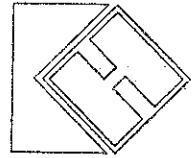


INSTITUT
DE RECHERCHES
CULTURELLES DE
CROATIE

INSTITUTE
FOR CULTURE
OF CROATIA

ZAVOD
ZA KULTURU
HRVATSKE

Professor George Gerbner
The Annenberg School for Communication
University of Pennsylvania
3620 Walnut Street
Philadelphia, PA 19104



savska 41
p. o. b. 52
YU - 41000 zagreb
tel. (041) 537-622

phone 536-311
no: 415/1991

Zagreb, Nov 14, 1991

Dear George,

Thank you for your letter of September 18 which reached me on October 3; at the time you were obviously not fully aware of what was happening in this country. I believe that in the meantime you've heard more about the tragic and cruel war in Croatia. Therefore I shall leave the discussion of "marketing strategies" for some better times.

I must say I am very impressed by the draft for the three-year international research and action program "Environmental Policy Change: The Cultural Frontier" and the measures already taken as regards participants and elaboration of the plan. I am happy to see that Yugoslavia is represented by high-quality experts, but I must also warn you that Yugoslavia as such no longer exists. Although the present crisis has not been solved yet, there is no doubt that the political changes will be so great and far-reaching that the participants from Belgrade will most certainly be unable to deal properly with the entire territory of former Yugoslavia.

There have also been changes in my Institute - it is being integrated in the Ministry of Education and Culture of the Republic of Croatia and at present no research programs are planned for the future, nor shall I be here much longer. In an endeavour to keep in touch with you and the project, I have discussed the matter with Dr Nada Svob-Djokic, director of the Institute for Development and International Relations (IRMO) which you certainly know of; some of the Institute's collaborators are in Philadelphia. Nada agrees with me that the project is exceptionally important and she is more than willing to contribute as much as possible to its success. We expect further suggestions and details from you.

Yours sincerely

Matko Mestrovic
director



ekonomski
institut,
zagreb

10000 Zagreb, Trg J.F. Kennedyja 7
tel. (01) 23 35 700; fax 23 35 165
žiro račun 30102-603-469
poštanski pretinac 149

George Gerbner
234 Golf View Road
Ardmore, PA 19003
USA

July 26, 1995

Dear George,

I was very glad to meet you again in Slovenia. I did enjoy your excellent lecture and your company.

My sincere congratulation for the impressive growth of CEM! I would like to joint you but have to reflect more if there is any practical possibility.

As promised, I am sending a copy of my recent paper to let you know my orientation.

I would like very much to keep in touch with you. Best wishes and warm regards,

Sincerely yours

Matko Meštrović



ekonomski
institut,
zagreb

10000 Zagreb, Trg J.F. Kennedyja 7
tel. (01) 23 35 700; fax 23 35 165
žiro račun 30102-603-469
poštanski pretinac 149

*copy Scholarship?
sent 2/8/96
box 2/9*

George Gerbner
CEM, University City Science Center
3624 Market Street, One East, Philadelphia
PA 19104

January 18, 1996

Dear George,

My congratulations for your endeavour. I am honored very much with your invitation and I will do my best to attend the Founding Convention of the CEM.

For the moment I have difficulties to cover travel expenses but still hope that problem will be solved in some way. For the hotel costs and registration fee I see no other solution than the scholarship which probably will be available from your part.

These difficulties are due to particular circumstances here which are known very well to you. For the same reason I am not able to propose any guest capable to offer a contribution. Nonetheless I will keep trying to find one.

If it is of some relevance, you may mention my affiliation to the Institute for Culture of Croatia as former director, but my working place now is the Zagreb Institute of Economics where I am conducting the research project Cultural Capital and Development Strategy of Croatia. My home address is: Istarska 44, 10000 Zagreb, phone: + (385 1) 579 828.

I am looking forward to seeing you and remain

Sincerely yours

Matko Meštrović

Date: Mon, 12 Feb 1996 10:28:16 -0500
From: mervar@eizg.hr (Andrea Mervar)
To: bmosley@libertynet.org
Subject: from:M.Mestrovic
Cc: mervar@eizg.hr

February 12, 1996

Dear Bridget Mosley,

In the last circular letter signed by George, which I received yesterday, it is indicated that I should contact you concerning details of my participation at the Founding Convention. I already have made my travel reservation through local Travel Agency (General Tourist Lufthansa City Center):

OUMF 470 T 14MAR 4 ZAGCDG HK1 0925 1125
AF 054 V 14MAR 4 CDGORD HK1 1250 2C 1325 1525
TW 255 T 14MAR 4 ORDSTL HK1 3 1725 1842

I am very grateful for the full waiver of the registration fee offered to me. For the moment I really do not know how to pay very expensive hotel for three night. But I still hope that probably George or you could find a solution for that problem. I will be very satisfied with a modest room in student dormitory near the Webster University or something similar. Please, ask George very frankly about that, he knows very well my particular situation.

I have also to announce a guest from my part: Mr Velimir Srica, former Minister for science and technology of Croatia, who is now Visiting Associate Professor at UCLA-Graduate School of Education & Information Studies 235 LIS Building, 450 Hilgar Ave. Los Angeles, CA 90024-1520, phone (310) 825-7135, fax (310)206-4460, e-mail vsrica@ucla.edu. He is going to contact you very soon.

Kind regards

Matko Mestrovic

P.S. Dear Ms. Mosley, if you want to contact Dr. Mestrovic through e-mail, please feel free to use the following address: mervar@ekist.eizg.hr.

Sincerely,

Andrea Mervar

MESTROVIC

[7] From: fgg at post1 2/15/96 10:44PM (1144 bytes: 18 ln)
To: mervar@ekist.eizg.hr at SMTP-po, bmosley@libertynet.org at SMTP-po, bwithe
at post1
Subject: To Matko Mestrovic c/o Andrea Mervar

----- Message Contents -----

Dear Matko: Bridget Mosley passed on your message to her. We are pleased to offer you hotel accomodations and meals for the three days of your stay in St. Louis, sharing a room with another participant. The dates of your itinerary are not clear from your message; please send us the dates again.

We have not yet heard from Mr. Srica. Should we send an invitation to him? We are planning a pre-Convention International Broadcast Standards Summit meeting of chief regulators and other experts from several countries. That will start Friday, March 15 morning, with the formal opening of the Convention at 4 pm. Let me know if you (and/or Mr. Srica) might be interested and qualified by position or experience to participate in that, and, if so, send me brief description of background.

Look forward to hearing from you. E-mail FGG@ASC.UPENN.EDU

George

Am 6:42



ekonomski
institut,
zagreb

10000 Zagreb, Trg J.F. Kennedyja 7
tel. (01) 23 35 700; fax 23 35 165
žiro račun 30102-603-469
poštanski pretinac 149

CEM, University City Science Center
3624 Market Street, One East, Philadelphia
PA 19104

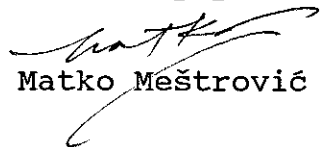
February 19, 1996

Dear George,

Here attached is, translated in English, the last chapter of my recently published book **Commodity and Freedom**, and my short curriculum vitae, just to illustrate my mental affiliation to CEM.

I do hope we will meet soon. Best wishes and warm regards,

Sincerely yours



Matko Meštrović

Design in the 21st Century Cultural Environment

A very simple question - which historical time we belong to and which social space we live in - will leave us completely confused as soon as we face it in full. Cultural and/or ideological patterns provide us with answers, as it were, before we fully realize the question, moreover, they prevent us from actually facing it. Because this question implies going beyond our capacity of concentration and human reach: since when have we been here and where are we going, where are we now and when shall we get somewhere there.

The limits of social existence and the direction of historical motion - categories which can be grasped only relatively - dissolve in time/space of possible social action. Even if we do ask ourselves about the extent and the modality of this action, we do not ask what is it in us that poses the question nor to whom/what the question is addressed.

1. What did Morris want to promote?

William Morris embarked upon a rare enterprise: he decided to convey to himself and his contemporaries a picture of the new society to come in which he wished, albeit in a dream, to live at least a day. He reported on it in first person in his Utopian romance News From Nowhere, published in 1890.

First that he relates about the future society in which he suddenly found himself is that in it there are no smoke-vomiting factory chimneys and no deafening noise of machine works. Slums have been turned into green meadows and the salmon is plentiful in the crystal-clear river of London.

People of the new generation are strong and healthy of body, and live easily, passing their lives in a reasonable strife with nature and exercising all sides of themselves. To each of them information is readily available and each of them has the time for education and personal growth.

Oxford has changed, too: from the commercial learning place of the past, it has become a place where knowledge is cultivated for its own sake. In the new society buying and selling no longer exist; wares and services are simply offered and taken without any remuneration. Parliament no longer exists because the whole people is the parliament. Private property being abolished, all the criminal laws and all the legal crimes which it had manufactured came to an end.

People do not avoid work nor do they seek a reward for it: the reward of labour is life itself and the pleasure of creation. This is the greatest and the most important change from the conditions of the old world.

It has been made possible by the freedom for every man to do what he can do best, joined to the knowledge, reached slowly and painfully, of what production of labour is really wanted. In the last age of civilisation men had got into a vicious circle in the matter of production of wares. In order to make the most of their wonderful facility of production, they created a system of buying and selling, called the World Market which, once set a-going, forced them to go on producing more and more of these wares, whether they needed them or not, thus burdening themselves with a prodigious mass of work merely to keep the wretched system going. The countries within the ring of "civilisation" were

glutted with the abortion of the market, and force and fraud were used unsparingly to "open up" countries outside that pale. (1)

Thus did a hundred years ago Morris look towards the 21st century when, he deeply believed, the transition from "commercial slavery to freedom" would be realized. To his mind there was no doubt that this radical change was morally inevitable as the great motive-power behind it was a longing for freedom and equality, "akin to the unreasonable passion of the lover". This aspiration after complete equality as "the bond of happy human society" Morris obsessively linked with a demand that all work must assume the character of art. Though lacking proper scientific explanation, he pinpointed the central malaise in the fact that labour was imprisoned in the form of commodity: people who live a life which always looked upon "nature", animate and inanimate, as one thing, and mankind as another, will try to make "nature" their slave since they think it is something outside them. (2)

2. The near future!

On January 5, 1966, at the School of Architecture at Princeton, Tomas Maldonado gave a lecture entitled intriguingly "How to fight complacency in design education?". At the time he taught at the Hochschule fuer Gestaltung in Ulm, a leading design school in the world, which two years later was to find itself in difficulties because of its radical attitudes and was subsequently closed down.

In Maldonado's opinion, the most urgent task is to clarify the idea of environmental design in order to rid design education of its many ambiguities and controversies. Taking into account the fact substantiated by ecology that the human habitat is an open system made up of both animate and inanimate agents, he warns that it is necessary to conceive a new type of mediocosmos where not only the system of objects but also the system of man can be optimized.

This will be aided by both science and technology which will radically change the structure of human environment and bring about the advent of the post-historic, post-literate and post-political man. While being quite sceptical in this respect, Maldonado nevertheless claims that the development of the future world will depend upon our action and the degree of efficiency of our action. He also stresses that the idea of efficiency is being revised: efficient behaviour no longer acts through "reduction", it now acts through "differentiation", and our main task consists in discovering the complexity behind the apparent simplicity. If technology implies the end of the reign of necessity and, becoming a trans-human activity, announces the coming of the post-technical man, science will once again turn its attention to man and his destiny. The world we live in is no longer a monolithic world, in some places necessity combined with consciousness is threatening to explode, while in other places some still believe that the only way to deal with violence is violence. Although Fuller's idea of a design revolution is not untenable, it would have to be the result not only of a mobilization of the technical imagination, but also of the sociological imagination. (3)

Maldonado consequently proposes a definition of human environment as a complex system composed of interdependent sub-systems which, grasped in its entirety, should enable criticism of each particularism. Maldonado's concept of a school of environmental design, based on the above principles, is divided into two main sectors: Physical Environmental Design and Behavioural Environmental Design. The topics to be dealt with in the first sector would include the three scales of physical environment - the scale of the City or Urban-Environment, the scale of Buildings or Built-Environment, and the scale of Equipment or Product-Environment. The topics to be dealt with in the sector of Behavioural Environmental Design would mainly correspond to the field of Communication-Environment. (4)

Such a school, with the interdisciplinarian nature of its internal structure and with the transactional relation between the sectors and the subsectors, autonomous but not autarkical, is seen by Maldonado as an essential part of a new type of university, the University of Methods, conceived by Charles S. Pierce in 1882 as the university of the future which as the exponent of the living conditions of human mind would correspond to the new age, the age of methods. In this sense, concludes Maldonado, we will have to revise our position and develop our specific working methods, adjusting them to the specific type of problems we shall have to solve, so that we can successfully face the task entrusted to us by society - the reconstruction of human environment in the era of scientific humanism. (5)

Maldonado's views have not gone unnoticed. His attempts at a theoretical elaboration of designers' latent preoccupation through a more precise and comprehensive definition of the purpose and meaning of their activity has certainly contributed much to the programmatic consolidation of their international association. Maldonado himself has continued to reveal the complexity behind the apparent simplicity. In his book Disegno industriale: un riesame (Milan, 1976) he published a comment on the definition of industrial design officially adopted by ICSID following his suggestion in 1961. He managed to relativize the general definition which successfully encompasses the multitude of factors involved in the process of constituting the form of an industrial product - from functional, symbolical or cultural aspects of individual and social consumption to economic, constructive and systemic aspects of production and distribution - by noting that industrial design is not an autonomous activity but one subject to strictly predetermined priorities. In the system where commodity exchange is in operation, to form an object and to form a commodity are as a rule one and the same activity. (6)

Glimpsing rather than fully understanding the mutually conditioning relation that must exist between the product of labour which assumes "the form of commodity" and the genuine "commodity form", Maldonado has touched upon the crucial issue: how does commodity acquire form?

3. Are the concepts clear?

In the entire ladder of evolution, the emergence of conceptual thinking is, besides the birth of life itself, the most important distinction known to science. Learning is a characteristic of every living system: from self-productive molecule chains to anthropoid primates, the mechanism responsible for the collection and storage of information remained essentially the same, with individual experience gaining in importance proportionally to the increasing complexity of the nervous system. But the knowledge acquired individually was not hereditary; it would be extinguished with the death of the individual. It was only in the late Tertiary that an incomparable system came suddenly into being which could handle the primary functions of life, with completely different meaning, dozens of times faster. A decisive role in the emergence of conceptual thinking and the accompanying syntactical language was performed by explorative behaviour, particularly self-exploration, including play and reflection. It is not impossible, claims Konrad Lorenz, that the newly born man first saw his hand when he reached for the hand of his companion; reaching for a personal object could be translated into reaching a concept. (7)

While the arising of conceptual thinking did not speed up the genetic changes on which the process of evolution is based, the historical development of culture was able to transcend the genetic limitations of its members. However, warns Lorenz, culture is an animate system like any other and, although being the most complex of all the systems existing on the planet, it is still subject to natural laws that govern the organic world. (8)

This is precisely why the desirable and necessary change of social behaviour in contemporary society must be linked to the necessity of changing the cultural and, consequently, the historical awareness. For designers this would imply that the premises of their activity should be re-examined if they are to contribute to the transformation of culture on the global level. In this respect, Anthony King has recently remarked that it would be fallacious to conceptualize society, culture, social organization or process without reference to the actual physical and spatial context, noting the fact that the majority of theories concerning social relations and culture pay practically no attention whatsoever to the material reality of built environment in the production and reproduction of society. (9)

The same may well be true for the role of new technologies. The large-scale informatisation projects are accepted as a huge step towards mondialization in the belief that a quantitative, spatial extension of economic activity and technology is progress in itself. Thereby the spatial-temporal paradox of modern age is neglected: information and communication technologies affect the dimension of space exactly the opposite from the dimension of time - they expand space and shrink time. This is an issue which deserves serious consideration, particularly in terms of its significance for the establishment of a world society. What is here universal, important for the affirmation of all human values, and what is uniform, mutilating and reducing these values? (10)

It must be clearly understood that all of this is occurring within the capitalist formation which has not been historically transcended, but capitalism has immensely transcended the sphere of production in the strict sense which was its material and conceptual foundation. "Leisure and traffic, dwellings and environmental management, cultural creation and management of social disequilibrium, science and new poverty, everything is being bought and sold, everything feeds on the flourishing operations of sponsorship and publicity..." (11)

Contrary to ideological projections which predicted a short way to a new society and simplified its picture, Morris's compatriot Raymond Williams claimed that the new society could only be more complex than the present one and by no means simpler. The American Frederic Jameson has recently noted that the system cannot be changed before it is ready to be changed. If this revelation strips all revolutionary efforts of their purpose, it does not have to discourage every resistance. On the contrary, the decentralization of the subject could mean that the individual is being made aware of the opposites in collective relations; moreover, in Jameson's opinion, this very process is collective as well. The cognitive mapping is in fact learning through transcoding - realizing what the other person is thinking when he is saying something. (12)

Design cannot be a neutral tool in this. Its appropriation by marketing as a sales prefix and its transformation in media-speak from a process into a commodity are attempts to depoliticize design just when its political role has become acutely important. Namely, as the century expires, we are entering a new "modern" age. And design is being called upon to help in the necessary rehabilitation of the "modern". (13)

John Thackara's prediction that the "modern" will need rehabilitating is supported by his lucid differentiation: in proclaiming the end of "progress" as an ideal, postmodernism sets itself in opposition to an idealized, ahistorical version of modernism; postmodernists and historians have separated modernism as an art movement from the changes in science and technology, and the social, political and economic conditions. Debate about cultural modernization is therefore divorced from that of social modernization, remaining confined to surface phenomena. (14)

4. History and/or evolution

The legacy of the enlightenment, both intellectually and politically refuted in the last few decades, cannot be offhandedly omitted from any responsible recapitulation of the historical development of modern man and his aspirations to humanization. What is at stake here is not only the confidence in the scientific cognition of the world, supported by which modern man has set out to change the world, but also the confrontation with the uncertainty of man's destiny.

Human interaction with nature is mediated by artifacts and the dynamics of artifact production is identical in structure to the dynamics of man's history. This fact alone indicates that there exists a connection between interaction and representation, that is, between the systems of images/concepts through which the world is internalized. (15)

In the course of organic evolution, various forms of representation were decisive for various solutions concerning survival. Today science clearly distinguishes three strategic courses for maintaining a stable interaction with the environment. The morphological strategy presupposes creation of new organs or a modification of the already existing ones, the etological strategy the adoption of new modes of behaviour, and only the technological strategy responds to the challenges of survival by construction of appropriate artifacts. This strategy has enabled homo sapiens, a species imperfect in terms of morphology and etology, to attain technological perfection through the artificial world of man-made artifacts, both physical and mental. The mind must be understood as both natural and cultural phenomenon which cannot be reduced to mere biology, just as no sharp line can be drawn between the material, social and intellectual elements of human culture.

The intellectual system is not a logical or a semantically homogenous structure, but rather something stratified. Primary confrontation with the outer world in everyday experience occurs in the empirical layer of thinking and discourse. Intellectual activities that connect disparate phenomena and arrange them in systematic schemes are encompassed by the theoretical layer, which also encompasses the activity of "belief processing", i.e., a practical activity simulated in thinking and language which provides this layer with an autonomous dynamics and a link to the empirical layer. The meta-theoretical layer contains implicit structures and procedures of conceptual thinking which are embedded deep in the intellectual tradition of each culture or period. This layer defines the relation between the empirical and the theoretical layers because it encodes all the essential aspects, both material and social, of a certain mode of survival, so that the dynamics of changes in it is initiated by the change of the way of life itself. (16)

Norbert Elias, however, argues that the fundamental defect of contemporary sciences, particularly of those which like sociology include the highest levels of synthesis, is that the basic model of human beings with which they work is confused and confusing; none of them in their existing form can claim to provide the basic information needed for a basic model of human beings. In the development of humanity, causal explanation gained a supremacy rather late and most people still ask "Who has created the world?", not "What changes account for the present constellation of the universe?". (17)

The world can be experienced in two different ways, as nature or as history; as a world represented by means of symbols of unchanging regularities and a world representing the structure of a ceaseless sequential cultural change.

In fact, these are only two different ways of ordering experiences, selecting and ordering perceptions, although it is possible that in some cases the one and in other cases the other of the two types of symbolic representation may be more reality-adequate, or that different problem fields require their different blending. Elias therefore explicitly abandons the tendency to treat different functions of the

same knowledge complex as if they were different and separate, or as if its various aspects, individual and social, were not potentially and actually both at the same time. Today, at a period of considerable knowledge growth, it is relatively easy to distinguish between living subjects and non-living objects, but the doubts as to the nature of this knowledge did not disappear and there is a steady, growing uncertainty about the relationship between knowledge and that which it claims to represent.

Nevertheless, human beings, who represent what is probably one of the rarest events within nature, may have time and perhaps even opportunities for making their life with each other more pleasant, more comfortable and meaningful than it has been so far. No one can do that for human beings; they must do that themselves. It is unlikely that they will find in the few million years left to them anything better to do than to search for just that. (18)

Without reference to this kind of time distance, claims Elias, humans can hardly understand themselves. Human beings are biologically capable of changing the manner of their social life and by virtue of their evolutionary endowment they can develop socially. No structural impediment to their reality sense has yet come to light. Nothing in present and past experiences justifies the assumption that the humanization of humanity is an impossible task. But in order to continue along this path, it is indispensable to bring to light more factual knowledge of civilizing and de-civilizing processes and the conditions under which they become operative in relation to each other. (19)

5. The principle of the ideal and the distortion of communication

Reviving Hegel's thesis that the liberal-democratic states of French and American revolutions heralded the end of history as they marked the end of the evolution of human thought on primary principles, the American Japanese Francis Fukuyama has claimed three years ago that the final point of ideological evolution of humanity has been reached indeed and that the universalization of liberal democracy constitutes the ultimate form of human reign. Although the victory of liberalism in the real, material world is not yet total, Fukuyama holds that it is well-founded to believe that, in a long-term projection, the ideal will govern the material world. Human nature has changed to such an extent during the past two millenia that our contemporary democratic-egalitarian consciousness has become a constant feature, a part of our fundamental "nature" just as our need to sleep. (20)

Truth is historically relative and precisely because of that, argues Fukuyama, each reasoning which does not take into account the end of history leads to a degeneration of historicism into one-sided relativism or undermines every form of progress. The events occurring in our century have made us deeply cynical where the possibility of progress is concerned. One must therefore be careful not to miss the true significance of the recent changes. (21)

To what time do we really belong and which of us, for whom is this time historical and for whom post-historical, and who are the "we" we speak about - these are the issues on which Michel Foucault had very different notions. He considered these questions to be inherent to the belonging of modernity because for the attitude of modernity, the high value of the present is indissociable from a desperate eagerness to imagine it otherwise than it is, and to transform it not by destroying it but by grasping it in what it is. (22)

As moderns we create ourselves by ceaselessly taking up the question of our present. This is a task which as moderns we share and part of modernity's unity lies in this question - in a shared being as questioners dialogically intertwined rather than as transcendental knowers. Our freedom does not arise out of some sort of access to "the truth" according to self-generated laws of reason, nor does

it arise out of an "authentic" relationship to our "true self"; rather, we must return to the contingency of the world and our relationship with it. (23)

Neo-conservatism drew the arguments for the defense of liberal rationalism of Western societies from the critique of social state and the collapse of the authority of the bourgeois value system, which is reaction rather than innovation knowledge, while the critical theory, although lacking its former homogeneity, remained focused on those social processes that erode the emancipatory abilities of mankind. (24) Opposing the objective one-sidedness of the capitalist modernized lifeworld and confident that the limited enlightenment must enlighten itself, Juergen Habermas has persistently attempted to prove that the paradigm of consciousness can be resolved by means of the paradigm of communication. (25)

The idea of an unlimited communication community which transcends the existing framework of social space and historical time from w i t h i n was for Pierce already a substitute for the idea of unconditional or timeless nature of absolute truth. It is an idea to which we can approximate our real argumentation situations insofar as we endeavour to hear all in any way relevant voices, bring to bear the available state of knowledge, and disagree or agree only from the force of the better argument. (26)

Habermas holds this in spite of his knowledge that communication is systemically distorted. Distortion results from the distorted reproduction of the lifeworld through the systemworld, i.e. market and state, and its media, money and power, which demands of the actor a strategic attitude. Habermas therefore differentiates between the s o c i a l l y integrated areas of action and s y s t e m i c a l l y integrated areas of action. In the first the interactions are linked either via the intentions of the actors themselves or via their intuitive background knowledge of the lifeworld, while in the second order emerges objectively, via consequences of actions which interlock functionally and stabilize one another.

The two media work symmetrically in so far as they serve to hold together differentiated and self-steering systems of action, independent of any intentional effort on the part of the actors. But there is asymmetry in the way that each of these two media depends on the lifeworld, although they are both legally institutionalized and therefore embedded in the lifeworld. But whereas the capitalist economy subsumes the production process including the substratum of labour power, the democratic state apparatus remains dependent on the repeated provision of legitimation. (27)

6. Permanent revolution of capital

The common material languages of money and commodities provide a universal system of market valuation and so procuring the reproduction of social life through an objectively grounded system of social bonding. As a social power that can be held by individual persons, money forms the basis for a wide-ranging individual liberty. This liberty can be deployed to develop ourselves as free-thinking individuals without reference to others. Money unites precisely through its capacity to accomodate individualism, otherness and extraordinary social fragmentation. This fundamental relation that determined social conditions in capitalist modernization has not changed in the time of postmodernism. Production for profit remains the basic organizing principle of economic life and continues to operate as an invariant shaping force in historical-geographical development. David Harvey therefore views all recent events in the light of a single essential change: a change in the regime of accumulation of capital. (28)

Associated with it is the mode of social and political regulations. Harvey defines the mode of regulation as the body of interiorized rules and social processes which helps to work out the problems of organizing labour power for the purpose of capital accumulation in particular places and times and to ensure the

appropriate consistency of individual behaviour with the scheme of reproduction. Thereby he also supplies evidence for his hypothesis that a shift from Fordism to a flexible regime of accumulation is a distinctive characteristic of recent history.

Flexibility exists not only with respect to labour processes, but also to labour markets, products and patterns of consumption. Entirely new sectors of production and new ways of providing financial services have emerged, as well as numerous commercial, technological and organizational innovations. A new round of "time-space compression" has taken place in the capitalist world, while the power of organized labour has been undercut and the structural, as opposed to frictional, unemployment is on the rise.

Economies of scale have been replaced by economies of scope, entirely new industrial and contracting forms have emerged, and the need to accelerate turnover time in consumption has led to a shift of emphasis from production of goods to the production of events. Accurate and up-to-date information is a new and very highly valued commodity, essential to the centralized coordination of far-flung corporate interests. Knowledge itself has become a key commodity, to be produced and sold to the highest bidder. (29)

Harvey places an emphasis on the already forgotten claim that capitalism is a revolutionary force in world history that perpetually re-shapes the world into new and often quite unexpected configurations. Objective conceptions of time and space are necessarily created through material practices and processes which serve to reproduce social life. To the degree that the material practices of social reproduction vary geographically and historically, social time and social space are also differently constructed. (30)

The greatest fallacy of Marxist and socialist thought, argues Fred Halliday, lies neither in its underestimate of nationalism which is now rapidly erupting nor in its overestimate of socialism which obviously did not work out, but in underestimating capitalism itself. Although capitalism did not manage to root out poverty in a large part of the world, the evident ability of capitalist economy and political systems has limited revolutionary regimes and served to reduce the credibility of socialism. The character of capitalist hegemony has changed, values and institutions considered to be the embodiment of the legitimacy of the system have been affirmed, but a substantial role has been performed by the forms of activities connected to communication and consumer culture. Socialism was no match for capitalism in this area, just as it was inferior in economy and technology. It was even less of a rival in the sphere of politics, as the initial revolutionary success never developed into an alternative democratic system which would really work. As to the success of communist ideas in the West, it was not based on the uncritical admiration or authoritarian identification, but rather on a belief in a constant, historically progressive alternative. When this belief was definitely shattered in the 1980s, the more or less widespread view was accepted that communism was but a partial, impatient and depraved challenge to the dominant system of our times. For Halliday, the question remains whether and to what extent an alternative to the dominant capitalist model exists and which social forces could be democratically mobilized to create and support it. (31)

The same event, the fall of communism, is seen differently by Samir Amin: not as the collapse of a system in historical confrontation with another system, but as a real danger that the inevitable success of the now triumphant liberalism would have devastating consequences for national classes at the precise moment when they are ideologically and politically disarmed. His view of the past is different, too: in each of the three great revolutions in the modern world - French, Russian and Chinese - ideas and social forces at moments of radicalization pushed the process far beyond that really possible in the given historical situation.

Amin is of the opinion that the capitalist mode of production in itself does not require democracy as its characteristic oppressiveness is hidden in economic

alienation. As the world system, the actually existing capitalism, it has always up to now generated polarization on the world-scale. Even today world market remains deficient; it is limited to consumer commodities and capital, without any perspectives to become "world market of labour". (32)

7. The power of flows instead of the flows of power

On the world level, the process of globalization has several faces. It is an expression of the growing interconnectedness of structure, culture and activity, but also of the parallel dissolution of differences between traditional borders. Globalization of society confirms that societies are no longer the primary unites of sociology, as the global processes are at least partly constitutive for social reality everywhere. Margaret Archer has formulated a starting point for an international sociology which should supply a theoretical expression for the "integration of differences" and would be capable of explaining the heterogenous effect of the holistic process on the constitutive parts of the world which is emerging. (33) This sociology refuses to project an universalism from the globalization effects and intends to evaluate those sources of unity which are brought to being by new global structures, their mediators and their mutual influence on the differences of regional structures. It therefore abandons the false universalism of the existing theories of "modernization" which are single-factor oriented, ahistorical and without context, since they reduce qualitatively different circumstances in the entire Third World to local perturbations. (34)

Futurologists predict the evolution of society on the basis of linear extrapolation of characteristics of new technologies, without taking into account the historical mediation exercised by social organization. They fail to see that any major transformation in the processes by which capital reproduces itself and expands its interests affects the entire social organization. Warning of this fact, Manuel Castells in the present convergence of social and technological change discerns the constitution of a new technological paradigm which heralds a new way of development: an increasingly intimate relationships among the culture, scientific knowledge and the development of productive forces is being established. The symbolic capacity of society itself, collectively as well as individually, is tightly linked to its developmental process. The more a society facilitates the exchange of information flows, and the decentralized generation and distribution of information, the greater will be its collective symbolic capacity. The structurally determined capacity of labour to process information and generate knowledge is, more than ever, the material source of productivity, and therefore of economic growth and social well-being. (35)

Informationalism as a mode of development and capitalism as a mode of production have merged in the process of techno-economic restructuring the social consequences of which are to last long after the social events and political conditions which caused it in the 1980s, because this historical synthesis triggered off new social forms and new spatial processes.

A fundamental effect of a technologically driven organizational logic of this kind is that the operations of many organizations become timeless, because information systems communicate with each other on programmed time patterns. The most significant space for the functioning, the performance and the very existence of any given organization is the space of flows of information among units of the organization and among different organizational networks. The organizational logic is now dependent on the space of flows rather than a particular location. Such flows are structured by directionality, instructions and the information systems infrastructure; the more organizations depend upon flows and networks, the less the organizational logic is influenced by the societal. The increasing tension between places and flows could reflect, in the final analysis, the gradual transformation of the flows of power into the power of flows. (36)

Linked to the restructuring process and to the expansion of the informational economy, a new form of urban dualism has emerged. It relates to the dismantling of the capital-labour relationships that were institutionalized during the long, conflictual process by which industrial society was formed. The transition to informational economy overlaps with the rise of flexible production which may be equated with de-institutionalized capital-labour relationship. The dual city is the urban expression of the process of increasing differentiation of labour in two equally dynamic sectors within the growing economy: the information-based formal economy, and the down-graded labour-based informal economy. Labour is now either moulded to the requirements of unregulated relationships or selected on the basis of its malleability to new working conditions. The economy, and thus society, becomes functionally articulated but organizationally and socially segmented. Structural dualism does not result in two social worlds, but in a variety of social universes whose fundamental characteristics are their fragmentation and the low level of communication with other such universes. (37)

Capital has always moved throughout the world, but only in the most recent period of our history have individual amounts of capital been able to operate daily on a global scale. This fundamental change in our socio-economic organization has been the major contributing force in the formation of what has been labelled "global cities". The global city epitomizes the contradictory logic of the space of flows. While determining the destiny of countries and people by spread points in interest rates, it lives in fear of the uncontrolled society generated in its own territory. The global city collapses information flows into social matter. The traditional structures of social and political control over development, work and distribution have been subverted by the placeless logic of an internationalized economy. The ultimate challenge of this fundamental dimension of the restructuring of capitalism is the possibility that the local state, and therefore people's control over their lives, will fade away, unless democracy is reinvented to match the space of flows with the power of places. (38)

Castells discusses this democracy at the end of his extensive book, in the brief final chapter entitled "The Reconstruction of Social Meaning in the Space of Flows", with the following conclusion: "However, if innovative social projects, represented and implemented by renewed local governments, are able to master the formidable forces unleashed by the revolution in information technologies, then a new socio-spatial structure could emerge made up of a network of local communes controlling and shaping a network of productive flows. Maybe then our historic time and our social space would converge towards the reintegration of knowledge and meaning into a new Informational City." (39)

REFERENCES:

1. William Morris, News from Nowhere, Logmans, Green and Co., London - New York - Toronto, 1935, pp. 1; 4; 7-8; 67; 74; 79; 81; 83-84; 88; 94; 107; 108; 110.
2. Ibid., pp. 121-122; 209-210.
3. Tomas Maldonado, "How to fight complacency in design education?" BIT-International 4/1969, Zagreb, pp. 22; 24-26.
4. Ibid., p. 27.
5. Ibid., p.28.
6. Tomas Maldonado, Disegno industriale: un riesame, Feltrinelli, Milan, 1976, pp. 9-11.
7. Konrad Lorenz, Temelji etologije, Globus, Zagreb, 1989, pp. 370; 369; 372.
8. Ibid., pp. 373; 375.
9. Anthony King, "Architecture, Capital and the Globalization of Culture", Theory, Culture & Society Vol.7 No. 2-3, June 1990, SAGE Publication, p. 398; 404.
10. Jean Chesneaux, Modernite-monde, La decouvert, Paris, 1989, pp. 25; 84.
11. Ibid., p. 193.
12. Frederick Jameson. "Postmoderni prostor", Quorum 1/1991, Zagreb, pp. 3; 7; 8-9.
13. John Thackara, "Beyond the object in design", Design After Modernism, Ed. by John Thackara, Thames and Hudson, 1988, p. 12.
14. Ibid., p.13.
15. Srđan Lelas, Promišljanje znanosti, Biblioteka Filozofska istraživanja, Zagreb, 1990, pp. 31; 37.
16. Ibid., pp. 39; 65; 90; 94; 95; 96-97; 98; 99.
17. Norbert Elias, The Symbol Theory, SAGE Publication, London, 1991, pp. 4-5; 10.
18. Ibid., pp. 10-15.
19. Ibid., pp. 30; 36; 82.
20. Francis Fukuyama, "Debate o kraju historije?" Pregled no. 252, 1990/91, Belgrade (U.S. Embassy quarterly), pp. 8-9; 13.
21. Ibid., pp. 10-12.
22. Romand Coles, "Foucault's Dialogical Artistic Ethos", Theory, Culture & Society, Vol. 8 No.2, 1991, p. 116.
23. Ibid., pp. 108; 114.
24. Andrej Lukšič, "Neokonzervativizam v ZRN", Časopis za kritiku znanosti ČKZ 130/31, Ljubljana, pp. 13-14.

25. Juergen Habermas, "Plićaci kritike racionalnosti", Kulturni radnik 3/1984, pp. 33; 34-35.
26. Juergen Habermas: Morality, Society and Ethics - An Interview with Tobern H. Nielsen, Acta sociologica Vol.33 No.2, 1990, pp. 104-105.
27. Ibid., pp. 106; 108.
28. David Harvey, The Condition of Postmodernity, Basil Blackwell 1989, pp. 102-103; 111-112; 121.
29. Ibid., pp.124; 122; 145; 155-157; 159-160.
30. Ibid., pp. 188; 204.
31. Fred Halliday, "The End of Cold War", New Left Review, No.180/1990, Radio Beograd, Treći program, no. 84, 1990, pp. 108-109; 112-113.
32. Samir Amin, "The Future of Socialism", Monthly Review, July-August 1990, Radio Beograd, Treći program, no. 84, 1990, pp. 129-131.
33. Margaret Archer, "Sociologija za jedan svet: jedinstvo i različitost", Sociologija, Vol. XXXII, no.3, 1990, Belgrade, pp. 181-182.
34. Ibid., pp. 183-185.
35. Manuel Castells, The Informational City, Information Technology, Economic Restructuring and the Urban-Regional Process, Basil Blackwell, 1989, pp. 1-2; 11-15.
36. Ibid., pp. 29; 32; 142; 169-171.
37. Ibid., pp. 224; 225-226.
38. Ibid., pp. 307; 338; 344; 347.
39. Ibid., p. 353.