GLOBALISATION

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INTRODUCTION

*A*h, yes, globalisation!
It's a marvellous excuse
for many things.
(R. M. Solow. Nobel Prize for Economy)

We human beings have the tendency to manufacture *idol-words*: words to which we attribute a content that is not altogether true but which serves us as an excuse to maintain our privileges intact. For example, parents who are tired of scolding their children in vain, have invented the *bogeyman* to get their children obey them. The *bogeyman* is an idol-word with some truth in it (children ought to listen to many things that are ordered them by their parents) but it also serves tired parents to "control" their children.

     Globalisation has been converted into an *idol-word*: it responds in part to the truth of a phenomenon and a process; but is also a weapon that is wielded by some to maintain or prolong unjust situations. It is this manipulation precisely that is denounced by Robert M. Solow in the above statement.

Globalisation is the excuse of some thinkers, businessmen or politicians, to return to situations of fierce capitalism, now that the West, and especially Europe, have with the Welfare State reached high standards of justice for all. It is the excuse of some governments (both of rich and poor countries) to hide their errors of internal policy or some unconfessable option[s.]

But like the *bogeyman, globalisation* responds to diverse realities. It is possible today to communicate by electronic mail with people on the other side of the world; we receive much information through television; we habitually buy products "Made in Taiwan"; a cousin of ours works in a Japanese multinational; and we are concerned about the violation of human rights carried out by certain governments of far distant countries. All these are realities related to globalisation.

Other important issues are also related to globalisation which we should consider: What effects will Internet have on the education of our children? What will happen to those languages that are spoken by a few million people now that English is being imposed as the vehicle of international communication? Are salary-paid workers obliged to accept a loss of acquisitive power or social benefits "because the company would otherwise not be sufficiently competitive and would have to close down? Is it necessary that there be an International Court that could judge politicians that violate human rights?

Globalisation: *this idol-word is extremely ambiguous; but it permits us to approach the risks and opportunities that await us at the outset of the XXI century.* It is worth our while to clarify the concept in order to avoid the risks that go with it and to take advantage of its opportunities.

In a first approximation, *we understand globalisation as a process of financial, economic, social, political and cultural interconnection that is accelerated by the cheapening of transport costs and the incorporation in some institutions (companies, social groups, some families...) of information and communication technologies (ICT) in a context of economic crisis (1973), of the political victory of capitalism (1989) and of cultural questioning of high ideals.* This interconnection that some institutions take advantage of, is inducing a change that

is revolutionising the functioning of industrial societies and which, for the moment has accelerated the exclusion of geographical zones, of human collective groups and of whole cultures. But it has an immense potential to foment economic welfare and humane relations between people and human groups.

In this booklet we will analyse the phenomenon of globalisation from three levels of analysis: techno-economic, socio-political and cultural.

— The *techno-economic* level is related to the needs of *survival* of individuals and contemplates the emergence of technologies and their use in the economic processes of production and distribution.

— The *socio-political* level is related to human need of *living-together* and focuses on the social groups and on the forms of political power.

— Lastly, the *cultural* level bears a relation to the need of *meaning* for the person and includes the ideas and values of human groups that are reflected in institutions that order people's lives. Each level of analysis possesses its own dynamics marked by the logic of functioning of the institutions that operate in it. On the other hand, these three levels are related and interact in every sense: managerial actions have cultural consequences; and vice-versa, local cultures condition managerial actions, etc.

We think it is not possible to attribute *a priori* preponderance to any of these three levels in the explanation of the diverse social realities. In the analysis of globalisation, we will begin with the techno-economic level because the interconnection and the ease of transport of people and goods are *technological* facts that have been taken advantage of especially by *economic institutions*... though it is a question here of a process that cannot be explained solely by economic causes.

After analysing globalisation on these three levels (Chapter 1: techno-economic globalisation; Chapter 2: socio-political globalisation; Chapter 3: cultural globalisation), we will try to give a richer definition of globalisation and we will put forward proposals for its "government" (Chapter 4). In reality, the nature of this phenomenon makes it susceptible to being governed; we believe it should be shaped in a way that would favour everybody, especially the poor.

1. TECHNO-ECONOMIC GLOBALISATION

1. Revolution in the information and communication technologies (ICT)

The entry in the new millennium is being an era of quick changes due in part to the accelerated introduction in the middle of the seventies, of the ICT in production processes and in the way of living of many people, especially in industrialised countries.

The following data, corresponding to 1995[2], may help us to gauge the dimensions of this phenomenon.

The first column of the diagram shows that the capacity of the world population to receive messages through television is quite important; the second and third columns show that communication by telephone and the use of Internet have attained considerable proportions. Lastly, the differences between the figures of the first and second rows show that the incorporation of these ICT is very unequal depending on whether the country is industrialised or poor.

On the other hand, in absolute figures, in 1997 it is calculated that there were 1260 million TV viewers, 690 million telephone subscribers and some 200 million computers[3].

The trend for the future is an increase in the dimensions of computer communication and of business that the communication industry generates.

To sum up

The incorporation of the ICT in companies and institutions is being carried out at a very rapid pace and can bring prosperity to many people. But, for the moment, there exists an unequal access to these technologies, depending on the degree of development of the countries.

2. The ICT in the economy: changes in macro-economic data

The economic crisis that broke out in 1973 sharpened competition between companies. The least efficient were wiped out and the survivors modified their organisational techniques and incorporated the ICT to be competitive in the national and international spheres.

The cheapening of transport costs and organisational changes have permitted growth rates of economies in the 80s to exceed the low figures of the 70s.

But this recovery has been accompanied by an increase of inequality and also of changes in the different spheres of the economic system.

The increase of inequality is reflected in the following data[4]:

This diagram shows that, while the middle classes improved between 1950 and 1980, between 1980 and 1994 they lost income in favour of the 20% richest people, who have passed from controlling 55.8% of world income to 64.2% of the same.

Poverty, too, has increased. In July 1999, Kofi Annan, Secretary General of the UNO, announced in Geneva that the number of poor in the world had doubled since 1974. And so, of the 6,000 million inhabitants of the world of 1999, half of this number had to survive on 3

dollars a day; and one of each two of these poor did not earn more than 1 dollar a day[5].

3. Changes in the different economic spheres

If we analyse the changes produced in specific spheres of the economy, we will see that they have been far-reaching, and that they are strongly shaping future trends. These changes are:

— the expansion of new forms of production;
— changes in the world of work;
— changes in capital;
— deterioration of the environment;
— and the evolution of the role of the State as an economic agent.

3.1. New forms of production: De-materialisation and de-nationalisation

The new forms of production have come about from the *de-materialisation* and the *de-nationalisation* of many products and productive processes.

a) De-materialisation

The *de-materialisation* of pro- ducts means that their added value has passed from depending on the physical manipulation of the material elements that they are comprised of to depending on non-material elements (product design, brand image, patents...). For example, in the price of Coca-Cola, advertising and the patent of the invention have more weight than the material components of the drink. In the price of a video-play or computer programme, what weighs more are the hours of creativity and programming than the cost of the disc that contains this programme.

In reality, the image of the pro- duct has gained more weight because consumption is being converted into the main form of finding a meaning for life. When ideals (old ideals such as religions or modern ones such as ideologies) lose influence, they are substituted by companies that grant meaning to the act of consuming a product, especially by means of advertising.

De-materialisation of products has de-materialised in great measure companies themselves. Today a company does not necessarily need to have an industrial plant full of machinery and workers, whose functioning requires much money. In reality, a company is the idea of a new product, a material apparatus for its production and a sales system: three phases that have to be organised and financed.

But the de-materialisation of many products has cheapened their *production.* For example, an entrepreneur can entrust other companies with part of the tasks (*outsourcing*) or could grant the use of their brand image by way of *franchise*, as is the paradigmatic case of McDonalds. This company grants exclusive licences of its own brand, the form of getting organised and some ingredients to thousands of private merchants[6]. In the end, the company, more than concrete meals and materials, is selling its brand and form of organisation.

In respect of the *sales system*, the development of electronic commerce has simplified this from the material point of view, so much so that the structure of certain companies can be reduced even more.

And, finally, in respect of *finance*, markets of capital are sufficiently developed in industrialised countries to lend money to an entrepreneur who has the adequate ideas and

connections.

The de-materialisation of pro- ducts and of companies constitutes a great opportunity: it permits anyone to create a company provided he has a sellable idea, organisational know-ledge and connections to carry it ahead.

b) De-nationalisation

The *de-nationalisation* of pro- ducts signifies two things: on the one hand, we are increasingly consuming more and more foreign products; and on the other, the trust we put in the label "Made in..." is increasingly diminishing.

Each time we will be consuming more foreign products because international commerce has increased. In fact, impelled by institutions like the World Trade Organisation and thanks to the great reduction in transport costs, exports and imports have increased significantly. And so, the share of exports in world production (in real value and at constant prices) has risen from 9.1% in 1965 to 15.0% in 1995[7].

Each time we will be believing less in the label "Made in ..." because recent changes in the ICT and in transport have made the international division of manufacturing processes easy for companies: there exist many goods for which each phase of the manufacturing process can be carried out in the country in which more profit is generated for the company. Not all companies can divide their productive processes. Those that produce goods that are capital- and technology-intensive have an easy task. But they too can do the same who produce goods that do not require qualified labour. The production of these goods is moved to countries having cheap manual labour for the phases of the process that are more labour-intensive. This is the case of the *maquilas*, tariff-free zones in which entrepreneurs connected internationally make the local population work very hard to carry out the labour-intensive phases of the process of production of certain manufactured articles. The extension of this de-nationalisation of products is difficult to gauge, but it seems to be increasing.

To sum up

The incorporation of the ICT and of other techniques in the productive processes has accelerated the de-materialisation and the de-nationalisation of many products and companies. These trends have created opportunities to people with ideas, organisational knowledge and connections to found companies; and have facilitated the international division of labour and the expansion of international commerce in diverse degrees.

3.2. Changes in the world of labour

The productive changes that we have just analysed have given rise to the division of workers into two categories: *self-programmable workers* and *generic workers*[9]. The former are those who know how to handle the ICT and adapt themselves to the changes that these impose: they gene- rate the more important part of the added value of the processes and are difficult to replace. The latter carry out less important tasks and can be set aside on the individual plane though not on the collective one.

This division entails an increase of differences in salary: Self-programmable workers whose services are more necessary receive much higher incomes than generic workers do. Besides, unemployment and job-precariousness are turning into *chronic* problems for industrial economies and have especially affected generic workers since their services on the individual

plane can easily enough be put aside. Addition, unemployment and job-precariousness though *economic* problems have *cultural* effects: low self-esteem, lack of stability of the family structure, increase in delinquency, etc.

And, fleeing from poverty and oppression, workers from poor countries are arriving in rich nations. The situation in this case is of countries where a high index of unemployment is made to co-exist with the entry of immigrants who find work. In reality, these immigrants accept jobs requiring no special qualification that the native population does not wish to carry out or professional jobs which certain segments of the native population are not prepared for (computer-science, for example).

Let us make a little deeper analysis of the labour market
Globalisation has not only *dualised* the market between self-programmable and generic workers. It has also in reality *atomised* the interests of workers because it has given rise to *dualities on many levels:* between employed and unemployed workers, between temporary and fixed workers, between full-time and part-time workers, between men and women, between native and immigrant workers, between legal and *submerged* workers, etc. All this has resulted in a weakening of the ability of workers to claim their participation in the wealth that the increase of productivity generates.

At an international level, workers of certain sectors from different countries have become competitors, which also lowers their capacity of negotiation in front of multinationals.

The atomisation of interests of workers has had a quantitative effect: the loss of income of salary-paid (non-managerial) workers in favour of company profits and remuneration of company directors. For example, the average salary of an American worker without university studies was $11.23 an hour in 1979, and $9.92 (adjusted to inflation) an hour in 1993[10].

To sum up

The palpable results of globalisation in the labour world have been, a chronification of unemployment, an increase in job- and social precariousness in industrialised countries and also an increase in the inequality of income.

3.3. Changes in the world of capital

Globalisation has caused too an increase in the complexity of the ownership of capital.

In the first place there are the *old rich*, whose wealth is tied to the possession of money or natural resources. But then there are the *new rich,* entrepreneurs like Bill Gates, who not having capital have been able nevertheless to create companies thanks to the *de-materialisation* of products.

And finally we have *investment funds* nourished by the savings of workers who in this way turn into *capitalists...* in a new and complex form. In fact, these funds are looked after by financial teams who handle huge quantities of money looking for high profitability in the short term. The relative anonymity of the ownership of these capitals makes them blinder and more dangerous. In this sense, the integration on a global scale of financial markets (facilitated by the ICT) accentuates the anonymity and the de-humanisation of managerial decisions. Today the most important Stock Exchanges (London, New York and Tokyo) are connected 24 hours

of the day; and handle quantities of money that no government can control. In 1995, in the market of capitals 1.5 billion dollars were handled each day, when the payments of international commerce only needed daily 10,000 million dollars[11]. So, capitals move at a speed 150 times superior to what the real economy needs.

On the other hand, competition between companies has been stiffening from day to day. In this sense, Georges Soros, the Hungarian financier does not believe that Bill Gates was exaggerating when he affirmed that he was always "fighting for survival".

The effects of this new organisation of capital are for the moment quite negative for workers. In reality, if the ownership of capitals keeps getting separated more and more from the productive processes, from countries and from the real problems of the workers, the decisions of managers and of the Boards of Directors will increasingly be less human. War reports explain that a soldier finds it more difficult to kill the enemy if he has seen his face. Said differently, if the winners and losers of globalisation no longer sit at the same table, it becomes easier for the winners to take decisions that gravely go against the interests of the losers.

To sum up

Changes in capital take shape in the displacement of economic power towards the "new rich"; the disconnection of financial markets with respect to the real economy; an accentuation of competition; and the estrangement and progressive anonymisation of capital.

3.4. Deterioration of the environment

It is a fact that in recent years growth rates have recovered with respect to the 1970s. But the different economic agents have taken little into account the ecological effects of production and consumption. And so, a serious *deterioration of the environment* is being produced, both on our earth as well as at sea and in the air[12]. Particularly, the increase of international commerce and the international division of productive processes has been, at the same time, cause and effect of the increase in transport.

On occasions, these transport operations have no rational explanation for the high environmental costs they give rise to: for example, there is the case of 1 Kg. of grapes from California being transported by plane to Germany in a journey that causes an emission of 20 Kg. of CO_2[13] in the atmosphere. Or it happens too that crabs fished in the North Sea are taken to Morocco to be shelled and then to Poland to be packed... before reaching the markets of Hamburg[14].

The Western model of growth is therefore unsustainable.

3.5. Change of the role of the State as an economic agent

Up to recently, the majority of economic activity was "domesticated" by the States that imposed the framework conditions of the market and watched over the general welfare. Today the economy jumps borders and public agents of economic policy have at their command each day weaker instruments with which to control the basic macro-economic variables that contribute to the defence of free competition and the redistribution of the income of the rich to the poor.

It is time now to put forward a set of pacts, institutions and rules that will permit putting

economic globalisation again under the political authority that looks to the welfare of all. On the contrary, many governments are fomenting the indiscriminate liberalisation of commerce and movements of capital!

Moreover, the power of economic regulation of the States has been reduced on account of the movements of capital. Its liberalisation was a political decision promoted internationally by the IMF; with the result that Central Banks of countries can now no longer control these movements. The disorders that are derived from this lack of control lead to distortions in the functioning of the productive economy.

In under-developed countries, this liberalising move has been especially cruel. Through the mechanism of re-negotiation of the *external debt,* the IMF and the World Bank have obliged governments of many countries not only to slow down inflation and public debt, but also to privatise companies and to liberalise the entry of capitals and of multinational companies. The payment of the external debt has diverted resources which should have been destined to reinforcing expenditure in education and health. The reduction of public debt has ended up in the sale of national public enterprises to foreign capitals and has accentuated the lack of protection of the poorer groups of people.

To sum up
Economic globalisation, as it has been politically shaped by many governments, has entailed a loss of manoeuvring room for the States at the time when they have to establish economic policies that favour all citizens. And the IMF and World Bank, when trying to put order in certain underdeveloped economies, have accentuated their poverty and dependence.

After revising the changes that globalisation has caused in the functioning of economies, we will analyse now the socio-political dimension of globalisation.

2. SOCIO-POLITICAL GLOBALISATION

As we pointed out in Chapter 1, globalisation got a boost during the economic crisis of the 1970s that accelerated the introduction of the ICT in companies.

But these economic trends were reinforced by the political victory of capitalism, staged in 1989 with the fall of the Berlin Wall.

This is about a *political* victory whose leading actors were ideas, politicians and social movements: freedom, human rights, democracy; M. Gorbachev, B. Yeltsin, L. Walesa, V. Havel; Solidarnosc, "Letter 77" in Czechoslovakia, etc.

But it was also technological, economic and cultural factors that contributed to this victory. Indeed, from the *technological* point of view, the fall of the governments of the East was due in part to the defeat in military technology of the USSR. To be exact, Reagan's Initiative of Strategic Defence made Gorbachev realise that the USSR had not succeeded in incorporating the new technologies of information to the Soviet system of defence.

Besides, the Socialist *economies* were not functioning well either: centralised planning had turned into something too complex for the levels of development that the countries had attained; and the prime technologies and their technicians were devoted not to the economy but to the military apparatus[15]. On the other hand, Western television stations had succeeded in making citizens of socialist countries desire a way of living different from what they were accustomed to; in this sense, the fall of the iron curtain was also the fruit of *cultural globalisation*.

1. From two political blocks to three economic blocks

The cold war ended in 1989 and since then the USA have imposed their victory accepting the admittance to NATO of the old members of the Warsaw Pact and encouraging (by means of the IMF) a rapid transition of the Russian Federation to capitalism. Patience and hard work is necessary to prevent the Russian defeat from turning into resentment and a desire to become a new empire.

In any case...

International politics is no longer concerned with the confrontation of two "political" blocks but is facing up to three economic centres with some political and cultural differences: the USA, the European Union and Japan-SE Asia. There is a series of concentric circles of countries that wish to obtain greater prosperity by developing closer relations with these three centres. Finally there are areas that remain on the margin of all prosperity and serious conflicts are developed in the heart of these regions.

2. Crisis of the modern Nation State: the Network State

In relation with the developed Nation States, globalisation has given rise to a movement in two directions: regionalisation and valorisation of the sub-state political units. Yes, indeed: on the one hand, we have realised that certain problems (of environment, of human rights, organised delinquency...) go beyond the scope of the Nation State, and this leads States to associate themselves on a regional level (the European Union, NAFTA...).

But on the other hand, the need of identity, of close relations and of proximity of governments

in respect of civic problems tends to be satisfied on a sub-state level (the autonomies of Spain, the Regions and Municipalities of Europe, the implosion of the old Soviet Empire...).

The European Union is turning out to be the cradle of sundry experiments of regionalisation and valorisation of sub-state political units. Its complexity requires necessarily the establishment of a set of temporary and variable alliances on different levels depending upon new necessities or specific projects.

For example, the organisation of the Barcelona Olympic Games in 1992 was responsible for getting the Town Hall of Barcelona, the Generalitat (Autonomous Government) of Catalunya, the Spanish Government and the Government of the European Union to establish an intense collaboration to face the challenges that the occasion demanded.

The European Union is heading towards a new concept of political power in which the relations between municipalities, regions and States will vary depending upon specific interests which will group together new actors playing their roles at specific times. This configuration is what Manuel Castells denominates *Network State*[16].

The problem is that the variability of the *Network State* can endanger the historical conquests of the *Welfare State*. This political form, born in Europe within the Nation State, guarantees certain civic, political and social rights that today are being menaced to some extent.

In fact, globalisation and "variable alliances" put aside territories that are less capable of getting connected and operating in global networks. In these territories there is less fiscal capacity to foment an effective guarantee of social rights and to fight the rise of criminal economy.

To sum up

The Nation State is evolving towards more flexible forms of organisation –Network State– which establish variable alliances among different levels of power (regional, state, sub-state). But this flexibility endangers the conquests of the Welfare State.

3. The State in underdeveloped countries

After the fall of the Berlin Wall, philosopher Francis Fukuyama proclaimed "the end of history": liberal democracies had won the "cold war" against the USSR and now the only job that remained to be done was to make the winning model go on extending to all over the planet[17]. And in reality, in the last decade of the XX century, democracy has extended to many countries and regions. But the practical functioning of these democracies poses many problems: on account of poverty and the scarce level of development, and also on account of the action of certain multinational companies that are interested in maintaining certain populations subjected to their interests. There exist, finally, problems of cultural heritage that clash with the fundamental concept of democracy.

The deficient functioning of liberal democracies and the clash between the western culture of market and the ways of life of underdeveloped countries has sometimes provoked serious conflicts: political globalisation has not always led them to an increase of welfare. At times, these conflicts have been culturally interpreted from the stance of anti-western ideologies. These are the *fundamentalisms* that react to the exclusion of the benefits of globalisation "excluding those who exclude". And in this way, they use traditional religions to convert the West into the enemy to be fought.

But perhaps the fundamentalisms developed by the excluded people of globalisation respond to a subtler western fundamentalism that is economic as well as political. The solution to this

"clash of fundamentalisms", according to Johannes Müller, lies in putting an end to western arrogant approaches like that of Fukuyama and trying, instead, to get cultures of European origin to pass from being indoctrinating cultures to being cultures capable of questioning themselves and of learning from others[18].

However, political globalisation has not been reduced to the arrogant imposition of liberal democracy in other political contexts. At the end of the XX century, the case of Pinochet and the constitution of an International Criminal Court have offered opportunities to advance in the effective and universal guarantee of human rights.

In synthesis

Western liberal democracies have imposed themselves without dialogue or a will to adapt. This western fundamentalism has sometimes unleashed anti-western fundamentalisms in countries where it has been imposed. At any rate, the beginning of an International Criminal Court is contributing to the effective protection of human rights.

4. New social movements

Changes of every kind that have been produced in recent years have provoked in citizens an increasing lack of confidence in respect of traditional political agents: political parties and trade unions. Political parties, disoriented by economic and political changes, trapped by the logic of the media and perplexed about the end of modern ideologies have lost affiliates. The trade unions, as we have seen in Chapter 2, have lost negotiating capacity for different reasons.

Although a renovation of political and trade union life is necessary, we see that a part of social concern is channelled through *new social movements* (NSM). These NSMs possess certain special characteristics:

— They are concerned about specific problems, but generally *of a global dimension* (ecology, pacifism, feminism, human rights, co-operation with the Third World, aid to the Fourth World, children exploitation).

— They possess more democratic and participating internal organisations than traditional agents; and utilise the ICT to extend their influence or to make their voice heard by governments and international organisms. In this sense, *the ICT have become an instrument for solidarity.*

— They often act with a logic that jumps the "official diplomatic conduct" and can end in conflicts between States. For example, if a European citizen, member of an NGO for development denounces on site the violation of human rights in some country and is arrested or disappears, there is bound to be a diplomatic conflict between the State of origin and the State in which he has disappeared.

In this sense, the NSM act in a way that is analogous to multinationals or networks of illegal activities: the three new agents of the world scene establish relations *that lie on the fringe of States*. And so we can distinguish between *globalisation and internationalisation.* The second term suggests relations "between nations" (or "between States"). Globalisation, on the contrary, conjures up relations between people and groups of different countries without passing through the mediation of States.

Summing up
Trade unions and political parties are in crisis. On the other hand, new social movements have emerged, often with a strong concern for world problems.

5. A new social division
On a social level, globalisation, as it has been shaped in the last few years, has created a division between groups that have succeeded in mastering the ICT and enriching themselves, and those who have remained excluded and impoverished. The winners have much higher living standards than before, travel extensively for pleasure or business, speak English, master computer science and are well acquainted with global cultural products (music, movies...).
The other side of this process is exclusion. M. Castells baptises these exclusions borrowing from a cosmic image: he calls them *black holes of informational capitalism*[19.] There are whole geographical areas (Sahel, some Pacific Islands), certain areas in cities of the First World, whole social groups (youth with little formation, the aged without family support) within which it is statistically impossible to escape suffering and progressive degradation of the human condition.
The number of people who fall (or who are in the risk of falling) into these black holes is each time greater.   The biographies of those who have fallen usually include a lack of qualifications, a lack of habits for the new forms of work, psychological weakness resulting from negative family contexts, a lack of knowledge of the language of the country that they have emigrated to and a lack of capacity to assume in a personalised way global cultural inputs. A possible escape from this life-and-death situation is the participation in *networks of illegal activities*: networks of drug-trafficking, of arms, children and women, of illegal immigration and of international traffic of toxic waste... Triumph and wealth are the prime objectives with no consideration for legality or the most basic human rights.
The black holes have a very important *force of attraction*. And once one has entered this black hole, it is difficult to get out since inside the hole a powerful and shady *internal connection* is at work: that which in rich countries links poverty with bad eating habits and behaviour, bad eating habits and behaviour with poor school results, poor school results with unemployment, unemployment with addictions, addictions with prostitution and delinquency, prostitution and delinquency with jail, jail with AIDS and AIDS with death.
In what is called the *Third World* there exist *black holes*: there are entire regions on the planet that have remained cut off from playing a leading role in global connection. In these regions the influence of culture and of global economies is especially negative. For instance, certain forms of rural life impregnated with religious traditions have been badly harmed by western lifestyles that strongly seduce yet remain beyond reach. The irruption of these foreign cultural patterns has three negative types of effect:
— It upsets initiatives for economic and political solidarity by fomenting individualism. For example, in Latin America or in India certain *religious groups* (in reality, sects directly subsidised) are being established that slow down common ventures directed at improving the situation of the population (co-operatives, peasant movements...).
— It provokes fundamentalist reactions of which we have spoken above.
— It impels the population to emigrate: towards the cities of their own country or those of the First World, where exclusion and the black holes are reproduced and where multicultural challenges are posed.
There exists, however, the possibility that global cultural patterns will adapt themselves to

local cultures and help the humanisation of the groups that receive these patterns. We will deal with this in the next chapter where we will talk of the *cultural* aspects of globalisation.

But before this, let us conclude:
Let us point out, in the first place, that in this article we have used the term *globalisation* and not *internationalisation* because not everybody has been favoured by this process. And, on the contrary, globalisation has connected zones that geographically are far apart on the planet. And in second place, let us sum up. Globalisation, as it has been shaped up to now, has created a division between those who have understood and taken advantage of it and those who have suffered from it. The latter are attracted by the black holes of informational capitalism, in whose bosom it is statistically impossible to escape from the pain and progressive degradation of the human condition.

3. CULTURAL GLOBALISATION

Let us study now the mechanisms and institutions through which globalisation has been modifying the necessity of the *meaning* of the person.

"Culture is the way in which a human group lives, thinks, feels, gets organised, celebrates and shares life"[20].

This definition shows us the two dimensions of culture: the *invisible* dimension ("live, think, feel"), integrated by ideas and values; and the other *visible* one ("get organised, celebrate, share") that concretises and feeds back the first dimension, through the different experiences of the person: parties, religious ceremonies, films, books, activities in associations, work, living together as a couple, social living together, relations with authority...

1. Culture

The novelties that the introduction of the ICT and the cheapening of transport have incorporated in the cultural sphere induce us to analyse the following aspects:

— The increase of influence of the *cultural inputs imparted by television and Internet* in the life of citizens (paragraph 2 of the present chapter);
— The strength that global cultural inputs *produced by companies* are acquiring (paragraph 3);
— The fact that the new inputs have their origin in *distant cultures* or in a supposed *global culture* (paragraph 4)
— The effects of the new cultural situation in the more vulnerable groups of society: *children and young people* (paragraph 5).

2. The mediation of television and Internet

The irruption of cultural inputs through television and Internet in the life of individuals has had two consequences: it has broadened the conceptual horizons and values of citizens; and it has increased the practical possibilities of employing their leisure.

a) *The broadening of conceptual horizons and values of citizens* has been produced since people have been permitted by Internet to gain access to an immense amount of information proceeding from all over the world on an infinity of topics; and also to gain access to the networks of virtual relation with a planet-wide reach regarding very specialised aspects. For example, lovers world-wide of surrealist poetry *who are connected to Internet* can interchange poems through the same.

On the other hand, this widening of points of view has arrived in an era in which, due to the fall of the Berlin Wall, ideologies have lost strength. The *Sacred Scriptures* of politics and religion that once daily nourished the ideals of a great number of people (religions, socialisms, liberalisms nationalisms) are now sometimes considered sterile or even harmful. In fact, recent history shows the darker face of these ideals: wars waged in the name of "religion", poverty and inequality created in the name of freedom, and oppression exercised in the name of certain socialisms or nationalisms.

The myth of progress has ended up too in ecological imbalance. And so it seems ideals and progress cannot bring anything truly new to societies and people. The consequence of this attitude is a combination of *relativism* ("What each one does is good") and of *passivity*

("There is nothing new worth fighting for").

b) In any case, the possibilities for employing one's free time have increased with *virtual cultural inputs* (video films, news bulletins from channels via satellite, movies, electronic mail, *chats*, or surfing via Internet). Virtual inputs have ushered in a new mode of human relations: the *virtual relation.* In this relation we connect with people that we do not have before us physically or with personages of films who we will never talk to..., but who transmit to us patterns of behaviour and practical orientations. Virtual relation generates what Manuel Castells calls the *culture of real virtuality*[21.] It is the culture of *virtuality* because the cultural inputs received come via computer science, via computer games, via TV or the movies. It is *real* because it does influence the culture (ideas, values and concrete acts) of those who have access to it.

In fact, the boundary between what is real and what is virtual becomes quite vague in this type of culture; the incessant bombardment by TV on our minds and the increasing number of hours we spend watching television leaves us confused between fiction and reality.

And so, if the images of a real drama are followed by those of a film, it may work out in fact that the images of the first are "registered" as unreal and the images of the second as real.

To sum up

The irruption of virtual inputs at a time of crisis of great ideals has provoked at the same time an increase in the offer of leisure and perhaps the strengthening of relativism and passivity. Virtual human relations have gained importance and make people mix reality and fiction.

3. The culture of global consumerism

In chapter 2 we saw how companies, by incorporating "stories" through advertising, are able to sell their products thanks to the fact that the act of consumerism has been converted into an act *that gives meaning* to the individual immersed in a crisis of ideals. In this paragraph we will dwell on the consequences of the fact that many of the global cultural inputs are cultural *products*, that is to say, produced in order that companies obtain profits.

In fact, companies in their desire to sell in a context of global competition, use varying commercial techniques which very frequently are directed less to *informing* the customer about the characteristics of the product and more to *seducing* him, making him feel the irresistible urge to buy it.

Seduction is brought about by transmitting advertising messages in the form of thrilling adventures, whose happy ending is brought about thanks to the possession of the advertised object. Changes of values in citizens are generated in this way... and at times addictive behaviours too[22]. In fact, advertising has always exercised this influence; the novelty is that today companies behind advertising operate on a world scale.

The seduction of companies turns out easier especially in the case of products of the *Entertainment Industry* which includes production companies of films, video, television, magazines, computer games or other goods for leisure as theme parks.

The Entertainment industry comprises companies that, for the most part, have their headquarters in the USA. A major part of the films that show in cinema houses all over the world come from the USA[23]; and many of these films, aimed at the massive public avid for distractions "that do not oblige them to think", reproduce certain values: manichean division between the good and the bad (which often coincides with the division Americans/foreigners); resolving conflicts by will power or by brute force; simplism in the relations of the couple; and the seeking of success as the prime motivation. Theme parks focus on personages of Disney

or can include a "variety of cultures"... among which the "Far West" is normally never lacking. And world television channels like CNN transmit "live" for the whole world news that they consider "more interesting", converting themselves in this way into *creators of current news.*

To sum up
The culture of global consumerism provokes changes of values and even addictive behaviours. The pro- ducts of the Entertainment industry transmit exaggeratedly simple values, in accordance with the demands of products destined for the masses.

4. Global culture?
An important characteristic of the new cultural inputs is that they come from far away people and cultures and even from a possible *global culture.* Benjamin Barber is of the opinion that there exists a global culture and baptises it with the name of *McWorld culture*, with reference both to the commercial brands like McDonalds or McIntosh, and to the world reach that this culture is attaining. Barber thinks that the McWorld culture will end up homogenising a world that is already economically and politically homogeneous. The prophecy of Barber completes "the end of economic and political history" of Francis Fukuyama with "the end of cultural history". The *institutional agents* of this "cultural end" would be companies in general but mainly the American Entertainment Industry[24].

However, this global culture needs to "land" in specific places and connect with the public which has to consume it or relate to it. There is only a minority of mankind that understands English, and so it is necessary to dub films. In many countries people are interested in local news and for this reason there have to be national redactions of news of CNN.

There is no doubt that the global culture, of a pre-eminently Anglo-Saxon mould, *gets differentiated* when it lands. But up to what point is this differentiation *substantial*? Perhaps it is only *accidental*: a strategy to hide the true differences. For example, the Latin-American soap box operas, seen by TV viewers from every continent, present environments in which economic differences are not to be seen (poor people never appear on the scene) nor cultural differences (no members of indigenous peoples either). So we find ourselves before a *culture of in-difference*[25]: this culture leaves out of the screen the *strong* differences in an unequal and diverse world. But "posing problems of conscience" to TV viewers does not sell well: for this reason the companies calm us down and offer us "relaxing" products...

However, global culture is not always alienating or ignores cultural differences. In a suburb of Johannesburg, called Sophiatown, the penetration of elements of the popular American culture (black cinema, jazz, Afro-American culture) helped the oppressed population to articulate a language of protest and to organise an anti-*apartheid* movement that contributed to the democratisation of South Africa[26]. A good adaptation of "global" products can help, then, to liberate from oppression by adapting a culture to a specific social or political situation.

The condition is, nevertheless, that the attitude of the receiving local agents should be *active* and re-shape the "imported" global *input* in accordance with the local co-ordinates.

To sum up
The culture of global consumerism has to land in different countries, provoking a certain differentiation. But it is debatable if this differentiation is really substantial or if finally these global products constitute a *culture of in-difference.* In any case, it is necessary to have an active adaptation of these products to convert them into factors of humanisation for the people

and human groups that receive them.

5. Influence of the cultural situation in children and young people

We have seen at the beginning of the present chapter that culture is composed of a whole set of ideas and values that refer to *human groups.* The process by which a child has experiences ("receives inputs"), elaborates them internally and then moves on to action converting himself into a "constructor of culture" in a human group is called *socialisation.*

The new global cultural inputs influence socialisation in different and, at times, contradictory forms. On the one hand, by giving information about the variety of cultures and ways of living to children and young people, they widen their horizons and allow them to assume their own cultures in a more human way. Besides, the fact of travelling and communicating with people of other countries by Internet permits young people to feel themselves part of just one world and with a common destiny.

Despite everything, the abusive use of virtual media can weaken the processes of socialisation. Having information is important to achieve the process of socialisation; but it is necessary too to elaborate it in times of silence, to hear songs with intelligible lyrics and to feel oneself reflected in literary or cinematographic personages culturally near to one's own vital experience. Communication with friends of flesh and blood is likewise necessary as is also participation in institutions in which human contact helps us to understand and to internalise the *real* relations of friendship, of solidarity or well understood authority.

Nevertheless, if television takes up our time for writing or thinking, if musical, literary or cinematographic references are distant or reach us always with a cultural pattern "for the masses"; and if we cannot question or be questioned by the personages that influence our behaviour (because they are either virtual or are beyond our reach)... then our socialisation can be deficient.

The correct strategy before these phenomena should not consist in not allowing children and young people to gain access to Internet or television; but in capacitating them to judge and *actively* choose the topics they want to go deeper into through Internet and television. It is also important that they capture the beauty and depth of less attractive ways of employing their free time, as is reading, silence, prayer or participation in group activities that allow us to develop friendship and solidarity.

To sum up

Virtual cultural inputs can have a positive influence on the processes of socialisation of young people providing that these maintain the capacity of criticising them and orienting themselves in their midst. The facility of access to TV or Internet products establishes, however, a competition with other ways of enjoying one's free time (real inputs) like silence, relations of friendship and solidarity with people of flesh and blood. Young people should be able to count on the support of agents or institutions that help them to form their personalities and to make them capable of carrying out projects for the service of society.

6. Conclusion

The technologies of television and Internet have permitted placing within the reach of the young and old, a great quantity of cultural *inputs* that, at times, come from distant cultures, are virtual or are produced by profit-desiring companies.

But for a cultural *input* (a book, film, a video-game, an advertisement, a discussion with friends or an excursion) to help the socialisation of a young man or the humanisation of an adult, it must *be chosen* and must *be actively elaborated* to adapt itself to the personal or collective history of the human group itself. When there is no adaptation (and what contributes to the deficit of adaptation is the culture of compulsive consumerism), cultural inputs foment addictions or convert citizens-consumers into passive subjects. When there is adaptation, as in Sophiatown, cultural inputs *land* adequately in a person or in a specific human group and transform in a humanising way his/their culture.

In the process of *adequate landing* of global cultural inputs, specific people play an important role in catalysing with patience and wisdom the processes of adaptation and personalisation. Educators, parents or the leaders of institutions of free time should be capable of stimulating the active search of children and young people so that each individual or group elaborates his project of life directed at the humanisation of the specific human group.

The cultural problems that we have put forward invite people and institutions to take action so that the cultural face of globalisation is put to the service of more human forms of living. In the previous chapters we have presented, in analogous form, techno-economic and socio-political challenges.

All these challenges have permitted us to go deeper into the meaning of the *idol- word* that we are concerned about: *globalisation.* It is time to recapitulate its meaning and to put forward propositions of human action that will take advantage of the opportunities it provides and to avoid its risks.

4. GLOBALISATION AND ITS GOVERNMENT

1.The concept of *globalisation*

After making an incursion in the three levels in which the phenomenon of globalisation is concretised, let us re-take the *idol-word* that we are concerned about in order to try to determine its meaning with greater exactitude. We will make the content of *globalisation* more precise by having recourse to three concepts: *internationalisation, "worldisation" and globalisation.*

Internationalisation is the process by which different Nation States have relations among themselves. In this sense, globalisation demands a more intense internationalisation because they have to be more supportive of each other in the face of certain harmful global agents. But, as we have seen, relations have also been established between people and organisations of different countries *that work on the fringe of Nation States:* for example, in multinational companies, in NGOs operating world-wide, in networks of illegal economy, or in visits that users of Internet of different countries make to a certain Web. Globalisation, therefore, goes beyond internationalisation.

Worldisation is the process by which all citizens of the world share certain specific experiences, certain specific values or a certain specific good. But, as we have seen, the connection has not reached all citizens of the world. There exist geographical areas or social groups that have passively suffered globalisation because they have remained *disconnected* from the communication networks, from the flows of capital, from the destination of company investments and who are left out of the light (*the black holes of capitalism*) and of the movement which globalisation injects wherever it passes through.

Globalisation, then, *as it has taken shape up to the moment,* has not shared its benefits with all peoples: it has fallen short in respect of what one would expect of worldisation.

In this sense, we observe that there exist people, human groups and regions more globalised than others: globalisation is a question of *degree*. A citizen connected to Internet who has work related to global economy, who speaks English, who travels, and who has friends in far distant countries is *very globalised*. A country that begins to be connected with its neighbours through the commerce of certain products is *slightly globalised.* A human group that lives in a culture that is closed within itself, that does not receive economic, political or cultural inputs that are external to the group, is *in no way globalised*. It is becoming increasingly difficult to find examples of the latter case because of the great advance of globalisation in recent times.

We note, however, that *being globalised is not necessarily good or bad:* what is good is to lead a *humanised* life, that is to say, a life in which the needs of survival, of living together and of meaning are satisfied. A materially healthy life, free from slaveries or addictions, centred in positive relations of living together with one's neighbours, and projected by means of justice and solidarity towards the other inhabitants of the world.

Therefore...

Unlike the terms *internationalisation* and *worldisation, globalisation* means the process of financial, economic, political, social and cultural interconnection made possible by the ICT, which relate certain specific people or organisations, giving rise to complex dynamics of

relation on the one hand and exclusion on the other. There exist people or groups some of whom are more, some less globalised and we cannot simply affirm that being globalised is good or bad.

2. Positioning oneself correctly in respect of globalisation
There exist three ways of positioning oneself in respect of the phenomenon of globalisation: reject it; accept it unconditionally; or accept it and try to govern it, placing it at the service of higher standards of welfare for everybody, especially for those who suffer most.

The **first way**, that of rejection, is that which has been adopted by *fundamentalisms* in the areas excluded from globalisation. It consists in "excluding those who exclude". But this reactive option will not stop the force of penetration of the ICT; and besides, it usually constructs economic, political and cultural projects which end up dehumanising societies in which they have been implanted. Certain Islamic fundamentalist revolutions, for example, have perpetuated poverty and have aggravated the psychological degradation of women provoking the death of many of them. In the West too there are *anti-globalization* groups. They have Utopian and considerable denunciatory strength; and are positive insofar as they awaken the consciences before the negative consequences and the risks of globalization. But they cannot limit themselves to pure *reactive* movements, under the threat of being used by forces or social groups with egoistic interests. For example, the failure of the Round of the Millennium of the World Organisation of Commerce (Seattle, USA, towards the end of 1999) ended up favouring not only certain NGOs opposed to globalization but also some European farmers who wanted to prevent the entry into their continent of agricultural products proceeding from the Third World. The solidarity-motivated anti-globalization movements therefore need to evolve towards *proactive* strategies: that is to say, towards the designing of positive proposals in order that globalization should be at the service of all.

The **second way**, that of unconditional acceptance, is that of *neoliberalism.* Neoliberalism has served the most powerful economic agents to push forward a savage liberal capitalism, using selfishly the defeat of real socialism and the difficulties of the western Welfare State. It has generalised three or four *half*-truths, raising them to universal categories. So, on accepting globalisation exactly as it rose historically (headed by certain economic agents), neoliberals defend that one has to leave globalisation as it is, without submitting it to the authority of a world political organisation... although it might provoke ecological imbalances, economic inequalities, social exclusions and the destruction of humanising cultural forms.

Insofar as it imposes economic, political and cultural projects on diverse countries without dialoguing on the matter and without adapting themselves, neoliberalism is also a *fundamentalism*, but proper of the victorious area of capitalism.

The **third way** consists in accepting that nowadays we do live more interconnected and with more possibilities of maintaining relations with one another, but we perceive at the same time that these new possibilities could suppose both *risks and opportunities.* This third way consists also in understanding globalisation as a process that is susceptible of being governed or "civilised", placing it at the service of an increase of welfare for all, especially those who suffer most. As we have said in the first paragraph, the introduction of the ICT in companies has brought about an increase in the GDP of countries that have adopted them. To turn one's back on this possibility (the fundamentalist option) is to try to stop the necessary increase of welfare for a great part of humanity. The problem is that the recovery of economic growth does not imply automatically an increase in the welfare of *all people.* Besides, the

globalisation of political forms and culture has generally been carried out without the necessary adaptations or dialogues that could make the result more humanising for the different countries and their citizens.

To advance by this third way implies influencing the phenomenon and effects of globalisation in all its complexity, that is to say, *on all levels: techno-economic, socio-political and cultural.* As we have already seen, the three levels are interconnected and each level shows us a peculiar and unyielding face of globalisation. It is not, therefore, sufficient to work only the cultural or only the political or only the techno-economic aspect of a phenomenon that manifests itself and generates consequences on the three levels.

3. Proposals for the government of globalisation

On the basis of the co-ordinates of the third way we have just presented, let us put forward some objectives for the government of globalisation.

3.1. Techno-economic Initiatives

a) To reinforce and democratise international economic organisms (IMF, the World Bank, the World Trade Organisation...) so that they can govern the financial and economic globalisation in a way that would be in keeping with ecology and would fight against exclusion, poverty and inequality that are being generated today.

In this way the States should recover the freedom to carry out the economic policies that are needed to maintain fiscal viability and to conserve or increase the levels of social protection.

b) To promote regional economic unions that would permit benefiting from the advantages of international commerce and would permit at the same time holding sufficiently strong political power so as to be able to dialogue with multinationals with some guarantee of success.

c) To ecologically and fiscally regulate transport so as to eliminate the irrationalities that exist (see the examples of Californian grapes or the crabs of the North Sea in Chapter 1) and to avoid ecological degradation.

d) To condone once and for all the external debt of countries of the Third World that has already been sufficiently paid and which jeopardises in an inhuman way the destiny of their inhabitants. In the process of condonation one should keep watch that the liberated resources revert in benefit of the whole population and especially of the poorest.

e) To introduce the corporate social responsibility, by means of the conviction of managers and of the pressure of the new social movements. In fact, the ICT permit the transmission of information and initiatives to significant strata of citizens which pressure companies to change... if they do not wish to lose prestige and customers. For example, there are NGOs which propose by electronic mail actions for the service of campaigns to eliminate child labour

f) To encourage those who have savoir-faire to create small and medium-size companies. These companies create more jobs than a big company, they are more directly implicated in the welfare of the communities in which they are inserted, and do not destroy easily the humanising values proper of local cultures.

g) To create and feed ethical investment funds so that companies who invest in illegal or destructive activities are discriminated from those that respect social, ecological and ethical norms of varied natures. If citizens are also *capitalists* since they participate in investment funds, it will be worthwhile exploiting this power to direct investments towards companies and activities that do not generate social or ecologically negative consequences.

h) To take advantage of consumer activity to exercise and foment solidarity: by means of purchasing products of *fair trade* or of companies that dedicate part of their profits to solidarity.

3.2 Socio-political Initiatives

a) To work for the political government of globalisation: defence of human rights, policies of redistribution of incomes, fight against illegal and criminal global networks. In this sense, democracies permit mechanisms of political participation that orient decisions in specific directions: elections, *referenda*, political and trade union militancy, active support to specific NGOs, etc.

b) To take advantage of the international dimension of political parties and of trade unions to establish a culture of *dialogue* between political and social actors of different countries in respect of world-wide problems.

c) To foment international institutions that defend human rights, such as the International Criminal Court so that an end could be put to abuses committed in the name of the *principle of non-interference* used so often as an alibi to violate these rights.

d) To reinforce social movements (new or old) of solidarity with the excluded or with groups that run the risk of exclusion, doing this with an attitude of dialogue and listening: the inhabitants of the *black holes of capitalism* have to find their own ways of evolving towards more human forms of life.

3.2. Cultural Initiatives

a) To work to place *the person* and *all people* in the centre of concern of economic, political and cultural agents. In a world that is so complex and full of institutions and opposing forces, we cannot lose sight of the North Pole, which is the well-being and the humanisation of people, especially the poorest.

b) To take advantage of the emergence of new social movements and NGOs to foment a *universal ethical conscience*, that will be translated into a struggle for the recognition of effective citizenship for all inhabitants of the planet.

c) To reinforce *institutions and socialising agents* (families, schools, NGOs, religious groups) so that they could orient in a global, virtual and commercial context the values and ideas of youth. The idea is that everybody should succeed in having a sufficiently integrated personality so as to be able to take economic, political and cultural initiatives at the service of citizens and especially of the poorest.

d) In *educational systems*, to foment *curricula* that capacitate students for technologically qualified work and at the same time give them humanistic instruments so that each grows up as a "person". In their humanistic formation it is necessary to capacitate them to be active in the use of the ICT and in a personal adaptation of the products that the Entertainment Industry offers.

e) Religious groups have to find in their traditions and in inter-religious dialogue values and attitudes that will permit them to assume in a creative and humanising way the new global economic, social and cultural conditions. In this way they can contribute to promoting the centrality of the person and universal citizenship in the different spheres of collective life.

NOTES

1. "One must clarify that in Third World countries this concept ("globalisation") has substituted that of "dependence" and currently appears as the cause of all problem and evil". MÜLLER. J. "Weltkirche als Lerngemeinshaft. Modell einer menschengerechten Globalisierung?" *Stimmen der Zeit 1999 (5), 317.*

2. UNDP *Human Development Report 1998*

3. Cf. RAMONET, I. *Le Monde Diplomatique 11-IV-1997.* Quoted in BECK, U. *¿Qué es la globalización?* Paidos, Barcelona 1998, 73.

4. Cf. COMAS, C. *Sociedad, Economía, Cultura: una aproximación histórica* Publicaciones ESADE, Barcelona 1999, 101.

5. Cf. VAZQUEZ, L. "La ONU denuncia que el número de pobres se ha doblado desde 1974" *El País* 6-VII-1999.

6. Cf. BECK, U. *Op. cit. 207-208*

7. LAFONTAINE, O. MÜLLER, Ch. *No hay que tener miedo a la globalización* Biblioteca Nueva, Madrid 1998, 35. At any rate, as these authors point out, commerce is more inter-regional than international. To sum up, we could say that capitals move on a world level, goods and services on an inter-regional level and workers in the interior of States.

8. Cf. LAFONTAINE, O. MÜLLER, Ch. *Op. cit., 37.*

9. Cf. CASTELLS, M. "Entender nuestro mundo" *Revista de Occidente* 205 Madrid, May 1998, 120-121.

10. Cf. PFAFF, W. "Un desafío a la ortodoxia" *Política exterior* 53, X, September-October 1996, 16.

11. Cf. LAFONTAINE, O. MÜLLER, C. *Op. cit.* 74.

12. See an extensive presentation of the ecologic dangers of the planet in MENACHO, J. *The Challenge of the Earth: ecology and justice in the XXI century.* Cristianisme i Justícia, Barcelona 1999 Booklet nº 89.

13. Cf. LAFONTAINE, O... *Op. cit.* 52, 73.

14. Cf. BECK, U. *Op. cit.* 175.

15. "... the USSR reached a point where they invested 37% of their budget in the manufacture of arms, while this represented barely 7% of the budget of the USA" BARRANCO, J. "Walters explica en Santander la victoria final de los EEUU sobre la URSS" *La Vanguardia* 10.VIII.99.

16. Cf. "Entender nuestro mundo" *Op. cit.* 142.

17. Cf. FUKUYAMA, F. "The End of History" *National Interest* 1989.

18. Cf. MÜLLER, J. *Op. cit.* 320-321.

19. Cf. CASTELLS, M. *La era de la información. Economía, sociedad, cultura. Vol. 3. Fin de Milenio* Alianza, Madrid 1997, 188-191.

20. XXXIV General Congregation of the Society of Jesus *Decree IV,* n.1.

21. Cf. "Entender nuestro mundo" 131-133.

22. Addictions, not only on a chemical basis (tobacco, alcohol or drugs) but also on a social basis (food, sex, games, purchases, television, Internet, work) are increasing on an alarming scale. For the case of Spain, see ALONSO-FERNANDEZ, F. "La plaga de las adicciones sociales" *El País* 2-V-2000.

23. Towards the end of 1999, the market share of American cinema in the European Union (EU) was between 54 and 92%; while the share of the EU in the USA was only 3%. The budget of a film in the USA was 4 times that of one of the EU; and the budget of promotion in the USA was 15 times that of a European film. Cf. MARTI, O. "Europa reivindica su propia imagen" *El País* 5-XII-1999.

24. Cf. BARBER, B. "Cultura McWorld contra democracia" *Le Monde Diplomatique August/September 1998, 28.*

25. Cf. MARTIN BERBERO, J. "La globalización desde una perspectiva cultural" *Letra* 58, 1998, 16.

26. SARRÓ, R. "Cultura y metacultura: más allá de la diversidad y de la homogeneización" *Revista de Libros* Madrid, March 1999, 14.