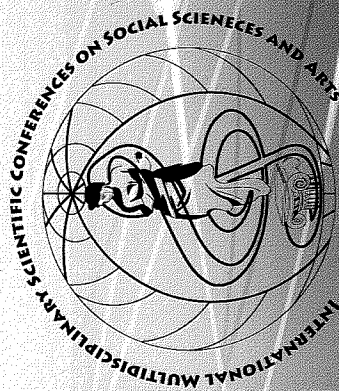


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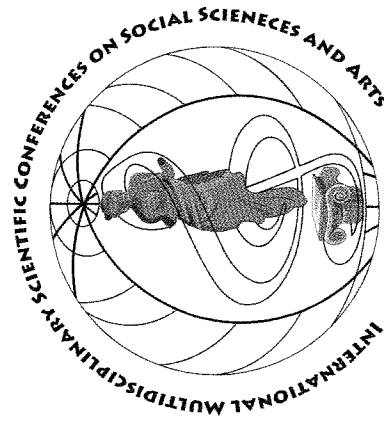
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THE CHANGING STATUS OF A NATIONAL STATE IN CONTEXT OF A GLOBALIZED WORLD POLITICS SYSTEM

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ABSTRACT

Fluid modernity – that is how we should name the relations between globalization and transforming sense of a national state, which are often not so transparent as they could be. The rate and the dynamics of these changes raised the most after the wreck of a bipolar world order and it is noticeable that their roots are much deeper and their causation is much more complicated then it might look at first sight in these relations between the state and the phenomenon of globalization.

Globalization is the process of integrating nations and peoples – politically, economically, and culturally – into a larger community. In this broad sense, it is little different from internationalization. Nowadays globalization means more than this incremental process that over the centuries has brought people and nations closer together as technological innovation dissolved barriers of time and distance, and enhanced flows of information promoted greater awareness and understanding.

It's also important to note, that the „current trends of globalization "from above" and the gradual strengthening of civil society "from below" in cooperation with the institutional reforms incorporating the process of Europeanisation and strengthening of decentralization tendencies, significantly interfere the way of public affairs organization in Europe. [1]

Z. Bauman finds the origin of political relations changes in a change of the human's freedom context. Consecutive liberalization and democratic transformations in legislative system caused the so called transfer of responsibility to an individual, but on the other hand created a fatal diversion in ethics and political debate from an equitable society context into a sphere of human rights.

Simply said, the individual starts to act egoistic in a society and is trying to maximize its joy, welfare and provide its necessary needs or personal growth, in dependence on the type of state he lives in. Bauman also claims that the OECD countries which made it through a transformation from modernity to post-modernity, marked a certain saturation within society in political matters and reached a state where the citizens are careless to the political matters in their own country. This statement obviously applies only to highly-developed states.

Globalization is getting more and more into a conflict with a national state, mainly because of transnational corporations acting like there are no borders between single national states. Another estimation is also a development of political society in a national state which is not a suitable answer to appeals incoming nowadays.

V. Mezřický in his work *Globalizace* notes: Today's period of post-sovereign state and a fading citizen's society is characteristic with violated balance of following subsystems: weakening parliament democracy, weakening morals and cultural background which are not able to keep up with a hypertrophy of expansive market economy. [2]

Key words: state, national state, globalization, mercantilism, liberalism, structuralism, transnational corporations, hollowing out

INTRODUCTION

Nowadays the social life in developed countries is connected with a modern state representing the proper form of almost all types of human activities. Therefore de facto, but also de iure it creates a legal and legislative area in which the individual's life conditions are regulated from his birth to his death. Modern nation state established oneself in Europe in 19th century, but reached its top just recently when being able to absorb the general human right's protection system and was supported by an advancement of multilateral form of international cooperation and linkage. At the beginning of efforts integrating democratic and liberal states stood the so called League of Nations, later substituted by a sophisticated United Nations Organization. A. Heywood distinguishes two main approaches to a modern state: a functionalist and an administrative. Functionalist considers the sustaining of a social order as a major state function. The administrative one believes that state is an complex of institutions which are responsible for joint arrangement of social regards and are funded by public estimate. [3]

The fundamental problem of the current global crisis, the party crisis included, is finding ways to support and secure the State, as it is failing in its service to citizens. The State is perceived as an imaginary body of citizens; it is viewed as a legitimate entity in the preference of values. [4]

As J. Koper refers: The post-modern period can be best characterised by the nation state. It is able to socialise people and inspire loyalty not to specific groups of people, i.e. their tribe, family or village, but to certain culture, certain manner of self-identification. The nation state replaces loyalty to certain people and groups and cultivates 'cultural competence' which defines us as members of a specific nation. [5]

State in a modern politics theory is considered a part of political system. Whereby the modern political system contains not just political parties which we consider as an inherit element, but also the increasing number of NGOs – non-governmental organizations which mention on new problems and dares and introduce them to the governmental institutions. The state's executive has no chance to be able to oppose them and then, regarding to a legal and financial frame, has to solve them properly. The post-modern evolution which became evident after the wreck of a bipolar world order in a shape of post-totality and developing countries, led to the phenomenon which is by political science referred as *hollowing out* – discharging of a state. This process happens partly as an implication of deepening globalization, but also as an outcome of applying the key tools of neoliberal policy, privatization, deregulation and liberalization.

Globalization is getting more and more into a conflict with a nation state, mainly because of transnational corporations acting like there are no borders between single nation states. Another estimation is also a development of political society in a nation state which is not a suitable answer to appeals incoming nowadays.

V. Mezřický in his work *Globalizace* notes: „Today's period of post-sovereign state and a fading citizen's society is characteristic with violated balance of following sub-systems: weakening parliament democracy, weakening morals and cultural background which are not able to keep up with a hypertrophy of expansive market economy.” Mezřický apprehends this tendention as a menace for the state sovereignty outwardly but also from the inside.

The efforts of international community in processes of broadening democracy suffer because of the absence of democratization concept and shortage of local key factors perception. Security arrangements are often much better defined than the activities in

sphere of ruling and democratization. Pursuant to the mentioned, the international community ought to define a basic institutional frame of democratization, in which then the arrangements should take place. [6] The creation of international organizations is a genuine way chosen by states since in these co-operations they are looking for an advanced type of security, better economic and business relations and raising potential of regions, during which time the nation state still makes a provision for the aspect of localization. Integration processes also have their reverse side – transfer of some part of rights and powers in favour of international authorities and institutions. The remaining advantage is the deal that we are talking about lawful authorities those members are voted in democratic elections – the European Parliament. But the opposite of this status are the mentioned transnational corporations which spread around the world like there are no borders between single nation states and work in these, influencing the economic growth and also affecting the whole population. All this happens upon the false legitimism which they did never really obtain – they received it just by an economic system of world resource distribution and therefore these corporations interfere in areas with the biggest growth potential. Professor D. Rothkopf brings inspiring ideas related to this topic in his work: *The Global power Elite and the World they are making*. Here he claims that with the raise of transnational corporations and institutions also comes to a boosting role of economic elites at the expense of political ones. Exactly this economic elites are able to understand the needs of fast-changing and developing society. By color of protection and bigger rate of integration, the millitary elites step into a game. This last level creates artificial terms based on mutual acceptance, help and co-financing. The influence of this elite begins to grow and there are two movements to explain their actions in context of political power: Representatives of states and clusters – loyal defenders of national structures rise against the casual forming of operating institutions. Another unit is created by those who are calling for a statement from global experts which should make a place for rendering the general values. [7]

MATERIALS AND METHODS

Within the scope of defining the nation state in process of globalization we will use this basic approaches: mercantilism, liberalism and structural critics. Mercantilists consider the state's security as the most determining attribute and thereupon the political-economic power. Consequently we discover two postures in it: defensive and sceptic. While the defensive tells us the globalization processes are a real menace for the nation state, especially in term of reaching the state's own aims, sceptics consider globalization as a total myth. Defensive posture absolutely confirms with our hypothesis: politically and also economically stronger states gain at the expense of weaker ones which actually become their 'servants' or 'captives'. Sceptics see these facts also in a realistic way, adding that state is the main dominant actor in a world political system and besides other processes, decides also about globalization and it is able to lead and profit from it. Upon these ideas, sceptics affirm that the power of state and its decisions are not endangered by a process of globalization. [8]

The liberal posture also includes two dimensions – economic and anthropologist. First place, it supports the expansion of open market which is took as an engine of globalization and secondly, positively apprehends the option of freedom of capital movement and also of the labour force what shows that the individual can help to increase the common welfare. Economic globalization and storage of sources which

comes with it hand in hand, helps to the worldwide broadening of liberal values. But to face the truth – it is not a standard everywhere to accept these so kindly and with honoured view. At the same time, for liberalists the retirement from 'big state' is a necessary step forward and it eliminates one of the biggest barriers in a free growth of an individual as an independently acting person.

The last and widely autarkic perspective is the structural, which bears fragments of marxism or other critical movements strictly denying globalization. Structuralists argue thru an idea that globalization along with liberalization just deepen the social disparities and strengthen imperialism as exploiter in international world order. A keen option against globalization is to prevent the exploitation from the state's side. As R. Cox claims: Globalization is a political project where states became tools of globalization and economical management. Part of this project was also the confession of people, that neoliberal policies are in their best favour. [8]

Pursuant to the quoted, it is hard to explicitly define which from the mentioned ideas is the most truthful, because each of them shows positive and also negative indicia. Due to the effort of clear view and to classify single attitudes towards globalization and the role of a nation state in it we appointed this summary table:

Table nr.1 – The approaches of international economy and politics to globalization and the role of state in this process

	Mercantilism	Liberalism	Structuralism and other critical movements
Attitude to globalization	Defense of sceptic	positive	negative
Role of state in globalization	It is necessary to protect the state from globalization	It is necessary to lower its role	It is a tool to enforce imperialism
	State points the conditions of globalization		

Source: own elaboration following the work of O'Brienn Williams, p. 200

Under the authority of numerous empirical researches, A. Hay affirms that the world economy is not that heavy integrated as it seems in general, upon what we can not talk about high level of globalized world economy. Ideas of lost autonomies of single national economies are according to his work too excessive and do not have even half of that base as it might seem at first. With the tendency of a deeper analysis between the nation state and globalization we have to take a look at some models of capitalism. The first of authors is R. Pick, who ascribes the neoliberal model to account of USA, the second – Pick divides the European social model into informative-social and retentive. Up to the informative-social model we can cover mainly Scandinavian states and into retentive the european leaders like France, Germany, or Italy. Great Britain dispatches with a hybrid model and the ultraliberal one belongs to praxis of V4 countries. The second ranking of capitalism models brings R. Gilpin. He differs three main categories: neoliberal model, developing state model and a welfare state model. Firstly, the neoliberal model is resident in USA, while it rivets on an individual or corporations which should have a free area for realizing their activities and state has to create an appropriate legal frame on their actions just to evoke the best bargain standard on the

market. Market is the one that takes the dominant place in neoliberal model, but of course with the emphasis set on minimal state interventions into economy. Mercantilism opens a way to form a developing state like Japan. This model is a real warrant of tightening security and state power at the price of strong industry, effective and number one technologies. Japanese economy operated by strict neomercantilist policy for a long time, but at the 80s of 20th century they understood the wider opening to the world and foreign investments also (which they qualify consistently). [8]

One special phenomena that we have to underline is an extremely low standard of job-switching what creates an institute of a lifetime job. The powerful corporations usually have a solid and serious bank in the centre of their structure, they dispoze by a high rate of mutual cooperation with sub-providers and therefore make a synergic effect. It is not just an employee culture but also deep national sentiment and unity of Japanese which is getting their managing system very close to perfection.

Furthest particular is the welfare state model which finds his application mostly in Germany. It keens on a balancing system – aside the elements of neoliberalism, on the other side reports to favouring and protecting social system in state. For that reason it forms a beneficial social climate for creating consent in politic arrangements. Companies operating in surrounding like this do tolerate the loyalty to employees and wider communities of them, but also to geographical area in which they operate and where the decisions made by them have a straight effect. [9]

According to conjunctioning globalization theory, combining the social, cultural and political facts together with concrete historical events or even irrational facts leads to an improved globalization process. These ideas from the end of the 20th century are getting into the forefront and becoming a true religion for developed world economies.

As long as we are trying to find the answer to the question of wheter the role of state is weakening or strengthening, we have to take a look at some basic attitudes. Generally, we can say that in the era of international movement and dynamic mutual state relations, just permanent matters remain. It possesses its own territory where its citizens live and these are dependent on its behaviour. Citizens need protection of themselves and their activities, they need to be educated, to live and work safely but also to feel the national level of security. For that reason the nation state still faces these historical appeals, but with a difference that in modern world we live are much bigger and meaner threats from external surrounding.

Nowadays, we consider functions which the nation state is no table to fulfill and it opens a space for the authentic argumental model showing us the fact that globalization steals some competitions which have been in past under the command of state.

- ❖ Transnational corporations present a real and forceful rivalry for nationstate, which is because of them in subjected position. State is trying to allure TNCs to its territory and creates for them the most suitable conditions. Their power rests in new technologies, their know how, high standard of inovative and venture capital which ist the moving force of most developed regions of the world. State is often nailed down and have to tolerate new forms or standards by foreign investors on their own territory to provide job opportunities for its citizens.
- ❖ International financial markets present new challenge for nation states but it is pulling these markets deeper and allows them the complex controll of certain area or geopolitical region or staples situated over there.

- ❖ International organizations on regional or transnational level supports the creation of new integrating groups which are taking over some part of member state's sovereignty. The result is thus the centralization of political institutions in direction of national to transnational or even international level, all at the expense of better economic or security cooperation.
- ❖ Like every coin has its two sides, also the membership in international structures or organizations ties the member states to pursue their duties given in signed international contracts. [10]

From the extensional point of view the TNCs strengthen the nation state, brings new opportunities, stabilizes and rises its social system, increases GDP and the place becomes more and more attractive for other investors, thanks to developed infrastructure. Integrating processes also allow decreasing of regional disparities, transaction costs and differences in system of norms and quota. By these processes also tariff and non-tariff barriers or permits are dismantling.

The last, very ambitious idea is a question whether it is possible to manage the present world and if yes, then in what way and by what kind of mechanisms. Idea of global governance presents one of the possible ways of developing world political system in future. There are concepts, that speculate of existing global governance where the basic entities are still the national states but in the system of international regimes they have to postulate much more powers to newly established institutions. Another approach supposes that states could exist furthest but it would be necessary to create some international institutions which will be solving their serious issues with lawfully and with a total legal obligation. This approach is called transgovernmentalism. Fairly extreme one is so called new medievalism which doesn't see a nation state as a relevant actor in international politics system anymore and supplies it with TNCs and other corporations, deciding the state issues for their own welfare.

P. Braudel brings an interesting idea of 'storage cycles'. It says that before the end of every cycle in given geopolitical regions there have been strong economic contests and high rate of international expansion and tendencies to enforce cultures also in distant areas. The first crisis such as this happened in ending 19th century Europe when it came to weakening domination of old continent in favor of the new one – America. Z. Brzezinski in his work *The Choice: Global domination or Global leadership* claims: Either the american leadership will lean on legitimacy and international consent – or the american supremacy will lean on forcible leadership based on national power. [11]

In a long-time point of view, Z. Brzezinski sees a clear need in keeping the american world hegemony and with that helping the political changes in society to absorb. Even though the present refers on to Brandel's notions where we are the witnesses of the international competition, economic growth and shaping of new globalized asian centres, on the other side we see the strong anti-globalist muslim centres – the sources of international terrorism. It is genuine that in a frame of this process the new actors are entering the globalization game field. Here we are talking about China, Japan, South Korea or Singapur which are only a small step from perfect global mature or hegemony.

CONCLUSION

In future it is highly probable that in politics of nations states, will sicuit alias reflect the interests of economically strong globalization actors: transnational corporations, spare groups or the international financial markets influence, etc. and nation states will further sense the weakening of their own functions. The existence of "passive political majority", pluralism and globalization create the conditions for the establishment and existence of extreme political groups, which can pose a very serious threat to the continued functioning of democracy at the national level. [12]

As long as we believe that several changes in this sites of life will happen, it could be only on the basis of social, political or security occasions which would necessitate these changes. It is not as possible that in following decades the global governance will be established in way that it will totally control the world order.

We express the statement (according to the actual status of world political system) in which very essential cultural, religious, economic, political, historical and many other differences take place: In small steps, maybe running in decades, the human race will get closer to a special form of global governance wherewith the new era of human civilization will began. The current and so distinctive clash of civilizations, or the planet divided into the wealthy North and poor South – these phenomena will also expressively affect the mentioned process and even by this time it gives us the relieving net which helps to predict the direction and advancement of globalization in future.

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