ОТ СОСТАВИТЕЛЕЙ

Настоящий третий выпуск, предлагаемый вниманию читателя, составлен в основном из статей, подготовленных на основе докладов, представленных на очередную, уже четвертую конференцию по истории цензуры и актуальным проблемам свободы информации «Цензура и доступ к информации: История и современность». Конференция, имевшая международный научно-практический характер, прошла в Санкт-Петербурге 16—18 марта 2005 г. На конференции был рассмотрен комплекс проблем, связанных с современным состоянием и историей контроля за распространением и доступностью информации, социальной ответственностью участников информационного процесса, ролью библиотек и средств массовой информации в становлении «информационного общества» в России и за рубежом. Особое внимание в докладах было уделено анализу различных тенденций в формировании предпосылок и условий, а также первых этапов развития «информационного общества», в частности тех, которые могут привести или уже приводят к процессам как гуманизации, так и дегуманизации человека, групповых, региональных и трансрегиональных сообществ[1].

Конференция проходила между двумя этапами Всемирного саммита по информационному обществу (Женева, 2003 — Тунис, 2005), в основополагающих документах которого (Декларация принципов и План действий) подчеркивается значимость философских, социально-политических, социологических, культурологических, этических аспектов доступности информации в современном мире. Все они, так или иначе, затрагиваются в этой книге.

В третьем выпуске сборника большое внимание уделяется проблемам, связанным с формированием информационного общества. Данное положение отнюдь не случайно, ибо проблемы цензуры оказываются актуальными и в XXI веке.

Организаторами конференции были Комитет по свободе доступа к информации и свободе выражения Международной Федерации библиотечных ассоциаций и учреждений (FAIFE IFLA), Российская национальная библиотека (РНБ), Санкт-Петербургский филиал Института истории естествознания и техники им. С. И. Вавилова Российской Академии наук (СПбФ ИИЕТ РАН) и Факультет журналистики Санкт-Петербургского государственного университета (СПбГУ). Особую признательность хотелось бы выразить зарубежным членам оргкомитета конференции, принявшим участие и в составлении данного сборника – профессору Ричарду Фитцсиммонсу

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[1] См.: Цензура и доступ к информации: История и современность. Тез. докл. междунар. науч. конф., С.-Петербург, 16–18 марта 2005 г. СПб., 2005.

(Пенсильванский университет, США) и профессору Полу Старжесу (Университет Лохборо, Великобритания).

Конференция была продолжением и развитием предшествующих конференций, на которых обсуждались проблемы свободы информации и цензуры, также проходивших в Санкт-Петербурге: «Свобода научной информации и охрана государственной тайны» (1991), «Цензура иностранной книги в Российской империи и Советском Союзе» (1993), «Цензура в России: История и современность» (1995).

Перемены, происшедшие в стране и в мире в целом, со времени предыдущей конференции, тем или иным образом повлияли как на подходы исследователей к рассмотрению отдельных проблем, так и на изменение вектора и некоторых аспектов творческих поисков. Тем не менее, составители надеются, что в сборнике удалось найти правильный баланс между уже сложившимися в ходе предыдущих обсуждений традициями и этими новыми подходами и веяниями.

Современные проблемы доступа к информации в формирующемся «информационном обществе» рассматриваются в первом разделе. Второй раздел сборника, посвященный истории цензуры, представлен работами по истории политики правительства в области печати (рассматриваются проблемы иностранной и внутренней цензуры, службы перлюстрации, проблемы борьбы с порнографией и др.) в России и Советском Союзе, а также в Великом княжестве Литовском, Латвии и Сербии. В разделе «Публикации» представлены документы из фондов РНБ, РГИА и ГАРФ. В четвертом разделе впервые публикуется библиографический список авторефератов диссертаций, посвященных истории цензуры, и материалы для биобиблиографического справочника «Цензоры Российской империи».

Статьи публикуются на русском (резюме на английском языке) или английском языке (резюме на русском языке). Редакторы благодарят за помощь в работе над сборником И. П. Фута (Оксфордский университет, Великобритания).

Сборник адресован как специалистам, так и всем читателям, интересующимся вопросами истории и культуры.

I. ФОРМИРОВАНИЕ «ИНФОРМАЦИОННОГО ОБЩЕСТВА» И ПРОБЛЕМЫ ДОСТУПА К ИНФОРМАЦИИ

I. THE FORMATION OF «THE INFORMATION SOCIETY» AND THE PROBLEM OF ACCESS TO INFORMATION

A. Arakhova, S. Kapidakis

THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE ROLE OF NATIONAL LIBRARIES AS A KEY TO THE TRANSFORMATION OF OUR KNOWLEDGE SOCIETY

А. Арахова, С. Капидакис
Трансформация роли национальных библиотек как ключ к трансформации общества знания

Резюме

В информационном обществе использование информации возрастает, и у все большего числа граждан воникает потребность в доступе к информации и в помощи по поиску надлежащей информации. Национальные библиотеки обеспечивают открытый доступ к информации и культуре. Оказывая содействие гражданам и учреждениям в получении информации, они постоянно расширяют диапазон возможностей граждан, помогают расширить их потенциал во всех областях. Разрабатываются новые услуги, совершенствуется структура сотрудничества между учреждениями. Влияние библиотек, которые предлагают новые услуги на базе Интернета и новые пользовательские ориентации, несомненно, усилится. Поскольку знания являются ключевым фактором в информационном обществе, роль библиотек всех типов, особенно национальных библиотек, заключается в том, чтобы содействовать использованию этого фактора читателями библиотек.

INTRODUCTION

So in this paper having in our mind the Greek condition and our vision of a new role of the National Library, we will discuss about:

— Strategies that are needed in the information society:
— to provide access to all published information;
— to offer lifelong learning opportunities;
— Visions and recommendations about updated offers from Tomorrow's new national library.
— The role of the librarians as not only information but real knowledge providers.
— The promotion and management of library resources.
— The role of Learner Services as a source of information and support.
— The learner in a «learning city — the Collaborative Network of the National Library».

— Practices for a resolution on the role of national libraries in modern societies.

— The significance of knowledge and the significance of National Library to access to it.

— Realistic challenges presented by Virtual material and virtual services.

— Libraries and Open Information: New gates for dissemination.

— The Social and Educational Role of National Libraries in the New Electronic Époque.

— The role of libraries in the transition to a new model of scientific communication.

As libraries reassess their role in the rapidly changing information world, it is important to keep in mind the ultimate work that librarians perform of providing research guidance to that information for our current and future scholars. What librarians do is vital to the information cycle and will be so in the future.

I. KEY ISSUES

Recommendations for Transition:

1. A new, active, service oriented model of librarianship requires dynamic organizational, personnel, and technological changes. Limited funding for libraries worldwide requires an emphasis on access to resources rather than on resource ownership. Collaboration, resourcesharing, integration, and bringing libraries to users can provide solutions to library operation problems. National libraries must take the lead in reforming information services within each country; they must coordinate the development of cooperative links between libraries while acknowledging the special interests and needs of specific institutions and without losing sight of the fact that the main goal of librarianship is to provide information to the public.

2. Organizational changes require personnel changes. Proper training for librarians in useroriented library services is urgently needed. Retraining programs for library staff, handsontraining in automation, management training, and visits to other Western libraries would help librarians become more effective in serving the information needs of a changing society.

STRATEGIC PLAN OF THE NATIONAL LIBRARIES SECTION (2004—2005) IFLA 2003, Berlin

The National Libraries Section emphasize, in its mission statement, that national libraries must play an important role in bridging the digital divide. The importance of raising the profile of national libraries as institutions contributing to national identity building and to social and economic development with the lifelong learning was also stressed. The educational role of the national libraries was also underlined.

The future goals are to:

— maximize the investment carried out in the creation and maintenance of collections;

— improve access to collections, they are a practical demonstration of increased cooperation among national libraries illustrate that not only singly but also collectively

national libraries are an important research resource and access points to a variety of services and information, at an International level but also within their own countries where they will seek to coordinate with other national resource centers.

Lifelong Learning Service by The National Libraries

The library service contributes to this strategy in the following ways:

1. By being a first point of access for the new learner.

2. By providing a comfortable learning environment which is socially inclusive for all from basic skills to higher education.

3. By providing learning opportunities for all members of the community through the availability of facilities.

4. By providing an ICT & Learning Centre network offering access to learning providers as well as giving essential support to learners of all ages.

5. By offering books, information & a variety of learning materials which support the Lifelong learning strategy & underpin learning.

II. NATIONAL LIBRARIES AS ACCESS POINTS

Access has in the past in practice been confined mainly to researchers and has led to the public image of national libraries as more custodians of national heritage, museums of published materials than access points to information. The reality is, as we know, quite different. In recent years, national libraries have been closely involved in the development of new technologies and networking at a national and international level to increase access and efficiency.

The IFLA National Libraries Section, the Conference of Directors of National Libraries (CDNL), and the Conference of European National Librarians (CENL) all serve to underline the growing interest of national libraries in cooperation, networking and promotion of access to their resources. The creation of Gabriel, *Gateway to Europe's National Libraries* (http://www.kb.nl/gabriel), the World Wide Web service for Europe's National Libraries who are members of the CENL is a first step towards this in Europe. Gabriel's mission is: *«to provide information about Europe's **National Libraries**, their collections and their **services** in order to facilitate **access** to them, and to foster the development of new **services** based on a shared infrastructure».*

On average two and a half million hits per year are registered in Gabriel and the Guestbook comments show the appreciation of users. However this is only a first step: users are informed about the existence of the libraries and can connect to the catalogues but cannot directly access the content found there. The growth of digital output and technical advances in networking mean that national libraries are in the position to evolve into access points to their countries' cultural heritage nationally and internationally.

In Europe, **TEL** aims to address that challenge. The project aims to lay the groundwork to establish a panEuropean service enabling interoperability across national boundaries, to be an access point to the digital and other resources of Europe's national libraries for users in Europe and worldwide. The partners aim to offer ac-

cess not only to digital legal or voluntary deposit and digitized treasures, but also to the print holdings of the partner libraries. The service will be inclusive rather than exclusive, although depending on access rights some services may not be offered to all users. TEL will enable national libraries to play a bigger part in improving access to European cultural heritage, thus promoting their own image and, hopefully, ensuring continued (or even increasing) funding. It will offer not only access to national library content but also links to other services offered by partner libraries. At the same time the partners must be careful not to overshadow individual national library brands nor to conflict with the business interests of partner libraries.

National Libraries provide or must provide:

— a safe, friendly, nonjudgemental place within which to get information, learn, access ICT or simply make use of the huge variety of other services that most libraries provide;

— opportunities for diverse ethnic communities to access library materials, resources and facilities in their own language, reflecting their own values and culture;

— special services for the physically disabled or visually impaired;

— access to and information about local or national social services and benefits;

— opportunities and facilities for improving literacy and reader development;

— free access to information and communications technology – the internet – email word processing, and other office skills through The People's Network – all branch libraries and mobile libraries are connected to the Internet;

— uptodate equipment with high speed links and broadband connectivity;

— trained and experienced staff who are able to help the new user of ICT to navigate their way through the different technologies and get the best that suits their purpose;

— a variety of learning environments – Online Learning – Open Learning – Skills Development – Homework Clubs;

— support for different forms of learning from Bookstart for babies and toddlers to homework and study support for scholars to supporting academic studies at university and college to open learning for work and social skills to supporting the retired and elderly as they experience the University of the Third Age;

— trained staff and advisors who can support the learner in understanding and using the variety of resources available;

— partnership arrangements with local university or college libraries widening the choice.

<div align="center">POLICY ISSUES</div>

1. How to mediate access? Libraries need to develop clearly stated usage policies for children/youth which can be referred to in the event of complaints.

Two ways of providing safeguards, if that is required:

— limit access using filtering

— use model of selecting quality resources in the same way we do with print materials and use software/hardware methods of allowing/denying access.

2. Role of Central Government: A Specific Statement by the Government is needed and the National Library has a role in politicizing this issue. NLs are witnessing a surge of interest in our history and our cultural heritage in society at large. It is an increasingly attractive prospect to exhibit and give people access to the national library's collections, representing as they do a broad panoramic vista of societal evolution spanning several centuries. The national library's «products» will be in demand. Technological advances will make previously inaccessible treasures available to a broad public. Work at libraries is by its very nature international.

III. NATIONAL LIBRARY OF GREECE

The National libraries and archives worldwide, in spite of their different histories, cultural backgrounds, and resources, have two common features: a growing demand for information and a strong tradition of librarianship. Under the auspices of the nearly century-old IFLA (International Federation of Library Associations), each country's national library organized its country's reference services to share the load of the world's questions in their primary languages. As about Greece, The National Library of Greece (NLG), as the central Library of the region, has as its primary mission the collection, the process, the preservation and to highlight the material of their collections in order to be accessible to the readers and the general public. Having in its occupation more than 4 million volumes of books, papyrus, palimpsest, Byzantine manuscripts, incunabula, rare and special publications, valuable parchments, illuminated scrolls and codices, historical documents as archives of local ethnic material, lithographic paintings, wood-engravings and old maps, has to face the challenge of playing successfully the dual role, as a depository of the national cultural creativity and also, as a transmitter of knowledge and information with adequate and modern means.

THE FRAMEWORK FOR THE RESEARCH

The Government's decision to *Empowering the Learning Community* (September 2004) recommended that 'access maps' should include an overview of the sources and services available through, for example:

— advice centres such as careers education and adult information and guidance services;

— existing cooperative schemes involving Regional Library Systems, Library & Information Plans, collaboration between local colleges or universities, community Information;

— national provision relevant to the community as Open University, the People's Network, national libraries, Community Grids for Learning, or other open learning opportunities; museums, galleries and archives.

Special attention was paid in support of the four access principles enunciated by the Council:

— universal, affordable and equitable access;

— consumer choice and diversity of information;

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— the need for citizens' participation and competency in the technology;
— the importance of open and interactive networks
and of relevant issues:
— potential users;
— user requirements;
— existing models;
— existing maps;
— the geographical area they should cover;
— the institutions they should cover;
— the collection level description tool(s) that should be used as standard;
— formats, media and availability;
— access issues and barriers to access;
— sustainability;
— costs;
— associated training needs.

IV. WHY THE WEB-SEARCH TOOLS
ARE NOT SUFFICIENT

As library use decreases and with more and more information found online on the Web, will we still need reference, even e-reference librarians? A search of the World Wide Web will turn up only the online information. Instead of that, certainly a National Library or every other library has sources more accurate and reliable. Especially a library-to-library services operation with reference experts submitting patrons' questions online guarantees more the thorough tracking of the existing material and pusses away the danger of many times «dull» web sites with strange scopes and motives. The commonly held belief that access to the Internet supersedes libraries is simplistic. Resources available on the Internet are volatile, enormous, variable in quality and reliability, sometimes costly, and often difficult to discover. The online time required to narrow down complex searches is costly, either to the institution providing the access or to the individual using an IPS. Access to many electronic services, particularly scholarly refereed journals and abstracting and indexing services is not free.

Steven Bell, director of the library at Philadelphia University, says «librarians need to know much more than just mainstream librarianship to maintain their professional vitality» and we would like to add that librarians need to practice librarianship for their country's and their nation's good, feeling technology as a good mean for teaching people and learning by their collaborators. Really is the Internet always everything? It may catch the moment, the year, the decade but surely without the librarian's collaboration it can't give birth to everything. That's why and most of e-reference projects named «Ask a Librarian». The Internet itself does not go where the information is and research is a multi-library process. Information can be true and still wrong. Only after a comprehensive investigation can be objective.

It is important to look beyond this view of libraries to their central functions of:

— identifying and collecting information (in any form) relevant to the needs of their clients;

— providing access to this information in ways which are efficient and effective for their clients;

— training their clients in efficient and effective ways of accessing and using this information.

The specific information skills which librarians have in terms of the selection of sources, the organisation of access to them and instruction in their use. The physical resources which are available through the cooperation of libraries world wide.

Such a library is still some way into the future. The overwhelming bulk of recorded knowledge is contained in printed works which will never be translated into electronic form. However, in some disciplines, this body of knowledge will diminish in importance as time goes on, and as recently discovered knowledge is recorded in electronic form. Older published material of continuing significance also will be converted to electronic form. National libraries will, over time, become the collectors, coordinators and disseminators of information which is primarily in electronic form, while continuing to preserve and provide access to printed materials. So, they must be prepared to work with librarians in meeting this challenge through:

1. **Redefining Universal Service and Open Access:** What is the minimum «basket» of basic services or capabilities that all Americans should be able to obtain today? Which services or capabilities, if any, should be available to all Americans on an optional basis? What is the proper relationship between universal service and open access?

— a team approach to course development involving librarians and information technology staff;

— provision of adequate level of funding for libraries;

— provision of excellent electronic access to the university and hence to the library;

— acceptance of the library's role in developing the information literacy skills of students.

2. **Affordability and Availability:** For more advanced services, should training be available to all who wish it? Who should pay for such training? How can rural concerns and inner city concerns be balanced by a modern concept of universal service? How can government balance the need to provide universal service with the need to allow a competitive environment for the telecommunications industry?

3. **Intellectual Property:** Does the traditional legal framework for intellectual property work with digital technology? What are the respective roles of the government and the private sector in determining how creators are reimbursed? Does the current legal framework of intellectual property help or hinder the goal of open access to the telecommunications network?

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4. **Interoperability:** How important is the concept of interoperability to the goals of universal service and open access? What is the respective role of the market and the government in determining standards and protocols for interoperability? What lessons can we learn from past efforts at standards setting, both domestically and internationally?

5. **Universal Service and Open Access for Individuals with Disabilities:** What is the current state of access and service for the disabled? How can telecommunications help the disabled participate more fully in society? What design concepts for the disabled are transferable to all users to improve overall network functionality?

V. INTERNATIONAL INITIATIVES AND RELATIVE STATEMENTS FOR OPEN ACCESS

IFLA recognizes the important roles played by all involved in the recording and dissemination of research, including authors, editors, publishers, libraries and institutions, and advocates the adoption of the following open access principles in order to ensure the widest possible availability of scholarly literature and research documentation:

1. **Acknowledgement** and defense of the moral rights of authors, especially the rights of attribution and integrity.

2. **Adoption** of effective peer review processes to assure the quality of scholarly literature irrespective of mode of publication.

3. **Resolute opposition** to governmental, commercial or institutional censorship of the publications deriving from research and scholarship.

4. **Succession** to the public domain of all scholarly literature and research documentation at the expiration of the limited period of copyright protection provided by law, which period should be limited to a reasonable time, and the exercise of fair use provisions, unhindered by technological or other constraints, to ensure ready access by researchers and the general public during the period of protection.

5. **Implementation** of measures to overcome information inequality by enabling both publication of quality assured scholarly literature and research documentation by researchers and scholars who may be disadvantaged, and also ensuring effective and affordable access for the peoples of developing nations and all who experience disadvantage including the disabled.

6. **Support** for collaborative initiatives to develop sustainable open access publishing models and facilities including encouragement, such as the removal of contractual obstacles, for authors to make scholarly literature and research documentation available without charge.

7. **Implementation** of legal, contractual and technical mechanisms to ensure the preservation and perpetual availability, usability and authenticity of all scholarly literature and research documentation.

With **The Glasgow Declaration on Libraries, Information Services and Intellectual Freedom** IFLA affirms that:

— Libraries and information services provide access to information, ideas and works of imagination in any medium and regardless of frontiers. They serve as gateways to knowledge, thought and culture, offering essential support for independent decisionmaking, cultural development, research and lifelong learning by both individuals and groups.

— Libraries and information services contribute to the development and maintenance of intellectual freedom and help to safeguard democratic values and universal civil rights. Consequently, they are committed to offering their clients access to relevant resources and services without restriction and to opposing any form of censorship.

— Libraries and information services shall acquire, preserve and make available the widest variety of materials, reflecting the plurality and diversity of society. The selection and availability of library materials and services shall be governed by professional considerations and not by political, moral and religious views.

— Libraries and information services shall make materials, facilities and services equally accessible to all users. There shall be no discrimination for any reason as race, national or ethnic origin, gender or sexual preference, age, disability, religion, or political beliefs.

— Libraries and information services shall protect each user's right to privacy and confidentiality with respect to information sought or received and resources consulted, borrowed, acquired or transmitted.

IFLA therefore calls upon libraries and information services and their staff to uphold and promote the principles of intellectual freedom and to provide uninhibited access to information.

The Budapest Open Access Initiative arises from a small but lively meeting convened in Budapest by the Open Society Institute (OSI) on December 12, 2001. The participants represented many points of view, many academic disciplines, and many nations, and had experience with many of the ongoing initiatives that make up the open access movement. In Budapest they explored how the separate initiatives could work together to achieve broader, deeper, and faster success. They explored how OSI and other foundations could use their resources most productively to aid the transition to open access and to make open access publishing economically self sustaining. The result is the Budapest Open Access Initiative. It is at once a statement of principle, a statement of strategy, and a statement of commitment.

The American Library Association asserts that the charging of fees and levies for information services, including those services utilizing the latest information technology, is discriminatory in publicly supported institutions providing library and information services. The ALA shall seek to make it possible for library and information service agencies which receive their major support from public funds

to provide service to all people without additional fees and to utilize the latest technological developments to insure the best possible access to information, and ALA will actively promote its position on equal access to information.

The Open Access Working Group (OAWG), initiated by SPARC, is a group of likeminded organizations that began meeting in the Fall of 2003 to build a framework for collective advocacy of open access to research. The group seeks to build broadbased recognition that the economic and societal benefits of scientific and scholarly research investments are maximized through open access to the results of that research. OAWG aims to bring about changes within stakeholder institutions enabling viable open access models to be widely and successfully implemented and accepted.

eIFL.net: is an independent foundation that seeks to encourage wide availability of electronic resources for library users in transition and developing countries. Its main focus is on negotiating affordable subscriptions, while supporting the enhancement of emerging national library consortia in member countries. eIFL.net, according to its website, «now includes over 2,200 libraries in more than 40 countries, with a total population of about 800 million». The goals of the consortium are:

— To enable the collection of a rich body of Internet content from around the world to be preserved in a way that it can be archived, secured and accessed over time.

— To foster the development and use of common tools, techniques and standards that enable the creation of international archives.

— To encourage and support national libraries everywhere to address Internet archiving and preservation.

Nelli: Helsinki University Library and the National Library have developed Nelli in cooperation with the university library network, and the portal offers contents and tools for information retrieval and for searching many databases simultaneously. There are possibilities for tailored and personalized services. Nelli is one of the corner stones of the national open for all portal to come.

General Information on the Hellenic National Node: The CULTIVATEEU project aims to establish a European Cultural Heritage Network linking the National Nodes across Europe . In that way it will provide a single point of information to the Cultural Heritage research programme. The *Hellenic National node for CULTIVATEEU* is based on the existing synergy of various actors in the cultural area of Greece. The main body and partner of the Network is the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs that has established active information link on EUprogrammes with the National Documentation Centre/NHRF (NCP for IST programme and IDEALIST project). Within the scope of the CULTIVATE project, the *Hellenic Cultivate Network* (consisting of representative bodies from the area of the Libraries, Museums, Archives, IT and promotion companies) has been formulated and contributes positively in the diffusion of information at each particular subarea related to the Cultural Heritage.

VI. CHALLENGES

A new collaborative schedule that will:

— Offer the opportunity to modernize library services so that libraries are better able to meet the changes in distance learning matters.

— Meet the users' expectations of how information technology will help them find information in a range of issues, especially, in education mainly characterized as student-centered / independent/ distance learning.

— Libraries and information centers are viewed as an important component of this massive educational effort.

— While some participants initially viewed libraries as playing only a supporting role to education, a stronger position eventually emerged: that of libraries as lifelong learning centers, with education an essential part of their mission.

— Continue to improve evaluation, research, and dissemination of library-based literacy efforts by libraries and other literacy providers.

— Redirect administrative responsibility for provision of real knowledge and not only information.

— Interdependency of academic libraries cannot mean self-reliance. The modern demands formulate sharing not only of resources but also of functions and roles inside a well-organized framework respecting the particularities.

VII. PROPOSALS

1. Integrating services around the *virtual reference desk* including union catalogue.

2. All cultural developments take place through cultural exchanges and interactions.

3. Must contribute to create new social spaces for educational feedback and learning interactivity.

4. Promotion for the co-existence of different patrons according to many factors, such as age, nationality, scientific subjects.

5. Compilation of retrospective bibliography.

6. Coordination with UNESCO and transmission of a translated data for inclusion in Index Translatiorum.

7. Coordination with national bibliographic centers of other countries and exchange of bibliographic data and national bibliographies on reciprocal basis.

8. Meeting the Frontiers within the pale of the world community.

9. Making of national bibliographies that are Unicode based, covering all languages is essential.

10. Refine NL's mission and create a marketing plan which in turn will prompt it to «reach-out» and in that process look for who, where and what for its clientele are.

11. Especially, National Libraries will have to change their roles from «gatekeepers» to «gateways» of knowledge and in that they should be performing

such tasks as information mapping, information audits, training in information literacy, information of best practices / competencies and helping its users to navigate through the world of information more meaningfully.

VIII. MARKETING KNOWLEDGE

As knowledge-based institutions, both universities and national libraries sit particularly precariously in the path of what the economic historian Joseph Schumpeter called «the gale of creative destruction» being generated by IT and the transition to a «knowledge society». They are being forced to re-assess their roles, restructure their internal activities, develop new service paradigms, and create new partnerships as they seek to deal with contemporary challenges. One of these is:

Customer feedback: Feedback has been collected in a variety of ways, including monitoring access logs for the web site, email contact with users and discussions with library staff and potential content providers. Building on this network infrastructure, involve a wide range of policy, design and operational issues that needed careful attention in the planning and implementation stages of the project. These issues include:

— Constructing a site architecture that allows for growth and updating.

— Creating a navigation protocol to maximize the use ability of the site.

— Establishing the 'look and feel' of the site, involving design concepts, appropriate logos and adherence to disabilities access guidelines.

— Assessing legal issues with respect to intellectual property ownership and copyright in an electronic environment and establishing appropriate working procedures.

— Satisfactory resolution of such developmental and operational protocols is crucial in a project involving more than one participant, particularly given the considerable number of individuals likely to be contributing to the development and maintenance of the site.

— Intra-institutional environments.

— Inter-institutional relations.

IX. PRACTICALLY

The Goal: **(1)** assist in the building of strong national consortia; **(2)** be the premier multi-country negotiator for securing affordable commercial electronic information services; **(3)** strongly advocate for the development of local digital resources; **(4)** provide a strong central business relationship with content providers; **(5)** leverage multi-national expertise and resources to expand the access to information; **(6)** provide top quality educational and consulting services; **(7)** be an advocate for the adoption and advancement of effective information distribution models; **(8)** develop model partnerships with global funding agencies, foundations, consortial groups, and content providers; **(9)** overcome its traditional, passive character and replace it with a new, active, service oriented model and,

(10) transform the NLs from custodial depositories of library materials to more service oriented institutions.

It is characteristic that EBLIDA *(European Association of Library and Archive Associations)* believes that «libraries and archives constitute a vital and necessary building block in the development of the knowledge and information society in which all citizens benefit from access to information, knowledge libraries and culture through publicly funded cultural heritage institutions such as libraries, archives and museums.

Libraries and archives empower European citizens by collecting, organizing and providing access to a great range of high quality, current information and services to millions of researchers, students and members of the public, as well a by preserving our cultural heritage. Libraries and archives bridge the gap between the information rich and the information poor by delivering services free of charge or nearly free of charge. The free-of-charge principle is a decisive instrument in the development of an information society in Europe that delivers services to all its citizens».

The Free Access to Knowledge and the Issue of Literacy is really very important and collaborative proposals where the protagonists will be the Academic and National Librarians as e-educators could give solutions to that: Many libraries have outreach programs designed to meet the needs of specific groups of people with limited literacy skills. For example, people for whom English is a second language, who present a diversity of first languages and literacy levels, have been reached through tutoring programs with materials that match their cultures and interests. Appropriate materials have also been distributed to the institutionalized, including those in prisons, hospitals, rehabilitation centers, and group homes for the elderly and disabled. Intensive prison programs, coordinated under a literacy librarian, have offered specialized software and English-as-a-second-language training.

Libraries should work alongside educators and attract new customers as:

— The number of students is still growing.

— Different types of students are asking for education; participation of women, older students, and students from ethnic minorities is growing.

— Increasingly, work and study are combined, and that leads to a need for more flexible learning arrangements in which the campus or school building is no longer central to the educational process.

— More generally, there is a trend towards lifelong learning.

— Lifelong learning leads to an emphasis on «learning to learn». Knowledge becomes obsolete at an ever-increasing rate in a knowledge economy, and knowledge workers need to be able to refresh their knowledge on a regular basis.

— Higher education institutions have long had a monopoly in providing education, but increasingly, companies and public bodies possess knowledge that can be reused for educational purposes, partly for in-house training (knowledge management) but also to offer to external markets.

— Education is under constant budget pressure, thus there is a need for more efficient and effective education.

— Students more and more are behaving like consumers who want to make informed choices about how and where they want to be educated, which implies students are no longer committed to one institution.

X. THE ROLE OF THE NATIONAL LIBRARIES IN THE SOCIAL INTERACTION

Librarians need to know what to know. They, as well, need to have the help of other librarians. Interaction can question and tailor answers. As access to material becomes easier, emphasis will shift from the mechanical aspects to knowing what material to access. National Libraries have an important socializing function to deal with. They can have a decisive role in creating mechanisms for seeking «the invisible information», the one that is not yet digitally indexed, it is originated from rare booklets or often it is in the exclusive occupation of the national library of their country or of a collector who accepts to trust his valuable and unique acquisition only in the hands of the National Library, as it suppose to be and it has to be the national keeper of the written cultural creation. We can't overlook the ad-hoc and contextual nature of most information seeking, the personal desirability from social interaction and the benefits the librarian community will enjoy if we put into practice the possibility the users-librarians collectively and interactively seek information methods and environments inside a collaborative frame where librarians, with the instructive active presence of the National Library, find, create and maintain knowledge. Providing electronic services, we do not try to abolish the social world. National Libraries can built the social functionality among the librarians of their nation, reminding that e-services are services where professionals-librarians are involved seeking for flexible, accurate, distributed construction for interactive communications. It would be so useful to focus on in-person reference transactions! We can create a shared folder that could be accessed by all desk staff during their shifts at the off-site services desk, with the immediate feedback available as a specialist librarian will be stand by for guide ness. An idea could be to set up an appointment system to indicate when a librarian needs help by simply clicking the «National Reference» icon. The librarian of the National Library can guide him to the appropriate academic or other contributor and the two librarians can talk each other on the phone or by chatting. In this way, social interaction is reinforced!

XI. FROM THE USERS' VIEW

The users' expectation is increasingly for digital services 24 hours a day. So, in order to address this demand, libraries are moved to cooperative projects. Some of the most important are the following:
— **The Library of Congress Collaborative Digital Reference (CDRS).**
— **The 24/7 Reference Project.**

— **AskUsQuestions.com.**
— **The Virtual Reference Desk (VRD).**
— **The Internet Public Library.**

All of them strive to «advance the provision of digital reference and the successful creation and operation of human-mediated, Internet-based information services». This enables and the librarian and the patron to interact, share and control the information queries remotely; it is the e-share in the information hunting. From that point of view, the librarian of the national library can be the Request Manager of the queries posing by the librarians and are relevant to the questions they deliver from the users. He can process and data-base tracks to the appropriate addressee-library where the specialist librarian will answer. On a login screen the librarians act and interact assuring the reliability of the answers and the strength of the live human contact. The questions and answers are later archived to serve as a resource to the national network. Moreover adopting a national theory to the e–services issue, that limits the chaos of the different approaches and the economic cost of the various projects which many times «one does not recognize the other». The transformation will be really amazing if we utilize the geographic and thematic diversity of libraries under the umbrella of a national body, as it is the National Library. As it concerns the technical issues, information science is and will always be willing in provid-ing the best solutions for a shareware distributed request tracking system. The point is the organizational schedule and the role of the national library in it. A title like «E-Share Nation's Libraries» may give the stigma eagerness of the pro-posal. In this way, our users won't have these usual negative feelings thinking that National Libraries provide only selective and exclusionary access to information as a source of power, prestige, and importance.

XII. LIBRARY STAFF

Library staff, with appropriate training, can enjoy surmounting the challenges, knowing that their work truly makes a difference for remote users, especially stu-dents, so let's see its The Role of Librarians:

— Reinforcement in the librarians' educational mission is necessary. Greek National Virtual Desk could use the following online tools and resources: 1) the electronic classroom (virtual classroom through split-screen technology); and 2) the electronic library (catalogue and delivery service).

— Greek librarians should embrace these new opportunities to redefine their roles as teachers, as advocates for information policy development, as organizers of networked resources, as social human beings and take a proactive stance, as eagerly as they welcomed and grasped the technological innovations that so rapidly are changing their libraries.

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CAN A NATIONAL LIBRARY BECOME AN E-EDUCATOR?

The past few years radical improvements have been made in educational technology and distance education has taken up a lot of space, creating online classes, setting up virtual study groups and generally doing more or less anything we have experienced in traditional classrooms. It is really noticeable that in 2001 one of the pre conferences in this year's Association of College and Research Libraries Conference had to do with «Teaching and Learning in 3-D Environments». In 1998 the same Association promoted the philosophy that «distance patrons are entitled to library services and resources equivalent to those provided in traditional campus settings». Today there is a big question on how tools, like the videoconferencing, that allow us hold classes online, are really easily adaptable for one-on-one reference use where you could have many people in line and it would be difficult to figure out who came next. Now imagine a schema where patrons are the librarians themselves and the «course's theme» is how to provide in real-time accurate, comprehensive and reliable information to the users in the type of instantaneous response and immediate gratification. The conductors could be the specialist librarians of the National Library having all the qualifications to function as «e-educators» in the field of the e-reference itself. This can be done in an interactive framework with a wide variety of tools through contact centre software designed expressly for covering that need. VoIP (Voice over Internet Protocol), which allow the librarian and the patron – in our case is the librarian himself- to hold a voice conversation on the same line they are using for the Web connection- can be used as a method enabling talking back and forth at the same time, just as if they were on the phone. In any case technology offers functional tools. The point is how we, the National Libraries, can use those developing new models and implementing distance-electronic learning in what we most care about, the e-training of the reference librarians. The important thing is not only to replace the crew of the sitting at the buildings desks reference librarians by online voice-message shippers, but how we can create a national, well qualified e-staff that can handle the reference traffic appropriately. A librarian of the National Library will be always there guiding them in online simulations, preparing to cope with specialized needs librarians as «patrons-students» have. Practically that can be realized with the asynchronous (time-lagged) and synchronous (real-time) and the ramifications of the two types of interacting on the e-instructor and the e-student. This is of the utmost importance for librarians who need a quick introduction or for those who are not intimately involved with distance librarianship but will find themselves in the position of providing services to distance patrons. Librarians are teaching more and their patrons are demanding more instruction from their questions. Our role as instructors promises only to get bigger not only because the electronic environment continues to expand, but mostly because of the mission and the leading role the National libraries have to carry out. The challenge is in front of us! Let's organize our navigation platform!

XIII. SCHEDULE

— Pre-planning *(it provides time to define the parameters of the framework, acquire the necessary technical and psychological background to meet the challenges and devise an effective strategy for implementation)*.

— Focus on the requirements of the patrons; adopts new kinds of methods to make its service available to the public learners; transfer the focus of library's work from the traditional functions to meeting the demands of knowledge.

— A Network among National Library and Academic Libraries: no library alone can provide all the requested knowledge. A Virtual Library Network could acclimatize the staff engaged in library service to the role of «Knowledge guide» rather than the «provider of information», in the new multi-functional electronic global époque.

— Reduce cost by joint construction and sharing information.

— In collaboration with the Ministry of Science and Technology and the Ministry of Education and the Consortium of Academic Libraries and National Libraries, a distributed, extensible and interoperable network with the whole possible scale of contents and resources easily reachable and properly organized to cover the needs of the distance students inside the nation but and those of every patron, with the same scientific or cultural interests worldwide. The initiative could be named as «National Cultural Resources Sharing Desk for Global Use».

— The «For All Global Library» is also «MyLibrary». Individualized services can be provided to users by analyzing with the «clever technology» each account according to the queries and the issues he is interested in. In future visits to «MyLibrary», distant learners will be served with the latest related information related to those topics previously. With Cookie-supported browsers, patrons may log into MyLibary and select with the real time assistance of specially qualified librarians the «NCR» resources and other in parallel interest international resources according to their own knowledge structure and demands. So, functions like bookmark, notice of latest information, search engine connections and customization of Web page style are especially for each user.

— Special concern should be taken for the students of the Open University, constructing a thematically divided Virtual Reference Desk with the librarians of the National Library and of the Academic Libraries sharing their responsibilities according their own experience and playing a real active role in the educational procedure.

— International Exchanges with other Libraries through regular exchange programs and international seminars making a prominent step in this trend, in the dissemination of the need of acting «together» as partners in the educational procedure, deepening mutual understanding among us and building collaborative activities.

— The end users will be learners, creators, seekers or software. Any of these could discover and access resources through a query, browsing or a pre-determined path. The access services will search, gather, alert, and permit publishing for use in order to put resources back into the repository. The provision services will expose metadata, deliver content and store and manage material.

Taking cognizance of the ***advantages of this virtual organization***, such as:

— globalization of the local nation;

— real-time access to pertinent information;

— virtual reference service;

— interactive and dynamic information metaphors;

— collaboration and with a number of other institutions, publishers, museums and educational bodies;

— maximization of the satisfaction of the distance users;

— avoid gaps in collection that are filled, according to the learning subjects in guiding the remote patron not only to the right library but mainly to the right librarian who is properly prepared and has the experience in this specific subject;

— act as a referral center by coordinating services for purveying full and accurate knowledge;

— cultural change at the partner librarians.

The whole effort may be a difficult but not a distant vision.

Examples that prove the words that: *«Prices limit access, and intolerable prices limit access intolerably». Peter Suber, Philosophy Department, Earlham College (An Introduction to Open Access for Librarians, C&RL News, Feb. 2003).*

Digital Information Services from:

1. US Library of Congress.

2. British Library.

3. National Library of Canada.

4. National Library of Australia.

5. Boston Public Library.

The benefits of open access:

— You own, not license, copies of the literature;

— You have the right to archive independently;

— No complex limitations (authentication, proxy servers, simultaneous use restrictions, etc.);

— Lend and copy on own terms to any users you choose.

— No complex licensing negotiations;

— No cancellations due to cost or budget limitations.

Actions needed to preserve digital information:

— Capture as much metadata as possible about the original, to assist in interpretation and access;

— Refresh and migrate data to new formats and new media periodically;

— Preserve and/or emulate old equipment and software so that files in obsolete formats can still be used.

Some digital preservation programs in progress:

— Ejournals preservation;

— Research Universities;

— Lots Of Copies Keeps Stuff Safe (LOCKSS) lockss.stanford.edu;

— Mellon program at Harvard, Cornell, Upenn, Yale, etc.;

— Private sector;

— OCLC Electronic Collections Online Digital Archive www.oclc.org/oclc/eco/archive.htm;

— Partnerships between private and public sector;

— Elsevier Science and the Koninklijke Bibliotheek (National Library of the Netherlands);

— Broad national and international programs;

— USA National Digital Information Infrastructure and Preservation Program (NDIIPP) www.digitalpreservation.gov;

— Australia — Preserving Access to Digital Information (PADI) www.nla.gov.au/padi/;

— Nordic Web Archive nwa.nb.no;

— Networked European Deposit Library (NEDLIB)www.kb.nl/coop/nedlib/.

Policies for the Open Access Initiative:

— These policies should address things like;

— Basic archival principles to be followed;

— Intellectual property and digital rights management;

— Authenticity and integrity of data;

— Rights and responsibilities of content submitters;

— Accessioning and deaccessioning;

— Selection criteria;

— Eligibility to contribute, eligibility to use;

— Privacy and anonymity;

— Ongoing governance and maintenance.

«The world is getting smaller, the countries are growing closer together, globalization is affecting all areas of life. In view of global electronic integration and the wealth of information available all round the world, libraries have no choice but to cooperate internationally. Thus, in addition to international contacts between individual libraries, cooperation among all libraries has become important as well International cooperation is much simpler today as new technologies have more or less been able to solve the problem of distance. However, the development of libraries in the global context relies on cooperation among colleagues» (Barbara Schleihagen).

XIV. CONCLUSIONS

1. Users become much more powerful despite the roles and values of intermediaries. Community in a digital network becomes a vital element, and networking shared creative acts brings peer groups into primary communication long before secondary content is developed or acquired. Roles change, and intermediaries like publishers find themselves becoming vendors of valueadd publishing services, rather than owner

developers. So today we are talking about the consolidation of the publishers, the creating budgets for the authors, the new rules for the authors, the «guilty» librarians.

2. Cooperation, or a willingness to participate in the sharing of resources, is not always a given. National Libraries are also involved in the creation of national resource sharing strategies, including the development of centralized or decentralized systems, union catalogues, cooperative collection development, and statistics. National Libraries are also often involved in lobbying for access provisions in national copyright legislation and in providing advice on interpreting the law. Sometimes, as in the case of the Library of Congress, they are even responsible for registering copyright. National Libraries play a key role in facilitating international access and acting as clearinghouses for international requests. Should lobby for copyright legislation that would allow electronic delivery of «fair use» copies to the user's desktop.

3. The National Libraries' traditionally good contacts with publishers and rightsowners are beneficial to a continuing dialogue between public and private information suppliers so that services and contents can be offered to information seekers in a form that is easy to use, transparent, structured and comprehensive be responsible for ensuring that the information contained in it keeps pace with developments in society, and for monitoring the quality and availability of that material publishing houses, printing shops and originators.

4. Their task to act for the benefit of the individual information seeker requires international cooperation with regard to both technology and content. Virtual reference, a service that allows librarians and patrons to communicate with each other in real time through the Internet by email, chat or instant messaging, is currently a hot topic in libraries. In a way the commercial sector has challenged the reference function by offering Question & Answer services. To librarians this represents a threat and an opportunity. They can benefit from technologies and service models developed for the commercial arena by adapting these to virtual reference applications that will more effectively meet the needs of on the Web. To quote Ann Lipow (Lipow, 1999), director of Library Solutions Institute and Press (Berkeley, USA), guru of the virtual reference service: «rather than thinking of our users as remote, we should instead recognise that it is we who are remote from our users».

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A. Möldre

FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION IN THE DIGITAL ENVIRONMENT: CONTEMPORARY ISSUES IN ESTONIA

А. Мёлдре
Свобода выражения в электронной сфере: современные проблемы в Эстонии

Резюме

Использование Интернета в онлайновом режиме не может регулироваться лишь юридически или технологически. Находясь в киберпространстве, людям следует уважать правила и этические принципы реального мира. Инструкции должны не ограничивать уникальные возможности онлайновых коммуникаций, а облегчать их использование все большим числом пользователей. В Эстонии основные проблемы, связанные с онлайновым режимом, являются проблемами нравственности. Изменения в системе ценностей, вытекающие из перехода бывших социалистических стран к рыночной экономике и усиленные технологическим развитием, привели к нравственному упадку и ухудшению нравственного воспитания. Поскольку большая часть всех пользователей Интернета — молодежь, школы не должны ограничиваться только предоставлением учащимся базовых компьютерных навыков, они должны также обращать внимание на нравственное воспитание. Оно также является обязанностью родителей. Сложившаяся ситуация требует широкого обсуждения меняющихся ценностей современного мира, охватывающих моральные принципы как реального мира, так и Интернета.

As in every democratic state the Constitution guarantees the citizen of Estonia the right to express and disseminate one's ideas, opinions, beliefs and other information in printed word or otherwise. There is no censorship, but the freedom of speech or more widely the freedom of expression is not limitless. The Constitution provides restrictions prohibiting the inciting of national, racial, religious or political hatred, propaganda of violence and discrimination. A special law prohibits the dissemination of pornography and works propagating violence among juveniles. Other limitations spring from various laws like the law on personal data and several special laws, for example the law on telecommunication etc., which contain direct or indirect limitations to one's right to express oneself freely. None of the laws on the content and dissemination of information pays special attention to the Internet.

At the same time the inhabitants of Estonia use the Internet extensively. 46 per cent of the people aged 15–74 used the Internet at the end of the year 2003. Its wide use is fostered by the large number of home computers — more than a half of the

Internet users have access to it at home[1]. The use of the Internet gives the freedom of expression a new dimension, unknown so far. Every deliverance, every material, published on the web could be accessed any time, anywhere and it reaches the public at an unprecedented speed.

At the same time the above-mentioned limitations to the freedom of expression, which are valid in the traditional media are often considered inappropriate in the Internet and drafting of new rules has been declared pointless. The Internet is treated as a phenomenon, which is different from the real world. This leads to a situation, where unethical behaviour, even crimes that would be unthinkable for majority of people in reality could easily happen in the online environment.

Richard Rubin has indicated seven new temptations prompting unethical actions that have been generated by computer technology[2]. Among them he points out the speed that enables the unethical actions to be carried out in shorter times, thus decreasing the chances of detection; privacy and anonymity of use — the great availability of computers and computer-related technology in less visible places like people's homes; high, cheap and fast communication equipment and software that can guarantee anonymity. Other temptations include the nature of the medium (ability to copy), the aesthetic attraction; increased availability of potential victims, international scope and the power to destroy (seemingly enormous invisible power of the owners of computers). In networks, individuals can communicate without identity, using pseudonyms or taking someone else's identity. The feeling of anonymity is one of the most important characteristics of the Internet that could foster moral irresponsibility.

According to Deborah G. Johnson anonymity is not bad in itself, it serves as an equaliser in the contexts in which race, gender or physical appearance get in the way of fair treatment[3]. It may also facilitate participation in certain activities, discussions on sensitive topics etc. The Declaration on freedom of communication on the Internet, elaborated by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe in 2003 urges the member states to respect the will of users of the Internet not to disclose their identity, thus protecting the principle of anonymity. The principle aims at protecting people against online surveillance and enhancing free expression of information and ideas[4].

Still, in Estonia the discussion about the necessity to regulate the use of Internet has been provoked by the misuse of anonymity, which becomes evident in the malicious, defamatory nature and improper language of the anonymous comments, widely spread on the sites of portals and online-newspapers. In order to enliven the interest of the users, the portals and online-newspapers have initiated the rubrics of comments, where the commentators can remain anonymous. The users can add their comments to the news and features on the sites and also rate the comments by other users. The most popular site for comments, comment@delfi was found in 2000 and has since become the most successful portal. As many as 303 000 people a month visited the site in 2002[5]. At the beginning of its existence it was proclaimed

to be a public forum of unseen possibilities, a «collective brain» turning into quality online-journalism, a collective creation of the most active members of the society, i.e. the people participating in the web discussions[6]. The other sites presenting a possibility to comment the news, for example online-newspapers etc. are also favoured by the public. They have an important role in indicating the attitudes, feelings and problems of the users, mirroring their reactions to the social processes. The most intriguing topics bring hundreds, even thousands of comments. The Estonian Internet portals receive around ten thousand comments every day[7].

However, the intellectual level of the comments is often low. There are, of course instructive comments by specialists and comments, which share the authors' experience, observations etc. there. Nevertheless, it is often difficult to find the «reasonable» texts among the senseless and disdainful comments, all the more that the latter are repeated many times. The critical remarks and insults in the address of public figures have become daily routine of the portals. Many people are eager to express their opinions under the precondition that the ideas and views will not be connected with them, making them unreachable.

The targets of the malicious messages are not limited only to Estonians. The following examples demonstrate another important characteristic of the Internet — the international scope. For example, when Estonia won the Eurovision song contest in 2000, the net was full of joyous comments. A commentator from Lithuania, however, reproached Estonia for not giving any points to the Lithuanian song. As a result, the Lithuanian commentator was poured over with insults and impertinent comments. Analogous incident took place in 2002, when the Estonian skiers Andrus Veerpalu and Jaak Mae were victorious on the Winter Olympics in Salt Lake City. The Swedish newspaper Aftonbladet published an article by Per Elofsson, which made cautious hints on the possible use of doping by the Estonian skiers. In response to this article many commentators used the Delfi portal to appeal to other users to send abusive messages and spam to the journalist's e-mail address, disturbing his normal work. They also linked to a popular Swedish chat-room, disturbing the participants with senseless sentences and invective messages in English[8].

The Estonian public persons, insulted in the online environment are not very frequent legal suitors. The proceedings tend to be complicated and expensive. The chairman of the Supreme Court of Estonia U. Lõhmus has pointed out that people want to avoid further public attention[9]. Although one's personal rights like reputation and privacy are protected, these provisions are scattered in different laws. The legal system was changed largely in 2002. For example, there are no criminal or civil penalties for libel, people can sue for damages and demand corrections, but there is no sufficient court practice on privacy to make the rulings predictable. The Estonian law courts abstain from judging moral damages, intimating that determination of the value of moral damage in financial terms is rather complex[10]. In order to encourage people to protect their privacy and demonstrate the offenders that they have to take the consequences of their actions, this system should be made easier, more

available and integral. People should also be informed more actively about their rights.

Some cases draw wide attention of the public. For example a comment on the Delfi portal incited to kill the former mayor of Tallinn and the leader of the Centre Party Edgar Savisaar and his family as well as the Prime Minister Siim Kallas in 2002. The Centre Party asked the police to find the commentator. As the comment was in contradiction with the Constitution, the portal agreed that the limits of the freedom of speech had been exceeded and revealed the data, which helped the police to catch the author of the threat. But as typical of Estonia, this case also did not reach the court as the politicians chose not to sue[11].

This and other cases raise the question of regulating the content of the Internet in order to hinder such crimes and hooliganism. There are, in principle, two ways to do it — legal regulation or self-regulation, defined here as an unofficial set of norms for conduct, accepted and implemented by private bodies[12].

The lack of censorship does not mean that the state has no rights in achieving the balance between the freedom of speech and the protection of privacy. Every limitation of freedom of speech should derive from the laws. The Estonian corresponding legislation is somewhat desultory, but many international norms, including the legal acts of the Council of Europe and the directives of the European Union valid here regulate the field. The European documents as the above-mentioned Declaration of freedom of communication on the Internet give preference to the self-regulation of the content of the Internet, keeping the role of the state minimal. Estonia's standpoints on this matter have been formed on the basis of the European doctrine.

The self-regulation comprises the responsibility and regulation by the Internet service providers (ISP) and the elaboration of rules for the use of the sites. For example the portal Delfi has elaborated a code of conduct for its consumers, that prohibits comments which do not correspond with the topic; comments, written under the name of another person as well as comments bearing insults, containing advertisements, propagating hatred or calling on illegal behaviour. But the portal also declares, that it bears no responsibility for the content of comments, which are, in principal, neither censored nor edited. The marketing director of Delfi, Allan Sombri has stated that as the comments are created online, it would be impossible to control them[13]. If someone, however, notifies the editors about a comment contradicting these rules the portal has a right to remove the comment.

Similar rules have also been elaborated for the commentaries of the online newspapers. Some newspapers pre-select the commentaries and do not publish improper or defamatory texts. In some cases, the improper language is removed from the message. In August 2004 the daily newspaper Eesti Päevaleht declared about gradually ending anonymous commenting in its online version[14]. The paper presents a possibility to comment the articles of their online-version only after registration. It has also limited the range of articles, open for commenting. The change

in policy also includes removing defamatory comments. Although the decision evoked some vicious reactions, the majority of commentators welcomed the idea of a vulgarity-free paper. The discussion concentrated on various technical solutions for identifying the commentators. As to the leading portals, then they have not followed this example and do not edit the comments by readers.

In order to propagate the rules of netiquette the leading newspapers and the Delfi portal initiated a social campaign «Fight against flame in the name of the free Internet» in autumn 2005. It includes informing the public about their rights in the online environment and instructing the users about their actions when they notice defamatory comments in the net. The campaign demonstrates that the Internet is not anonymous, it does not consist of the computers, but of people[15]. It draws the attention to the harm that the hateful comments could do in limiting the eagerness of the users to participate in open discussions and provoking the desire to censor the Internet. The content analysis of the comments on two topics on the Delfi portal and on the web-page of the newspaper Eesti Päeveleht before and after the campaign demonstrates the decrease in the share of comments, including flame and insults in the address of other commentators (from 15 per cent in winter to 8 per cent in autumn 2005)[16]. This positive development could be a result of the campaign.

The Internet portals have also taken steps to regulate the journalistic content of the Internet. The body of self-regulation of the press, the Press Council and the portals concluded a contract of co-operation in spring 2003. According to the contract the Press Council starts processing the complaints on the journalistic material published on the portals. The latter have declared readiness to subordinate to the Press Council in the questions of journalistic ethics[17]. The Press Council discusses the complaints presented by readers and processes them free of charge in short time. The Council has no legal power, it makes all the decisions public by issuing them in the newspapers, thus trying to influence the atmosphere in the media through moral persuasion and fostering professional ethics. Thus the ethical code elaborated by the Estonian Newspaper Association in 1997 applies also to the Internet portals.

Estonia signed the Supplementary Protocol of the European Convention of Cybercrime, incriminating racism and xenophobia in the online environment in 2003. One of the most serious cases in this field took place in the beginning of 2004, when a comment «The Jews into the oven» appeared on Delfi's site. This message clearly contained an appeal to violence. The police found the commentator and initiated a criminal case[18]. The author of this comment was a young man and it seemed that he had written the comment without really thinking what it meant. This was a «typical case» of irresponsibility, total lack of self-restraint in the online environment, as the commentator would probably have never sent this text to a traditional newspaper under his real name.

The Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Estonia has elaborated a draft act in autumn 2005 aiming at a more simple procedure for the disclosure of the personal data of an anonymous commentator. It also plans to make the Internet service providers responsible for the content, instigating hatred, which has been exposed on their

sites. The draft has been an object of fierce critique as it seems to threaten the freedom of expression in the online environment. As mentioned above, the general trend in regulating the Internet favours self-regulation. The measures suggested in the draft act are not in accordance with this policy, preference should be given to informing and educating the users as has been done by the participants of the anti-flame campaign.

The latter case represents illegal behaviour, when it is clear that the offender should be punished. But, as stated above, the situation with ethical matters is more complicated. Neither legal regulation nor surveillance of users can avoid irresponsibility. According to an ideal the users should act responsibly in order to preserve the democratic nature of the online environment. The comments, however, demonstrate a need for a wide discussion on the ethical questions in the society. This becomes evident also in connection with the topic of the sexuality of children in the Internet. Online child pornography has not been a major problem in Estonia. But the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children made an application to the police in spring 2004 about the sex forum jippii.ee, where one can find improper letters from 11–14 year old boys and girls[19]. The material about their imaginable or real sexual experiences does not belong to the domain of the police. No criminal cases could also be brought to action on the basis of the photos, which a child has made of him- or herself and placed on a web-page. Photos of minors in scanty clothing, placed there by the children themselves could be found on another site, rate.ee. The idea of the site is based on presenting the photos of users for commenting and rating by others. Commentaries are not classified as pornography and sexual fantasy is not punishable. At the same time it is impossible to know whether the situation depicted in the comment was real or not. Here again the question of ethics and responsibility arises. In this case parents should take notice of online behaviour of their children and provide them with moral guidance. The responsibility should extend also to the adults who provide the children with the dubious forums. At the present time there are no legal possibilities to reprimand them. There is also no self-regulatory system that could be compared with the Press Council in this field.

In conclusion it could be said that the behavioural problems online could not be regulated only legally or technologically, people should respect the rules and ethical principles of the real world also in the cyberspace. The regulation should not restrict the unique possibilities of online-communication and enable the participation of a wide range of users. The main problems of the Estonian online environment seem to concentrate on ethical issues. The changes in values that result from the shift to market economy in the post-socialist countries and strengthened by the technological development have lead to a moral decay and decline in ethical education. As a large share of the all users of the Internet are youngsters, then the schools should not limit themselves to providing the students with basic computer skills, but also provide ethical education. This should also be the responsibility of parents. The situation calls for a wider discussion about the changing values in the contemporary world, which should enfold the moral principles of the real world as well as the Internet.

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ОТ ТЕОРИИ «ИНФОРМАЦИОННОГО ОБЩЕСТВА» К КОНЦЕПЦИИ «НОВОГО ИНФОРМАЦИОННОГО ПОРЯДКА»

M. B. Konashev
From the Theory of «The Information Society» to the Concept of «The New Information Order

Abstract

According to the theory of the «information society» (IS), IS is a special, qualitatively new society. In the economy and other spheres of the IS the key role is played by information and «information capital». Most proponents of IS theory identify IS with that society which exists in the so-called advanced countries of the West. The Internet is considered by these authors as one of the major elements of IS and one of the most powerful factors of freedom.

Critics of IS theory contend that IS theory is part of the general ideological and practical attack of the neoliberalism which was caused by need to reform industrial capitalism. IS is only the newest stage in development of the capitalism, called «information capitalism» (IC) which arose as a result of the end of the post-war social democratic consensus and the global re-structuring of capitalism in the 1970s, and originated as a means of resolving the crisis of industrial capitalism. The technological basis of IC was an «information revolution» (IR) or new information technologies (NIT). IR was not a natural and spontaneous process, but rather a process controlled and carried out by corporate capital. In IC information is the key commodity determining the conditions of purchase and sale of all other goods. Therefore in the new «information economy» the role of information capital steadily grows.

Thus IC is the feature or the form of global corporate capitalism under which in the world economy and policy a dominating position is held by a small number of vertically and horizontally integrated transnational corporations (TC). Possessing huge riches and being the largest consumers and simultaneously manufacturers of information and NIT, these TC determine what information is provided and who obtains access to it. Because in IC information is not for the general cultural welfare of the people, but private property, an object of sale and purchase, such phenomena as patents, commercial and state secrets, censorship and numerous other mechanisms for the restriction of access to information flourish. Together, these mechanisms and the results of their functioning make up the «new information order» (NIO).

NIO is often defined as «information imperialism» under which the global information environment and its basic sources of information are determined entirely by the western countries and especially by the USA. The main feature of this imperialistic NIO is the use of information for the preservation of western domination in economic and political spheres. An anti-imperialistic «new world information order» (NWIO) has been proclaimed as an alternative to NIO. Though NWIO was no more than an intellectual project, an appeal to establish NWIO, made in UNESCO at the beginning of the 1980s, led to the USA withdrawing from UNESCO. An important premise of NWIO is that the Internet cannot be controlled by such traditional twentieth-century sociopolitical controllers as the state and parties. One of many NWIO initiatives was the campaign against war in Iraq organized through the Internet at the beginning of March 2003. During this campaign more than a million signatures were collected in support of a petition sent to the United Nations.

Мода и, если хотите, спрос на «информационное общество» (ИО), в том числе на теорию ИО, не спадает. Факт сам по себе примечательный. Количество публикаций на эту тему самого разного сорта и в самых разных изданиях, в том числе и академических, не снижается. При этом обилии до сих пор не совсем ясно, о чем собственно идет речь. Само разнообразие вариантов теории ИО и оценок этой теории поражает и свидетельствует как будто о крайней сложности и неоднозначности, а то и противоречивости предмета соответствующих теоретических и эмпирических исследований. Не меньшее разнообразие наблюдается и в отношении определений ИО.

ОПРЕДЕЛЕНИЕ ИНФОРМАЦИОННОГО ОБЩЕСТВА

Единственной объединяющей чертой множества определений информационного общества, отличающихся в большей или меньшей степени друг от друга, является та или иная отсылка в этих определениях к информации. Например, по Н. П. Лукиной, информационное общество — «это новая форма цивилизации, генерирующая современные структуры и соответствующие социально-политические механизмы решения проблем, связанных с развитием отраслей информационной технологии»[1]. По С. М. Щербакову, «сеть Internet сегодня можно рассматривать как действующую модель информационного общества и информационной экономики»[2]. Наконец, по М. Кастельсу, определяющему ИО как «информационализованное» общество, это общество, в котором «генерирование, обработка и передача информации» становится основным источником производительности и власти[3].

Если же учесть, что нет общепринятых определений таких, скорее всего, ключевых для «информационного общества» понятий, как «информация», «информационный работник», «Интернет», «сеть» и ряда других, в том числе такого казалось бы давно устоявшегося, как «общество», то попытки более или менее строгого определения ИО выглядят почти безнадежными.

В качестве иллюстрации приведем несколько оценок: «Нужно констатировать, что на сегодняшний день единственного и общепринятого определения сети Интернет, учитывающего все аспекты взаимодействия сети, общества и человека, не существует»[4]; «Термин „Интернет" используется уже много лет, но единого понимания его пока не сложилось»[5]; «информатика не имеет общепринятого определения»[6]; «Поскольку в настоящее время „электронное государство" находится в стадии становления, его понятие четко не сформировалось. Определение „электронное" условно обозначает новые информационно-коммуникативные каналы связи государственных органов и граждан»[7]; «Все концепции — технологическая, экономическая, связанная со сферой занятости, пространственная или культурная — дают нам весьма проблематичные понятия относительно того, что, собственно, составляет информационное общество и как его определить»[8]. Ситуация ухудшается тем, что при интерпретации такого базового для теории ИО понятия как информация используется сугубо количественный, формальный, а не какой-либо содержательный критерий, в результате чего для теоретиков информационного общества «совершенно не важно, передаем ли мы факт, суждение, плоское „общее место", глубокое учение, высокую истину или грязную непристойность»[9].

В этом, на первый взгляд, не поддающемся никакому упорядочиванию разнобое дефиниций и интерпретаций все же можно выделить некоторые основные понятия, прямо или косвенно относящиеся к ИО, а также принципиальные подходы к исследованию того явления, которое именуется «информационным обществом», и пусть предварительные, но вполне определенные результаты, на основе которых предлагается не так уж много ответов на вопрос о том, что же такое ИО, каково его прошлое, настоящее и возможное будущее.

РАЗНЫЕ ПОДХОДЫ К ОПРЕДЕЛЕНИЮ ИНФОРМАЦИОННОГО ОБЩЕСТВА

Рассмотрение имеющихся подходов разных авторов к исследованию, описанию, объяснению и определению ИО показывает, что они отличаются по тому, какой фактор (или факторы) в проводимом исследовании и последующей теоретической конструкции берется за определяющий, то есть какой детерминизм или индетерминизм применяется. Скажем, один автор исходит в своем исследовании и выводах из технологического детерминизма, а другой из экономического[10]. При этом первичным, определяющим характер и в значительной степени выводы исследования, оказывается не то, как понимается информация, новые информационные технологии (НИТ) или Интернет, а как понимается (и объясняется) общество и, добавим, человек. Поскольку теории ИО строятся во многом в зависимости от того, каким был метод исследования и построения теории, то и они в конечном итоге также зависят от этого.

Сторонники теории ИО как особого, нового, отличающегося от всех предыдущих общества, настаивают на том, что именно общество в целом

стало другим, *информационным*. А уж что это означает — другой вопрос. Критики теории ИО, как некоего социально и экономически особого, качественно нового общества, тоже признают ряд отличий ИО как целого, связанных с имеющими характер перерывов или скачков изменениями в технологиях и в экономике. Разница между сторонниками и противниками ИО заключается в том, *как* те и другие понимают *природу* или *суть* того общества, о котором они спорят. Эта разница предопределяет установление момента или времени возникновения ИО.

Общим для тех и других является признание той новой, особой роли, которую играет информация в этом обществе. В зависимости от используемого подхода — технологического, экономического и т. д. — они по разному определяют эту роль, а значит, и по разному определяют начало ИО — «момента», когда информация стала играть такую роль в обществе. Так, главное при технологическом подходе — изменение в технике или технологии, которое является решающим для эволюции сначала какой-то отдельной сферы общества, а затем или одновременно с этим и общества в целом. Появление так называемых *новых информационных технологий* (НИТ) свидетельствует о таких изменениях. От того, какая именно из НИТ выбирается в качестве технологии, революционизировавшей общество, превратившей его в ИО, меняется и точка отсчета возникновения ИО на шкале истории, сдвигаясь не на годы, а на десятилетия. Например, согласно одному автору, ИО начинается тогда, когда информационно-коммуникационные технологии (ИКТ) широко внедряются в экономику: «*С начала 80-х гг.* традиционная индустриальная экономика в развитых странах начала трансформироваться в информационную экономику. Основные источники экономического роста и повышения благосостояния людей все более и более перемещаются от физического капитала и сырьевых ресурсов к накопленным передовым научным знаниям и информационным ресурсам»[11]. Согласно другому автору, начало ИО совпадает с началом Интернета и персональной компьютеризации, то есть с массовым использованием персональных компьютеров, поэтому: «*В 90-х гг.* начался всемирный процесс становления информационного общества»[12]. Третьи авторы связывают становление ИО с переходом к «новой экономике», происходящим в настоящее время[13]. В поддержку такого взгляда приводятся довольно впечатляющие цифры. Например: «Объем электронной коммерции или бизнеса, проводимого через Интернет, составил 45 млрд. долл. уже в 1998 г., а прогнозы января 2000 г. говорили, что к 2004 г. он может достигнуть 7 трлн. долл.»[14]. Наконец, еще одна группа авторов связывает переход к информационному обществу с переходом к разнообразным видам и формам управления и властвования в обществе на базе применения НИТ, совпавшим со сменой одного века другим. Внешним проявлением такой трансформации власти и управления «стало применение перед названием государств

латинской буквы e, что означает появление „*Электронных США*" (e-USA), „*Электронной Европы*" (e-Europe), „*Электронной Франции*" (e-France), „*Электронной Великобритании*" (e-Great Britain) *и т. д.*»[15].

Особенно наглядно связь между выбором НИТ и началом ИО видна на примере теоретической эволюции Д. Белла. Еще в конце 1950-х гг. он вводит термин «постиндустриализм», который примерно в 1980 г. заменяет словами «информация» и «знание», в связи с ростом интереса к развитию компьютерных и телекоммуникационных технологий[16]. Из-за технологических перемен в развитых странах в конце 1970-х — начале 1980-х гг., вызвавших распространение продуктов микроэлектронных технологий, в первую очередь компьютеров, на производстве и в быту, теория «постиндустриального общества» Д. Белла начала 1970-х гг.[17] воспринималась как предвидение и описание новой эры. В конце 1990-х гг., когда стал очевиден бурный рост Интернета и книга Д. Белла была переиздана[18], он заменил термин «постиндустриализм» термином «информационное общество»[19].

Характерна также следующая особенность теории Д. Белла, присущая всем или почти всем без исключения адептам теории ИО: определенная технологическая (постиндустриальное, информационное) или экономическая (информационная экономика, информационный работник) характеристика ИО не только является в теории ИО ведущей для этого общества, но и практически единственно значимой, и — что еще важнее — фактически исключающей синтетическую социально-экономическую характеристику этого общества. Тем самым социально-экономическая особенность или специфика данного общества нивелируется, становится просто неопределимой. Скажем, сторонники ИО признают существование разных социальных групп или страт в ИО, а некоторые из авторов даже указывают на то, что информационные работники играют решающую роль в экономике ИО, но почти не углубляются в изучение того, в каких связях, в том числе в каких зависимостях, находятся эти группы по отношению друг к другу, какое отношение они имеют (если имеют) к получению экономического дохода и распределению экономической и политической власти в обществе. Проще говоря, все или почти все, что связано с экономическим, социальным и политическим *интересом* этих групп, остается в лучшем случае на заднем плане теории ИО.

ПОЛОЖИТЕЛЬНЫЕ ПОСЛЕДСТВИЯ ИО

Следует отметить, что теория ИО преимущественно или главным образом в положительном и даже восторженном свете трактует «информационное общество» и предполагает, что оно принесло и приносит с собой в основном одни положительные результаты и следствия. Эти результаты могут быть позитивными как для какой-то одной, достаточно узкой области жизни общества, так и для широкой, большой сферы, такой, например, как экономика, политика, образование, или даже для всего общества в целом. Пе-

речислим некоторые из таких реальных или предполагаемых положительных последствий. По А. Д. Трахтенбергу, достоинство Интернета в том, что Интернет восстанавливает «публичную сферу» в понимании Ю. Хабермаса за счет того, что «при общении в Интернете горизонтальные связи (равный к равному) явно преобладают над вертикальными, а статусы нивелируются»; в результате «в виртуальной реальности выполняется одно из главных требований к рациональному дискурсу: ориентация на силу аргументации, а не на статус»[20]. По Л. Зассману, развитие НИТ, «появление массы информации, потребляемой индивидуально, сделает ненужной цензуру и практически невозможным правительственное вмешательство»[21]. Д. Тапскотт, вслед за Т. Бретоном, идет еще дальше, полагая, что развитие НИТ в информационном обществе «ликвидирует функции посредничества, функции промежуточных звеньев. Венцом достижений сетевого человеческого разума, возможно, будет создание истинной демократии»[22].

Идея истинной демократии, устанавливаемой посредством внедрения НИТ, оказалась очень популярной и неизменно модной, лишь меняющей свои формы с течением времени и изменениями в НИТ. Появление каналов кабельного телевидения в конце 60-х — начале 70-х годов XX века вызвало к жизни идею «теледемократии», согласно которой граждане участвуют в тех или иных политических дебатах, наблюдая какое-либо политическое мероприятие по телевизору и одновременно используя телефон для выражения своего мнения. Предполагалось, что «теледемократия» будет содействовать непосредственному участию граждан в политическом процессе и продвинет намечающиеся реформы посредством технических возможностей средств электронной коммуникации[23]. Концепция «теледемократии» трансформировалась в идею «электронной республики»[24], исходившую из теоретических поисков Ю. Хабермаса путей реформирования публичной политики как принципиально нового «киберпространства» для свободных обсуждений актуальных общественных проблем, в котором каждый гражданин сможет не только высказаться, но и быть услышанным. В начале 90-х гг. предлагается также концепция «виртуального сообщества», согласно которой «виртуальные сообщества могли бы помочь гражданам оживить демократию»[25].

Неуклонный и неизменный оптимизм в отношении «электронной демократии» демонстрировался неоднократно многими авторами, в том числе и российскими, которые рассматривали эту демократию либо как усовершенствованное продолжение гражданского общества[26], либо как новую модель государственного управления, кардинально преобразующую «традиционные отношения граждан и властных структур»[27]. Согласно этой модели, получившей обоснование и выражение в теории общественно-политического правления, целью политико-административных реформ, в том числе

в России, является «вовлечение граждан в процессы выработки и реализации государственной политики, построение более эффективной системы социально-политического взаимодействия»[28]. Электронная демократия позволяет, по мнению Л. В. Сморгунова, «расширить формы влияния граждан на процесс принятия и реализации политических решений»[29]. При этом, как и в ряде других случаев, многие российские авторы, увы, часто не предлагают ничего нового, лишь делают кальку с западных идей и теоретических концепций. Тот же Л. В. Сморгунов в подтверждение своего тезиса приводит следующую цитату, взятую им с сайта по электронному управлению в Лондоне: «Электронное управление изменяет способы, которые правительство использует, имея дело с общественностью, а также одновременно это предъявляет новые требования к некоторым формам участия со стороны граждан. Это порождает некоторое доверие к тому, что электронное управление, вероятно, приведет к некоторым формам электронной демократии»[30]. М. А. Соколова в аналогичной трактовке понятия «электронная демократия»[31] опирается на европейскую программу[32].

Фактически авторы этой радужной картины или подобных ей оптимистических полотен отождествляют информационное общество с тем обществом, которое существует в так называемых высокоразвитых странах Запада. Так, Ч. Д. Мартин считает, что информационное общество это «современная стадия развития ряда высокоразвитых стран — Японии, США, стран Западной Европы. Они развиваются как информационные экономические системы, во все возрастающей степени зависящие от масштабов производства наукоемких товаров и услуг»[33]. Причем такое отождествление, вероятно, как самоочевидное, никакими особыми аргументами и фактами не подкрепляется, если не считать таких традиционных, как ссылки на увеличение числа «белых воротничков», новых информационных собственников в этих странах и на бурный рост Интернета. Согласно А. К. Жаровой (см. также Таблицы 1 и 2), на март 2000 г. около «276 млн. людей во всем мире являлись пользователями Интернета, при этом дневной прирост составил 150 тыс. человек, а также 220 млн. устройств были подключены ко Всемирной паутине, ежедневно увеличиваясь почти на 200 тыс. Общее число веб-страниц насчитывало 1,5 млрд. и 2 млн. страниц, добавляемых каждый день»[34]. При этом А. К. Жарова считает, что «Интернет как предмет регулирования, объединяющий средства телекоммуникаций, компьютерной индустрии и производство содержания веб-страниц, порталов, сайтов и т. п., — один из краеугольных камней глобальной информационной инфраструктуры и важнейший элемент информационного общества»[35]. В то же время Интернет не только глобальная инфраструктура XXI столетия, но и «один из наиболее мощных факторов свободы»[36].

ОТРИЦАТЕЛЬНЫЕ ПОСЛЕДСТВИЯ ИО

Наряду с положительными отмечаются и многочисленные отрицательные стороны и последствия ИО, прежде всего связанные с его нарастающей экспансией и превращением в доминирующее или даже глобальное общество. Одним из, вероятно, наиболее важных следствий является все большая фетишизация информации, приводящая к тому, что возникающая «новая социальная реальность характеризуется нарастающей неопределенностью, иррациональностью. Причина в том, что символом информационного общества становятся не столько блага, воплощающие информацию, сколько информация как таковая. Фетишизация информации радикально меняет современное общество. В экономике идеология честного труда вытесняется идеологией финансового успеха, размывая аристотелево понимание экономики как компоненты этики. Информационное общество возвышает не создателей знания, а владельцев их эквивалента — денег и информации»[37]. В результате усиливается феномен компьютерного отчуждения и господства «виртуальной реальности», симулирующей, по Ж. Бодрийяру, действительность и превращающей человека в объект манипулирования[38].

Возможно, именно поэтому все усилия по внедрению той или иной формы «электронной демократии» всякий раз сталкивались с определенными проблемами и трудностями, не давая провозглашавшегося желаемого эффекта. Уже к концу 80-х годов «стало ясно, что эксперименты с использованием телевидения и телефона не привели ни к новым формам демократии, ни к активизации политической активности граждан»[39]. Та же учесть постигла фактически выросшую из концепции «теледемократии» идею «электронной республики», а также идеи «виртуального сообщества» и «электронного правительства». Попытки реализации этих идей показали, что «экспериментальные проекты „электронной демократии“, создававшиеся государством для повышения общественной активности граждан, на практике не смогли выполнить свою функцию», и «государство как социальный институт киберпространства оказалось заинтересованным только в том, чтобы поддерживать функционирование инфокоммуникаций для выполнения органами исполнительной власти своих функций»[40]. При этом в России даже реализацию проекта «электронного правительства» (ЭП), то есть перевода некоторых функций исполнительной власти в электронную форму, нельзя назвать успешной: «По данным Женевского саммита, в рейтинговой таблице ЭП мира Россия стоит на 89-м из 102 мест по уровню e-readiness»[41]. Введение разного рода форм «электронной демократии» фактически было вызвано тем, что, поскольку «современному государству не удается обеспечить удовлетворение общественных потребностей, есть настоятельная потребность изменить иерархическое администрирование на

новую форму управления»[42]. Иначе говоря, тот кризис демократии, который назрел к концу XX в.[43], не удалось разрешить с помощью «электронной демократии», то есть теми средствами, которыми располагает ИО.

В ходе глобального становления ИО происходит обезличивание человека, которое может завершиться таким состоянием общества, когда «некоторые люди будут личностями, а другие — только индивидами»[44], а на смену распространенной идее «сетевого общества» или «сетевого мира» придет представление об ИО как стремительно глобализирующимся мире, жестко управляемом из некоего единого центра[45]. Сама глобализация при этом определяется как глубокая детрадиционализация социальной жизни, означающая интенсификацию социальных отношений всемирного масштаба, осуществляемых на расстоянии благодаря НИТ[46].

Среди настораживающих тенденций, уже выявленных социологией Интернета, выделяют так называемые «риски информационного общества», связанные с «замещением духовной культуры узкопрофессиональными знаниями, деформацией досуга, ориентацией на развлекательность, вытеснением реального живого общения, изменением характера человеческого мышления от творческого к инструментальному и формализованному»[47]. Новые технологические достижения ИО часто порождают непредвиденные социальные и культурные последствия. Например, возрастание доли домашних видов развлечения приводит к тому, что люди ИО живут «в отдельных, кастомизированных коттеджах, производство и дистрибуция которых локализованы»[48], а социальная фрагментация общества усиливается. В целом благодаря развитию НИТ в ИО «политическая демократия необратимо подменяется информационной политикой»[49]. В результате этого процесса ИО, прогрессируя, регрессирует, достигая стадии, характеризуемой М. Кастельсом следующим образом: «Наши общества — не упорядоченные тюрьмы, а беспорядочные джунгли»[50]. Эти «джунгли», которые М. Кастельс именует «сетевым обществом», изменяют привычные социальные демаркации, «с самого своего зарождения принося новые формы неравенства»[51]. Причем, несмотря на то что «при общении в Интернете горизонтальные связи (равный к равному) явно преобладают над вертикальными, а статусы нивелируются», все равно существует неравенство в доступе к Интернету, обосновываемое теоретически: «Естественно, равенство в виртуальном пространстве не следует абсолютизировать: некоторые участники дискуссий всегда будут "равнее", чем все остальные. <…> Существует и образовательный, и имущественный ценз, ограничивающий доступ к Интернету. В российских условиях он дополняется возрастным цензом»[52]. Это неравенство все больше и больше проявляется на глобальном уровне: «В последние годы борьба за мировое лидерство смещается в область телекоммуникаций, и все заметнее становится неравенство между теми, кто владеет достижениями в области информационных технологий, и

теми, у кого их нет»[53]. «До настоящего времени в странах с разным уровнем экономического развития значительная часть населения еще не имеет доступа к системе Интернет, что приводит к „цифровому неравенству“. Оно, как и социальное неравенство, способно существенно дестабилизировать нормальное функционирование общественного процесса и государственного управления», — считает И. Ю. Богдановская[54]. Об актуальности данной проблемы в частности свидетельствует тот факт, что в 2001 г. в Давосе проходила конференция «Глобальная инициатива по преодолению информационного неравенства»[55]. О существовании такого неравенства говорят и следующие данные по некоторым странам: «В настоящее время около 60% пользователей Интернета живут в США, 21% — в Европе и 6% — в Японии»[56]. Социология Интернета также подтвердила существование и актуальность проблемы «цифрового раскола», то есть «расслоения общества по признаку вовлеченности в мир современных технологий и, как следствие, — информационной маргинализации значительной части населения»[57]. Информационное расслоение общества выражается, в частности, в неравномерности распространения Интернета и тех экономических и социальных преимуществ, которые оно порождает, что безусловно является поводом «для серьезного беспокойства»[58]. В самом деле, членом «сетевого общества» может быть только тот, кто включен в сеть или у кого есть доступ к сети: «Если вы не в сети, вы не можете полноценно участвовать в жизни сетевого общества»[59]. По сути речь идет о том, что «уже в настоящее время у человека есть все свободы, только если у него есть такой доступ»[60].

Оценивая складывающуюся ситуацию, некоторые авторы делают весьма радикальные прогнозы относительно дальнейшего развития ИО: «Становление информационного общества влечет за собой усиление борьбы за права человека. Что, в свою очередь, может привести к кризису и историческому переходу от одной мир-системы к другой. <…> При сохранении за государствами ведущей роли информационные технологии могут превратиться в инструмент давления и контроля над населением, а, следовательно, будет стабилизирована и усилена КМЭ (капиталистическая мир-экономика. — *М. К.*)»[61]. К сходной оценке перспективы ИО приходит Т. Бретон, по мнению которого «мировое сообщество разделится на тех, кто живет в условиях функционирования новых и старых моделей распространения информации. Как на глобальном уровне, так и в отдельных странах бедные будут беднее, а богатые — богаче. Это вызовет взрыв недовольства, конфликтов, войн. Таким образом, информационное общество породит новую волну насилия и варварства»[62].

Таким образом, авторы, занимающие несхожие позиции, одинаково признают тот факт, что ИО несет с собой новые проблемы и конфликты. Но причины возникновения этих проблем и конфликтов, разумеется, называются разные. Например: «Информационное общество отнюдь не бесконфликтно.