

SOCIAL MEDIA AND POLITICAL ALIENATION. ALIENATION AND SINGLE THOUGHT

Las redes sociales y la alienación política.
Alienación y pensamiento único

António dos Santos Queirós

Center of Philosophy of the University of Lisbon (Portugal)

This paper wants to discuss the political dimension of the human being, and what means the good and the devil, for the XXI century polices of communication.

From... the Aristotelian Man, that is not only a philosophical abstraction, but also a citizen; Aristotle's thought builds a bridge between two dimensions of human being, the philosophy of existence and political philosophy.

To... the utilitarian ethics of Jeremy Bentham and Stuart Mill, assumes that "not only any action of a private individual, but all the Government measures" must improve the well-being and reduce suffering. Far away the primacy of duty (*eudaimonia*) from Aristotle, he based morality of action on benefits back to their subject and/or in the principle of less suffering caused to the "other".

And crossing... the XIX century when Feuerbach and Marx focused the debate about the concept of alienation on the religion issue.

To... Lukacs, Marcuse, Kierkegaard, Nietzsche, Heidegger, Sartre...

This paper wants to focus the philosophical debate, about the question of political alienation, in the XXI century philosophical practices and ethical practices, what means discuss the key question: Alienation and single thought. What are the hidden philosopheme of single thought? Alienation on the discourse of social media, multimedia and cybernetic communication, why and how are diffused?

Palabras clave

Alienation, single thoughts, media, political philosophy, ethics

Este artículo quiere discutir la dimensión política del ser humano, y lo que significa el bien y el mal, para las políticas de comunicación del siglo XXI.

Realizaremos un recorrido que se inicia con el hombre aristotélico, que no es solo una abstracción filosófica, sino también un ciudadano. El pensamiento de Aristóteles construye un puente entre dos dimensiones del ser humano: la filosofía de la existencia y la filosofía política.

Para llegar a la ética utilitaria de Jeremy Bentham y Stuart Mill, que postula que "no solo cualquier acción de un individuo privado, sino todas las medidas gubernamentales" deben mejorar el bienestar y reducir el sufrimiento. Lejos de la primacía del deber (*eudaimonia*) de Aristóteles, su ética asentó la moralidad de la acción en los beneficios de vuelta al sujeto o en el principio de causar el menor dolor al "otro". Y pasaremos el siglo XIX hasta Feuerbach y Marx, quienes centraron el debate sobre el concepto de alienación en la cuestión de la religión.

Hasta llegar a Lukács, Marcuse, Kierkegaard, Nietzsche, Heidegger, Sartre...

En suma, este ensayo quiere centrar el debate filosófico en el tema de la alienación política, la práctica filosófica y ética del siglo XXI, lo que significa discutir la cuestión clave: alienación y pensamiento único. Y sus corolarios: ¿cuáles son los filosofemas ocultos del pensamiento único? Alienación en el discurso de las redes sociales, multimedia y comunicación cibernética, ¿por qué y cómo se difunde?

Keywords

Alienación, pensamiento único, medios, filosofía política, ética

1. Introduction. Ethics and Moral

The Wittgenstein's distinction between ethics and moral are common to most contemporary philosophical thought, moral is placed in the order of the rules and social conventions and the ethics is situated in the field of personal experience.

However, if ethics emerges of subjectivity of each individual person, does not have universal value.

But why not inquire this principle and, at the same time, in terms of morals and ethics, their common nature of social product, how singular, autonomous and original it seems the philosophical thought that supports them, without depreciate the specific speech from philosophy? Why oppose so irreducibly subjectivity and universal value? The question is: the existence of universal moral values may or may not be recognized by the subjectivity of each human being, like happen with the international law? The environmental values could create a new ethical paradigm, with various ethical practices and new moral conventions subordinated to global bioethics?

Inquiring those aporias leads to revisit the history of philosophy, not in a chronological logic but in dilemmatic logic.

The compromise "of practical wisdom" of Ricoeur is a real possibility not just because it emanates from two models of action – the theological Aristotelian and the deontological Kantian – only formally separated, but because these models share a common culture and society.

Our perspective is not to replace the philosophical discourse by a sociological analysis or an anthropology study. Philosophical discourse has a specific identity that is distinct from the literary speech or the psychological analysis. But that don't mean philosophical discourse cannot coexist or cross other speeches, as the arts and politics, and by this way we arrive to the issue of political philosophy.

Ethics and city-state

In Aristotelian teleology, the symbiosis between the ontological, anthropological and ethical levels outcome from human nature, which have in its own nature the virtues of reason to proceed cautiously by the good and achieve happiness (*eudaimonia*)?

The supreme virtue is wisdom (*sóphos*) which go ahead to contemplation.

Prudence raises the man on the condition of the city's ruler and confers them moral superiority because it combines the ethical and political dimension; but contemplation already is from the domain of the divine sphere.

The Aristotelian Man is not only a philosophical abstraction, but also a citizen; Aristotle's thought builds a bridge between two dimensions of human

being, the philosophy of existence and political philosophy.

Aristotle's human beings are the only species that has not only biological capacities but a "rational soul" as well.

Aristotle conceives of ethical theory in order to live in accordance with virtue, one way in which such goods as friendship, pleasure, health... fit together as a whole and in lifelong activities. The rational part of the soul searches the highest good!

We become virtuous on the city community, sharing with parents, citizens and friends the responsibility for acquiring and exercising the virtues.

Aristotle identifies the nature of human being with its end or final cause to the good, in the *Physics* and in the *Eudemian Ethics*. For human beings the ultimate good or their natural function consists in walkway to inaccessible perfection.

The *Politics* postulates the political nature of human beings for living in the city-state.

Aristotle maintains that only on the city-state human beings attains the limit of good life, which means accept the law and justice authority of the community.

On the political context of Aristotle age, different forms of rule are required for citizens and despotic rule for slaves. Disturb those balanced system will result in disorder and injustice. In this political context the main principle of the rule of reason also implies different constitutions for different city-states, justifying tyranny or democracy.

Modernity broken human nature

When the philosophy of Descartes announces its vision of modernity of human thought, that emerges from an autonomous subject who thinks and acts using the reason, the division between the human being and nature not becomes inevitable, they are the result from the dilemmatic choice of the philosopher(s).

If opened the way to study nature as object of science, to discover mechanical laws designed by God in the cosmos, the raise of the man above nature, reigning over all beings and things for the award of the Creator, came from the domain of religion and politics and from the subordination of philosophy to its dogmas and interests. It's appears in the first flush of mercantilism, as a social necessity.

The moral void, that the Cartesian philosophy does not occupied, it's not inevitable consequence of the abandonment of divine conception of human nature and their ontological, ethical and anthropological unity; even in classical Western philosophy, in parallel with the Aristotelian thought, other concepts of moral emerged without religious foundation, but never becoming dominant.

Such was the case of Epicurus, which work we know only a few fragments, that is singularly modern in its appeal to the altruism in relation to the "other" and concerning the possession of material goods, the practice of gender equality in the gardens of the philosophy and above recognition of the intrinsic meaning of life liberated from the heuristics of fear... of death.

Or, at the East and China, the morals rules of Confucian and Tao.

The doctrine founded by Confucius advocated the implementation of ethical codes and rituals to guide the community in their conduct and persuade its members to love and respect each other, and to restore the order on the society and on the family, based on a solid hierarchy system. In this moral system, Jen (Compassion) and Yi (compassion), prevail over the Li (interest/benefit).

The philosophical Taoism, a philosophical school based on the texts *Dao De Jing* (道德经) attributed to Laozi and Zhuangzi (庄子), and their *tian-dao* or "nature's way", propose not a moral code but a species of spiritual self-discipline that emphasizes the autonomy of being conscious and its unity with the universal nature and leads the man to act respecting the three Moral Treasures: compassion, moderation, and humility.

Backing to the advent of the modern age, the thought of Bento de Espinoza surmount the dichotomy between the subjectivity and the nature, without breaking that unity; the concept of extension of the categories of God Substance and God Nature, unifies the being and the duty, without putting the Man above nature and under their domain. However not denies the autonomy of reason that Kant would elevate to a higher grade; furthermore, is that potentiality to liberate the power of rationality and human autonomy, on the unity of Substance and Nature, which not consents no one privileged status to the man specie.

And if this singular vision of the human condition precipitated the sectarian and fanatic odium of the Jewish Inquisition, also carried out the thought of Espinoza to our modernity, what means replace the Man outside the anthropocentric sphere, where Western philosophical and religions –the Christian, the Jewish and the Muslim– settle the human being.

We wrote earlier:

Since the publication of the pages of Spinoza's Ethics, there are two juxtaposed conceptions of the world in philosophy: the Universe of Imagination, dominated by an anthropomorphic conception of God, prolonged the Aristotelian and scholastic world representation, and the Universe of Reason, which, according to Bento de Espinoza, is

the manifestation of another concept of God, God Substance unique or God Nature, *naturam naturantem* and also the intelligible reason of Nature *natura naturata*.

Spinoza's God is not the omniscient Being, omnipotent, creator and transcendent to the world, all merciful, Lord of Heaven and of Hell and Supreme Domsday Punisher.

Their conception of the world is not based on the beliefs of any church and its dogmas. The meaning of life is inherent to human nature and man's destiny is to adjust their thoughts and action to the universal order that is inherent to the world. The ontological existence of beings and the phenomenology of the universe are the manifestation of a single being ontologically infinite, with infinity attributes, from which, ourselves, humans beings, recognize essentially two: thoughts, or reason for the intelligibility of the things and the extension or material reality, the *natura naturata*.

This ontology and this epistemology, this pantheism of reason not from the representation of nature, that configures their conception of the universe, become inseparable from ethical of life and cost to Espinoza the excommunication and the inquisitorial epithet of "vomiting of hell". The "Hell are the others", wrote Sartre in the 20th century. "The Hell, we are ourselves", replied Lévi-Strauss. "... We are the link between the animal and man truly human", wrote Konrad Lorenz. And a common philosophical question: how to live peacefully, until the end of life, and, probably, be happy? Espinoza answer for more than three centuries: "must be taken by useless only what contribute for the supreme perfection of the human being".

The fundamental intuition of Espinoza, according to which God is Nature developing itself in accordance with the laws that are intrinsically necessary corresponds to the last great discoveries in Astrophysics and Cosmology according to the modern scientific reason. Hubert Reeves states that the universe, which is not eternal and will be fifteen billion years old, is also not static and continues its evolution from the primordial chaos, formless and without organization. The history of the universe is the story of the growing complexity in the cosmic scale, a progressive structuring of the cosmos, with its physical forces governed by strict and universal laws. Such laws already had, since the beginning, the ability to develop the complexity, life and consciousness.

According to quantum physics, beyond a certain value, the concepts of temperature and density of matter lose their conventional sense.

About the birth of life, we have greater scientific certainty, which she appeared on Earth three thousand and five hundred million years ago.

Therefore, we return to the "unknown land" and to the relativity of knowledge, but not necessarily

to a theological explanation of the origin of the Universe and Life¹.

We can now conclude that one of the alternative routes of philosophy and ethics evolution, which come from Epicurus and the Orient, and advocated by Bento de Espinoza, not prevailed in the philosophical debate of the academies, but was always present.

It would be appropriate here make a break to analyze the problem of what is the "cause of the things" and its relationship with the "being". The preconceived notion that reserve to philosophy the question about "what it means to be" and assigns to the domain of science to study of "phenomenological causes", can lead to the old Mechanicism and to a kind of a new scholastic. Where that conception see only opposition, predetermined by that prejudice, cannot have a dialectical relationship?

At least, we can re-think the complex origin and nature of our common Western Culture.

I think that the exploit of natural elements as objects of commercial use is associated with the birth of a new ideology of modern capitalism, which in the end of 19th century did advance to the latest frontiers of market, shared in the Berlin Conference of 1885: the partition of colonial spaces and virgin lands, accomplishing its integration in the sphere of European and American metropolis.

The natural resources and the man, woman or child, elder, masterpiece of God's creation, were transformed into a merchandise and the human condition reduced to the status of mercantile "workforce".

And a new ethics (or non-ethics) emerged slowly from the beginning of 16th rural capitalism to the 18th century and 19th century industrialization: the denied of sacred nature of human condition.

Was this tremendous social change that generated the modern culture and engendered the roots of different ideologies, philosophical schools and aesthetic currents, not as a simple reflex of superstructures of the new economic base of society, not mechanically but on a dialectical process.

2. The principles of "common home" and "community and planetary solidarity"

From the first UN environmental conferences, held in Stockholm in 1972, emerged the principle of a

"common house" "... man has two homelands, his own and planet Earth"; the principle of a planetary community and solidarity, founders of a new international order (political and ethical order) and the principle of defending life on the planet and its biodiversity before humanism (UNCHE, 1972).

Those principles build a first frontier line with the cultural and political perspective of ethnocentrism.

The critical perspective of environment philosophy toward the ethnocentrism claims:

Ethnocentrism is an emotionally conditioned approach that considers and judges other societies by their own culture's criteria. It's easy to see that this attitude leads to contempt and hate of all ways of life that are different from that of the observer. (Dias, 1961).

The critique of ethnocentrism not only justifies the respect for all national cultures and all forms of classical and popular cultural expression, but also rejects any notion of superiority from a certain model of society, race or ethnicity.

In convergence with this philosophical view, philosophical critique against anthropocentrism inquiry the religious vision that gives to man, elected creature by God to preside over the divine creation, the absolute right to take ownership of nature for their purposes, without any limit or restriction.

In the historical context of the industrial revolution and contemporary technical and scientific revolution, Christian and Judaic philosophy allows to accept without serious moral restrictions the primacy of economic growth over sustainable development.

However scientific discoveries only allow us to be sure that the balance of ecosystems favorable to life depends on a multitude of physical, biological and geological factors and recognize that the higher the position occupied by organisms in the food chain (remember the biotic pyramid of Aldo Leopold), the more vulnerable they will be, as well as some species, whose destruction would dramatically affect the entire system.

In coherence, we must also consider that the multiple links between all forms of life (and even these with the abiotic environment), require, in addition to the duty of preservation of our species, to preserve the diversity of beings and their environmental niches, from whose dynamic balance, all depends.

What today is dramatic, is the rhythm at which biodiversity is being lost, the destruction of natural resources, energy and the multiplication of polluting effects that reach not only the whole lithosphere, the hydrosphere, the cryosphere, the atmosphere and the biosphere, but also, with unpredictable consequences, the fundamental genetic material, the DNA, which conserves and reproduces the codes of life.

¹This part of the text, with successive renovations, was presented at the XXIII World Congress of Philosophy, Athens, in 2013. And in the World Congress of Philosophy on the topic: "The philosophy of Aristotle, Critique of Environmental Ethics and Moral in the 21st century", Athens, in 2016.

If we consider the emergence of our ancestors of the human species from 4 to 5 million years ago, inside the framework of the biological time, which is immense, nothing can assure that, as happened to the dinosaurs in the past (sixty-five million years ago), the kingdom of mammals won't come to an end one day and other forms of more adapted life will continue to perpetuate the music of life in the sidereal spaces.

However, considering the Paleontology lay which posits the "irreversibility of evolution", imagining the extinction of *Homo sapiens sapiens* and species associated with our evolution, a world of plants, microbes and insects, would unlikely give rise again to the human species or even to mammals.

In this perspective, nobody can imagine today what will be the link of the chain of life where the evolutionary leap will occur, as nobody dreamed before that the grandfather of our human condition was an insignificant rodent that survived the widespread extinction of dominant species at the end of the Mesozoic Era (67 million years ago). But, at the same time, the preservation of the human being returns to the centre of environmental ethics, in a new ethical perspective, without unlimited domain and privileges against "the other" nature (critique of anthropocentrism).

So, unlike the common history of philosophy, whose thought is focused on the Human Being, environmental philosophy directs the human thinking to the "Raison d' Être" (the sense of existence) of the world and their Phenomenology, for the discovery of the uniqueness of the "Substance" in all its manifestations or "modes", in the vocabulary of our Bento de Espinoza, without becoming an anti-humanist philosophy.

Now we can revisit our initial postulate: If every systematic philosophical construction is built on an intrinsic foundation, a fundamental intuition or the attraction to the objective, the starting point of philosophical renewal in the 20th century was the concept of environment. Their supreme desideratum is justifying the moral imperative, supported by the modern concept of reason, that environmental ethics must take precedence over the more advanced achievements of blind science. And the environmental ethics must take precedence above the values of the most democratic XX century socialist and liberal democracies, common responsible for generating the environmental crisis. However, this concept of reason is not the classic concept of the reason of Kant. We talk about a new concept, the "environmental reason".

Concerning the capital questions that Spinoza's (Bento de Espinoza) work placed on the advent of our modernity, how to think about the rational ex-

planation to the existence of man and the universe, how to adapt the philosophical thinking to *the raison d'être* of everything that exists and how to transform the spiritual life in full understanding and peaceful enjoyment of life to its limit?

The Philosophy of Nature and then the Environmental Philosophy allowed the building of a new ontology in critique of anthropocentrism, a new epistemology, founded on critique of the ethnocentrism and a new ethical theory, with a universal value and practical content applicable to all the social fields. From those foundations the concept of reason is enlarged and transformed in the concept of "environmental reason".

The global concept of environmental reason emerges from a World that is very different from the old Kantian world. For the first time along the History, not only the Humanity, but Life and Earth, can be deadly damaged by the nuclear war, the biological and chemical weapons, the environmental crisis and the global crises of capital market: the fall of the empires on the XXI century could call the true Apocalypse horses. The imperative of perpetual peace assume a new moral and political significance.

The ethical imperative of perpetual peace, from Kant to Jorge de Sena and the imperative of dignity.

Antero de Quental, in the end of XIX century, claims for the advent of a new art, more universal, having the music as a paradigm. It is therefore natural that the poetic literary nourish also the new philosophy in the XX century, as in the work of Jorge de Sena. The world of Kant is not our world. The philosophical and practice dimensions of the problems of categorical imperatives assumed now a tragic magnitude. In our historical and environmental context, humanity is confronted for the first time with the danger of its own extinction, as a result of environmental disaster or as the tragic outcome of a biological or nuclear war; and pandemics and major famines of medieval Europe occur again but now on multiple continents. In this framework, the peaceful and negotiated resolution of conflicts is the first political corollary of Environmental Ethics, conducing to a new categorical imperative, the "imperative of perpetual peace":

In the strange fortune of doom,
[...] this strange fortune, from which light comes
oh just harmless powder, I pray
to myself not to lose the memory,
for you, for you should always remind
that everything is lost when we lose peace,
and first, freedom is lost.

(Sena, 1984)

This "light" on the poem, was the light of the nuclear bomb of Hiroshima.

The state of war, considering the lessons of the History of liberal democracies and Socialist democracies, is incompatible with the preservation and deepening of democracy and contributes to creating the conditions for its limitation and degeneration.

If we refuse the ethical imperative of destruction of the entire atomic arsenal and of biological and chemicals arsenals and not create the sustainability of our economy and financial system, modern war will come as a continuation of the economic dispute by other means, and then, we will find "damn peace" in the Holocaust of the children of our children. The perpetual peace is thus the main political corollary of Environmental Ethics.

However, to the "categorical imperative of perpetual peace", Jorge de Sena, engineer, poet and philosopher, joins a new ethical imperative, "the imperative of dignity". Another categorical imperative of Environmental Ethics trying to answer to the global crisis that liberal democratic or socialist politics and their economies and markets failed to overcome, and the blind science also promoted.

"The imperative ethical of dignity", from Jorge de Sena, proclaims the moral rule and ethical principle that, we (persons, nations, entrepreneurs, governments...) ought to live be sure that nobody is less alive, or suffer or dies to benefice our quality of life and lifetime.

The absolute value of life face the absolute loss of the end of life, give to the (limited) time of life an ethical dimension (the joy of life) that nothing and nobody can ignore and establish a gradualist morality: Act so that you treat another person and humanity (and nations) without no less life (the oppose of a full life), no suffer, not damages that anticipate or bring the die. And if associated to the critique of anthropocentrism, we can extend this categorical imperative to Life and Earth.

From the long poem *Letter to my kids about the shootings of Goya* we chose the philosophical nucleus of verses:

(...) Believe me that no world, that anything or anyone
Is more important than a life, or the joy of life,
This is what is the most important – this joy.
Believe me that the dignity they will tell you so
much about
is nothing more that joy that comes
from being alive and knowing that anytime someone
is less alive or suffer or dies
for that one of you resist a little more
to the death that is of all and will come...

Sena, 1984

After writing these thoughts, that put in question the legitimacy of the war and the exploitation of man by man, a hundred works of political philosophy, became as that unnecessary and long-winded.

3. Practical ethics and political alienation

In the XIX century Feuerbach and Marx focused the debate about the concept of alienation on the religion issue. Feuerbach's analysis postulates that belief in religion was an intellectual error that could be correct by education. Marx's criticizes Feuerbach to fail understanding why people fall into religious alienation. Marx's thesis was that religion is a response to alienation in material life; their main corollary was the struggle for changing material life, the pathway to emancipate human consciousness from all alienation.

Lukacs' understanding alienation as a historical loss of totality that we can already find on the historical trajectory of institutions of social life, creating a "second nature" were the individual person can't find the world meaning. When Lukacs' applies this concept to the history of intellectual representation, looking to the Grecian movement from epic poetry to tragedy and then to philosophy, notes that the source of significance became progressively more transcendent to immediate life and individual consciousness. Considering the modernity, he proposes a renewed relation between individual conscience and the knowledge of world where meaning can again be found, rebuilding a new totality, new forms of art and communication.

The possibility to recognize that utopia on a good sense, the unity of the global representation of the word with the citizen consciousness, postulates the opposed possibility, the full alienation of the individual person, manipulated by a global power, economic, political and ideological. The concept of double negation employed by Marcuse is a critical response to negation of personal freedom by an oppressive/repressive socio/economic system and to the development of individual-critical consciousness.

When analyzes the concept of alienation we don't want to obliterate the ontological issue and the philosophical contribution of existentialism, as a plural literary-philosophical phenomenon crossing two centuries. The core of this study is not the fundamental debate about the "meaning of being" – the paradoxical presence of God, from Kierkegaard, the challenge of nihilism, "God is dead", from Nietzsche, the "Dasein" ("being that we ourselves are"), from Heidegger, "the existentialism is a new humanism", from Sartre... We wants to discuss the political dimension of the human being, and what means the

good and the devil, for the moral of XXI century policies.

Utilitarian ethics of Jeremy Bentham and Stuart Mill assumes that "not only any action of a private individual, but all the Government measures" must improve the well-being and reduce suffering. Far away the primacy of duty (*eudainomia*) from Aristotle, he based morality of action on benefits back to their subject and/or in the principle of less suffering caused to the "other".

The classic example of resolving an ethical dilemma on the basis of the principle of utilitarianism, is the political and moral justification of the launch of the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima and, after the second over Nagasaki, comparing more than 200.000 confirmed dead with the estimated more than one million others casualties, estimated by the military strategists, if the USA choose to invade and conquer Japan with conventional weapons.

The most common moral objection against the resolution of this ethical dilemma by nuclear holocaust of the Japanese people, lies in the intrinsic value of human life, that in the Kantian categorical imperative is an end in itself and cannot be used/annihilated as a means to benefit others, even to get a higher benefit, in this case, reducing casualties.

Placed the problem on that moral equation, modern ethics and morality, in its practice, seems to become inconsistent and in the theory as a real paradox.

But in the weeks leading up to Hiroshima, most of the scientists who worked on the development of the atomic bomb, the Manhattan project, tried to prevent his discharge directly over the Japanese cities, proposing a strategy for the explosion in open space, in order to demonstrate its destructive power. Confronted with that alternative and with hesitancy of the leader's project, the military command resorted to the threat, blackmail and manipulation of information. After the first discharge, imposed the second, invoking the argument that the Japanese militarists didn't want to surrender.

The secret military documents of the time, which were declassified, show that there was a deliberate intention to try the pump effect against the humans beings and a second purpose: putting in respect the URSS triumphant and the new emerging socialist States in the East and Asia: she was started the cold war!

Those scientists, conscious of the dangers of the military use of nuclear energy, and the risks of new clashes that could lead to the extinction of humanity, create a civic and political movement called Movement of Scientists, who came to bring together 515 scientists from Harvard and MIT in 1945, on the basis of a program that would be the support of all the speeches, books and articles and which wanted to

lead the USA Government to an international agreement with the URSS. Their final propose was that nuclear weapons never more will be produced. Let's see their arguments sent:

1. Other Nations would soon be able to produce atomic bombs.
2. No effective defense was possible.
3. Mere numerical superiority in atomic weaponry offered no security.
4. A future atomic war would destroy a large fraction of civilization.
5. Therefore, "International cooperation of an unprecedented kind is necessary for our survival".

The heuristics of fear was his strategy of propaganda, but the Government managed to dismantle it in 1947 and adopted this speech exactly to the opposite end.

Let's take two new issues: The Armed Forces Museum of Paris, at the "Palais des Invalides", in the section dedicated to II World War, illustrate with a tragic dashboard the number and nationality of his victims: at the top, the USSR, with 26 million people. China suffered 12,6 million dead. The Germany and Poland share the same number of 6 million more 6 million dead. The Japan follows them with 2,6 million. Yugoslavia 1,5 million. Philippines 1 million. France 580.000. Romania and Greece with 460.000 each one. Italy with 444.500. United Kingdom with 445.000. Czechoslovakia with 360.000. USA with 340.000. Netherlands with 240.000. Belgium with 100.000. India with 50.000. Canada with 45.000. Australia with 21.000. Bulgaria with 20.000. New Zealand with 18.000 closes this fateful scale of 50 million deaths, from which more than 30 million were civilians.

This tragic balance concerning the number and nationality of his victims is unknown for the common people. The Nations and peoples of the world, but above all the peoples of the USSR and China, gives those lives for the cause of freedom and national sovereignty by the ideal of liberal or socialist democracy and for a hopeful and more just and peaceful world. And we speak about Nations winners and won, because the fortune of war opened to all of them the right to choose the social and economic regime and the kind of democracy where they would build a common future.

So was written and adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, approved by the UN in December 10, 1948 (A/RES/217). Drafted primarily by J. P. Humphrey, of Canada, had Dr. P. C. Chang, representative of the People's Republic of China— PRC and the positions of the Asian countries, the main mediator of the consensus established around its 30 articles.

We must emphasize that not one of the articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights defends

the supremacy of the model of liberal democracy. And Human Rights cannot be reduced to the question of formal "political freedoms". What the article 21, the core of political Human Rights prescribes, is the path to citizenship and to the diversity of democratic regimes.

Article 21

1. Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

2. Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.

3. The will of the people should be the basis of the authority of government; this should be expressed in periodic and genuine elections by universal and equal suffrage and should be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

All other 29 articles which provide the fundamental democratic rights, as the right to employment and social protection, equality of gender and face the law, have the same political dimension and are subordinate to two ethical imperatives that the Declaration proclaims, the "imperative of the dignity" and "the imperative of peace":

Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world.

This dignity will be protected...

... if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law.

And will only be defended with

... the development of friendly relations between nations.

However, the political debate about Universal Declaration of Human Rights is today reduced to the issue of formal liberties.

Those are the problems of political alienation and the absence of critical information in the mass media.

We could also refer to the ethical dilemmas arising from the fact that, in times of crisis, as the current, budgets for health be reduced, but the services of financial debt are met strictly by Governments. And, in this context, recalling the recent (2014) controversy between the Portuguese Minister of Health, which considered "totally immoral"

the price of a new drug for hepatitis C and the President of the association SOS Hepatitis, who stated that 'immoral' patients die without new medicine. The case is that an American pharmaceutical enterprise wants to sell a new drug in Portugal, with a high cure rate, by 48.000 Euros/patient.

The Portuguese Government, considering the price established for the medication "sofosbuvir" in Egypt (around 700 euros) and the respective GDP (5,93 times lower than the euro zone's GDP), proposes the establishment of a joint alliance of European Member States for the definition of a maximum price for treatment with this medication 5,93 times higher than the price offered in the Egypt (around 4.100 €).

These five examples are useful as a demonstration that the practical application of ethics, and ethics practices, such as bioethics, need to be addressed in conjunction with the conceptualization of a new global policy ethics, without which the discussion of ethical dilemmas risk to being predetermined by the hidden power of political alienation.

4. The single thought

From the end (?) of Cold War emerged "The single thought", characterized by:

The omission of History and the proclamation of the end of History (liberal democracy would be the last political regime!); the end of national sovereign, the end of national welfare...

Amputation and manipulation of Universal Declaration of Human Rights, that remain largely unknown and identified with the neoliberal thesis or liberal democracy;

The falsification and the manipulation of the concept of State (the concept of communist State is a fabrication of the "cold war", completely strange to the communist ideology);

The lack of international law, sovereign organs, modern State... United Nations, and the overcame of global institutions note elected, FMI, World Bank and NATO over United Nations institutions, Eurogroup and European Central Bank over European Parliament, International Rating Agency over National Banks and National States...

The deregulation of the market (labor market deregulation, economic market deregulation, fiscal deregulation...), fiscal paradises, restricted cartel of the giant banks, vulture funds;

The globalization of a hegemonic economic model, private, served by automation and robotization without limits and reparations;

The mass media concentration and social networks in the hands of a restricted oligarchy, driven to political manipulation and hidden business;

The main responsibility toward environmental crises assigned to China and new developing countries;

The vocational mission of the University to the fundamental research and to develop several lines of thought, driven by the economic utilitarianism and the neoliberal dogmas.

The omission of History and the proclamation of the end of History

Fukuyama fundamental thesis, in the book *The End of History and the Last Man*, is not about the end of ideologies, but a celebration of the triumph of liberal democracy doctrines (and the US-UK model of democracy) over socialist ideology and socialists regimens from the East of Europe, in the context of the fall of URSS and European Popular Republics, celebrated by Milton Friedman as the triumph of political and economic neoliberalism.

The master idea of Fukuyama was the same of Churchill, the conservative first minister of UK that win the war against Nazism but not understand the changes of the post-war world and inside your own country: The national movements pushing to decolonization, against racism and social discriminations, and fighting for a new international order, peaceful and democratic. It was defeat in the first elections after the end of war in Europe.

Churchill proclaims in the House of Commons (11 November 1947)

Many forms of Government have been tried and will be tried in this world of sin and woe. No one pretends that democracy is perfect or all-wise. Indeed, it has been said that democracy is the worst form of Government except for all those other forms that have been tried from time to time. (Churchill by Himself, p. 574).

At the same time, he declared:

From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an Iron Curtain has descended across the continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe. Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest and Sofia, all these famous cities and the populations around them lie in what I must call the Soviet sphere. (Churchill, 1946)

Churchill's doctor Lord Moran reveals that Churchill suggesting in 1946 that the United States make a pre-emptive atomic bomb attack on Moscow while the Soviet Union did not yet possess nuclear weapons and in 1947, he put the idea in a memo to President Truman.

In the end of World War II, the thought and ideas of more powerful Western liberal leaders reserve full democracy to the old (UK) and new (USA) imperial countries, the white supremacy and racism is preserved inside those national and international communities and justify that democracy was not for all countries and nations. The fair of communism would be the following great idea.

Reducing the world contradictions to a clash between two blocs only be possible, during more than 50 years, with the omission of Non-Aligned Movement and ignoring the differences of socialism with Chinese characteristics face the transformation of the old URSS.

That omission of History is the same in our time, the time of Fukuyama and Friedman.

The diffusion of the master idea about the possibility of non-evolution historical of political regimes, is really a manifestation of political alienation and a signal of dogmatism, representing a model of thought that is in the origin of the crises not only in the doctrine of socialism but too in the core of liberalism doctrine, from the last to the present centuries.

Amputation and manipulation of Universal Declaration of Human Rights

The principles of Universal Declaration of Human Rights—UDHR, freedom, justice and peace in the world, the development of friendly relations between nations, was quickly abandoned, but the memory of the tragedy of II War and the desire of democracy and peace was very strong around the world, so propaganda would be indispensable to justify new military confrontations.

In the Korean War (1950-1953) a conflict of Cold War, Douglas MacArthur the general commandant in chief of USA and allied troops, wants to develop a global strategy to extend the struggle directly to China and URSS and gain military supremacy with the utilization of tactical atomic weapons. It was dismissed, accused of insubordination and the menace was deferred.

It seems strangely difficult for some to realize that here in Asia is where the communist conspirators have elected to make their play for global conquest, and that we have joined the issue thus raised on the battlefield; that here we fight Europe's war with arms while the diplomats there still fight it with words; that if we lose the war to communism in Asia the fall of Europe is inevitable, win it and Europe most probably would avoid war and yet preserve freedom. As you pointed out, we must win. There is no substitute for victory².

²Letter to Representative Martin of Massachusetts (From Congressional Record of April 5, 1951).

The Cold War was transformed on a global confrontation, ideological, political, military in restrict scale and, obviously, in the battlefield of economy.

In 1962, Friedman criticized Social Security in his book *Capitalism and Freedom* arguing that it had created welfare dependency and propose private charity as one recourse for alleviating poverty.

Friedman doctrine clashes with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights–UDHR:

Article 22

Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

Article 25

(1) Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

Friedman's became the main opposite of Keynesian government policies. He theorized that there existed a "natural" rate of unemployment and argued that unemployment below this rate would cause inflation to accelerate. Friedman economic doctrine promote macroeconomic "monetarism", negative taxation, privatization and deregulation.

In April 21, 1975, as adviser of the dictator Pinochet, Friedman can apply its neoliberal program:

There is only one way to end inflation: by drastically reducing the rate of increase of the quantity of money ... cutting government spending is by far and away the most desirable way to reduce the fiscal deficit"... (Choosing) "a brief period of higher unemployment" ... because it ... strengthens the private sector³.

A recipe that is extended to all America Central, America Latina and Europa. Friedman was an advisor of Republican President Ronald Reagan and Conservative British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. His political philosophy celebrated the virtues of "free market", what means deregulation of

economic and financial systems with minimal intervention of state, extended to all domains, such as a volunteer military, freely floating exchange rates, abolition of medical licenses, a negative income tax and school vouchers, what means adding publicly operated schools with private management but publicly funded schools through a system of school vouchers.

Friedman favored immigration, because take jobs that most residents of this country are unwilling to take, suggesting that immigrants should not to have access to the welfare system.

Once again clashes with UDHR:

Article 23

1. Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favorable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.

The deregulation of economic and financial market, with an innumerable tax havens which provide cover for money laundering, the creation of hidden financial products, vulture financial funds, the end of separation between investment banks and commercial banks, represent the triumph of Friedman doctrine, not only in the range of conservative parties but involving socialist like UK Labour, from The Third Way of Tony Blair or American Democrats with president Bill Clinton government. The financial crises of 2007-2008 was the consequence.

A brutal clash against the UDHR too: In the US, despite the nominal GDP growth, the wealth of American citizens increasingly concentrated in a few scant 1% of the American population – in 2006, this group of top received 53% of the income, and in 2010 came to 93%. That means the concentration of capital and property, the loss of public propriety and the expropriation of middle class– entrepreneurs, farmers, workers, houses, cars, pensions, savings...

Article 17

1. Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.

2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

The US Census Bureau reported that 16% of the US population lived in poverty. What's worse is that extreme poverty – of those who live on less than 2 dollars a day, was twice of 1966, growing from 1.5 million to 2.8 million children and families! The theory of Friedman of tendencies to reducing poverty is not confirmed in its own country!

Article 25 (again)

2. Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born

³*Two Lucky People: Memoirs* by Milton Friedman, Rose D. Friedman. Appendix A, pp. 591-593. Letter from Friedman to Pinochet, April 21, 1975.

in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

The actual crises of emigration, with the refugee refusal by repressive means in the border of USA and Europe, carries further the abandonment of the UDHR:

Article 14

1. Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.
2. This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 15

1. Everyone has the right to a nationality.
2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Why focused the political debate concerning UDHR in China? To divert attention, because Peoples Republic of China is unknown and the prejudices from Cold War does not disappear.

Let's confront the socialism with Chinese characteristics with the principles and articles of Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

That will be not an exercise of apology of People's Republic of China. Choosing a scientific perspective, means to deploy two methodological routes, the negative heuristics, which let to reject the propositions already denied and a positive heuristic, which consent to build a new core of scientific propositions not falsifiable. The results could be surprising.

The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence

The Five Principles of Peace were first written by Premier Zhou Enlai of China on December 31, 1953, are based in the traditional principles of Chinese political philosophy, but also inspired in the Covenants of the League of Nations, the Brand-Kellogg Treaty and the United Nations Charter.

In 1954, China, India and Myanmar jointly proposed the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence: mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, noninterference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence.

Zhou Enlai state:

If these principles were applied not only between various countries but also in international relations generally, they would form a solid foundation for peace and security, and the fears and apprehen-

sions that exist today would give place to a feeling of confidence...⁴

They were signed and ratified by 57 countries, members of the Non-Aligned Movement, and have been incorporated in the charter of the World Trade Organization. The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence give concrete expression to the purposes and principles of the UN Charter and Universal Declaration of Human Rights, they are the basis for a peaceful and multipolar world.

Amendments to Article 35 of Constitution of People's Republic of China, consolidated that pathway:

China's achievements in revolution, construction, and reform are inseparable from the support of the people of the world. The future of China is closely linked to the future of the world. China consistently carries out an independent foreign policy and adheres to the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence, the path of peaceful development, and the reciprocal opening-up strategy in developing diplomatic relations and economic and cultural exchanges with other countries and prompting the building of a community with a shared future for mankind. China consistently opposes imperialism, hegemonism and colonialism, works to strengthen unity with the people of other countries, supports the oppressed nations and the developing countries in their just struggle to win and preserve national independence and develop their national economies, and strives to safeguard world peace and promote the cause of human progress. (2018).

Articles 22 and 25 of UDHR. The right to work and welfare

The Law of Social Security – LSS of People's Republic of China – PRCh was adopted by the Government on 1 July 2011, after 16 years of national debate, on the context of the opening and reform period (after 1978), in order to respond to the changes caused by the development of China's "socialist market economy", systematizing the performing of specific legislation which, since 1990, regulated the Unemployment Benefit, Social Security Management at the level of the provinces and the Regulation of the Minimum Guarantee of Life (*dibao*).

The Social Security System of China is the largest of the world, covering one fifth of the world's population. The Chinese System is composed by five insurances and a complementary fund (Housing Provident Fund): old-age insurance; medical insu-

⁴Consulting <http://www.zhouenlaipeaceinstitute.org/five-principles-of-peace-2/history/>

rance; unemployment insurance; work injury insurance and maternity insurance. Housing Provident Fund during China 12th Five-Year Plan (2011-2015) could deliver 36 million new low-income urban apartments.

Rural residents at the age of 60 enjoy a national old-age pension.

From 1949 (Foundation of CPR) to 2018, the average life expectancy raised from 36,5 years to 76,34 years. The population was 542 million and increased to 1.376 billion. Child mortality rates were declining from 150 per 1.000 live births to 8 per 1.000 live births.

Index of illiteracy of about 85% of the population decreasing for less 4% and 0% in the new generations: The New China has today more 312 million of students.

Pre-primary: 51.348 million

Primary: 99.340 million

Secondary: 94.267 million

Compulsory education lasts 9 years from age 6 to age 14. The National Program for Long – and Medium – Term Education Reform and Development (2010-2020), extended the average schooling duration of the working-age from 9,5 years to 11,2 years and allowing the access to higher education to 20% of students.

Tertiary education grew to 86,513 million (It was 0,12 million in 1949). According to China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA), over 440.000 foreigners studied in China in 2016 – marking a 35 percent increase from 2012. Beijing currently offers 10.000 places each year for students whose home countries are identified as part of the Belt and Road Initiative. The number of African students in China grew from just 1.793 in 2003 to 61.594 in 2016.

According to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), over 801.000 Chinese students pursued tertiary education overseas in 2016.

The last, but not the least, 800 million of Chinese citizens have been lifted out of poverty! That reality coexists with 2,7 million of billionaires. And since the early 2000s, China's middle class has been among the fastest growing in the world, swelling from 29 million to roughly 531 million in 2013 (39 percent of population).

The case of Tibet

UDHR. Article 4

No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

China New Democracy finished with the servitude along all provinces and regions and ended the slavery that resisted in the Tibet feudal regime under the government of the last Dalai Lama.

On 23 May 1951, in Beijing, the central and local government delegates signed the agreement of 17 Articles, recognizing the unity of China and the Government's authority over the entire national territory, pledging that they keep the rulers and the institutions of Tibet until it was negotiated the peaceful democratic reform in the region, an agreement supported by the fourteenth and current Dalai Lama.

In 1954, the Dalai Lama took part in the first National Assembly of the People's Republic of China, which drew up the Constitution of the Republic, having been elected as one of the Vice-Chairmen of the Standing Committee of this Assembly. In 1956, he became President of the Organizing Committee of the autonomous region of Tibet.

Since that time that Tibet saw enshrined in the Chinese Constitution the respect for your language, culture, customs and beliefs, including Tibetan Buddhism.

The conflict arose when the democratic reform of Tibet, with the separation of religion and the secular State, the abolition of serfdom and slavery and, especially, the distribution of land and herds to Tibetan peasants until then subject to an anachronistic feudalism dominated by aristocrats and the upper layer of the monks.

Characterize Tibet briefly, far away novels and Western filmography:

According to the Census of 1959 (and read the biography of the current Dalai Lama to confirm this picture "between the lines", nevertheless the flagrant omissions on historical events), the monks of the upper layer and the nobility represented 5% of the population; 400 families shared each other almost all the arable land and herds: local government held 38.9%; the monasteries, 36.8%; the aristocracy, 24%. The small peasants fit the remaining 0.3%.

The servants, 90% of the population, were forced to pay the nobles and monasteries a *corvée* (unfree labour), an income on products and sometimes in money, in addition to heavy taxes and fees in cash and services.

Without enough resources, borrowed the nobles and monasteries, paying high interest. If they died without paying off the debt, she passed to the descendants or the neighbors.

For the slaves, 5% of the population, household and public services were heavier, like cleaning, the dumping of feces, the freight transport and the transport of nobles and officials, in palanquins or own back.

Servants and slaves could be exchanged, donated, loaned or even sold. For the poor, there were no hospitals, no schools.

The monks of the upper layer and the most influential nobles shared political positions. The Yellow Sect of the Dalai Lama was privileged in relation to other sects and Tibetan Buddhism in relation to other religions⁵.

The falsification and the manipulation of the concept of State. The fallacy of the "Communist State"

The Cold War brought not only the heuristics of fear of nuclear weapons, justified for the "balance of terror" and those mass production and deadly development, but a new battleground, the ideological confrontation, that invaded all social areas, stating that nowhere the neutrality would be saved, and thus mobilized churches and universities, did not spare neither science nor arts and, above all, monopolized the modern media and social networks.

The concept of "Communist State" is a product of that war without truce or limits, completely foreign to the original Marxist doctrine, or tendency and evolution. Marx advocated the construction of a new Communist social order without the necessity of a coercive apparatus of citizens, the State as an instrument of powerful serving the dominant class.

Marx, taking lessons from the insurrection of the Paris Commune (1871), theorized a new transitional power system, the "Comuna" a people's assembly with the leaders elected and renewable permanently in popular assemblages, without privilege status, served by a military force not an army of barracks, but formed by all citizens who take guns to defend their ideals. During the Russian revolutions of 1917 and 1918 emerged spontaneously those popular assemblies, but now in a new political context, named "Soviets".

The October 1918 proletarian Soviet revolution, led by the Bolsheviks, was the first revolution that created, on a permanent basis and through extensive polling, new structures of power, controlled by the "Vanguards workers politicized" and by their organic intellectuals that came from the middle class— the Soviets, which, as Marx pointed out, emerged spontaneously in the Paris Commune in the form of committees of representatives elected directly by universal suffrage and popular straight.

During the period of the democratic revolution in China, the working class has been replaced by the great mass of the peasants, and the first Chinese Soviets emerged in rural areas controlled by the Red Army, as the embryonic instruments of a new State to carry out land reform in China and win

military warlords and semi feudal big landowners. During the war against Japanese occupation and the constitution of a national front, those soviets were driven by a three quarters committee: a third of communists, a third of nationalists and a third of other democrats and representatives of peasants. That structure was preserved after the war and transformed in the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC):

The Socialism with Chinese Characteristics that Mao theorized as a long March, a New Democracy founded by People's Republic of China, begins!

The Communist utopia (the extinction of the State with the advent of world communism) would be an ideal for the future, that will come with the end of any kind of oppressive State, but could not be a regimen to establish immediately: this regime would be the "Socialism with Chinese Characteristics", adapted at the historical conditions of this vast country with 56 nationalities, the cradle of the first civilizations of mankind, 5.000 years aged.

The lack of international law, sovereign organs, modern State. The Monroe Doctrine

The Monroe Doctrine was articulated in President James Monroe's seventh annual message to Congress on December 2, 1823. The European powers, according to Monroe, were obligated to respect the Western Hemisphere as the "United States' sphere of interest". The doctrine warns European nations that the United States would not tolerate further colonization or puppet monarchs. The doctrine was conceived to meet major concerns of the moment, but it soon became a watchword of US policy in the Western Hemisphere⁶.

The Theory of "Limited Sovereignty"

The Brezhnev Doctrine of foreign policy first and most clearly outlined by Sergei Kovalev in a September 26, 1968 *Pravda* article entitled "Sovereignty and the International Obligations of Socialist Countries". Leonid Brezhnev reiterated it in a speech at the Fifth Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party on November 13, 1968.

When forces that are hostile to socialism try to turn the development of some socialist country towards capitalism, it becomes not only a problem of the country concerned, but a common problem and concern of all socialist countries⁷.

⁵To a glimpse about the society of Tibet, without the rose colors of Hollywood, see the book Tsering, T. (1999). *The Struggle for Modern Tibet: The Autobiography of Tashi Tsering*.

⁶Milestone Documents [Washington, DC: The National Archives and Records Administration, 1995], pp. 26-29.

⁷J. Matthew Ouimet (2003): *The Rise and Fall of the Brezhnev Doctrine in Soviet Foreign Policy*. Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, pp. 88-97.

The overcame of global institutions note elected

International Monetary Fund–IMF was formed in 1944 at the Bretton Woods Conference primarily by the ideas of Harry Dexter White and John Maynard Keynes. American delegate Harry Dexter White foresaw an IMF that functioned more like a bank, making sure that borrowing states could repay their debts on time. Most of White's plan was incorporated into the final acts adopted at Bretton Woods Conference. British economist John Maynard Keynes imagined that the IMF would be a cooperative fund upon which member states could draw to maintain economic activity and employment through periodic crises. This view suggested an IMF that helped governments and to act as the United States government had during the New Deal in response to World War.

It came into formal existence in 1945 with 29 member countries and the goal of reconstructing the international payment system. From 1946 to the early 1970s, the Bretton Woods system made fixed currencies the norm; however, in 1971, the US decided no longer to uphold the dollar exchange at 1/35th of an ounce of gold and so its currency was no longer fixed.

It now plays a central role in the management of balance of payments difficulties and international financial crises.

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) turned an international organization headquartered in Washington, DC, promising a noble objective: "189 countries working to foster global monetary cooperation, secure financial stability, facilitate international trade, promote high employment and sustainable economic growth, and reduce poverty around the world." Countries contribute funds to a pool through a quota system.

In fact, the conditions for structural adjustment, known as the Washington Consensus, include: Cutting expenditures, also known as austerity. Focusing economic output on direct export and resource extraction. Trade liberalization or lifting import and export restrictions. Increasing the foreign direct investment with the opening of domestic stock markets. Balancing budgets and not overspending. Removing price controls and state subsidies. Privatization, or divestiture of all or part of state-owned enterprises.

Enhancing the rights of foreign investors vis-a-vis national laws.

Executive Board: Seven countries each appoint an Executive Director: The United States, Japan, China, Germany, France, the United Kingdom, and Saudi Arabia. The remaining 17 Directors represent constituencies consisting of 2 to 23 countries.

World Bank technically is part of the United Nations system, but its governance structure is diffe-

rent: each institution in the World Bank Group is owned by its member governments, which subscribe to its basic share capital, with votes proportional to shareholding. The President of the World Bank is nominated by the President of the United States and elected by the Bank's Board of Governors. As of 15 November 2009, the United States held 16.4% of total votes, Japan 7.9%, Germany 4.5%, the United Kingdom 4.3%, and France 4.3%. As changes to the Bank's Charter require an 85% super-majority, the US can block any major change in the Bank's governing structure.

The Eurogroup is the informal meeting of the finance ministers of the Eurozone, those 19 member states of the European Union (EU) which have adopted the euro as their official currency. It exercises political control over the currency and related aspects of the EU's monetary union such as the Stability and Growth Pact, without a clear mandate. Prior to the Lisbon Treaty, the Eurogroup had no legal basis and Protocol 14 (2009) only mentioned the informal discuss of the "questions related to the specific responsibilities they share with regard to the single currency".

During the euro crisis take on very large discretionary powers and limited democratic oversight.

The Eurogroup is dominated by a restricted number of countries and the Troika (European Central Bank–ECB, International Monetary Fund–IMF and the European Commission–EC) acting with total absence of accountability towards the European Parliament.

The deregulation of the market. The dictatorship of the hidden financial capital

Transnational corporations started to control more capital than nation-states in the 1980s. A new phase of global authoritarianism and colonialism emerged at the same time, not only around the old colonized continents (Latina America, Africa, Asia) but in the core of Europe, the Europe of the crises of sovereign debt and austerity!

The nominated European Troika formed by the European Commission (EC), the European Central Bank (ECB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), it was the transnational group created to applicate the political of austerity on the EU countries: sovereign debt was financed with higher interest rates and a political program was imposed: privatization, tumbling of public services and public investment to reducing public deficit, wage freeze, deregulation of economy and labour laws, public financial support to rescue imbalance and bankruptcy of private banks (in name of the systemic risk) ... Govern and the Parliament lost independence, National Budget must be approved by the bureaucrats of Troika!

That means transform liberal democracy in a semi colonial regime, because the National Budget is the axiom of self-determination and sovereignty: Greece, Ireland, Spain, Malta and Portugal are the main countries where the diktat of Troika it was more severe. The interests of the loans are brutal and remains for decades, even in the periods when Bank interest paid fall below zero⁸.

The late 20th century age of globalization, deregulation of national labor markets following the OECD (1994) guidelines. Labor market "rigidities" were thought to be harmful in the face of international competition.

The 2008-2009 financial chaos casted doubts on the benefits of financial market deregulation in the own neoliberal camp, arguing that deregulation exposes consumption to more risk, have a negative effect on country-level consumption, their welfare effect is negative on average, and particularly negative for low-wealth individuals.

Fiscal paradises

There are more than 70 tax havens in the world. It has been estimated that up to half of world trade might be routed through tax havens, up to \$600 billion a year.

The OECD has estimated that 60% of world trade takes place between multinational companies. More than half of this is thought to take place through tax havens; use of schemes to avoid.

The banks, lawyers and accountants who work in these territories are largely owned by or are associated with major partnerships and corporations located in the EU or the USA. This only happens because they profit from using these arrangements.

The globalization of a hegemonic financial and economic model

Eighteen years ago, it was published *Globalization and Its Discontents*, a book that sought to explain why there was so much dissatisfaction with globalization within the developing countries. Now discontent with globalization has fueled in US and other advanced economies. And the author, former chief economist at the World Bank, wrote:

There are three responses to globalized discontent with globalization. The first – call it the Las Vegas strategy – is to double down on the bet on globalization as it has been managed for the past quar-

⁸In the case of Portugal, for the loan of 78 billion euros, Portugal was obliged to pay in interest 35 billion! Compare with the allocation of Community funds to Portugal in the period 2016-2020, which is 26 million euros and it is not the taxpayers of the richest countries that are financing the indebtedness countries, but the contrary, being the financial entities the most benefited.

ter-century. This bet, like all bets on proven policy failures (such as trickle-down economics), is based on the hope that somehow it will succeed in the future.

The second response is Trumpism: cut oneself off from globalization, in the hope that doing so will somehow bring back a bygone world.

But protectionism won't work. Globally, manufacturing jobs are on the decline, simply because productivity growth has outpaced growth in demand. Even if manufacturing were to come back, the jobs will not. Advanced manufacturing technology, including robots, means that the few jobs created will require higher skills and will be placed at different locations than the jobs that were lost. Like doubling down, this approach is doomed to fail, further increasing the discontent felt by those left behind.

(...) There is a third approach: social protection without protectionism, the kind of approach that the small Nordic countries took. They knew that as small countries they had to remain open. But they also knew that remaining open would expose workers to risk. Thus, they had to have a social contract that helped workers move from old jobs to new and provide some help in the interim. (Stiglitz, 2003).

Cartel of the giant banks

The Bank of New York Mellon will pay \$714 million to settle accusations that it cheated government pension funds and other investors for more than a decade. The authorities accused the bank of assuring clients that they would receive the best possible rate when executing a currency trade. The authorities said, the bank did just the opposite: It provided clients "prices that were at or near the worst inter-bank rates", enabling the bank to make extra cash during the 2008 financial crisis.

The victims included New York City pension funds and prominent private investors, the authorities said. City investors included teachers and police officers, while the private investment funds belonged to the likes of Duke University and the Walt Disney Company.

Goldman Sachs is paying its largest bill yet to resolve a government lawsuit related to the financial crisis.

The Goldman bank said that it had agreed to buy back \$3.15 billion in mortgage bonds from Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac to end a lawsuit filed in 2011 by the Federal Housing Finance Agency, the federal regulator that oversees the two mortgage companies.

The agency had accused Goldman of unloading low-quality mortgage bonds onto Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac in the run-up to the financial crisis.

It estimates that Goldman is paying \$1,2 billion more than the bonds are now worth.

Most of the other 18 banks that faced similar suits from the housing agency have already reached settlements.

Bank of America reached a \$16,65 billion settlement with the Justice Department related to the bank's handling of shoddy mortgages. In a separate deal this year, Bank of America agreed to pay \$9,5 billion to settle its part of the housing finance agency's lawsuit. Some of that money was a penalty and the rest were used to buy back mortgage bond.

The housing agency still has lawsuits pending against HSBC, Nomura and Royal Bank of Scotland.

The Justice Department had already forged huge mortgage deals with JPMorgan Chase and Citigroup.

The Lloyds Banking Group agreed to pay more than \$380 million to British and United States authorities to resolve investigations into the manipulation of rates, including one used to determine fees paid by Lloyds for taxpayer-backed funding during the financial crisis.

The bank will also pay an additional 7,76 million British pounds, or about \$13,2 million, to compensate the Bank of England for the manipulation of another benchmark rate, which was used to determine fees paid under an emergency funding program for financial institutions during the financial crisis.

To resolve investigations into the manipulation of Libor by the Commodity Futures Trading Commission and Justice Department in the United States and the Financial Conduct Authority in Britain, Lloyds will pay £218 million, or about \$369,9 million.

And so on...

Vulture funds

Vulture funds have been criticized for profiting from countries that are in financial distress. The former UK Chancellor of the Exchequer, Gordon Brown, described vulture funds as "morally outrageous" for trying to benefit from debt relief programs for impoverished countries aimed at educating children and tackling the increasing poverty levels.

In a 2007 IMF report on vulture funds, it was reported that 11 out of 24 developing countries were involved in legal tussles with vulture funds.

Vulture funds extend their action to the privatization of companies and banks, imposed by conditions of loans from FMI, World Bank and the European Troika.

Rating Agency

The credit rating industry is dominated by three big agencies, which control 95% of the rating business. The top firms include Moody's Investor Services, Standard and Poor's (S&P), and Fitch Group. Moody's and S&P are in the United States, and they dominate 80% of the international market. Fitch is in the United States and London and controls approximately 15% of the global market. Morningstar Inc. has expanded

its market share in recent times and is expected to feature in the "top four rating agencies". The US Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) identified the big three agencies as the Nationally Recognized Statistical Rating Organizations (NRSRO) in 1975.

The big three agencies came under heavy criticism after the global financial crisis for giving favorable ratings to insolvent institutions like Lehman Brothers.

They were also blamed for failing to detect risky mortgage-backed securities that led to the collapse of the real estate market in the United States.

In a report titled "Financial Crisis Inquiry Report", the big three rating agencies were accused of being the enablers of the 2008 financial meltdown.

Automation and robotization "takes your job should pay taxes"

The wave of scientific revolution served by automation and robotization without limits and reparations and drive for a global privatization can't create more and best jobs for most work classes.

The investment projects of multinational companies, supported by automation and robotization, which announce the creation of a large number of jobs, require a reassessment of the ratio of investment per job created and, when this ratio is established, reveal a low productivity if we take into account the cost of direct creation of each workplace, subsidies and tax exemptions granted by the local and national Government.

And we stress that the previous argument don't defends a reductive vision of the problem, because a great investment also means contributing indirectly to support the jobs of several suppliers of raw materials, machinery and equipment, and them generate revenues results in escalation of taxes that accrue to the State.

Questioning the common sense of productivity, the author invokes the Laws of the Social Productivity of Investment, emerging from the new economic and social framework born the fourth industrial revolution, which postulate

The weight of the fixed capital investment is inversely proportional to the direct creation of jobs and the rate of job creation is lower the more advanced is the technology incorporated in the fixed capital. (Queirós, 2016).

In that context, I think, Bill Gates says:

The robot that takes your job should pay taxes⁹.

⁹See in Quartz, <https://qz.com/911968/bill-gates-the-robot-that-takes-your-job-should-pay-taxes/>

The mass media concentration and manipulation. The dark side of social networks

Media analyst and University of California professor Ben Bagdikian published *The Media Monopoly* in 1983 about the growing concentration of ownership of news organizations. Bagdikian 2004 analysis indicates that Americans are served by 1.468 daily newspapers, 6.000 assorted magazines, 10.000 radio stations, 2.700 television and cable stations, and 2.600 book publishers that are under the aegis of five major multinational corporations! The US government has sought to regulate media ownership through antitrust laws. However, The Telecommunications Act of 1996 and rules issued by the Federal Communications Commission –FCC do permit media concentration. In 2017, the FCC relaxed limits on TV station ownership and reversed a rule that prevented a single company from owning a newspaper and television and radio stations in the same town.

Berlusconi, the former prime minister of Italy has kept control of his media empire, turning its nose up conflict between his political and business interests. Fininvest is the family's holding company and it has control over assets worth more than 5 billion euros (\$6.6 billion). Berlusconi, through his holding company, has increased his stake in the Italian commercial broadcaster Mediaset to 41.1 percent. Mediaset, founded in 1978, has terrestrial television channels, digital terrestrial channels and an advertising arm. It controls Spanish broadcaster Mediaset Espana. Berlusconi's ownership of Mediaset, which captures more than 60 percent of television advertising spend, what has been a major factor in his dominance of Italian politics for almost 20 years. The total market value of the company is 3.9 billion euros. Mondadori is Italy's biggest book and magazine publisher and the third largest in the consumer magazine sector in France. Mondadori's activities also include advertising, digital, radio, retailing and direct marketing. The group is the absolute leader in Italy's book market, operating through publishing houses including Edizioni Mondadori, Einaudi, Piemme, Sperling & Kuepfer and Electa. Berlusconi owns 53 percent of Italy's leading publisher. In magazines, Mondadori publishes some of Italy's most-read and well-known titles, including Panorama, the country's first news weekly; Grazia, Italy's first women's magazine – now distributed internationally; it has a market cap of around 250 million euros. Daughter Marina Berlusconi has been chairwoman of Fininvest. Fininvest acquire a controlling stake in Mondadori. Berlusconi's son Pier Silvio holds a board seat at Mediobanca, Italian top investment bank (2,06 percent stake). Berlusconi owns Italy's leading movie production and distribution house Medusa Film. It produces films by Italy's best-known directors and distributes Oscar-winner Roberto Be-

nigni's movies. Fininvest also controls 45 percent of directories company Pagine Gialle and fully controls Milan theatre Berlusconi has owned football club AC Milan...

Robert Murdoch is one of the most influential people in the media industry, with business interests that span television broadcasting and film production to newspapers and book publishing. Creator of a Worldwide Media Empire could be called the creator of "modern tabloid", his newspapers began to focus on more eye-catching headlines that principally centered around stories of scandal and controversy, and political propaganda of the "establishment powers". This new approach to journalism resulted in a spike in the circulation of his papers and turn up in a model of social media alienation.

The two empires that he built over the last six decades – NewsCorp (NWS) and 21st Century Fox (FOX) – own well-established media properties that operate from Australia, to UK and USA, in five continents including the Wall Street Journal, Fox News, HarperCollins, and the New York Post.

On the other hand, Internet giants promise more diversity of media resources to ability many voices to speak. But they collect information to sell them for political campaigns and business advertising.

A Commons committee has concluded that Facebook, the firm's founder Mark Zuckerberg failed to show "leadership or personal responsibility" over fake news.

Untrue stories from foreign powers were risking the UK's democracy, they said. Cambridge Analytica was a political advertising firm that had access to the data of millions of users, some of which was allegedly used to psychologically profile US voters. The data was acquired via a personality quiz.

How such data, particularly in terms of political campaigning, was shared by Facebook was at the heart of the inquiry, alongside the effects of fake news.

Democracy is at risk from the malicious and relentless targeting of citizens with disinformation and personalized 'dark adverts' from unidentifiable sources, delivered through the major social media platforms we use every day

... concluded the report.

Facebook plans to integrate its messaging services on Instagram, WhatsApp and Facebook Messenger.

Internet, social networks, Facebook or Google promise freedom of opinion and free access, but there are rentable business and tools of manipulation and can invade our privacy at our own house. They create a global system to evade taxes.

After the Cambridge Analytica scandal, Chris

Hughes, one of the founders of Facebook, wrote an opinion article in the *New York Times* criticizing Mark Zuckerberg's absolute control (56% of the vote) and its monopoly situation, which was accentuated by the control of Instagram and WhatsApp and the lack of industry rules.

The paradox of the debate concerning restrictions and prohibitions determined by the Chinese authorities to the Instagram, WhatsApp and Facebook Messenger have been that the reasons invoked by Chinese authorities are the same that today lead the American Congress, common people, political agents, stakeholders and the cofounder of Facebook, to put in question its operation: the reasons that China evoked are the political manipulation (confirmed by Brexit controversy and presidential elections), the violation of the right of privacy, the development of illicit business and the absence of ethical or moral rules, the absolute power of one man on a network that affects the lives of billions of human beings, the absence of legal regulation.

Remember the persecution of Julian Assange and the story of Edward Joseph Snowden an American fugitive, a former Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) employee, and former contractor for the United States government who copied and leaked highly classified information from the National Security Agency (NSA) in 2013. His disclosures revealed numerous global surveillance programs, many run by the NSA and the Five Eyes Intelligence Alliance with the cooperation of telecommunication companies and European governments.

"Fake News" are not a problem limited to the social networks. It is the practice of the great social media and the social networks.

Remember the propaganda to justify the Iraqi invasion, the existence of weapons of mass destruction! Remember the propaganda to justify the military intervention against the Libya regime, protect the people from the repression of the government, refusing negotiations and a political solution. Retake in Syria, diabolizing the government of Bashar Hafez al-Assad and supporting and army all oppositionists groups, omitting the nature terrorist of ISIS and others fundamentalists, noticing the use of chemical weapons after the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons – OPCW acceded to the stated that destruction was completed in Syria...

Returning to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Article 19

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and

impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

The mass media and social networks concentration and manipulation signify a real and hidden intentional interference against the right to freedom of opinion and expression.

The unilateral responsibility toward environmental crises

The development of the Chinese economy had as counterpart that People's Republic of China became the country most responsible for the largest amount of greenhouse gases emitted each year, the main cause of global warming.

But let us look at the problem throughout all dimensions and historical evolution, based on one of the most reputable European agencies of the environment:

According to Dutch scientists of NEAA, if all CO₂ present in the atmosphere today was divided between the countries responsible for its emissions during the modern age, the United States would be blamed for 27% of the total, the European Union by 20%, while China only fit 8%.

Also, in 2003, the per capita emission of the USA was 19,8 tons of CO₂. In Australia, this number was 18 t, in Canada 17,9 t in Saudi Arabia, 13 t. China, Brazil and India have per capita emissions of 3,2 t, 1,2 t and 1,6 t respectively.

In raw numbers, in 2006, whereas only gases released by the burning of fossil fuels and cement production, the US had a production of 5.8 billion metric tons of CO₂ while China's production was 6,23 billion tons CO₂ metrics.

Considering the per capita emission, the USA represented 19,278 t CO₂ per capita, while China gets 4,763 T per capita.

It is true that China in your set pollutes more, but, as the Chinese are more than Americans, per capita values are below.

So, and now in 2014, while each American on average issued 16,5 tons of carbon dioxide, a Chinese issued roughly half that amount 7,6 tons.

If it considers the role of China as the world center of recycle of plastics, computers and other very polluting goods, coming from Europa, USA and other development countries, that average would be more penalizing for them.

The 2016 European Commission report, called Emissions data Base for Atmosphere Research – EDGAR, state:

China (with 29% share in global total) and the United States (with 14% share) gave an example by effectively reducing their CO₂ emissions by 0,7% and 2,6%, respectively, in 2015 compared to 2014.

Also, emissions in the Russian Federation (5% share) and Japan (3,5% share) decreased by 3,4% and 2,2%, respectively.

However, the European Union (EU-28) (10% share) and India (7% share) report increases of 1,3% and 5,1%, respectively.

China has reduced the emission of carbon dioxide of carbon and the European Union increased it, here's an inconvenient truth, which contradicts the dominant propaganda in the media.

The Communist Party of China – CPC driven its development strategy for an ecological economy, tendency that these new data already reflect.

“University management”, under utilitarianism and neoliberal dogmas

The University of Berlin was the first modern university, established in 1810. It was founded on the principles of academic freedom, the unity of research and teaching, and the primacy of research over vocational training.

It functioned as the archetype of universities around the world, for a century and a half.

Universities, throughout the 20th century, has evolved to a functional model of training, integrating progressively in its structures the Polytechnics but have developed this process to the detriment of another primary function, fundamental scientific research.

With the emergence of the society of knowledge and information, the society of continuous and global scientific and technical revolution, the society of financial and corporate concentration, it becomes even more imperative to restore the social function of the public University be the center of excellence in Fundamental Research.

The basis of Fundamental scientific research is the organization of faculty PhDs groups or that choose the path of doctorate in the light of the scientific objectives to pursue, not for administrative constraints for career progression.

These researchers may be originated from diverse universities and convene around a mission and purpose of scientific research.

The results of this investigation should be returned to the University and society through the pursuit, in parallel, the teaching function and projects of sustainable development.

Creating a scientific elite, framed by the public University, meaning put at the service of the country of its economy and its population, the results of an advanced research that tends to be today suitable for large business conglomerates, through the registration of patents, products and brands.

5. Conclusions

A New Scholastic

I believed that the preconceived notion that reserve to philosophy the query about “what it means to be” and assigns to the domain of science to study of “phenomenological causes”, can lead to the old Mechanicism and to a kind of a new scholastic. Separate Science and Philosophy, in this context, meaning not recognize the dialectic between the two different kinds of thinking.

The single thought separates economy and politic, to drive economy to own political aims, disregard the heritage of Adam Smith, Ricardo, Marx or Keynes.

Banks drive its core business from the credit support of industry, commerce and services, and families to the creation of derivative products, investing in public-private partnerships and sovereign debt speculation.

World Debt-to-GDP ratio rose to 318% in 2018 (Bloomberg), a record of \$247 trillion of USA, what mean that 2/3 of the value of derivative products is speculative. That dysfunction of real economy and the excess of offer, will be the causes of new financial and economic crises, feeding a cycle that is more and more close and violent.

When the financial markets was deregulated, emerging hidden Hedge Funds that enter in unfair competition with traditional banks, consequently the banks adopted much of strategies of Financial Funds– operating from fiscal paradises.

Never in the History of mankind a financial and economic system had so powerful to control the state and the conscience of the people, centering and controlling the social media and social networks: a global alienation is the consequence of.

Never in the cycle of fall down of the empires, could the masters of those imperial states have access a so terrible weapons– electronic weapons, biological weapons, nuclear weapons, chemical weapons, that they are already used and will be used to perpetuate its hegemony and resist to the end, supported by the moral doctrine of utilitarianism.

A global policy ethics rooted by the environmental philosophy

The ethical dimension of societies and modern State and its Governments may be evaluated by the respect for the principles of political ethics, universal and permanent, which recognize all individuals as citizens with two homelands, their own and the Earth (United Nations Conference on the Environment, Stockholm, 1972), to all human cultures a status of equality (critique of ethnocentrism) and re-introducing the human community on the pyramid of life and biodiversity without any status of domain or

privilege (critique of anthropocentrism), evaluate especially in times of crisis.

The principles of citizenship or dignity of its citizens and peaceful (political) solution of conflicts (Sena), applied together with the subordination of the economy to the environmental ethics policy, determines the State's duty to guarantee its citizens the right to peace, the right to work, the right to education, the right to health and assistance in old age, the right to access the justice, the right to the conservation of biodiversity and the right to freedom, and yes, freedom is placed in this order, because she disappears with the war and remains a smaller value without job, homeless and other social rights. And the consequences of destruction of life diversity would be that human communities have no future.

Without peace, everything will be lost, and firstly, freedom will be lost.

Sources and bibliography

- "A Decade of American Foreign Policy 1941-1949 International Organizations Immunities Act, December 9, 1945" http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/decad034.asp
- Aristotle (1984): *The Complete Works of Aristotle*, English Translation, Jowett, Benjamin, The Revised Oxford Translation, vol. 2, ed. Jonathan Barnes. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Assunto, R., Berleant, A., Berque, A., D'Angelo, P., Simmel, G., Veríssimo Serrão, A. and others (2012): *Philosophy of Landscape. An anthology*. Coordination of Adriana Veríssimo Serrão. Centre of Philosophy of the University of Lisbon.
- Augustine of Hippo (2012): *The City of God*. Translation by William Babcock, notes by Boniface Ramsey. Hyde Park, NY: New City Press.
- Beckert, C. (2012): *Ética*. CFUL.
- Bentham, J. (2014): *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation*. Library of Economics and Liberty. [1907]. <http://fs2.american.edu/dfagel/www/philosophers/bentham/principlesofmoralsandlegislation.pdf>
- Berleant, A. (2011): "Changing Landscapes, Keynote lecture", at *Transition Landscapes/ Paysages en Transition*. International Conference, Lisbon, Portugal.
- Berque, A. (1993): "L'écoumène, mesure terrestre de l'Homme, mesure humaine de la Terre: pour une problématique du monde ambiant", at *L'Espace Géographique* 4, pp. 299-305.
- Callicott J. Baird (1989): *In Defense of the Land Ethic: Essays in Environmental Philosophy*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Camus, A. (1988): *The Stranger*. Tr. Matthew Ward. New York: Knopf. [1942].
- Carvalho, J. (1991): "Evolução Espiritual de Antero", in *Estudos sobre a Cultura Portuguesa do Século XIX– (I Antheriana)*, in *Obras Completas de Antero de Quental* –III, Filosofia, Organização, Introdução e Notas de Joel Serrão. Universidade dos Açores. Lisboa: Edit. Comunicação.
- Caufield. C. (1997): *Masters of Illusion: The World Bank and the Poverty of Nations*. Henry Holt & Co. CFI's Financial Modeling and Valuation Analyst (FMVA). New York: Henry Holt & Co.
- Chuang Tzu (1964): *Basic Writings*. Translated by Burton Watson. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Churchill, W. *Sinews of Peace (Iron Curtain)*. Churchill Centre. Archived from the original on 5 June 2009. Retrieved 26 February 2007. <https://winstonchurchill.org/resources/speeches/1946-1963-elder-statesman/the-sinews-of-peace/>
- Clausewitz, C. von (1984): Howard, Michael; Paret, Peter, eds. *On War* [Vom Krieg] (Indexed ed.). New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Confucius. *The Analects*. (2009): Lun YÜ. Translated with and introduction by D.C. Lau, Preface by A.C. Grayling, London: The Folio Society.
- Deregulation 08 February 2017 Observatory: EurWORK https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/observatories/eu-work/industrial-relations-dictionary/deregulation_accessed_21.10.2019
- Descartes, R. (1984-1991): *The Philosophical Writings of Descartes*, trans. John Cottingham, Robert Stoothoff, Dugald Murdoch and Anthony Kenny, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 3 vols.
- Dias, J. (1961): *Estudos de Antropologia, Volume I, Uma introdução histórica à etnografia portuguesa*. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda.
- Encyclopedia of the First Amendment* copyright 2009 by CQ Press, an imprint of SAGE Publications <https://mtsu.edu/first-amendment/article/1127/media-concentration>
- Environment. United Nations Conference on the Human Environment A/CONF.48/14/Rev.1 June 1972 Stockholm, Sweden.
- Épique (1994): "Sentences Vaticanes", in *Lettres et Maximes*. Trad., Introd. and Notes de Jean-François Balau-dé. Paris: Librairie Générale Française.
- Espinoza, B. (1960): *Ética. Demonstrada à maneira dos géometras*. Parte I. *De Deus*. Introdução e Notas de Joaquim Carvalho. Coimbra: Atlântida Editora.
- European Commission, Joint Research Centre (JRC)/Netherlands Environmental Assessment Agency (PBL). *Emission Database for Global Atmospheric Research (EDGAR)*, release version 4.3.1, 2016 <http://edgar.jrc.ec.europa.eu/overview.php?v=431>. Accessed 19.02.2017
- Feuerbach, L. (1989): *The Essence of Christianity*, translated by George Eliot. Prometheus Books, Penguin Random House, USA. [1841].
- Friedman, M. (1992): *Capitalism and Freedom*. University of Chicago Press.
- (1975): *Two Lucky People: Memoirs by Milton Friedman*, Rose D. Friedman. Appendix A, pp. 591-593. Letter from Friedman to Pinochet, April 21.
- Fukuyama, F. (1989): "The end of history?" In: *The national interest*, (16), USA, 3-18.
- Greenberger, M (2018): "Too Big to Fail US Banks' Regulatory Alchemy: Converting an Obscure Agency Footnote into an 'At Will' Nullification of Dodd-Frank's Regula-

- tion of the MultiTrillion Dollar Financial Swaps Market". New York: Institute for a New Economy.
- Haeckel, E. (1884): *Histoire de la Création des Êtres Organisés D'après les Lois naturelles*. Paris: Libraire Germer Bailliére et C^a.
- (1882): *Les preuves du Transformisme. Réponse à Virchow*. Paris: C. Reinwald, Libraire-Éditeur.
- (1994): *Los enigmas del universo*. Valencia: F. Sempere y C.^a Editores Éditeu.
- Heidegger, M. (1962): *Being and Time*, trans. by John Macquarrie and Edward Robinson. London: SCM Press.
- Herman, E. S. and Chomsky, N. (1994): *Manufacturing consent: the political economy of the mass media*. London: Vintage.
- International Scientific Seminar on the *Juche Idea* (1977): *Juche, the banner of independence*. Pyongyang, Korea: Foreign Languages Pub. House.
- James, D.C. (1985): Volume 3, *Triumph and Disaster 1945-1964. The Years of MacArthur*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. ISBN 978-0-395-36004-0. OCLC 36211311.
- Jonas, H. (1984): *The Imperative of Responsibility. In Search of an Ethics for the technological Age*. Chicago. Chicago & London, The University of Chicago Press, 1.
- Kant, I. (1927): *The Metaphysics of Morals*. Trans. Mary Gregor. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- (2006): *Toward Perpetual Peace and Other Writings on Politics, Peace, and History*. Edited and with an introduction by Pauline Kleingeld. Translated by David Colclasure. With essays by Jeremy Waldron, Michael W. Doyle, and Allen W. Wood. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Kierkegaard, S. (1983): *Fear and Trembling*. Tr. Howard V. Hong and Edna H. Hong. Princeton: Princeton University Press. [1843].
- Kihl, Y. and Kim, H. (2006). *North Korea: The Politics of Regime Survival*. M.E. Sharpe.
- Kim Jong-un. (2012): "Let Us Brilliantly Accomplish the Revolutionary Cause of Juche, Holding the Great Comrade Kim Jong Il" in *High Esteem as the Eternal General Secretary of Our Party*, 6 April 2012. Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House.
- Lao Tse (2013): *The Tao Teh King (Taoteching). Lao Teh King: An Interpretation of Lao Tse's Book of the Way and of Righteousness*. Charles Johnston, Kshetra Book, US, Amazon.
- Leopold, A. (1949): *A Sand County Almanac*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Lorenz, K. (1973): *Die acht Todsünden der zivilisierten Menschheit*. München/Zürich: Piper.
- Lukács, G. (1978): "Velha e Nova Cultura", in *Revolución y Antiparlamentarismo*. México: Ediciones Pasado y Presente. [1920].
- MacArthur, D. (1951): *Letter to Representative Martin of Massachusetts* (From Congressional Record of April 5, 1951). Source: Harry S. Truman Library and Museum.
- Maier, T. (2014): *When Lions Roar: The Churchill's and the Kennedys*. Crown. pp. 412-413.
- Marcuse, H. (2001): "The Problem of Social Change in the Technological Society" in *Towards a Critical Theory of Society*. Douglas Kellner (ed.). London and New York: Routledge Press. [1961].
- Marov, M. Ya. (2013): "150 Years of Vladimir Ivanovich Vernadsky", in *21st Century Science and Technology*. Summer. https://21sci-tech.com/Articles_2013/Summer_2013/Biosphere_Astrobiology.pdf
- Marx, K. and Engels, F. (1962): *Selected Works*, 2 Volumes, Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House.
- Monroe, J. Message of President James Monroe at the commencement of the first session of the 18th Congress (The Monroe Doctrine), 12/02/1823; Presidential Messages of the 18th Congress, ca. 12/02/1823-ca. 03/03/1825; Record Group 46; Records of the United States Senate, 1789-1990; National Archives.
- Navrátil, J. (1998): *The Prague Spring 1968. A National Security Archive Documents Reader*. Central European University Press. pp. 502-503.
- Nietzsche, F. (1975): "Thus Spoke Zarathustra", in *The Portable Nietzsche*. Tr. Walter Kaufmann. New York: Viking Press. [1883-1891].
- Ouimet, J. M. (2003): *The Rise and Fall of the Brezhnev Doctrine in Soviet Foreign Policy*. Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, pp. 88-97.
- Popa, A. (1972): "The Theory of Limited Sovereignty – A Flagrant Expression of the Imperialist Policy of the Soviet Revisionists". From *Albania Today*, 3.
- Progress in Human Rights over the 40 Years of Reform and Opening Up in China. The State Council Information Office of the People's Republic of China. December 2018. <http://english.gov.cn/>
- Quartz, Interview of Bill Gates, By Kevin J. Delaney, February 17, 2017 <https://qz.com/911968/bill-gates-the-robot-that-takes-your-job-should-pay-taxes/>
- Queirós, A. (2013): "A new alliance, environmental tourism and cultural landscape", in *Landscape and Imagination, towards a new baseline for education in a changing world. (Paysage et Invention. Evolution des enseignements dans un monde en transition)*. UNISCAPE, Bandecchi & Vivaldi, Florence.
- (2013): *Cultural agents of change and the sunset of environmental services. Economy and ecology of heathlands*. Published by Alterra, Wageningen-UR (University and Research Centre). Nederland.
- (2004): "A Ética da Terra e as suas Raízes na Filosofia e na Poética da Natureza", in *Éticas e Políticas Ambientais*. Lisboa: CFUL,SEA.
- (2003): *A Representação da Natureza e do Ambiente na Cultura Artística e Científica da Geração de 70*. Doctoral thesis in philosophy of sciences. Center of Philosophy of the University of Lisbon: National Library.
- (2018) "Challenges and mission of the Science museums of 3rd generation". In Memoriam Professor Doutor Fernando Bragança Gil, Revue, *Mátria Digital*, n°5. Santarém.
- (2016) "The Democratic Reform of Welfare". CCP, Portuguese Commerce Confederation and Forum of Services. Report. Lisbon.
- (2013): *The dawning of the Environmental Ethics in the 21st century*, XXIII World Congress of Philosophy, Athens, 2013. Accessed <http://philoietchal.blogspot.pt/> (30.06.2015).
- Quental, A. (1991): "A Filosofia da Natureza dos Naturalistas" in *Obras Completas de Antero de Quental*, Filosofia-III, Organização, Introdução e Notas de Joel Serrão. Universidade dos Açores. Lisboa: Edit. Comunicação.
- (1989): *Tendências Gerais da Filosofia na Segunda metade do Século XIX*. Lisboa: Editorial Comunicação.

- Qiushi Journal* (2010): "The Equality of All Nationalities Is the Cornerstone of China's Nationality Policy". English Edition of *Qiushi Journal*, Vol. 2, No. 2, April 1 | Updated: 2011-09-20.
- Reagan, T. and Singer, P. (1989): *Animal Rights and Human Obligations*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
- Reeves, H. (2002): *Les Dernières nouvelles du cosmos*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil.
- Ricoeur, P. (1992): *Oneself as Another*. Tr. Kathleen Blamley. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Rolston III, H. (1986): *Philosophy Gone Wild*. Buffalo, Nova York: Prometheus.
- Sartre, J.P. (2007): *Existentialism is a Humanism*. Tr. Carol Macomber. New Haven: Yale University Press. [1946].
- Sena, J. (1984): "Letter to my kids, about the shootings of Goya". "Peace". In *Trinta Anos de Poesia*. Lisboa: Edições 70.
- Singer, P. (1993): *Ética Prática*. S. Paulo: Editora Martins Fontes.
- Soromenho-Marques, V. (1993). "The cosmology of the eternal recurrence", in *Thinking the Portuguese culture-tribute to Francisco da Gama Caeiro*, ed. Joaquim Gonçalves Cerqueira, Lisbon: Editions Colibri and Department of Philosophy, Faculty of Arts, University of Lisbon.
- Spinoza, Baruch. Digital and multilingual publication of Spinoza's Ethics <http://www.ethicadb.org/index.php?p=&lanid=3&lg=en&fop=488px>. Accessed 30.06.2015
- Stiglitz, J. (2003): *Globalization and Its Discontents*. Penguin; New Edition.
- Strauss, L. (1952): *Race et Histoire*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Tsering, T. (1999): *The Struggle for Modern Tibet: The Autobiography of Tashi Tsering* by Melvyn C. Goldstein and gyb William R Siebenschuh, Routledge, UK.
- UNCHE (United Nations Conference on the Human Environment), Stockholm Conference (1972): <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/milestones/humanenvironment> accessed 21.10.2019.
- Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the UN in December 10, 1948 (A/RES/217). <http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/>
- Wittgenstein, L. (2009): *Philosophical Investigations*, translated by G.E.M. Anscombe, Basil Blackwell. Oxford.