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A HANDBOOK WITH RESOURCE MATERIAL FOR THE COURSE

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языке»
(на английском языке)

«REVIEW OF POLITICAL LITERATURE IN A FOREIGN
LANGUAGE»
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Part I

Types of Annotations and Reviews

Analytical tasks:

Study and compare the requirements for writing a review and an annotation.

Consider examples of two types of annotations

Reviewing, annotating and writing bibliography belong to the sphere of scientific work which comprises analysis and synthesis of the information.

Annotation

An annotation is short characteristics of either the document or a part of it, or a set of documents which presents its contents, aim, form and other peculiarities in brief.

They can be of different types according to the volume (number of characters), theme and methods.

According to the volume they can be divided into short annotations and more detailed ones.

According to the methods they can be descriptive (general presentation) and recommending (presenting the essence of information from a certain point of view).

According to the theme they are general (covering the main points in general) and specific (aimed at a certain group of readers).

Structure of an annotation:

1. formal elements (data or reference concerning the author or organization, the origin of the document, supplements, illustrations and so on)
2. the essence of the original material (usually from 600 to 1500 characters, for the presentation of more detailed information a review is used)

Review

In the annotation there is only a short list of questions considered, meanwhile in the review one can find a more detailed description of the questions with conclusions and other data added.

Reviews can be classified in the following way:

1. according to the function and the detailed presentation - indicative and informative.

Indicative reviews list the main questions of the contents of a document, the volume of it, conclusions and results. The main purpose is to let a reader know and decide if he needs this information for further reading. An indicative review is similar to an annotation but a bit longer, on the other hand, it is a bit shorter than an informative review.

Informative reviews usually present:

- a theme and a subject of the investigation, nature and purpose of the work,
- methods used in the work,
- conclusions, assessment, suggestions and hypotheses of the author of the original document,

- an area of application
2. according to the number of books reviewed - monographic (one book) and combined (several books).
 3. according to the form of the presentation - a table review and an aspect review.
In the table review the material is chosen and arranged as a result of the face analysis of the original text (in accordance with the order of presentation and value of information).
In the aspect review the material is arranged at the choice of the author of the review whose task is to reveal the most important pieces of information while answering a certain number of questions.

Structure of a review

The structure usually consists of three parts:

- 1. bibliography** (the author, title of the book, place of publication, publishing house, year of publication and pages if it is an article from the book or journal, in this case the editor and the title of the book must be mentioned)
- 2. main body** (a review itself), which doesn't usually have sections or rubrics (and sometimes paragraphs)
- 3. reference** – the information about the author of the review and the information about supplements and illustrations of the original document.

The volume of a review is usually from 700 to 3500 characters.

Reviews don't include the following things as a rule:

- general conclusions which were not obtained by the author in the work reviewed;
- information which is difficult to understand without reading the whole work in detail;
- well-known data;
- secondary pieces of information and unnecessary long descriptions;
- data, history of the problem and previous publications on the topic;
- detailed description of the experiments and methods.

Language peculiarities of reviews and annotations

Special terms are preferable for shortening descriptions of the phenomena.

Instead of subordinate clauses verbal constructions are used.

Additional pieces of information are inserted into the main sentence carrying the main idea with the help of participles, gerund, infinitive, verbal constructions and subordinate clauses. Impersonal structures starting with 'it' and the passive voice of a verb are used.

Reviewing process

Ist step

looking through the material in order to take a decision if this information is worth reviewing and if it includes the new information which can be important for specialists and can be applied to a certain field of science. At this stage the task is to look through the headlines of the chapters and conclusions at the end of the chapters. Special technique of fast reading is often used

2nd step

choosing dictionaries

3d step

choosing a suitable type of a review for this particular material

4th step

proper reading and finding new information, breaking the material into information units

5th step

synthesis and creation of a new information unit

6th step

writing down a summary and choosing the right order for the most important pieces of information

7th step

critical comparison of the primary document and the summary of it

8th step

editing the review

Critical review as an analytical work

If the review is meant to be an analytical work, it is written according to the general rules of a research paper (see the plan in Part VI).

A detailed general descriptive annotation

on Wayne Ellwood, *No-nonsense Guide to Globalisation*, Verso Books, 2001

Commercial culture and the Western consumer model have seeped into every corner of the globe while gaps in wealth, food security and social provision continue to grow. This "*No Nonsense Guide to Globalisation*" by Wayne Ellwood, Verso Books, 2001, acknowledges the seductive and powerful promise of a 'borderless' world but probes deeper to find a money-mad juggernaut, spinning wildly out of control, threatening both cultural and biological diversity. This is a stinging critique of the orthodoxy of economic growth in a world of finite natural resources and a blueprint for a new economic architecture.

A short specific recommending annotation

on Wayne Ellwood, *No-nonsense Guide to Globalisation*, Verso Books, 2001

This book is a lucid explanatory map of our current condition. For all who seek to think past corporate slogans to life-responsible government, *The No-Nonsense Guide to Globalization* by Wayne Ellwood, Verso Books, 2001, is a concise and valuable overview of the world system, what has gone wrong with it - and the way ahead.

An aspect monographic indicative review

on Anissa LARDJANE's article *GlobalisAction as a New Systemic Paradigm*, pp. 30-33, in *Global Society: Conflict or Cooperation. Discussion*, ed. N. Slanevskaya, St. Petersburg, Nestor, 2006.

Anissa LARDJANE in the article *GlobalisAction as a New Systemic Paradigm*, pp. 30-33 (in *Global Society: Conflict or Cooperation. Discussion*, ed. N. Slanevskaya, St.

Petersburg, Nestor, 2006) searches for an explanation of globalisation in autopoiesis. Autopoiesis refers to the process of realization of relations of its components characterizing a biological organism in a circular, self-organized manner. Lardjane considers globalisation as a self-organizing organisation which subsumes self-referential observation of the system in a dynamic way manifesting reflection, flexibility and adaptation. The author suggests the term GlobalisAction which is an autopoietic globalisation or self-organisation in an autopoietic manner. GlobalisAction is used by her as an analytical tool for analyzing the aptitude of governance and standardization of ideological concepts of an economic world. Lardjane also treats GlobalisAction as a central logic of global management for global society.

The author's understanding of the present reality is based upon the following aspects: epistemological (there is no reality 'out there'), methodological (indetermination for explaining transforming processes for avoiding logical contradictions, the thesis of circular feedbacks inherent in the complex structure and the shift of dominant discussion to another level based upon the understanding of the complexity of the phenomenon), theoretical (which rests on three principles - certitude, quantification and prediction) and practical (dealing with 'conscientisation', i.e. a critical awareness of a society). By means of 'conscientisation' people respond to the problems arising and participate in solving them.

The theoretical aspect includes such constituent parts as homeostasis (maintenance of stable conditions), autoreference (what it is) and autopoiesis which is a 'network of the production of components that recursively generate in their turn the network that produces its own organisation'.

Part II

Scientific Style and Useful Expressions for Reviews

Analytical tasks:

Read useful expressions for writing a review and work out general rules for the scientific style.

Consider the annotations below, define the type of annotations and express your opinion about the quality of annotations

The list of useful expressions for reviews

Analyze, argue (persuasively), claim, compare, consider, describe, draw attention to, emphasize, examine, explain, highlight, illustrate, investigate, point out, refer to, reveal, show, state, summarize.

By this brief review...

In an excellent overview chapter the author outlines the

In sum this is ...

In the liberal vein the author views globalisation as having a security-enhancing effect.

In this sense...

It gives students an insight into the practice (of policy-making).

It is not represented in this book.

On close examination...

One of the book's principal strengths is the prominence accorded by the author to culture ...

Students will no doubt appreciate the author's ability to discuss a complex topic concisely.

That economic interdependence can have contradictory consequences for security and it is further discussed in the contribution by J. Black and B. Jones.

The author summarizes his theoretical approach as drawing on the work of Foucault and particularly Bourdieu's notion of habitus.

The author acknowledges that his text focuses on breadth rather than the depth that might be afforded by confining his analysis to a particular issue or geographic area.

The author ignores the history of ...

The author in his examination of democracy suggests strengthening

The author introduces a new conceptual distinction between regimes.

The author aims to critically evaluate all aspects of public policy-making from his standpoint.

The author's concern is to show...

The author's analysis clearly shows that ..

The book barely touches on crucial moments of

The case of China also illustrates a subsidiary theme of the book ...

The central question addressed in this book is whether it is...

The central theme focuses on the realist-liberal debate, *with the liberal school of thought seeing economic interdependence as enhancing security* (an example of an *absolute participial construction*).

The examples the author uses to illustrate his points are generally short and not country-specific, which makes the book accessible to a wide range of readers (an example of a *complex sentence typical for reviews*).

The introductory chapter attempts to identify the key issues to be addressed by the various contributors.

The next chapter provides a historical overview of the issues.

The subsequent chapters provide ...

The subtitle is misleading.

There is certainly widespread agreement that...

This article focuses on core problems of..

This article offers...

This book *doesn't avoid* the theoretical questions (*an emphatic construction – grammatical negation 'not' and the negative meaning of the verb*).

This book observes no 'school position'.

This interpretation is elaborated in an interesting discussion of...

This is a central theme of the book in which the impact of globalization on the state is explored.

This is a thoroughly readable and thought-provoking book.

This is a useful framework within...

This view shifts the focus (from smth to smth)...

Throughout this book the author treats the problem as a political scientist and emphasizes...

Thus Chapter I examines the very particular character of moral government in ...

While this book has real strengths as a detailed commentary on several of his works, it tends, in an effort to bring these into the ambit of current political science, to slide into anachronism by not preserving clearly enough the distinctions between Renaissance

and modern uses of particular terms, and by not relating the ideas of this thinker securely enough to the circumstances in which he conceived them (an example of *a complex sentence typical for a review*).

Annotation 1

A Brief History of Globalisation: The Untold Story of Our Incredible Shrinking Planet (Brief History) by Alex MacGillivray, Robinson Publishing, 2006.

The book *A Brief History of Globalisation: The Untold Story of Our Incredible Shrinking Planet (Brief History)* by Alex MacGillivray, Robinson Publishing, 2006, seems to have it all: its writing is clever and funny, but also astute and searching. It provides a comprehensive tour of the history of globalization and the cultural, economic and social forces which have shaped it over time. The tour takes in Venetian mapmakers, the spice trade, The Man With No Name and a Tasmanian Devil - don't ask, you have to read it. If you do, you'll be left with a better understanding of why globalization is now centre stage in world politics, and more questioning about the direction it is taking us in.

Annotation 2

A Brief History of Globalisation: The Untold Story of Our Incredible Shrinking Planet (Brief History) by Alex MacGillivray, Robinson Publishing, 2006.

Alex Macgillivray has written something absoluteoly unique. It sets the globalisation debate in a vast historical context, and manages to explode so many myths that he will keep the pundits of both sides re-thinking their basic premises. And he manages to do it with verve and wit. There is no better introduction to globalisation currently in print

Part III

Comparative Analysis of Annotations

Analytical tasks:

Read the article by Spomenka RAKUSIC, Maja VEHOVEC and Ivona SKREBLIN. Consider two examples of annotations on the same article. These annotations belong to the detailed general and descriptive type of annotations. Compare the variants and assess the way of the presentation of the material.

Write a recommending short special annotation on this article.

International Economic Cooperation and the Role of Intangible Assets: A Mutual Win-Win Situation

Spomenka RAKUŠIĆ
Maja VEHOVEC
Ivona ŠKREBLIN¹

The concept of intangible assets becomes an important theme of European policy for industrial competitiveness, as Europe is becoming a knowledge driven economy. International economic cooperation seems to be one of possible helpful ways of increasing the competitiveness level of a firm through upgrading its knowledge and technology level. Technical assistance and education, as a part of international cooperation, could be satisfying for both partners. A case study of knowledge transfer through bilateral cooperation supports such reasoning, and provides insights into the understanding of recipient firms' evaluation of their absorptive capability and learning capacity.

I

For most of donors a very important issue is a recipient's absorption capability and learning capacity. The experience and previous research suggest that successful knowledge sharing involves an extended learning process and local applicability and adaptation (Nelson and Rosenberg, 1993; Stiglitz, 1999).

The study of knowledge sharing has its roots in the literature of technology transfer and innovation (Kim and Nelson, 2000) and recently in strategic management field (Grant, 1996; Gupta and Govindarajan, 2000). Development researchers suggest that knowledge sharing is rather process of facilitating than the process of pure transmitting

¹ The article is from *Global Society: Conflict or Cooperation? Discussion*, ed. Nina Slanevskaya, St.Petersburg, Nestor, 2006: 56-59. References are in the bibliography.

ŠKREBLIN Ivona (Croatia)

Ph.D. in Social Psychology, University of Trieste, Ivona ŠKREBLIN has been lecturing in Zagreb since 2005. Her professional interests are connected with the application of social psychology theory and research techniques in the study of Management, Human Resources Management, Organizational Behavior and in the development of Management skills and techniques and promotion of international cooperation in education and scientific research.

RAKUŠIĆ Spomenka (Croatia)

Senior advisor since 2001 at the Ministry of Economy, Labor and Entrepreneurship of Croatia, Investment Facilitating Division, Spomenka RAKUŠIĆ has been also a National coordinator for the economic cooperation between Republic of Croatia and the Netherlands since 1996. She was a coordinator for many programmes and a member of the planning groups. Spomenka RAKUŠIĆ has been lecturing and giving Round tables and seminars at different universities of Croatia. She was awarded the Memory Medal Vukovar for the successful process of the peaceful reintegration of the Eastern Slavonia and with Medal for the achievement in the field of economy (Red Danice Hrvatske s likom Blaža Lorkovića). Spomenka RAKUŠIĆ was included in the 18th, 19th, 20th edition of Marquis "Who's Who in the World" and in the edition "The Twentieth Century Award for Achievement", International Biographical Centre, Cambridge, UK, 1999, 2000, 2001.

VEHOVEC Maja (Croatia)

Senior research fellow at the Institute of Economics in Zagreb, Maja VEHOVEC was given an honorary title of Visiting Professor by the University of Ljubljana, faculty of Economics. She is a Corresponding member of the Programme Committee *Portorož Business Conference*, organized by the faculty of Economics, the business daily *Finance* and Slovenian Economic Association. She is a member of the international editorial board of *Economic and Business Review for Central and South Eastern Europe*, Ljubljana. The field of her research is in microeconomics, management, labour economics, industrial organization, and business ethics.

external knowledge to a new business environment (Ellerman, Denning and Hanna, 2000).

Knowledge internalization refers to the degree to which a recipient obtains ownership of, commitment to, and satisfaction with the transferred knowledge.

The aspect of ownership relates to the degree that an individual invests energy, time, effort and attention to the knowledge, as such investment tends to cause individuals to develop ownership of the knowledge.

The aspect of commitment means that individuals develop knowledge commitment to the extent that they see the value of knowledge developing competence in using the knowledge (Leonard-Barton, 1990), maintaining a working relationship or interaction with the knowledge, and are willing to put in extra effort to work with the knowledge (Mowday, 1979).

The recipient's satisfaction can reduce his stress (Ettlie, 1986) and resistance level in adapting and using knowledge (Leonard- Barton & Deschamps, 1988). Only when the recipient internalizes knowledge can it be sufficiently understood and adapted by the recipient allowing him to re-create and to use it effectively.

Investment absorption relates to the propensity of a local firm to transform the introduction of new resources into measurable increases in economic activity. The issue of knowledge utilization is a fundamental societal and practical concern that has received considerable attention in many branches of social sciences. (Szulanski, Jensen, Lee, 2001).

II

The focus of this research is the role of intangible assets – knowledge transfer through bilateral cooperation, and firms' evaluation on their absorptive capability and learning capacity. At the macro-economic level, as early as in 1992, the Dutch Government estimated that intangible assets accounted for more than 35% of the total public and private investments in the Netherlands. In the US, it was noted in 1992 that investments in intangible assets exceeded tangibles. Sweden also estimated that the share of investment flows geared to intangible assets is at 20% of GDP. At the level of the firm, recent estimates suggest that 50-90 % of the value created by a firm comes, not from the management of traditional physical assets but from the management of intellectual capital (Hope and Hope 1998).

This study is tested on the Netherlands' programme for cooperation on knowledge transfer and technology (*"Programme for Economic Cooperation with Central and Eastern European Countries"*) between Dutch companies and recipient companies in Central and Eastern Europe, including Croatia, which would like to incorporate knowledge of innovation, energy efficiency and sustainable environmental development in their firms.

The aim of the research is to shed more light on both cooperation sides: recipient absorptive capability and learning capacity and also on a donor's benefits and satisfaction in bilateral cooperation. In the paper we are discussing factors of mutual interest, which leads to possible win-win situation.

In terms of **experience and the awareness of the need for knowledge and technology transfer research results** show that in general the firms are quite experienced as far as the international cooperation is concerned, while they are relatively inexperienced regarding the participation in projects financed by foreign donors. Therefore, it does not surprise that a large number of the firms have found the Netherlands partner indirectly,

getting information about the project through institutions and partners inside the country, implying a relatively passive role in terms of choosing foreign partners. Somewhat more active were privately owned firms that tended to choose their Dutch partner directly, as evidenced by the correlation analysis.

The firms' past experience in international cooperation and in projects similar to this one, their activity within the project, as well as the relation of these elements to the project satisfaction, can certainly be regarded as important determinants of the internalization process. This is in line with numerous internalization theories (i.e. Deci & Ryan, 1985) that consider activity to be the basis of internalization, and particularly knowledge and technology transfer. In this light it seems that the project was well designed and satisfactory especially for the firms that were relatively inexperienced in international cooperation, and which through the project began to establish bilateral business connections. This indicates that not just any international cooperation, but the one provided by projects like this one seems to foster the awareness of the need for knowledge and technology transfer.

Further, according to the results, the firms active on the domestic market turn out to be more satisfied with the project process, if compared to the firms that are active exporters. If we assume that the firm's activity reflects the firms' experience – with firms active on the domestic market being less experienced in international cooperation, results point out once again the importance of the project for inexperienced firms in particular.

In terms of **firms' needs** the project results suggest that the project was able to provide satisfactory results in particular for the firms whose needs were related primarily to getting technical assistance and new equipment. When focusing on the firms with high education needs, we can see that they feel more capable of performing autonomously the activities defined in the project than the firms with low education needs. A majority of the firms perceive the results of the project, to be according or above their expectations, micro and small firms being more satisfied with the results regarding education than medium and large firms. Further, about 80 % of the firms are very keen to continue cooperation with the Dutch partners indicating overall high satisfaction with the participation in the project.

Project evaluation of the Netherlands' monitors also suggest satisfactory evaluation of the results of the implemented projects in the framework of the Netherlands' "*Programme for Economic Cooperation with Central and Eastern European Countries*". Even though the two research methodologies are not identical and the results are not fully comparable at this point, it is interesting to consider a few indicators of the Netherlands' satisfaction with the project. The projects received the average final score of 6.8 on the scale ranging from 2 to 10. This score indicates satisfactory average levels of measured effectiveness, efficiency, durability and impact of the project. Another result indicating a positive outcome of the project for the Dutch partner firms is the data about finding potential customers in Croatia. As a result of the PSO project, the Netherlands' firms have met on average 5 new potential customers. Considering these results and the Croatian results, it seems that the project facilitated, indeed, the establishment of bilateral business connections, in which both partners find mutual interest and benefits. According to our research, we could conclude that this type of project could lead to the win – win situation, for all partners included.

A detailed general descriptive annotation:

Variant 1

Spomenka RAKUSIC, Maja VEHOVEC and Ivona SKREBLIN in the article *International Economic Cooperation and the Role of Intangible Assets: A Mutual Win-Win Situation*, pp. 56-59 (in *Global Society: Conflict or Cooperation. Discussion*, ed. N. Slanevskaya, St. Petersburg, Nestor, 2006) find the role of intangible assets (knowledge transfer through bilateral cooperation) very important and advantageous both for the developed countries and for developing ones. The authors call it a 'mutual win-win situation'. They illustrate their point of view using the experience gained during the cooperation scheme between the Netherlands and Croatia. Knowledge sharing, technology transfer and innovation belong to the strategic management field. The companies of developing countries are interested in internalizing transferred knowledge for successful integration into the world economy and increasing profitability, meanwhile the donors acquire the possibility of getting new customers for their companies and promoting their goods into new markets, which increases their profitability as well. Recent estimates suggest that 50-90 % of the value created by a firm comes not from the management of traditional physical assets but from the management of intellectual capital.

(18 lines is multiplied by 75 characters in one line on average; the line taken from the middle of the text has 1350 characters. For the exact calculations the computer should be used).

Variant 2

Spomenka RAKUSIC, Maja VEHOVEC and Ivona SKREBLIN in the article *International Economic Cooperation and the Role of Intangible Assets: A Mutual Win-Win Situation*, pp. 56-59 (in *Global Society: Conflict or Cooperation. Discussion*, ed. N. Slanevskaya, St. Petersburg, Nestor, 2006) find the role of intangible assets both very important because knowledge sharing and technology transfer and innovation belong to strategic management field giving 50-90% of the value created by the firm and mutually advantageous, with the developing countries internalizing transferred knowledge for successful integration into the world economy, and the developed ones acquiring the possibility of getting new customers for with their companies and promoting their goods into new markets. The authors call it a 'mutual win-win situation' illustrating their point of view with the experience gained during the cooperation scheme between the Netherlands and Croatia.

(14 lines, altogether 1050 characters).

Part IV

Writing Different Types of Annotations

Analytical tasks:

Read the article. Find the essential pieces of information. Write different types of annotations

Time, Space and International Communications. The Global Dimension

Svetlana VINOGRADOVA and
Galina MELNIK²

Scientific circles and the general public began to worry about *the annihilation of distance*, when the possibilities of human communication expanded thanks to the emergence of the new technologies (for example, in 1851, when the first British submarine cable was laid, and in 1866, when Great Britain completed its transatlantic cable). Later *the disappearance of the frontiers* was announced due to the beginning of international radio broadcasting. After the launching into geostationary (Clarke) orbit of the direct broadcast satellite (DBV), which was able to deliver signals directly to households on conventional television receivers without the redistribution by a terrestrial system (Ellmore, 1992), the nation-states became anxious about their *sovereignty*.

The birth of *cyberspace* also caused alarm. Michael R. Ogden (assistant professor of communication at the University of Hawaii, Manoa) concluded: “*Cyberspace* is a slippery word to define. It has only recently come into common parlance, so any definition remains subjective and illusory. For our purposes cyberspace can be defined as a conceptual *spaceless place* where words, human relationships, data, wealth, status, and power are made manifest by people using computer-mediated communications technologies. It has been variously described as a new universe, a parallel universe created and sustained by the world’s present and future computer and communication network” (Ogden, 1999).

According to contemporary scientists’ conclusions, the *space disappearance* is closely connected with *the modern information infrastructure of the global community*. Some researchers suppose this infrastructure to have much in common with a *global village*, described by Marshall McLuhan. “In the village as well as in global society, communication can signal events, show portrayals of life, indicate potentially common

² The article is from *Global Society: Conflict or Cooperation? Discussion*, ed. Nina Slanevskaya, St.Petersburg, Nestor, 2006: 109-110. References are in the bibliography.

MELNIK Galina (Russia)

Professor at the faculty of Journalism at St. Petersburg State University, PhD in History and PhD in Political Science, Galina MELNIK has been awarded the title of an Honorary Teacher of the Higher School. She is a member of St. Petersburg Philosophical Society and the author of such books as: *Mass Media: Psychological Processes and Effects* (1996), *Psychology of Professional Communications in Journalism* (2001), *Psychology of Communications in Journalism* (2004), *Communication in Journalism: Secrets of Skill* (2005), *Bases of Creative Activity of the Journalist* (2005), *Current Issues of Modernity and Journalism* (together with A.Teplyashina) (2005), *Methods of Journalism* (together with M. Kim) (2006), (titles translated).

VINOGRADOVA Svetlana

Professor, PhD in Political Science, Svetlana VINOGRADOVA is the Head of the Department of Theory and History of International Relations at the faculty of International Relations at St. Petersburg State University. The topics of lectures and research deal with political issues of global communication. Svetlana VINOGRADOVA is the editor of the series of articles on: *The Woman in the Sphere of Mass Communication* (in 1998, 2000 and 2002); *The Woman in the Social Sphere* (2001); *Man and Woman: Parallel Existence* (2004, 2005). She was also the editor of other collections of articles at the University and has published a number of monographs.

elements in the way people conduct their lives even when separated by thousands of miles” (Fortner, 1993). The inhabitants of this global village can receive the necessary information in every spot on the globe.

Others consider *the space to be distorted by the transformation of the international news flow*. A. Appadurai, professor of anthropology and of South Asian languages and civilizations at the University of Chicago, affirms: ”Electronic mediation and mass migration mark the world of the present not only as technically new forces but as ones that seem to impel (and sometimes compel) the work of the imagination. Together, they create specific irregularities because both viewers and images are in simultaneous circulation.

Neither images nor viewers fit into circuits or audience that are bound within local, national and regional spaces” (Appadurai, 1996: 4). The researchers emphasize, that media really can create communities with no “sense of place”, and that we can see “moving images meet deterritorialized viewers”(Appadurai, 1996: 4, 29).

We are not fully confident that the media are forced to communicate the news, deprived of local colour, but one can say with certainty that the electronic media does contribute to the “Coca-Colanization” and unification of the world. However we should not forget “a dual process of globalisation of the local and localization of the global” (Tehranian). This dualistic approach to the global communication seems to be realistic and constructive.

Now we can observe, that not only the *space conception* is altering, but also the *time* one. Time is supposed to run more rapidly, than in the past. It is evident that the velocity of changes increases, but it is also obvious that different social and political processes have their own speed. For example biological age of the human being does not coincide with his reversible psychological age. Various strata in society have their typical - fast or slow - rhythms of life. On the global level one can note *the inner time* of the international system. For very different nation-states and societies it is difficult “to synchronize their historical watches”(Appadurai, 1996: 2).

Information and communication have an enormous influence on the transformation of the *time-space continuum*. “In artistic and publicist production Time and Space are objects of interpretation, as they undergo various and even inconceivable changes” (Kenzhegulova 2005).

The mass media *discourse* not only reproduces the image of *past, present or future*. It represents the links between them. Also it *describes the preferable historical time* – a period which we are able to exist in or should like to prosper. Some peoples and societies are loyal to the past, which symbolizes traditions and stability, others rely upon the future connected with their hopes and expectations. As a rule the contemporary media relay “*the global now*”(Appadurai, 1996: 2). The attention of the audience is focused on the momentary picture of the world.

The past and the future lose their genuine matter, turning into *the tools* of modernization. Mass media messages (especially the real time television broadcasts) produce the sense of “*the prolonged present*” and form the illusion of “*the eternal now*”.

If other *locatives* and *temperatives* disappear from the media texts Bahtin’s *chronotop* will be destroyed. So, a new formula “*always and everywhere*” seems to replace an old one - “*here and now*”.

Part V

Writing Different Types of Reviews

Analytical tasks:

Read the article. Analyze the structure of the presentation of the material. Find the essential pieces of information. Define the subject of the article (what is it about?), the purpose of the author (why did she decide to write this article?), theoretical implications of the article (do the ideas of the author help to develop International Relations theory?), significance (was the information important?) and its current relevance (are the question discussed connected with the present time and important?).

Write different types of a review.

Concept of E-Government in the Context of Global Governance

Natalia VASSILIEVA ³

Introduction

Using the achievements of information society, in particular the technologies of e-government, is a way to make possible the global governance of the world community. The need for an e-government is determined by the amplification of chaotic character of the development of modern society, where globalisation processes can bring system crises and more technogenic catastrophes. There is a real necessity to exercise control over the globalisation processes, which implies the usage of postindustrial technologies in the government sphere. New technologies and the growth of education level in the world improved the access to information in all countries of the world. This makes possible the formation of new economic systems with new markets, new types of commercial organisations, new types of goods' delivery and new kinds of entrepreneurship and management. Such systems are activated by information technologies and intellectual capital and not by commodities, raw materials and manufacturing industry.

It is obvious that efficient social and economic results can be achieved only by means of coordinated actions and partnership between the state, business community and civil society. Due to this fact the management model of e-government in information society

³ The article is from *Global Society: Conflict or Cooperation? Discussion*, ed. Nina Slanevskaya, St. Petersburg, Nestor, 2006: 102-106. References are in the bibliography

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appears to be the necessary link that will allow to bring the relations of the above-stated actors to a new level.

I

E-government is the organisation of public governance on the basis of electronic media of processing, transmission and dissemination of information. The exploitation of these means ensures the provision of the entire complex of public services to all categories of citizens and keeping them informed of the authorities' activities. The model of e-government implies the transformation of the state into service industry, where the provision of appropriate state services to clients (business circles, civil society) becomes a central link.

The structure of e-government consists of three basic modules: government-government, government-business, government-citizens. The system of e-government includes online services for citizens and business on a single portal, electronic document flow and document control in government and parliamentary structures. Besides that the system comprises a single database for various government agencies, which allows to prevent the second work copy of information and to avoid double recurrent expenses (i.e. a lot of documents have a similar copies in deposits). In some countries the e-government system consists also of closed insider-use network (intranet) for internal governmental transactions, of ramified information and telecommunication infrastructure, cryptography system and other methods of information and personal data protection (digital signature/e-signature, electronic key, smart-card etc.)

During the second Moscow International Forum "Russia in the Electronic World" the need to find Russian national applied solutions of electronization of governance was highlighted. First and foremost, it concerns such issues as the usage of electronic technologies for social needs of the population, i.e. electronic services. It implies in its turn the creation of electronic social agencies.

Electronic methods of public management, office work and record-keeping are particularly important in case of state purchases, calling for tenders for solutions and production for e-government and interaction between business and the state. Informational transparency of a state creates important conditions for dealing with such negative phenomena as corruption and excessive bureaucratization of governance process.

The electronization of state governance brings a lot of challenges to governments, but at the same time it gives them a unique chance to improve the efficiency of their work and to reduce public expenditures on governance. Besides that, electronization may also bring about the improvement of interaction between business structures and civil society. Thus we can say that the methods of electronic administration constitute a real transition from the industrial to information development era.

II

Contemporary information technologies have all abilities for the strengthening of a public governance system and democracy expansion, by proposing a platform for closer and better relations between the state, business community and civil society. Today, many countries of the world are eager to benefit from new perspectives.

According to different data, the level of usage of e-government services among the population of developed countries is approximately 20-30% which means that

electronic methods of communication with the state have not yet become a casual day-to-day norm. Therefore, a better information and orientation work for the improving of citizens' awareness has to be carried out, so that the population actively use both government online services accessing governmental information and electronic methods of transmission of personal information to public agencies or effectuate any other transactions with state electronic bodies.

The Charter of Global Information Society adopted during the G8 Okinawa summit highlighted the need of the creation of national strategies to form information society in every country (any level of economic development). The global scale of information society implies the inclusion of all national communities for the sake of the achievement of maximal efficiency of this new form of social-economic development. Thus arises a question of economic, legal and other kinds of aid to the countries that are not able to ensure the adoption of information society elements by their own forces. For example, since 2001 the European Union has been carrying out a general project named "E-Governance" (e-government) with the aim of creation of online-level regional interaction between 6 states of South-Eastern Europe: Albania, Cyprus, Greece, Yugoslavia, Romania and former Yugoslavian Republic of Macedonia.

At first stage a single network of communication and several digital libraries were created for the use of the government and government agencies. As a result, it is supposed to provide every citizen of the state in the region with the access to useful information of all participant countries for personal or business aims.

The concept of e-government symbolizes the forthcoming of "computerized politics" or "electronic democracy". It may have a significant influence upon democratic practice which changes the relations between the power and citizens and creates new unexpected problems of social development. New technologies of information communication and a new use of it, which is different in principle allow to overcome "the iron law of oligarchy" formulated by R. Michels. This law postulates the domination of well-organized power elites over weakly-organized majority. It is not just social activity of citizens by itself, but their ability to participate directly in creating legal forms of social life, that destroys the elite monopoly concerning the decisions on the most important questions of life in society.

E-government is a system of management that permits the citizens to exercise control over decision implementation, correction of violations and punishment of violators. The transparency of all official procedures determines the impossibility of obscure corporate arrangements, double standard practice and other manipulations with law.

Civil society acquires significant possibilities of social activity in conditions of information society (the accelerating flow of information available for the society). The citizens want to obtain full and trustworthy information about all processes that may influence their life. "Computer democracy" makes it possible to fully benefit from the right for obtaining authoritative information on the activity of official bodies and thus the possibility to make independent political choice. R. Dahl calls it "enlightened understanding", making it one of important features of liberal democracy (Dahl, 1989).

What are democratic capabilities of modern society and an individual in terms of using the technological possibility of creation of "information democracy" in opposition to "information totalitarianism"? The strengthening of democratic bases of personal freedom by the means of information technologies requires the setting of limits beyond which the state and civil structures may not penetrate into the personal life of an individual. This problem received a lot of attention from Western scholars, such as

Weeklane, D. Burnham, W.Freedman, F. Friendly, D.Lyan and others. (Freedman, 1987; Lyan 1988), who call for legislative support of electronic forms of personal “negative” freedom. However the reverse side of this issue is the limitation of information freedom, which turns into the problem of the right to be informed.

The need of control over electronic processing of data on citizens brought about the creation of specific agencies in public administrations: Inspection on data protection (Sweden), Commission nationale de l’informatique et des libertés (France), Commissioner on data protection (Germany) etc. In order to prevent information abuse appropriate measures are take to protect the “purity” of used information from computers, to outlaw those who can change or destroy databanks, and to block the collection and integration of data from different sources, because such amalgamation may be harmful for a particular person or organisation.

As for the preservation of personal life secrets of an individual (individual privacy) it is particularly important to respect concrete legal norms that would make it possible to abide by democratic norms for an individual in the information-intense life of a modern society. That’s why the legislations of many European countries have parts devoted to the protection of personal data which include laws protecting personal data such as: limitations on volume and content of gathered information, determination of citizens’ right to access their personal information (gathered and preserved in electronic databanks) and the formulation of special sanctions for the violation of legislation on personal data protection. Nevertheless, unfortunately, this legislation is also violated.

As it has already been said, one of the most important criteria for equality and freedom in information society is the ability to obtain and accumulate information. In this sense, a wide range of legal and ethic questions arise, which is connected with the perception of freedom of thought, information and communication. The First Amendment of American Bill of Rights of 1789 (came in virtue in 1791) states that Congress shall not adopt laws limiting the freedom of speech and press (in 1948 the effect of the amendment was extended to the radio, in 1965 – to the television). The democratic practice of the USA comprises such approaches as “absolutist” (literal interpretation of the First Amendment of “unlimited freedom”) and “balanced” (enabling the Supreme Court in every particular case to decide what serves public interests better – absolute freedom or its limitation). The criteria for the Court’s decisions derive from the necessity to protect the honour and dignity of citizens, maintain public peace and moral principles, serve national security. As a rule, the Supreme Court uses the formula of “dangerous trend occurrence” sufficient for the limitation determination.

Conclusion

Considering the global character of international economy, we witness the growing trend of bringing the legislation and normative bases of individual countries to the conformity with the international law. For instance, a model-law on e-commerce, elaborated by the United Nations Commission on International Trade Law (UNCITRAL), proposes several universal rules on the abolition of legal obstacles and on the creation of a more secure legal base for electronic trade. Equivalent documents on e-commerce were elaborated in the EU, approving the principles of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), according to which the taxation of e-commerce must take place in the country where the good or service is consumed. With the aim of wider use of online services and e-commerce many developed countries (for example, EU member states) legally approved the e-signature, thus considering that data entry by keyboard must have the same legal force as a feather

stroke on paper. Therefore, based upon the above-mentioned examples it can be concluded that within the information form of democracy a fruitful work is going on in the field of stabilization of virtual environment of a modern human being by the appropriate measures of electronic control and governance.

Part VI

Planning a Critical Review

Analytical tasks:

Read the plan and analyse the example

Plan

1. *Subject:* the subject of the reading in brief (2-4 sentences)
2. *Purpose Statement:* the author's purpose for writing the article (2-4 sentences)
3. *Major Points:* the major points made by the author throughout the article (ideas, conclusion, predictions and etc.) in connection with some events (usually major points coincide with the subtitles of the article) (8-15 sentences)
5. *The significance of the article.* Why can it be significant for us? (2-6 sentences)
6. *Its current relevance.* Why is it connected with the present time and why is the discussion of the problems/information/theory presented by the author important for us? (2-6 sentences)
7. *The effectiveness of the article in making the major points.* What ontological, epistemological, methodological, ideological approaches, methods and theories are used in the article for making the major points more effective? (Did the choice of them help the author to reach his purpose? Could there be other approaches which could be more effective for reaching his aim and investigating the phenomenon?) (20-30 sentences).
8. *Theoretical implications of the article or theoretical basis of it* (3-10 sentences)⁴.

⁴ The author can develop a theory belonging to realism, neoliberalism, pluralism, structuralism or some other trends. See the reference concerning some of the trends below:

Structuralism

'Structure' predominates over the behaviour of the state, individual, organisation and so on (e.g. for Marx it is an economic structure, i.e. class position or relation to a mode of production).

Post-structuralism

M. Foucault claims that power can't be exercised without discourse. Discourse conveys knowledge which determines a subject (e.g. the choice of theories or ideology for application in every day life). Thus power produces reality via ideological discourse using individuals as its vehicles for exercising power.

Post-modernism

Emphasis on:

9. *Policy implications of the article.* (3-5 sentences).

10. *Personal viewpoint:* Your personal agreement or disagreement with the article. Support it with theories/facts (3-10 sentences)

11. *Summary*

Paraphrase in brief what you have said and show its relationship and significance to the research problem. Your aim is to tell the reader what it all means and if they should read it. (5-10 sentences)

HOW TO WRITE THE LITERATURE REVIEW⁵

Subject:

Example: This article explains the reciprocal relationship between interest groups, legislative committee, members, and administrative agencies. These "iron triangles" are seen by the author as having a negative impact on the American political system.

Purpose Statement:

Example: The main purpose of this article is to analyze the ways iron triangles influence public policy in America.

Major Points:

Example: Special interest groups in America lobby build coalitions, litigate, apply grass-roots pressure, and participate in the election process to influence public policy. They also form a "productive" liaison with the administrative agencies responsible for implementing the policy that addresses their demands. Thus, the author asserts that interest groups contribute to fragmented public policy and an ever increasing budget deficit.

The significance of the article

Example: This article is significant because it identifies ways that special interest groups influence American public policy.

Its current relevance

Example: Today, interest groups play an important role in public policy. This article depicts the impact that interest groups have on current legislative bodies and administrative agencies. In addition, it was not unusual to hear presidential political candidates in the 1992 race for the presidency speak out against the influence of special interest groups as a major reason for the nation's budget deficit.

-
1. there is a diversity of perception of reality at different historical times by different people.
 2. social life is socially constructed via discourse. Even the very concept of Modernity was promoted by the philosophers of Enlightenment. Thus, the myth of general happiness due to the development of technology and science was invented.
 3. critical to all preceding theories because history has a contextual quality and uniqueness and because of relative epistemology.

⁵ from *Political Science Research. A Handbook of Scope and Methods* by Laurence F. Jones and Edwards C. Olson, New York, Longman, 1996, pp. 37-39.

The effectiveness of the article in making the major points

Example: This article used data that showed a relationship between interest group campaign contributions and support for interest group demands by the recipients of PAC political donations.

(Note! We need a more detailed analysis. See the plan at the beginning of Part VI and a critical review in Part IX)

Theoretical implications of the article

Example: The findings presented in this article support the subgovernment political theory that the reciprocal nature of iron triangles contributes to policy fragmentation and budget costs. The notion of hyperpluralism is also substantiated by the findings of the author.

Policy implications of the article

Example: Congress should enact and enforce legislation to curb the influence of PAC donations to political players.

Personal viewpoint

Example: Analysis of the data collected by the author suggests that hyperpluralism and iron triangles can contribute to fragmented policy and a budget deficit. The author, however, neglects to mention that, as linkage institutions for their constituencies, interest groups are the collective voice of their members. Thus, they represent the demands of their members. They also provide policy feedback and keep their members apprised of political activity that addresses their demands. Therefore, interest groups enhance the democratic process.

Summary

Example: The impact of interest groups on public policy in America. This article relates to the research problem because it presents a negative view about the contributions of special interest groups towards public policy. While others assert that competing interest groups enhance the democratic process by providing a communications linkage to policymakers, the author of this article has a different viewpoint. Interest groups, as a part of the iron triangle reciprocal arrangement, contribute to fragmented policy and budget deficits. Therefore, they impede the notion of effective and efficient government.

Part VII

Defining Ideological Approaches⁶

Analytical tasks:

Compare the definitions of ideology and give your own.

Read the list of ideologies and discuss the components.

⁶ The definitions are taken from Barbara Goodwin's (1992) *Using Political Ideas*. Chichester. John Wiley & Sons, pp. 17-35.

All coherent political doctrines are ideological, as is our use of political ideas themselves.

Social reality itself is contradictory. Ideology is a resolution of these contradictions in the mind.

Because ideology tries to resolve the irresolvable, it gives an inaccurate and distorted representation of material reality.

Ideology is used to work out false consciousness, which makes an individual unlikely to rebel against his oppressed condition (Marx).

Mannheim defined ideology as an idea or ideas 'incongruent with reality', which have the effect of protecting a contradictory reality, and supporting the status quo. Mannheim distinguished the particular conception of ideology (1) a set of ideas particular to a group's special interests, which promotes these interests and deceives other groups from the total conception of ideology (2) a way of thinking common to a whole society or a particular historical period which individuals cannot escape unless they migrate to another culture where they will find a different total ideology.

Putnam, a political scientist, defined ideology more loosely and less critically as 'a lifeguarding system of beliefs, values and goals affecting political style and action'.

Ideology is a doctrine about the right way, or the ideal way, of organizing society and conducting politics, based on wider considerations about the nature of human life and knowledge.

Ideology determines the use of political concepts and language, and even the form of logic used to prove political points: the liberal equates formal logic with rational argument, while Marxists use dialectical approach and many right-wing thinkers are prone to argue by analogy or to invoke symbols or myths.

Anyone embarking on political theory or practice must remember that facts are largely 'constructed' on the basis of ideological commitment, and that argument must therefore take place principally at this level.

The list of components of Ideologies⁷

Liberalism

1. an individual

⁷ The list of components of ideologies is based on Barbara Goodwin's (1992) *Using Political Ideas*. Chichester. John Wiley & Sons; Paul Gilbert's (2000) *People, Culture and nations in Political Philosophy*. Edinburgh University Press.

(a) is rational. He has the ability to pursue his interests rationally and knows his own interests better. A rational man maximizes his profits (economic, political and etc). Thus he doesn't need an authoritarian or paternalistic government.

(b) becomes sociable and cooperative only for the pursuit of self-interest or aggressive if he has to compete.

(c) human life is sacred, violence is prohibited except for the wars to preserve a liberal society.

2. contract and consent

The government can be overthrown by people if it betrays the trust of people. The social life is arranged through social contract at people's consent.

3. constitutionalism and law

Highly legalistic society, separation of powers. The constitution prevents the government from transgressing against individuals. The law prevents individuals from transgressing against each other.

4. freedom as choice, pluralism

5. equality of opportunities (formal)

6. social justice based on merit

7. tolerance and open-endedness of the liberal approach to political theory and practice

8. private life and public life are separated

Types of liberalism

1. Reformation liberalism

Plurality of denominations within the same society (tolerance, modus vivendi) like a variety of opinions in a pre-Christian world with the stoic perception of human unity among diversity. The state is neutral to the denomination, but the denomination demands obedience from an individual but the individual has the right to leave it. The state gives an autonomy to the denomination.

2. Enlightenment liberalism

Political arrangements via the law and equal justice for everyone. Freedom is autonomy. The state guards the autonomy of an individual.

3. Romantic liberalism

An individual can be autonomous only in the autonomous nation-state of his ethnic group. He will have more choice, thus more freedom.

Conservatism

1. doesn't seek to justify political arrangements (in terms of entitlements) if they are workable (meanwhile socialism, Marxism, liberalism do so)

2. realism

There will be always a group which has more power than others. The governments should balance interests of all groups without losing power.

3. nationalism

Racial mixing spoils the narrative of the nation, endangers the traditions and is against the laws of social consciousness

4. against change

If the system works it should be preserved. Stability is important.

5. empiricism, pragmatism, a modest change only through experience

6. organicism

Society has a unitary natural growth and it is an organized living whole.

7. human imperfection, pessimistic view, inegalitarian view. People should have an authoritarian government due to their imperfect nature.

Communitarianism

1. common good thesis

Communities are constituted by a specific common good.

2. shared conception thesis

There is enough agreement on the common good.

3. embedded individual thesis

Identity of individual members of a community is given by their place in it. The societal membership is valuable by itself because it improves human nature. There are ethical claims upon the members of the community.

4. prioritization thesis

The role of the state is to give priority to the securing of the common good.

5. non-neutrality thesis

The state cannot be neutral to the behaviour of an individual if he disregards the interests of the society. It must guard the common good.

Types of communitarianism:

1. Republican Communitarianism

For pursuing the common good successfully there must be a just society achieved via political arrangements and deliberation. Laws and administration are not neutral framework for individual projects. Fulfillment of shared interests is a priority. Formulation of laws and decision-making must take place through political debates in which everyone is free to participate and must do it. Nationality is not equal to ethnicity: the nationality is a republican citizenship. Liberty is used in a sense of effective participation in a self-governing state. Distinction between the public and the private realms is crucial to republicanism. All religious, cultural things are for the private life and have no political expression, otherwise the state would become a battleground between conflicting interests rather than a workshop for fulfillment of common interests.

2. Cultural Communitarianism

If according to republican communitarianism first come political arrangements and then shared values, it is not according to cultural communitarianism. Under cultural communitarianism first come shared values then political arrangements. It is a kind of cultural nationalism. There must be one cultural group with the same values and character because cultural solidarity underpins political loyalties and makes it easier to pursue common good and make suitable political arrangements.

Socialism

1. the concern with poverty

2. class analysis of a society

3. egalitarianism

4. communal ownership of means of production
5. popular sovereignty (representative democracy or direct democracy)
6. human interdependence

The fear of dependence of each on the state led some socialists to anarchism and others to a greater participation. Rousseau expressed the idea that in making the social contract the individual gives up most of his power over himself but gains a fraction of power over every other citizen.

7. belief in human creativity and sociability
8. virtues of co-operation
9. idealization of work as unalienated labour
10. freedom as fulfillment
11. internationalism

Marxism

1. dialectical materialism

A new moment negates the old one and transcends it at the same time. Opposition is in any developmental process. Ideas are produced by material causes and these causes lie finally in the economic arrangements of a society (mode of production)

2. Marx's economics. Surplus value.

Surplus value is taken by a capitalist because he is an owner of the means of production. Unemployment makes workers sell their labour cheaper and they become poorer and a capitalist richer. Capitalism can flourish only through the creation of extremes of wealth and poverty.

3. historical determinism (or historical materialism)

Historical change is determined by a class conflict rather than by a conflict between nations or between ethnic groups. History is a dialectical process (negates and transcends). New technologies demand new social relations and new classes begin to struggle for power.

4. Class is more important politically than an individual.
5. Government is based on force or domination.
6. All aspects of life are pervaded by politics and ideology.
7. Man is determined by a society and his class position in the society (his fixed place in the production process). Thus Marxism threatens the main liberal doctrine that the man is free and rational and able to choose his goal and activities by himself independently from his position in the society (a self-made man).
8. Creation of the communist society is the highest goal.
9. Abolition of private property, alienated labour and capitalist mode of production. The state has oppressive nature and it will wither gradually but at first there will be a revolutionary dictatorship. The goal is to create a classless society.

Anarchism

1. State is an artificial and manipulated device.
2. Society is a natural formation.
There must be small natural communities instead of states.
3. An individual is good when he is born but can be influenced by social evils, the source of which is the institution of authority.
4. There are three evils: government, law and private property.

Accumulation of private property leads to inequality and dependence, thus there is the necessity to protect this property with the help of laws and government. That leads to violence. Seeking political influence to change government leads to new oppression again.

So, 1st evil is private property.

The rich create laws and government to save their property. Accumulated capital should be shared by all.

The 2nd evil is laws and constitution.

Constitution and laws are created by those who have got accumulated capital. Thus, Constitution, which is conceived to supervised the laws is unnecessary. It does not provide protection. Laws cannot provide justice in any case, because they place a particular act into the general category of crime ignoring individual circumstances. Besides, crimes are socially determined. Thus punishment is arbitrary and cannot lead to individual or social improvement.

The 3rd evil is government.

Wherever there is power it is likely to be abused, the result is coercion and oppression. Politics itself is corruption for individuals. If you campaign for a change by political means you end up in struggle for power and a cycle recommences. To rule over others means to destroy one's own individuality. Changes must be carried out only by non-political means.

5. anarchist order

Order is produced by the internalization of moral values and norms. Self-control instead of the control from above. Order without dependence. A moral being presupposes society and society presupposes interdependence. It must be a self-regulating society with unwritten laws through instinct, reason and morality.

6. optimistic view of the human capacity for social behaviour and environmentalism. By changing circumstances you can change individuals for the better. We are naturally sociable. Small communities is the preferable arrangement for social life.

7. self-fulfillment within a society, creative work, cooperation (anarchism and liberalism focus on an individual)

8. freedom within society. Freedom to act in conformity with one's own judgment (attained via knowledge). Bakunin: "even the master is in fact a slave in an oppressive society". Socially determined behaviour. A man won't act against a natural society having a rational judgment. Education is important. The strength of external authority over an individual decreases as the level of internal education increases.

Means to achieve a good societal life are the following:

a) peaceful, i.e. moral persuasion, propaganda, passive resistance, civil disobedience and withdrawal from the corrupt society.

b) ethics of violence

Violence is justified because violence on the part of the government merits violence from individuals who use it as self-defence. Ends justify means. Refusal to debate on the grounds of the hypocrisy of a dominating self-justifying state ideology. The Government's declaration of high value of an individual life is a deception because it is evident that the Government does not value the lives of the poor. If it valued people it would not allow the poor people to die from hunger and poverty.

Cosmopolitanism

1. Rational Cosmopolitanism

Marcus Aurelius: “There is one law, one common reason in all intelligent animals and one truth”. Identity is a “citizen of the world”. Political arrangements do not depend on the group identity. The System of ethnic nation-states is based on their limited and non-rationally based loyalties.

2. Anti-rationalist cosmopolitanism

To be a citizen of the world is to be a member of the same moral community. Ethnic groups interact deciding common problems in a dialogue and finding the best solution. They will adopt norms and gradually develop a new cosmopolitan identity.

Part VIII

Defining Ontology and Epistemology⁸

Analytical Tasks:

Answer the questions:

What is the difference between a foundationalist ontological position and an antifoundationalist ontological position? What is the connection between ontology and epistemology? Give the definitions of ontology, epistemology, methodology, ideology and methods. What kind of interaction exists between all of them?

Read the article and define the author’s ontological and epistemological positions.

Writing an article or analyzing a political situation a researcher uses certain approaches. They are:

1. ontological approach,
2. epistemological approach,
3. ideological approach,
4. methodological approach,
5. methods,
6. and theories which include all above-mentioned levels of analysis.

I. Ontology

Ontology is a Theory of Being (what is or what exists).

Ontology can be foundationalist (essentialist) and anti-foundationalist.

Foundationalist ontology means that the phenomenon exists independently from our imagination and perception of it, it is “out there” and we must acknowledge it. Thus, our epistemological approach will be to study it trying to find the statistical confirmation of the laws governing in a real life and bringing about the event/phenomenon which exists independently from us.

Anti-foundationalist ontology means that we do not believe that this phenomenon exists independently because all social phenomena are socially constructed and determined by the time or other circumstances influencing our interpretation. We can study only people’s interpretation of the phenomenon and compare this modern interpretation with others in the course of history. The interpretist epistemology matches the anti-

⁸ The classification is based on *Marsh D. and Furlong P. (2002) “A Skin, not a Sweater: Ontology and Epistemology in Political Science” in Theory and Methods in Political Science, 2d ed. Eds. David Marsh and Gerry Stoker. England. Palgrave Macmillan: 17- 32.* I have changed the term ‘realist’ epistemology into ‘structuralist’ epistemology because the term ‘realist’ seems to be misleading .

foundationalist ontology best. The ontological position affects but not completely determines epistemological position. For example, for the foundationalist ontology it is better to choose positivist or realist epistemology. For the anti-foundationalist ontology it is better to use interpretist epistemology.

II. Epistemology

Epistemology is a Theory of Knowledge (what we can know and how we can know that we know). Epistemology can be positivist, realist and interpretist.

Thus we have the following epistemological approaches:

(1) Positivist epistemology is based on causal relationship, direct observation and development of explanatory or even predictive models. We can establish real world through empirical observation like in natural sciences using methods of natural sciences.

(2) Structuralist epistemology is based on the combination of a positivist approach (direct observation) and structuralist approach (unobservable structure which can produce a crucial effect upon the observable events).

(3) Interpretist epistemology is based on the idea that we cannot establish what the real world is by using our knowledge. We can only establish our own interpretation about the real world. We deal with different interpretations in the course of history and choose the narration which suits us best or seems to be the closest to true knowledge.

III. Ideology

Ideology is a system of political, legal, ethical, aesthetical, religious and philosophical coherent views and ideas that influence the behaviour of people.

IV. Methodology

Methodology is a system of principles and methods.

V. Method

A method is a means of achieving an aim. Methods are used as tools for the investigation of the problem and their choice depends on the field investigated and the researcher's epistemological approach. There are also different principles of the classification of methods. For example, they can be: traditional and modern methods; qualitative and quantitative methods; quantitative behavioural methods and quantitative postbehavioural methods; methods according to the discipline engaged in the field of investigation (philosophical, economic, juridical, historical and etc); comparative methods of different kind.

VI. Theory

A theory is a system of generalized knowledge, which gives an integral picture of some regularities occurring in the real life. A theory can be analyzed at the following levels: ideological, ontological, epistemological and methodological. The use of a theory must be correlated with the researcher's own ideological, ontological and epistemological positions.

Example: Marx's theory.

Foundationalist ontology (the struggle between social classes moves society forward at the specific historical juncture); realist epistemology (there are observable facts and an unobservable structure, for Marx it is an economic structure, i.e. people's belonging to a social class with certain relations to the means of production); methodology - dialectical materialism and historical determinism; economic, philosophical, historical, sociological, comparative methods; ideology - socialist ideas; theories - Ludwig Feuerbach's philosophical materialism and Georg Hegel's dialectics.

**The Market of Eldery Collective Accommodation in France.
A Case of Cooperation/Competitiveness Between Public and
Private Sectors**

Ali SMIDA⁹

Introduction

Protectionism, centralization, and the welfare State have been some of the main features of France for more than two centuries. But, by almost general agreement, this model is no more efficient. Many recent crises in public action, the new behaviour of economic actors demanding their autonomy or claiming their local specificity are some illustrations of a need for a change of the role of the State (Bailly, 1998; Delmas, 1991; Smida, 2002; Trosa, 1995).

The internal complexity inside France (in social, economic, political, technological areas) and the external complexity (international environment in all areas) need a new organisation of the State. That is why recently the State has begun to withdraw from the system of goods and services. Private actors have gained more importance in almost all economic sectors (Telemçani, 1993).

On the other hand, a new theoretical paradigm (Boix, 1997; Osborne and Gaebler, 1992; Pollitt and Bouckaert, 2000) has played a major role in favour of this change in the distribution of roles between the State and the private sector. France's non-profit private organisations also play a remarkable role particularly in the health and social system. This dynamic non-profit private sector permits to avoid the public-private dichotomy which has consequences for the productive system of goods and services:

- The public sector could safeguard the public interest, but in the absence of a private sector, it distorts the decision process, it lacks flexibility, initiative and reactivity, and it is harmful for the dynamism of the country's economy;
- The private sector, with a free hand, seeks only its own interest, bases its activity mainly on financial profit. So, many segments of the population, many social and economic areas, regarded by the private sector as unprofitable, could be forsaken;
- The non-profit private sector could have some flexibility and creativity. It also tries to safeguard the public interest. In fact some non-profit private organisations, such as the French Red Cross, are called "Associations of public interest".

⁹ The article is from *Global Society: Conflict or Cooperation? Discussion*, ed. Nina Slanevskaya, St.Petersburg, Nestor, 2006: 87-92. References are in the bibliography.

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His research field and publications are related to business strategy and strategic perspectives.

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This article discusses the competitiveness between public, private and non-profit organisations in the French health and social system. It especially examines the case of *the elderly homes* (EH). This competitiveness appears to be profitable for all categories of the population, even if some segments of the population seem to be more “interesting” for the private commercial organisations.

1. Collective accommodation for the elderly, a new market in expansion

For more than forty years, a real political will in favour of the elderly has taken place in France. This policy has two main consequences: it has improved the living condition of the elderly and it has enhanced medical progress in gerontology (Bichot and Godet 1998; Bonnet, 1995; Borrel 1996; Bourcier de Carbon, 1995; David and Starzec, 1993; Faujas, 1998; Laroque, 1962; Ministère du Travail et des Affaires Sociales, 1997; Rochet, 1995 ; Roger, 1997; Ville, 1989). These two factors contribute to the lengthening of the life expectancy of the elderly, increasing their demographic weight. This numerical importance gives the elderly greater impact to influence political decisions in their favour. So, we have a feedback mechanism making the elderly people live longer and be wealthier. But the process of ageing has consequences: physical and mental dependencies, and isolation of the elderly. These physical, psychological and social difficulties with some financial solvency give birth to a new and dynamic market, that of *homes for the elderly*.

This market is not homogeneous. The elderly have very unequally distributed financial resources. They also have various needs due to:

- important differences in ages,
- physical and mental health state,
- financial means,
- the degree of integration to the social fabric and
- a strong numerical imbalance in favour of women.

On the other hand, a well-surrounded person, who benefits from a moral and material assistance and who fits into a social environment, does not feel the need to leave his or her home. Thus different accommodation possibilities are given to the elderly.

3. Homes for the elderly, an alternative among other competitive offers

Nowadays, accommodation establishments for the elderly try to propose an offer, which is adapted to their clients.

The expectations and the particular needs of each category of people concerned will have to be taken into account.

The struggle for the market shares will be on two levels:

First level: a struggle between three sets of accommodation:

- a- the stay at home;
- b- the elderly homes;
- c- collective accommodations other than homes for the elderly.

Second level: inside the set of homes for the elderly (between different categories of homes for the elderly) (figure 1).

The stay at home is the first preference of the elderly. They have their habits and their past at home, so they reject to leave their usual life environment.

In addition, public authorities have encouraged the elderly to stay at home, particularly through the development and the generalization of assistance services at home.

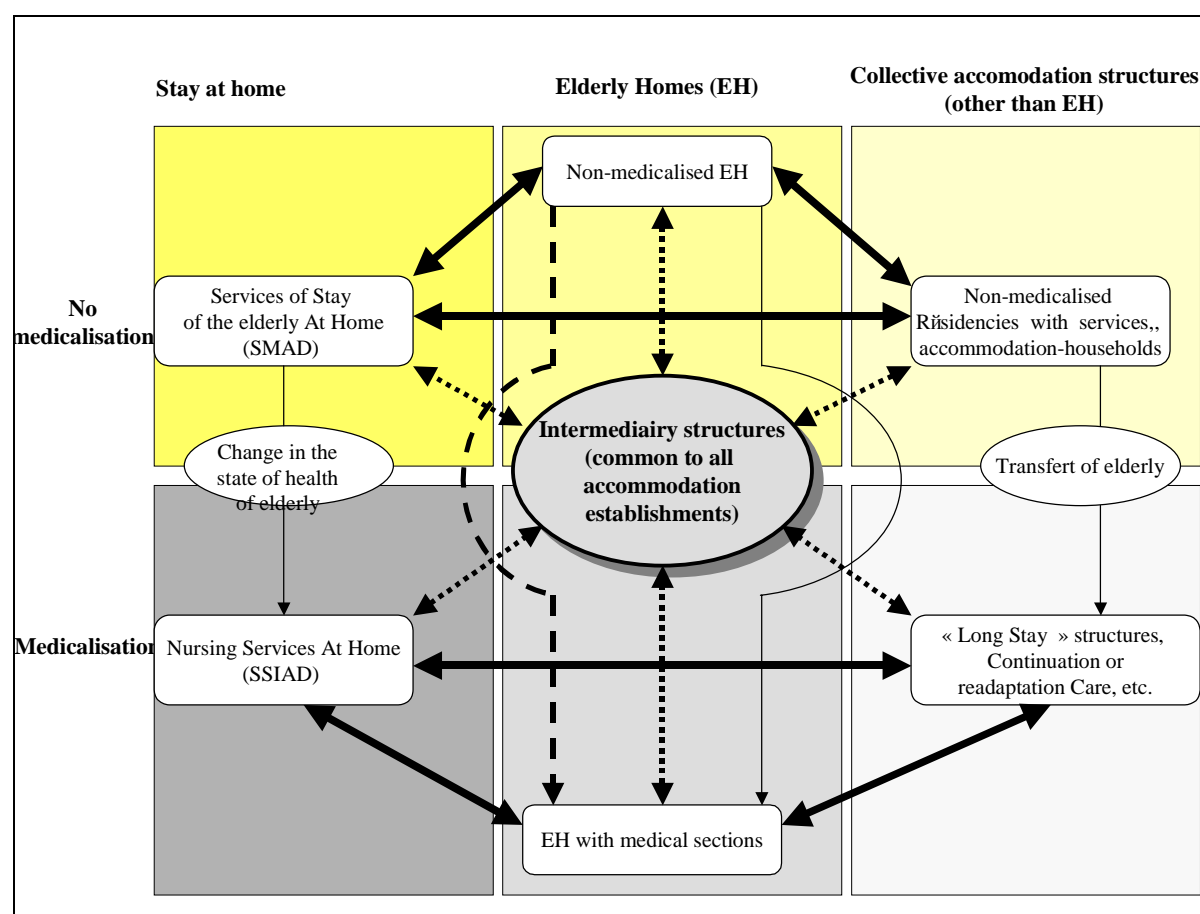
Professionals caring for the elderly at home have also developed strategies to push them to stay at home.

On the other hand, the retirement homes managers develop strategies in order to pull the elderly in the collective accommodations. They use modern management tools that allow them to offer services adapted to each segment of the clients. This offer includes autonomous elderly, sick elderly, and physically or mentally dependent ageing persons. Dependent elderly in collective accommodations need medicalized services. That is why, the medicalized retirement homes compete with some establishments of care, especially those concerned with long duration care (Long Stay)

However, the retirement homes could attempt to distinguish themselves from the "Long Stay" structures by positioning themselves

- either on a segment concerning a lesser physical dependence, or
- on a segment of psychic dependence (Alzheimer disease, etc).

Figure 1. Competition between the different modes of accommodation for the elderly



↔ Competition

Medicalization of EH - - - - - →

⋯ Possible synergies with intermediary structures

3. A specific accommodation offer for each category of elderly

The elderly are a very heterogeneous population (CLEIRPPA, 1997-a, 1997-b, 1997-c; Ministère du Travail et des Affaires Sociales, 1997; Neiss and Rouvera, 1996; SESI, 1996; Simon, 1997). Degrees of solvency, physical or psychic dependence, of social isolation are very variable. In order to attract the elderly with a high level of dependence, retirement homes offer medicalized services. If they are willing to lodge the elderly without solvency, they have to sign agreements with the Region or with the city social services. The elderly with high autonomy need other social activities.

So, the offer has to be adapted to the need and the wish of each category of the elderly. For instance, in the face of the potential demand of the dependent elderly, the market of retirement homes offers some establishments with a variable level of medicalization. The market can be segmented in reference to the dependence level of the elderly, and to the medicalization level of the retirement homes. So, we can distinguish three categories of medicalized establishments:

- a medicalized category (with at least 20% of beds reserved to the medical section),
- another category slightly medicalized (inferior to 20%) and
- a third category, called 'not medicalized', without any medical section.

We also can classify the population in three groups according to the degree of dependence.

The junction of these two factors (dependence and medicalization) shows several axes of possible evolutions for the retirement homes, especially according to their status and their strategies (Table 1).

4. Segmentation of the elderly and competition/cooperation between sectors

The analysis of the market shows that the public sector has the biggest share in two cases:

- Box A (high medicalized establishments, high dependence level of the Elderly). But we notice a potential expansion of commercial profit sector. The competitiveness is also high between these two sectors;
- Box I (no medicalization, no dependence). In this case, some lucrative niches (luxury elderly homes) are occupied by the commercial profit sector.

The commercial profit sector holds a strong place in the Box C (high dependence, no medicalization). It develops specialised establishment in health dependence (Alzheimer disease). Non-profit private sector is developed in the case of low dependence and low medicalization (Box E).

So three situations are possible:

1. strong competitiveness between sectors (e.g. Box A);
2. no competition between sectors (e.g. Box E);
3. a kind of cooperation where a sector chooses a niche and leaves the rest of the market for the other sectors (e.g. Box C).

Table 1. Evolution and potential development of elderly homes (EH)

		Medicalization level of the EH		
		High Medicalization	Low Medicalization	No Medicalization
Dependence level of the Elderly	High Dependence	Box A : Rather public (Public EH, “Long Stay”) Potential expansion of medicalization of commercial profit sector.	Box B : Progressive medicalization to adapt the market.	Box C : Often mental dependence. Expansion of commercial private sector with specialisation in mental dependence.
	Low Dependence	Box D : <i>n.s.</i> (not significant)	Box E : Expansion of non-profit private EH	Box F : EH for patients with low dependence. Progressive medicalization or specialisation in mental dependence.
	No Dependence	Box G : <i>n.s.</i> (not significant)	Box H : <i>n.s.</i> (not significant)	Box I : Rather public EH and public accommodation-households. Patients : with social difficulties (Isolation,...). Niche for commercial private sector : luxury EH.

Conclusion

The public sector continues to play its role of safeguarding public interests. The commercial private sector introduces wide techniques of management experience, and an approach focuses in priority on the competition in a sector with a strong health-social culture and a weak management culture. The non-profit sector plays a significant role in the health and social system in France. This actor enhances competitiveness in some cases and contributes in the cooperation in some others.

These three sectors create competition and competitiveness. This dynamics permits a good quality, reasonable prices and safeguards the interests of the elderly who lack solvency.

Part IX

Critical Review

Analytical tasks:

Read the article. Read the critical review on the article and add your personal opinion (10) and summary (11) according to the plan in Part VI.

Is Culture a Divergence or a Convergence Factor in Economic Growth for Socialist Countries in Economic Transition?¹⁰

Christian MICHON¹¹

It is generally recognised that national energy resources and the rate of development of an open market economy are two essential factors in establishing sustainable economic growth. Merely describing and understanding the significant disparities between countries and continents is not sufficient; it is therefore important to consider a country's culture as a determinant variable (Hofstede, 2000).¹²

¹⁰ C. MICHON (2006) "Is Culture a Divergence or a Convergence Factor in Economic Growth for Socialist Countries in Economic Transition?" in *Global Society: Conflict or Cooperation. Discussion*, ed. N. Slanevskaya, St. Petersburg, Nestor: 190-194.

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¹² G. Hofstede analysing cultural differences of the countries claims that it is possible to predict the behaviour of the nation on different levels, political included. All societies, modern or traditional, face the same basic problems; only the answers differ. How a society tries to solve the problems of inequality can be measured with the help of several indices, such as: *Power (authority) distance index* (e.g. the highest belongs to Malaysia – 104 and the lowest to Austria – 11; the USA - 40; the UK – 35 and so on). Hofstede explains this phenomenon of *Power distance* in the following way.

Countries in which a Romance language is spoken (Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, French) score medium to high (from 35 in Costa Rica to 95 in Guatemala) on the *Power distance* scale. Countries in which a Germanic language is spoken (German, English, Dutch, Danish, Norwegian, Swedish) score low (from 11 in Austria to 49 in South Africa). There seems to be a relationship between language area and present-day 'mental software' regarding *Power distance*. The fact that a country belongs to a language area is rooted in history: Romance languages all derive from Low Latin, and were adopted in countries once part of the Roman Empire, or in the case of Latin America, in countries colonized by Spain and Portugal which themselves were former colonies of Rome. Germanic languages are spoken either in countries which remained 'barbaric' in Roman days, or in areas once under Roman rule but reconquered by barbarians (like England). Thus some roots of the mental programme called *Power distance* go back at least to Roman times—2000 years ago. Countries with a Chinese (Confucian) cultural inheritance also cluster on the medium to high side of the power distance scale – and here is a culture at least 4000 years old.

In the context of globalisation, culture can be regarded as a common element that encourages growth, or as a factor that delays growth.¹³ Contemporary theories pay little attention to culture's role in determining economic growth (Guellec & Ralle, 1995; Arrous, 1999).

The examples of development in East and South-East Asian countries effectively illustrate the role of culture in economic growth (Crane, 1978). Based on their

Both the Roman and the Chinese empires were ruled from a single centre, which presupposes a population prepared to take orders from the centre. The Germanic part of Europe, on the other hand, was divided into small tribal groups under local lords, not prepared to accept directives from anybody else. It seems a reasonable assumption that early statehood experiences helped to develop in these peoples the common mental programmes necessary for the survival of their political and social system.

Besides *Power distance index* there are other important *characteristics*.

Individualism index shows the role of the individual versus the role of the group, relationship between the individual and the group. The higher the index the more individualistic the country is (e.g. the USA - 91, Guatemala - 6, the UK - 89).

Masculinity index is connected with the social implications of having been born as a boy or a girl and their future social role in the society (masculinity versus femininity) and shows if it is a masculine culture country which prefers punishing (wars) and striving for a performance society (accumulating products and wealth) or a feminine country (permissive) which prefers negotiations and striving for a welfare society (quality of life, ecology) (e.g. Japan - 95, Sweden - 5, the USA - 62, Great Britain - 66).

Uncertainty avoidance index helps to predict the ways of dealing with uncertainty, related to the control of aggression and the expression of emotions; it determines the decisions of immigration and racial issues (e.g. Greece - 112, Singapore - 8, the USA - 46, the UK - 35).

Long-term orientation index is connected with Confucian dynamism. Countries with long-orientation have the following values: persistence (perseverance), thrift, ordering relationships by status and observing this order, having a sense of shame (e.g. China - 118, the Philippines - 19, the USA - 29, Great Britain - 25).

(Explained by N. Slanevskaya).

¹³ The discussion of culture as a determining factor for the economic development has been lasting for centuries. The economic progress which could bring people happiness was seen cultures (in the Roman empire and during the age of Enlightenment) inconsistent with old barbaric. Ethnic cultures were blamed as the hindrance for the social and economic development. Languages which were not considered to be rational (no rich vocabulary, no developed grammatical categories) were treated as emotional and backward and people who wanted to continue to speak such ethnic languages were held to be nonrational and nonnormative and should be excluded from the participation in the democratic process of the state where political system is based upon reason. But as we remember, the English language also belonged to such barbaric languages centuries ago, and even in the time of Shakespeare the English language was not prestigious and considered to be 'rude' for the ear of English noblemen. Nevertheless this language didn't prevent Anglo-Saxon countries to become highly developed economies.

If we take an example from a recent history both North Korea and South Korea have had similar cultural roots and language but now they have quite different economic levels of development. Are cultural roots, indeed, so important for an economic success?

According to the *modernization thesis* which was premised on the inherent superiority of the First World culture the Third World had to become the mirror image of the developed West.

Andre Frank, Francisco Cardoso, and Oswaldo Sunkel developed a *Dependency theory* based on Leninist Marxism and refuting the modernization thesis. They argued that the underdevelopment of the Third World was not the consequence of cultural deficiency, as the modernization thesis claimed, but of a structural relationship between the West and the Third World which served to foster a particular form of dependent relationship. This claim broke with the orthodox paradigm of a unilinear, evolutionary relationship between modern and traditional.

Emanuel Wallerstein describes a capitalist world system characterized by different regions – *core*, *periphery*, *semiperiphery* – which served different functions within the system in consolidating certain dependent spatial relationships. (Commented upon by N. Slanevskaya).

experience, we propose a double input-double output theory where cultural factors can be considered as both positive and negative variables.

1. Culture and economy. History

The culture was historically associated to the economic development regarding macro economic or micro economic point of view. For example, the influence of the religion was regarded as a determining explanation of the birth of capitalism.

From a micro economic point of view, both community dimension and a cultural factor were in particular regarded as the source of the Hanseatic development of the Prussian expansionism towards the Dutch and Belgium countries.

In Asia like in other countries, which have Chinese Diaspora, the Chinese community has also developed a network trade, which supplanted the local traditional trade (Vandermeersch, 1986).

Nevertheless, to apprehend the cultural factor, it is necessary to define in a measurable way the variables which determine a specific cultural identity. But that is not enough because it is necessary to determine as well within the relational framework between culture and economy, whether culture or economy plays the main role in economic development and whether culture has direct or indirect relationship with economic development. The search for a model of connection between culture and economy seems a good approach for studying this question.

It makes sense to say that the more there are examples of differentiation in the relation between culture and economic development, the more it will be probable to discover links between these two variables.

Let us recall that culture associated with economy should not be confused with the economy of culture. This one leads to other concerns such as cultural diversity (cultural exception) and the globalisation of the market of culture.

An integrated model of the cultural factor with double input

This model starts from a generally allowed postulate that the economic development supposes basic conditions that are of a political nature, social and economic, and which are necessary at the same time (Furtado, 1970).

We can also observe that some economic developments are only optical illusions when the output revenue is completely confiscated by a political caste and this revenue is based on a single natural resource. If the conditions of growth exist, the cultural values will intervene to support or slow down the economic growth.

It is advisable concerning this proposal to define the cultural approach rather than to take into account an approach based on values listed from a Western point of view (Rokeach Value System for example) (Usunier, 2000).

It seems more appropriate to focus on the relations between globalisation – localization i.e. we propose the principle of a cultural dynamics of co-operation - conflict between the local regulating values and aspirational values.

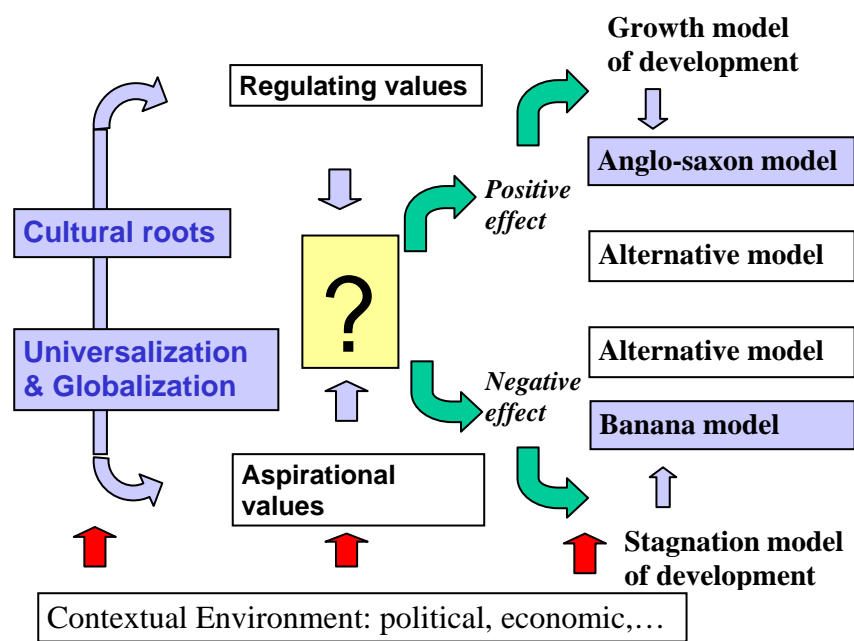


Fig. 1 Model with double input - double output

The regulating variables constitute the first input. They are by nature the variables which control the existing milieu and come from a social framework having deep roots.

The aspirational variables are the second input. They are those which make a society evolve by their specific orientation and their intensity. The aspirational variables are more or less important regarding the perception which one has of the outside world.

They are variables which are very sensitive to the sociocultural currents and trends of country-headlights like the United States of America or Japan for Asian countries. They have a strong influence on the people's needs and wants (Prime, 2001).

Is it the pattern of the combination between regulating and aspirational variables which will determine the economic development? The observable facts can bring us to the conclusion that there are two modes of inputs as there are two modes of outputs.

A model with double output

Cultural factors associated with political, social, economic conditions allow the implementation of a positive effect of economic growth or a negative effect leading to the economic stagnation and even recession.

The first output is characterized by a positive spiral of economic growth. The traditional indicators can measure this phenomenon.

It does not explain the relation between economic growth and culture but makes it possible to notice it. The model of Anglo-Saxon development based on the capitalism and the market economy is an example.

The second output is characterized by a negative effect which leads rather to an economic stagnation, and perhaps, even worse to the disintegration of the economy. The model of the "banana" republics of Africa is an example.¹⁴

¹⁴ The model (Fig.1) shows that the double input (on the left in the diagram) comes from culture meanwhile the double output (on the right in the diagram) takes place in economy. The box with the question mark means the point of meeting of two cultural trends (the old culture with regulating values in

2. The role of culture like a source of junction

As in a mathematical model of junction, the positive or negative output can depend on one variable which we may call critical variable. Such a variable reaching a critical threshold of rupture will start an acceleration of the process involved in one direction or the other.

For better understanding we can use the model demonstrating how the culture intervenes in this process and how a combination between regulating and aspirational variables can produce a positive or a negative output.

For example, the phenomenon of corruption is often observed in the emerging countries or developing countries and which is more or less condemned by morals of the local government and society.

If the whole of the corruption is a confiscatory process to the advantage of a small group which is a dominant 'caste' in the society, for example, then one can observe that the economic development is hindered.

If the whole of the corruption is redistributive, in other words a large part of the population shares the resources of corruption, then the negative economic effect will be limited even if this form of abuse of power does not correspond to the Western values of justice and equality. The same cultural variable can have different effects.

A rich life style and Western comfort are regarded, as something desired, i.e. an aspirational variable.

3. The case of the Asian countries, the example of Vietnam

Vietnam can be characterized as a country whose economic development has been carried out for the last twenty years (Michel M, 1998). While preserving a single party on the political level, this country has been rocking in the market economy for about fifteen years.

By studying the reasons of Vietnam's growth (Michon & Gruere, 1996), it appears that the combination of old culture - regulating values identical to that of the Chinese world - and effect of globalisation on the aspirational values led to a positive effect.

the society and, on the other hand, global culture or universalization with aspirational values connected with the life in western rich countries). The interaction between old values and new ones determines the future economic growth. So culture determines economic growth. For a successful interaction old values must match the global values well. The Anglo-Saxon economic model means a fast economic growth and Banana economic model means stagnation. There are some alternative models as well. (*Commented upon by N. Slanevskaya*).

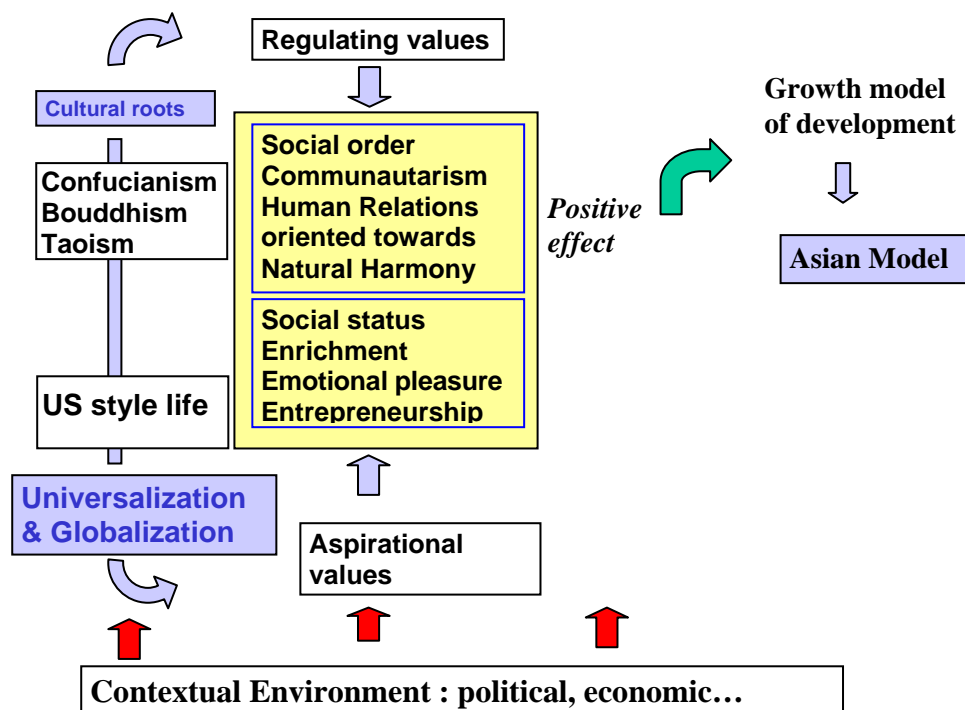


Fig.2: The cultural values model for Asian countries

This success is not fully explained but some research shows how the combination between aspirational values and regulating values has permitted harmonious transformation of the economy regarding the macro, meso or micro economic level. Such kind of the transition “does” not produce an Anglo-Saxon model of economic growth but rather an alternative model, which one could describe as *community model of growth*.¹⁵

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¹⁵ Fig.2 is the illustration of an Asian case. The countries which have old roots in such religions as Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism (on the left of the diagram) carry specific social regulating values (social order, ideas of communitarianism, human relations oriented towards natural harmony) which go well with aspirational values which have the emphasis on social status, enrichment, emotional pleasure and entrepreneurship in the middle of the diagram. Such cultural interaction produces a positive effect on economic growth. The author puts forward an idea of an alternative economic model - ‘Community model of growth’ for Asian countries - taking into consideration cultural values. (Explained by N. Slanevskaya)

A Critical Review by N. Slanevskaya

on the article “Is Culture a Divergence or a Convergence Factor in Economic Growth for Socialist Countries in Economic Transition?” by Christian Michon

1. Subject:

The article by C. Michon (2006) “Is Culture a Divergence or a Convergence Factor in Economic Growth for Socialist Countries in Economic Transition?” in *Global Society: Conflict or Cooperation. Discussion*, ed. N. Slanevskaya, St. Petersburg, Nestor: 190-194, highlights the role of a cultural factor in economic growth in a socialist country in economic transition. It can be regarded as an element that encourages growth or as a factor that delays it.

2. Purpose Statement:

The main purpose of the author is to analyse and define in what way the combination of cultural traditions and new values influences the economic growth of socialist countries in economic transition.

3. Major Points:

Christian Michon gives historical examples of the influence of culture on economic development, supplies us with the model of convergence of local and foreign values, which he calls a double input. Such a double cultural input produces a double economic output according to Michon’s model bringing about either a negative or a positive effect which depends on the success of convergence of values. The author illustrates his idea with the example of Vietnam’s socialist economy in transition.

5. The significance of the article.

The author investigates the causes of economic growth and explains the failure of the Anglo-Saxon model in some socialist countries in economic transition. The author offers a new alternative model related to Asian countries which he calls a *Community model of economic growth* and which is an important contribution to the development of economic theory.

6. Its current relevance.

Under globalization the contacts between different countries and cultures have increased as well as the economic gap. While choosing an economic model for application it is important to understand how cultural diversities are related to economic growth.

7. The effectiveness of the article in making the major points.

Michon’s theoretical insight is based on foundationalist ontology. He believes that cultural factors objectively influence economic growth. He demonstrates it on Vietnam’s economic growth and its particular culture. The failure to admit that cultural factors are important for economic growth leads to economic failure of Western model applied to the socialist countries in transition.

To prove his point of view and investigate the problem Michon uses a realist epistemology. The effect of cultural traditions can’t be observed directly. The

interaction of old regulating values in the society and new aspirational values correlated with global economy can be regarded as an unobservable structure. At the same time the author produces the economic model evidently based on economic facts. His argument could have been more persuasive if the author had supplied us with figures and tables showing the economic growth based on the cultural characteristics of the country and if he had used a comparative method for assessing economic achievements in different countries supported with such tables or diagrams.

The author's adherence to liberal ideology helps him to arrive at the conclusion of the necessity of free choice in application of alternative models in a free market system for Asian countries taking into account cultural diversities.

Methodologically, Michon's analysis is based on dialectical approach and cultural determinism. The successful interaction of old and new values produces positive effect and leads to economic growth. Cultural determinism correlates well with the author's foundationalist ontology supported by historical and economic comparative methods. However, dialectical principle explaining interaction between old and new values is not clearly presented. Michon's investigation could have become more profound if he had illustrated the change of values using sociological polls and questionnaires.

Investigating the phenomenon the author uses the following methods:

- historical comparative method, while speaking about the birth of capitalism, the Prussian expansionism, the network of Chinese diaspora, Vietnam in transition, in the connection with his main thesis of the interaction between culture and economy;
- sociological method, in studying the characteristics of social value systems which exist in different societies;
- economic comparative method, in working out his double input and double output model and an alternative model for Asian economic development.

The choice of methods matches the author's methodological principle of cultural determinism well and seems to be useful for the investigation of the problem.

This article is based on the theory put forward by Hofstede, who considers cultural factors crucial for the socio-political and economic development.

8. Theoretical implications of the article or theoretical basis of it:

There is no doubt that Michon's double input and double output model is a great contribution to the field of cultural studies, economics and to the theory suggested by Hofstede. Michon considers economic side of the problem more thoroughly than Hofstede and develops Hofstede's cultural approach by arguing for an alternative model for Asia countries and by working out a double input and double output model.

9. Policy implications of the article.

There is no necessity of introducing only one economic model, Anglo-Saxon, in all the countries in economic transition. Alternative models can be better for a country with a particular culture.

10. Personal viewpoint (for the student to write down)

11. Summary (for the student to write down)

Part X

Writing a Critical Review

Analytical tasks:

Read an article and write a critical review

The articles for the analysis:

1. Vinko KANDŽIJA and Mario PEČARIĆ. Alternative Developmental Paths, Institutions and Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) (p. 43)
2. Gérard LAFAY. The Issues of Closer Relations between Russia and the EU (p. 48)
3. Vladimir BRANSKY. Globalisation and Synergistic Philosophy of History (p. 52)
2. Claude ALBAGLI. The Impact of New Technologies on the Restructuring of International Economic Relations (p. 56)
3. Nina SLANEVSKAYA. Is Global Governance Going to Be Dictatorial or Democratic? (p. 62)
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Alternative Developmental Paths, Institutions and Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)

**Vinko KANDŽIJA and
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The economic transformation in former socialist countries (so called transition countries) as well as in other developing countries implies fundamental re-allocation of resources (structural economic change) which means also re-industrialization and

¹⁶The bibliography is mentioned at the end of the book. The article is from *Global Society: Conflict or Cooperation? Discussion*, ed. Nina Slanevskaya, St.Petersburg, Nestor, 2006: 61-67

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modernization of these countries on market-oriented neo-liberal paradigm through the process of globalisation.

In this sense globalisation means the process of adoption of the "rules of the game" which have been created by supranational financial institutions (IFIs) as well as developed countries with the strong belief that it will accelerate the process of economic restructuring and provide conditions within these countries for economic convergence or "catch-up" with developed ones. Otherwise, globalisation loses any meaning and motivation for these countries and can be understood as an exogenously implemented and forced process with redistribution effects undermining structural reforms and causing political turbulences.

However, the question has to be raised about the basic content of catch-up as well as about the kind (form) of catch-up (developmental pattern, policy measures and institutions) that would be the most appropriate and realistic to this end. It should be pointed out that the neo-liberal globalisation scenario, as a specific combination of free international trade and liberalization of capital flows within "blueprint institutions" has

not, so far, generated economic growth at the global level.¹⁷

The authors argue that a certain, very slow pace of catching up is possible if and only if reformers take into account existing deep structural problems of the developing economies and institutional capacity to absorb capital and create country specific programmes.

A market-based development paradigm includes a veil of spontaneity expressed in a naïve belief that the market institutions are almost "granted" and can be built in a short term. On the one hand, institutions being defined as unchangeable in the short-run and on the other hand due to the high speed of the undergoing processes, the policies and institutions have lost their linkage. Meanwhile, those linkages are the main prerequisite for the successful outcome of the reforms.

Thus, it can be stated that the success of reform processes as well as developmental impulses depend on and can be measured by the adaptation of the policies to the institutional capacity of a country. Therefore, structural reforms have to be understood as "a specific institutional investment".

Related costs reflect the price to be paid in order to enable a country to move into the other development cycle with new development opportunities. Price is country-specific and varies depending on its social and institutional features.

Different institutional development bases result in different development patterns (developmental paths).

¹⁷ The simple and predominant market-driven economic model, that is believed to be able to enhance growth and catching up of these countries with the developed ones, seems to pass through the process of continuous restructuring (from Washington to Post-Washington process). Namely, it proved that the world liberalization scenario was founded on an incomplete / inconsistent developmental agenda, incapable to encompass all the problems and outcomes of institutional diversity of development. If the process of catching-up does not occur, as it is currently the case in the majority of the developing world and in many of the former socialist countries, the advocates of a liberalizing agenda argue that liberalization reforms were too slow or inappropriate to produce sufficient push as to induce the catching-up process (Stiglitz, 2002; Shultz, 2005; Rodrik, 1999, 2002 etc.).

Thus, aiming at a successful catch-up, it is necessary to establish a sound developmental strategy, harmonized with the structural reforms. Moreover, strategies have to be elaborated through different policies, including the policy for the FDI attraction.

In other words, the FDI attraction policy has to be understood only as a part of an overall development policy that, in turn, changes according to the changes in the institutional structure.

A state, being a part of the institutional structure, bears a great deal of the total social responsibility for the success of reforms.

Such a thesis could seem somewhat obsolete in the framework of the modern process of globalisation that seems to prefer entrepreneurship and private endeavours.

But, the authors argue that it is a false preference because globalisation always implies standardization as well as the setting up of institutions at regional and/or supranational level.

Moreover, such an approach calls for an international economic regime that would be friendlier towards the specific development patterns of different countries.

From the European Union (EU) enlargement perspective, with regard to the transition economies, the EU itself will have to reconsider its role of a supranational, regional development agency to allow different institutional arrangements and (even divergent) development policies.

Consequently, it would have to consider additional measures and devote much more resources to facilitate the catch-up of the laggards in transition with a lower level of development. As far as the FDI are concerned, the EU would have to concentrate on FDI drivers such as the legal environment, enhancement of the private sector and local solutions, etc.

Indeed, developmental financing seems to be one of the major obstacles to this ambitious agenda. Namely, the transformation of these economies requires mobilization of huge resources sufficient to enable reforms and, at the same time, a restructuring process.

We strongly advocate that a "Financing gap" occurs due to the undeveloped and under-capacitated institutions, as well as an inappropriate globalisation agenda, which often does not take it into account. Despite, the enormous growth in gross capital flows, stronger economic growth in these countries does not occur. Moreover, the main features of cross-border financial flows have been characterised by instability and crisis.

The argument for financial liberalization is mostly found in mainstream neoclassical theory and in some contributions of old theories of economic development. It is well known that they explore the problem of developmental gap (underdevelopment) in developing countries which has been caused by the lack of capital.¹⁸

¹⁸ Transition countries (and in general developing countries) in order to spur economic growth should increase domestic savings, which would increase investments, incomes and employment...If they can not increase savings due to low income and growth trap, they should undertake economic reforms proposed by International Financial Institutions (IFIs) and abundant foreign (mainly private) capital flows will come in to spur economic development. Theoretically, this "**optimistic thesis of unfeasible catch-up**" is based on a very simple mainstream proposition as follows: Because of diminishing returns on capital in rich countries, the abundant capital flows should go to countries (developing countries) where the capital is a scarce resource aiming to get higher returns. The recipient countries will accelerate growth rates and, hence, catch developed ones. Unfortunately, this scenario does not work in practice. The empirical insights do not confirm the thesis because, most of capital flows among the rich countries. From the

In the last four decades enormous efforts have been made to overcome this problem through incorporating institutions in economic analysis (North, 1973, 1990; Aoki, 2001), exploring the relationship between institutions and development in particular (Glaeser, La Porta, Lopez-de-Silanes, Shleifer, 2004; Henisz, 2000; IMF, 2003; Iyigun, Rodrik, 2004; Lin, 2002; Marangos, 2002; Rodrik 1999, 2004; Bardhan, 2000; Acemoglu, Johnson, 2003; World Bank, 2002).

The institutional issues in the developmental economics help us to shift our attention from exogenous to endogenous determinants of development, from mechanistic import of physical capital and technology (in which institutions are already embedded) to the actions and behaviour of economic agents responding to incentives embedded in different levels of a country specific institutional framework.

According to institutional insights, institutional arrangements, institutional context and the politics of institutional change become critical to shaping the developmental path. The institutional analysis brings a relatively pessimistic view of the developmental prospects for developing countries. As the import of capital alone is not the main prerequisite of developmental success, neither is the import of institutions. It is important if the imported institutions match the existing institutional framework.

The authors hence argue that the accent of the current integration is more on formal than real convergence.

Thus, the necessity for the creation of specific policies and programmes tailored by the EU and international financial institutions (IFIs) to foster development in the developing economies should be based on recognition of institutional diversity, namely, the dynamic relationship between financial globalisation and the development of these countries passing through the specific and emerging institutional framework.

Much recent research has shown that institutions matter and that they are one of the most important determinants of long term economic development. But, functions of high quality institutions do not belong to the unique institutional forms, which could not be implemented exogenously in the manner that one form fits all (Rodrik, 1999, 2002, 2004).

FDI, as a form of long-term financing, does not enter an economy when the host country desires so, but when the investors clearly recognize their interests within the development strategy of the country. Within such a context, the re-industrialisation process in the transition economies could be seen as a desirable export-driven development strategy, capable not only of attracting FDI but also of ensuring their full positive developmental effects (Alfaro, 2003; Bevan, Estrin, 2000; Bevan, Estrin, Grabbe, 2001; Borensztein, Lee, 1998; Carkovic, Levine, 2002; Chowdhury, Mavrotas 2003; Hunya, 2002; Lim, 2001; Mencinger, 2004, etc).¹⁹

theoretical point of view, it means that the increase in the stock of capital cannot alone explain the problem of development. Thus, the increase in capital accumulation is neither necessary nor sufficient to account for high rates of growth, and the lack of capital is an outcome not a cause of developmental gap (Baro, 1997; Evans, 2002; Hoff, Stigitz, 1999).

¹⁹ The theoretical and empirical evidence stress out three main qualitative relations between FDI and growth (UN Commission for Europe, 2000a, 2000b):

A) **FDI - led growth:** FDI can encourage investment, human capital formation, technical progress and productivity, R&D and many other factors which play a significant role in strengthening the rate of growth. It usually happens through direct influence (FDI enterprises) and indirectly through various spill over effects (positive externalities). This thesis seemed particularly promising for the transition countries at the beginning of the 1990s, strengthening the belief that FDI could, without additional endowment and

The countries with a more developed institutional infrastructure could benefit from the re-industrialisation and stronger integration into the international division of labour.

Thus, the decision on the acceptance of a certain form of FDI should also be based, among other factors, on the analysis of the net benefits for the host country.

However, the government as a decision maker, has to be competent and autonomous (as much as possible) in making such decisions so as to minimize potential economic damages / losses (Ahrens, 2002). Hence the FDI attraction has to go along with the defined growth strategy. At this point, the theory of growth and certainly the contemplation of the relationship between FDI and growth, have to be put into the wider framework of the theory and process of development.

Indeed, the full understanding of the FDI – growth relationship can be accomplished only within the context of the social environment of an economy and its institutional capacity.

The adjustment programmes in transition countries usually neglect the issue of the building of institutions that the authors consider crucial for fostering development. Insisting on policies instead of on the institutions produced in these economies forms a distorted perception about the development opportunities and patterns. The holistic development matrix of the transitional countries requires the analysis of each and every factor of development, including the role of FDI and developmental financing in general through the lenses of the institutional theories.

Within the globalisation framework, the liberalization of economic (trade and financial) inward/outward flows of a country as a prerequisite for its integration into the global economy raises a number of questions. These imply not only the pace and the harmonization between the various processes, but also the democratization of development opportunities and equalization of development chances. Hence, if the catching-up process is considered to be the objective of the process, one can rightfully wonder about its achievability.

The paper considers the process of catching-up from the standpoint of the FDI in the countries in transition.

Empirical evidence shows that the neo-liberalistic development paradigm supported by supranational financial institutions does not produce the same effects in all countries.

Thus, it has been argued that the countries in transition, striving to achieve higher growth rates and/or access to the EU, host all kinds of the FDI.

From the development point of view, it is not the quantity of the attracted FDI that makes the difference, but their structure. It is, on the other hand, determined with the development path previously pursued. Hence, these processes have to be tailored with

with the introduction of technology and knowledge, kick-off the development. This was also the basis for the understanding about the positive role of the FDI in the faster development of these countries.

B) **Growth - driven FDI**: this relation is associated with an improving investment environment (opportunity for boosting profit). Due to high rates of GDP growth, sound macroeconomic policy, institutional stability, expansion of domestic market and good labour productivity, trans-national corporations (TNC) could use economies of scale and benefit from FDI. This is the reason why more than 2/3 of the total FDI flows between developed economies. In short, the countries with the higher level of GDP attract more FDI. Therefore, trends in economic development as well as expectations from future (development model) are the factors that differentiate countries in transition with respect to the FDI attraction.

C) **Bi-directional causal process**: FDI and growth stand in a reciprocal causal relationship. The higher growth rate attracts higher FDI, and the higher FDI boosts growth.

utmost attention, particularly having in mind the length and the inertia of the institutional structural processes.

In general liberalization of the capital accounts has to be harmonized with the institutional changes in a country. The rules that have been created in the developed economies cannot be efficiently applied in the developing countries. Embodied in the process of globalisation, many of these countries have therefore been lagging behind the more developed countries.

Aiming to change such a trend, from the standpoint of the countries in transition, each of these countries should be allowed to create its own country-specific development strategy (fostering manufacturing and export-led growth), necessary (modified) technical and financial assistance of supranational agencies and regional EU associations.

The Issues of Closer Relations between Russia and the EU

G rard LAFAY²⁰

Globalisation of the economy implies the simultaneity of two distinct logics: on the one hand, that of a company, which tries more and more to expand its activities at the world level; on the other hand, that of a nation, with both of them sharing the same territory and represented by a State. These two logics are equally useful. The companies are the moving actors of market economy and their development guarantees economic progress. The nation-states are the basis for democracy and their responsibilities include the supervision of the companies' actions and promoting social progress.

In this situation, the present paper is devoted to a precise subject, the issues of closer relationships between Russia and the European Union. In the first part, we intend to point out the obvious complementary links between Russia, as it is now, and the other nations of Europe. In the second part, we are going to show how political change offers attractive prospects for the next decades.

1. The links between Russia and other European nations

²⁰The bibliography is mentioned at the end of the book. The article is from *Global Society: Conflict or Cooperation? Discussion*, ed. Nina Slanevskaya, St.Petersburg, Nestor, 2006: 216-220.

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At present Russia has advantages that would allow it to develop links with other European nations. It benefits from a high rate of growth, after a difficult phase of transition towards market economy. Its comparative advantages henceforth offer substantial mutual economic relations. On the cultural side, it returns to its old Christian roots, renewing relations with nations sharing the common heritage of European civilization.

In the first phase, the demise of the USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) and transition towards market economy led to a dramatic fall of production. Between 1990 and 1998, the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of the Russian Federation fell by 43 %. Starting from this low level, we observe a spectacular recovery, as the annual rate of GDP growth has been over 6 % since 1998. During the same period, the growth rate of the EU has been far from high, achieving only 2 % per year.

The prospects for the Russian production are quite good. Measured with currency PPP (Purchasing Power Parities), the per capita GDP of Russia is only now 47 % of the average European Union's (for 25 members). Moreover, while the euro is usually over-valued, the Russian currency has a real exchange rate, which is rather low. The future progress of Russia depends on its capacity to change mentalities, which were deeply influenced by more than three decades of the Soviet regime.

By population, Russia is bigger than each of the other European nations. In 2004, with 144.1 million inhabitants, it stands before Germany (82.4 million), France (60.7 million), the UK (60.6 million) and Italy (58.1 million). However, it is a victim of a fall of the fertility rate, like most European countries. If this demographic trend persists longer and resembles the European one, Russia will have to deal with the demographic issue and there will be an urgent necessity to find a solution.

As far as comparative advantages are concerned, as they are revealed by international trade, it is possible to choose the method of measuring for Russia and all the European Union, used by the CEPII (Centre d'Etudes Prospectives et d'Informations Internationales) (Lafay, 2004). Each year, for a country or area, industries or products showing a comparative advantage are those whose relative balance (exports less than imports, divided by world trade for the same industry or product) is above the one obtained for the total of all products. Conversely, industries or products showing a comparative disadvantage are those whose relative balance is under the one obtained for the total of all products.

For the Russian Federation, energy is indeed the main comparative advantage, measured by 60 thousandths of PPP GDP in 2002. It is far above the other industries of basic metals, either the iron and steel industry or non-ferrous metals. All the other industries are in a comparative disadvantageous position, the most negative ones being services (-20 thousandths) and electronics (-12 thousandths).

For the European Union as a whole, mechanics and chemistry are the main fields of comparative advantages (10 thousandths), higher than in vehicles and services industries (where German disadvantage is the opposite to the advantage of the majority of the 25 members). As for disadvantages, contrary to Russia, energy has the most negative position (-17 thousandths in 2002). Textile and electronics are the industries with figures indicating a bit better situation than in energy but still unfavourable (- 4 thousandths).

At a more detailed level, among the twelve main comparative advantages of Russia, five appear among the main comparative disadvantages of the European Union (EU): these are crude oil, natural gas, non-ferrous metals, non-food agricultural products and

coal. Among the twelve main comparative disadvantages of Russia, six appear among the main advantages of the EU: these are personal cars, specialized machines, plastic articles, pharmaceutical products, hardware, and beauty and toilet products.

These kinds of opposite specializations explain the nature of trade relations. In 2002, Russia's export to the countries of the EU constituted 52% of total exports of goods to the countries of the world as a whole (68% for the energy products), and imports from the countries of the EU, 67% of all imports. Nevertheless, for the EU, Russia now appears only as the fifth supplier (6.7 % of imports coming from outside the Union) and the sixth customer (3.7 %). These figures show a good possibility to increase trade, and it is true also for foreign direct investments.

If economic relations remain rather weak, it is not the same for cultural relations, which have developed over the course of history between Russia and the nation-states of the European Union. During the reigning of Peter 1st and Catherine II, one could observe the increase of new links with the rest of Europe. In spite of war conflicts between Russia and France, notably during the Napoleonic era, mutual influences remained during all the nineteenth century. Russia intervened in order to help the Balkan nations liberate from the Ottoman occupation. Coming from the West, the Enlightenment philosophy gradually spread inside the Russian nation.

This evolution might have led to the democratization of Russian society in the twentieth century. Unfortunately, the same society was then subject to another influence, coming also from the West, that of the Marxist doctrine. The Leninist Marxism gave birth to the Bolshevik revolution, which weakened the links with the rest of Europe. In spite of the Soviet Union's decisive contribution to the victory against Nazism, the post-war period led to the Cold war, with two opposing coalitions placed on either side of the "iron curtain".

2. The attractive prospects stemming from political moves

Deep political changes have appeared recently: on the one hand, the drive of Russia towards democracy and a market economy, after the fall of the communist regime; on the other hand, the halt to the technocratic drift of the building of the EU, signalled by the French referendum on May 29th, 2005.

The communist regime locked the country inside the Soviet system, isolated from the rest of the world. After its fall, the drive towards a market economy has allowed Russia to benefit from the border opening and from world competition. Trade relations and foreign direct investments can grow and promote economic and social progress if the nation-state keeps in hand the instruments allowing it to master its destiny. It implies that Russian citizens can experience a market economy after a period of corruption.

The advent of democracy also offers new prospects at the political level. All the Christian countries can face the third World War, led by Islamic fanatics. Kamikazes and their terrorist attacks are spreading in all countries. The whole of Europe is becoming a victim as well as the USA. It is necessary for the union of civilized nations to fight this new scourge.

We have to admit, however, that the Americans are not wise when choosing their methods. Instead of cooperating with their Allies, they began to seek profit from Islamic terrorism, helping it first in Afghanistan and then in the Balkan countries. After playing the role of the sorcerer's apprentice, they were subjected to the backlash of September 11th in 2001. Then, they began a hazardous and unilateral operation in Iraq, using fallacious pretexts to invade the country subjected to a secularist dictatorship. In this third world war, Russia can find more clear-sighted Allies in the rest of Europe.

In the Western part of the continent, the European Community took its shape after the Second World War in order to promote pe

Globalisation and Synergistic Philosophy of History

Vladimir BRANSKY²¹

1.

Globalisation is a specific type of social self-organisation. For the analysis of globalisation it is necessary to use a general theory of social self-organisation, which is social synergetics. Thus the synergistic philosophy of history is the most appropriate way for the analysis. Because the theory of social self-organisation studies general laws of interaction between *social order and chaos* and the tendency of overcoming the contradiction between *chaos and order*, it gives the best explanation why social tendency to achieve global unity on the basis of increasing local varieties appeared in the second quarter of the 20th century.

The synergistic theory of globalisation not only explains the process of globalisation nowadays but also gives wide possibilities for predicting its development in the future.

Though globalisation is connected with such processes as integration, modernization and glocalization, nevertheless it cannot be reduced to them.

The synergistic philosophy of history attempts to answer such questions as:

1. How does social self-organisation develop?
2. Why does it take place at all?
3. What will it bring us to?

The basic concept of social synergetics is the concept of dissipative structure. The dissipative structure is a structure, which can exist only if there is a constant exchange between the structure and environment by means of some substance, energy and information. The phenomenology of self-organisation can be reduced to two alternative processes of the dissipative structure: hierarchization and de-hierarchization. Both of these processes are connected with such important elements of self-organisation as bifurcation (division into two or more branches) and attractors.

Due to bifurcation hierarchic and de-hierarchic processes can take place at different levels and have different scenarios. As a result of it self-organisation has non-linear character.

Due to the attractors the structure has a “wavy form”. It balances between the ultimate states of opposite types, so-called simple and strange attractors.

The driving force of this process is social selection.

Its main factors are:

²¹The bibliography is mentioned at the end of the book. The article is from *Global Society: Conflict or Cooperation? Discussion*, ed. Nina Slanevskaya, St.Petersburg, Nestor, 2006: 24-28.

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1. thesaurus (a set of new possible bifurcating structures, appearing as a result of the transition from quantitative transformation to a qualitative one inside an existing structure);
2. detector (inner interaction in the original system);
3. selector (principle of stability according to which the most stable new structure for the given external conditions is chosen from the thesaurus with the help of a detector).

Globalisation and network revolution lead not only to the closer interaction between people but to the greater importance of personal qualities of a man in the historic process (Prigozhin, 2000)²². Thus there are opposite tendencies in the development of humankind nowadays: the increasing dependency of a human being ('individuum' in latin) from the global surrounding ('socium' in latin) and on the other hand the increasing dependency of the global surrounding from an individual representative of humankind.

The first tendency means longing for total programmimg (i.e. the cult of order or totalitarianism) and the second one is longing for total permission of all (i.e. the cult of chaos or anarchism).

In other words, a simple interchanging of social chaos and social order is interrupted not only by an existing dominating tendency but by two opposite tendencies (excluding each other). This phenomenon has got the name "Paradox of Prigozhin" (Bransky, Pozharsky, 2004; Bransky, 1999; Bransky, Pozharsky 2006)²³.

So, the question is how to solve this paradox?

The decision lies in the concept of superselection, which is the selection of the very factors of selection (i.e. the search for a new thesaurus, detectors and selectors)

There is a feedback between the results of the selection and its factors. As a result a new "game" starts with new rules for the selection of selectors.

These rules are new value sets of the society, i.e. new social ideals. With the help of them new and quite different structures are chosen and realized into the actual life from the 'up-dated' thesaurus.

The modification of selective rules (principles of stability in the corresponding environment) creates the basis for the law of self-organisation of social ideals. Actually the evolution (modification) of selectors is equivalent to the evolution (modification) of ideals. In other words the law of self-organisation of social ideals after all is the consequence of the law of superselection.

The law of superselection makes the alteration of chaos and order unstable and gradually brings this process of alteration to the end.

In the end the complete synthesis of chaos and order takes place which has been expressed before in the subjective form as an absolute ideal and which is later embodied objectively in the special dissipative structure.

Social system which makes such a synthesis is the ultimate result of social self-organisation stable not only to the local but to a global chaos of the environment. This system can be considered as a superattractor which directly or indirectly all local attractors want to reach.

²² Пригожин И. Интервью московскому журналу *Эксперт* (2000, № 48, декабрь). С. 73.

²³ См., например, Бранский В.П., Пожарский С.Д. Глобализация и синергетический историзм. СПб, 2004. С. 330-332.

Though it is possible to come very closely to the superattractor it is not possible to achieve it in the limited historic period. Thus it means that history must have an “end” but the movement to this “end” must be eternal and infinite.

The explanation for it lies in our desire to achieve personal ideals while overcoming social contradictions but this process brings about new contradictions which demand for their realization the creation of new ideals. The idealization of reality means the liberation of it from objective contradictions (if we speak about the connection between opposite properties or interaction of opposite factors)

To solve Prigozhin’s paradox is possible with the help of a superattractor. The superattractor is the objective synthesis of chaos and order when the difference between these states disappear and they follow the same direction simultaneously. The conception of super attractor helps to solve not only Prigozhin’s paradox but to predict the possibility of creation of the absolute values independent from local and temporal human interests.

2.

After outlining the basic ideas of the synergistic philosophy of history we can analyse the unique phenomenon of globalisation.

Why did mankind decide to reach the global unity at the turn of the 20-21 centuries?

The synergistic philosophy of history explains globalisation as the movement of mankind to the superattractor and it takes place on the basis of the dynamic variety not static (i.e. potentially non terminative local varieties).

The synergistic philosophy of history not only explains the fact of globalisation but also predicts the tendencies of its development such as:

1. tendency towards integration;
2. mixture of levels of social life under the globalizing process (economic, social, political and cultural)
3. mixture of homogenous (integration within one sphere, for example, social sphere) and heterogenous (integration between different spheres) dissipative structures;
4. there can be stable and unstable globalisation. Now we have unstable globalisation. Stable globalisation demands stable economic basis or stable economic globalisation connected with the 4th revolution of information system (the total computerization of all spheres of social life and creation of Internet). Such globalisation is possible on the basis of the interaction between economic order (e.g. planning, business plans) and economic chaos (market competition). Thus the predominance either the “planning fundamentalism” or the “market fundamentalism” is not acceptable.
5. according to synergistic philosophy dissipative structures must bring de-globalisation in the future, i.e. new social chaos caused by the creative force of chaos. But due to the superselection alongside with the instability of any new order comes the instability of the very alteration of chaos and order. The result of it is the movement to the superattractor to make de-globalisation impossible;
6. due to the inevitability of the evolution of both a man and mankind, globalisation is to bring us the globalisation of a man, i.e. creation of the superman who combines great technical and aesthetical power.

7. globalisation of mankind on the principles of humanity involves the interpretation of the historic meaning of economic growth of the country discussed by the governments so much;
8. there is the fear involved into the process of globalisation: “future shock” No 1 and “future shock” No 2. The first one is the fear of forcible involvement into the “totalitarian paradise” and the second one is the “anarchical hell”, i.e. forcible involvement into the non-terminative varieties.

The synergistic theory of globalisation deals with the problem of the modification of human thinking and traits of character.

Is it necessary to change the nature of a man in order to solve global problems?

There are two other questions connected with the previous one:

1. what transformation of a man is optimal?
2. how can it be realized in practice?

Neoliberal man is an important preliminary stage for the formation of the super man. But at the same time the formation of the super man of a neoliberal type involves the formation of the multitude of people with similar neoliberal ideals.

Thus the second question arises: how to do it?

The natural basis for such creation is the change of generations, but this natural basis must be supported and combined with a new system of education, up-bringing and sharing the value system. It demands the reforms of social institutes together with political and economic reforms.

The transformation of a man is connected with the transformation of the society in which he lives and which is connected with the transformation of natural surrounding of the society (the search for new sources of raw materials, energy and information).

For the formation of a neoliberal man and post utilitarian society it is necessary to have a socio-cultural shift in the capitalization of global macro economic profits. There can be different opinions and struggle between the social groups in the process of discussion.

The struggle between globalists and anti-globalists doesn't mean the struggle of anti-globalists against global development but it means that anti-globalists have their own scenario of globalisation.

Everyone wants to turn globalisation into glocalization (to give local vales a universal character or to make them global).

It is necessary to distinguish two kinds of globalisation: socially responsible and socially irresponsible. The former relates to man's perfecting. The latter type of the globalisation of society leads to the degradation of a man.

The Impact of New Technologies on the Restructuring of International Economic Relations

Claude ALBAGLI²⁴

The process of globalisation is the phenomenon, which can be regarded as dating back to at least the first voyage round the world made by Magellan in 1520. But if we are speaking about globalisation in a modern context it goes back to the beginning of the 1990s and has new and specific characteristics. This process was prepared by the West. It was promoted by the liberalization undertaken by the Prime minister of Great Britain Margaret Thatcher (1979-1990), by the President of the USA Ronald Reagan (1980-1988) and in Asia it was China's prudent and inevitable measures taken by Deng Xiaoping, "a little leader", starting from 1978. Finally, when the Berlin wall was demolished (1989), the countries of Eastern Europe turned to the European Union for guidance, and when the Soviet Union collapsed two years later (1991), the models of state intervention stopped being referred to. Since that moment globalisation has been presented as "the end of history" (Fukuyama)²⁵. But soon, nevertheless, one could discern the beginning of "the shock of civilizations" (Huntington)²⁶.

Our research deals with globalisation as a phenomenon, which is new, and it explains the transformations of entrepreneurial strategies. There is an inner conflict, which is seen at the level of the socio-economic organisation of society.

I. Three causes of globalisation

A) The new technologies of information and communication. In spite of inventions and technological developments which appeared in everyday life from the 18 century onwards and which could intensify exchange, it took transport, goods and ideas a long time to reach all points of the globe. To put it in another way, if the contacts had been really intensive the number of transfers would have led to delays because of the relative isolation of territories. The present information and communication technologies have allowed instantaneous contacts and information spread all over the world. Due to such developments the continents began to live in a rhythm, transforming the whole planet into the *Global village* (Mac Luhan). This new situation promoted permanent contacts between partners, clients and suppliers in real time.

²⁴ The bibliography is mentioned at the end of the book. The article is from *Global Society: Conflict or Cooperation? Discussion*, ed. Nina Slanevskaya, St.Petersburg, Nestor, 2006: 38-45.

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²⁵ FUKUYAMA Francis, *La fin de l'histoire*, Flammarion, 1990.

²⁶ HUNTINGTON Samuel, *Le choc des civilisation*, Odile Jacob, 1997.

B) *The new modes of transport (containers)*. The other development which has passed almost unnoticed in spite of the importance of its impact concerns containers. Today, ships can transport up to 8000 containers in their holds and on their decks considerably reducing the costs of transportation and the time spent on re-loading cargo on trains, or from the train to a lorry. In this context, the greatest number of goods and products can be produced in the location which has comparative advantages of production without the high costs of transportation which could devour these advantages.

C) *The new paradigm of international exchange*. Indeed, the countries belonging to the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) were busy in abolishing customs restrictions after World War II with the help of GATT, but customs law and customs barriers existed hindering the exchange. In the developing countries the main idea that still gave inspiration for the analysis of the term *exchange* belonged to Raul Prebisch²⁷. Some authors didn't hesitate to glorify the total disconnection from poor countries (Samir Amin²⁸). Meanwhile, the success obtained by the Little Dragons (South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore), contradictory to dominant thinking, demonstrated that the international exchange was not so monstrous and frightening as it had been thought about. Deals with entrepreneurs began to be considered preferable to deals with the state, which had taken unfairly the entrepreneurial prerogatives to itself. The neoclassical strategy succeeded the Keynesian experience of the North, the planned economy of the East and the interventionist economic policy of the South. The convergence of initiatives grew and meant to eliminate all the obstacles, which were in the way, for achieving creativity and mobility.

II. The consequences for the structuration of entrepreneurship

Because of the events above-mentioned an enterprise began to be transformed in multiple ways such as: the production of components in different parts of the world, functional restructuring of the chains of connections from the pyramid like organisation to the networked organisation and the loss of national identity of the final product made by an enterprise.

A) *Strategy of organisational mosaic*.

Under the system of competition, which prevailed, the logic of a nation predominated. The strategy of the performer who wanted to penetrate into the international market was not to achieve it through negotiations due to protective customs regulations but to become a unit of the international enterprise and a part of its production process, which provided security. The entrepreneur was busy in cloning, i.e. coping the parent enterprise²⁹. Thus, the enterprises had the entire planet before them to find the best place for the location of their production. Instead of trying to clone the chain of production the entrepreneur evaluated the costs of production at each stage and calculated where it would be best to locate it and more profitable to produce. The production of the intermediary product could be located anywhere in the world. The implementation of the method of this organisational mosaic demanded the lowest cost of labour, technical improvement, easy availability of resources and the proximity of the market. This split production process didn't cause any problem for the enterprise because the costs of

²⁷ PREBISCH Raùl, *Transformacion y desarrollo*, Mexico, Fondo de Cultura Economica, 1965.

²⁸ AMIN Samir, *L'accumulation à l'échelle mondiale*, Anthropos, 1988.

²⁹ ALBAGLI Claude, "Les nouvelles divisions sociales et la mondialisation" in *Une mondialisation humaniste*, RUBY Marcel (sous la direction), Préface du Ministre Délégué de la Coopération et de la Francophonie, Pierre-André WILTZER, L'Harmattan, MES, 2003.

transporting the products were not high, and both the person giving the order and the information could circulate in real time.

B) The functional restructuring into the network.

The structure, which developed from the 19th century was the structure of pyramid power. It is not that the company's structure didn't change at all if speaking about the process of ordering (la bureaucratie de J. K. Galbraith)³⁰ or the management of human resources (la prise en compte de la personnalité avec Elton Mayo)³¹, but it is the evolution of the relationship between the enterprise and its milieu. It is the externalization of activities, the delocalization of its units and the appearance of strategic alliances with other enterprises. The company constitutes the network of relations more complex than the relations, which existed in the company previously and were based upon giving an order and obeying it.

Globalisation brings about internationalization of clients, suppliers, employees and shareholders. For evolution in this context the enterprises must learn how to develop their communication capacity, (where the role of new communication technologies is very important) and know how to coordinate their geographical and cultural diversity. It is possible to do it by using the organisation of a network type and dismantling the hierarchical structure of an organisation³². P. Veltz gives the following types of industrial networks: the sun company or the empty company "les firmes-soleil ou les firmes creuses (Nike)", the leading company "les firmes animatrice (Benetton)", the company of alliance "les firmes-alliances (Air-bus)"³³.

But the process goes further. Bill Clinton's former Minister of Labour Robert Reich used the name "manipulators of symbols"³⁴. Enterprises without factories became engaged in strategic operations using sub contracting for the production of their goods. What is important for such enterprises is to grow up the network from the composing parts on the territory of the whole planet. It can be compared and described as the process of metastase affecting the whole world. One can find the same codes, the same formations and the same language everywhere and it becomes difficult to draw a line between the modern style and the American style.

C) The diffusion of the cosmopolitan model. Because the product has become an internationally made product consisting of elements of an international origin, it is hard to see specific national features and calculate to which extent the national is involved. The commerce inside the enterprise constitutes a large portion in international commerce³⁵. The inner relations of the enterprise determine the policy of prices dependent on the tax policy of the host country. The company tends to get the major part of added value in the country, which offers more tax advantages. The evaluation of national production is especially distorted by the transfer price (prix de cession). The price, which is not fixed by the market, is fixed according to the agreement of sharing the profit or the agreement on supply. The balance of payment becomes imprecise and subjected to large fluctuations or inexplicable rectifications.

³⁰ GALBRAITH J. K., *Le nouvel Etat Industriel*, Gallimard, 1979.

³¹ MAYO Elton, *The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization*, New York, Mac Milan, 1933.

³² JOHNSON Gerry, SCHOLÉS Hevan, FRÉRY Frédéric, *Stratégique*, Pearson Education, 2002, p. 511.

³³ Veltz P. "Le nouveau monde industriel" Gallimard, 2000.

³⁴ REICH Robert, *L'économie mondialisée*, Dunod, 1993, p.163.

³⁵ Il est nécessaire de rappeler ici que près du tiers du commerce international se fait par le biais des transnationales.

It becomes difficult to assess the real significance of international commerce³⁶. The evolution of the name is by itself an illustration of that phenomenon. We don't use "multinationals" any more, we use instead "transnationals". It is necessary to collect different parts placed all over the world and belonging to one enterprise. The results are even more incomprehensible if one takes into consideration the role of foreign interests together with pension funds and interest rate evolution on the Stock Exchange. In other words, the States try to protect their national enterprises in the international competition with the help of taking control over them for the consolidation of the position of their best national enterprises. This policy is not suitable any more. The tendency to eliminate all the barriers, which hinder the transfer of savings, capital and goods from one country to another country, provokes the emergence of hybrid enterprises. It is not possible to distinguish national characteristics in the product any more or the specific characteristics of the enterprise itself. This vagueness renders the companies and products cosmopolitan character.

III. The impact on the functioning of the system

As Manuel Castells explains globalisation is the combination of three logics: the logic of productivity (*productivité*) which is the logic of technical devices for production; the logic of profitability (*profitabilité*) which is the logic of enterprises and the logic of the competitiveness (*compétitivité*) which is the logic of the state³⁷. In these three domains certain processes had developed which brought about great changes.

A) *The development of merchandization ("marchandisation" in French).*

The combination of the progress in technologies of communications and transport brought about the enlargement of merchandization in the cultural domain. Enterprises forced by the demands of the financial markets had to turn to *nomadism* in the search for the maximization of profit. The task for the state is to make their territory attractive and tax competitive, which contradicts social needs. This geographical mobility intensifies and changes radically under the triple pressures of: 1) the final market is characterized by greater competition because there are no protective barriers, 2) the influence of great distributors who delocalize their orders if they cannot obtain satisfactory prices and 3) the logic of the pension funds which demand the rentability of their securities of 15%, if it is below that percentage the funds tend to leave the place for another one.

The social cost of these delocalizations if speaking about the loss of jobs is terrible. It affects first of all the branches of industry where many people low qualified and difficult to retrain are employed³⁸. Or like in the countries of the North, one can observe the decrease of the opportunities for jobs in industry and increase of differentials in remuneration between different social categories. On the contrary the beneficiaries of delocalization are the new employees who at last have found jobs in the towns. And if these populations of poor countries were the objects of sympathy and pity when their level of remuneration was low and didn't cause competition, now, they are suddenly turned into disloyal agents who have ruined the job opportunities of the North through their social dumping. In this atmosphere the aid to the countries of the Third World doesn't increase, the countries of OECD

³⁶ REICH Robert, "*L'économie mondialisée*" Dunod, 1993, p. 105.

³⁷ CASTELLS Manuel, *La société en réseau*, Fayard, 1998, p. 9.

³⁸ MOREAU DEFARGES Philippe, "La mondialisation", PUF, Que sais-je ? 1997, p. 68.

give 54 billion dollars (in 2004) as an aid, meanwhile only the transfer of emigrants back to the country of their origin reaches 450 billion dollars³⁹.

B) *States have to compete*

In the context where globalisation stimulates higher bids and stirs up competition the states try to eliminate all that can disturb the development of the entrepreneurial activities on their territory. It is this context which determines the competitive tax policy. This tax dumping both in the North and in the South plays a double role. On the one hand, it attracts direct foreign investments, on the other hand it encourages the multinationals to establish their branches with their inner mechanisms for the costs of transfer calculating the appearance of the added value in the countries with the tax policy more attractive. So without being forced, the states are engaged in a seduction policy by creating an attractive environment. But this adjustment mechanism improves management and brings new operators. It has a great analogy with the famous analysis of "cargo cult".

This sharp divergence between, on the one hand the competition which leads the states to implementation of more or less suitable tax policy and on the other hand the necessity to be in control of social policy means that the state fails to perform its mission, and the state finds itself at the mercy of political turbulences which are rapid and uncontrollable. There are points of view, which associate globalisation not only with the loss of jobs but also with the loss of power by the state. This policy of tax dumping brings more voluntarism in politics. The task of the states is now not only to eliminate all that could spoil the evaluation of comparative advantages but also to pass from the undeniably established comparative advantages to the constructed comparative advantages. Michael Porter states that advantages for the competition are changing⁴⁰, whereas E. Cohen gives a definition of the State with a new profile⁴¹. The technical measures are well known: financial advantages, the possibility of one's own management of profits, measures changing the general regime, softening of social constraints, alleviation of the procedure of installment, and the improvement of infrastructure.

Thus, the system has developed three perverted mechanisms: 1) inside societies unequally restructured by the economic progress the layers which are most dynamic appropriate the cultural signs of the most traditional culture and merchandize these signs at the expense of traditional culture; 2) the impact of internationalization diffuses the routine model of the enterprise and it destabilizes employment and makes resentment more acute for the social categories which are the victims of it; 3) finally, the state, instead of pure arbitrage places itself in the context of competition which affects it oddly in the ways of choosing action.

Conclusion

Thus, three potential sources for sparking off conflicts can be pointed out: a threat to the identity of people has arisen; achievements are too weak in solving social problems; the gap of international inequalities is increasing.

1) *The identity of people*

³⁹ Le Monde, Octobre 2005.

⁴⁰ PORTER Michael E., *L'avantage concurrentiel des nations*, ERPI, 1993, p. 667.

⁴¹ COHEN E., *L'ordre économique mondial*, Fayard, 2001.

Globalisation modernizes behaviour and modifies the system of values. Whole blocks of social structures have collapsed and the hierarchy of values in which the values were set up has been falling apart. If the contemporary historic period can be characterized by “the general destruction of organisations, the loss of legitimacy of the institutions, the decline of great social movements and the fragility of cultural expressions” how can social organisation be reconstructed and how will the mental structuring of individuals develop? They would say that the collective identity burst out and passed away⁴². Numerous populations have found themselves deprived both of their identities and the social cohesion which have served them so far. Their society has a tendency towards impoverishing. In the best case the populations are becoming cultural reservations, i.e. a mere shadow of cultural identity, which is used and exploited for the sake of the tourist industry or decaying in their pauperization deprived of resources and identity. Ignacio Ramonet writes that Americans have become the reference for mass culture together with sports, world music, television series and parks for entertainment with dominance in trading and a cultural model close to something insignificant, sensational or vulgar⁴³.

2) *Social achievements*

Populations cannot accept that power has shifted from the previous power holder to a new power holder and try to realize their conservative perception, but it is not possible any more. Western Europe tries to preserve its achievements. The challenge of newly appeared partners with their speed, intelligence and pugnacity who bring new risks and aims, who understand quickly and learn new technologies fast so that in their turn to become inventors, is not properly assessed. Without competitiveness the achievements won't be preserved and disillusionment will bring us inevitably to brutal social revolt. Yves-Marie Laulan envisages the worst scenario when there will be products at the best prices but western people won't be able to buy them because there will be an insufficient number of jobs and, hence, no incomes and subsequent economic marginalization will take place in the West⁴⁴.

3) *The gap of international inequalities*

The frustration of the losers in the Third World is the third element of these menaces. This menace concerns the people numbering from about 900 million to 1.4 billion for whom it is not important to know why the consumerism mode has unexpected fluctuations but it is important to find the means to access the resources which will be sufficient for survival, i.e. to the water close to their homes, a safe environment, an income higher than the fatally low level of one dollar per day. These people, who are the have-nots, live in the other world. The new communication technologies have penetrated into all corners of the world. Mass media showing western welfare transform the context, kindle the fire of frustration, provoke resentment and separation. This gap between the possibilities of information technology and the means to satisfy elementary needs make the situation explosive.

But one should not forget that globalisation is also a unique process of development. It amplifies energy demands dramatically which fiercely heightens the tension for the control of and access to oil resources. This is in the context

⁴² ZARIFIAN Philippe, “L'échelle du monde, Globalisation, Altermondialisme, Mondialité”, *La Dispute*, Coll. Comptoir de la Politique, 2004, p. 69.

⁴³ RAMONET Ignacio, *Géopolitique du chaos*, Galilée, 1997, p. 14.

⁴⁴ LAULAN Yves-Marie, *Les nations suicidaires*, François-Xavier de Guibert, 2003, p. 245

where the discoveries of new natural resources seem to be insufficient compared to previous years. If this shortage of energy offers is combined with the ecological costs which were not included in the price and which made the price of transport artificially low, if all that is taken into consideration, the price of fossil energy will jump up dramatically. Thus, the hypothesis about the mobility of production and the entrepreneurial mosaic can be questioned. The rise of prices for transport could lead to a newly resumed isolation of territories. The paradox is: it is not social or economic condemnation of globalisation which would limit it but it is the consequences of its success, which would block the evolution of globalisation. In this case the process of globalisation is doomed to be only a very brief experiment of the planet.

Is Global Governance Going to Be Dictatorial or Democratic?

Nina SLANEVSKAYA⁴⁵

Introduction

”The emergence and spread of a supraterritorial dimension of social relations” characterizes globalisation (Scholte, quoted in Mingst, 1999: 46). The new technologies of communications are of special importance for globalisation because “communication globalisation has facilitated market globalisation and intensified direct globalisation” (Kudrle, 1999: 4).

Two paradoxes

Benedict Anderson claims that a *nation* is an “*imagined community*” and it was created only when the printing machine was invented and that printed literature helped to unite people on a larger territory promoting the same ideology, education and new social relations which were necessary for the use of new technologies (Anderson, 1991). The new technologies nowadays demand new social relations, hence we have a globalisation discourse. The Internet as a new way of global communication plays the

⁴⁵ The bibliography is mentioned at the end of the book. The article is from *Global Society: Conflict or Cooperation? Discussion*, ed. Nina Slanevskaya, St.Petersburg, Nestor, 2006: 133-138.

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same role for globalisation as the “printing machine” for a nation. It creates *an imagined global society* with the same ideology and universal knowledge. Here is the first *paradox*: we discuss the problems of a global society, which does not exist yet. But there is a necessity to create such a society to deal successfully with globalisation.

The lending policy of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank helped to push liberal ideas and procedures into developing countries and introducing a kind of homogeneity into global society. The neoliberal free market, declared as a remedy for all spheres of social life, has become a *faith*, not an ideological doctrine that must be questioned.

Meanwhile Willam Greider writes about the post-Cold War world and globalisation, “The historic paradox is breathtaking: at the very moment when western democracies and capitalism have triumphed over the communist alternative, their own systems of self-government are being gradually unraveled by the market system” (quoted in Rupert, 2000: 80).

Here is the second *paradox*: liberal democracies are threatened by uncontrollable forces of free market, i.e. their ideological component.

Global governance and global resistance

“Local and regional conflicts are, more than ever, enmeshed in global conflict formations” (Miall, 2000: 62).

The existing model of global governance has brought about the increase of global economic inequalities leading to global social tension and to the use of violence. Thus,

- the increase of ethnic conflicts within states after the Cold War is due to global governance which intensifies local inequalities and amplifies the state’s inequality in the international system;
- global terrorism has grown from the existing model of global governance;
- it is impossible to produce stable results of humanitarian intervention without settling the global conflict of governance and social movement first;
- in the seemingly developing conflict between states, the international organisations, non-governmental, governmental, private organisations and transnational corporations are involved either by increasing conflict or by settling conflict in order to implement their own political agenda. Humanitarian intervention is one such way.

The explanation of global governance, its aims and sources, is contradictory and depends upon the ideological approach.

A Liberal approach considers global governance as a necessity. It pursues the functional interests of the state, which are the expansion of a free market and liberal democratic governance of international institutions, norms and laws. For *realists and neorealists* the state is still the main actor in the anarchical international world. The state is the main centre of power both for domestic politics and for international politics. Realists admit global governance as a phenomenon but global governance is shaped by states according to the realists’ point of view.

The realist approach shows some contradiction in using a state-centric explanation of global governance. If one applies the *state* as a basic analytical unit for an explanation of power relations in the international world, global governance has to be explained along the same lines as a state government and must be analogous to the state’s government. This World government must act according to universally recognized laws and must have analogous legitimate enforcement mechanisms. If it is so, realists cannot claim that the international world is anarchical.

According to *Marxist structuralists*, global governance is a new structure of power relations implying class struggle and economic exploitation on a global scale and that global governance institutions and norms are the products of the Trans-Atlantic ruling class, which wants to trespass national boundaries for self-enrichment. *Post-structuralists* influenced by Foucault analyze global governance as the relationship between power and knowledge formed in the discourse supported by powerful structures and where global organisations use the technique of social discipline and control for building a new world order. It has become possible only with the development of new techniques of worldwide surveillance and the Internet.

But if there is power, there is resistance.

Jan Selby discerns the following *modes of resistance* (Selby, 2003: 15):

1. simulated adherence to the norms of global governance,
2. quiet everyday activity devoted to avoiding and bypassing power,
3. confrontational opposition to its practices and institutions.

Anti-globalist movements are a form of political resistance and political resistance is fundamentally moral as Mahatma Gandhi asserts because to disobey evil laws is the moral duty of a citizen (Parekh, 1989). Waltzer considers that the right to protest is a normal component of a democratic society (Waltzer, 1970).

The anti-globalist movement is a dialectical negation, which exists inside global governance helping to develop its institutes and its forms of governance (Dillon, 2003). The anti-globalist movement is a controlling opposition *necessary* for the democratic development of a global society.

Globalisation from below demands the fundamental principle of democracy, i.e. citizens' participation in the decisions which affect their lives.

To sum up, the discourse is as follows:

1. the international financial and trade organisations are unaccountable to the public and the officials of these organisations are not elected, thus the power of these organisations is anti-democratic;
2. the regimes of post conflict zones are anti-democratic because they are created without the people's consent;
3. the regional and global trade regimes are anti-democratic because they are supervised by business without publicly elected representation;
4. the extension of economic privatization means the extension of private corporate business power into politics and cultural and social life. It is not moral to value private property over human needs and to introduce the free market principle in all spheres of social life.

Theoretical approaches to global resistance differ.

To some, for example Rosenau, *resistance is anarchical and destroys order*. Resistance should be overcome for the sake of order. For others, the *anti-globalisation movement is a progressive movement* and global governance is a regression for capitalist society (Wilkin, 2003).

Resistance to global governance can be regarded as *an alternative mode of global governance* but which uses different means and which has a different normative background and political agenda (Selby, 2003). But others would not agree and would claim that *global governance and global resistance are two sides of one process* and the forms of global governance will necessarily bring about the same forms of anti-globalisation movement. If global governance uses global networks, anti-globalists will do the same (Dillon, 2003).

We can find mutation of many old notions, such as democracy, capitalism, liberalism etc.

The state government is a body elected by all citizens unlike global economic organisations, but it cannot cope with the pressure of global governance. People do not participate in global governing, but liberalism claims that all peoples can do so.

Democratic theory “not only specifies that people should govern themselves, but also that the purpose of government is the good of the people” (Goodwin, 1992: 220).

Nowadays liberalism and democracy are treated as one whole, though there is always a potential conflict between individual and majority interests.

Liberalism and capitalism in the age of globalisation are compared with the classical interpretation of these notions. The basic old principle of liberalism – politics and economics must be separated (Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, 2001) - is being broken by the international financial institutions of liberal governance, such as the IMF and the World Bank, which give financial loans but impose socio-political and economic conditions. Anti-globalist social movement also demands social protection and an end to the ‘totalitarianism of business’.

Capitalism, as an economic system, which has promised progress and improvement of peoples’ living standards according to their merits, is questioned because the data show that individual entrepreneurial merits do not help in competition with transnational corporations. Differences of income are widening, making the lives of the majority dramatically worse and those of a few tremendously better.

So people struggle either to preserve or to discard these old notions concerning democracy, liberalism, capitalism and social justice. Critical discourse usually leads to social and political change (Buckler, 2002). When the discrepancy between reality and the ideology explaining this reality becomes sufficiently evident, critical discourse makes the existing political arrangements incapable of survival. There is no support from the population and thus no reproduction of existing political life. As Foucault says, “individuals are the vehicles of power”, i.e. power is exercised through us (Foucault, 1994: 36).

Global society and normative approach

The ethical aspect of democracy as a norm is very important for people although democracy is treated nowadays as the best utility-maximizing method, i.e. as a procedure not an end. Democracy is considered as social justice. Rawls, a representative of procedural democracy, in his *Theory of Justice* (‘Veil of Ignorance’) claims that people, irrespective of how many we test and in spite of their pluralistic views on the question, will show the same understanding of justice or what is a just social system. That is a maximum of rights, liberties, opportunities, power, income and wealth and a minimum of possible losses (Rawls, 1971).

Nowadays income inequality is increasing dramatically between countries and within countries, and between separate professions.

“The net worth of world’s two hundred richest people increased from \$400bn to \$1 trillion in just four years from 1994 to 1998. By then, there were nearly two billion humans living on less than \$1 a day” (Coyle, 2000: 8).

The income gap between the wealthiest and the poorest of the world in 1870 was 7 to 1, in 1913 it was 11 to 1, in 1960 it was 30 to 1, in 1990 it was 60 to 1 and in 1997 it was already 74 to 1 (Rupert, 2000: 146). So as the process of globalisation unfolds, inequalities increase very rapidly.

Any trade regime increases a *social power of business*, which can compete with the existing social and political power created in the traditions of democratic representation in the country and it can lead to business totalitarianism and a replacement of democracy. Democracy is perceived as social justice. Trade regimes are opposed by those who cannot share “*social power of business*”. They argue that liberal capitalist trade regimes institutionalize a low-wage strategy for global competition of transnational companies.

‘Fair rules’ of global market and global regimes seem to be not socially just for countries at different economic levels. Poor countries resist, for example, the global regime of intellectual property rights, arguing that this neoliberal regime preserves the hegemony of the rich countries whilst preventing access to knowledge by poor countries, especially in the age of rapidly developing technologies. Thus it is the principle of justice, which gives moral force to breaking the law and resisting the domination of rich countries.

The disciplinary power of mobile capital makes government reduce benefits in different ways to dependent classes of citizens, the unemployed, the elderly, the poor and even the middle class in favour of the investor class. It interferes with people’s perception of what is social justice. Protection from possible losses is one of the components of the perception of social justice according to Rawls (Rawls, 1971).

Conclusion

Justice can be regarded as a universal and ever-lasting understanding of justice or as a temporal and socially constructed one. But, in any case, it seems to be the most important thing for promoting harmony in the society.

Global conflict is determined and limited by the understanding what is socially just.

Discussion of the just state government has turned into a discussion of just global governance. Anti-globalist social movements put forward the issues of democratic principles and just relations between and within states, between regimes and states, between labour and financial institutions, and within post-conflict zones.

Amartya Sen points out: “Policy makers have to take note of the fact that an electorate cares about what happens to everyone. It is not only the poor that worry about the poor but there are others too who worry about the sense of justice in public policy. To say there are no resources for the poor is not a possible answer...So I think those who take the view that you cannot deal with poverty and inequality until the country is a lot richer, really ought to examine if they are advising a dictatorial or a democratic government” (Sen, 2004).

The interest of people from rich countries in debt relief for the poorest countries demonstrates such a phenomenon based upon people’s perception of social justice.

This point of view on democracy can be applied to both local governments and global governance: whether global governance is going to be dictatorial or democratic?

The Economic Consequences of the War against Terrorism

Maria NEGREPONTI-DELIVANIS⁴⁶

Introduction

Since the terrorist attack in the USA on the 11th of September 2001 the world has changed. Terrorism has acquired multiple forms, which are becoming more and more menacing. It has changed our life and produced a great impact upon the priorities of our lives, fundamental values, the contents of democracy and dimension of individual liberties.

I have argued in my previous book (Negreponi-Delivanis, 2004a) that the present paroxysm of terrorism is, on the one hand, the effect of globalisation and, on the other hand, it is a good excuse to take anti-terrorist measures, which are anti-democratic as well. For example, the detention of the suspects without proving their guilt or the torture of the suspects deported to another country (Herbert, 2005), bugging the telephone line, controlling internet contacts (Hadziconstantinou, 2005), visiting university and public libraries to collect the information about the 'specific' interests of their readers by Intelligence service agents (Lichtblau, 2005), and passing the Patriotic Act II (the American anti-terrorist law) and its amendments which give the right to determine either death or life to the 'suspects'.

Though terrorism, of course, must be condemned in all its forms, the complexity of this phenomenon demands the investigation into the sources feeding it. Such an approach to this phenomenon, i.e. the attempt to find an explanation rather than to simply condemn it (Negreponi-Delivanis, 2004, 2004a), has made me (Negreponi-Delivanis, 2005) think that the poverty of the Islamic countries and their exclusion from advantages of globalisation lead more and more young people to the radical and fanatic Islam.

However, one can notice promising changes in the attitude to this problem on the part of some influential members of the British government who seem to have arrived at the conclusion that the reasons of the rise of terrorism one should search in the economic order (The Economist, 16.7.2005).

Thus, it is possible to put forward the following basic hypotheses:

1. The present terrorism is the violent reaction (which becomes more and more fanatic and violent) of the desperate people upon the inequalities reaching the extreme (The Economist, 16.7.2005) and reflected in the rate of deaths from

⁴⁶The bibliography is mentioned at the end of the book. The article is from *Global Society: Conflict or Cooperation? Discussion*, ed. Nina Slanevskaya, St.Petersburg, Nestor, 2006: 164-169.

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famine, diseases, a kind of despise and indifference to a human life (excluding only Americans' lives and referring mainly to Muslims), the high percentage of illiterate people in the developing countries, the plotting of the rich countries against poor countries which is manifested in the frame of the World Trade Organisation and in the discussion of Islamic civilization (The Washington Post, 7.10.2002). It seems to me that it would be much wiser to try to diminish these scourges of mankind than to fight with terrorism, which resembles, in fact, fighting with Phantom.

2. That is why the attacks upon the countries, which are accused of giving refuge to terrorists is doomed and will fail. Such a policy has no chance for success. Actually the war against terrorism is gradually developing into the confrontation between civilizations and religions, which can bring Muslim countries to pan Islamism. It explains a constantly increasing number of recruits by terrorists as well as the number of terrorist attacks especially during the anti-terrorist war. According to the official statistics there were 175 terrorist actions in 2003, meanwhile in 2004 there were already 650 terrorist actions (US State Department and Intelligence official data). It seems that the West cannot cope with terrorism by means of anti-terrorist war and simply increases the confrontation and the possibility of turning the world into the hell.

Though the risk of being killed in the terrorist attack is low it changes the quality of our life. After each attack the panic and fear increase among people leading to an increase in militarization and gradually establishing fascist practice.

I. The immediate consequences of terrorism

A. The rise of public costs

Though it would be impossible to assess the whole sum of expenses exactly caused by terrorism some figures could demonstrate the frightening tendency.

We can group expenses under three headings: direct military expenditure, the cost of preventive measures and private expenses.

After the terrorist attack on 11 September 2001, the military arsenal has dramatically increased. The military expenditure is 137 US\$ per capita a year (SIPR- a military information service). It reaches 4% of GDP in the USA (Vergopoulos, 2003). If speaking only about acquisition of weapons by the US the US expenditure has increased by 52% per year (Weiner, 2005).

Besides direct military expenditure much has been spent on preventive measures.

The military technology becomes more and more sophisticated and costly but it cannot envisage all possible cases because it would mean the surveillance of almost all aspects of human life and on a world scale. Not only the USA has increased the military budget on the preventive measures but Europe has done so as well. France, for example, has raised the budget for the army and police by 7% after 11 September.

The collaboration of the countries with the USA against terrorism as President Bush demands can bring geopolitical changes if countries agree to do it.

As a consequence of such a policy the American budget continues to have a deficit.

Private expenses go on paying for consultations, which are especially widely practiced in the USA or on the security of private enterprises.

Dealing with comparisons and statements I would like to point out two issues: one is connected with comparisons and provocations and the other one with the renewed importance of the state in management of its economies.

One of the consequences of globalisation is the deterioration of living standards of the people who live in the countries producing petroleum. One of the reasons is the lowering of the real price for petroleum. Taking into account the inflation Paul Sullivan (Sullivan, 2004) claims that the price of 50 US\$ per barrel is not equivalent to 40 US\$ in the 1970s and at the beginning of the 1980s from the point of view of its shopping power. In spite of the rise of the price for petroleum for a short period of time there is a tendency of the price going down during a long period of time which lowers the living standards of population of the country which sells this black gold. One must take into consideration the fast increase of population in Arabic countries, which worsens the situation even more. The other thing, which must be mentioned, is that the petrodollars are not reinvested in the domestic industry but often moved abroad. In some Arabic countries the rate of unemployment among the youth is about 30% and the wages and salaries are so low that it is not possible to assure a dignified way of life.

Every year 24,000 people die from famine, it constitutes 8,640,000 a year. According to UNICEF estimation (2000) it would be possible to satisfy all vital needs of the humankind in the world if world military expenditure were decreased by 10%, i.e. by 70-80 billion dollars a year, or if rich countries decided to sacrifice 0.2% of their GDP for the aid to poor countries instead of the present 0.1% (World Bank). But in spite of numerous ad hoc meetings and discussions organized from time to time in the world, for example, in Davos (The Economist, 12-18.2 2000) or in Gleneagles (The Economist 16.7.2005) they cannot arrive at any common decision, which could help to solve the problem. At the same time the estimation of the cost of the war against Iraq constitutes 400 milliards dollars a month (Ependytis, 2001) and that 2.7% of GDP of the world was spent on the war against terrorism.

To sum up, instead of wasting money and 'chasing Phantom' (war against terrorism) the same amount of money could be spent on solving the human vital economic problems, which are connected with the rise of terrorism.

The role of the state increases but not in the Keynesian meaning. It acquires more and more fascist forms (Nussbaum, 2002). The state is allowed to become stronger due to its role in dealing with increased expenses in the public sector caused by terrorism. Meanwhile monetary austerity demanded by neoliberalism is becoming impracticable.

B. The growth of the world economy becomes slower.

Though the war against terrorism has been decided by only the USA, other countries have to follow the USA as countries belonging to the "Axe of Good". The European Union is more vulnerable in this case and subjected to the negative consequences of such policy to a greater extent than the USA. Psychological factors begin to play more and more an important role in the growth of economy due to the feeling of insecurity and delay in investing policy all round the world, which produces negative effect upon Europe whose economy has been affected much more.

But the USA continues to follow its targets. It wants to prolong its dominating position over the world. In the case of Iraq, for example, the USA succeeded in recruiting new members of the European Union to support its policy disregarding the interests of the European Union.

C. Disorder at the Stock Exchange

The instability at the Stock Exchange has increased without doubts. According to the statistics the number of shares increased with the rate fluctuating by 5% a day which is

in 4 times more than during the preceding decade.

II. The long term consequences

A. The return to protectionist measures

Besides direct factors which can lead to protectionism and which are connected with terrorism there are indirect factors connected with the evolution of public opinion towards the anti-terrorist war and to the USA itself as the leader of this war.

The tables below show the attitude to the US anti-terrorist policy.

Table 1. What the Middle East thinks about the USA.

1. What is your opinion of the USA?

	Good	Bad
Egypt	6 %	69 %
Jordan	25 %	75 %
Lebanon	35 %	59 %

2. What is your opinion of the American ideas and habits?

	Good	Bad
Egypt	6 %	84 %
Jordan	13 %	82 %
Lebanon	26 %	67 %

3. What is your opinion on the war against terrorism?

	Good	Bad
Egypt	5 %	79 %
Jordan	13 %	85 %
Lebanon	36 %	56 %

Source : Business Week, 23.12.2002

The liberalization of trade does not solve all the problems. From the table we can see that this regime is advantageous for rich countries.

Table 2. The global export favours the rich countries

<i>Countries</i>	<i>Part in total export (%)</i>	
	<i>1993</i>	<i>1999</i>
<i>USA</i>	<i>15,7</i>	<i>17,7</i>
<i>EU</i>	<i>34,7</i>	<i>38,0</i>
<i>The rest of world</i>	<i>49,6</i>	<i>44,0</i>

Source : *FMI*

The state intervention in the form of subsidies in rich countries damages the economies of poor countries. The USA, for example subsidizes its agricultural sector giving every farmer 29,000 US\$ per year but demands the countries of the European Union to stop subsidizing its agricultural producers. Thank to the agricultural subsidies Americans sell their agricultural produce at the prices lower than the prices of poor countries which can sell mainly agricultural products; and meanwhile the rich countries force them to buy other goods at equal prices with them.

The USA protects its steel industry imposing taxes on import from 25% to 67% on the products of metallurgy coming from Japan and from 50% to 71% on the products coming from Brazil (accusing them in dumping) and especially heavy tax is imposed on the products of metallurgy coming from Russian, which is about 70%.

B. The future of globalisation

There can be outlined several tendencies concerning globalisation which can influence the future development of globalisation:

- growing protectionism in Europe nowadays,
- demand to make globalisation more human and to curb uncontrollable liberalization,
- demand to harmonize the duties inside the European Union.

C. The war against terrorism and American empire

The USA, perhaps, uses the anti-terrorist war for preserving and reinforcing its dominant position in the world. But there is the risk that while at war the USA will fail to notice the growing economic and military strength of China and India, which avoid joining the suite, headed by the USA. Between January 2004 and January 2005 China increased by 47% its export of textile goods to 15 countries of Europe and by 41% to the USA lowering the price sometimes by 36% or 46%.

The USA has lost a lot from the policy of anti-terrorist war in the relation to the decrease of students who want to study in the USA (the education costs too much) The restriction upon immigration has reduced the flow of highly-qualified immigrants by 65%. It can be a cause for the further delocalization of industrial enterprises, which will search qualified labour in the developing countries.

Conclusion

Though the number of victims of terrorist actions is much smaller than the number of those who die from famine or diseases the psychological effect is devastating and economic consequences are disastrous.

The expensive war with terrorism achieves nothing and, on the contrary, it leads to the escalation of tension and military actions in the society and intensifies fanaticism on the part of terrorists who increase the number of their fatal attacks. On the other hand killing innocent people by terrorists brings them to nothing either.

Instead of spending money on the militarization and war with terrorists it is better to spend the money on improving the living standards of people in poor countries.

The Cultural Challenges of a Global Society

Pierre DUPRIEZ⁴⁷

Globalisation relies on a values system that has to be identified and the implications of which have to be measured. It will be easier to define it when the characteristic features of the changes in the functioning of the global economy can be determined.

1. From ‘mondialisation’ to ‘globalisation’

1. There are two words with a quasi-similar meaning in the common language: ‘mondialisation’ and ‘globalisation’. The difference between these two words is not a question of the form or degree but the nature. According to political economics, ‘mondialisation’ deals with the logic of exchange, even if it is very unequal and imperfect. Meanwhile ‘globalisation’ refers to the logic of regulation: it signifies the mode of the integrated management applied to the market whose dream is to reach the planet’s limits, i.e. to create a global market. On the macro-economic level, globalisation can develop a process by which the most internationalised companies tend to redefine to their benefit the rules of the game that have been imposed before by the governments of nation-states, which become less and less powerful in comparison with these companies (Boyer, 1997).

2. Who governs globalisation? Judging from appearances, we can believe that there is Global Governance engaged in this process. The international institutions, which are public agencies, are responsible for it. They play a major political role for the states that give them a mandate but these institutions are managed by technocrats. From time to time the European Union (EU) imposes upon us its Brussels' directives that force different economic and social bodies to obey them and to adjust their policies to these directives. On the worldwide level, there is the IMF (International Monetary Fund), the only institution which is in charge of the good functioning of the worldwide economy, the World Bank, which finances the investments in the whole world and the World Trade Organisation that has to regulate the world’s liberalised trade. In reality, there is a partial transfer of the sovereignty of the nation-state to the international institutions.

3. However, the question of the sovereignty is not definitely settled. On the one hand, the policy of the international authorities is far from being neutral. Relying on the “Washington’s consensus” the economic institutions consider that the global market constitutes the best, if not the only regulator of the economy. (Slanevskaya, 2005). Consequently, the public action delegated to the international institutions will be shaped by the values that give justification to the private initiative. Directly or indirectly, state sovereignty will be reduced and, generally, with their agreement. This is because many public agents have arrived at the conviction that the values that mobilise the private initiative are the only values capable of starting it off.

⁴⁷ The bibliography is mentioned at the end of the book. The article is from *Global Society: Conflict or Cooperation? Discussion*, ed. Nina Slanevskaya, St.Petersburg, Nestor, 2006: 176-181.

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4. On the other hand, the reference to the market as the regulator of globalisation implies that a mechanism can work without an agent. It implies that the delicate equilibrium of imperfect markets can result from the power struggle between financial and industrial groups. So, either at the level of a national state or at the level of international authorities, on a daily basis, the public institutions have to cooperate with these economic agents who draw the contours of the world's map. (Badié, 1999). The new Princes of today are Princes without land but not without power or sovereignty.

5. The sovereignty holders will use their power. First they turn off the mechanisms of the market, however, it is presented as the regulator of the global system. Then they begin to use the strategies that transform our planet into a battle field profitable for the competing financial groups and, finally, they get busy in overturning the priorities giving pre-eminence to financial profitability without a lot of attention to the consequences produced on the real world and on our lives.

5.1. The concept of the market is presented as the exclusive principle of regulation. This is however undergoing a deep transformation. The ideal market, which is expected to provide the optimal allocation of resources, is the market of perfect competition. In the context of globalisation, the markets are oligopolistic. The big companies fix the prices and they won't change them unless smaller companies decide to give up this competition in price, which, in a lot of cases, will be disastrous for them.

5.2. The transformation of the market functioning goes together with the development of the strategies adapted to globalisation. These will combine the three different levels of the positioning: the internationalization, the outsourcing and the alliances. The world market has become a complex market managed by big industrial and financial groups, holders of the brands on which they use a non-material competency. This is based on financial participation in the subsidiaries and on contracts with partners specialised in delivering goods and services (Michalet, 2004).

5.3. But it is principally in the financial field that the new Princes will most exercise their authority. At first sight, we are confronted with a dramatic dichotomy. The financial world is largely disconnected from the real world. The financial markets escape from the control of all the public institutions and evolve in a way which is more and more autonomous in relation to the economies and social activities of the world in which people exist, produce goods and services and create the network of associations contributing partly to the present state of relations. More than a dichotomy, it is a complete distortion of relations, which we assist. Henceforth, the spirit of enrichment is being imposed which is pushing out the entrepreneurial spirit. The financial profitability, the *Return On Equity*, is dictating its rules to all economic activities.

2. The creed of new princes

6. Besides the changes it brings into the economy and social field, globalisation interferes also into the cultural dimension. The whole system, in fact, conveys its own set of values, and it implies the survival exigency. Max Weber has already shown that the entrepreneur's behaviour could not be understood without reference to their vision of the world. He discusses this subject in connection with the "capitalism spirit". Today, globalisation points out the need for a one-world vision. What is more, we have to decode it in order to determine the cultural background that will permit the functioning of globalisation.

7. This will appear in an evident way in the penetration strategies of the planetary market. They have a need for global culture that will become their reference norm. The search for the "universal cultural referents" necessary for the development of the market, first of all reveals the concern of the economic system to find support through

its basic values introduced into the world and on which it is based (Mattelart, 1996). These are not the products that are offered to the consumers; it is first of all the meaning with which these products are loaded, it is their own image that they carry. Consumption devours as many of the symbols as the goods and it becomes a place and a tool for constructing identity (Cova, 2005). It is no longer the consumption act that is targeted by the message but it is the spirit that will condition the behaviours; today economic efficacy needs the cultural message. As the market economy and the management system that accompanies it become global, we are driven by the tendency to uniform cultural references.

8. With regard to this, people often discuss the “universal culture”. It is possible to compare it to a “fruit salad” where we could find some values and principles accepted by the majority of the Westerners and by some representatives of other civilizations. We will get a kind of average, rather poor, influenced by the dominating model “universal culture” accepted by the increasing number of consumers and slyly destructive of the values carried by other cultures. The tendency exists surely but, fortunately, the concrete existence of such a culture on the world’s level has never been demonstrated.

9. On the other hand, the content of the values carried by globalisation can be listed - this offers a coherent reference and its own value systems that are far from being insignificant. Initially, we find a heritage that comes directly from the modernity that, during a certain period, was the meaningful provider for the society and for the individual and that could appear as the motor of the charisma for the western culture.

10. But, for several decades, these representative values of the modernity themselves have been in crisis. In reality, the modernity is charged with the currents that altered profoundly its content (Laroche, 2005). The modernity tends today to exacerbate the individualism that it claimed from the start, it takes refuge in the immediate moving away from the eventuality of engagement with time, and it measures by the ell of the most trivial materialism.

10.1. Claimed by the western modernity as social achievement and as the foundation for democracy, today individualism is triumphant in society, in business, and in private life. The individualist behaviours develop everywhere and we trace them not only in the choice of consumption *à la carte*, but also in the profusion of individual rights, the withdrawal into oneself and in the loss of the collective sentiment. At first defined by the social belonging that supported him, today a Westerner seems to be alone when he has to find the meaning of his life and to assure his personal development. However, this growth of exacerbated individualism is not universal - a product almost exclusively of the western culture, it is scarcely present, almost absent, in other civilizations.

10.2. The functioning of an economy is without any doubts totally irrelevant to the withdrawal to oneself. The contemporary economy operates in the immediate. A company and its employees are valued on the results achieved during the shorter and shorter periods, at the risk of missing a long-term vision. It is the “right away” that animates both consumption and production and that leads to the exploitation of the resources available to the limit of exhaustion. Globalisation has added to it a strong need for flexibility. Contemporary society seems to be involved in the eternal process of change; it has to be flexible, fluid and liquid like the financial capital that can displace itself in the space in a few nanoseconds. In a world deprived of time, we can ask if there is a place for sentiment or if the individual is reduced to having immediate and ephemeral feelings. In an a-temporal world, we can inquire about the possibility of weaving lasting social links.

10.3. Rationally, it is important to objectify what we consider. We believe that we are able to understand if we can measure. Human needs do not disappear but considered as

quantifiable. They can be measured and calculated, bought and sold. It concerns social relations as well. Life quality is evaluated by its cost and what it brings back. The benefits and performances are essentially considered in financial terms, gratitude and social life itself are appreciated by monetary value (De Gaulejac, 2005). Which place is left to the human when what entire people do is so “reified” or “monetized”?

11. Finally, the market itself has become a value. Its role is central in economic theory. The social order relies on two pillars - the desire of the individual consumer who stimulates demand and the market that has replaced the Social Contract of Philosophers in assuring the global equilibrium. It constitutes the ultimate mechanism of a functioning society. In the imagination, which accompanies globalisation, it has acquired the value of a myth and, despite being just an abstract mechanism, it was personified as if it was equipped with its own will. We remind that only a purely perfect competition market could eventually result in an optimal allocation of resources and we have seen that globalisation is far from that. Despite this, the market remains the main reference point of the value system of globalisation.

12. “The market economy” is constantly presented as an ideal and an objective to reach for joining the rich club and the European club. It is the main reference, previously, to the programmes of structural adjustment of international authorities and now to the process, which is still going on, of European enlargement and the inclusion of countries of the former socialist bloc. However, the “market economy” in the way it exists, with the markets very imperfect, is just a product of the given society, the modern society. The reality, each time different, has well demonstrated that the abstract and universal market does not exist, independently of the local specifics. A place and a means of exchange, the market participates in the social framework specific to a given space and time, which it has to incorporate according to its proper logic (Stan, 2005).

13. Thus, globalisation evokes a modernity more individualist, more materialist and timeless. The system is very coherent and we can be certain that many among us, explicitly or implicitly, approve a number of these values.

3. Hegemony and cultural resistance. Questions for today’s and tomorrow’s society

14. This value system interrogates today’s world. For those who join the globalisation camp or for those whom the globalisation has rejoined, the question of the capacity of the system should be directed to give meaning to human acts. Certainly, it can motivate and encourage the individuals to enter the battle in order to be successful in life; it signifies climbing up the career ladder to win more money and power. Life is presented as a battlefield and the competition has become the value to cultivate. The modern man or “hypermodern” as some say (Aubert, 2005), seems to be pulled by two systems of values - the materialistic universe dominated by rationality and competition and the symbolic universe that helps him to escape the heaviness of the economic system, where the society is “sick from its management” (De Gaulejac, 2005).

15. We also ask ourselves where this global culture leads us, born in western tradition and charged of the currents brought by the globalisation, and first of all, by the financial profitability. How can it provide the meaning for all humanity? How could this specific cultural vision find its place in the multiplicity of outlooks, with respect to cultural diversity (Skali, 2003)? Is this culture capable of listening to the other culture that has been taking part in reciting or rewriting the history, in which the “I” does not make sense unless in reference to the whole that incorporates it, and in which significance is derived from the symbolic universe and not from the materialistic universe.

16. In the monolithic universe, the response will certainly be dramatic. But fortunately, the culture resists (Dupriez, Simons, 2002). It is not easily locked in by the unifying currents conveyed by globalisation. At different levels of social life, all the individuals

who are in contact with these values preserve also a part of their cultural roots - at home, within the family, with the groups that he is a part of, or that he has chosen, and even in the workplace or in private life. Everybody can also draw from many cultural sources because today cultural diversity remains very alive. This diversity offers existential findings to the millions of people who participate in each culture and have a complex identity, made up of multiple belongings. We can't ignore this diversity without serious danger - reducing the identity to just one membership, whatever the camp or wherever it is located. The risk is so high that Amin Maalouf called it a "deadly identity" (Maalouf, 1998).

17. The confrontation between this cultural diversity, which is rooted in human history, and the reshaped modernity that attempts to be planetary, can lead to confrontation or, on the contrary, it will invite us to have a fascinating adventure, the adventure of rewriting human history in the economic world which has become global.

18. In the future, we will be wondering how to construct the culture of tomorrow, that is a culture that will be based on the feeling of participation in this human adventure placed on the world's level and facing new partners of globalisation (Ortiz, 1997). A culture that will exceed the number of certitudes on which the created cultures in the partitioned world are based and that is not compatible with the complex society in which we live (Saleño, 1999). A culture that will be open to the plurality of the historical cultures and that will stop transplanting its own values in the culture of others, a culture renewed and exceeding the contradictions between the tradition and the modernity. Only a culture of this kind can arrive at breaking the deadlock of the actual modernity.

Should not it be a culture that listens rather than a culture that teaches?

Glossary

Anti-foundationalist Interpretive theory:

Questions the claims to true knowledge because it considers that all knowledge depends on our interpretation of the world that is why the knowledge is always provisional and can be contested. It claims that all political theories and political analyses have a certain normative content and purpose depending on the aim of the narrator. Politics is treated by Interpretive theory as the contest of narrations which are used by political agents. The narration which wins determines the access to political power.

Anti-foundationalist ontology:

Means that the researcher denies that any phenomenon exists independently from our interpretation and claims that all social phenomena are socially constructed and determined by the historical time.

Authority:

The ability to affect the actions or predispositions of people to act because people feel obliged and find it right and correct to comply.

Behaviouralism:

The study of politics that focuses on political behaviour. This approach is used mainly for the analysis of the processes of politics associated with mainstream politics and government. The basis is positivist epistemology engaged in the generation of general laws and some theoretical statements that can be falsified. It claims to be value-free,

neutral and detached from ideologies. It has negative attitude to the Normative political theory.

Case study design:

Comprehensive and in-depth study of a single case or several cases.

Causal relationship:

When the change in one variable causes the change in the other one.

Contract and Consent:

The political theory that governments should exist and operate only with the approval of the governed.

Critique:

A critical evaluation of a piece of literature

Decision makers:

Those people in government who confront issues and make public policy.

Democracy:

A system of government in which the people rule either directly or indirectly.

Deterrence:

The use of nuclear threat for preventing the war.

Direct observation:

A data collection method in which the researcher directly observes behaviour or physical traces of behaviour.

Distributive policy:

Policy involving the provision of benefits to citizens.

Economic security:

When the nation-state has relatively and strong economy.

Elite theory (elitism):

Theory that claims that despite the procedural possibility of all people to participate in the governing in the democratic state a very small minority participates actively in politics and makes all the important governmental decision.

Empirical research:

Based on the collection of observable data and working out causal relationship so that to create a theory with a predictive force.

Empirical theory:

Theory that relies on perception, experience, and behaviour.

Empirical verification:

Demonstration by means of objective observation that a statement is true.

Epistemology:

Theory of knowledge that studies the foundations of knowledge or how we can know that we, indeed, know.

Equality:

The principle that all individuals have moral worth and are entitled to fair treatment under the law.

Feminism:

Has different trends but all of them claim that personal can be political and women must be more engaged in politics. As for Normative theory feminists consider that the gender issues must be studied more attentively by the political Normative theory.

Foundationalist ontology:

Means that the phenomenon exists independently from our interpretation, it is “out there” and we must acknowledge it.

Hypothesis:

Explanation or theory which has not yet been proved to be correct.

Ideology:

Is a system of political, legal, ethical, aesthetical, religious and philosophical coherent views and ideas that influence the behaviour of people.

Independent variable:

The phenomenon thought to influence, affect, or cause some other phenomenon.

Indirect observation:

Observation of physical traces of behaviour.

International organization:

Organization made up of two or more sovereign states. They usually meet regularly and have a permanent staff.

Institutionalism:

Concentrates on the rules, norms and values of political institutions that govern the political society, usually is concerned with mainstream politics. This theory tends to connect empirical analysis and Normative theory. Institutionalism treats political science as an organized knowledge empirically grounded, based on theory and responding to people's demand.

International relations:

The interactions, rules, and processes that exist between sovereign states and other international actors.

International system:

Any collection of independent political entities which interact with considerable frequency and according to regularized process.

Interpretist epistemology:

Based on the idea that we cannot establish the real world and can only interpret the world or establish our own interpretation. Here one can find even a double interpretation – the modern researcher's and the society's - in the course of history.

Liberty:

The principle that the people are the ultimate source of governing authority and that their general welfare is the only legitimate purpose of government.

Literature review:

A part of the research process when a researcher examines and assesses the existing publications on his topic.

Majoritarian model of democracy:

The classical theory of democracy in which government by the people is interpreted as government by the majority of the people.

Marxism:

Considers politics as a struggle between social groups/social classes based on the economic position (or ownership of the modes of production) and committed to the improvement of the economic position of the oppressed social groups or classes.

It is based on the critical realist approach and highlights the existence of unobservable structures that influence historical events. The aim is to change the world and make it better for the oppressed. Marxism appreciates the Normative theory if it is developing in this direction.

Methodology:

A system of methods and principles.

Method:

A means of achieving an aim.

Nation-state:

A self-ruling political entity having its own territory, with residents considering themselves a nation and having more or less horizontal relationship within the society participating in the governing over themselves.

Normative theory:

Evaluative, value-laden, concerned with the question what is right or good to do and what is bad and wrong. It prescribes what ought to be.

Ontology:

Theory of being (what is or what exists).

Open-ended question:

A question with no alternative response from which a respondent may choose.

Operational definition:

The rules by which a concept is measured and scores assigned.

Order:

The rule of law and custom or the observation of prescribed procedure.

Pluralist model:

An interpretation of democracy in which government by the people means government through competing interest groups.

Policy analysis:

The evaluation of policy and its correlation with goals.

Policy implication:

The predicted effect of the policy.

Political system:

A set of interrelated institutions that link people with government. Any persistent pattern of human relationship that involves, to a significant extent, control, influence, power, or authority.

Politics:

The process that determines who gets and what, when, and how.

Postbehaviouralism:

The use of a positivist approach of studying with a researcher's values when presenting policy implications.

Positivist epistemology:

Based on causal relationship, direct observation and development of explanatory or even predictive models. We can establish real world through empirical observation like in natural sciences using methods of natural sciences.

Power:

The ability in politics to control or change the behaviour of human beings in a way favoured by the power-wielder.

Prediction:

The application of explanation to event in the future. The ability to correctly anticipate future events.

Rational Choice Theory:

Concerned with conditions for collective action and choice. It is close to behaviouralism and is engaged in working out general laws with predictive power. Claims to be value-free, neutral and detached from ideologies and be able to teach how to organize politics. It has negative attitude to the normative political theory.

Realist epistemology:

Is based on the combination of a positivist approach (direct observation) and structuralist approach (unobservable structure which can produce a crucial effect upon the events).

Redistributive policy:

Occurs when the government redistributes the wealth from one group in the society to another group.

Research design:

A plan specifying how the researcher intends to fulfil the goals of the study; a logical plan for testing hypotheses.

Sample:

A subset of all the observations or cases covered by a hypothesis.

Tautology:

A hypothesis in which the independent and dependent variables are identical, making it impossible to disconfirm.

Theoretical implications:

The predicted effect that a research findings will have on the theory which was used by a researcher or, perhaps, some other theories.

Theory:

A statement or series of statements that organize, explain, and predict knowledge.

Unit of analysis:

The type of actor (e.g. an individual, group, institution, or nation) specified in a researcher's hypothesis.

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