countries~~ with which these resolutions were ~~brought about~~,^{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 ~~became~~^{has become} particularly ~~manifest~~^{apparent} during the last two years,^{2/} only confirm how vitaly important is this issue, especially when ~~brought into~~^{seen} relations ~~with~~^{to} the fundamental questions of economic development and the position of the developing countries in international economic (and by consequence also political) ~~relations~~^{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/ Ibid., p. vi.

2/ 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 Subcommittees 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.



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 ^f of information, both in terms 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 by a large part of the international community, but particularly by the developing countries, as being a legacy of the colonial past and which have hampered free, direct and ^f ~~past~~ communication among them; moreover, the present communication systems are still vehicles by which their dependence ^{of the in-} ^{within those} industrially developed ^{countries;} and, above all, of the transnational enterprises ^{countries} is perpetuated. This reflects itself in various ways, but most importantly in the form of their technological dependence (which includes a wide gamut, 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 foremost 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 to the determination of national information-communication priorities and to the selection of 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 fulfill 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

1/ Final Report of the Intergovernmental Conference on Communication Policies in Latin America and the Caribbean, Paris 1976, p. 52; See also: Luis R. Beltrán 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, East-West Center, Honolulu (mimeo).



unity in diversity, and foster the growth of individuals and communities within the wider frame of national development in an interdependent world."^{1/}

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 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' New Agencies Pool and their cooperation in broadcasting. These, however, are only the beginning 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 means.^{2/}

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 one hand, and private enterprise on the other hand.

1/ Many Voices..., op. cit., p. 255; emphasis added.

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



Given the already deep - and ever more 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 bear no doubt the greatest part of responsibility for today's imbalance and disparities; nonetheless, 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 role of the information-communication means (particularly the mass media) in this.^{1/}

6. Finally, it needs to be stressed again, the idea of a new international/world information-communication order was from the very beginning linked to 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,

1/ 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).

however, has so far tended to evolve outside this framework, i.e., it has tended to look at it as a "purely communication" matter, focussing foremost on only some aspects such as the role of journalists and to a certain extent also ~~and~~ ^{the} news agencies, the flow of television programme^s, problems of tariffs, development of communication infrastructures^{sets}. 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.

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2. N I E O AND N W I C O : 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. Nonetheless 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 allows greater clarity in pointing out the concerns which are central to this study. Likewise, from the large number of issues which make up the debate on the new order(s), attention will focus on the role 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 ~~more~~ ^{worsening} aggravating problems, the developing countries introduced the concept of individual and collective self-reliance into their political programs and into ^{the} international arena. ~~As indicated by relevant documents and other writings,~~ 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 77.^{2/} In the Economic Declaration adopted at the Fifth Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries (Colombo 1976) the following is stated:

"The achievement of ~~the~~ 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/}

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.



~~Further on this matter,~~ ^The representatives of the non-aligned attending this conference expressed also 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 preparedness of 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 co-operation among themselves in financial, technical, trade, industrial 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

^{1/} Quoted from: Review of International Affairs, No. 634, Belgrade 1976, pp. 34-35.

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.^{1/}

In its broadest sense, the concept of self-reliance expresses strategies of social and economic development which are based on the mobilization and utilization 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.^{2/} 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.^{3/}

As underlined by Janez Stanovnik, "self-reliance is not autar^{ch}ky. It represents a state of self-confidence. It also implies solidarity among the

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

2/ 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.

3/ 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.

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."^{1/} 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 GDP 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.^{2/} 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 are changed. Self-reliance seeks, therefore, to de-emphasize the predominant reliance of the developing countries on linkages with the developed countries in favor of a greater selectivity in traditional linkages and better mobilization of indigenous resources for primarily indigenous needs."^{3/}

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

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

2/ Ibid., p. 106.

3/ 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.



link developing countries to one another (in a status of interdependence)."^{1/} Elaborating this in another work, the following was stressed: "Regardless of how self-reliance is being sought (i.e., either through direct actions, 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."^{2/}

Even as ^{above} fleeting a glance at self-reliance as the ~~preceding~~ reveals that information-communication is an important element in its materialization. Before venturing to outline in more detail what various forms of information-communication can contribute ~~to~~, let us recapitulate briefly what individual and collective self-reliance stand for.

1/ 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.

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



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 building/strengthening self-confidence both at the level of individual countries and 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 U.N. 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 in the development process; men and women must have the possibilities to contribute to creating their own reality; development implies satisfying both material and immaterial needs, the respect of human rights, respect of equality and the abolition of all forms of discrimination.^{2/}

4. Finally, it ^{should} ~~needs to~~ be stressed again, self-reliance does not mean autarky; quite ~~to~~ 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

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

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 cooperation, however, depends to a large degree of the use of modern information-communication means.

2.2. The role 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 development. 1/ While this aspect of information-communication rightfully deserves central attention, as will be shown later, it is equally important to examine the role 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,

1/ 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 techno-structures. Developed countries are not providing adequate information of this type to developing countries."



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 nonetheless 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 and specialization, and encompassing both formal and informal forms. 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 role 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-communication, ^{1/} 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/}

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, presently, the rapid development of microelectronics 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 et 375, Paris 1977.



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 out of the control of the public. Whatever may be true in particular countries at the level of 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 inventions. 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 - worldwide, and not just some social groups, be they state bureaucraties 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 role in the ~~common struggle~~ ~~for 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 which 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 role 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 role of the public and public opinion ^{also} received considerable attention ~~also~~ 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),^{1/} the report then states: "In no way, however, can the role 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."^{2/} But it can be so only if more democratic relation-

1/ Many Voices, One World, op. cit., p. 195-196.

2/ Ibid., p. 196.



ships 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. MacPhail, for instance, claims, regarding the public's level of information, that a major paradox is ~~taking place~~^{evolving}. While it is true that technology is providing more choice^s, and optic fibers, 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, in the case of developing countries, increasing illiteracy and the fact that costs are keeping other media options at a meagre^{re} level, while in the developed market economies this is attributed to the reduction of foreign correspondents (due to high costs), rising costs of energy, labor, 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 focussing on domestic news.^{3/} Moreover, even at the present stage, according to MacPhail, much of what goes

1/ Ibid., p. 200

2/ MacPhail, op. cit., p. 242-243; emphasis added.

3/ Ibid.



on in the international arena, and especially in the developing countries, receives ^{the} attention of ^{only} a very limited number of people ~~only~~. As he puts it: "Basically we are talking about the elites on both sides of the issue (the NWICO debate). In terms of the Western press we are talking about either academic elites or publisher elites represented in many cases by giant transnational corporations. Critics from LDCs are also either academic elites, many educated in the West, or bureaucratic and government elites 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 ^r or the NWICO ^c. Many more should become aware of them."^{1/} ~~This is, no doubt, a biting statement, and~~
Some may find ^{this claim} ~~it~~ exaggerated and ~~the~~ ^{a reflection of} not ^{reflecting} reality; nonetheless it is a useful reminder of the fact that there is indeed ^a deep alienation of the public in matters of both mass communications and 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 both the developing ^{and} ~~as well as the~~ developed countries, but the forms of alienation and its manifestations may be different.^{2/}

And yet, ~~it~~ ^{is} cannot be avoided. 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

1/ Ibid., p. 246.

2/ It is useful to remind, 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 & 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.



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." ^{1/} 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 role; the mass communication means, 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

1/ 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.



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 industrialised 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.^{1/}

This is particularly noteworthy because the author, known for her systematic ~~attacks upon~~ ^{Criticisms of} the new international/world information-communication order ^{as proposed in Unesco}, in fact confirms the ^{validity} ~~justifiableness~~ 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-communications structures, and that they jointly ~~affect~~ ^{affect} adversely 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} 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~~ logic of this dialectical inter-relationship.^{2/}

1/ Rosemary Righter, op. cit., p. 244; emphasis added.

2/ 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.



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 reknown communication experts in the 60s, 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 behavior which are favorable 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 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 nation-ness.

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 programs which correspond to the needs of the population.

12. Communication can make economic, social and political development a self-perpetuating process."^{1/}

At closer examination, however, especially during the seventies it became evident that mass communication in the developing countries could not stand up to such expectations and that economic and socio-political 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 in regard to the implementation of developing countries' self-reliance. These include formal education as well as informal (education in the

1/ 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.





broadest sense, i.e., as the process of socialization), and reference will be made to various levels of education, including training for highly specialized jobs.^{1/}

What is particularly important to underline in this presentation are the processes of convergence and mutual reinforcement which are taking place in different ~~ways~~ ^{contents} ~~aspects~~ of education, most notably in view of how mass communications (mass media) are used on ^{the} one hand, and ^{the} how other forms (such as computer communication) are affecting educational systems in various countries. Looked at within the context of ~~the~~ 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 even deeper "techno-cultural gap" which, as expressed by Ali M. Mazrui,^{2/} 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 insightful ^{is needed} observation, a lengthier quote ~~must be given~~ the text that leads to the above statement:

1/ Ali A. Mazrui distinguishes between formal and informal processes of education as follows: "In literate societies the formal aspects are pre-eminently realised 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 socialised and trained in informal ways as well, ranging from listening to conversations of adults to observing the behavior 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.

2/ Ibid., p. 35.

"From a social point of view 'acculturation' implies the diffusion of particular values, techniques and institutions and their modification under different conditions. 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/}

Fundação Cuidar o Futuro

The answer which Mazrui gives, and which is well argued in his analysis of the foreign forces which moulded the African educational systems, including the role of the transnational enterprises, stresses an important point which tends to be overlooked in the present debate on the NIEO and a new international/world information-communication order, and that is: the importance of the quality of information and how particular information functions in the context of the economic and socio-cultural environment which it penetrates.^{2/} The importance of this question is multidimensional and can be seen both in formal education and in ^{Hac}informal educational effect^s of the mass

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.

(PT)



media which are transmitted by the general content of the mass media, including advertising.^{1/}

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 mostly in terms of the dominating party's needs and interests, and much less in terms of what the other party needs. There is plenty of literature to support this statement, hence it will not be dealt with further. What should be pointed out, however, is the 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 communication.^{2/} Moreover, media-data convergence leads to further blurring of public/private distinctions, which has important social, economic and cultural effects to be considered in 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

.../...

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- 1/ This is usually not considered as part of education but rather as "just entertainment" of "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, Kavanaght & Sons, Leeds 1976.
- 2/ Juan F. Rada, "The Microelectronics Revolution: Implications for the Third World", Development Dialogue , Uppsala, 1981/2, p.53)





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., more than a century-old company known for its bibliographical reference works; Raytheon 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 level.^{1/} Furthermore, as pointed out by Mattelart:

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"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 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

1/ 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.

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 world-wide, but particularly in the developing countries, has so far escaped deeper examination, with the exception of a few scholarly attempts such as ~~the above-mentioned~~ ^{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 curbed ~~if not eliminated altogether~~,^{2/} 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, ~~which is sufficiently illustrative~~: according to Mattelart, the President of Control Data summarised why the company has centered its interest on computer programming by using the Chinese proverb "If your plan extends over a year, plant rice. If your plan extends over

1/ Ibid., p. 8.

2/ In connection with this it is worth ~~reminding~~ ^{warning} of 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 Program 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.



ten years, plant trees. If your plan extends over one hundred years, educate men."^{1/} What is happening in the sphere of education today is yet another expression of the TNEs' abilities to plan far ahead of everyone else, and ~~it is obvious, they are planning to stay around for at least a hundred years more!~~ Developing countries' policy-makers in education and in information-communication should ~~hence~~ endeavor to have a clear picture ~~as to~~ ² how such projects of the TNEs are affecting their countries' development strategies and should, to the extent ~~that this is possible~~, try to incorporate ~~rate~~ ^{assimilate} whatever positive experiences are available.

The full implications of ~~what has just been said~~ ^{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 works.^{2/} Steps have been made in the direction of developing bilateral, subregional, regional and inter-regional cooperation 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

1/ 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.

2/ 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.



centres such as CESTI (Centre d' Etudes des Sciences et Techniques de l'In-
formation) at the University of Dakar, CIESPAL (International Centre for
Higher Studies in Journalism for Latin America) in Quito, ^{Asia - Pacific} ~~Asia~~
~~Institute for Broadcasting Development~~ in Kuala Lumpur
~~Communication Research and Information Centre~~ in Singapore, and the Yugo-
slav Institute of Journalism (Belgrade) ^{for} training ~~courses for~~ students from
the non-aligned countries, to name ~~but~~ some major ~~ones~~, ^{example,} have developed into
important institutions, and new ones such as CEETEM (Centro de Telecomuni-
caciones para el Tercer Mundo) in San José are appearing.^{1/} 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 and/or indirec-
tly) by the TNEs.

The problems facing developing countries in informal education are even mo-
re 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 role
of the market in individual societies and the world at large and, above
all, to the role of TNEs. Although the "MacBride Commission" made an effort
to underline the importance and the mostly negative effects of ~~the~~ market
dominance and commercialization of the mass media in general,^{2/} in the final

1/ For the time being, CEETEM limits its activities "to inform, assist and
organize developing countries in utilizing telecommunications as an in-
strument 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 let-
ter, No. 2, April 1961, San José.

2/ Many Voices, One World, op. cit., pp. 152-155 and elsewhere.



chapter this resulted in a meagre^{re} 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 made available for this purpose.

32. 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.

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 role 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 role of transnational (and national) advertising and its overall impact upon the formation of values in particular societies,^{2/} and (ii) the attitude of the mass media towards women, which is deeply linked

1/ Ibid., p. 260

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



to the first, but also has other important dimension. Both subjects are very complex and have come to the attention of a number of researchers;^{1/} in the following an attempt will be made to summarize some of the findings and conclusions which 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

1/ 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 of 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 on Attitudes Towards the Role of Women and Men in Present-Day Society, conference background paper, World Conference ..., Copenhagen 1980, doc. A/CONF.94/BP/19; Margaret Gallagher, Women in the 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.



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 community 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~~ ^{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."^{1/} Subsequent international meetings ^{2/} ~~reiterated~~ ^{have} 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 about development are goals which are closely linked with the search for new and more equitable international economic relations.^{3/}

In addition to ~~this~~ ^{the above}, it was recognized that ~~the~~ ^{question} information-communication means play an important role in this and that ~~the~~ ^{also} efforts to create a new international/world information-communication order must ~~therefore~~ ^{also} involve this dimension of the problem; ~~as well~~ ^{context}. In this ~~sense~~ ^{sense} it was pointed out that several important aspects need to be examined such as: the role of

- 1/ Vida Tomšič, "The Position and Role of Women in Development", Review of International Affairs, Vol. XXXII, No. 758, Belgrade 1981, p. 2; emphasis added.
- 2/ Particularly the Conference of the Non-aligned and other Developing Countries on the Role 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 Role of Women in Development, in Havana (May 1981).
- 3/ 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.



information-communication means (esp^{ecially} the mass media) in the lives of women (as indicators of development); the role 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 women,^{1/} and 78 per cent ~~of them~~ had never seen a film (and India, it is worth reminding, is one of 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 media.^{2/} 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, 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."^{3/}

1/ See: Margaret Gallagher, "The portrayal and participation of women in the media", doc. CC.79/WS/130.
2/ "Information and Communication as development Resources for the Advancement of Women", op. cit., p. 4.
3/ Many Voices, One World, op. cit., p. 189, emphasis added.



The role of education (formal and informal) and that of the mass media deserve particular attention in this ^{years,} ~~matter~~. Although much has been written on this subject, some of the main dimensions still fail to be understood, mostly because of ^{an} ~~the~~ entrenched tendency to compartmentalize problems and to leave complex issues separated one from another. Thus very little attention has been ^{paid} ~~given~~ so far to identifying all the important interlinking ^{ages} ~~ages~~ between, on one hand, the need to keep a large number of women (especially in the developing countries) in submission through ^{educational discrimination i.e.} ~~specific education~~ (~~read~~: barring them from higher education and even from higher levels of awareness ^{in general} ~~generally~~) and with the help of the mass media's daily diet of the well-known stereotypes of the "typically feminine" ^{1/} 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. ^{2/} The micro-electronics industry is estimated to employ some 200,000 workers in Asian FTZs (free trading zones). Rather than replacing displaced jobs, 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

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

2/ For recent depictions of these situations see: Barbara Ehrenreich and Annette Fuentes, "Life on the Global Assembly Line", Ms., 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.

problems, which occur in even less than 10 years) they are easily "dumped" (into prostitution "if they are lucky").^{1/} 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.^{2/} But the mass media in 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.

1/ 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.

2/ 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.



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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.^{1/} Furthermore, it has also become evident that the role 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.

1/ 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.





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, ~~Also~~ trading routes carried, through the merchants, a wide variety of information on political developments and technical innovations.

Until the late 15th century, when European colonial expansion began, ~~there existed~~ an elaborate South-South trade cum information exchange. This ~~found~~ ^{existed} its origin 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 % of exports from developing countries ~~go~~ ^{went} to the developed world. Today, ~~also~~ more information flows between the South and the North than between the developing countries. Taking data from 1976, out of ~~total~~ ^{the total} inter-regional telephone traffic ~~2~~ ^{only} % occurred between developing countries themselves and 98 % between developing countries and OECD countries. A similar distribution was ~~shown~~ ^{exhibited} in telex traffic, and in telegraphy 10 % occurred between developing countries and 90 % 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

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



and experience as well as the creation of new knowledge in tackling problems of development". The UNDP has responded to this objective with the proposal for an inter-regional Development Information Network (DIN). The feasibility study for DIN, undertaken by the Third-World-Agency-Inter Press-Service, states that "a new flow of information, with distinct characteristics, can be created through a computer-operated South-South network, providing a full horizontal exchange of mutually supportive development information". DIN is a promising plan that so far still remains on the drawing board. ^{1/} ~~Also~~ ^{Similarly} the high Level Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries in Caracas (May 1981) emphasized the crucial role 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 transnationalisation 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 internationalisation 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 in they

~~1/~~ After the feasibility study, the UNDP conducted discussions with officials in some 30 developing countries, representatives from international organisations and regional commissions. The completion of these exploratory stages was due beginning 1982.

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.

themselves were represented abroad.^{1/} 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.^{2/} To adequately respond to the communications needs created by this transnationalization, the banks created networks for their individual use and for interbank use.

Over the past decade ~~also~~ 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} ~~automotive~~, began to lose their original meaning and have been increasingly replaced by new industries, such as electronics, aerospace, biochemistry, and the exploitation of the seas. These are all industries in which information is an essential and characteristic element.

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As industrial production processes increase in complexity, the importance of information increases greatly. The manufacturing of simple products requires large amounts of labor 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 labor and material. More and more production processes have in fact become information processes (cf. the application of industrial robots). Thus much of the ^acosts 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 dollars on telecommunications alone.^{3/}

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

2/ Ibidem.

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



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."^{1/} 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 ~~and, that~~ ^{but} ~~over the past years,~~ ^{now} 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 datacommunications 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-a-Mousson, the French building materials and metal product giant, with 10 % 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 ~~already mentioned~~ ^{mentioned above} French missile and electronics manufacturer - Matra, ^{2/} which acquired 51 % of the stock of the publishing firm Hachette in December 1980.^{2/}

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

1/ "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.

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



those of the national networks".^{1/} 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".^{2/}

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 Communities some 50 % of the labour force is employed in services. And in 1980 as much as 70 % of the US labour force is working in the services sector and they contribute some 65 % to the Gross National Product.^{3/} 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 % of overall world trade. ~~Particularly the U.S. government wants to introduce this trade in services as a critical issue in a possible new round of international negotiations about 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 survival.^{4/} US exports in this field ~~have~~ increased 2-3 times between 1972 and 1977. In 1977 telecommunications and information merchandise exports

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- 1/ 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.
 - 2/ L.H. Warner, chairman of General Telephone & Electronics, quoted in Herbert I. Schiller, op. cit., p. 79.
 - 3/ 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.
 - 4/ 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".

represented 10 % of overall U.S. merchandise exports.^{1/} In 1980 the U.S. balance of trade showed a deficit exceeding \$ 30 billion, ^{but} in the manufacturing of computers ~~however~~, there was a trade surplus of over \$ 4 billion.^{2/} This was even more in 1980, ^{and} forecasts show a considerable growth for the information market in the U.S., as shown in Table ~~1~~:



TABLE 1:

PROJECTED REVENUES U.S. INFORMATION MARKET

Industry Sector	1980 Revenues	1990 Revenues
Cable TV	\$ 2.35 billion	\$ 21.5 billion
Pay TV	\$ 1.06 billion	\$ 12.7 billion
Homecomputers	\$ 0.75 billion	\$ 10 billion
Teleconferencing	\$ 0.55 billion	\$ 5 billion
Satellite Communication	\$ 0.205 billion	\$ 2.3 billion

Source: Channels & 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 at some US \$ 14 billion revenues, it is expected to be the largest US industry by the end of the 1980s.^{3/} 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 presently in the US three times more software than hardware installed.

In 1976 the total revenues for the 36 largest transnational information corporations amounted to US \$ 147 billion. The major part of this came from the sales of hardware goods - 48 % from telecommunications, 20 % from dataprocessing and 13 % from consumer electronics. In 1980 the world market for telecommunications services totalled US \$ 40.2 billion. For telecommunication equipment this was approximately the same. The largest DP manufacturers in the world received so-

1/ 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.

2/ Computerworld, March 31, 1980.

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



me 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 ~~can~~ ^{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 % 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. 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 ~~an~~ increasing concern vis-à-vis the trade issues implied in governmental regulatory efforts that pertain to telecommunications, transborder data flows and dataprocessing services. ^{As} key issues ^{are} usually identified, 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, have discouraged many firms contemplating major investments in international communication and data processing facilities from proceeding with such investments."^{3/}

(Table 2)

1/ See note 4 on p. 85; 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.

TABLE 2: TRADE BARRIERS TO TELECOMMUNICATIONS, DATAFLOWS, DATAPROCESSING 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 Rep. 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 % 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.



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-centered. 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 transnationalisation and diversification. An important part of this information relates to technological (product) development.
- (b) ~~Essential is also~~ ^{is also essential on} information ~~about~~ the behaviour of ~~the~~ consumers in the market sectors where the corporation operates.
- (c) ~~Then~~ ^{also} there is ^{an} obvious need for that type of scientific/technical information that relates to the specific products ^{which} the corporation manufactures.
- (d) Lastly, there is a constant need for information about the economic, fiscal, legal and political environments in which the corporation conducts its operations.

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In addition to responding to its external environment there is the internal demand for effectively coping with the requirements of a complex organisation. Complexity is introduced ^{as a result of} ~~into~~ 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} ~~the~~ 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 ~~many~~. The rapid transnationalisation of industrial and financial business since the 1950's has created large, complex institutions with specific organisational models and strategic designs ^{while using} ~~that implied~~ 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-centered. As a consequence, a series of new activities sprang up: specialisation 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 role 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 mechanisation. 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 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} ~~of~~ 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. An airline ~~could~~ ^{which} could not afford to maintain a world-wide reservation system, 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 ² to transport and process ^{inf} large volumes of data in a fast and reliable manner for improved management, marketing and productivity;
- Networks can meet the need for centralized information 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 ^{2 share} to share otherwise dispersed resources. ^{1/}

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 Bank.^{3/} Another banker, Rossiter W. Langhorne, vice president of Manufacturers Hanover Trust, broadens this to the whole business community: "In today's international marketplace, repetitive timely processing of business transactions is the basis for reliable service and survival of the 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 worldwide engineering design and manufacturing information as well

1/ Ford Motor Company installed its datanetwork in 1978 and claims to have saved U.S. \$ 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, Uxbridge, ONLINE, 1978, p. 141.

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 operational information among our various organisations 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."^{1/}

For some transnational corporations transborder data flows become a major product line. They include the databanks and databases, on-line database publishers, valueadded networks, or computer service companies. For other transnational corporations data flows 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 datatraffic can indeed be seen as the bank's "lifeblood". R.D. Hill, for example, who is chairman for 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."^{2/}

For an increasing number of corporations the use of transborder data flows is becoming an effective management tool. For integrated management - i.e. centralised control and decentralised operations - the new dataprocessing technology offers the necessary flexibility. Large computer system for central processing can be combined with word processing, electronic mail and videoconferencing that enable varying degree of decentralisation. Data flows in the transnational corporations can generally be seen as to perform the following functions:

1/ J.L. Randine, quoted in Transnational Data Report, Vol. 3, No. 1, 1980.

2/ Source: Transnational Data Report, Vol. 3, No. 3, 1980.



- 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 ~~the~~ "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".^{1/} This confronts management increasingly with the necessity to access processing system 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.

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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 more efficiently and effectively allocate corporate resources: 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

1/ 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.

place where there is a pressing need for help in decision-making, i.e. at headquarters."^{1/} 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 coordination between units in geographically widely distributed locations.

The use of dataflows makes it also 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 headquarter monitoring facilities. The optimal functioning of the "centralization-decentralization model" that is characteristic for the transnational corporation, depends upon fast and reliable data networks. Internationally operating corporations demand both centralisation and decentralisation in organisation. Centralisation 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 a protection of the corporate profits needs a continuous and coordinated monitoring of rapidly fluctuating money markets and price developments. Also, centralised information about production is needed to facilitate the international specialisation of labour with the corporation. However, production specialisation is a major requirement of transnational corporations and this makes decentralization essential for an optimal performance of local/national chapters.

Corporations design Management Information Systems to adequately respond to the requirements of the corporate organisation. This is often a laborious task and the centralisation-decentralisation 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-decentralisation mode workable. "Management will be able to determine which controls and standards should be applied throughout the organisation to facilitate meaningful corporate control, based in business consideration, rather than the limitations of communication/computing facilities. Planning can be decentralised within meaningful constraints and yet controlled centrally."^{2/}

1/ 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.

2/ D.A. Woodland and P.S. Doepel, "Management of Distributed Organisations", in E.J. Boutmy and A. Danthine (eds.), Teleinformatics '79, Amsterdam, North Holland, 1979, p. 10.

Transnational data flows can theoretically optimise the performance of what Chamoux has referred to as the organisational 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 decentralised autonomy as long as profits are made. Datatraffic is an essential component of this organisational model. There has to be continuous reporting back from subsidiaries to headquarters and a flow of instructions from headquarters to subsidiaries.^{1/}

Management's effective and efficient decision-making is largely dependent upon information. Decision-making capacity can, however, seriously be hampered if there are no reliable media for storage, distribution and retrieval. Management Information Systems that have been designed to cope with this, often turned out to have serious shortcomings, such as the fact that they usually do not provide informal data, but 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, computerbased interactive management information systems could avoid such shortcomings and offer the inclusive, timely, detailed, informal, and flexible information tool management needs.

The use of data flows could further contribute to "computerise" the corporation. In administrative, financial and manufacturing processes datamanipulation through computer intelligence could be the core activity and substitute and significantly change human labour. The fact that banks become increasingly involved with computer-communications also has effects on the banks themselves. Electronic funds transfers, computerised 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 in the next 10 years 30 % less personnel.^{2/}

1/ J.P. Chamoux, L'information sans frontiere, Paris, La Documentation Francaise, 1980, p. 90.

2/ S. Nora and A. Minc, L'informatisation de la société, Paris, La Documentation Francaise, 1978, p. 36.





(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: 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 datanetwork-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.^{1/}

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 dataprocessing 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 dataprocessing related equipment and services. So far it can be observed that

^{1/} S. Rose, "The unexpected fall out from electronic banking", in Fortune, April 24, 1978.



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 datanetworks for the small users very difficult. Cost-reductions are also not likely to affect large scale equipment and related programming and maintenance expenses, thus leaving them mainly to the largest corporations.

(b) Standardisation: The need for centralised dataprocessing may lead to the wish to install standardised equipment in the dispersed units. This could tend to further strengthen 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".^{1/} 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 service 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".^{2/}

(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.^{3/} As a consequence, transnational corporations will emphasize the need of privately leased circuits with volume-insensitive tariff systems. As Phillip Onstad, Control Data Corporation's manager of telecommunication policies

1/ Source: Transnational Data Report, Vol. 2, No. 5, 1979.

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

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



claims, if such circuits are not available "advances in distributed processing and shared data base developments 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."^{1/} 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 databases and large computer systems tends to lead to the concentration of data processing in relatively few locations. Dataprocessing is done where it can be most costeffectively carried out, i.e., in US-owned facilities. The Canadian case provides an example. Through the transfer of dataprocessing 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 1985.^{2/}

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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 endproducts 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."^{3/}

1/ Source: Transnational Data Report, Vol. 2, No. 5, 1979.

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

3/ J.F. Rada, "Micro-electronics, Information Technology and its Effects on Developing Countries", report for the I.L.O., Geneva, 1980, p. 29.



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 particularly the developing countries at a sharp disadvantage in world markets. Their lack of ~~the~~ capability to collect, process and apply information to their specific requirements compromises their national sovereignty. ~~It~~ increasingly ~~loses~~ the capacity ~~to decisively~~ influence the deployment of their resources ^{to} ~~extra-territorially~~ ^{is created 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.

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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 consist 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 countries. This is illustrated by the case of ~~the~~ 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 ~~the~~ ^{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 the following tables:



TABLE 3: COMPUTER AND OFFICE EQUIPMENT IMPORT & EXPORT - 1978 (World Trade: U.S. \$ 14.9 billion)^{1/}

Major Exporting Countries		(millions \$)						
		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	756.1	469.6
Fed. Rep. Germany	1.875.4							
United Kingdom	1.533.1							
France	1.531.3							
Canada	787.4							
Italy	782.1							
Netherlands	640.1							

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Source: Datamation, January 1981.

^{1/} Data refer to the trade classification 714 which encompasses for 85 % computers, dataprocessing equipment and related parts.



TABLE 4: MAJOR EXPORTERS TELECOMMUNICATION EQUIPMENT 1979
(World export: U.S. \$ 24.7 billion) -

Country	Rank in order of share in world exports	in %
Japan		26.6
Fed. Rep. Germany		13
Switzerland		13
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

TABLE 5: RADIO AND TV RECEIVERS IMPORTS & EXPORTS 1976

RADIO RECEIVERS IMPORTS & 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 & 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

In 1979 the U.S., the Federal Republic of Germany, the U.K., the Netherlands, France and Italy accounted for over 52 % of world telecommunication equipment exports. The same countries accounted for over 47 % of all imports. (The leading exporters of the developing countries /South Korea, Hong Kong, Brazil, Singapore, and Mexico/ have together a 12.7 % share in world exports.) In 1980 the world market for telecommunication equipment reached an estimated U.S. \$ 40 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 ^xservices the US 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 US of 71 % and for developing countries of 10.2 %. In 1979 US computer exports went for 54 % to Western Europe and for 12 % to Canada. French exports went for 85 % to other West European countries and for 5 % to the US. British exports went for 79 % to other West European countries and for 3 % to the US. Imports in the US came for 23 % from the UK, France and West Germany. West German imports came for 71 % from the US, UK and France. French imports came for 73 % from the US, UK and West Germany. Most of the international computer trade takes indeed place within and between West 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 UK and Fairchild in the US, between Siemens (West Germany) and Advanced Micro Devices (US), between Thomson CSF (France) and Motorola (US), and between Philips (the Netherlands) and Signetics (US).

^{1/} Source: A.T. & T., quoted in The Economist, August 22, 1981.



Secondly, changes in ~~world exports shares of~~ developing countries, ^{shows in world exports} have ~~the past years~~ ^{over the past years} hardly changed to the benefit of these countries, as indicated in the following table:

TABLE 6: CHANGES IN SHARE OF WORLD EXPORTS

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

Source: United Nations International Trade Statistics Yearbook 1977



Furthermore, as indicated in the next two tables, trading in information goods ~~which~~ leaves the developing countries with deficits on the balance of trade.

TABLE 7: TRADE BALANCE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES -
COMPUTER AND OFFICE EQUIPMENT - 1978

Country	Value of imports (in \$ mil- lions)	Value of exports (in \$ mil- lions)	Trade balance (in \$ mil- lions)	Export/import ratio
Brazil	193.7	129.1	- 64.6	0.67
Hong Kong	180.4	237.1	+ 56.7	1.31
Argentine	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.

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TABLE 8: TRADE BALANCE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES -
PRINTING MACHINES - 1976

Country	Value of imports (in \$ thou- sands)	Value of exports (in \$ thou- sands)	Trade balance (in \$ thou- sands)	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
Argentine	2.180	493	- 1.687	0.23

Source: United Nations Yearbook of International Trade Statistics 1977



In 1978 the average export/import ratio for the five leading computer traders in the developing world (Brazil, Hong Kong, Argentine, South Korea, and Singapore) was 0.88. For the major traders in the developed world (U.S., Japan, Fed. Rep. of Germany, U.K., and France) the average was 1.64.

In the developing countries the export/import ratio for radio receivers was in 1976 0.32 and for TV receivers 0.22. In 1976 for the major traders in printing machines in the developing world the average export/import ratio was 0.48. For the major trades in the developed world (U.S., France, U.K., and Fed. Rep. of Germany) this was 3.04.

Thirdly, it has to be observed that the developing world is gaining importance as computer import market. Between 1972 and 1975 average annual imports grew in Asia ^{by} ~~with~~ 13.9 % (with evidently the leading role for an industrialised nation, Japan), ⁱⁿ Africa ^{by} ~~with~~ 14.2 % and in Latin America ^{by} ~~with~~ 38 %. 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 respectively 202 % and 97 %. Also in the second half of the 1970s Latin American imports continue to grow, although slightly less, but still above the world average rate of growth (this was for the 1977-1978 period 28.2 %). Brazil is becoming the leading computer importer of the region and ^{by} ~~in~~ 1978 this country ^{became} ~~is~~ the 16th largest computer market in the world with a growth rate of 43.3 %. Mexico is the 20th largest importer, Argentina and Venezuela are respectively number 24 and 26. Among the fastest growing import markets is ~~now also~~ the People's Republic China: its 1977-1978 growth rate ^{was} ~~is~~ 164 % and its market size passed the 21 million dollar. (See table 9)





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.

^{rise}
~~The~~ Growing computer imports ~~imply~~ 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 specialised expertise for assessment and integration of computer technology.
- * Importing countries are often sold obsolete technology.
- * Importing countries get often 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 semiconductors has rapidly grown.^{1/}

For telecommunications equipment the share of OECD imports from developing countries increased from 3.5 % in 1965 to 18.7 % in 1977. For electronic

1/ "The role 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.



components the share of OECD imports from developing countries increased from 2.2 % in 1965 to 29 % in 1977. It has to be noted, however, that the imports came predominantly from a limited number of countries with very narrow ranges of specialisation in specific products. Moreover, this production was mainly a result of foreign investment. Eight countries accounted for more than 90 % 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 directed (for approximately ^{7 cases} 70 %) to a selected number of (some 15) countries 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 % 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: ~~Such as~~ Taiwan in television receivers, Korea in electronic components, and Mexico in switchgear. This reflects the strategy of transnational corporations ^{who} to select those products for foreign investment that need unskilled labour in a specific (isolated) phase of the production process, ~~that~~ demand little investment in fixed assets and imply low costs for transportation of the intermediate goods between headquarters and off-shore plants. Particularly in the manufacturing of electronic equipment, developing countries ^{share in} get only one stage of a vertically integrated and centrally controlled operation.

Most of the imports reflected particular geographic patterns. Mexico, Taiwan and Hong Kong accounted for over 50 % of US imports. Hong Kong, Taiwan and Singapore accounted for almost 70 % of the EEC imports. Korea, Taiwan and Singapore accounted for some 80 % of Japanese imports. These patterns represent flows of foreign direct investments. Almost 80 % of US imports from

the eight countries are in fact related to intra-firm transactions.^{1/}
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.

* Insofar as developing countries have grown as export markets, this is mainly tied up with foreign investments 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.

* Insofar 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.



3. MOVING TOWARDS WHAT CHANGE?

3.1. (Mis)understanding the new order

overall framework of the
The international economic order that emerged after World War II was ~~desi~~^{created} ~~igned in its general dimensions~~ by the 1943-1944 Bretton Woods Conferences, held in New Hampshire in the United States of America. With almost no involvement of the developing countries, ^a ~~the~~ 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 ~~these~~ ^{the latter} would be intimately linked with 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 labor, a certain type of labor-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 World War II 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 enterprises.

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 from both 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 restructuring 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 has only increased from 22.2% to 25.1%. 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; the 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} ~~rough~~ 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} ~~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 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~~ an international economic system which will link countries of

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.

different socio-economic systems, with the aim that they ^{should} cooperate among themselves in solving ~~together~~ ~~the~~ urgent world economic problems, with the participation of all, and in the interest of all countries and peoples; it also means the selection and development of ^{for international action} ~~such~~ international methods in which confrontation will give place to dialogue, negotiations and agreements. Thus the NIEO program is the first international economic program ^{to} ~~that~~ 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 power,^{1/} while in the minds of others it is of more limited scope.^{2/}

Such objectives served as ^{inspiration} ~~the inspiring force~~ 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 debate, 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} ~~the~~ changes that are needed ^{in current} ~~of the present~~ structural (institutional) set-ups, and are ^{encapsulated by} ~~generally expressed briefly~~ in 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

1/ Jan Pronk, Observations sur la relations ..., op. cit., p. 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.



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 ^{that} might mean for the future of ^{those} high aspirations, ^{which were} embodied in the original idea of ~~the need~~ ^{creating} ~~to create~~ new relations among countries and peoples of the world. Considering the complexity of the matter, and the difficulties of tracing ^{these developments in} ~~minu-~~ ^{detail} ~~tely these developments~~ on the basis of a large variety of documents, the role of the TNEs will be singled out as ^{an} ~~the~~ issue which offers some insight into the underlying currents ^{of} the debates ^{on} both ^{the} NIEO and ^{on} the information-communication area.

A well-documented critical analysis of the principal NIEO documents (the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order adopted May 1974 by the sixth special session of the UN General Assembly, the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States adopted December 1974 by the 29th session of the General Assembly, and the Resolution on Development and International Economic Cooperation adopted in September 1975 by the seventh special session of the UN General Assembly),^{1/} such as the one done by Karl P. Sauvant, leads to the observation that "given the underlying philosophy of the NIEO program and given especially the role it assigns to TNEs, it is not a new and more equitable world economic order that is established in the framework of the NIEO program. Rather, it is the old international order writ large - and blessed by the developing countries!"^{2/} Explaining this further, the author stresses

1/ 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.

2/ Karl P. Sauvant, "The Role 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.

that this does not mean that the measures of the NIEO program are faulty or ~~not required~~ ^{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 ^{while} the program 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~~ the prevailing attitude towards the TNEs as the major factors - indeed, as the spine - of today's world economy.^{1/}

According to this analysis, the NIEO program's view of the role of transnational enterprises underwent a considerable change in the period between ^{the adoption of} adopting the first two basic documents (in 1974) and ~~the one~~ ^{that} adopted in late 1975. As expressed by Sauvart, "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 - toward one of benevolent neglect, punctuated by a solicitation of their services."^{2/} 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, with the decision to create a United Nations Commission of Transnational Corporations and a United Nations Centre on Transnational Corporations."^{3/} Moreover, there is no mention of the need to control TNEs or ~~about~~ ² a code of conduct. Even among the developing countries

1/ 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.

2/ Ibid., p. 110

3/ Ibid., p. 112





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 TNEs.^{1/}

Trying to explain this, Sauvant analyzes the importance of 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 program and thus, ultimately, the definition of the role of TNEs."^{2/} Passing over the first factor, which is of lesser relevance to the topic of this study, his observations ~~regarding~~ ^{on} the second seem particularly pertinent.

~~to it~~

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The key characteristic of the development model which underlies the NIEO program, according to ^{Sauvant} ~~him~~, is "that its frame of reference is the world

1/ 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 contrary: 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 who so desire, and to ensure that such activities are carried out in accordance with the laws and regulations 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.

One might also wonder, in ^{the same} ~~the~~ context, what has happened ^{to} ~~with~~ the Information Center of the Non-Aligned Countries on Transnational Corporations located in Havana.

2/ Ibid., p. 112



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 nontariff barriers, are therefore of crucial importance. As a matter of fact, the core of the NIEO trade program is a set of proposals aimed at achieving exactly these purposes. Ideally the developing countries wish to establish a one-way free trade zone."^{1/}

The implications of such an integrative approach extend also to the nature of the production capacities to be established, which ~~brings forth~~ ^{raise} the crucial 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."^{2/} This analysis, of which ^{De laigues} the quoted is but a part, permits Sauvart to point out that "the objective is thus not so much a 'new' but a 'cleaner' international division of labor, 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

1/ Ibid., p. 126

2/ Ibid., p. 127



Cooperation 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 program. Arrangements for industrial cooperation and the encouragement of the participation of TNEs are its logical consequences. The international division of labor 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 labor - 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!^{1/} Such an analysis (carried out correctly in terms of methodology and with ^{confidável} ~~much~~ 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

1/ Ibid., p. 128; emphasis added.



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 role 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.

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3.2. The N I E O - N W I C O 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 role 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 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", Monammed 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 ~~dis-~~
~~abling~~ control of the classical law of confronting offer and demand at the grain brokerage centers 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 Bertolt Brecht, Bedjaoui reminds that "les famines ne surviennent pas. Elles sont organisées par le commerce du grain".^{1/} Having underlined that, it needs to be said

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



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 the capital's struggle for survival, 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 role 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, Reuters and TASS), news film agencies, the film industry, publishing and record industry and transnational advertising.^{1/} 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 it, 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, their presentation, etc.), the mass media are ^{also} recognized by the TNEs ~~as~~ as important vehicles for influencing consumption patterns practically all over the world, thus opening the way to creating huge

1/ 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 evolution historica de las agencias transnacionales de noticias hacia la dominacion", La informacion en el nuevo orden internacional, ILET, Mexico 1977; Thomas H. Guback, The International Film Industry, Indiana Univ. 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.

markets in general (including those for information-communication equipment),^{1/} 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 U.S. advertising agencies, for example, is directly linked with the overall expansion of U.S. manufacturing, assembling, mining and agricultural activities. In their study on transnational advertising, Janus and Roncagliolo ~~and~~ ^{propose} the following factors as elementary in this transnationalisation process: (1) higher growth rates outside the domestic market, (2) higher profit margins outside the domestic market, (3) "pull" from local markets, (4) the spreading of financial risk.^{2/} 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."^{3/} Advertising is indeed characterized by rapid growth. In most industrialised countries expenses for advertising have been rising since 1976 and increasingly exceed the growth of the gross domestic products. World-wide spending for advertising was 70 billion dollars in 1977, and in 1979 it reached 96.8 billion dollars.^{4/} Some observers expect a growth up to 125 billion dollars by 1985.^{5/} How this affects

- 1/ 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.
- 2/ 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.
- 3/ 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.
- 4/ Advertising Age, March 24, 1980.
- 5/ Mc Cann Erickson, Annual Report 1975.



the value-systems of the developing countries has been examined in a number of note-worthy studies.^{1/}

3. Although the influence of the TNEs on various forms and levels of education through ~~the~~ 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 ground to believe that the TNEs have successfully penetrated ~~the~~ ^{these} 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 ~~etc.~~). 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 ~~the~~ ^{with} other forms, such as advertising, ^{and} the mass media ⁱⁿ general ^{and} ^{etc.}

1/ 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 Role of Transnational Enterprises", paper presented at 2ème Colloque de l'Association Française pour l'Etude 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.



"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 ~~be~~ ^{exist.} The basic demand in all the cited documents 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. ^{To relate this to what has been said} ~~bringing this into relation with the~~ ^{above} ~~mentioned~~, i.e., ^{to} ~~with~~ ^{clearly} ~~evident~~ vital importance of the entire information-communication complex for the industrial powers, especially the TNEs, and ~~bringing this furthermore in relation to~~ ^{to} the trends which have appeared in the NIEO debate regarding the role of the TNEs, several observations need to be made.

1. Economic development - as 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 ^R relationship in its anthropological dimension."^{2/} This natural interdependence ^{is} 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 who

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

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

controlled the means,"^{1/} still remains the essence of discussions on development and the role of information-communication means, even though the latter, having become highly ^R_L sophisticated and capable of bestowing unprecedented degrees of power to 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".^{2/} 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 ~~the~~ information-communication means are used in a society - and globally - and to 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.

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2. Notwithstanding the preceding statement - indeed, even ~~so~~ more because of it - it ^{should} ~~needs to~~ 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, 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 resource,^{3/}

1/ Ibid., p. 14.

2/ 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.

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



which expresses itself in a large number of forms. (This study has attempted to point out some ~~of these~~ 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~~ ^{imply} new information-communication requirements. Regarding qualitative changes, it ~~needs to~~ ^{should} be stressed that the role of information developed from being an important support factor into 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 been in fact 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 ² ~~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. In view of this tremendous power (~~of~~ ⁱⁿ which the ^{vulnerable} points ~~of~~ ^{are} ~~vulnerability~~ have still not been fully identified), the developing countries are experiencing new - i.e., additional - forms of subjection which are under ~~the~~ ^{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 a NIEO and new relations in information and communication seem most promising in terms of ^{increasing} ~~developing~~ the developing countries' individual and collective self-reliance. The essence of such ^{is} 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 cooperation among developing countries at the bilateral, subregional, regional and inter-regional levels in using available material and human resources in matters of common interest, ^{is} and ⁱⁿ creating a new ethical framework which stresses the importance of improved communication (as relationships, exchange 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) reorganization ^{of} national information systems toward more decentralized communications and broader participation of all social groups; and (c) establish ~~new~~ new linkages of regional cooperation and exchange of information (general and specialized) and in 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 flows^{2/} and remote sensing by satellites, are among crucial factors in hampering self-reliant development in the developing countries.

abundantly

As pointed out ^{CE}, self-reliant ~~development~~ 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} ~~which are~~ oriented towards the needs of the TNEs and ^{do not provide} ~~do not provide~~ the developing countries with essential information that is pertinent to their needs and priorities.

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

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

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In the light of the above currently some
5. ~~In view of this~~, there are ~~presently~~ 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 ~~has~~ increased from 3.5 % in 1970 to 6.1 % in 1979. Whereas between 1955 and 1970 the annual average growth rate of trade flows among developing countries was 6.6 %, which was well below rates of growth for other trade flows in the world, since 1971 the annual growth rate has been 28 %. 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 %. This compares to slightly over 25 % in 1960 and 42 % in 1970.^{1/} 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 cooperation is to gain strength. Among the problems are the residual metropolitan-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 programs. The deficiencies in transportation and communication infrastructures among the developing

1/ 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.

countries are also impediments. The perennial problem of ~~the~~ balance of payments ^{and} ~~the problem~~ of obtaining long-term credits add to ^{these} ~~the~~ difficulties. Many developing countries do not have adequate trade policies to foster cooperation 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 a lot to be desired. In most developing countries the emphasis is ^{more} ~~rather~~ on the procurement of equipment than on the training of computer experts. There is also generally little interest ⁱⁿ ~~to~~ develop national or regional industrial independence, ⁱⁿ ~~to~~ establish public enterprises in the data processing field or ⁱⁿ ~~to~~ control ⁱⁿ ~~to~~ foreign firms.

Also, in most developing countries there is ^{little} ~~hardly~~ capacity for technology assessment. This should comprise the whole process of evaluation, distribution, application and production of technical knowledge. The development of 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 stimulates 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 around this dichotomy, demonstrating a considerable lack of imagination in developing new forms of government, which would go beyond these classical forms (both of which show unmistakable signs of deep crisis) and would 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

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.



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) both at the national and international level. 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 regimes".¹⁾ Placed within the perspective of the NIEO, democratizing present communication structures at the national and international level means enabling the majority of people(s) access to economically and politically most relevant general and specialized information, the withholding of which 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 opinion;²⁾ and strengthening horizontal communication networks as a counterpart to the predominant vertical (hierarchical) communication structures.³⁾

1) Many Voices, One World, op. cit., p. 281

2) 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)

3) See Robert A. White, "Priorities for National Communication Policy in the Third World" (mimeo; to appear in the Information So ciety) 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 are the reasons for having changed the previous terminology in the case of the information-communication order, which was addressed clearly to nations as 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.

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This is particularly true since the two orders have become interrelated not only at a 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 convergences 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% 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 plants 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 the 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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