# TIDE 2000 TELECOMMUNICATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THAILAND ASIA-PACIFIC TELECOMMUNITY

Friday 30 October 1992 Imperial Hotel, Bangkok, Thailand

INFORMATION, GOOD GOVERNMENT AND SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

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Justice Michael Kirby\*

Australia

## ULTIMATE QUESTION & THE HUMAN CONDITION

Why this session? Why not leave this conference of telecommunications and informatics experts to get on with the job of conjuring up the dazzling potentiality of information technology and Why dampen the enthusiasms of telecommunications in Asia? telecommunications development with sombre references to the messy, disputable considerations of good government, human rights and the rule of law? Are these not entirely separate issues? Do we not run the risk, by introducing the controversial business of human affairs into our conference, of stimulating a futile, even discordant debate? Is it not true that the participants at this meeting (reflecting the diversity of the cultures, languages, religions and political and economic systems of Asia) are unlikely to agree on matters such as democracy, the decline of national sovereignty, the growth of human values, the importance of the environment and the urgent demands of peoples' rights?

It is a tribute to our hosts that they have embraced a session on the topic of good government and social responsibility notwithstanding its risks. In the light of the recent history of Asia, and especially in the light of the recent history of Thailand, it would have been very noticeable if we had departed from Bangkok without a reflection on these issues, so vital for the next millennium and for the people of all our countries.

Considering such issues is entirely comfortable for an organisation such as Tide 2000. This is, in effect, the third conference in a series which could be grouped under the theme "New Worlds". The first was in Budapest, Hungary in November 1990.<sup>1</sup> The second was held in Seoul, Korea in March/April Thus, this is the third. At each of the conferences, 1992.<sup>2</sup> the philosophy of Tide 2000, its charter and its purpose have become clearer. I remind you that in Budapest, Dr Michio Nagai, President of the Club, rejoiced in the collection of human talent and the opportunities which Club meetings provide for the exchange of ideas: crossing the divisions of language, culture, politics and economic systems to find the common ground of humanity, spurred by the advances of global technology. Those advances inescapably, and with a growing dynamic, throw us all together. The jet airplane which brought us to Bangkok has radically reduced the dimensions of the world. But so, dramatically, has the satellite, optic fibres, the mobile phone, telefacsimile and all the other advancing phenomena of informatics. I remind you of what Dr Nagai said in his preface to the Budapest papers:

<sup>&</sup>quot;In my opening remarks ... I pointed out that 'through the wise use of information technology we can improve the world beyond the year 2000. It is important for economic prosperity but this is not an end in itself; rather, it makes it possible for people to build up satisfactory cultures'."

nr Nagai commented that this underlying philosophy was widely shared by the conference participants in Budapest. So it was. In my closing remarks, attempting a summary of that conference, I collected the many problems which had been exposed. Reflecting Dr Nagai's thoughts, I invoked another writer-philosopher Vaclav Havel, then president of the Czech and Slovak Republic. Havel had cautioned against perceiving economic (and one could say technological) achievements as ends in themselves. Havel pointed out that these advances are but means to an end of human values. Even dictators can make trains run on time. Dictators can build magnificent highways and sometimes provide sufficient telephones: all efficiently susceptible to official interception. Thus economic progress and the penetration of technological excellence must be evaluated as they contribute to human rights and individual dignity. In the words of the Founders of the American Republic: to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness".4

The same theme ran through Tide 2000's Seoul conference. It is reflected in the concluding statement adopted by consensus in Seoul. That statement contained a strong reminder of the contribution which information technology and telecommunications can play to the betterment of human conditions:

"The introduction of IT and telecommunications should be to serve applications that are related to improving quality of life in economic and human terms. These technologies are not ends in themselves but should serve to build up satisfactory cultures and living conditions. Governments should be aware that there may be social costs and risks involved for those operating data processing systems and individuals whose personal details are processed in automated systems."

But the Seoul statement went beyond this. It talked of the impact of the new technology on spreading the quality and availability of education, 6 with its inevitable implications for perceptions of

human rights and political entitlements. If there was less overt reference in the Seoul document to the issues of democracy and basic human rights, this may simply have reflected the cultures of the more diverse societies of East Asia to which the statement was basically addressed. It may also have reflected the common acceptance of democratic principles stated in the opening paragraph — still a distinct novelty in Central and Eastern Europe when the meeting in Budapest took place. But it may also have reflected the practical attitude of East Asian people that they should concentrate upon economic and technological developments. Information being power, it could be assumed that democracy and respect for human rights would follow in the train of rising living standards which, it was hoped, telecommunications would help to bring.

How much bolder we have been in Bangkok. Not only do we have here a wider cross-section of people from Asia, including participants from countries which, until recently, have been substantially cut off from contact with the western world. We also have grappled, with candour and diligence, with the issues of quality of life as well as social and economic advancement of our peoples viewed separately and also as part of the global community. It is in this context that it is appropriate to turn to the issues of democracy and good government, the topic that has been assigned to me. I do so with diffidence. I recall that (as I shall develop) perceptions of democracy and fundamental rights will necessarily differ from one society to another. Furthermore, ours is not a conference of political scientists or lawyers. We do well to adhere to our legitimate area of expertise. This involves the impact of information and communication technologies. Yet each of us is a human being first; a citizen of our respective countries second; and an expert in some aspect of information technology third or

fourth. We should respect the sovereign rights of our governments to determine the directions of political, economic and social life at home. But, brought together by technology, it behaves us, on the brink of a new millennium, to spend at least a few minutes reflecting upon the impact of the technology upon good government and social responsibility. These, after all, are amongst the important human objectives to which, it may be hoped, the rapid penetration of information technology in all our countries will usefully contribute.

### WHAT IS GOOD GOVERNMENT?

Many of the countries represented at this conference share a concern about the vicious cycle of under-development. The features of that cycle include illiteracy, high population growth, malnutrition, poverty, environmental degradation and economic exploitation. Some of the participants come from countries which, recently, or in earlier times, escaped the thrall of under-development. Essentially, they did so by the injection of technological ideas, borrowed from other countries. With those importations came cultural ideas of one sort of another.

Japan took its mighty leap after the 1850s. So spectacular was the material transformation which followed the end of the feudal period and the advent of the modern period in Japan that it prompts the obvious hope of many other societies that they can go the same way. Some are certainly already upon the same path. But recent analysis has suggested that part at least of the success of the Japanese "miracle" has been the absence of any dichotomy between technology and culture, or the lack of divergence between invention "user about utility.8 talk social We technology". Observers have now said that the good fortune of the described they could bе Japanese people is that "technology-friendly users". They were quick to adapt to electronic

developments in the home, office, schoolroom and subway. It should not be assumed, without proof, that the same fertile cultural soil will exist uniformly throughout Asia, or elsewhere throughout the world for that matter.

In a policy statement on development cooperation in the last decade of this century, the Development Assistance Committee with the Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD) sought to identify the objectives to be attained as essential to underpin any system of good government. These objectives were stated to be promotion of sustainable economic growth; the provision of broader participation of all the people in productive processes and a more equitable sharing of their benefits; and the guarantee of environmental sustainability with a slowing of population growth taken to be preconditions of the former.

These ideas can be separated neatly for an international report. But in reality, obviously, they are closely inter-connected. Without broad participation and equitable sharing, it is unlikely that there will be economic growth. Without the slowing of population growth, economic growth will be gobbled up by burgeoning populations.

Self-evidently, the pre-conditions to the foregoing objectives include a better educated and better informed society with control over its own destiny. This is why the report stresses the growing appreciation of:

"The vital connection ... between open, democratic and accountable political systems, individual rights and the effective and equitable operation of economic systems. Participatory democracy implies more democracy, a greater role for local organisations and self-government, respect of human rights, including effective and accessible legal systems, competitive markets and dynamic private enterprise."

In June 1991, an OECD Ministerial Council called for

cooperative effort but at a price of the reduction of "excessive military expenditures"; the slowing of population growth; the provision of environmental sustainability; and the promotion of:

"... human rights, democratisation, open and accountable government institutions and the rule of law."11

Also in 1991, a high level meeting of the Development Assistance Committee concluded, in similar terms, about the precondition of encouraging democratisation and respect of human rights.

These repeated assertions of the pre-condition of democracy not simply for aid but for true economic development have led, necessarily, to questions about what democracy involves. There are many, including in developed countries, who are sceptical about the features of democracy as it is now practised. One has only to view with astonishment the course of the election campaign in the United States to see the imperfections of "democracy" in that country. principal candidates do not appear to be the most talented people in that talented country. The cost of running for President amounts to millions of dollars. It is beyond the potentiality of all but a handful of individuals. The media of communications dominate and trivialize the debates. Conflict about issues and national directions become debased in trivia about personal affairs, jokes and name-calling. In my own country, many of these defects of "democracy", as it is now practised, are also evident. It has led to a substantial public disillusionment with the political process. We are all living through a period of political cynicism.

So what do we mean by good government? An expert, Mr Raymond Gastil, told the OECD that the minimum characteristics of a society which was well governed were: 12

"1. An educated and informed populace, able to understand and participate effectively in the consideration of political issues;

- A pluralistic society that allows varying interests to be represented effectively by non-governmental organisations;
- A society with free, open and effective information media that are able to act as a basis for public discussion and as a check on the arbitrariness of government and other powerful forces;
- 4. A relatively tolerant society in which both leaders and followers are able to accept and appreciate those who differ from them ideologically or in other ways, and in which political opposition is not seen as treasonous;
- A government whose nature, composition and general policies are determined by elections or other means that allow for peaceful transfer of power from one group to another when the people so decide;
- 6. An effective government able to draft and administer legislation and services relevant to the needs of the people; and
- 7. A legal structure able to roughly guarantee equality before the law and to provide a predictable framework for private and public decision-making."

What is the relevance of the technological culture which we have gathered to discuss for these features of good government? It is obvious. The more that information about society and the world is shared, the less easy is it for authoritarian régimes to control the minds, and hence the conduct, of their people. The better educated and informed the populace, the more likely is it to demand control over its own affairs and to reject the notion that self-appointed individuals, adhering to an unquestionable dogma, know best. The more free and open are the information media, the more likely is it that a pluralistic society will emerge, respectful of the views of others. The longer a system of peaceful change of government at the ballot box is in place, the more unthinkable is the coup or the illegal usurpation of power by those with the guns. The more heedful to the opinions of minorities, the more willing will such groups be

to work within the legal system for accommodations which reflect majority will but also respect minority rights.

In this sense, all of the features of democracy and good government which have been listed are inter-connected. It is ironical but true that the essential feature of a modern democracy, as it works in practice, is respect for minorities. The oppressive insistence upon the transient views of majorities is a tyranny which undermines the legitimacy of that form of government. Peaceful co-existence within the one polity depends upon a willingness to accept, and seek to accommodate, the wishes of minorities. And that is where our technology comes in because a lack of respect for minorities is generally bred in ignorance. Ignorance is shielded from the knowledge of communication.

Technology can go part of the way in breaking down the barrier of that shield of ignorance. It can link individuals and peoples both by the media of telecommunications (radio and television) and by other forms of information technology (notably telephonic, telefacsimile and inter-active computers). Of course, technology cannot do everything. It is scarcely likely that a poor villager in Somalia will telephone a citizen of Australia having a barbecue by the pool, to break down the tensions between peoples. Even if the technology were available, there would be too many barriers of culture, cost, language and commonality of thought and interest to make the connection useful. Indeed, one feature of recent development in media communications has been the use of local broadcasts in particular dialects or languages to whip up historical hatreds with passionate messages which instantaneously reach large and susceptible audiences: ready respondents to ancient ideas of enmity. In the closed world of the language of a particular dialect, the information technology miracle may actually promote

uncompromising conflict rather than facilitate the building of a democratic society and peaceful relations between peoples.

For all that, the general tendency of the new information technology and telecommunications is to spread information more widely. The contents of the messages which are spread are another matter. But the technology itself is overwhelmingly a potential liberator. It can bring educational messages which will help to free communities and individuals from isolation, ignorance and the features of under-development which have held back the quality of life of millions of people, not just in Asia. That is doubtless why, the Secretary-General of the International Telecommunications Union (Mr Pekka Tarjanne) has called telecommunications the bridge to the 21st century. 13 In June this year, Mr Tarjanne declared:

"From its very beginning, the telecommunications industry has been closely associated with certain values - most notably freedom of expression, reciprocity between individuals and universality of access. These values are at the core of the liberal-democratic economic and political institutions to which people now everywhere aspire ... The fundamental problem, as I see it, is at the very moment when telecommunications technology has given us the capacity to realise the ideals of universal access and reciprocal freedom ... changes in the industry and its environment are threatening the patterns of partnership and the traditions of co-operation which underpinned past policies for achieving these goals." 14

The Secretary-General finished his speech with a call to idealism:

"I have suggested to my colleagues that the <u>Universal Declaration of Human Rights</u> should be amended to recognise the right to communicate as a fundamental human right. If we keep this goal firmly in sight, it seems to me that it will be easier ... to first design, and then to build, the bridges that are needed to transport us to the 21st century, so that we can begin to make real the vision of the information society as a society of universal prosperity, harmony and justice." 15

These worthy objectives of universal prosperity, harmony and

justice may be achieved in the next century. They may indeed be stimulated by information technology and telecommunications. Certainly, the potential is there. If we are wise enough, the end of the Cold War should release expenditures which have been wasted in military hardware and threatening nuclear weaponry to the benefit of economic, social and individual development throughout the world, including in Asia. But already we are seeing the warning signs of negative developments. The lid of Pandora's box which was kept so firmly shut during the Cold War period has been lifted. In the place of the command economy and monolithic autocracy of the Soviet Union have emerged a myriad of warring peoples and nationalities busily soaking up armaments, sold both on the open and illegal markets. The acting out of the assertion of the peoples' right self-determination, which is guaranteed by the United Nations Charter, is undoubtedly one of the most important phenomena facing our world at this time. We must hope that the media of communications can be mobilized to promote the futility and horrors of war, the need for compromise, the tolerant appreciation of the viewpoints of others and the personal contacts of individual citizens and business-people which, together with integrated economies, makes bloody conflict more unthinkable. After all, when we see ourselves as the human species, hurtling through space on this tiny blue planet in the middle of a black universe, we should objectively be able to find sufficient in common to live in peace together. Certainly, the technology of informatics permits and promotes this goal.

Nevertheless, before I finish, I wish to mention three special problems. The first, relates to the stated ideals of good government, human rights and the rule of law. It is particular to some of the Asian societies gathered here. The second, concerns the need to reconcile global technology with the preservation of a proper

measure of local diversity. The third, concerns some of the special problems which are emerging in the global media of communications which need to be watched and which may endanger the pre-conditions to good government which have been identified. These three issues are inter-connected as I shall endeavour to show.

#### DIFFERING PERSPECTIVES OF GOOD GOVERNMENT

So dominant was the Anglo-American alliance at the end of the second World War, and so shattered its enemies, that the influence of Anglophone ideas and culture was left as an indelible stamp on the institutions of the new world order established in the United The Charter with its commitment to human rights was followed up shortly by the Universal Declaration and subsequently by the International Bill of Rights with its two inter-related Covenants. The whole body of the later development of international human rights, in the several agencies of the United Nations, reaching now even to the International Telecommunication Union, has been the consequence. There can be no doubt that the organs of the United Nations, such as the Human Rights Committee established under the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights have a large and growing impact upon the protection of human rights in many parts of the world. Equally, there is no doubt that every precious individual is special. Arising out of humanity itself come basic needs which go beyond life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, but which may be encompassed in those three words.

There is now an increasing awareness of the fact that the economic miracle which has been witnessed in Japan, Korea, Singapore, Hong Kong, Taiwan and elsewhere draws upon deep historical roots which go back long before the Meiji restoration. These roots provide the basis for the success both of government and of business and individuals in such societies.

An important book just published in Australia and Japan by two Australian authors describes what is called *The Confucian Renaissance*. 16 It suggests that certain features of the societies of the countries mentioned (doubtless shared by other societies now on the same path) help to explain the economic miracle. But also, necessarily, fashion the perspectives of good government and the rôle of human rights and the rule of law peculiar to those countries. Amongst the reviving Confucian characteristics identified by the authors are:

- \* An emphasis on obligations to society, rather than rights;
- \* An emphasis on the rule of men of virtue, rather than the rule of law as such;
- \* A high emphasis on ruthlessly competitive education which instills lifetime standards of excellence;
- \* An acute sense of linkages between the past and present which promotes a longer time commitment than is traditional in Western pragmatism with its attention to the "bottom line" and immediate "cost effectiveness";
- \* A high sense of the value of the human community and order above material possession and accumulation;
- \* A high regard for logic and rationality complemented by spiritual traditions;
- \* An acute awareness of the changing nature of reality; and
- \* A strong instinct for institutional pragmatism and innovation, reflecting the authority and responsibility carried by officials who rule societies in a manner unthinkable in environments of the Judeo-Islamic-Christian tradition. 17

I mention these features, which have to be understood to appreciate the communities especially of North Asia. I have an acute

awareness of the differing features which may underlie other Communities of this region - including Christianity (in Australasia, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines and Vietnam); Buddhism (in Thailand and Burma) and Islam (in Malaysia and Indonesia). Asia itself is not monochrome. 18 But it is vital, when talking of good government and social responsibility, to be on guard against any new forms of cultural or political imperialism. cultural well-springs which have reinforced and sustained the modern economic development of Confucian societies in Asia must themselves be drawn upon to build the accountable, tolerant democracies of the rest of Asia. That will not always be easy. Racial discrimination is by no means unknown in this region. Terrible losses of basic human rights have marred the recent history of Asia and the Pacific. We have no convention of basic rights, nor is there a court or commission specifically for human rights for Asia and the Pacific as there is for Europe, the Americas and Africa. In this field, we have a long way to go in this part of the world. But the road must be illuminated not only by information technology but by a clear understanding of the historical antiquity of the cultures of Asia and the legitimacy of different paths to the same goals of good government and social responsibility.

The development of policies for information technology must always keep these considerations in mind.

#### THE DEFENCE OF CULTURAL DIVERSITY

Linked with this idea is the need to acknowledge the importance of preserving cultural diversity. It would be a tragedy if the universal media of communications were to spell the death of the great variety of languages and cultures which flourish in this part of the world. Certainly, we need common means of communications. But equal is our need to preserve, protect and sustain the marvellous

variety of human languages and cultures. This was an important theme which repeatedly came out of the Budapest conference which called for respect for cultural diversity. 19

pifferent cultures will have their own standards and values. For example, in a country such as my own, there is an acute concern about the individual right to personal privacy. Now it is being suggested that each child at birth could be given an individual telephone number. As soon as he or she could talk a watch-like device would be assigned with ten little buttons on one side and a screen on the other. There is a suggestion that this prediction, made in Time magazine in 1959, could now come true. No doubt the next step will be actually to implant the facility at birth so that it remains with the person, like a tattoo, for life. There would be concern in Australia that this kind of development would permit the state and its organs to monitor every activity of every citizen at all times. In some crowded communities, where carrying identity passes is already compulsory, such an idea might not produce quite the same horrors. But there may be different areas of concern.

The latest issue of Media Law and Practice records that hardcore pornography has been "unleashed on British homes" by satellite television. The Netherlands channel, "Red Hot", has been marketed all over Europe by a Manchester based company which claims already to have won three thousand British customers in a fortnight. Objectors contend that this undermines the control of one society over the moral standards to be observed in it. Defenders contend that it provides adults with viewing of their choice, can be guarded from children by a personal identity code and in any case is unstoppable by reason of the technology. A recent suggestion that an Australian consortium should bring "the best of Australian television" to Asia, via the Indonesian Palapa, presents, in a much

different form, the potential intrusion of Australian ideas and values into the national sovereignty and cultural identity of neighbouring countries. Yet, it was undoubtedly the "intrusion" of western television and radio into Central and Eastern Europe, which sustained the democracy movement in that part of the world during oppressive days of autocracy. The sight of the fall of the Berlin Wall and of similar events in Asia (such as the events in Tiananamen Square) have equally supported the advocates of accountable democracy It seems inevitable that global and human rights in Asia. communications will have an impact upon notions of cultural diversity. The challenge before us is to maintain and defend the survivable elements in our individual cultures whilst recognising that global communications will undoubtedly impact them and, to some extent, erode them over time just as pop music and Ronald McDonald's hamburger chain have already done.

#### THE CONTROL OF NEWS

My last point concerns the technology of news reticulation. It will be remembered that this is one of the preconditions for good government which most studies assert to be essential if an accountable, responsive form of government is to be built and sustained.

At a recent conference of the Fundacion BBV, an important Spanish intellectual foundation, which I attended in Madrid, Mr Jon Snow, the noted English news journalist described the tremendous changes which have come even over television news during his career. Instant communication, which is such a feature of news today, is vulnerable to superficiality and inaccuracy, according to Snow. Over-simplistic news presentation with film has replaced, for many people, the delivery of news analysis: glitz has replaced information.<sup>22</sup> Delay, editing and reflective expert commentary

previously promoted the sharing of more thoughtful messages. In their place, according to Snow, we are now increasingly receiving instantaneous coloured pictures with banal commentary, often in the form of entertainment, and often directed (at least in the case of CNN) towards its substantial American origin and content.<sup>23</sup> Even more significantly, Snow warned:

"In the developing world ... CNN is frequently unchallenged. The indigenous broadcasters simply don't have the financial or physical resources to compete with an external provider by-passing national transmissions with a global operation pumped in from outer space. Certainly it would help if more balanced service could be made available to the developing world in competition with CNN. 23"

#### And he concluded:

"There is a case for real regulation of international satellite transmissions. Whilst I want to maintain the absolute unfettered freedom of the skies, I see no difficulty in regulating ownership and broadcasting standards and asking the host government, from wherever the transmissions originate, to police the regulations on behalf of, and in accordance with, the demands of a body established by the international community. But more urgently than anything, national governments must move to break up monopolistic domination of the television information market. It is potentially dangerous to allow such world-wide dominance to be vested in so few hands."<sup>24</sup>

These messages remind us that the advent of information technology (including in its form as broadcast media) is not necessarily socially and politically neutral. Choose topics to broadcast and you may effectively fix the agenda of the world's politics and concerns. Ignore the plight of developing countries and issues of over-population, food and debt and the result will be a soporific anaesthetic, on a global scale, to undermine the endeavours to build truly accountable governments and world institutions in the age of informatics.

# CONCLUSIONS & THE TECHNOLOGY OF LIBERTY

The twentieth century is now reaching its close. To a remarkable extent, the agenda of the century was fixed by the ideas of quantum physics which sprang from the mind of the German physicist, Erwin Schrödinger. From these concepts came the ideas for nuclear physics, biotechnology and informatics. These technologies present great opportunities and challenges to the world. They also define its future.

The Asian communities, whose members have gathered in Bangkok, may choose, like some of their political spokesmen, to sail ahead believing that progress depends alone upon a diminishing emphasis on ideology and a higher priority on generating economic growth. Certainly, that is a comfortable path. Insofar as it warns us against dogmatic ideologies, it is to be applauded. Insofar as it encourages communication across political differences it is to be desired.

But there is a fundamental problem. The technology of informatics spreads knowledge and information. Inescapably, it thereby involves a political momentum. It spreads messages of liberty, personal freedom and the accountability of government. It does so by personal telecommunications but also by the broadcasting media. It is hard to control. With time, it will be harder still to manipulate and command with effectiveness. It is in this sense the technology of liberty.<sup>26</sup>

That is why the long-term impact of the new technology will be to advance good government and to promote social responsibility. But we should not assume that these ends will come about through accident or simply because they are inevitable. It is incumbent upon governments, individuals and organisations, such as Tide 2000, to play a constructive part in promoting these ends.

Why should we do so? Because, in the end, the technology is, as Dr Nagai has said, not an end in itself but a way for building up good environments in which human beings can live, individually with happiness and collectively in relative harmony with other groups and peoples.

Because of the close inter-relationship of the world today and the new perils faced as we approach the new millennium, it is to be hoped that we will mobilize informatics to promote good government and social responsibility and not simply let it drift along taking us where it will. To allow that to happen is to make a choice. To do nothing about these vital issues is to make a decision.

#### NOTES

- Member, Tide 2000 Club. President, Court of Appeal,
   Supreme Court of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia.
   Chairman, OECD Expert Group on Transborder Data Barriers and the Protection of Privacy, 1978-80. Chairman, OECD Expert Group on Security of Information Systems, 1990-92.
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- 3. Eastern Europe, 1.
- 4. Ibid, x. See also Y Ho, "Information Technologies and Telecommunications in the Process of Global Change" in

Eastern Europe above n 1, 37.

- 5. Seoul Statement, 12.
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- 8. See W H Coldrake, Comment, "Technoculture and Technocringe:
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  University, Reporter, 10 July 1991, 2.
- 9. OECD, Policy Statement, above n 7, loc cit.
- 10. Ibid, para 17.
- 11. OECD Ministerial Council of June 1991 (SG/Press (91) 31, para 44.
- 12. See R D Gastil, "Support for Democratic Development", Paper of the OECD, unpublished, DCD (92) 4, 3.
- 13. P Tarjanne, "Telecom: Bridge to the 21st Century" in Transnational Data and Communications Report, July/August 1992 (vol 14 no 4) 42 at 42.
- 14. Ibid, 43.
- 15. Id, 45.
- 16. R Little and W Reed, The Confucian Renaissance, Federation Press, Sydney, 1989.
- 17. Ibid, 54-55.
- 18. S Fitzgerald, Commentary on the Asia Lecture 1992, University of New South Wales, Asia-Australia Institute, 9 July 1992, 16.
- 19. Eastern Europe, above n 1, 382.
- 20. The issue of Time was in 1959. Mr W Gosling, Technical Director of UK Electronics Manufacturer Plessey (now GPT) has been reported in 1992 as saying "Everyone born in the UK from 1992 onwards could be allocated his or her own telephone number

- at birth and retain the number for the rest of their lives".
- 21. Media Law and Practice vol 13 no 3, 1992, 237. For a note on the proposed Australian use of a satellite to beam television to Asia see Sydney Morning Herald, 16 September 1992, 3.
- 22. J Snow, "The Role of Communication and Information in Contemporary Societies: What do we Comprehend of the News?", unpublished paper for a preliminary meeting of the Cross-Cultural Debate sponsored by Fundacion BBV, Madrid, 1992, 6.
- 23. Ibid, 10.
- 24. Id, 11.
- 25. The Hon Dato' Seri Rafidah Aziz (Minister of International Trade and Industry, Malaysia) Asia Lecture 1992, "Change and Challenges: the East-Asian Context" in the Asia-Australia Institute Publication, above n 18, at 6.
- See M D Kirby, "For 'Telecommunications' read 'Freedom'" in 26. M Armstrong (ed) Telecommunications Law: Australian Perspectives, Media Arm, 1990, i at xvii ("In the light of the extraordinary developments of the year past, still much to say that not too unfolding, it is telecommunications one should read innovation, the free flow of ideas, individual fulfilment and economic progress. In short, See also for 'telecommunications' read 'freedom'"). P Robinson, User Influences on the Development of I T Policies, Tide 2000, 1992, 188.