GLOBALIZATION AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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Globalization has been a major topic in the study of International Relations for the past few decades. By its very nature, globalization draws attention to the economic and technological aspects of life, and to change at the level of culture or identity. Moreover, globalization understood as "an intensification of cross-border interactions and interdependence between countries" has brought about major change in the international system and in the international relations. This is why it has been selected this topic to be studied. The research questions in this topic are: Is America the creator of globalization? On which side of the scales lean more effects of globalization? Are more positive or negative effects of globalization in less developed countries? How globalization is transforming international relations? Are incompatible globalization and international relations? What are the effects of globalization on sovereignty? Through the applied scientific methods of analyzing and comparing the responses to these questions, it has been found that no country is immune from socio-political changes regardless of where they occur and it has been concluded that: first, globalization is seen as a global phenomenon which can affect the change of political system; and second, the globalization may affect the creation of a new world order. Then finally, one of the suggestions that was given was, that despite everything, must be defined rules, that will remove the risks of globalization, will narrow the disparities between regions of the world, as well as the weight of tensions and disputes that can lead to poverty and war.

Keywords: globalization, international relations, political system, new world order, sovereignty.

1. Introduction

Globalization has been a major topic in the study of International Relations for the past few decades. It is difficult to conceive of a more controversial topic, than nature, the rate of expansion, the consequences of globalization and the impact of all these factors in international relations. This is the reason why this theme was chosen to be studied, because it is interesting, but also very curious and important. The goal is to be established this so broad impact of globalization on international relations.

Globalization is very broad and comprehensive. Hence the focus of the objectives of this study is concentrated mainly on three key points (parts) organized in research questions and hypotheses. First: It is said more about it, but what is globalization? What is the definition (if there is one single) and its semantics? A curious question here is whether the USA is its creator?

In the second part, is studied interconnection between globalization, international relations and sovereignty? Here stand two hypotheses: the first hypothesis is that, could talk, in this era of globalization, to post international relations, since the term international relations itself, turns somewhat anachronistic; and the second hypothesis is that, globalization does not completely undermine the sovereignty.

Globalization has its own effects that may not be only positive or only negative. Which side of the scale, the effects of globalization extends more and is it more positive or negatives the impact of those, in less developed countries? With these deals the third part of the study.

From the collection and analysis of materials studied and presented in the above three points, will be possible to discuss and understand if it is found to answer questions and hypotheses presented during the paper.

At the end of the study located the conclusions and recommendations that represent the importance and usefulness of this work.

2. Globalization

By its very nature, globalization draws attention to the economic and technological aspects of life, and to change at the level of culture or identity.

But what is globalization? What is the definition of it? And is there a definition of authentic about it? What is its semantics? U.S. Is its creator?

As David Held and co-authors suggest in his book, globalization "is the cliché of our era: the big idea permeating everything ..."¹. In various studies, there are different definitions. This is because, for numerous authors, globalization has implied a variety of processes and phenomena. And of course there is nothing wrong to refer to any one of these processes as globalization, although very different from each other. Here are some possible indicators of globalization²:

Table 1. Possible semantics of globalization	
1.	Cross-border flows of goods, investment and information.
2.	Transnational processes of liberalization and political decision making.
3.	Interdependence between states.
4.	The development of a global system, dynamics and trajectory of development which
	cannot be simplified into a single product of the units (states) that constitute it.
5.	Diffusion of problems for which are required global solutions.
6.	The development of institutions charged with the responsibility for designing and shaping
	of public policies truly global.

However, in this paper is selected to refer globalization as "an intensification of cross-border interactions and interdependence between countries"³, which has brought a major change in the international system and international relations.

Another question raised in this section is whether the U.S. is its creator?

There are opinions that closely associate globalization with the U.S.. Professor of the University of Chicago, Milton Friedman believes that "globalization is essential american creation and represents a positive expression of capitalist free trade, led by modern technology". Also, geo-strategist political scientist polish-american, K. Brzezinski, professor of foreign policy at John

¹ Buzan, B., Held, D. & McGrew, A. (1998), *Realism versus Cosmopolitanism*, Review of International Studies, 24: 387-98

² Dunne, T., Kurki, M. & Smith, S. (2010), *Teori te Marredhenieve Nderkombetare. Disiplina dhe shumellojshmeria*, UET Press, 348-349

³ Baylis, J. & Smith, S. (2001), The *Globalization of World Politics – An introduction to international relations* 2^{nd} edition, Oxford University Press

Hopkins University, among others emphasizes that "American power and social dynamics, interacting, can promote the gradual appearance of a global community with common interests." According to Brzezinski, America must be the guarantor of global security, the promoter of the common good global⁴.

3. Globalization, International Relations and Sovereignty

It is difficult to conceive of a more controversial topic, than nature, the rate of expansion, the consequences of globalization and the impact of all these factors in international relations. Questions raised in this section are: How is globalization changing the international relations? Is there a discrepancy between them? What are the effects of globalization on sovereignty? The relationship between: globalization-international relations, globalization-sovereignty and globalization-international relations-sovereignty; will be formed through two hypotheses raised below.

Hypothesis 1. In this era of globalization, could talk, for post international relations, since the term international relations itself, turns somewhat anachronistic.

Given the admission was made in the first part of this study, to refer globalization as "an intensification of cross-border interactions and interdependence between countries", accepted that it has brought a major change in the international system and international relations. This definition of the term globalization allows us to comprehend the change of relationships between individual states, from a more or less side by side existence towards their integration in an international system, in which they are more dependent on each other than before and where events happening outside their territory are far more likely to have an effect on them than they would have had a about century ago. This section will now analyze the different ways in which states have become more dependent on each other and how globalization has brought about this change in the international system.

A very important role in this process was played by the various Intergovernmental Organizations (IGOs) which gained increasing significance through the process of globalization. Before the age of globalization, states were looking to promote their national interests. They were concerned more with their own safety than global security and they were looking for ways to deal with problems at a domestic rather than international level. Nowadays, since the issues and difficulties which states have to face are becoming more global than national, states are no longer able to protect their citizens and deal with problems by their own means, unless they take collective action together with other states in IGOs. By joining these, states give up some of their sovereignty to a body governed by the collective will and decisions of its member-states, for example UN Security Council, NATO, Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) etc. This joined sovereignty had not existed before and it sometimes implies that states have to comply with the majority decision and are thus affected by it, even though it might not have been the initial desire of the individual state. Hence, they are dependent on the other countries who

⁴ Abdullai, J., (2010), *Politika dhe politikat publike*, Arberia Design, 156

participate in the decision making process in order to reach their goal. However, sometimes they have to sacrifice their national interests in order to reach international rather than national aims. However, it is not only IGOs with individual states as members which increase the dependence of states on one another. Trans-border connections between different regions from different countries have had a similar impact on states over the course of globalization. Even more directly, states have become more interdependent through the opening of national borders and the implementation of free-trade. Due to globalization it is now easier for companies to set up branches or production sites in other countries where the conditions for the company are better. One last but not less significant factor which was especially important in augmenting the interdependence of states, is the "…fusion of national capital markets. … and the emergence of an integrated global economy"⁵.

Hypothesis 2. Globalization does not completely undermine the sovereignty.

Governmental power known as sovereignty is based on the premise of territorial geography. In order for governments to exercise total and exclusive power over specific territorial domain, according to this principle, events should definitely occur in territorial locations and jurisdictions must be separate from the demarcated territorial boundaries.

But with the inclusive momentum of globalization, have the state still power, utility and role in international relations? Increasing global interdependence of states, individuals and social and economic organizations is reducing the autonomy of individual states. Under the influence of globalization, even the constitutions of countries have undergone⁶.

On the other hand, this question seems inappropriate, when we see that there are any society needs, needs that the state fulfills through its functions.

As in Africa and in Asia, the decolonization created newly independent states. They were admitted to the United Nations Organization and in all international organizations and have become members with full rights of the international community. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, came a wave of other independent states, even those, in a totally legitimate manner, asked to enter in the international life and realized this. As yesterday, and today, requirements to know the identity have brought division, new creations and integration. It seems that this process is over and the next few years, we may expect the creation of other independent states. And herein lays the controversy.

Bertran Bad, on his part, spoke of the end of the territories and published the essay "*Essay on international disorder*". The state, under attack from the forces that want globalization, but also by those who want to preserve their ethnic differences and spirit, has lost strength, even its usefulness. Since the territories are not sacred, given interstate floods and expansion of networks, opens the way to other forces of socialization and action, outside the competence of the state.

Some years later, Bertran Bad published the analysis "A world without sovereignty", where which he summarizes underscoring his opinion that "the authority of states is not a dogma anymore".

In an article published in the journal "Foreign Affairs", Richard Rozekrans utilized a figurative

⁵Salmon, Trevor C. & Imber, Mark F., (2008), *Issues in International Relations*, 2nd edition, Routledge

⁶ Latifi, V., (2008), *Politikologjia*, Institute for Democracy and Development-Skopje, University FAMA-Pristina,180

expression: "*The rise of the Virtual State*". What does it mean: The rise of the Virtual State? Nation-state is not missing, he is contrary transformed. It is made stronger, more assembled on itself, because its aim is to face the global competition. In a word, it is a counterweight to globalization. The function of the state is to attract capital and labor force. Economic strategy is almost as valuable as military strategy. Virtual state is a country whose economy depends on mobile factors of production. Two of the best examples for this are Singapore and Australia⁷.

4. The effects of globalization. Their impact in less developed countries

The effects of globalization are numerous and comprehensive. Globalization increases worldwide technology, and the readability of fast, effective communication and consumption of popular products. Globalization links cultures and international relations on a variety of levels; economics, politically, socially, etc.

As a process of interaction and integration among people, companies and governments of different nations globalization is a process driven by the International Trade and Investment and aided by Information technology. This process influences the political system, economic development, and culture, human and physical well-being in societies around the world.

The disadvantages are considered to be uneven distribution of wealth, income gap between developed and developing countries, where the wealth of developed countries continues to grow twice as much as the developing world. Next disadvantage is different wage standards for developing countries, which is explained by the following fact that the technology worker may get more value for his work in a developed country than a worker in a developing⁸. Furthermore, free-trade was supposed to create conditions under which every state could trade freely and with equal opportunities with any other state. But since this does in reality not favors all nations equally, as some nations can export cheaper than others and are thus more likely to be tradepartners, some countries had to implement tariffs and quotas in order to protect their national economies. In this way, states are adversely affected by the other country's tariffs and quotas in order to trade with them. Sometimes that even means that the particular state is not able to trade certain goods with that country, as meeting the restrictions would have detrimental effects for that particular state. Since states now no longer have sole control over their economies, they rely and depend on the collective governance of bodies like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) or the World Bank in order to regulate the international financial market. On the one hand, this new dependence provides the member-states with some sort of protection in case their economy gets into financial difficulties, but on the other hand this interconnectedness can also have negative effects as could be observed recently in the Economic Crisis. Consequently, the emergence of a global economy also increases the risk of states being affect by a crisis which may start off in one or two countries, but since these form part of the global economy, it quickly stretches out and can thus have detrimental effects on other states whose national economy might also be significantly smaller and thus suffer even worse⁹.

⁷ Duroselle, Jean B. & Kaspi, A., (2011), *Historia e Marredhenieve Nderkombetare, nga viti 1945 deri ne ditet e sotme, Vellimi II,* Lira, 760-762

⁸ http://www.culturaldiplomacy.org/academy/content/pdf/participant-papers/2011-12-cdac/Globalization-and-International-Relations-Lianna-Amirkhanyan.pdf

⁹ Sorensen, G., (2004), *The Transformation of the State – Beyond the Myth of Retreat*, Palgrave Macmillan

The increasing internationalization of trade between some countries has led to the marginalization of others, such as African countries like Somalia. Many countries, especially the disadvantaged, experience globalization as something that has been forced upon them, rather than as a process in which they can actively participate. For Africa, the era of globalization has been disastrous, with per capita incomes actually falling¹⁰.

5. Results, Discussion and Recommendations

From the configuration questions and hypotheses set forth, above results are reached and will be discussed below.

With regard to the questions asked what globalization is and whether there is a single definition for it, laid down in the second part of the paper, showed that a single definition of globalization does not exist, on the argument that the phenomena to which it refers are multifaceted and complex¹¹. Its semantics is broad and no one of the indicators excludes the others. However, in this paper was selected to refer globalization as "an intensification of cross-border interactions and interdependence between countries", since this definition also correspond better with the chosen theme.

Secondly, in this part, is asked the curious question whether the U.S. is its creator?

Referring inter alia to the Professor of the University of Chicago, Milton Friedman, it was found that "globalization is essential american creation and represents a positive expression of capitalist free trade, led by modern technology", and by K. Brzezinski, professor of foreign policy at John Hopkins University, America must be the guarantor of global security, the promoter of the common good global.

Regarding the questions presented in the third part: How is globalization changing the international relations and if was there a discrepancy between them; was set the hypothesis: *In this era of globalization, could talk, for post international relations, since the term international relations itself, turns somewhat anachronistic;* the review of which will also show the relationship between: globalization-international relations.

Given the admission was made in the first part of this study, to refer globalization as "an intensification of cross-border interactions and interdependence between countries", accepted that it has brought a major change in the international system and international relations. This definition of the term globalization allows us to comprehend the change of relationships between individual states, from a more or less side by side existence towards their integration in an international system, in which they are more dependent on each other than before and where events happening outside their territory are far more likely to have an effect on them than they would have had a about century ago.

It was also found that a very important role in this process was played by the various Intergovernmental Organizations (IGOs) which gained increasing significance through the process of globalization. By joining these, states give up some of their sovereignty to a body governed by the collective will and decisions of its member-states, for example UN Security Council, NATO, Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) etc.

However, another finding was that it is not only IGOs with individual states as members which increase the dependence of states on one another. States have become more interdependent through the opening of national borders and the implementation of free-trade.

¹⁰ http://voices.yahoo.com/how-globalization-transforming-international-relations-46189.html?cat=3

¹¹ Dunne, T., Kurki, M. & Smith, S. 347

One last but not less significant factor which was especially important in augmenting the interdependence of states, resulted that was the "...fusion of national capital markets. ... and the emergence of an integrated global economy".

So the first hypothesis rose, not tested. Indeed interdependence of states and their cross-border interconnections are largely grown, but to talk about post international relations is somewhat premature and hasty¹².

Related to the question: What are the effects of globalization on sovereignty; here stand the second hypothesis: *Globalization does not completely undermine the sovereignty*.

Governmental power known as sovereignty is based on the premise of territorial geography. But with the inclusive momentum of globalization, have the state still power, utility and role in international relations? It was found that the increasing global interdependence of states, individuals and social and economic organizations is reducing the autonomy of individual states. Under the influence of globalization, even the constitutions of countries have undergone.

On the other hand, it was found that this question seems inappropriate, when we see that there are any society needs, needs that the state fulfills through its functions. Also newly independent states have been created and as yesterday, and today, requirements to know the identity have brought division, new creations and integration. It seems that this process is over and the next few years, we may expect the creation of other independent states.

It was resulted that there was some authors, that think that the "the authority of states is not a dogma anymore", and some others who argue that the nation-state is not missing, he is contrary transformed. It is made stronger, more assembled on itself, because its aim is to face the global competition.

So, summarizing the above facts, the result was that the nation-state is a counterweight to globalization. Consequently, the raised hypothesis was proved: *Globalization does not completely undermine the sovereignty*. But as we saw, this does not mean that sovereignty is not violated. At this point appear complications. Hence comes as a recommendation, a study and a further paper to be studied and dealt with in detail.

In the part four, it was treated the effects of globalization and their impact in less developed countries.

The effects of globalization are numerous and comprehensive. It was found that globalization links cultures and international relations on a variety of levels; economics, politically, socially, etc. This process influences the political system, economic development, and culture, human and physical well-being in societies around the world.

But on the other hand, the disadvantages are considered to be uneven distribution of wealth, income gap between developed and developing countries, where the wealth of developed countries continues to grow twice as much as the developing world. Next disadvantage is different wage standards for developing countries. Furthermore, free-trade was supposed to create conditions under which every state could trade freely and with equal opportunities with any other state. But since this does in reality not favors all nations equally. Since states now no longer have sole control over their economies, they rely and depend on the collective governance of bodies like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) or the World Bank in order to regulate the international financial market. On the one hand, this new dependence provides the member-states with some sort of protection in case their economy gets into financial difficulties, but on the other hand this interconnectedness can also have negative effects as could be observed recently in the Economic Crisis.

¹² Dunne, T., Kurki, M. & Smith, S., 362

The increasing internationalization of trade between some countries has led to the marginalization of others, such as African countries like Somalia. For Africa, the era of globalization has been disastrous, with per capita incomes actually falling.

So it was found that globalization still offers no alternative to reducing the gap between the developed countries and the third world countries, so developing countries¹³.

6. Conclusions

Arriving here, can assert that this study fulfilled the predetermined objectives. I came in these conclusions:

No country is immune from socio-political changes, regardless of where they occur. Globalization is seen as a global phenomenon which can affect the change of the political system.

Globalization may affect the creation of a new world order.

Globalization has brought a major change in the international system and international relations, but however, international relations between countries will continue to be in force, even though the sovereignty of nation-states, although affected by globalization, is not completely violated. Although the effects of globalization, in my opinion are more positive than negative, again, globalization still offers no alternative to reducing the gap between the developed countries and the developing countries.

Despite everything, the rules should be established, which would remove the risks of globalization, will narrow the disparities between regions of the world, as well as the weight of tensions and disagreements that can lead to poverty and war¹⁴.

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¹³ Abdullai, J., 159

¹⁴ Duroselle, Jean B. & Kaspi, A., 757