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ЭКОНОМИКИ И ПРАВА
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Department of International Relations

УЧЕБНО-МЕТОДИЧЕСКОЕ ПОСОБИЕ ПО КУРСУ
A HANDBOOK WITH RESOURCE MATERIAL FOR THE COURSE
«Теория и методы политического анализа»
(на английском языке)
«Theory and Methods of Political Analysis»
(in the English Language)

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Part I

Levels of Analysis

Analytical Tasks:

What is the difference between a foundationalist ontological position and an anti-foundationalist ontological position? Give examples of both positions related to the theories you know.

What is the connection between ontology and epistemology?

What kind of interaction exists between ontology, epistemology, methodology, ideology and methods? Give examples related to theories.

Compare the basic components of ideologies.

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.

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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, structuralist and interpretist. If we think that some social phenomenon is 'objective' and does not depend upon our wish (something similar to the laws of nature, such as wind, rain and etc.) then we will study it in the way similar to the methods used for studying natural sciences: collecting observable facts, using statistics and arriving at some conclusion about the causal relationship between one social phenomenon and the other one. This causal relationship will be called a law which can be used for predicting the similar phenomenon in the future. This way of studying is called 'positivist'. This epistemological positivist approach is typical for those who use foundationalist ontology.

On the other hand, some may think that the phenomenon exists in the social life but they cannot observe it directly, in other words, there can be something which exists but it is not directly observable. This epistemological approach is called 'interpretist' (Marsh and Furlong¹). There is obvious difference between social life and natural phenomena or physical laws. People are reflexive. They analyze, think over, improve or worsen social relations, thus, they can change social structure. Social structure depends on their activities and it is shaped by people. To structuralists (realists), the world exists independently of people's knowledge of it. They use foundationalist ontology and agree with positivists that there are causal relations and we can make causal statements. But positivists deny the existence of unobservable structures unlike structuralists. Positivists think that if they cannot observe something directly they cannot study it.

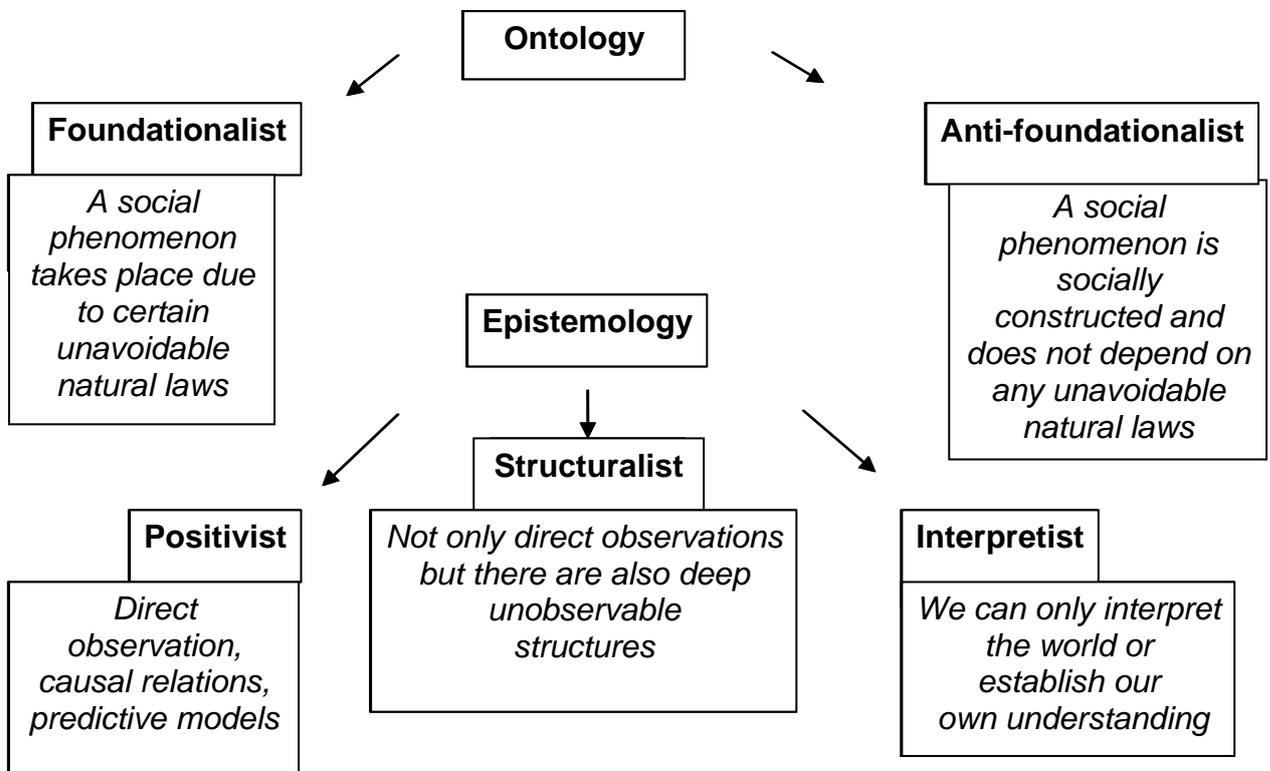
Those who use anti-foundationalist ontology would claim that no observers can be 'objective' and find any social laws because people are affected by the social constructions of 'reality'. One can never find laws governing social relations, one can only compare different interpretations made by people in the course of history and choose the most suitable and closest to the reality. This is sometimes called the double hermeneutic; the world is interpreted by the actors (one hermeneutic level) and their interpretation is interpreted by the researcher (the second hermeneutic level). This epistemological approach is called '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

¹ Marsh D. and Furlong P. (2002) "A Skin, not a Sweater: Ontology and Epistemology in Political Science" in *Political Science: A Guide to the Discipline*, 2d ed., eds. David Marsh and Gerry Stoker, England, Palgrave Macmillan: 17- 32. Marsh and Furlong use the word 'realist' to denote 'structuralist' approach. The word 'realist' seems to be misleading to my mind.

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.



Molly Cochran in suggests

in the Preface to her book for solving an impasse resulting from cosmopolitan/communitarian debate in International relations theory concerning ethical questions in international policy: “ Finally, the chapters in part III aim to offer a response to the dilemma of normative theorizing identified through the analysis of the ethics that results from both foundationalist and antifoundationalist approaches: that is, how to employ weak foundations and universals in a way that is not absolutizing, yet can still effectively offer an international ethics that would provide for wider moral inclusion and social reconstruction.

Chapter 6 develops a notion of international ethics as pragmatic critique, a synthesis of the pragmatism of John Dewey and Richard Rorty, that works to be as thoroughly antifoundationalist as is possible, yet has a will to universalization that seeks the growth of human capacities and the expansion of ‘we’ feeling. These ambitions are facilitated through its notion of ‘fallibilism’, which takes the absolutizing edge off its ethical claims, and through its use of ‘moral imagination’ to protect alternatives to problematic ethical/political situations’. She writes further: “ Pragmatic critique cannot supply normative IR theory with lasting solutions to its ethical dilemmas. However, it provides a method and a ontological vision that works with sympathy and persistence to facilitate better ways to cope with and make meaningful the worlds we live in and the moral situations we face.”

As for the new approach to the interdependence between ontology and epistemology concerning international ethics she suggest: “However, the communitarian/cosmopolitan debate has served

² Molly COCHRAN (1999) University Press: xvii, xix-xx.

its purpose and normative theory must now move on from this narrow oppositional framing, a framing which no longer (if it ever did) accurately represents the movement in the authors' own positions within the debate. Nor, however, can we slip into the same dichotomous thinking with regard to epistemology in focusing upon a foundational/antifoundational divide. New normative approaches must examine how axes of ontology and epistemology intersect, keeping in mind a notion of a continuum and not an opposition: there is a continuum of ontological positions on the individual and the community, and of epistemological positions on foundational claims and their strength or degree".

III. Ideology

Ideology is a system of political, legal, ethical, aesthetical, religious and philosophical coherent views and ideas, which influence the behaviour of people. All coherent political doctrines are ideological as well as the use of political ideas. Marx claimed that ideology is used to work out false consciousness. Mannheim defined ideology as ideas incongruent with reality and meant for protecting a contradictory reality. He distinguished particular ideologies promoting some group's interest and total ideologies common to a whole society at a particular historical period and which individuals cannot escape. He distinguished such epochs as – 'The Age of Beliefs' (Christianity), 'The Age of Reason' (Enlightenment), 'The Age of Technology' (now). Even if we eradicate particular ideologies, our thoughts are still trapped inside the total ideology.

Putnam, a political scientist, defined ideology more loosely and less critically as 'a life guiding system of beliefs, values and goals affecting political style and action'.³

Ideology, as a rule, determines the choice of the problem for studying and affects the ontological position and epistemological approach and it has its expression in the theory.

The List of Components of Ideologies⁴

Liberalism

1. an individual

(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

³ Barbara Goodwin (1992) Liberalism, Chichester, John Wiley & Sons.

⁴ The list of ideological components is based upon 1.) Barbara Goodwin's (1992) Liberalism, Chichester, John Wiley & Sons; 2.) Paul Gilbert (2000) Liberalism, Chichester, University Press).

, Chichester, Edinburgh

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 supervise 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.

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

Ontology

Foundationalist ontology.

The struggle between social classes moves society forward at the specific historical juncture.

Epistemology

Structuralist 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.

Methods

Economic, philosophical, historical, sociological, comparative and etc.

Ideology

Socialist ideas.

Theory

Ludwig Feuerbach's philosophical materialism and Georg Hegel's dialectics.

Analytical Tasks:

Define the epistemological and ideological approaches of Anthony Giddens

(Anthony Giddens and Christopher Pierson, 1998: 85-86).

“All social life is agent-controlled in the sense that to be a human being is to monitor one's behaviour constantly in relation to that of others – there is no time out from this process, which is simply chronic. On the other hand, vast areas of social life aren't agent-controlled, if that means consciously directed by anyone. Markets have shown us the limits of directive control in this second sense. Markets aren't simply the ‘outcome’ of millions of individuals taking individual decisions to buy, sell, save and so forth. They have highly structured properties which – as structuration theory underlines – are simultaneously the consequence and the means of actions individuals carry out. Moreover, markets in the contemporary sense presume a certain style of discourse, which agents incorporate in what they do, even if when asked they might not be able to say very much about what a market is.”⁵

Part II

Planning a Critical Review

Analytical tasks:

Study the plan.

Plan

the subject of the reading in brief (2-4 sentences)

the author's purpose for writing the article (2-4 sentences)

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 GIDDENS A. and PIERSON C. (1998)
University Press: 85-86.

. Why can it be significant for us? (2-6 sentences)

. 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)

. 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).

(3-10 sentences)⁶.

. (3-5 sentences).

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

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)

Analytical tasks:

Read useful expressions for writing a review and work out general rules for the scientific style. Learn the useful expressions for writing reviews and annotations. Compose your own sentences with these expressions.

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...

⁶ 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:

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.

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,
 (an example of an

).

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

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 the theoretical questions (-

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).

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 above-mentioned.

Is Culture a Divergence or a Convergence Factor in Economic Growth for Socialist Countries in Economic Transition?⁷

Christian MICHON⁸

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).⁹

⁷ C. MICHON (2006) "Is Culture a Divergence or a Convergence Factor in Economic Growth for Socialist Countries in Economic Transition?" in _____, ed. N. Slanevskaya, St. Petersburg, Nestor: 190-194.

⁸ **MICHON Christian (France)**

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⁹ 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: _____ (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 _____ 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 _____ 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 _____. 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 _____ 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.

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 _____ there are other important _____ 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).

In the context of globalisation, culture can be regarded as a common element that encourages growth, or as a factor that delays growth.¹⁰ 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 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).

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).

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).

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).

¹⁰ 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?

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 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.

describes a capitalist world system characterized by different regions which served different functions within the system in consolidating certain dependent spatial relationships

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.

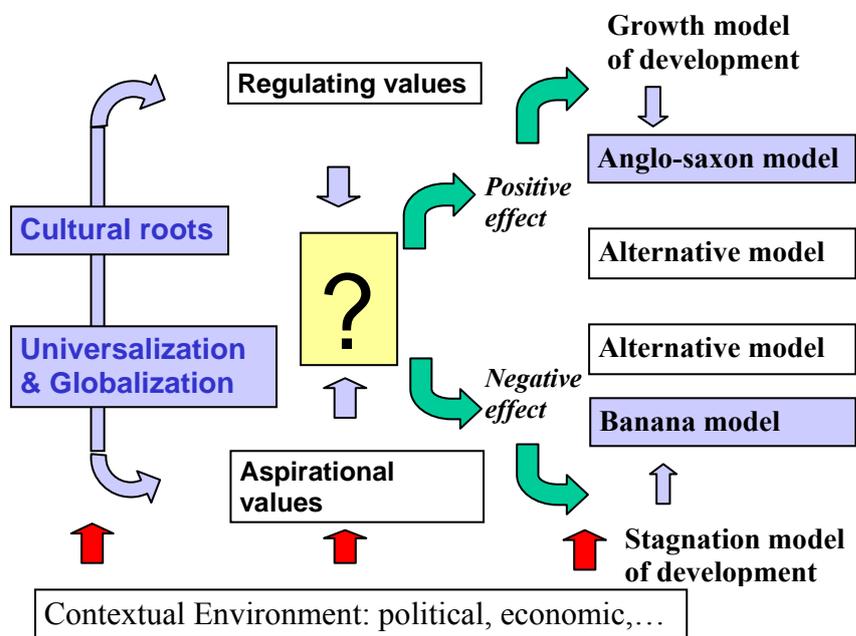


Fig. 1 Model with double input - double output

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.¹¹

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.

¹¹ 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 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. ().

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.

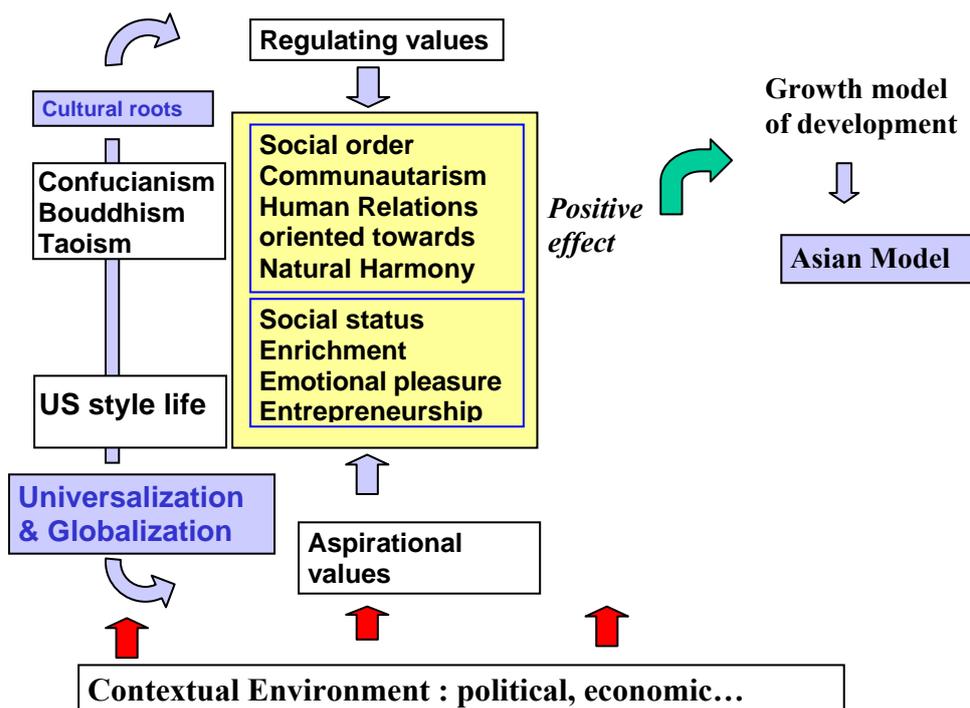


Fig.2: The cultural values model for Asian countries

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

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¹² 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.

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A Critical Review

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

The article by C. Michon (2006) “Is Culture a Divergence or a Convergence Factor in Economic Growth for Socialist Countries in Economic Transition?” in _____, 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.

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.

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.

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 _____ and which is an important contribution to the development of economic theory.

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.

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 structuralist 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.

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.

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.

(for the student to write down)
(for the student to write down)

Part III

Political Speech: Political and Literary Analyses

Analytical tasks:

Read the explanation of literary terms and give your own examples from political articles.

Read the examples of the analysis of political speeches.

With the development of technologies of mass media the demand for special skills of representing politicians has increased. It has become taken for granted that political leaders are served by image makers, speech writers, spin doctors and managers of public relations.

Tim Bell was Margaret Thatcher's adviser through three general elections and was awarded a title of 'Lord' by the state. His success made o8(aersb12 001ry)6(tos, spin]TJ01413. Tw 19.theeased. e)

Bill Clinton's scandals made Clinton's spin doctors work hard, using the politics of Image

noncharismatic leader's speech is generally characterized by a phase of evaluation and

figurative language is very important. By using such a language 'the speaker can verbally tap

the art of speech writing has recently been elaborated rather thoroughly and has drawn attention

Figures of Speech¹⁶

Acronym:

It is a graphical abbreviation, for example, the UN- United Nations, BBC – British Broadcasting Corporation; G.I for American soldiers from ‘Government Issue’ which was on a stamp on American military equipment meaning Government production; MP- a member of Parliament; a jeep (a car) – came from G.P., i.e. a general purpose car. A lot of acronyms from Latin – a.m.- ante meridiem, p.m. – post meridiem; cf.- meaning ; i.e. - meaning ; e.g.- meaning ; viz.- meaning .

Allegory:

It is the expression of the idea with the help of naming a real thing (close to a symbol) or using an allegorical representation of a real event or thing.

Alliteration:

Alliteration occurs when a consonant is used at the beginning of each word, or in the middle of the words. (Latin) _ _ _ (I came, I saw, I conquered); (Russian) _ _ _ _ _ (All power to the Soviets).

Anachronism:

This literary term refers to a situation in which people say, do, or see something that is inconsistent with the time they live in.

Antonym and antithesis:

They are used for a semantic contrast (e.g.

Archaic word:

When a word is no longer in general use but not absolutely obsolete, it is called an archaism. It often happens that names for obsolete notions remain in the language in their figurative meaning.

Atmosphere:

It refers to a dominant feeling in a story. It points to the mental and moral environment of the story and is different from setting, which describes the physical environment in which the characters operate.

Blending:

Blending is one word made of two (from and

Colloquialism:

It is informal or conversational language. It echoes the vocabulary of everyday speech. Colloquialisms often go hand in hand with dialect.

(?)

Dialogue:

It helps to create a more vivid picture.

Ellipsis:

It means that parts of sentences or words are left out but can nevertheless be understood or inferred (e.g. Did you buy a piano for your new house? – No, it would have taken too much space. : If I had bought a piano, it would have taken too much space).

Epiphany:

¹⁶ In the explanation of the

1) З.В. Савкова (2000)

внешнеэкономических связей, экономики и права, Общество «Знание» Санкт-Петербурга и Ленинградской области.

2) Sybil Marcus (1995)

3) Oliver Thomson (1999)

the following books were used:

, Санкт-Петербург, Санкт-Петербургский институт

, Longman.

, Longman.

Guildford, Sutton Publishing

Epiphany is a literary device in which a character experiences an unexpected flash of understanding about the true nature of a person or situation, deeply altering his or her perception of that individual or event.

Euphemism:

It is the substitution of words denoting something rough, unpleasant or for some other reasons unmentionable (taboo) by words of mild or vague connotations to express it (e.g. instead of _____).

Flashback:

It is a narrative technique in which a narrator or character interrupts the present time and returns to the past. Through this device, some aspect of the character or incident is illuminated.

Historism:

The thing named is no longer used due to the extra-linguistic reason (some ancient weapons, for example, became useless in the course of history). The old word can acquire a new stylistic property and be used in a poetic language.

Humor:

It takes many forms from mild one to the irony.

Hyperbole:

It is an exaggerated statement expressing an intensely emotional attitude (e.g. _____).

Imagery:

It is used to create vivid pictures that our senses (sight, touch, smell, hearing, and taste) respond to.

Inference:

The reader arrives at the conclusion by himself after deducing the writer's meaning when the writer does not want to be direct and leaves the reader to decide what he wanted to say by himself.

Litotes:

The reverse figure of hyperbole is called litotes or understatement (someone says '_____ to you after your getting a PhD).

Metaphor:

A transfer of name based on the association of similarity and thus it is actually a hidden comparison (a naïve girl – _____ or a cunning person – _____).¹⁷

Metonymy:

It is based on association of contiguity. (A girl who always wears a red hat – _____).

Neologism:

It is a new word or an expression created for new things irrespective of their scale of importance (neologism _____). Compare it with a _____, for example).

Oxymoron:

¹⁷ In public discourse about the European Union in the 1990s they often used an extended metaphor of a 'European train'. At the end of the Edinburgh 'summit' meeting of EU heads of governments in December 1992, summarised the political situation of the Union in terms of the scenario of a train leaving the station:

The combination of words which are impossible to combine in reality ().

Repetition:

It can be a most effective way of creating atmosphere or of pointing to a theme in a story. It can take the form of repetitive language as in the ‘insistent refrain’, (e.g. “justice” and “democracy” in a political speech) or the form of the striking alliterative repetition of consonants, or the form of repeated events. E.g. ‘

, 18

Rhetorical question:

It is asked not for being answered but for making another person think more about the problem or for drawing his attention to what you want to say by yourself.

E.g. (With the reference to Richard Nixon, President of the USA)¹⁹

Rhyme:

It makes the statement more memorable. It is also meant for crowd participation, it has its own inherent capacity to motivate by the endless hypnotic repetition.

E.g. (during the Cold War).

E.g. (With the reference to Lyndon Baines Johnson, President of the USA, 1963-1969, Vietnam War):

Setting:

It refers to the time and place in which the action unfolds.

Simile:

A simile is an explicit comparison that contains the words ‘like’ or ‘as’, which help to identify the two elements of the comparison.

Style:

There can be different literary styles: a high style (official and solemn), a low style (close to colloquialism and slang), a scientific style (specific and neutral), a poetic style (expressive and unusual), and etc.

Symbol:

A symbol may be a person, an object, or an action that represents something else because of its association with it. It is frequently a visible sign of something invisible (is a symbol of peace, a is a symbol of love).

Synecdoche:

It is a figure of speech in which a part is used to describe the whole or the whole is used for a part; or the special is used for the general or the general for the special. (e.g. She has left her science for the kitchen after marrying him. Here represents her former work and social activity and the represents the house and married life).

Synonymy:

Synonymy is a semantic similarity. Semantic equivalence can exist between words and word-groups, word-groups and sentences, sentences and sentences. (e.g. and are semantically equivalent). The fact that Inuit (Eskimo’s

¹⁸ From the speech by President Nelson Mandela delivered at the opening of Parliament, Cape Town, May 24, 1994.

¹⁹ Nixon (1969-1974) had to resign due to the Watergate scandal. Watergate has come to encompass an array of illegal and secret activities undertaken by Nixon or his aides during his administration. Some of these began as early as 1969, when Nixon and Kissinger tapped the phones of numerous journalists and administration officials. In June 1972 several of Nixon's men were caught breaking into Democratic Party headquarters at the Watergate Hotel in Washington, DC. FBI determined that Nixon's aides had spied on and sabotaged numerous Democratic presidential candidates as a part of the operations that led to the Watergate scandal.

language) has 20 words for _____, Irish Gaelic 40 words for _____, and English 226 words for _____, may demonstrate environmental or psycholinguistic phenomena.

Shortening:

This literary device means a shortened word, such as _____ from refrigerator, _____ from telephone, _____ from veteran, _____ from microphone, _____ from influenza.

Tone:

It refers to the attitude of the writer or that of one of the characters in the story. It may be humorous, sarcastic, ironic, cheerful, pessimistic, angry, satirical and etc.

Roosevelt and Great Tradition.
Literary Analysis and Political Analysis²⁰

Ann Ruth Willner (1984) in her analysis of Roosevelt's speeches claims that Roosevelt rhetorically presented himself as the leader of a crusade of the common people against fear and want, as an 'armed prophet'. He was armed with the Book (Bible). He used the phrases from the Bible which were well known to millions of Americans of Roosevelt's era, old and young, urban and rural, of all classes and all occupational backgrounds. Willner writes:

- Roosevelt frequently employed elevated Biblical language and cadences in his major addresses. Many of his metaphors were derived from the Bible, as the following extract indicates;

(acceptance of Democratic nomination, July 2, 1932).

The underlined words in the first extract invoked the Sermon on the Mount, the statement of Jesus that 'Ye cannot serve God and mammon' and his warning against false prophets (Matt. 6:24; 7:15). _____, originating in the Aramaic language, is one of the oldest synonyms for wealth and still carries the connotation of a debasing influence. Roosevelt subtly implies an association between himself and Christ, this association was more clearly suggested in the imagery of his inaugural address.

- _____

(First Inaugural Address, Washington, March 4, 1933.)

'Money-changers' and 'temple' obviously alluded to Jesus casting out those who bought and sold in the temple and overthrowing the tables of the money-changers. (Matt. 21:12). Despite of the use of 'we', what was implied is that what Jesus did, so will Frank Roosevelt.

- Roosevelt's 'folk' imagery was not drawn from any particular type of source but seemed to emerge spontaneously...Rather popular during that period were figurine or fabric representations of the three little monkeys, one who heard no

²⁰ The examples are quoted from Ann Ruth Willner's (1984) _____, London, Yale University Press: 151-172.

evil (ears covered), one who saw no evil (eyes covered), and one who spoke no evil (mouth covered). In his campaign speech in New York City on October 31, 1936, Roosevelt evoked their image in the following: ‘

21

- Rhetorical devices, such as certain rhythms, repetition, and alliteration may not add much to meaning, but they do help to fix ideas in people’s minds. Moreover, they convey an emotional tone and play upon the emotions. Thus, rhythmical and structural balanced clauses in the classic tradition of the English language tend to suggest grandeur and authoritativeness. Roosevelt frequently used such clauses, as in the following examples from his Second Inaugural Address:
- Repetition for emphasis was also used frequently by Roosevelt. From a campaign speech in New York on October 31, 1936:
- Roosevelt often used alliteration, as an effective rhetorical device:

P P P P
 (Second Inaugural Address, 1937).
- Another device that might be noted is the sentence in which only slightly different words or phrases are paired for contrasting concepts. Such sentences tend to have an aphoristic quality suggestive of the wisdom of proverbs, as might be seen from the following: ‘

(Campaign speech, New York City, 1936).

Analytical tasks:

Read the speech by Desmond Tutu. Find the figures of speech in the text and connect your explanation of their use with the historical setting in the South African Republic and the political goal which Tutu pursued in his speech.

Write a critical review combining political and literary analyses.

**Archbishop Desmond Tutu: Graduation Ceremony,
 University of Cape Town, December 7, 1993²²**

²¹ After the period of economic prosperity there were the years of Great Depression in the USA in the 1930s. It was heralded by the Wall street stock market crash of October 1929 which eventually led to the international crisis. Franklin D. Roosevelt came to power and undertook efforts (programme), the principal ingredient of which was ‘priming the pump’, i.e. using the government’s resources to stimulate purchasing power, consumption, and new production.

DREAMING DREAMS

Thank you for the great honour you have bestowed on me. I have usually said I know it is a corporate award, recognising the contribution of so many stalwarts in the struggle who must in the nature of things be largely anonymous. Someone, a bit annoyed with the Archbishop of Cape Town, remarked once acidly, 'Where would Tutu be without apartheid?' Where indeed? What I am saying is that when you are in a crowd and you stand out it is really because you are being carried on the shoulders of others. And don't go away with the impression, 'Oh, isn't he nice—he is so modest!' I can assure you I'm not conventionally modest. I can sometimes, apparently nonchalantly, say, 'The other day when I was in the Oval Office, I said to President Clinton .. .!'

We are prone on occasion in our country to feel quite despondent because of the ongoing violence. But we really are being unreasonable. Of course we are right to be distressed by the violence and the carnage, because any death is one death too many and is to be deplored and condemned unequivocally. But let us remember that we are in a time of transition and such periods, almost by definition, are unstable, as we can see is the case in Eastern Europe. We forget too soon and too easily. Are you aware where we come from? Just a few years ago, in 1989, we were running the gauntlet of teargas, police dogs and whips as we defied the awful apartheid laws. Do you remember that people demonstrating peacefully were soaked with purple dye from police water-cannons and typically, Cape Town graffiti humour surfaced: The purple shall govern appeared on T-shirts and walls.

Many of us couldn't walk on God's beaches because these were segregated, and the police were ready to use even live ammunition to disperse those defying these immoral laws which did not oblige obedience. Incredible—but they were ready to kill for apartheid. And now—hey, are you aware that some of us will be voting for the very first time in the land of their birth at age 62? We are too blasé. Here we are; the jailor and the jailed are about to stand together—the head of a regime that perpetrated gross injustice and the leader of the noble struggle to overthrow the system—they stood together to receive the Nobel Peace Prize, the highest accolade the world can bestow, and they will be serving in a Government of National Unity after April 27, 1994—and almost certainly with the erstwhile boss as the junior partner. The changes are qualitative, indeed, they are a quantum leap. They are mind boggling; and we have taken all in our stride as to the manor born.

We have had an Interim Constitution drafted which has stood apartheid completely on its head and we have, it seems, not really taken it all in and so we are made despondent by the violence which we roundly condemn. And yet, even with this phenomenon, shouldn't we be saying, 'Thank you God that it is not occurring on a vast, a national, scale?' It is confined mainly to two parts of our country, and one is worried that the security forces have not seemed able to control it, limited though it is. And we can't tell the good news often enough. Violence has been stopped

²² This speech was delivered in 1993 before the 1st General free election without apartheid regulations in 1994. Tutu headed the Committee of Reconciliation. Instead of being taken to court the white men who had mistreated the black during the apartheid regime were supposed to admit publicly that they were wrong and to say sorry. In 1996 a new Constitution was adopted and the first black President Mandela was elected.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu received the Nobel Peace prize in 1984 in Oslo. He was famous for his rhetorical art and speeches about nation-building. He was the leading figure of the United Democratic Front which was created in 1983 to fight the Tricameral Constitution, and was banned in 1988. He hoped to combat the 'divide and rule' strategy and he tried to reinforce non racial bases of the African National Congress. In 1984 after the referendum, the South African regime imposed a new constitution whose main feature was the creation of a Tricameral Parliament (1984-1994) based on the racial principle (white, coloured and Indian). It did give a limited political voice to the country's coloured and Indian population groups. The majority Black population group was still excluded, however.

Tutu was generally credited with coining the term as a metaphor to describe post-apartheid South Africa after 1994 under African National Congress rule. The expression has since entered mainstream consciousness to describe South Africa's ethnic diversity.

in a number of places, because people have said 'enough is enough.' Political violence has almost disappeared in Alexandra Township, in Soweto and in the Vaal Triangle, in Hamarsdale in Natal. Those are success stories that should be told as we ponder the awful things happening on the East Rand and in parts of Natal. On the East Rand another success story is that a peace accord has been signed between the Thokoza Civic Association and the Hostel Residents' Association. We pray that it will deliver the goods.

Extraordinarily, the violence is not racial. That is remarkable considering where we come from. We were on the brink of a bloody catastrophe after the assassination of Chris Hani. God be praised that we were not overwhelmed by racial blood letting. At his funeral I asked the crowd to repeat after me, 'We will be free, all of us, black and white together.' Now you would have thought the young, angry, radical blacks would have said, 'To hell with all white people'. But they didn't. They roared back, 'We will be free, all of us, black and white together', and I said, 'We are the of God. We are unstoppable on the march to freedom'. I was vilified for my so-called performance at the funeral, and yet we had a remarkable demonstration of our people's commitment to a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic dispensation. The awful murder of Amy Biehl is an aberration as demonstrated by those who turned out to go on a pilgrimage to the spot where she was killed and also by the moving memorial service at the University of the Western Cape. I want to express my deep shock and, indeed, disgust at the disgraceful behaviour of certain young people at the Supreme Court trial of those accused of killing Amy. It is totally unacceptable conduct and we call to behave with proper decorum in our African way. The violence is not even ethnic or tribal as can be seen in Natal where it is Zulu against Zulu. Much of the violence is political and largely stoked by sinister agents taking advantage of the tragic lack of tolerance among people belonging to different political organisations. We too have a lot to answer for in our black communities, for allowing ourselves to be manipulated into being pawns of unscrupulous men and women. As Africans we believe that the death of anyone diminishes us all.

People Count

Very briefly—when I was in Australia I was told of some beautiful graffiti,

and I heard a story that scientists were not using lawyers in their experiments because there were some things which even mice refused to do. In a way both stories refer to a characteristic of our contemporary culture—cut-throat competition with bargain sales an important feature of commerce. Capitalism and communism very oddly share at least one disturbing attribute: in both systems the individual person is not considered to have an intrinsic worth. You matter because you are either a producer or consumer, or because you are a cog in the state machine. And all kinds of things go horribly wrong once we don't reverence the human person as having a worth that is intrinsic, that does not depend on extraneous things such as wealth or status, or race, religion, gender or sexual orientation.

We are on the threshold of a new dispensation and we should dream dreams and see visions about the new society we want to create together. It must not just be that a few blacks get coopted into the affluent elite, enjoying all sorts of gravy trains. It must not be that all that might have changed for the so-called ordinary people is the complexion of the top dogs. No, we must evolve a society that demonstrates the people matter with an infinite value that is intrinsic to who they are, which comes with the package of being human.

Our society must be characterised by ubuntu when we recognise our fundamental interdependence and interconnectedness. God teaches us that lesson, often painfully. Those who suffer from typhoid in the black community cannot easily be quarantined, as we have seen in Delmas. So-called black on black violence, which should perhaps affect only the black community, affects us all for it is our whole society that becomes unstable and deters foreign investors from coming. We belong to one another. People must matter more than profits. You could increase the latter by computerised technology, but you are likely to throw many out of work. Success must not happen through untold human suffering. Ours should be a society that cares for those who are weak and easily driven to the wall. Our health care systems, our

ecological and housing policies and what we do in education - all should be 'people-friendly.' The people should feel that they are consulted about decisions that have important implications for them in a truly participatory style of operation. They should not be pawns in the power game.

Ours should be a caring and compassionate and a sharing society, hospitable for the people, where they count because they have been created in the image of God and consequently are of infinite worth, with a worth that is intrinsic. Let us dream. Don't be got down by cynics who say, 'That's too idealistic, that's too Utopian.' The scriptures say, where there is no vision the people perish. And all these things are far too important to be left only to politicians.

Part IV

Theory of International Relations²³

Analytical tasks:

Read the text and answer the following questions:

Where is the boundary to define the scope of International Relations theory (IR)?

What are specific methods and approaches used by this discipline (IR theory)?

What are the main issues studied within the IR theory?

In which field would you like to develop your own theory? What would it be about?

I.

_____ includes all levels of analysis:

One needs a certain set of _____ for developing and testing a theory.

Theory can turn into ideology (Marxism) or can be used later as a methodological principle (Dialectical materialism, Rational choice, Structuration). In this case a theory (or some basic ideas of it) acquires a meta quality and is used as a meta principle for developing other theories or studying the problem (methodology is a sum of principles and methods).

Theory is a systematic reflection on phenomena, designed to explain these phenomena and to show how they are related to each other in a meaningful way.

Politics is the process by which societal values are authoritatively allocated.

International politics

The most important thing for the theory is to explain logically deduced relationships among the phenomena. It does not necessarily depend on empirical referents for validity because the failure of the application of the theory can be caused by factors external to the theory itself.

On the whole theories can be categorized into: historical-descriptive, scientific-predictive and speculative-normative. The features of these theories can be combined.

Theories can be grand (comprehensive), e.g. Realist theory by Hans Morgenthau, neo-Realist theory by Kenneth Waltz, neo-Marxist theory by Immanuel Wallerstein, and partial theories (of the limited range of explanation), e.g. Sector Integration theory by Ernst Haars, Nuclear Deterrence theory by Bernard Brodie and Democracy and Peace theory by Michael Doyle.

The definition and scope of international relations cause some debate: Is it a discipline or a bundle of disciplines ranging from natural sciences to moral philosophy and viewed from a common angle (including history, demography, diplomacy, ethics, international law, religion and etc.)?

Should we use the word 'international' or 'interstate'? Does the discipline have its own methods and techniques of studying and the unique core of discipline to enrich? Where is the boundary to define its scope?

One must understand the difference between academic social-science theory (general approach to international relations) and political-diplomatic practice (decision-making about a particular case). The former is mainly concerned with deductive thought processes and the latter with the inductive and empirical knowledge from personal experience.

David Hume, for example, distinguished three types of knowledge: deductive reasoning (logical and necessary truths obtained, for example, in mathematics), empirical knowledge (causal relationships are found in natural science, but they are not necessarily rational truths) and value judgments (judgments about historical facts affected by human emotions and intuition, e.g. in history, politics, ethics and etc.).

Quincy Wright put all social reality into 4 categories:
 - what was or what is - known through the method of description;
 - what can be - known through the method of theoretical speculation;
 - what will be - known through the method of prediction;
 - what ought to be - known through the method of ethical evaluation or normative reflection.

Theory provides a framework of thought in which we analyze and define the reality. We theorize within its paradigm.

There is a level-of-analysis problem connected with the units of study and analysis, i.e. the actors of international relations and their relationship to each other.

International Relations (IR) theory has many possible levels of analysis according to the units of study (e.g. at the micro or macro levels). Kenneth Waltz discerns the following levels: individuals, states and global system. Barry Buzan uses for the analysis other levels, such as: interactive capacity between units, structure (arrangement of the units to each other) and process (recurrent pattern of interaction between units).

Traditionally one distinguishes the following levels of analysis of units of international relations: individuals, subnational groups, nation-states, transnational non-governmental groups and organizations (TNCs, NGOs, international terrorist groups, national liberation guerilla groups, Catholic church and etc.), international governmental groups and organizations (OPEC - Petroleum Exporting countries, EU - European Union, the Arab League, ASEAN - the Association of South East Asian Nations, WTO - World Trade Organization, NATO - North Atlantic treaty Organization end so on), and international system itself.

Most international theorists deny that an individual is a subject of international law but a classical liberal idea insists that an individual must be the basis of any social phenomenon. The study of the political leaders' decision-making or the behaviour of voters is important for international relations theory though there is an opinion that it is social forces that create a political leader or heroic figure not the other way round. Subnational groups are recognized as relevant due to interrelation of domestic and international politics. The majority of theorists

consider a nation-state as an analytical unit (the center of power) which produces the greatest impact on the events in the international system. The world was divided into imperialist powers and colonies in the previous century. However, nowadays, transnational non-governmental groups such as TNC, for example, invest large economic resources into the host country and may pursue policies different from those of the government. The state-centric paradigm is eroding due to global institutions and forces acting both at non-governmental and governmental international levels.

The international system such as Mediterranean state system (before Rome became an empire), the system of feudalism in Medieval Europe with its set of hierarchical relations, world capitalist system and etc. provide a comprehensive model for the analysis.

There are theories of _____ of international systems explaining the falls and rises of new systems.

The world has become more integrated as a result of economic and technological achievements but politically, culturally and socially the process of global integration lags behind.

If a researcher prefers an international system as the basis for his analysis it means that he is convinced that the international system produces greater effect upon its parts than the parts on the system. Those who use a nation-state as the basis for the analysis are sure that it is vice versa. Meanwhile pluralists and interdependence theorists argue that international organizations and international regimes or multinational corporations (MNC) may force the governments to pursue the policies different from governments' ones.

The international system is generally considered to be anarchical. International anarchy means the absence of the effective world government (equal to the efficiency of a state's government) and is explained as a 'self-help' system in which the states look after themselves to provide their own survival and the promotion of national interests.

II.

Efforts at theorizing about the nature of interstate relations date back to the ancient times. One can find the ideas about it in ancient China, in the writings of Mo-Ti, Mencius, Confucius; in the India there was the Code of Manu about an honorable conduct in warfare and the inviolability of diplomats and the works by Kautilya who had a complex theory of the balance of power among princely states.

The world community inherited a lot of ideas from classical Greece and Rome. Plato, Aristotle and the Greek historian Thucydides expanded the reflections upon the subject of international relations.

The work _____ (On World Government) by Dante Alighieri (1265-1321) became one of the first important works calling upon the countries to create an international organization under a world ruler who would be able to have a military power for enforcing peace among princes without disturbing the internal autonomy of political communities.

Machiavelli's _____ marked the departure from ethical political theory towards modern realist analysis of power realities.

The French philosophers, such as Pierre Dubois (1250-1322) and Emeric Cruce (1590-1648) also produced plans for international organizations and the promotion of peace. The French writers relied on diplomacy and arbitration in their plans for a perpetual peace.

But Jean-Jacque Rousseau (1712-1778) criticized the belief in perpetual peace insisting that human beings are seldom led by reason and logical calculation but mainly by passion. Though people are basically peaceful when they enter a society they change. The war is a product of civilization, and wars are caused by the institution of private property and the desire of the self-serving ruling elite to increase their power and capability to tyrannize their subjects and impoverish them.

Other philosophers who contributed to the theory of International Relations were William Penn (1644-1718), Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832), John Locke (1632-1704), David Hume (1711-1766), Baruch Spinoza (1632-1677), Francesco Guicciardini (1483-

1540), Friedrich von Gentz (1764-1832), Francisco de Vitoria (1480-1549), Hogo Grotius (1583-1645), Emmerich de Vattel (1714-1767), Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) and etc.

III.

The oldest and the most controversial of all theories of international politics has been the theory of Balance of Power.

Various purposes and functions were attributed to the Balance of Power in Classical realist theory.

There are contrasting _____: (1) _____, (2) _____, (3) _____.

Classical realist theory contains two main points of analysis: the international systems level and the state level (actor).

Neorealist-structuralist realist theory addresses the nature of international politics using the international system as the dominant level of analysis.

Neoclassical realist theory places emphasis on the state (as a unit of analysis), because of the interrelatedness of domestic and foreign politics.

IV.

The effects of environment on behaviour has been a specific issue for social scientists. The reality which is created by the decision-maker, theorist or a researcher is the result of such an association between the person and his environment.

From the 19th to the 20th century the Industrial Age showed that communication and transportation capabilities of the state together with its geographical characteristics played an important role for the establishing of the state's status in the international system. The priority was given to geography focusing on population, resource distribution and the strategic location of the state.

Alfred Mahan considered that the control of the seas, especially strategically important waterways was crucial to the power of the state.

The Sprouts (Harold and Margaret) rejected unidimensional, geopolitical theories in favour of an ecological one (based on the environment and its physical and nonphysical features or milieu).

Samuel Huntington claims that culture and civilization would define the future conflicts. In order to identify the geographic points for crisis and conflicts it is necessary to find out where the troublesome border line is between the civilizations.

Until the middle of the 20th century the International theory was mainly based on geography. With development of nuclear energy (less dependence on natural resources) and postindustrial societies geography has become less important.

V.

It is difficult to separate economics from politics if one wants to analyze the behaviour of a state on the international arena. Political analysis must take into consideration such economic aspects as the level of economic development, growth rates, trade patterns, investment, monetary and fiscal policy, as well as such international economic actors as multinational corporations, banks, and investment firms.

There are three most commonly cited categorizations or paradigms _____: (1) _____, (2) _____, (3) _____, with some variations in terminology and subtypes or the combinations of them.

Economics and political science from the middle of the 17th century to the middle of the 19th century were treated as closely interrelated subjects (political economy).

Mercantilism, an old teaching about economics and the state, contained the assumption that wealth was an essential means to power and power was an essential means to acquire and retain wealth. If the state is wealthy it has power and it is respected internationally. But in the second half of the 19th century and throughout much of the 20th century, theorists, especially in the United States, separated the study of politics from economics. Political science and economics developed their own theories. This liberal trend stood in sharp contrast to that of earlier classical liberal economists.

The classical liberal school which emphasized the notion of *laissez-faire* (i.e. governments should not interfere into business activity), contributed to the separation of political science and economics though such early liberal economists as Adam Smith (1723-1790), David Ricardo (1772-1823), Richard Cobden (1804-1865), and John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) connected politics with economics and considered, for example, free trade (economics) as a guarantor of peace (politics).

Adam Smith in his moral philosophy had no doubt that most human beings act according to the motives of self-interest (he is the author of the famous theory of the 'invisible hand') but he believed that self-interest was an integral part of God's providential plan. When individuals pursue their own interests they unintentionally promote the well-being of society. But he thought that the best economic system – *laissez-faire* – would fail to achieve its 'end'.

(DOUGHERTY J.E. and PFALTZGRAFF R.L., 200: 420).

Adam Smith recognized that the principle of the division of labor could have bad effect upon people because productive functions of workers were reduced to a few simple, routine, and boring operations for the sake of increased output efficiency and that the creative powers of the individuals could diminish.

Recently, the term *realism* has acquired statist connotations in sharp contrast to its classical liberal meaning. As for the *nationalist* of political economy it has got other radical and dependency variants.

Realism is also used under different headings and with some variations. Robert Gilpin calls realism as nationalism. One can also discern *realism* under such headings as mercantilism, statism and protectionism. All of these schools hold that economic activities are subordinate to the goal of state building and should be subordinate to the interests of the state.

The worldwide depression contributed to the conditions that led to World War II. It fueled the forces of economic discontent in Germany. There was the rise of unemployment among workers and the sense of insecurity within the middle class. Hitler and the Nazi Party managed to take an opportunity of the situation for their rise to power in 1933.

Economic realism/nationalism recognizes that the basic actors in the international system are sovereign states. Realists agree with the mercantilists that power and wealth are interchangeable concepts in practice. Even liberals accepted substantial governmental control and intervention in the economy when national security was at stake during World War II.

Marxist, Leninist, neo-Marxist, *realism* and other socialist schools claim that both liberalism and nationalist realism are essentially intellectual justifications for a capitalistic system, which brings about exploitation and conflict within and among the nations of the world. Karl Marx (1818-1883) developed a theory of history based on dialectical materialism. According to it the system of economic production determines the institutional and ideological structures of society. Whoever controls the economic system also controls the political system. All forms of consciousness are subordinated to the economic forces (e.g. political, cultural, military-strategic, religious and humanitarian). Marx worked out the doctrine of 'surplus value'.

In a capitalist system, the bourgeoisie, which controls the means of production, exploits the worker and increases the gap between themselves and workers by getting the surplus value (the difference between the price paid to workers for their labor and the price obtained by the bourgeoisie in the marketplace).

Lenin evolved the theory of Monopoly capitalism, which he equated with imperialism. At the basis of it there are the following four factors: the concentration of production; the competition for sources of raw materials; the development of banking oligarchies; and the transformation of the old colonial policy into a struggle for spheres of economic interest. In the course of that struggle the richer and the more powerful nations exploit the weaker ones.

VI.

How and why do states cooperate with each other and develop integration processes? What are the conditions for that?

Cooperation is the set of relationships that are legitimized by the mutual consent of members.

Cooperation can arise from a perceived self-interest or from the commitment to the welfare of the collectivity. The Utopian (Cosmopolitan) and Realist (Communitarian) theories stand in sharp contrast to each other in treating the question of cooperation.

For the *Utopians*, ethics is a function of politics. The politics of the state or community (thus communitarian approach) and its prosperity go first and ethics (international) second.

For the *Realists*, politics is the function of ethics (ethics goes first and must determine political decisions). They work out principles of common international life and create the international organizations to support these ethical principles of the common life because they believe that it is possible to live in harmony and peace and all people are interested in it. The realists call it utopia and insist that states won't pursue common ethical principles if it contradicts the political purposes of a self-interested state.

The *Utopian* writings of *Karl Popper* (1888-1975) greatly influenced the development of *Neofunctionalism*. He claimed that the growing number of technical issues could be solved only by cooperative efforts across the boundaries and by specialists but not politicians. It is political-military circles that start wars that's why if the power went to the specialists (not politicians or the military) it would be possible to avoid wars. The world would function according to the distribution of the functions among the specialists of different countries (working together in international organizations) and the political-military circle would lose the power.

Neofunctionalism which followed Mitrany's theory argues that politicians must be involved into the process of creating the new system, because the economic gains demand distribution among the population and the distribution is a political question which demands a political decision. Bureaucracy, if interested in the integration process, can help to promote the integration.

Neofunctionalism, neofunctionalist, developed the model based on process mechanisms and integrative potential. He modified greatly the theories of Mitrany and Haas.

VII

All theories of International Relations recognize the problem of war as the central problem.

Lewis Coser defines conflict as a struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power, and resources in which the aims of the opponents are to neutralize, injure, or eliminate their rivals.

Conflict may be violent and nonviolent and it is distinct from tension and competition.

Neofunctionalism distinguishes three types of international relations while analyzing the causes of war: human nature (individual level of analysis), internal structure of the state (social group/class level of analysis) and international anarchy (state level of analysis in the international system).

The approach to studying the causes of war can be reduced to two groups:

Neofunctionalism are based on the studying of individual behaviour in the group and the causes of conflict.

deal with studying the collective behaviour and the causes of conflict.

Almost in all ancient religious and ethical civilizations, the problem of war was approached not only as political or military one, but as a spiritual issue having moral dimensions. Ancient China produced a wide range of theories from (peace) to (war).

Indian Hindu culture (not Buddhist) assigned a higher position in the society to a warrior class considering the war as an eternal problem. But inhumane practices were condemned. The Greek did not contribute a lot to the pacifist thinking. However, they had a skeptical view of the utility of war. The Greek never worked out the idea of a just war. It was the Romans who did it.

The pacifist writers of the later period were: Erasmus, Cruce, Fenelon, Penn, Voltaire, Rousseau, Kant and Bentham. One of the most well known pacifists in the 19th century was Jonathan Dymond who was called uncompromising pacifist.

The bellicist writers were Clausewitz, Nietzsche, Treitschke, Fichte and Bernhardi.

In the 20th century the intellectual polarization of Western pacifists and bellicists became clearly defined.

Though the Marxist doctrine and anarchism are different and admit violence in some cases, both of them helped to strengthen the theory of pacifism.

Most of the older theories had a normative dimension. Saying what is good to do or what is bad to do means to adhere to normative judgment. Normative theory uses qualitative methods because it is based on value system of people meanwhile the theories which use positivist epistemology and behavioural approach emphasize the importance of quantitative methods.

The appeal to justice is an important part of the politics of war because it draws public support and allies' support and strengthen the morale of fighting forces leading eventually to the victory. Some Pacifists argue that it is wrong to analyze the war in terms of rationality or justice in any case.

The debate over the morality of nuclear war has been going on for a long time. The pacifists claim that the threat with a nuclear war is immoral because it is based upon the annihilation of the whole population.

Though the questions why the individuals behave aggressively and why the states and other groups wage wars are related they must be treated differently.

Conflict has internal and external dimensions: there are specific traits of the character of an individual and there are also external conditions and external social structures. The key concept of microcosmic theory of Conflict is (aggressive tendency in the behaviour of an individual). The leading figures in the Instinct theories of Aggression in the early period were William James (1842-1910) and William McDougall (1871-1938). Instinct was considered by them as a psychophysical process inherited by all members of species. It was not learned but it could be modified. McDougall argued that instinct turned into aggression only if there was the preceding period of frustration.

The results of animal behaviour studies were applied to human behaviour studies.

Konrad Lorenz studied the behaviour of more than 40 species of fish, dogs, birds, rats, deer and etc. He described the phenomenon called ritualization of aggression.

The main figures in Frustration-Aggression theory were Freud, McDougall and recently John Dollard.

The Feminist approach emphasized the implication of gender differences for conflict behaviour.

Theorists who theorize at the level of societies, nation-states and the global system belong to macro theorists. But many researchers consider that the conflict within the society and between the societies have some correlation or significant relationship. William Summer advanced the

theory that the sentiment of hostility towards outsider group brings back the sentiment of cooperation within the society.

The empirical evidence for reciprocal relations between internal and external conflicts is ambiguous and not very convincing. The data collected due to the empirical studies in the 1960s and 1970s using quantitative methods didn't prove the hypothesis.

For anthropologists and sociologists, large-scale conflict and war arise more out of social conditions than biological needs of a human being or his psychological state. Bronislaw Malinowski claims that most of violent conflicts were the results of ideological imperatives and that human beings never fight on an extensive scale under the direct influence of an aggressive impulse.

Though revolution belongs primarily to the internal state affairs the revolution can provoke the external reaction, and the revolutionary country can be involved into the international conflict or can be the victim of external aggression.

Among the pioneers of quantitative approach to the problem of war were: Pitirim Sorokin, Quincy Wright and Lewis Richardson during the 1930s. In the 1960s, and later, David Singer, Melvin Small and others built their studies upon the previous researchers' investigation and data collection. Their project was called Correlates of War (COW) Projects. It was the collection of statistical data. The researchers using positivist epistemology tried to establish the correlation between the number of wars and other factors in the course of history.

Since the 1930s efforts have been made to understand if there are, indeed, long cycles of war and peace and what kind of regularities they have and what are the causes of a cycle. The theorists in this field were: Pitirim Sorokin, Quincy Wright, Lewis Richardson, Arnold Toynbee, David Singer, Melvin Small, Gaston Bouthoul, Jacques Ellul, Alec Macfie, Geoffrey Blainey, Jack Levy, Robert Gilpin, Immanuel Wallerstein, George Modelski, Willaim Thompson, Joshua Goldstein, Lois Sayers, Edward Mansfield and others.

The term is the product of the nuclear age. It was not mentioned before World War II. Though Jeremy Bentham, the utilitarian philosopher, justified the punishment if it served as a means of deterring people from committing crimes.

The pioneer of the theory of was Bernard Brodie who began to develop the theory after the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings. He claimed that the chief purpose of American military establishment had been to win wars but after that bombing its chief purpose became to avert them because nuclear wars could have no other useful purpose.

However American theorists admitted later that for reinforcing the threat of nuclear war or to make it credible limited nuclear options could be allowed. So the dilemma is how to make the nuclear threat credible and use it as a good deterrence without waging a nuclear war.

The second dilemma of deterrence arises due to the fast development of the complex military technology and the uncertainties of the decision-makers and strategic planners about the right calculation of the strategic balance between rival countries and further decisions based on such calculations.

VIII.

There is a widespread opinion that the process of globalisation has been developing since the 1980s and that it has brought certain problems as well as achievements to the world society.

The process of globalisation has embraced the development of global markets, global communication infrastructure, universal models, global jurisdiction, new transnational actors and consolidation of regimes and development of supranational governance.

The world economy has been experiencing an increase in competition and confrontation under globalisation, with international financial markets destabilizing the world economy, with global regimes and regional integration projects finding themselves in contradiction and with rivalry increasing between the USA and the EU for political and economic influence in the 21 century.

The stability of the international system has been under the pressure of multiple risks: regional conflicts, internationalized domestic conflicts and the conflicts over resources and possession of weapons of mass destruction.

The period after the end of the Cold War was dominated by a resurgence of liberal hopes and public agendas connected with the notions of 'globalisation', 'global governance' and 'the new world order', but this triumphant liberal project was plagued by conflicts and challenges. Since the beginning of the 1990s the character of the discussion has changed, taking into consideration the further interdependence of economic policies, international relations and entrepreneurial projects of different countries. Processes of growing interdependence of the market participants, weakening regulatory functions of the states, fast growth of some new developing countries, widening zones of poverty, sharp changes in world labour markets, the mixing of Americanization with modernization of life styles, promotion of cultural identity and homogenization of consumption and behaviour, are all good reasons for contemplation and debate. But no coherent alternative to free entrepreneurship has been created yet; the internationalization of economies is still considered both to be the source of development for the most deprived and as a way for improving the well-being of the most well-off.

The work and decision-making of the key financial international organisations (International Monetary Fund, World Bank, World Trade Organisation) influence the lives of many people in all countries, but the majority of these institutions were created after World War II. The refusal of some social groups to follow their decisions reveals the gap between the performance of these organisations and the reality.

Political upheavals since the beginning of the 1990s have dramatically changed political, social and economic systems of the countries composing the socialist block. Processes of change in these countries have been developing in different ways and with differing results. The challenges which these countries have faced due to changes within, and their introduction into the process of globalisation have been met differently, giving us a wide range of national responses to a new situation. Economic policy pursued since the 1990s has led to a new multinational composition. Russia is in the CIS and Western European countries are in the European Union. Both these systems continuously reexamine their relations and their ties inside these two zones. New power structures are being created; they concern the system of security, foreign trade, energy resources and entrepreneurial problems connected with the delocalization or transfer of interest outside its own zone as well.

Contemporary economic development is connected not only with remarkable successes but with failures as well. The instability of global financial structures has become one of the negative features of globalisation. At present, conflicts in the fiscal sphere are brought about by contradictions between national financial sovereignty and the global process of financial integration.

Technological development improves the economic position of some countries from both the North and South; however many other countries are losing their economic specialization whilst remaining outside the process of globalisation. Recent experience has shown the huge opportunities for development which globalisation produces: China and some other South-East Asian countries serve as an excellent illustration. But a number of other countries are in a zone of social-economic stagnation characterized by a high level of unemployment and an inability to move towards economic transition.

Migratory pressure is going to increase, while a number of countries will face even more problems connected with a difference in demographic dynamics of ethnic groups inside the country. As a result we may have a new combination of ethnic groups creating a situation for future conflict.

The cultural dimension of players contains the force that can mobilize them, emotions that can be created and the potential for confrontation – which could become a reality.

There are an increasing number of new conflicts and new reasons for their appearance; forms of conflict are changing and new territories become involved, as societies feel less secure. As a result of such dramatic changes, old landmarks are moving aside and the new composition of powers brings rivalry and a struggle between new forces and the old ones that will oppose change if such change doesn't bring advantages.

New theories are being developed with the hope that they can help to solve the arising conflicts under globalization and to organize the life of a global society in a better way.²⁴

Part V

Globalisation: Critical Reviews²⁵

Analytical tasks:

Read the article.

Define ontological, epistemological, methodological and ideological approaches of the authors

Write a critical review.

The EU/Russia Energy Cooperation in a Global Context: Trends and Paradoxes

**Nadia CAMPANER and
Askar GUBAIDULLIN²⁶**

As overall energy demand continues to increase, the global trade in energy commodities is growing even faster, fostered by the unequal distribution of resources between major centres of consumption and main suppliers. Oil and gas, which supply more than 60% of world energy consumption, represent an important part in the world trade and play a dominant role in international politics.

²⁴ Based on the Introduction by C. Albagli and N. Slanevskaya from
, ed. N. Slanevskaya, St. Petersburg, Nestor.

²⁵ All the articles of Part V are meant for the analytical work and are taken from the book GLOBAL SOCIETY: CONFLICT OR COOPERATION? DISCUSSION, edited by Nina SLANEVSKAYA, St. Petersburg, Nestor, 2006. All the references mentioned by the authors of the articles are in the bibliography at the end of this book.

²⁶ **CAMPANER Nadja (France)**

Nadja CAMPANER is a PhD candidate in Political Science at the University Paris III-Sorbonne Nouvelle, Paris. From 2002 to 2005 she held a research and teaching assistantship position in the department of European Studies, Paris III. Her PhD thesis deals with the energy factor in EU/Russia relations. Her research interests include energy related policies and geopolitics of energy.

GUBAIDULLIN Askar (Russia)

Askar GUBAIDULLIN works as a Consultant Engineer. He holds a PhD degree in Energy Technology from the Royal Institute of Technology (KTH), Stockholm and MSc in Mechanical Engineering from Moscow State University (MGU).

The EU, as a major consumer of energy, needs to import the increasing quantities of oil and natural gas. While the energy consumption in the EU is rising rather moderately, its dependency on imported hydrocarbons is expected to grow from 50% to 70% by 2020 (European Commission, 2000a). The depletion of domestic reserves (e.g., in the North Sea), a growing gas demand combined with the phasing out of nuclear power plants in some member-states reinforce further the dependence on imported natural gas: it is projected to rise from 50% to 80% (European Commission, 2003). The adoption of natural gas as a clean and competitively priced energy source for households and electricity production has become one of the key elements of the European energy strategy.

Russia is a major oil and gas supplier of the enlarged EU: it provides 30% and 50% of its oil and gas imports, respectively. Energy exports represent more than 20% of Russia's gross domestic product (GDP) and roughly 50-60% of its total hard currency earnings. Thus, the EU and Russia are mutually dependent on energy trade and both have committed themselves to cooperate on energy issues, notably in the framework of the "EU/Russia energy dialogue" from October 2000 (European Commission, 2000b).

The objective of this paper is to analyse EU/Russia energy cooperation in the context of internationalization of energy markets. We shall discuss the paradoxes related to the globalisation in the energy sector, focusing mainly on the contradiction between the energy market liberalization and the growing concerns on the security of energy supply.

The development of an integrated global energy market is closely related to the liberalization and privatization processes. In the European Union the gas and electricity directives scheduled the full opening of markets for July 2004 for the industry and July 2007 for all consumers (Directives 2003/55/CE (Gas) and 2003/54/CE (Electricity). According to the European Commission (European Commission, 2000a), the liberalization along with the development of a single integrated market will increase competition between exporting countries. The privatization and the public sector restructuring are supposed to increase the efficiency of the state-owned enterprises.

Yet the EU directives are not being welcomed by some member-states such as Germany or France and the long-term impacts of liberalization on the functioning of the energy market are not clear. Privatization of the public sector generated serious concerns. In France, the announcement of the partial privatization of the state-owned Electricité de France (EDF), the world biggest power company, provoked widespread protests among the company employees and the political opposition.

On the other hand, the liberalization enabled a few national champions to increase their dominance in the EU energy market through a series of mergers and acquisitions that resulted in the creation of oligopolistic structures (Nodari, 2004). Consequently, the European energy market became dominated by several mammoth power utilities such as French EDF, Germany's Eon and RWE, Italy's Enel and Spanish Endesa. Paradoxically, competition may be threatened as a result of the liberalization. In this light, the European Commission's continuing pressure to restructure the Russian natural monopolies Gazprom and RAO EES seems preposterous.

At the same time, there are increasing concerns on environmental issues and the security of energy supplies. Furthermore, the oil price hike, the political instabilities in the oil-rich Middle East, the explosive growth in energy demand in the Asian-Pacific region along with the declining production in OECD countries has thrust the energy issue ahead of the political agenda. Many experts argue that substantial governmental action is necessary to ensure the security of supplies. The growing competition for access to energy resources and the necessity to limit the consumption of fossil fuels imply more governmental intervention (Clingendael International Energy Programme, 2004). Moreover, the environmental concerns urge stricter safety regulations, promoted at national and international level.

Driven by mutual dependencies in the energy sector, the EU and Russia have embarked on ~~developing~~ developing a strategic partnership

Analytical tasks:***Analyze the arguments of the discussion.******Express your own position and support your point of view theoretically.******Write a critical review on the article.***

**Environmental Diplomacy:
a New Paradigm in International Relations**

George EDGAR²⁷

Developments over last two decades in international environmental diplomacy are an important example of a new approach to international relations in a globalized world, and indicate that on some issues at least the answer to questions about "co-operation or competition" should very definitely be "co-operation".

Why environmental issues? Because more closely and directly than most they present problems that can only be dealt with co-operatively. This is clearest in issues such as air or water quality. It doesn't matter who puts pollutants into the Baltic - the loss or damage to marine resources affects Russia, or Finland, or Poland just the same. It doesn't matter where CO₂ or greenhouse gases are emitted - the consequences of failure to take measures to reduce emissions radically will be extremely serious for all of us (Hillman, 2004).

One of the key English-language texts in environmental policy is Hardin's essay on the "tragedy of the commons", which describes the way in which short-term individual decision making, apparently rational and maximising welfare, leads to catastrophe for all (Hardin, 1968). It is a useful image for a range of environmental problems, and suggests that the response must lie in co-operative measures, including limitations on activities by individuals.

The most quoted examples of a successful approach to issues of this kind include the Montreal protocol and various regional agreements on marine zone management such as the Barcelona protocol on co-operation in the Mediterranean.

I would single out a number of particular features of these agreements:

- Recognition that what is important is the overall result: non-zero sum;
- Recognition of the need to support those less able to take action, perhaps in the form of funding to assist developing country co-operation. This also at least implicitly suggests acceptance of the idea of international equity;
- An important role for scientific expertise in formulating diagnosis and options for policy-making;
- In many cases a significant role played by international bodies, often UN organisations, in setting the context for successful negotiations;
- In some cases at least, the importance of "public alarm" in pushing governments to negotiate.

²⁷ **EDGAR George (Great Britain)**

George EDGAR was British Consul General in St Petersburg, 2004-2006. He had been previously British Ambassador to Cambodia. He was particularly involved in development work and environment issues, as well as in support for Cambodia's human rights NGOs. From 2001 until 2004, he was British Ambassador to Macedonia, where development and technical assistance was a priority. Outside the Diplomatic Service George EDGAR worked as a consultant on economic reform and public administration reform issues, mainly in Central Asia but also in Moscow.

Why a new paradigm? Because the pattern we see here goes against neo-realist and other approaches that suggest monolithic states with fixed and competitive interests. And like earlier agreements on human rights and arms control - of which for me the Helsinki Final Act is the central example - contemporary environmental agreements change the definition of what are strictly internal affairs, and what may be subject to sometimes intrusive verification by outsiders. And because something on these lines may be the way forward on other issues including aspects of international trade, international security, and the big environmental problems, in particular climate change and biodiversity and species loss.

I recognise the dangers of generalising from a small number of examples.

The Montreal protocol in particular was a special case. Its potential negative economic impact was relatively minor, and confined to specific sectors of industry. It was clear fairly early on that profits were to be made producing replacements for CFCs.

In contrast, for example, intensive reduction of CO2 emissions will affect the whole economy: industry, food production, life-styles.

All the same one should not overstate this. Many countries, including Russia, have plenty of room for "no regrets" measures to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. And there is very great room for development of renewable energy sources and for example non-hydrocarbon intensive agricultural approaches (and the biggest profits are to be made by those who get in first). But sooner or later there must be a change of approach towards economic development.

I personally believe that the only realistic option will be some variation on "contraction and convergence" (though I would again stress that means contraction of emissions, not necessarily of the economy and certainly not of quality of life).

But for such measures to be practicable, strong international agreements will be needed. And - to return to where we started - that will imply an approach to negotiation that puts long-term shared interests above short-term individual interests, that is based on trust even if trust with verification - and that bases itself effectively on science and is ready to change as our understanding of the science changes. To quote Tony Brenton's "The Greening of Machiavelli", "international environmental policy has a history of reaching destinations which seemed impossibly distant at the outset" (Brenton, 1994).

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

Dimitry PRUSSKY:

George EDGAR:

You are absolutely right to say that establishing a shared view of a problem and of the means required to address it can be a severe challenge. That is, for example, at the heart of international discussions on climate change issues. But there are some issues, of which the big global environmental problems are a good example that can only effectively be addressed through co-operation. And there are good examples of a successful co-operative approach, both in the environmental field - the Montreal protocol on ozone depleting substances is a case that is often quoted - and in other areas such as aspects of the "security and co-operation" agenda covered by the CSCE/ OSCE, or the Ottawa convention on landmines.

The difficulty with international environmental issues is to share responsibility in a way that is seen as equitable. The first stage is to recognise that there is a problem - hence the important role of the IPCC on climate change issues, as a source of what should be an agreed analysis of the problem. Then there is a need to agree on how the problem may be addressed, and finally on the division of responsibilities among states. That can raise severe problems - particularly when developing countries see themselves as being asked to take on responsibility for resolving problems that they have not caused. Climate change is one example, where the problem has so far been addressed through only developed countries taking on emission reduction targets for the first Kyoto period. Another good example is international forestry issues, where there is often a perception of a conflict between developed countries' interest in biodiversity and environmental values, and developing countries' interest in using their natural resources to support development.

The challenge is to design an agreement that contains incentives for states outside it to join, and for those within it to comply with their obligations. That is not necessarily easy - in some cases it may be extremely difficult - but it is necessary.

Nina SLANEVSKAYA:

George EDGAR:

I wouldn't argue that co-operation always does or always will prevail. I would argue that there are some issues, of which the big global environmental problems are a good example, that can only effectively be addressed through co-operation. And I would argue further that there are good examples of a successful co-operative approach, both in the environmental field and in other areas such as aspects of the "security and co-operation" agenda covered by the CSCE/OSCE.

I would see CITES as an example of at least relative success - without CITES, or some similar international agreement, the situation regarding endangered species would be far worse than it is. There are undoubtedly many individuals and groups who have an interest in circumventing or undermining CITES rules, but the system as a whole is a significant constraint on trade in endangered species and therefore a disincentive to hunting or obtaining them in the first place. The ban on ivory trading has had a very marked effect in reducing poaching in many areas. Similarly, IWC rules have largely been observed and have a positive effect on whale populations. I recognise that there is much illegal trade in endangered species, and I also

recognise that there are many other factors affecting biodiversity loss, not least loss of or damage to important habitats. But CITES, for me, is a success story.

On a slightly different point, I think the contradiction between development and conservation is often exaggerated. My experience of working on forestry issues in South-East Asia suggested that those who gained from unsustainable practices were not local populations trying to survive, but corrupt officials and (often foreign) business people. Conservation and development need to and can go together.

Anissa LARDJANE:

George EDGAR:

There can be problems with "free riders" - parties who stay outside an agreement but take advantage of its results. A good international agreement will provide incentives for those outside the agreement to join and for parties to implement their obligations, and should also of course make substantial progress in dealing with the problems in question. Coercion isn't necessarily needed. An agreement may provide incentives for compliance rather than coercion on non-compliers. It might work by providing for robust verification measures. That is one of the interesting features in some areas covered by the CSCE/ OSCE, and for example by the CFE (Conventional Forces in Europe) Treaty.

Natalia VASSILIEVA:

George EDGAR:

Some agreements already exist with such things as Agenda 21 and the various other agreements coming from the Rio and Johannesburg summits.

Action at the international level by the EU through the Commission, and by Member States such as the UK, tends to be focused on specific questions such as climate change, or specific types of cross-border pollution, or forestry and timber trade issues. But international environmental issues are both a sub-sector of international relations and a sub-sector of environmental issues, many of which are addressed primarily at the national or local level. That means that in practice, in the UK for example, these questions tend to be handled jointly by the Foreign Office and DEFRA (Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs) in order to bring to bear expertise in both the environmental and international affairs. And it means that, unlike for example arms control issues, these are areas where policy making at the Government level has to take into account a sometimes complex mix of domestic and international considerations.

Another important question is the need to "mainstream" environmental issues into broader economic and political decision-making. Within the EU, as in the UK, this already happens in the sense that for example individual decisions on project finance or on investment are subject to consideration of environmental impact, but much more could be done to ensure that environmental issues are an integral part of decision making at all levels. It is important for these

issues to be seen not as external factors that have to be taken into account in policy-making or decision-making, but as an organic part of, for example, industrial policy or city planning.

Analytical tasks:

Read the articles by Claude ALBAGLI and Leon OLSZEWSKI.

Define the ontological, epistemological, ideological and methodological approaches of the authors on the economic issues under globalisation.

Express your personal opinion and support your point of view theoretically.

Define your own ontological, epistemological, ideological and methodological approaches.

Write a critical review comparing two articles and authors' positions on globalization.

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

Claude ALBAGLI²⁸

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)²⁹. But soon, nevertheless, one could discern the beginning of "the shock of civilizations" (Huntington)³⁰.

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

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

²⁸ **ALBAGLI Claude (France)**

The President of the International Research Network of the French Institute CEDIMES (Centre d'Etudes du Développement International et des Mouvements Economiques et Sociaux) awarded with the order of Academic Palms (Chevalier dans l'Ordre des Palmes Académiques) and with Doctor Honoris Causa, Claude ALBAGLI worked for 20 years for the University Panthéon-Assas (Paris II). Since 2004 he has been working for the University Paris XII. He is a former Dean of the University Institute of Management of Enterprises in Central Africa (Institut Universitaire de Gestion des Entreprises en Centrafrique) and he is a co-founder of the first MBA francophone in China. Claude ALBAGLI is the Director of the edition of _____ in cooperation with the daily economic newspaper _____ of l'Harmattan. He specializes in the problems of international economics and the analysis of development and transition. Claude ALBAGLI was a co-director of the International conference in St. Petersburg _____ with Nina SLANEVSKAYA, the Director of CEDIMES-St.Petersburg in September 2005.

²⁹ FUKUYAMA Francis, _____, Flammarion, 1990.

³⁰ HUNTINGTON Samuel, _____, Odile Jacob, 1997.

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 (Mac Luhan) This new situation promoted permanent contacts between partners, clients and suppliers in real time.

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.

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 belonged to Raul Prebisch³¹. Some authors didn't hesitate to glorify the total disconnection from poor countries (Samir Amin³²). 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.

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 enterprise³³. 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 transporting the products were not high, and both the person giving the order and the information could circulate in real time.

³¹ PREBISCH Raúl, , Mexico, Fondo de Cultura Economica, 1965.

³² AMIN Samir, , Anthropolos, 1988.

³³ ALBAGLI Claude, "Les nouvelles divisions sociales et la mondialisation" in , RUBY Marcel (sous la direction), Préface du Ministre Délégué de la Coopération et de la Francophonie, Pierre-André WILTZER, L'Harmattan, MES, 2003.

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)³⁴ or the management of human resources (la prise en compte de la personnalité avec Elton Mayo)³⁵, 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 organisation³⁶. 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)"³⁷.

But the process goes further. Bill Clinton's former Minister of Labour Robert Reich used the name "manipulators of symbols"³⁸. 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.

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 commerce³⁹. 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. It becomes difficult to assess the real significance of international commerce⁴⁰. 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

³⁴ GALBRAITH J. K. (1979) _____, Gallimard.

³⁵ MAYO Elton (1933) _____, New York, Mac Milan

³⁶ JOHNSON Gerry, SCHOLLES Hevan, FRERY Frédéric (2002) _____, Pearson Education: 511.

³⁷ Veltz P. (2000) " _____" Gallimard.

³⁸ REICH Robert (1993) _____, Dunod: 163.

³⁹ Il est nécessaire de rappeler ici que près du tiers du commerce international se fait par le biais des transnationales.

⁴⁰ REICH Robert (1993) " _____" Dunod: 105.

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 state⁴¹. In these three domains certain processes had developed which brought about great changes.

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 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 employed⁴². 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 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 dollars⁴³.

B)

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".

⁴¹ CASTELLS Manuel (1998) , Fayard: 9.

⁴² MOREAU DEFARGES Philippe (1997) "La mondialisation", PUF, Que sais-je ? : 68.

⁴³ Le Monde, Octobre 2005.

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 changing⁴⁴, whereas E. Cohen gives a definition of the State with a new profile⁴⁵. 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)

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 away. 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 vulgar⁴⁷.

2)

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

⁴⁴ PORTER Michael E. (1993) _____, ERPI : 667.

⁴⁵ COHEN E. (2001) _____, Fayard.

⁴⁶ ZARIFIAN Philippe, "L'échelle du monde, Globalisation, Altermondialisme, Mondialité", _____, Coll. Comptoir de la Politique, 2004 : 69.

⁴⁷ RAMONET Ignacio (1997) _____, Galilée: 14.

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 West⁴⁸.

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 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.

The Transition and Globalisation of Central and Eastern Europe

Leon OLSZEWSKI⁴⁹

In 1990, the Central European and Eastern Countries (CEEC) began a historical experiment of changing their political and economic systems, which is difficult to interpret.

⁴⁸ LAULAN Yves-Marie (2003)

, François-Xavier de Guibert: 245.

⁴⁹ **OLSZEWSKI Leon (Poland)**

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There isn't one main theory that explains the transition of a system with central planning to a market system. Economics of transition was formed by application and extension of the standard economic theory to a new field (Chavance 2003). At the initial stage, the doctrines of the transition were formed under the great influence of the economists of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and by the World Bank, strongly inspired by the current neoliberal and anti-interventionist ideas. Principles of Washington Consensus (Williamson, 2000) were adopted in all Central and Eastern European Countries (CEEC) like a global solution for implementing the policy of transition, although the national experiments of Structural Adjustment Programmes showed the large weakness of dominant liberal doctrines (Massiera,

and transformation (IMF conditionality) (Mayer, 2004). The Adjustment Programmes created the economic and political conditions for stable surges of the foreign capital – direct and portfolio investments. Thanks to these, the volume of the direct investments in all the CEECs systematically increased during the following years. The major part of the investments in Central and Western Europe was localized in the countries of the Central European Free Trade Agreement (CEFTA). The FDI influenced significantly the change to the structures of foreign trade in these countries. The share of the products of the medium and high technologies increased and specialization in the international trade also changed. The commercial share of the intra-trade increased in two countries: in Czechoslovakia and Hungary and also in Poland but in a more limited degree (Dupuch, 2004; Freudenberg Mr., Lemoine F.1999; Kaminski, Ng, 2005). The effects of the FDI were not only horizontal, but also vertical (Lankes, Venables 1996, Brenton 1999). Thanks to that, the national companies of Central Europe were included in the production and distribution network of the largest companies in Europe. The Volkswagen network in the Czech Republic is a positive example of this kind of FDI. During the first transitional period, subcontracting became the most frequent form of horizontal connection used in Hungary and Poland. It allowed companies to modernize and to introduce technologically more advanced products to production. Subcontracting became a relatively stable and elastic form of production connected with foreign companies. It became possible for the national companies to enter European networks, according to their financial and productive potential. This form allowed also a limited absorption of knowledge and new technologies. For the national companies it could be a kind of bridge that facilitated passing on a higher level of collaboration as a unit included in the international network of a transnational company. This kind of connection is noticed in the practice of Hungarian companies. (Szanyi, 2002). The presence of the FDI causes growth of work productivity in the national companies. The foreign investors in Hungary contributed to the growth of demand of the intermediate goods on the local market. Similar dependences occurred in the Czech Republic (Djankov, Hoekman 2000). Local companies were encouraged to invest and increase the production with a higher standard of quality. It is not unusual that foreign companies help local suppliers to improve the technical level of their products. Externalities of different sectors depend on the degree of their openness. The investments concentrate in the largely open sectors and it is there that the effects of externalities are much more visible. The productivity of the companies increases and it constitutes a driving force for growth and development of exports (Schors, Van der Tol, 2002). On the other hand, in the closed sectors the negative effects of FDI externalities occur. The localization of foreign investments causes inequalities among regions.

Social questions in Central and Eastern Europe

The beginning of the transition was very deplorable in terms of the aggravation of social difficulties. The policy of stabilization (reduction of subsidy, lowers wages, rate of interest very high) led to the reduction in the productive capacity of the economy and to massive unemployment (Balcerowicz, 1995).

The entry of postsocialist countries into the system of the world economy has various consequences: firstly, a new mechanism of social stratification has emerged and it determines the position and prospects for social groups in economic and social development.

Secondly, the birth of a new system involved a strong diversification of incomes and changes in the social structure. It could be seen in the appearance of a new group of owners of the SME that is the group mainly resulting from the environment of the "old nomenclature". The material status of this group is quite similar to that in the developed countries. Most of all, two social groups were touched by the process of transformation: the workers and the farmers.

The fall of the socialist economy caused the disappearance of the distribution system of income according to the criteria related to the policy towards the branches of economy. A deep recession brought large industrial companies to the edge of bankruptcy. The wages of workers of the

public sector dropped. Great unemployment has appeared and it especially touched the group of narrow specializations. The privatization process intensified this new tendency. The social policy of the CEEC is very passive. The state administration turns its attention to the limitation of conflicts with the groups, which have quite a strong position in negotiation (eg. miners in Poland).

CEEC and enlargement of the European Union

The analysis of the decade of the CEEC transition justifies the thesis:

- there are two types of visible effects in the development of the CEEC: the drive of growth (effets d'entraînement) and the domination (Perroux's concept, 1964).
- the effects of the process of European integration on the national productive structures of the CEEC are important. The empirical results of work show a rise of disparities between the center, where there is a concentration of intensive activities in intermediate goods and a periphery, specialized in production of labour-intensive products (Dupuch, Jennequin 2001).

The economic transformation of the system and privatization, caused a deep reorganisation of research and development sector (R&D). The existing R&D centers of the old public sector were closed or integrated within the structures of the privatized companies. These companies quickly transferred the CEEC R&D to their headquarters, or to other foreign subsidiary companies. As a result of such policy of privatization the old national R&D sector became much weaker and shrank.

In the European Union there is a Franco-German pairing defining the direction of European integration. The idea that the European Union is directed mainly by the Franco-German 'couple' is an unacceptable design for new members.

If such a European core were to be constituted within the EU, the CEEC would be obviously the first to feel losers, or excluded. The CEEC would be found on the periphery of the system, that is an uncomfortable position, between Russia and the "hard core" of the EU (Rupnik, <http://www.diploweb.com/forum/rupnik.htm>).

Conclusion

For the last 15 years of transition in the CEEC the mechanisms of the whole system, institutions and international connections have deeply changed. The CEEC had to carry out major changes in their economic structure within a short period of time. At the same time the pressure of the globalisation processes required a new approach to their economic policy. The social problems, which are difficult to solve, constitute an enormous threat for the processes of growth and economic development of the CEEC. Benefiting from the market of the East, the Western Europe countries have taken the position of the dominating partner who imposes his conditions. The process of negotiation and the practice of certain institutions, associations and companies of the West of Europe provide many concrete examples which illustrate the design of the "power of negotiation" and "emprise of structure" (Perroux, 1969).

Analytical tasks:

Compare ontological, epistemological, ideological and methodological positions of Vladimir BRANSKY, Vinko KANDŽIJA and Mario PEČARIĆ, and Anissa LARDJANE on the problem of structure and agency.

Write a critical review comparing the positions of the authors on agency, structures and systems

Globalisation and Synergistic Philosophy of History

Vladimir BRANSKY⁵⁰

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 _____ and the tendency of overcoming the contradiction between _____, 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:

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).

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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)⁵¹. 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 programmeming (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)⁵².

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.

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

⁵¹ Интервью московскому журналу (2000, № 48, декабрь). С. 73.

⁵² См., например, Глобализация и синергетический историзм. СПб, 2004. С. 330-332.

solve not only Prigogin'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 heterogeneous (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

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.

GlobalisACTION as a New Systemic Paradigm

Anissa LARDJANE⁵³

Globalisation is currently a highly controversial phenomenon and threatens both world social and economic disruption. The notion, in the dominant narrative, however, is frequently used as a "catch all" metaphor. The term " " is intended to represent the autonomous interaction of social and economic forces. This self-organizing organisation subsumes in a dynamic way self-referenced observations of the system, manifesting reflection, flexibility and adaptation. It is not expected to be an end "per se" but a means to grasp the complexity of the system.

For a clarification of this systemic concept one needs to move rationally from a narrow literal perception to one that includes many facets beyond simply trade, competition and capital. This new perception will serve as a paradigm shift directed to a future broad interdisciplinary discourse on the sociological, cultural, and economic aspects of the context.

From this perspective, one must understand the process at a global level with new parameters, without a restriction simply to market, hierarchy and structure, a process, which manifests itself as a process dissolving national frontiers, mixing cultures and unifying economies.

Can one identify postmodern culture? The response is positive if the emerging configuration meets four challenges. They are four aspects: epistemological, methodological, theoretical and practical.

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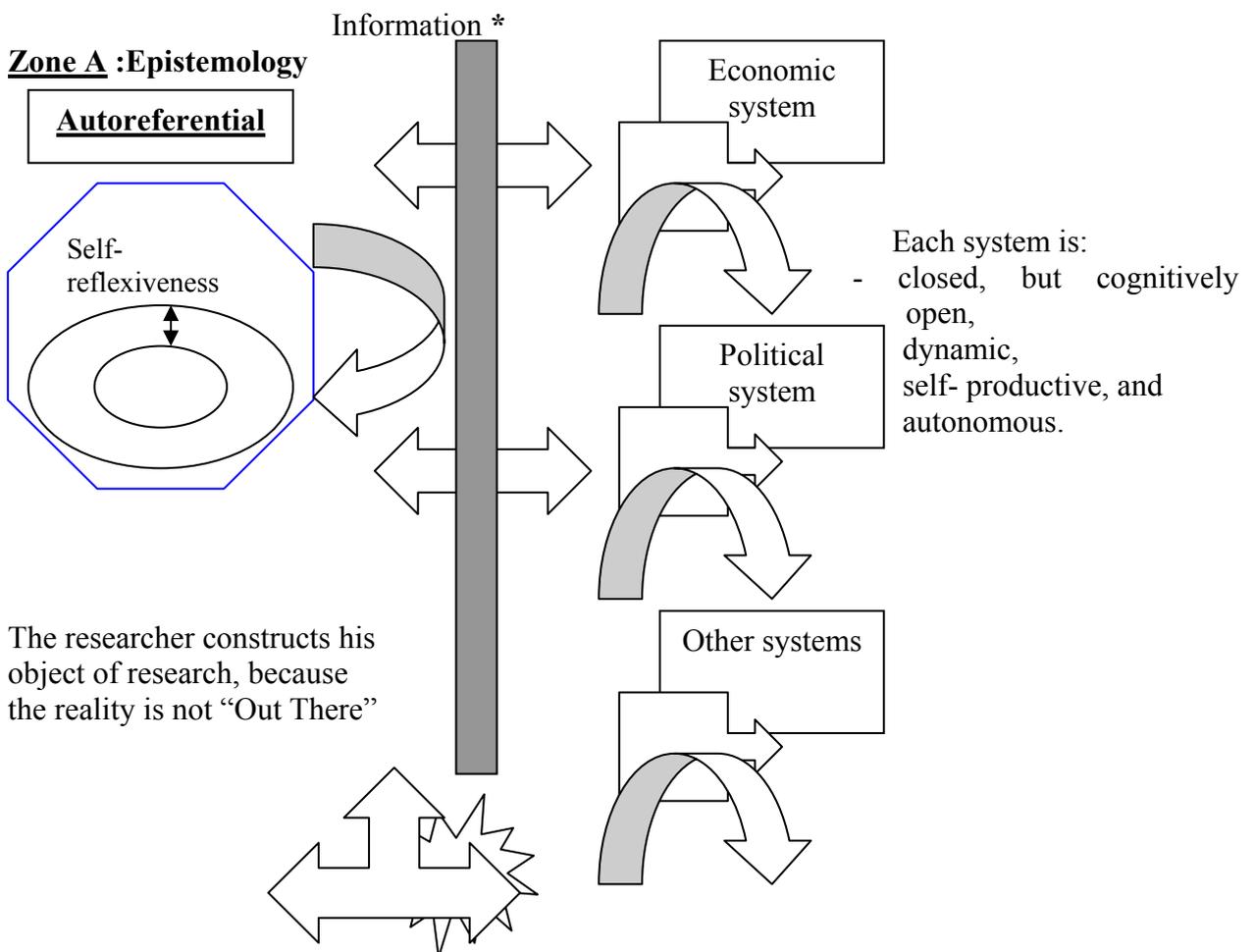
1. Systemic configuration?

The epistemological aspect concerns the way in which one depicts reality.

It is claimed that reality exists as an artefact and that a cognitive construction in effect describes a possible world as a social construct, which can be achieved only from having openness towards new ways of constructing the scientific object. One must move from a “unified science” and an ideological representation of a simple economic world to a pro-active multi-component conception. The goal is to make it possible as a testable epistemic construct for reflection in a milieu separated from ideological claims. A meta-model is depicted in **figure 1** which exemplifies the social diagnosis of as an integrated whole.

Information as an internal change of state, (not as a self-produced aspect of communication, not as transfer of information.) It is a network of events that reproduces itself. It is a prerequisite for being effective. The reconstruction in a simple formula refers to the genesis of globalisation. The society is one whole with the central logic, which is the centre of global management: it is

Process of GlobalisAction -Figure 1-



Zone C: Perturbations of the environment

Zone B : The process re-constructed to avoid the “solipsist trap”.

Zone A: Epistemology is an organized body of knowledge that is constantly reviewed by the researcher and concerns the impossibility to access to a supposed reality “as it is”.

Radical constructivism means the description by the observer of the description acknowledging that there is no reality but only a human-made representation that constitutes cognitive explanation. There is no direct contact with the environment and every explanation of this

environment should be considered as one of possible scientific explanations of some level of reality.

Zone B: The autopoietic organisation has neither an entrance nor an exit but only perturbations or transformations, which are the elements of the environment. Every response to such perturbations is always a unique response, autonomous and with its own characteristics. This response realises the operational closure of the system. There are different levels of self-reference in each sphere (economic, judicial and so on) which has a systemic identity and each regenerates specifically the self-reference of its own identity with the help of re-entry (it signifies the difference between the system and its environment).

Zone C: The hallmark is self-consciousness, which makes one perceive the realist representation as non-sacramental and non natural; it is concerned with the limit of what we know: our subjective vision. "The map is not the territory". So absolute sameness in the world does not exist. We are unaware of ideology, which holds us prisoners and it must be subjected to critical scrutiny.

2. Antidote to conformism?

The methodological perspective, an effort to avoid logical contradiction, rests on indeterminism as a basic postulate of this transforming process.

It depends also on the establishment of an interpretation, which will move the scale of observation of the facts beyond that of the dominant discussion in order to concentrate on the emergence of an understanding of the circular interactions or feedbacks inherent in the complex structure. The crucial point is how to mediate the conflicts and to deal with complexity and uncertainty in order to consolidate the new approach supplanting traditional knowledge.

3. Syndrome of Cain?

The theoretical perspective has to do with the exit from the hegemonic model of the nation-state in which nations are viewed as losing that which the international community gains. Globalisation is not a zero-sum game. It rests on three principles: certitude, quantification and prediction. This offers guidance in a flexible learning process as a new spatial-temporal reference, which could lead to a standardized ideological representation of the economic and political world.

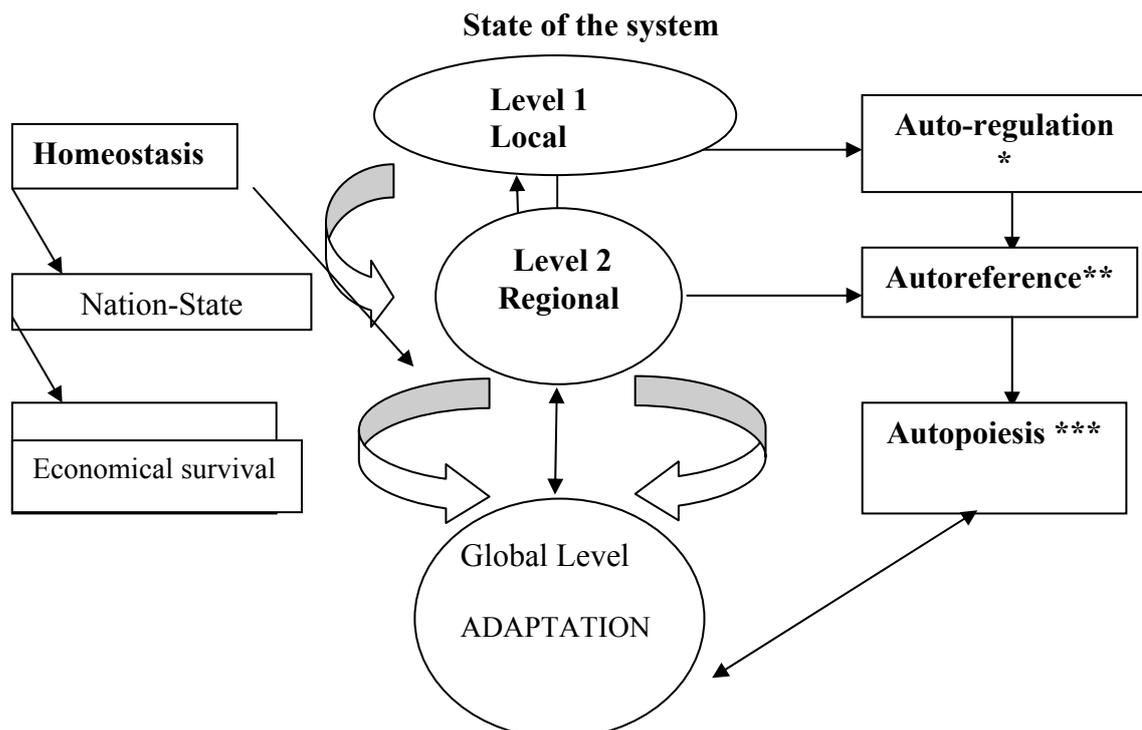


Figure 2 attempts to spell out the requirement of this interactive process.

* **Homeostasis:** it is the property of an open system to regulate its internal environment so as to maintain a stable condition. It opposes changes and maintains equilibrium.

** **Autoreference:** it is used in the sense of “what it is” and could be described by a binary logic with two values: only true or false.

*** **Autopoiesis:** this term is the combination of Greek (self) and (creation, generation) and it refers to the processes by which organisms react on their environments in order to provide the conditions for their own continued functioning. The constituent elements are communications.

It is a network of productions of components that recursively generate the network that produces its own organisation. (Maturana, 1980; Varela, 1979)

4. Governance without governors?

The fourth perspective is practical and has to do with implementation in societal ethos. Can one regulate society under these circumstances to promote social, political and ethical goals with implementation them in societal ethos? Can this view of globalisation be a useful tool for sorting through opposing viewpoints to create viable alternatives for a new 'reality'? Through informed debate of the operational forces of globalisation one can assist the self-organizing process by recognition of the cultural aspects of the institutions involved. The inclusion of social actors as an integral part of the process facilitates the identification and explanation of changes coming from globalisation.

Response is by ‘conscientisation’ of problems and participation. ‘Conscientisation’ relates to the development of critical consciousness as a form of emancipatory learning. In order to go beyond simply asking what are the consequences of globalisation, we prefer to have an analytical tool for analysing the aptitude of governance and for standardizing our ideological concepts of the economic world: it is the **GlobalisAction**.

Conclusion

By such analyses one strives to encourage discourse of a world society in terms, perhaps embellished, but as a responsible political expression, which could produce a relevant theory surpassing expectations and offering a meaningful globalisation agenda.

Alternative Developmental Paths, Institutions and Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)

Vinko KANDŽIJA and
Mario PEČARIĆ⁵⁴

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 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.⁵⁵

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PEČARIĆ Mario (Croatia)

Mario PEČARIĆ is a professor at the faculty of Economics at the University of Rijeka, Croatia. He is the author of a number of scientific works in the area of economics. He focuses on studying the countries in transition and the role of institutional system.

⁵⁵ 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.).

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).

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.⁵⁶

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).⁵⁷

⁵⁶ 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 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).

⁵⁷ 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

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 righteously 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 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

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 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.

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.

Analytical tasks:

Read and write an annotation (15 lines) on the article by Ronald W. PRUESSEN.

What is the author's ontological position?

What is his epistemological approach (positivist, interpretist or realist)?

The Architecture Of Globalized Society: Forms And Functions

Ronald W. PRUESSEN⁵⁸

Introduction

Since the early 1990s, analysts of international relations in many disciplines have invested much effort into the delineation of appropriate labels for the global order (or disorder) taking shape in the aftermath of the Cold War. For some, it has seemed most appropriate to speak of the way “bipolarity” has given way to “multipolarity.” For others, “regionalism,” “multilateralism,” “hegemony,” “globalisation,” or “global society” have been terms more relevant in capturing the character of new processes and dynamics (Anderson, 2002; Gilpin, 2002; Keohane, 2002; Mearsheimer, 2001; Ruggie, 1998).

Whatever label preferred by a particular analyst, the assumption is that a significant transformation is taking place. Influenced perhaps by the drama inherent in the conclusion of the titanic Soviet-American conflict, some even suggest that an entirely new “world system” is emerging (Fukuyama, 1992; Ruggie, 1998). Are we in some danger of overstating the case, however? Might it not be worthwhile to consider the interplay of consistency and change as we try to understand the global order of the early 21st century?

Terms like “multipolarity” or “global society” can communicate both structural and functional characteristics – and the language and logic of architecture can provide useful tools for considering both facets of the international arena that has been evolving over the past decade and a half. When architects pay attention to “form” and “purpose,” in particular, they offer a model that might give international relations analysts a greater appreciation for complexity and ambiguity.

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I

It is frequently assumed that the end of the Cold War signaled or even generated a shift from a global arena dominated by two superpowers (the U.S. and the Soviet Union) to one in which a larger number of actors have had a significant impact on setting agendas and determining outcomes (e.g., the European Union, Japan, China; multilateral structures and international organisations.) The 1990s certainly saw increasingly important roles for many players outside Washington and Moscow. Recent events, for example, make it logical to remember how the first “Desert Storm” war with Iraq unfolded with a larger number of serious partners than the second. It might also be recalled that the process of German reunification involved a cast of significant actors whose very size suggested how then familiar bipolar templates were being dismantled. Such early hints of post-Cold War patterns quickly evolved in what some called “global governance” directions, with an increase of multilateral efforts to deal with a dramatic range of major issues: e.g., the expansion of the G-7’s economic agenda and visibility; the engagement of the UN and countless numbers of non-government organisations (NGOs) in environmental and “development” issues (Ash, 1992; Downs, 1994; Doyle, 1998; Kirton, 2001; Kupchan, 1995; Lepgold and Weiss, 1998; Mandelbaum, 1996; Schroeder, 2004).

Even the drama and tragedy of “9/11” did not immediately interfere with a trajectory that seemed to be moving the world from bipolarity toward “global” forms and functions. The initial aftermath of September 11, 2001 might even be seen as revealing the potential of a multipolar environment for efforts to “manage” what were perceived to be major global problems: It can be argued that the United States saw the need to rely on (and mobilize) the support of a substantial range of partners to deal with an open-ended, potentially pervasive crisis. That expansive range of partners, in turn, might be said to have recognized the need for such cooperation. The fact that the roster of associates included traditional allies like those in Western Europe as well as more unusual participants like Russia, China, and Iran only increased the distinctive symbolic character of early post-9/11 arrangements. From this perspective, the initial anti-terrorism campaign/coalition could be described as a quite highly developed outgrowth of an overall late 20th century impulse to develop multilateral mechanisms (e.g., the United Nations [UN], the G7-G8, the World Trade Organisation [WTO], the International Monetary Fund [IMF], etc. – not to mention antecedents like Bretton Woods, North Atlantic Treaty Organisation [NATO], Southeast Asia Treaty Organisation [SEATO], General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs [GATT], etc.).

The story grows a great deal more complicated, of course, when the second war against Iraq is considered. Although Washington was able to muster a “coalition of the willing” to join in an anti-Saddam crusade, one of the most striking features of the origins of the current conflict was the intensity and openness of disagreement within the international community. But in the end, the second President Bush was simply not as concerned as Bill Clinton (and others) had been to encourage multilateral collaboration – a message made even more obvious by preceding and subsequent U.S. decisions concerning matters like Kyoto and the International Criminal Court in the Hague.

II

Continuing U.S. intransigence in Iraq suggests that there will be no smooth and direct road to a “global society” or “global governance” in the post-Cold War era. Continuing U.S. difficulties in Saddam Hussein’s former kingdom, of course – when coupled with economic uncertainties, devastating hurricanes, and declining political support for the president at home – may force modifications of the Bush administration’s policies. But it would be difficult to sketch a timetable here.

Even if Bush becomes something other than the Bush who has held the White House since 2001, however, it would still be appropriate to searchingly dissect the nature of the structural changes

unfolding in the international arena in the aftermath of the Cold War. Well before 2003, that is, various issues deserved attention: Did the processes and dynamics of multipolarity, for example – those that suggested the emergence of a globalized society before 9/11 – really represent deep systemic change or did they represent shallower adjustments? Were fundamental structural and architectural alterations taking place – or something more like renovations and “retrofitting”?

Architectural changes or innovations have an inherent ambiguity to them, after all. Thoroughly new structures or forms do not necessarily translate into new processes or functions – while alterations of older structures can actually be turned toward dramatically different tasks and goals. Consider two contrasting examples: On one hand, the reconfiguration of the old Berlin Reichstag kept many of the essential features of the building while altering both its overall profile and, more importantly, its functions. On the other hand, Frank Gehry’s stunning Whitney Museum in Bilbao, Spain marries visionary design with a very traditional purpose.

To determine whether overall post-Cold War movement toward “globalized society” has had more of a Berlin or a Bilbao character will require careful examination of many events, decisions, and initiatives. A list here, of necessity, would be very long: e.g., “Desert Storm,” German reunification, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the rise of a new Russia, the establishment of the North American Free Trade Agreement, continuing WTO negotiations, the evolution of World Bank policies, the evolution of G7-G8, the Asian economic crisis, the rise of China as a global economic power, conflict in Bosnia and elsewhere in the former Yugoslavia, the search for sustainable “development” policies, increasing awareness of global health problems (AIDS in Africa, the potential for an avian flu pandemic), the second Iraq war, the expansion of NATO, nuclear weapons issues involving Iran and North Korea, etc. Comparative analysis of these matters (and more) will allow the discernment of patterns – helping to reveal, in turn, the relative depth or shallowness of the changes taking place.

Sensitivity to fundamental or core characteristics might be increased if a number of broad, linking questions were asked as individual and comparative studies of post-Cold War developments are undertaken:

- What is the importance of consistency with respect to certain features of the international system? What does it mean, in other words, that the “nation-state” is still very much with us in 2005; that “Great Power” politics still have relevance; that “capitalism” is far and away the dominant form of economic organisation? The significance of such continuities to emerging forms of multipolarity and “globalized society” certainly deserves consideration.
- What patterns of consistency and change emerge if the focus is placed on goals as opposed to methods – intentions as opposed to structures or processes? Are nation-states utilizing new techniques, for example, to achieve traditional objectives – and, if so, have the new techniques begun to take on anything like a powerful transformative role with respect to the nature (and condition) of the international system?

Let me offer one example of the way such questions might be applied to post-Cold War developments (though only one example, given the limitations of this abbreviated presentation): An examination of the role of the United States during the past 15 years offers insights into the ways in which a distinctly capitalist and very powerful nation-state has navigated (and/or churned) the shifting waters of the international arena. It would not be unreasonable to suggest that this powerful and capitalist state has used new tools to achieve some ultimately quite traditional objectives, e.g., the furtherance of its economic opportunities as well as the strengthening of its overall influence in political, military, and cultural realms. On the one hand, to be sure, U.S. engagement with such multilateral processes and structures as the United Nations, the World Bank, “development” programmes, and “open door” trading regimes suggests the significance of multilateralism and “global society” forces. On the other hand, however, common references to U.S. “hyperpower” simultaneously leads to speculation about

the potentially greater relevance of labels like “hegemony” or “unipolarity” (Anderson, 2002; Bovard, 2004; Gilpin, 2002; Gray, 1999; Landau, 2003; Nye, 2002; Walter, 1992).

Conclusion

In conclusion, it might be noted that the example of American experiences is a particularly useful one because it ultimately underlines the way in which emphasis needs to be placed on questions rather than answers as far as debates about the nature of the post-Cold War international order are concerned. Yes, Washington’s behaviour on matters like Iraq, Kyoto, and missile defense systems suggests the real limits of “global society” in the early 21st century – and the ways in which certain actors may be “playing” new processes or systems to foster traditional “Great Power” ends. But other aspects of recent experiences might be read differently. The inability of the United States to master the situation in Iraq as rapidly as anticipated suggests significant ongoing limits to this hegemon’s control capabilities – as does the ability of various European states to keep their distance from the “coalition of the willing.” China’s burgeoning economic power, at the same time, makes it clear that the “open door” trading and currency system so long nurtured by the United States – the very system of such central importance to “globalisation” – is almost surely beyond perpetual control by even the founding architect: in the long run, new methods designed to achieve traditional goals may well take on a life of their own. Resolving the ambivalence between two readings will require both intensive analysis of the recent past and careful attention to developments yet to unfold (Anderson, 2002; Bovard, 2004; Daalder, 2003; Gilpin, 2002; Moens, 2004; Nye, 2002; O’Brien, 2000; Ruggie, 1998; Woodward, 2004).

Analytical tasks:

Read the article by Nina SLANEVSKAYA

How do you understand ‘democracy’ and ‘social justice’?

Is Normative (moral) approach valuable for the International Relations theory?

Write one review on two articles by Ronald PRUESSEN and by Nina SLANEVSKAYA comparing their positions according to the plan.

Is Global Governance Going to Be Dictatorial or Democratic?

Nina SLANEVSKAYA⁵⁹

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

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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 *print-capitalism* 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 same role for globalisation as the “printing machine” for a nation. It creates *imagined communities* 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 *dogma*, 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.

Realists 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* 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 *Waltzer*, 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. *Waltzer* 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 (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 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.

to global resistance differ.

To some, for example Rosenau, Resistance should be overcome for the sake of order. For others, the

and global governance is a regression for capitalist society (Wilkin, 2003).

Resistance to global governance can be regarded as

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

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.

(Goodwin, 1992: 220).

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

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’.

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

(‘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 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 “s

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.

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?

Analytical tasks:

Read two articles by Élisabeth DU RÉAU and by Maria NEGREPONTI-DELIVANIS.

Compare the authors’ ontological, epistemological, ideological and methodological approaches.

Write one review on these two articles.

Express your opinion on the problem of terrorism (use theories to support your point of view).

The European Union and New Security Issues in Europe and Worldwide

Élisabeth DU RÉAU⁶⁰

On December 12, 2003, the European Council held in Brussels approved the text that had been much expected. Titled “A Secure Europe in a Better World”, the European Security Strategy successively dealt with the security environment, the strategic objectives of the European Union (EU) and the political implications for a Europe of over 450 million people.

This document, which has followed the European Union declarations of September 11, is relevant because it stresses, even more than in October 2001, the strength of the links between the external and internal aspects of security. It points out that security is a necessary precondition of development by emphasizing the vulnerability of the European community, which depends on its eastern neighbours for its energy supply. This text describes the various forms of threat such as terrorism: “terrorism puts lives at risk; it imposes large costs, it seeks to undermine the openness and tolerance of our societies and it poses a growing strategic threat to the whole Europe.”⁶¹

This text also deals with the proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction, which is potentially the biggest threat to European security and even to global security. Moreover this threat could be associated with terrorism. This is the reason why the European Council adopted some strategic goals at the end of 2003, a year that was impacted by the Iraqi crisis.

New challenges: the rise of international terrorism (2001-2002)

After George W. Bush was elected and when the new Republican Administration came to power, strong divergences emerged on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. The new Administration intended to confine the Europeans to the mission of Nation building. Task sharing in the administration of Kosovo and the rebuilding in the Balkans made the Europeans be in charge of the tasks similar to Petersberg’s missions (established in June 1992 by the Western European Union). Nonetheless, Donald Rumsfeld considered that the strengthening of European military capacities could only be realised within NATO.

Though tensions rose in 2001, the September 11 terrorist attacks strengthened solidarity. This event represented a turning point as it showed that the “United States sanctuary” was in fact vulnerable.

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⁶¹ “A secure Europe in a better world”, , Brussels, 12 December 2003, <http://ue.eu.int/uedocs/cmsUpload/78367.pdf>

The first European reactions demonstrated total solidarity between the Alliance partners. On September 12, 2001, for the first time, NATO declared the Collective-Defence Clause (Washington Treaty, Article 5). A few weeks later, a number of European Union States, including France, decided to intervene in Afghanistan under their own flag.

In February 2002, during the Conference of the North Atlantic Council, the US Secretary of State surprised his partners by announcing that the US would only select the Allies that they needed.

This position was linked to the dysfunctions that existed in the allied system during the Kosovo crisis. The American army did not welcome the autonomous claims and the criticisms from their European partners, especially France.

This created discomfort within NATO, recently enlarged to 3 new partners (Hungary, Poland, Czech Republic).

While the European Defence is growing stronger with the setting up of new structures and the confirmation of the commitments taken during the Nice Conference in December 2000, tensions between the two parties of the Alliance keep rising⁶².

Urgency measures against terrorism taken by the EU mirrored a new awareness that solidarity is necessary in the field of internal security. On October 19, 2001, the declaration of the Union lined up with the reinforcement of the pillar of Justice and Home Affairs. The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, put security in the forefront. On October 12, 2001, Javier Solana, High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy, said that the European Union should prepare itself to assume more responsibilities in the struggle against terrorism. The judicial and police cooperation programme plans to accelerate the struggle against criminality and aims to implement the European Arrest Warrant. This programme also reinforces the struggle against bio-terrorism and security in air transport⁶³.

One year later in Prague, on November 21, 2002, NATO examined the prospect of a new enlargement to the East. In an important document titled "Priority Engagement of Prague", the Atlantic organisation recorded formally the continuation of the "actions aiming at enhancing military capabilities in a high degree of threat". In this context, this document emphasized the progress realized by the cooperation between NATO and the EU: "while respecting the autonomy of both organisations, and in a spirit of openness"⁶⁴.

From crisis to war in Iraq: new Euro-Atlantic tensions and new terrorist threats

As early as Autumn 2002, in the UN Security Council, important divergences arose putting the French Foreign Secretary Dominique de Villepin in opposition to the US Secretary of Defence Donald Rumsfeld.

French diplomacy intended to extend the mission of the UN inspectors in Baghdad whereas Washington planned to accelerate the confrontation with Iraq. Today, we know the outcome. On March 20, 2003, the "Iraqi Freedom" operation started⁶⁵.

During winter 2003, European partners disagreed on this topic. So, as early as January 30, 2003, 8 countries (including Poland, Hungary and Czech republic) supported President Bush's foreign policy following British, Portuguese and Spanish initiatives.

⁶² Guillaume PARMENTIER, "La Présidence Bush" in _____, No 3, 2004.

⁶³ <http://europa.eu.int>

⁶⁴ Prague Summit: <http://www.nato.int/docu/pr2002/p.02.127f.htm>

⁶⁵ More on the French Position on André Dumoulin in _____, 2005, A. Colin: 71-73.

Later, an initiative was taken by Lithuania, which at that time was applying for NATO and EU Membership. This letter from the Vilnius Group countries was in favour of a military intervention in Iraq⁶⁶. When Donald Rumsfeld emphasized those divergences by saying: "the centre of gravity in Europe is shifting east" and opposed "Old Europe" to "New Europe", the irritation reached its climax in Paris and Berlin.

This Iraqi conflict crystallized divergences between the Allies.

On February 10, 2003, during the 19 NATO Members meeting, Germany, Belgium and France vetoed the measures advocated by the USA to protect Turkey from potential Iraqi attacks. The three states considered it could lead to war. Besides, Turkey was also reluctant to have the presence of new American troops on its territory. Here, we also must not forget the important anti-war demonstrations, which took place in a certain number of Coalition member countries (especially in Italy, in the United Kingdom and in Prague).

New terrorist Threats – Bombings in Spain (March 2004) and their scope

Tensions between Europeans were strong and lasted even after the end of the fighting and the fall of Saddam Hussein (March 2003). The struggle against terrorism remains one of the main concerns for the European governments. Bomb attacks in Madrid killed many people and led to a series of reactions in Spain and on the international scene. Europe was left hurt.

The mismanagement of the crisis by Prime Minister José Maria Aznar encouraged Socialist opposition during the legislative election of the 17th of April. The new government was led by José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, who announced a day later the return of Spanish troops from Iraq. The force balance evolves quickly and the deterioration of the Iraqi situation weakens American positions⁶⁷.

New perspectives for Europe: the new strategic concept of the EU and its scope

Will these important crises, which created unrest in Europe, definitely paralyse the progress of European Defence?

Recent developments allow us to have a more balanced opinion.

The new strategic concept of the EU (mentioned at the beginning of the article) should be examined considering recent developments.

The document adopted as early as December 12, 2003, during the European Council meeting in Brussels, highlights the European awareness of the important scale of the threats and puts into perspective the first reactions to these new challenges. Here, we will consider the first resolutions, which concern the progress of European Defence.

The new security strategy emphasises that Europe should be ready to react with a combination of instruments before a crisis occurs. By April 2004, the European Union undertakes to create nine battle groups. These groups of 1,500 troops, who would operate at the national and multinational levels, would be deployed within 15 days and are being created to enable Europe to react quickly.

Besides, a structural reform is essential. On February 13, 2004, the General Affairs and External Relations Council decided to set up an organisation in charge of financing the common costs of EU operations. This creation was much expected because previous experiences showed that the process could be blocked by financial matters. (Concordia Operation in Macedonia or Police Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina.)

⁶⁶ Vilnius Group countries: Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Romania, Slovenia.

⁶⁷ WEU Assembly report A1877: , Paris, 01.12.2004.

The Constitutional treaty, article III, proposed some improvements in the field of defence. It confirmed the competencies of the Defence Agency and determined the modes of action for structural cooperation. Article I reinforces the significance of solidarity clauses in case of aggression, with arrangements for the states having a specific status.

Consultations, which were conducted in France and in the Netherlands, froze the ratification process. This situation is worrying but does not put into question the previous results. In Autumn 2005, the presence of the European Union in Macedonia, Bosnia & Herzegovina and the progress made since 2003 in the field of interoperability between NATO and EU forces, constituted real improvements, while the Defence Agency continued its mission.

Furthermore, after the recent terrorist attacks in London (July 2005), the judicial and police cooperation continues to improve despite opposition. Finally, within the framework of a partnership for peace, the struggle against terrorism progresses in the neighbourhood of the Union, especially with its main Eastern partner, the Russian Federation.

The Economic Consequences of the War against Terrorism

Maria NEGREPONTI-DELIVANIS⁶⁸

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

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phenomenon, i.e. the attempt to find an explanation rather than to simply condemn it (Negrepointi-Delivanis, 2004, 2004a), has made me (Negrepointi-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 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>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 :

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.

Analytical tasks:

Read the article by Pierre DUPRIEZ.

Define the positions (ontological, epistemological and ideological) of the participants of the discussion.

Express your own opinion on the cultural issues under globalization (use theories to support your opinion).

Define your own ontological and epistemological position on this issue.

*Which methods, theories and methodology would you use for studying this issue?
Write a critical review.*

The Cultural Challenges of a Global Society

Pierre DUPRIEZ⁶⁹

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.

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

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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 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, 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?

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

Nina SLANEVSKAYA:

Pierre DUPRIEZ:

I will answer in two words: culture is _____

Nina SLANEVSKAYA:

70
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Pierre DUPRIEZ:

To answer what is culture, one must first identify the axes on which different thinking currents are situated. Two division lines can be traced.

1. Culture as *difference* / culture as *essence*

1.1. General texts on culture and management are supported by the conviction that culture can only be understood as a differentiating factor, separating one group from another.

This is the case in comparative studies: the culture (of others) is presented by how it is different from the culture of the observer. The comparative approach cannot avoid either ethnocentrism (the logic of the researcher provides a reference for what is studied) or the stereotypes (although they are “scientifically observed”). This is the concept that dominates the majority of approaches

⁷⁰ Hofstede G. (1992)

of intercultural management that are based on the national cultures (Hofstede) even if they recommend openness and interaction (Adler, Trompenaars, Harris and Moran).

The comparative approach always gains a lot of success. The observation of similarities and differences suggests a vision of things that appears often as an undisputable truth. The tools of this approach reassure the user due to their relative simplicity, which makes him believe in the possibility of mastering the complexity. The ‘recipes’ that could be linked to this approach seem objective.

1.2. For others the culture appears as a social construct specific to each group of individuals. This approach is related to anthropology. It is in favour of the approach to culture that interprets and provides meaning to the relations that man maintains with other men and his environment.

Humans are the only ones to have culture (Levi-Strauss) and the culture could be defined as the way that humans humanize the world.

As Edward Hall⁷¹ reminds us, three major features characterize this anthropologic approach to culture. It is not inborn but acquired; therefore there is no “mental programme”. Its different aspects are organised in a system. And finally it is shared by the same group whose boundaries are defined by the culture itself.

2. Culture as *instrument* / culture as *sense making*

There are two division lines: culture that gives sense and culture as a function

2.1 Linked to the practices, habits, customs and values, culture has gained a key role, both in relation to economic development and company performance. Considered as a variable among others, the culture is totally instrumentalised.

This approach may concern the society (“the good” culture is the creator of prosperity in the society, the “*of Fukuyama*) or the company (*of Peeters and Waterman*). You deal then with *The idea is that the cultural elements that are present in the country or in the company exercise the mechanical effects behind all the references in the organisational context. Thus it would be sufficient to create inside the company the culture that is proper to it, eventually cutting down the national culture roots carrying the values. And to achieve progress and excellent management one is obliged to create a new identity. The effect of these discourses is the maintenance among those, who did not reach the excellence, the illusion that there exists elsewhere an Eden, a country or company that, without any doubt has reached its aim or a new cultural identity.*

2.2 We treat the notion of culture in a radically different way. We have proposed to approach culture as the something that gives sense (Dupriez, Simons, 2002; Weick, 1995)⁷². To understand a culture is to know the interpretation of events and the actions of others and their own by those who share this culture thus knowing how they will react to events (d'Iribarne, 2003)⁷³. On the society level, to decode a culture is to search for the ways to identify the values that support this or another economic or social system. It is necessary to ask ourselves today what are the values carried by globalisation. It is also necessary to ask what are the values of those who reject globalisation or who are the ones that globalisation rejects. The knowledge of their values helps to understand the behaviours of those who carry them.

No matter which cultural features we encounter, no matter where, we cannot oppose the “good” cultures to the “wrong” ones, those which would favour the company spirit to those which would not, those which would facilitate the transition process to those which would hinder it.

⁷¹ HALL Edward T. (1976) *Beyond Culture*, New York, Anchor Press.

⁷² DUPRIEZ Pierre et SIMONS Solange, eds. (2002) *Bruxelles, De Boeck, 2^{ème} édition. WEICK Karl E. (1995)*

London, Sage Publications.

⁷³ d'IRIBARNE Philippe (2003)

Paris, Odile Jacob.

The desire to climb a career ladder is certainly not a quality of the modern man, but a characteristic feature of contemporary life where the “struggle for a life” is a condition of surviving. The competition that has always been a means has become a priority. In the company, the quality of work becomes less and less a guarantee for keeping the job permanently.

Globalisation as a system is built on western modernity. But the modernity itself “is charged with the currents that altered profoundly its contents” (point 10). Exacerbated individualism is one of these currents and it is affirmed with the violence everywhere: in society in general, in the company’s life and in private life. It has not much in common with the individualism of the Enlightenment philosophers who saw it as a condition for democracy and it falsifies profoundly the contemporary expression of the modernity. Individualism characterizes the value system of Western societies and this value is not shared by other civilizations and it cannot aspire to be universal.

It is true that material richness attempts to undermine solidarity and to exacerbate individualism.

The paradox of the contemporary world is that it is global and tribal at the same time.

There are those who do not support globalisation and those who are excluded from it. These people need support from the groups that provide the existential references. But this withdrawal from the identity can be dangerous if the desired identity is exclusive; it can become the “deadly identity” (point 16).

Nina SLANEVSKAYA:

Pierre DUPRIEZ:

Of course the world is involved in the unprecedented development of communications. This allows us to know more about the world and other things that divided the universe or on which we had a tendency to rely. All open minds enjoy it. We want this kind of vigour (‘vitamins’) that pushes us to reinvent culture to the dimension of today’s world. But we have to keep our eyes open and be aware of the values carried by globalisation (point 13). And they are far from being universal.

There is some similarity between the Crusades, the colonial era of Western civilization and the present western globalisation. The values carried by western globalisation and imposed on the whole world are claimed to be meant to enrich local cultures. Can it be a dangerous short-sightedness, a kind of _____ placed in everybody’s head?

To claim that the preservation of cultural identity would be a return to the prehistoric times would mean to disrespect the majority of human beings.

Nina SLANEVSKAYA:

Elena PAVLOVA:

Pierre DUPRIEZ:

Let's start with remembering that there is a distinction between the monocultural approach (one that does not take into account other cultures), the multicultural approach (which considers cultures side by side) and the intercultural approach (which recognizes the culture of the other and takes it into account in its own decisions, for example in intercultural management).

'The universal culture' in question (point 8) rises from rather the monocultural approach because the values that it defends are the values shared under globalisation (briefly mentioned in point 13). Some "exotic" touches were added to make it appear as multiculturalism but the tendency would be to impose these values on all the civilizations. But fortunately the culture resists.

In the 21 century it is necessary to construct a new culture on an intercultural basis that is inscribed in the world perspective, which will be ours. This is a culture that would be able to recognize national cultures and to renew them so that they can come out of the deadlock of the modernity today (point 18).

Nina SLANEVSKAYA:
(answer to Elena PAVLOVA)

⁷⁴ SLANEVSKAYA N./СЛАНЕВСКАЯ Н. (2005) St.

Petersburg, Nestor (in Russian).

SLANEVSKAYA N./СЛАНЕВСКАЯ Н. (2004) 'Russian Language in the Formation of Geopolitical Space' in r, St. Petersburg State University (in Russian).

SLANEVSKAYA N./СЛАНЕВСКАЯ Н. (2004) 'Language Policy in the USA, Canada, Switzerland, France, Spain and Belgium' in , ed. Poltorak S.N. St.Petersburg, Nestor (in Russian).

Maria LAGUTINA:**Pierre DUPRIEZ:**

The global system is a social and economic system which supports globalisation. Global Governance exists only “from appearances”. People declare that globalisation is governed by the market. But the market is a mechanism, not an agent. Moreover the global market is an oligopolistic market, thus an imperfect market. So globalisation (in the sense of ‘those processes which are formed and influenced by globalisation’) is governed by the oligopolies, some multinational companies.

Whether it concerns the “butterfly effect” of Lorenz or the model imagined by Walras, the interdependency exists without globalisation. The “newness” of the contemporary world is characterized by the excellent development of communications. And it allows travelling almost everywhere in the world and sending all kinds of messages with undoubted effectiveness, especially the messages carrying new values created by globalisation. The development of the global system requires, however, that these values be shared worldwide. So, we must ask ourselves what they can signify for humanity (points 14, 15 and 16).

Analytical tasks:

Read and write one review on three articles (Pierre Dupriez, Christian Michon and Victor Ryazanov) concerning the role of culture.

Globalisation and the Prospects for the Economic Development of Russia

Victor RYAZANOV⁷⁵

At the contemporary stage of development the choice for the national economic strategy should be coordinated with increasing globalisation in the world economy.

One can say that a particular strategy is justified if in the process of its realization good prospects arise for interaction with the developing units of the global economy.

How is Russia planning its national strategy of economic development under the conditions of increasing globalisation if the world economy?

As one of the possible targets in the implementation of the strategy of economic globalisation the Russian Federation could promote and support the following directions correcting the model of economic globalisation:

- preservation of various cultures and forms of economic management. It is necessary to have the convention applied to the sphere of culture and management analogous to the convention for the preservation of biological variety;
- defense of social values and socio-ecological priority in the development of world society and defense from the increasing totalitarianism of the market as necessary prerequisites for the transfer to more fair and ecologically safer management of world society;
- encouragement for the introduction of taxation on financial speculations (Tobin's tax) and the use of it as a source for the formation of "International Fund for Development", conceived for the support of the countries with a low level of development and for the world economic safety;
- introduction of international control on the transfer of profits of foreign capital in the developing countries (in the form of defined quotas and norms) to provide its reverse investment into national economy where it has been obtained;
- working out the international programme for facilitating the access of products and services created in the so-called "Third World" to world markets and markets of developed countries;
- Undertaking the reorganisation of the world hard currency system based upon the gradual introduction of a real world reserve currency substituting the use of any national currency as the world money and the creation of the global emission centre. The simultaneous use of the system of regional reserve currency as a possible way of transition to common world currency allowing more effectively to serve the functioning of the world economy. It will help to separate the function of money as national currency from reserve currency which will help to create the equal environment for all the countries.

Finally, while participating more actively in the process of globalisation the Russian economy is to be transformed from _____ of globalisation which performs the function of servicing the centres of globalisation into its active participant which is capable of promoting its own values

⁷⁵ **RYAZANOV Victor (Russia)**

Professor, PhD in Economics, Victor RYAZANOV is the Head of the Department of Economic Theory at the faculty of Economics, St. Petersburg State University. He has been awarded with the title of an Honorary Teacher of the Higher School. Victor RYAZANOV is an active member of the Academy of Sciences of the Russian Federation. The area of his scientific interests is the economic development of Russia. He is the author of several monographs.

and suggestions for the change and improvement of the existing model of globalisation turning it into the globalisation with a “human face”.

If one analyses the degree of influence of national economies participating in the process of the management of globalized world economy one can see clearly different results of the performance on the part of an individual country even in the comparably favourable period for the world economy (1990-2000).

In table 1 there are examples of two groups: developed countries and dynamically developing countries. The first group is characterized by the increase of involvement into the world transactions, which can be illustrated, by the increase of volume of external trade related to the gross domestic product (or foreign economic quota).

Such a variant of economic development can be defined as mainly oriented upon the world market, when the main factors of economic growth of the country are connected with the active penetration into the world market. The second group is the countries, which have the inner market as their aim in their developmental strategies, though they are also characterized by the increase of foreign economic quota (except Japan).

Table 1

Export-oriented and domestic market-oriented variants of economic development and the growth of gross domestic product (GDP) in the period of 1990-2000.

Countries	Export + import in % to GDP (in 1990).	Export + import in % to GDP (in 2000).	Export of high technology production (%) in 1990	Export of high technology production (%) in 2000	Increase of GDP in % (in 1990-2000)
<i>Export-oriented countries:</i>					
South Korea	60.2	87.2	18.0	35.0	80.6
Germany	54.3	66.4	11.0	18.0	11.1
Great Britain	50.6	56.3	24.0	32.0	43.1
France	43.4	55.9	16.0	24.0	6.5
China	31.8	49.1	6.0	19.0	204.2
<i>Domestic market-oriented countries:</i>					
USA	20.6	24.2	33.0	34.0	71.1
Japan	19.8	18.4	24.0	28.0	58.6
Brazil	15.2	23.0	7.0	19.0	28.1
India	17.2	30.6	2.0	4.0	44.2
<i>Russia</i>	36.1	70.7	n. a.*	14.0	- 56.7

*non available

The columns Export and Import are the export and import of goods and services in % to GDP in US dollars according to the market rate. The columns Export of High Technology Production show the share of high technology production in the export of manufacturing industry.

Calculated according to: World Bank (2003), Countries and Regions (2002) and Statistical Reference book of the World Bank.

As it is seen in Table 1, the countries of the first group with high and increasing foreign economic quota are national economies which were able to reach very high results – that is first of all China,

the country, which more than tripled its GDP, and also South Korea, which almost doubled its GDP, but which got into the epicentre of the devastating Asian crisis of the 1997-1999s. This crisis became the first manifestation of the world crisis of global capitalism. In the same group there are countries (France and Germany) with indicators of a very low economic growth. Meanwhile the second group of countries, mostly oriented upon their own domestic markets, shows that their economic results turned out to be quite acceptable though later those countries couldn't managed to escape the following recession.

What characterized the economic development of the Russian Federation in the period involved? In this period the economy of the Russian Federation found itself in the phase of acute transformative crisis (1990-1998), which coincided, with the policy of increasing openness and the increasing tendency of export orientation of the country's economy.

Data given in Table 1 witness that the attempt of using export oriented developmental strategy failed to prevent the country from the large scale recession when the decrease of GDP constituted 56.7%. Though it is necessary to point out that the same strategy resulted in the beginning of a new phase of economic growth characterizing the Russian Federation since 1999 because it has been pursued under more favourable conditions of foreign economic competition for the Russian economy. From 1999 up to 2004 GDP of the country increased almost by 40% though the rate of growth was not stable and showed the tendency for decreasing. In 2004 the increase of GDP constituted 6.9%, meanwhile in 2003 it was equal to 7.3% and in 2005 it was expected to fall down to 5.8-5.9%.

To what extent is it reasonable for Russia to use export-oriented strategy for its future development? Discussing this question it is necessary to bear in mind that this strategy by itself, as the international experience shows, can be rather efficient if the raw material specialization is avoided (World Bank, 2004).

If to speak about Russia at present, it is still the country with the predominating raw material specialization. It exports 50 sorts of raw materials to more that 90 countries of the world supplying the world market with nickel, primary aluminium and cellulose which constitute about 80% of all that is produced in the country; more than 70% of refined copper, more that 60% of rolled black metal and almost half the amount of extracted oil. It covers 40% of European needs in natural gas. Thus the share of mineral products of exported goods exceeds 55% with share of raw oil and gas reaching almost 44%.

The question is how to get away from the raw material specialization and to get rid of 'Dutch disease'. Theoretically it is possible taking into consideration the force of spontaneous character of the market but in practice due to many reasons such a variant doesn't seem to have good prospects. It is also difficult for Russia to use modern Chinese policy repeating Japanese and New Industrialized countries' experience (Kolesov V.P., Osmova M.N., 2000).

The difficulty, in particular, is explained by higher costs demanded for goods of mass production in the Russian Federation due to high energy consumption, which is caused, by unfavourable climate and natural conditions. For the production of similar goods it is necessary to spend in 2-2.5 times more energy resources in Russia than in the majority of other countries. Besides the level of salaries and wages in the Russian Federation though much lower than in the countries of the European Union and the USA, with those countries having more than 20 dollars per hour, but it is higher than in developing countries. At the end of 2004 the average hour's rate of payment for work in the Russian Federation was not lower than 1.5 US dollars of the market's exchange rate, but more than 5 dollars according to the parity of shopping capability of a Russian ruble.

This means that for the development of Russian economy in the time of increasing globalisation it is wise to combine two strategies.

Firstly, it is sensible to put the stake at the development of domestic market increasing the shopping ability of the population which will stimulate the domestic demand and diversify the economy. It was the policy of the USA and Japan. At present such maneuver is possible taking into account a large flow of oil dollars.

Secondly, the provision of the best conditions for the development of the economy of the Russian Federation presupposes the choice of science and high technology production oriented at the demands of world market supported by the use of state methods of mobilizing resources in the interests of achievement of this key task. The scientific, technological and educational potential of the country can provide the country with such a possibility for the development. Besides if favourable terms of high prices for oil are preserved at the world markets of raw materials rent profit can become one of the main investment sources for directing Russia's economy to the science consuming production and implementation of corresponding structural changes.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

Nina SLANEVSKAYA:

Victor RYAZANOV:

At present many scientists and public figures criticize the existing model of globalisation for its 'extremely tough' character leading to the significant socio-economic differentiation between regions and countries. This 'toughness' reflects the very nature of existing economic system, based upon market dominating values and rational behaviour of people that is necessary for such market relations. The characteristics of Russian civilization and culture like the characteristics of many other non-western countries are such that they allow less dependency upon values of market civilizations dominating today. It could help to put market relations in certain socio-cultural frameworks.

That is why the promotion of Russian values to a great extent can be understood as one of the possible and perspective variants for reducing the acute contradictions of the contemporary global world. They coincide in many respects with the alternative projects for restructuring global relations. The old historical roots of these values allow us to hope that they have a high potential of self-regenerating capable of resisting powerful external influence and at the same time to provide the adaptation under the changing conditions of management.

The modern model of globalisation should be corrected due to the existing principal differences in the traditions of Western Christian (West European) economies and Eastern (Islamic and Buddhist) economies:

a) for Western countries economics is the priority, meanwhile for Eastern countries preference is given to social economics;

- b) Western economics is the “economics of production and exchange”, meanwhile Eastern economics is “economics of distribution and redistribution”;
- c) Western economics is oriented upon innovations, meanwhile Eastern economics is oriented upon stability;
- d) the financial sector in Western economics becomes the leading one in the course of time, meanwhile Eastern economics tends to have the economics of a non-financial type.

The list of such different characteristics in economic arrangement reflecting civilizational peculiarities can be continued. As far as Russian economics is concerned, historically, it was closer to the “Eastern model”. However, during two centuries of economic reforms (19-20th centuries) having preserved some peculiar Russian features it acquired some parameters of a “western model” at the same time. It means that the Russian experience can be useful as a real confirmation of the possibility of the synthesis between “western” and “eastern” values.

Glossary

Acronym: Is a graphical abbreviation.

Allegory: Is the expression of the idea with the help of naming a real thing or using an allegorical representation of a real event or thing.

Alliteration: A consonant usually used at the beginning of the word and is repeated in succeeding words to produce a certain effect.

Anachronism: Refers to a situation in which people say, do, or see something that is inconsistent with the time they live in.

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 the 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 historic time.

Antonymy and antithesis: Is a semantic contrast.

Archaic word: When a word is no longer in general use but not absolutely obsolete.

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.

Blending: Is one word made of two words.

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

Causal relationship: When the change in one variable causes the change in the other one.

Colloquialism: Is informal or conversational language.

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 over themselves.

Deterrence: The use of nuclear threat for preventing the war.

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

Distributive policy: Policy involving the provision of benefits to citizens.

Economic security: When the nation-state has relatively 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 important governmental decisions.

Ellipsis: Means that parts of sentences or words are left out but can nevertheless be understood or inferred.

Empirical research: Is 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.

Epiphany: Is a literary device in which a character experiences an unexpected flash of understanding about the true nature of a person or situation, deeply altering his or her perception of that individual or event.

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.

Euphemism: Is the substitution of words denoting something rough, unpleasant or for some other reasons unmentionable (taboo) by words of mild or vague connotations to express it.

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

Flashback: Is a narrative technique in which a narrator or character interrupts the present time and returns to the past.

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

Globalisation: Process of engagement in different spheres of societal life on the global scale.

Historism: The thing named is no longer used or does not exist but the word is still used.

Hyperbole: An exaggerated statement expressing an intensely emotional attitude.

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 which influence the behaviour of people.

Imagery: Is used to create vivid pictures that our senses (sight, touch, smell, hearing, and taste) respond to.

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

Indirect observation: Observation of physical traces of behaviour.

International organization: Organizations made up of two or more sovereign states. They usually meet regularly and have a permanent staff.

Inference: The reader arrives at the conclusion by himself after deducing the writer’s meaning when the writer does not want to be direct and leaves the reader to decide by himself what he wanted to say.

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: Is based on the idea that we cannot establish the real world and can only interpret the world or establish our own interpretation.

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.

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

Litotes: The reverse figure to hyperbole or understatement.

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.

Metaphor: Is a transfer of the name based on the association of similarity and thus is actually a hidden comparison.

Methodology: Is a system of methods and principles.

Method: Is a means of achieving an aim.

Metonymy: Is based on association of contiguity.

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 state.

Neologism: Is a new word or an expression created for new things irrespective of their scale of importance.

Normative theory: Evaluative, value-laden, concerned with the question what is right/good and what is bad/wrong in the societal life. It prescribes what ought to be or what ought to do.

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

Open-ended question: A question with no response alternative from which a respondent may choose.

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

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

Oxymoron:

The combination of words (meanings) which are impossible to combine in reality.

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 in the society/international system; or struggle for power.

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

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.

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 events in the future. The ability to correctly anticipate future events.

Rational Choice Theory: Is 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. 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 observable events).

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

Rhetorical question: Is asked not for getting an answer but for making another one think about the problem.

Research design: A plan specifying how the researcher intends to fulfill the goals of the study; a logical plan for testing hypotheses.

Simile: An explicit comparison that contains the words 'like' or 'as'.

Synecdoche: A figure of speech in which a part is used to describe the whole or the whole is used for a part; or the special is used for the general or the general for the special.

Synonymy: A semantic similarity.

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 others.

Theory: Generalized knowledge based on systematic reflection of reality which explains and predicts knowledge about the world in a coherent and meaningful way.

Unit of analysis: The type of actor (individual, group, institution, or nation) specified in a researcher's hypothesis.

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