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RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

THE NEW TELECOMMUNICATIONS DEVELOPMENT: BUREAU OF THE INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATION UNION

Brian E. Harris*

These are the days of lasers in the jungle
Lasers in the jungle somewhere
Staccato signals of constant information . . .
This is the long distance call
"The Boy in the Bubble," Paul Simon, *Graceland*

INTRODUCTION

In 1865, delegates to the first telecommunications convention drafted the International Telegraph Convention. In 1932, the United Nations established the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) as a result of a decision to merge the International Telegraph Union and other international organizations involved in telecommunications.¹ The signatories to this convention formed an informal group, which became known as the International Radiotelegraph Union.² In 1932, various organizations in telecommunications, some which preceded the International Radiotelegraph Union, merged to form the International Telecommunication Union.³ Initially created to regulate connections be-

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1. See G. CODDING & A. RUTKOWSKI, *THE INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATION UNION IN A CHANGING WORLD* 4-5 (1982) [hereinafter G. CODDING] (presenting a detailed history of the ITU).

2. *Id.*

3. *Id.* Prior to the formation of the ITU, several separate organizations existed, each of which addressed specific areas of telecommunications. *Id.* at 12-13. Among these organizations were the International Telegraph Consultative Committee, the In-

tween the nascent telegraph networks of Europe, advanced technology has expanded the ITU's responsibilities.⁴ The ITU currently regulates telephones, the broadcast spectrum, and telecommunications satellites that use geostationary orbits.⁵

As a United Nations specialized agency,⁶ the ITU encourages cooperation among its member states to improve telecommunications of all kinds.⁷ The ITU also promotes and offers technical assistance to developing countries in the telecommunications field.⁸ It encourages: (1) the development of technical facilities,⁹ (2) the use of telecommunication services to facilitate peaceful relations,¹⁰ and (3) the harmonization of

ternational Telephone Consultative Committee, and the Inter-Allied Radiotelegraph Commission. *Id.* at 10-14. The decision to merge these organizations and create the ITU was made at the 13th International Telegraph Conference in Madrid, Spain. *Id.* at 18.

4. *See id.* at 18-19 (describing the ITU's creation). The creators of the ITU intended it to oversee the regulations promulgated by its committees. *Id.* at 19. The ITU's mandate has expanded since that time to include all areas of telecommunications. *Id.*; *see also* ITU, *THE CHANGING TELECOMMUNICATION ENVIRONMENT: POLICY CONSIDERATION FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE ITU*, 2-6 (1989) [hereinafter *CHANGING TELECOMMUNICATION ENVIRONMENT*] (explaining the reasons for the ITU's expansion in telecommunications); Williamson, *Man in the ITU Hot Seat*, *TELEPHONY*, Sept. 25, 1989, at 49 (providing an interview with Pekka Tarjanne, the current Secretary General of the ITU). In this interview, Tarjanne explained that the growing reliance on information will inevitably further expand the ITU's responsibilities. *Id.*

5. *See* ITU, *Constitution of the International Telecommunication Union*, reprinted in *FINAL ACTS OF THE PLENIPOTENTIARY CONFERENCE, NICE 1989* (1990) [hereinafter *Constitution*] Article 1 states:

The purposes of the Union are:

- a) to maintain and extend international cooperation between all Members of the Union for the improvement and rational use of telecommunications of all kinds, as well as to promote and to offer technical assistance to developing countries in the field of telecommunications;
- b) to promote the development of technical facilities and their most efficient operation with a view to improving the efficiency of telecommunication services, increasing their usefulness and making them, so far as possible, generally available to the public;
- c) to promote the use of telecommunication services with the objective of facilitating peaceful relations;
- d) to harmonize the actions of Members in the attainment of those ends.

Id. at 2.

6. *CHANGING TELECOMMUNICATION ENVIRONMENT*, *supra* note 4, at 1. Because the ITU possesses this status within the United Nations, commentators have argued that the ITU should direct its efforts toward developing countries. *Id.* at 2.

7. *See Constitution*, *supra* note 5, at 2 (codifying Article 1 and enumerating the ITU's purposes).

8. *See id.* at 237 (containing Resolution No. 15 entitled "Role of the International Telecommunications Union in the Development of World Telecommunications"). Resolution 15, which passed at the Nice 1989 Plenipotentiary, emphasized the ITU's commitment to enhancing telecommunications in developing countries. *Id.* at 238.

9. *See id.* at 2 (listing the ITU's four primary purposes under Article 1).

10. *Id.* at § 1(c).

its members' activities towards these goals.¹¹ Governed by its Constitution and Convention,¹² the ITU is primarily a technical rule-making body.¹³ Its main responsibility is to act as an information clearinghouse for its members.¹⁴

The ITU's Constitution and Convention are the products of the Plenipotentiary conference, its highest policy-making body.¹⁵ The Constitution is permanent, whereas the Convention is amenable to revision at each Plenipotentiary conference.¹⁶ This combination blends obligatory requirements with convenient escape clauses.¹⁷ Most countries make reservations or declarations about various aspects of the documents or the proceedings.¹⁸ These reservations and declarations permit member states to operate within the ITU without sacrificing their national sovereignty.¹⁹

The ITU consists of four permanent organs: (1) the General Secretariat, which includes the Technical Cooperation Department,²⁰

11. *Id.* at § 1(d).

12. *Id.* at Preamble. *See* CHANGING TELECOMMUNICATION ENVIRONMENT, *supra* note 4, at 1 (describing the ITU's structure).

13. *See id.* (explaining the ITU's regulatory responsibilities). The ITU is responsible for promulgating rules and standards concerning equipment, dissemination of information, and telecommunication facilities and services. *Id.*

14. *See* Rutkowski in INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATIONS & INFORMATION POLICY, 28, 35 (C. Sterling ed. 1984) [hereinafter INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATIONS] (discussing the ITU's information gathering activities).

15. *See* Probst, *The Plenipotentiary Conference of the International Telecommunication Union, Nairobi, 1982: A Summary of Results*, 77 AM. SOC'Y OF INT'L L. PROC. 354, 354-60 (1985) (explaining the ITU's governing system).

16. *See id.* at 359 (highlighting the differences between the ITU's Constitution and Convention); *see also* Coddington, *supra* at note 1, at 60 (stating that there have been seven meetings of the Plenipotentiary since the end of World War II: Atlantic City, 1947; Buenos Aires, 1952; Geneva, 1959; Montreux, 1965; Malaga-Torremolinos, 1973; Nairobi, 1982; Nice, 1989).

17. *See* G. CODDINGTON, *supra* note 1, at 221 (noting the balance between the ITU's Constitution and Convention).

18. *See* Constitution, *supra* note 5, at 1 (recognizing 118 formal declarations and reservations).

19. *See* CHANGING TELECOMMUNICATION ENVIRONMENT, *supra* note 4, at 1 (explaining that the ITU recognized the right of sovereign nations to regulate their own telecommunication systems). The ITU serves as a standard-setting body. *Id.* *See also* *infra* note 65 and accompanying text (presenting examples of member States making reservations during Plenipotentiary meetings).

20. *See* CHANGING TELECOMMUNICATION ENVIRONMENT, *supra* note 4, at 1 (listing the ITU's permanent organs); Constitution, *supra* note 5, at 12-13 (documenting Article 11 that prescribes the General Secretariat's function). Under Article 11, the General Secretariat performs administrative duties for the ITU. *Id.* The General Secretariat organizes conferences, manages the other organs, and publishes agreements and standards. *Id.*

(2) the International Frequency Registration Board,²¹ (3) the Consultative Committee for International Telegraph and Telephone,²² and (4) the Consultative Committee for International Radio.²³ The Consultative Committees meet more frequently than the Plenipotentiary.²⁴ These bodies draft recommendations for the International Radio Regulations,²⁵ the International Telephone Regulations,²⁶ and the International Telegraph Regulations.²⁷ Although the regulations are not legally binding, the member states unanimously obey the regulations because they recognize the necessity for all national networks to be interconnectable and interoperable.²⁸

The Nice 1989 Plenipotentiary Conference created the Telecommunications Development Bureau (BTD), the ITU's fifth permanent organ.²⁹ The BTD is the ITU's latest attempt to promote telecommunications development.³⁰ The ITU established the BTD in recognition of the significance of telecommunications development to a country's economic and social stability.³¹ Because the economic and technological disparities between the world's rich and poor countries have expanded

21. See *Constitution*, *supra* note 5, at 13-15 (establishing the Board and providing it authority to oversee the frequency standards of the Radio Regulations).

22. See *id.* at 16-17 (stating that the Committee's duties are to study and issue recommendations for worldwide telecommunication standards).

23. *Id.* at 15 (granting the Committee authority to issue recommendations for worldwide standards for radiocommunications). See also G. CODDING, *supra* note 1, at 85-87 (discussing the background leading to the Committee's creation).

24. See *id.* at 16-17 (describing the management of the Consultative Committees); G. CODDING, *supra* note 1, at 91-95 (assessing the Consultative Committees' structure and functions).

25. See G. CODDING, *supra* note 1, at 214-18 (discussing the background and procedures for implementing the Radio Regulations). These Regulations set standards for frequency rates and procedures for registering the frequencies with the International Frequency Registration Board. *Id.* at 215.

26. See *id.* at 218-21 (describing the Telephone Regulations). The Telephone Regulations prescribe standards for telephone service. *Id.* at 219. They include definitions, lists of services offered, and tariff rates. *Id.* These regulations are updated in response to advanced technology. *Id.* at 218.

27. See *id.* at 218-21 (explaining the function of the Telegraph Regulations). Like the Telephone Regulations, the Telegraph Regulations are updated as needed. *Id.* at 218.

28. See Probst, *supra* note 15, at 354 (discussing the Consultative Committee's role).

29. See *Constitution*, *supra* note 5, at 17-19 (establishing the BTD under Article 14 of the ITU's Constitution).

30. See Williamson, *supra* note 4, at 53 (discussing the BTD's establishment). The ITU authorized the BTD's budget of \$8.7 million for 1990 to expand annually. *Id.* This budget demonstrates the ITU's commitment to telecommunications development. *Id.*

31. *Id.* See CHANGING TELECOMMUNICATION ENVIRONMENT, *supra* note 4, at 7-9 (assessing the state of telecommunications in developing countries); *infra* notes 86-94 (analyzing the advantages of telecommunications development).

so dramatically,³² the BTD represents a method to reduce these disparities in the area of telecommunications.³³ Within this context, the United States, a leading developed country, can use the BTD to become a leader in telecommunications development.

This paper examines the benefits gained from telecommunications in a country's development. Part I discusses the political background that led to the BTD's creation. Part II assesses the United States involvement in telecommunications development and the ITU. Part III explores ways in which the United States can become a positive influence in the BTD.

I. TELECOMMUNICATIONS DEVELOPMENT AND THE INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATION UNION

A. THE THIRD WORLD'S INFLUENCE IN THE ITU

During the last 30 years, most of the new ITU members came from the Third World.³⁴ As their ability to influence the Plenipotentiary conferences grew, these new members began pressing for reforms to address their special needs.³⁵ For example article 4, drafted in Geneva in 1959, amended the ITU's purposes to create, develop, and improve telecommunication equipment and networks in developing countries.³⁶ The political pressure that the Third World countries asserted to insure passage of this amendment marked the beginning of their influence in the ITU.³⁷

On May 17, 1965, the ITU celebrated its 100th anniversary.³⁸ During the 100th anniversary conference, resolution number 28 was passed,

32. See Colino, *Closing the Gaps in a Shrinking World: INTELSAT and Rural Satellite Communications*, in *NEW DIRECTIONS IN SATELLITE COMMUNICATIONS* 3, 4 (H. Hudson ed. 1985) [hereinafter *SATELLITE COMMUNICATIONS*] (stating that it would cost approximately \$7 trillion to bring telephone service in the Third World nations up to American and Canadian standards, not including costs of maintenance, service, and training personnel to install the systems); Williamson, *supra* note 2, at 49 (indicating that these disparities have encouraged the ITU's development activities).

33. See *CHANGING TELECOMMUNICATION ENVIRONMENT*, *supra* note 4, at 8-9 (discussing ways to improve telecommunications in developing countries).

34. G. CODDING, *supra* note 1, at 44. Coddington explains that this new membership shifted the balance of power within the ITU. *Id.* See *infra* notes 39-42 and accompanying text (describing the influence of the Third World countries).

35. G. CODDING, *supra* note 1, at 44. See Probst, *supra* note 15, at 354-56 (listing amendments to the ITU Conventions that emphasized directing efforts towards developing countries).

36. Probst, *supra* note 15, at 354-55.

37. G. CODDING, *supra* note 1, at 44.

38. *Id.*

further emphasizing the ITU's development activities.³⁹ This resolution drew attention to the need for telecommunications development, but it had little practical effect.⁴⁰

During the 1982 Plenipotentiary Conference in Nairobi, the developing countries continued to exert their influence.⁴¹ The phrase "special needs of developing countries"⁴² was included in the Convention, despite its controversial political connotation.⁴³ The addition of this phrase in the Convention obligated the ITU to direct its efforts towards these needs.⁴⁴

Much of the controversy surrounding this addition arose from the lack of a clear determination of these "special needs."⁴⁵ The most severe problems that the developing countries confront include insufficient capital for telecommunications investment,⁴⁶ a lack of technical and managerial resources to operate telecommunication networks,⁴⁷ and the low priority of telecommunications in relation to other public sectors such as health, water, electricity, and education.⁴⁸ Because developed countries also encounter such difficulties, the political debate concerned the ITU's obligations being directed primarily towards these areas in developing countries.⁴⁹

Political debate continued to be problematic during the Nairobi Plenipotentiary Conference.⁵⁰ One commentator suggested that the United States and other developed countries withdraw from the ITU.⁵¹

39. *Id.* The resolution was passed in compromise of proposals to develop a technical assistance fund. *Id.*

40. *Id.*

41. See *infra* notes 43-45 and accompanying text (discussing the political controversy surrounding amendment of the ITU Convention).

42. See Probst, *supra* note 15, at 359 (criticizing the addition of the phrase to the ITU Convention). Probst explains that other phrases like "geographical situation of particular countries" are weighed with political connotations that are improper to the ITU's functions. *Id.*

43. *Id.*

44. *Id.*

45. *Id.*

46. See CHANGING TELECOMMUNICATION ENVIRONMENT, *supra* note 4, at 7 (listing the problems that developing countries confront in attempting to provide telecommunication services); ITU, REPORT OF THE INDEPENDENT COMMISSION FOR WORLD-WIDE TELECOMMUNICATIONS DEVELOPMENT: THE MISSING LINK 7 (1984) [hereinafter THE MISSING LINK] (assessing telecommunications in the Third World).

47. CHANGING TELECOMMUNICATION ENVIRONMENT, *supra* note 4, at 7.

48. *Id.*

49. See *supra* note 42 and accompanying text (discussing Probst's criticism of the ITU's focus on developing countries).

50. See Probst, *supra* note 15, at 361 (including Ronald F. Stowe's remarks describing the growing role of political goals in the ITU's decision-making process).

51. *Id.* at 360. Probst recommends the United States to found a separate international forum to address its telecommunications needs, instead of the ITU. *Id.*

This individual argued that the ITU should remain focused on technical standards rather than the advancement of political and economic agendas.⁵² The commentator felt the politicization of the ITU rendered it incapable of fulfilling the telecommunications needs of the United States and other countries.⁵³

Despite this debate, the Third World nations successfully articulated their interests, and they influenced the ITU Convention so as to achieve their goal of placing greater emphasis on the ITU's development activities.⁵⁴ The creation of the Independent Commission for Worldwide Telecommunications Development, known as the Maitland Commission, was a tangible result of this pressure.⁵⁵ Another result was the groundwork for the BTDD's creation.

B. THE CREATION OF THE TELECOMMUNICATIONS DEVELOPMENT BUREAU

The ITU is changing at an unprecedented rate.⁵⁶ These changes are partially attributed to the widening gap between the rich and poor nations⁵⁷ and the growing political sophistication of developing countries.⁵⁸ As a result, the ITU's mandate has expanded to comprise four distinct goals.⁵⁹ The traditional goals are international interoperability of national communications networks,⁶⁰ equitable management of the

52. *Id.*

53. *Id.* Probst argues that the telecommunication needs of developed countries can be better satisfied through multilateral negotiations external to the ITU's control. *Id.*

54. See *supra* notes 34-37 and accompanying text (assessing the Third World's influence in expanding the ITU's purposes).

55. See Rowan & Waite, *International Communications Law, Part I: Maitland Commission, Economic Development, and the United States*, 19 INT'L LAW. 1339, 1341 (1985) (describing the Commission's mandate to study and make recommendations to promote telecommunications development).

56. See Williamson, *supra* note 4, at 49 (explaining the reasons for the changes that have occurred in the ITU).

57. *Id.* Williamson explains that these disparities include quantity, quality, and type of telecommunication services. *Id.*

58. See *supra* notes 34-44 and accompanying text (demonstrating the Third World's success in promoting their political agendas during ITU conference meetings).

59. See G. CODDING, *supra* note 1, at 206 (listing the ITU's objectives).

60. *Id.*

radio frequency spectrum,⁶¹ and the geostationary satellite orbits.⁶² The additional goal is telecommunications development.⁶³

Committee Seven at the Nice 1989 Plenipotentiary was delegated authority to examine the ITU's overall structure.⁶⁴ The Committee noted that the ITU's development function did not receive fair treatment, and it urged the ITU to strengthen its technical cooperation component.⁶⁵ Consistent with the Commission's recommendations, the Nice 1989 Plenipotentiary created the BTD,⁶⁶ providing the ITU with a development organ to complement its standardization and regulatory bureaus.⁶⁷

The BTD's primary function is to promote worldwide telecommunications development.⁶⁸ Its specific duties include (1) educating policy-makers on the importance of telecommunications,⁶⁹ (2) working with national, regional, and international bodies to promote the growth of telecommunications,⁷⁰ (3) seeking private industry's participation in

61. *Id.* See CHANGING TELECOMMUNICATION ENVIRONMENT, *supra* note 4, at 1 (describing the ITU's historical functions).

62. G. CODDING, *supra* note 1, at 206. A geostationary orbit is the gravitationally-based area where a "satellite rotates around the earth at the same speed as the earth." See Alper, in INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATIONS, *supra* note 14, at 48. Due to potential crowding of these orbits, the developing countries fear the lack of space for their own satellites when they are developed and launched. See SENATE COMM. ON COMMERCE, SCIENCE AND TRANSPORTATION, 98TH CONG., 1ST SESS., LONG-RANGE GOALS IN INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATIONS AND INFORMATION 105 (Comm. Print 1983) [hereinafter SENATE COMM. ON COMMERCE, SCIENCE AND TRANSPORTATION] (discussing the allocation of geostationary orbits).

63. Williamson, *supra* note 4, at 53.

64. See ITU Plenipotentiary Conference: Report of the Chairman of Committee 7 to the Plenary Meeting, ITU Doc. 494 (Rev.1) - E at 2-3 (1989) (highlighting the Committee's major activities); Williamson, *supra* note 4, at 52-53 (discussing the proposed structural changes to the ITU).

65. Note from the Chairman of Committee 7, ANNEX 5, ITU Doc. 210-E (1989) at 2. The Committee concluded that the BTD should receive adequate funding and should be established with equal priority to the other organs. *Id.*

Many delegates used reservations to submit alternative views concerning the structure of the proposed TDB. Note by the Chairman of Committee 7, ANNEX 6, ITU Doc. 295-E (1989) at 1. For example, delegates from the Soviet bloc concluded that the new permanent organ for development should use the existing resources of the Centre for Telecommunications Development. *Id.* at 4. Northern European countries concluded that the BTD "should have adequate budgetary resources and an appropriate position in the structure of the Union." *Id.* at 5.

66. See Constitution, *supra* note 5, at 17-19 (establishing the BTD).

67. See Williamson, *supra* note 4, at 53.

68. See Constitution, *supra* note 3, at 17-18 (designating the BTD duties). The ITU has authorized an expansive budget for the implementation of the BTD's responsibilities. Williamson, *supra* note 4, at 53.

69. Constitution, *supra* note 5, at 18.

70. *Id.*

telecommunications development,⁷¹ and (4) assisting the formulation of a general plan for telecommunications development and supporting development conferences.⁷²

An examination of the state of telecommunications in the Third World provides a clearer understanding of the BTU's potential impact in telecommunications development. Such an examination indicates also the manner in which the United States can use the BTU to become an international leader in worldwide telecommunications.

C. TELECOMMUNICATIONS IN THE THIRD WORLD

Few in the developed world question investments to improve drinking water, to increase food production, to improve health care, or to build schools. Political debate often concerns how to fund these systems to meet primary human needs, rather than whether these needs will be funded at all. The debate concerning telecommunications development is quite different. In both the private and public sectors, many question the need for a highly developed telecommunications network.⁷³

Among other economic and political problems, Third World countries suffer from the lack of a developed telecommunications network.⁷⁴ Telephone service, if available, is limited to urban areas.⁷⁵ More advanced telecommunication mechanisms are non-existent.⁷⁶

The quality of telephone service in countries that possess such a system is usually inadequate.⁷⁷ The problems encountered include faulty equipment,⁷⁸ delays in connecting calls,⁷⁹ and difficulties in gaining access to the system.⁸⁰ Inadequate maintenance of the service compounds

71. *Id.*

72. *Id.*

73. See THE MISSING LINK, *supra* note 46, at 4 (explaining the debate surrounding the telecommunications development movement); CHANGING TELECOMMUNICATION ENVIRONMENT, *supra* note 4, at 7 (discussing the Third World government's attitude toward telecommunications development); Block, *Satellite Linkages and Rural Development* in SATELLITE COMMUNICATIONS, *supra* note 32, at 154 (describing the perception that technicians, foreign financiers, and Third World administrations that impede telecommunications development).

74. See THE MISSING LINK, *supra* note 46, at 14-18 (reporting the inadequacy of telecommunications in developing countries). Studies indicate that in some of these countries the proportion of telephones to the population is less than 10 telephones for every 100 people. CHANGING TELECOMMUNICATION ENVIRONMENT, *supra* note 4, at 22.

75. THE MISSING LINK, *supra* note 46, at 14.

76. *Id.*

77. See *id.* at 17-18 (describing the quality of telephone service in developing countries).

78. *Id.*

79. *Id.*

80. *Id.*

these problems.⁸¹ Because the service is limited in its geographic scope, rural areas are totally isolated from other areas of the country.⁸² Although the Third World has attempted to address these problems by forming regional projects,⁸³ telecommunications in these nations remain underdeveloped.⁸⁴

A well-developed communications infrastructure is essential to a modern economy.⁸⁵ Although developed countries became industrialized without telecommunication networks, these nations did not have to compete with nations that possessed a well-developed network.⁸⁶ Today, equitable competition between the world's rich and poor countries necessitates the development and expansion of telecommunications networks in the poor nations.⁸⁷

Numerous studies have concluded that as part of a nation's infrastructure, a complete and viable telecommunications network can assist a country to satisfy the basic human needs of its population.⁸⁸ An accessible communications system can help improve administrative efficiency,⁸⁹ or can warn farmers of drought,⁹⁰ price fluctuations at the

81. *Id.* Because these countries lack technically trained personnel, the expansion of operational facilities is handicapped. CHANGING TELECOMMUNICATION ENVIRONMENT, *supra* note 4, at 24. For this reason, the development effort includes programs to provide human resources for telecommunications in these countries. *Id.* See *infra* notes 142-145 and accompanying text (describing efforts to train Third World specialists in telecommunications).

82. THE MISSING LINK, *supra* note 46, at 14.

83. *Id.* These regional projects have included the formation of organizations such as the Pan-African Telecommunications Union, the Asia-Pacific Telecommunity, and the Arab Telecommunication Union. *Id.*

84. *Id.*

85. See *infra* notes 88-95 and accompanying text (discussing the economic advantages of telecommunications development).

86. See Williamson, *supra* note 4, at 49 (noting the disparities between the rich and poor nations).

87. *Id.*

88. See THE MISSING LINK, *supra* note 46, at 7-11 (explaining the economic and social benefits of telecommunications). An economic model constructed at Stanford University demonstrated the correlation between telecommunications and economic growth. *Id.* at 11. A study conducted in India indicated that telecommunications have improved farming methods. *Id.* This economic expansion can inevitably assist these countries to improve health, educational, and political conditions. Williamson, *supra* note 4, at 49.

89. THE MISSING LINK, *supra* note 46, at 8. The Commission reports that telecommunications can assist the dissemination of national information. *Id.* at 10. Telecommunications can also link the rural and urban areas, enhancing the national culture. *Id.*

90. See Block, *Satellite Linkages and Rural Development* in SATELLITE COMMUNICATIONS, *supra* note 32, at 135-57 (discussing a program devoted to the use of telecommunications delivered by satellite to rural areas).

market,⁹¹ or insect infestations.⁹² Several projects have experimented with long distance teaching⁹³ and increased access to health services.⁹⁴ These studies demonstrate that a developed telecommunications infrastructure can enhance a country's economic and social development.⁹⁵

Despite demonstrated advantages from developing telecommunication network systems, most Third World governments are reluctant to devote their scarce budgets to such technology.⁹⁶ Ministers of Finance are cautious to invest in telecommunications because they fear that they will not receive compensatory foreign exchange.⁹⁷ Telephones and the sophisticated technology required to support the networks seem luxurious when compared to more basic human needs such as potable water, food, decent medical care, and quality housing.⁹⁸

Despite this skepticism, some countries have been able to develop a primary infrastructure.⁹⁹ A primary infrastructure, however, may be insufficient to increase the number of phones per person.¹⁰⁰ One reason

91. THE MISSING LINK, *supra* note 46, at 8. In Sri Lanka, for example, telephones provide farmers with information concerning the prices of fruit and other produce. *Id.* With this information, the farmers are able to get better prices for their products. *Id.*

92. See Block, *Satellite Linkages and Rural Development* in SATELLITE TELECOMMUNICATIONS, *supra* note 32, at 135-57 (explaining the benefits to rural areas of a telecommunications satellite project).

93. *Id.*

94. See THE MISSING LINK, *supra* note 46, at 8 (assessing the role of telecommunications in emergency health services). In the South Pacific, telecommunications have helped warn officials of outbreaks of cholera. *Id.* In Kenya, Tanzania, and Malawi, radio has been used to provide health services to the rural areas. *Id.*; see also Parker, *The Alaskan Satellite Experience: Lessons for the Developing World* in SATELLITE TELECOMMUNICATIONS, *supra* note 32, at 169-171 (explaining telecommunications development in Alaska for health services). In Alaska, telecommunications were developed to link doctors in regional hospitals to patients in rural Alaska. *Id.* at 169-70.

95. See THE MISSING LINK, *supra* note 46, at 10-11 (reporting the economic benefits to a country's overall development). The Commission explains that the tangible benefits of telecommunications can be foreseen even if they cannot be quantified. *Id.* at 10; see *supra* notes 88-94 and accompanying text (highlighting the achieved successes of telecommunications in the Third World).

96. See *supra* note 73 and accompanying text (noting the reluctance of Third World policy-makers to devote financial resources to telecommunications development).

97. CHANGING TELECOMMUNICATION ENVIRONMENT, *supra* note 4, at 7.

98. *Id.* This problem of insufficient capital to invest in telecommunications is viewed as depending on operational efficiency. *Id.* at 24. Commentators suggest that if the developing countries improve their operations, then they will find it easier to attract foreign investment. *Id.* See also THE MISSING LINK, *supra* note 46, at 18-20 (explaining the problems that developing countries confront in attempting to provide funding to telecommunications).

99. See CHANGING TELECOMMUNICATION ENVIRONMENT, *supra* note 4, at 22 (discussing the developing countries' need to develop a telecommunications infrastructure).

100. *Id.*

for this insufficiency is the lack of financial and technological resources to extend the system beyond a relatively small geographic area.¹⁰¹

The wealth and technological disparities between the rich and poor countries compound the problem of underdeveloped network systems in developing countries.¹⁰² These countries confront the challenge of developing and expanding their telecommunication systems, while meeting the basic needs of their populace.¹⁰³ To meet this challenge, these countries must find ways to encourage investment in telecommunications,¹⁰⁴ despite political reluctance.¹⁰⁵ For this reason, Third World countries need the assistance of developed countries.¹⁰⁶ Developed countries, like the United States, can provide technical assistance and promote investment by encouraging participation of their domestic industries in Third World markets.¹⁰⁷ The BTD represents a way for such assistance to occur.

The Third World governments, however, need to recognize that a well-developed telecommunications network may fulfill other primary needs. When the governments ignore telecommunications development, they only construct greater barriers to achieving other development goals. Because the rise of information technology has shifted the allocation of human and capital resources from processing material goods to processing information,¹⁰⁸ an economy's information sector has shown

101. *Id.* See THE MISSING LINK, *supra* note 46, at 18-20 (describing the technical and financial inadequacies that developing countries confront). The Commission reports that in countries that do not have manufacturing facilities, these problems are compounded because they must purchase equipment from foreign markets. *Id.* at 19.

102. See *supra* note 57 and accompanying text (noting the disparities between developed and developing countries); THE MISSING LINK, *supra* note 46, at 3 (highlighting the differences in attitudes toward telecommunications among the rich and poor countries).

103. THE MISSING LINK, *supra* note 46, at 19. The Commission reports that developing countries, faced with limited financial resources, must make difficult choices between funding telecommunications and funding health services, education, and agriculture. *Id.*

104. See CHANGING TELECOMMUNICATION ENVIRONMENT, *supra* note 4, at 24 (recommending ways for developing countries to attract investment capital).

105. See *supra* note 73 and accompanying text (indicating the Third World's reluctance to devote limited funds to telecommunications development).

106. See CHANGING TELECOMMUNICATION ENVIRONMENT, *supra* note 4, at 32 (suggesting ways that the ITU can assist developing countries to promote telecommunications development); THE MISSING LINK, *supra* note 46, at 41 (explaining that developed countries can provide training and technology to developing countries).

107. See *infra* notes 142-145 and accompanying text (highlighting the United States' efforts to promote telecommunications development).

108. See Sterling & Thompson in INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATIONS *supra* note 14, 1, at 7-8 (discussing the role of information policy in developed countries). In developed countries such as France, Canada, and Japan, information policy has been linked to economic benefits. *Id.* These countries are devoted to expanding their tele-

the most consistent growth.¹⁰⁹ Third World countries must be capable of keeping pace with these technological changes if they are to narrow the disparities between themselves and developed countries.¹¹⁰ Telecommunications development is essential to the Third World's progress in attaining these objectives.

II. UNITED STATES INVOLVEMENT IN THE ITU AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS DEVELOPMENT

A. UNITED STATES TELECOMMUNICATIONS INDUSTRY

Unlike the vast majority of nations that have created government monopolies in post telegraph and telephone services,¹¹¹ the United States policy has historically maintained that marketplace competition provides the best regulation for business.¹¹² American policy, however, is tempered with the realization that the telecommunications industry requires some form of regulation.¹¹³

The Communications Act of 1934¹¹⁴ established the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) to implement a domestic telecommunications policy that would provide efficient global wire and radio communications.¹¹⁵ The FCC regulates the communications industry's facilities and services.¹¹⁶ Although the FCC has a broad regulatory scope in the American industry, its activities in international telecom-

communication infrastructures to complement the desired need to achieve greater dissemination of information. *Id.*

109. *Id.*

110. See CHANGING TELECOMMUNICATION ENVIRONMENT, *supra* note 4, at 26-28 (suggesting ways for developing countries to develop telecommunications networks). This report recommends developing countries to adopt independent telecommunication policies to regulate their networks. *Id.* at 27. These policies should guide progress to attract investment and promote maintenance and operation. *Id.* at 27-28. See also THE MISSING LINK, *supra* note 46, at 65-69 (providing a summary of the Commission's conclusion and recommendations). The Commission recommends that developing countries become self-reliant in providing telecommunications services. *Id.* at 66. The Commission also recommends that these countries use resources through various international organizations. *Id.* at 67-68.

111. See Sterling in INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATIONS, *supra* note 14, at 7 (explaining that through these monopolies, governments are able to coordinate and effectively implement their telecommunication objectives).

112. See *id.* at 5 (explaining the United States' policy toward regulating its free-market economy).

113. See *infra* notes 112-126 (discussing the United States' regulatory policy as directed toward telecommunications).

114. 47 U.S.C. §§ 151-55 (1988).

115. 47 U.S.C. § 151 (1988).

116. See Sterling, *supra* note 108, at 5-6 (describing the FCC's functions and responsibilities).

munications are limited.¹¹⁷ The FCC primarily serves in a consultative role in international telecommunications conferences.¹¹⁸ Because the FCC regulates rather than owns telecommunication facilities, it usually participates in these conferences by providing expert support.¹¹⁹

The expansion of communications technology in the last quarter century has encouraged revision of the FCC's responsibilities.¹²⁰ Commentators recommend that the executive branch formulate the United States international telecommunications policy and restructure the FCC to implement the policy.¹²¹ They also recommend the re-evaluation of other regulatory bodies to supplement the FCC in its international telecommunications activities.¹²² This movement to formally devise an international telecommunications policy reflects the general nature of the domestic policy.

Currently, there exists no single body responsible for formulating and implementing United States domestic and international telecommunications policy.¹²³ For the most part, the United States government has permitted private corporations to remain unregulated.¹²⁴ The government will, however, intervene when it determines that "market fail-

117. *Id.* at 6.

118. *Id.*

119. *Id.*

120. See Geller in INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATIONS, *supra* note 14, at 65-71 (proposing reforms to the United States' telecommunications policy). Geller feels the lack of a formal United States participation in international telecommunications. *Id.* at 66-69.

121. *Id.* at 68-69. Geller explains that because international telecommunications involves matters of foreign policy, a split develops between the executive branch and the FCC. *Id.* Geller recommends that all policy-making be coordinated within the executive branch. *Id.* at 69.

122. See Sterling in INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATIONS, *supra* note 14, at 12 (suggesting the need to reform the governmental bodies involved in telecommunications to facilitate the current information movement).

Currently, several bodies participate in domestic and international telecommunications. *Id.* at 6-7. These bodies include the State Department, which coordinates United States representation at international conferences, and the National Telecommunications and Information Administration (NTIA). *Id.* at 6. The NTIA advises the President on telecommunication policies. *Id.*

Private organizations also participate in the United States policy-making process. *Id.* at 7. These include ITT World Communications, AT & T, and the Communications Satellite Corporations (COMSAT). *Id.* The private organizations serve as participants on advisory committees formed by the ITU's Consultative Committees. *Id.* See also Geller in INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATIONS, *supra* note 14, at 64 (asserting that there remains an ineffective split among governmental and private actors).

123. See *supra* note 115 and accompanying text (presenting the various bodies responsible for implementing the United States telecommunications policy).

124. Sterling in INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATIONS, *supra* note 106, at 5.

ure" has occurred.¹²⁵ Consequently, the results of a clash between parties with competing interests produce the current policy.¹²⁶

B. THE PRIVATE SECTOR'S ROLE IN THE ITU

The United States possesses an expansive private telecommunications industry.¹²⁷ The technical rules that the ITU's organs promulgate directly affect American companies.¹²⁸ The private sector, therefore, represents eighty to ninety percent of American involvement in the ITU.¹²⁹ For this reason, United States-sponsored delegations to ITU meetings are largely comprised of representatives from the private sector.¹³⁰ Based on this representation, the BTDA's effectiveness depends on support from the American telecommunications industry. To secure this commitment, American companies must be convinced of the advantages of telecommunications development.

Members of the American private sector generally support both telecommunications development and the ITU's development activities.¹³¹ These individuals recognize that a properly managed technical assistance program, which creates a pool of skilled workers, can benefit the United States.¹³² Such a program could attempt to reduce poor frequency management and prevent sloppy engineering.¹³³

125. *Id.*

126. *Id.* Sterling explains that the United States policy results from the clash of government agencies, private companies, and the courts. *Id.* Sterling states that policies result from "adversarial proceedings." *Id.*

127. See Wiley in INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATIONS, *supra* note 14, at 132-33 (describing the expansion of the American telecommunication industries). Wiley explains that this expansion has encouraged international trade within the industry. *Id.* at 133.

128. See Rutkowski in INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATIONS, *supra* note 14, at 37 (assessing ITU activities on the American telecommunications industry).

129. *Id.*

130. *Id.* United States government participation in ITU activities occurs during the Plenipotentiary conferences and the Administrative Council's frequent meetings. *Id.* at 37. Formal preparation for these meetings consists of delegation, interagency committee, and public advisory committee meetings. *Id.* See G. CODDING, *supra* note 1, at 188-89 (presenting the figures of monetary contributions to the ITU budget from private companies). In 1979, AT & T was one of the largest contributors. *Id.* at 188.

131. See Dizard in INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATIONS, *supra* note 14, at 41 (noting United States support for increasing the ITU's technical assistance program). The United States voiced this support during the 1979 World Administrative Radio Conference. *Id.*

132. See *id.* at 41 (asserting that Third World specialists are advantageous to the international spectrum); see also *infra* notes 142-144 and accompanying text (highlighting programs devoted to promote technical expertise in the Third World).

133. Dizard in INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATIONS, *supra* note 14, at 41.

American companies can also profit from telecommunications development.¹³⁴ Companies that manufacture telecommunication equipment and services can expand into foreign markets.¹³⁵ This exportation of telecommunication technology may strengthen the United States domestic economy.¹³⁶

Other sectors of American business can also profit from telecommunications development.¹³⁷ For example, many financial institutions depend on worldwide information.¹³⁸ These entities require rapid transmittal of information from the various international markets.¹³⁹ Telecommunications development will assist these financial institutions to secure the desired information with greater efficiency, enhancing their overall competitiveness.¹⁴⁰

The American private sector has demonstrated a recognition of the potential benefits that accrue from telecommunications development.¹⁴¹ In 1983, the United States Telecommunications Training Institute was formed.¹⁴² The Institute has provided training for more than 1,500 technicians from the Third World.¹⁴³ American educational institutes have implemented scholarship and fellowship programs for Third World students with specialties in telecommunications to study in the United States.¹⁴⁴ The United States has also sponsored various commit-

134. See Sterling in INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATIONS, *supra* note 14, at 4-5 (explaining the economic benefits of telecommunications development for the United States).

135. *Id.* at 4. Sterling explains that in 1987, there was an estimated \$85 billion potential profits in international telecommunications markets. *Id.* See THE MISSING LINK, *supra* note 46, at 50-52 (suggesting the developing countries to acquire telecommunications equipment and ways to make these acquisitions).

136. Sterling in INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATIONS, *supra* note 14, at 4.

137. See *infra* notes 138-140 and accompanying text (noting advantages to banking and financial institutions).

138. Sterling in INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATIONS, *supra* note 14, at 4.

139. *Id.*

140. *Id.*

141. See Dizard in INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATIONS, *supra* note 14, at 41 (explaining the United States interests in telecommunications development); Sterling in INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATIONS, *supra* note 14, at 4-5 (demonstrating how telecommunications development can boost the United States economy); see also UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE, U.S. CONTRIBUTIONS TO COMMUNICATIONS DEVELOPMENT 1 (May 1989) [hereinafter DEPARTMENT OF STATE] (discussing the United States efforts to promote telecommunications development).

142. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, *supra* note 141, at 1. The Institute, a nonprofit organization, was formed by contributions from various American corporations and foundations. *Id.*

143. *Id.*

144. *Id.* at 3. The scholarship and fellowship programs are created from grants by various foundations that include the World Press Institute, the Gannett Foundation, and Rotary International. *Id.* The report states that over 400 colleges and universities participate in these programs. *Id.*

tees and study groups to investigate other ways to effectively promote telecommunications development.¹⁴⁵

These programs indicate that the American industry acknowledges the need to promote telecommunications in the Third World. The United States understands that poor frequency management and sloppy engineering cause many of the current problems in the international spectrum.¹⁴⁶ Participants in the development movement also realize that more competent Third World specialists may provide a more efficient international network operation.¹⁴⁷ Better trained specialists could also temper European and Japanese influence on other countries to enact technical regulations harmful to American interests.¹⁴⁸

III. SUGGESTIONS FOR MAKING THE TELECOMMUNICATIONS DEVELOPMENT BUREAU WORK

Before the United States government or the private sector decides to devote resources to the BTB, they must perceive the problems that such an entity can solve. If these problems are perceived as American problems as well, the American public will be more willing to support the BTB.

The United States holds a unique position to work with the BTB to increase its effectiveness in a way that will help achieve its objectives in telecommunications. Interested participants have a variety of available options to help strengthen the BTB. These options include contributing to an increase in the technical assistance function of the BTB,¹⁴⁹ pursuing a foreign policy that fosters positive attitudes towards coopera-

145. *Id.* In 1985, the Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Communications Development was formed to receive input from the private sector. *Id.* The United States has also negotiated multilateral agreements. *Id.* For example, the United States has signed an agreement with China to exchange telecommunications technology and information. *Id.*

146. *See supra* notes 142-145 and accompanying text (presenting efforts to promote technical expertise in the Third World).

147. *Id.*; *see* THE MISSING LINK, *supra* note 46, at 43 (explaining the need for training of Third World technicians).

148. *See* Dizard in INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATIONS, *supra* note 14, at 41 (stating that the European nations and Japan use the Third World's influence in the ITU to encourage adoption of technical standards adverse to United States interests). Dizard believes that by supporting the Third World in its development activities, the United States can dilute this influence. *Id.*

149. *See* THE MISSING LINK, *supra* note 46, at 68 (recommending the developed countries to enhance their financial resources to promote telecommunications). The United States government appropriated \$ 7.8 billion in FY 89 for development activities. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, *supra* note 141, at 2.

tion,¹⁵⁰ discouraging perceptions and feelings of colonialism and dependence,¹⁵¹ and encouraging governments to deregulate.¹⁵² Given the large private sector participation in the ITU and the international telecommunications industry, any United States policy should include input from the companies that could either help the BTD or benefit from its activities.

The United States should seek to promote telecommunications development for various reasons. Manufacturers of equipment and providers of services seek foreign markets.¹⁵³ As the base for numerous multinational corporations, the United States benefits from a well-developed telecommunications systems to promote and efficiently conduct foreign business.¹⁵⁴ Both producers and consumers have an interest in guaranteeing the free flow of information through the development of international telecommunications systems.¹⁵⁵ Tangible economic benefits accrue from improved education, public health and safety, and entertainment.¹⁵⁶ Other benefits include an improved quality of life by possessing the ability to communicate with family and friends.¹⁵⁷

Significant obstacles, however, prevent full participation by the United States private sector in telecommunications development.¹⁵⁸ The private sector confronts barriers and disincentives to competition.¹⁵⁹ Economic barriers to competition are usually tariffs and price

150. See Geller in *INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATIONS*, *supra* note 14, at 64-71 (suggesting the need for a uniform executive policy in international telecommunications).

151. See *THE MISSING LINK*, *supra* note 46, at 66 (stressing the need for developing countries to be self-reliant in the telecommunications field).

152. See *CHANGING TELECOMMUNICATION ENVIRONMENT*, *supra* note 4, at 35-36 (discussing the regulatory framework that developing countries should adopt for their telecommunication networks). The report suggests that as developing countries expand their telecommunication systems, the regulatory framework should become independent of daily operations. *Id.* at 35. The report indicates that the governmental role should be reduced and delegated to an independent regulatory agency. *Id.*

153. See *supra* notes 134-136 and accompanying text (highlighting the advantages of international trade in the telecommunications industry).

154. *Id.*

155. See *supra* notes 138-140 and accompanying text (demonstrating the advantages of telecommunications in the financial industry); Sterling in *INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATIONS*, *supra* note 14, at 7-8 (presenting the information policies of other developed countries).

156. See *supra* notes 88-95 and accompanying text (demonstrating the economic benefits of telecommunications development).

157. See *THE MISSING LINK*, *supra* note 46, at 4 (listing the social benefits of telecommunications development).

158. See Sterling in *INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATIONS*, *supra* note 14, at 8-11 (discussing the economic and noneconomic barriers to the United States participation in international telecommunications).

159. *Id.* at 8-9. Sterling indicates that these barriers are constructed to encourage isolation of telecommunication industries. *Id.* at 9.

discrimination.¹⁶⁰ These barriers encourage reliance on the local post telegraph and telephone service that results in more expensive, but less efficient and reliable service.¹⁶¹ Other economic barriers directly restrict or deny participation in a market.¹⁶² For example, Brazil requires domestic manufacture of computers and equipment, while Germany requires domestic data processing.¹⁶³ In addition, Mexico bars ownership of a controlling interest in a Mexican subsidiary,¹⁶⁴ and France refuses to permit American telecommunication companies to incorporate within its borders.¹⁶⁵

Noneconomic barriers are designed to advance social, political, or cultural objectives.¹⁶⁶ For example, Togo seeks to alleviate the adverse effects of colonialism on the development of its telecommunication infrastructure.¹⁶⁷ Another type of noneconomic barrier is the promulgation of laws to prevent the free flow of information.¹⁶⁸ Most governments perceive a stake in controlling the flow of information.¹⁶⁹ Many countries impose criminal liability for disobeying these laws.¹⁷⁰

The presence of these laws contrasts with the United States interest in protecting the worldwide free flow of information.¹⁷¹ United States policy consistently upholds the principle of the free flow of information, which stems from the first amendment's principles of free speech and press.¹⁷² New technology is adding more issues to old debates over free

160. *Id.* Sterling explains that monopolized telecommunication services set higher tariff rates for international usage to encourage reliance on public lines. *Id.*

161. *Id.*

162. *Id.*

163. *Id.*

164. *Id.*

165. *Id.*

166. *Id.*

167. Andjo Tchamdja, *Directeur General de l'Office des Postes et Telecommunications: La Dereglementation n'est pas a l'ordre du jour au Togo*, 216 AFR. INT'L 152 (Mai 1989) (Interview with Andjo Tchamdja, Director General of Togo's PTT).

168. See Sterling in INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATIONS, *supra* note 14, at 6 (noting the use of privacy laws to restrict the flow of information). These laws control time limits of storage, licensing, and dissemination of information. *Id.*

169. See *id.* at 7 (stating that countries recognize the need for a formal information policy).

170. *Id.* at 6.

171. See *id.* at 10 (explaining that these barriers are adverse to the United States interests). As a result, the United States lacks competitiveness in foreign markets. *Id.* at 11. Sterling explains that these barriers are primarily issues of foreign policy and require resolution by diplomacy. *Id.* at 10.

172. See SENATE COMM. ON COMMERCE, SCIENCE AND TRANSPORTATION, *supra* note 62, at 225 (presenting recommendations to continue support for free press and speech as part of the United States information policy).

speech.¹⁷³ For example, digitization eroded the existing lines between former distinct, vertically integrated telecommunications services.¹⁷⁴ This erosion has encouraged introduction of new services in developed countries and rendered the ITU's regulatory machinery obsolete.¹⁷⁵

Advanced technology reduces the difficulties in disseminating information.¹⁷⁶ With these difficulties overcome, the current regulatory framework will be insufficient, creating the need for new forms of regulation.¹⁷⁷ To address this change, the BTD can investigate how the Third World can participate and manage this new technology.

Deregulation and, where feasible, privatization, should be the BTD's goal, but many countries are reluctant to work toward this goal.¹⁷⁸ Togo, Senegal, Burkina-Faso and Gabon all agree that deregulation is impossible in the near future.¹⁷⁹ The recent demise of the Iron Curtain and the Soviet Union, however, supports the notion that Third World countries must provide their citizens more economic freedoms. Through the BTD, the United States could attempt to link technical and financial assistance to the amount of deregulation that countries undertake. In addition, the United States should try to teach the lessons it learned from its deregulation experience.

The United States should discourage the "semi-fortress" mentality that some ex-colonial powers continue to foster.¹⁸⁰ Jean Pierre-Prouteau, President of the Conseil des investisseurs français en Afrique noire,¹⁸¹ envisions a "semi-fortress" between the European Community and the African, Caribbean, and Pacific countries that maintain eco-

173. See Sterling in INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATIONS, *supra* note 14, at 12 (discussing the first amendment's role in directing the United States information policy).

174. Williamson, *supra* note 4, at 49.

175. *Id.*

176. See Wiley in INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATIONS, *supra* note 14, at 132 (noting the importance of information to the telecommunications industry). Wiley explains that information technology is becoming the indicator of a country's economic strength. *Id.*

177. *Id.*

178. See *supra* note 170 and accompanying text (recommending that developing countries should move towards deregulation). But see Williamson, *supra* note 4, at 52 (explaining that deregulation has exacerbated political tension in ITU politics).

179. Andjo Tchamdja, *Directeur General, La Dereglementation N'est Pas a l'Ordre du Jour au Togo*, 216 AFR. INT'L 153 (May 1989); see also Diawara, *La Grande Aventure des Telecommunications en Afrique et Leur Avenir*, 216 AFR. INT'L 138 (May 1989) (noting that total deregulation would not only hurt African countries, but also their principal equipment suppliers).

180. See Smith, *Jean-Pierre Prouteau ou le Grande Dessein de l'Afrique*, 216 AFR. INT'L 212 (May 1989) (suggesting the United States help clear the way for free exchange).

181. *Id.*

conomic ties with Europe.¹⁸² This protectionist attitude can only hinder trade to the detriment of the United States.

United States policy-makers should also appreciate the role of perceptions in many of the developing countries. The fear and mistrust engendered by low technical expertise causes many countries to seek political solutions to essentially technical questions.¹⁸³ By promoting worldwide technical expertise, the United States may alleviate undesirable political conflicts in the ITU.

In most parts of the Third World, technical experts who work overseas find themselves living in a closed community of expatriates.¹⁸⁴ The BTU should aim to reduce this 'us against them' mentality and promote true cultural understanding so that development is viewed from a broader economic perspective. The BTU should foster development at all social, spiritual, and economic levels.

CONCLUSION

Rather than a panacea for all that ails the world, telecommunications can be a useful tool for building a better life for all. The BTU is a way in which the United States may assist telecommunications as an effective tool in universal harmony. The BTU presents an opportunity that the United States should seize. The time has come for the United States to use its vast power and resources to profit from rather than react to a situation. The BTU offers a chance for the United States to continue to assert a leadership role in international telecommunications. The United States should act wisely to take full advantage of this opportunity.

182. *Id.*

183. See *supra* notes 167-170 and accompanying text (discussing the Third World response to its technical problems).

184. Smith, *supra* note 180, at 212.