

The process of globalisation and the development of international world order

STEFÁNIA BÓDI

Department of Legal Studies, Miklós Zrínyi National Defence University, Budapest, Hungary

Our main questions are how the map of the world's great powers is redrawn; what new power centres are expected to rise by the decreasing role of the USA; how the unified Europe develops? The kind of global uncertainty that rules the world today fades the abilities of countries to find compromises and strengthens competitive nature more and more – says Brzezinsky. China may develop into a great power in the future; the rise of China however does not show the balance of powers it may rather cause further uncertainty. The resulting strengthened Russian-Chinese relations and the possible Muslim-Chinese rapprochement may be worrying. The competition of some Eastern states may lead to conflicts as well and stopping China will probably serve the interests of a number of states, and it has become obvious that the other, even more general common interest in the world is to stop terrorism.

The global problems of our age

In my study I make an effort to answer the often-raised question namely to give explain the problem why the attitude of national state is strengthening instead of weakening with the strengthening of globalisation. In my analysis I first focus on the problem how the relationship of nationalism and globalisation develops today paying special attention to the position of the United States as a great power and the European Union.

Many may think that if the nationalism of the European nations does not change it might result in the failure of the Union. I think Europe would need stronger unified action and cooperation against the ever stronger East Asian and American market. And this is only the economic side of the issue. I certainly do not think that in the case of national states like England, France or Germany that have so well-established and developed traditions and attitudes of values – to mention the greatest ones – the cooperation can be completely smooth. This requires time as well. The slightly overemphasised fears related to losing the national values, culture and the language have lead to stronger racism and hatred of foreigners to an unpredicted extent. The expected “explosion” in the Union by the joining of the Central Eastern European states – e.g. on the labour market – did not occur. The opening of the in itself borders have not led to the decay of national states fear

Received: Feb 27, 2006

Address for correspondence:

STEFÁNIA BÓDI

Miklós Zrínyi National Defence University

H-1581 Budapest, P.O. Box 15, Hungary

E-mail: bodi.stefania@zmne.hu

from that is unestablished. Let's notice that the organisation of the European nations into a community, a Union has enormous intellectual, cultural, economical, political, crime-preventive, environment protection potential.

It's a fact that the national state faces difficulties coping with the European and global changes; however "the European Union can be perceived much more as a process than a structure: it is a constant and dynamic search for balance between territorialism and non-territorialism in which the non-territorial element is the dynamic movement."¹

The 19th century as the century of national states left a number of unsolved territorial, national, ethnic, and language problems behind that the 20th century was unable to solve. In this situation some type of federalism might seem to be a solution.²

"The most significant characteristics of federalist concepts is the ability of joining tradition and modernity at least in their perspectives... with which federalism is a real promise and offer..." We can agree with Endre Kiss's statement that federalism has certain spontaneous element of direct democracy.³ He refers to the fact that the integrative forms of the European Union brought the new forms of federalism into the picture therefore today's federalism does not contradict globalisation. The events outside Europe especially if those are related to the leading power of the world the United States have influence on the countries of the world. Having realised the leading status of "America", the European states cooperate not only economically but in politics, defence and culture as well; the complete development of the European United States – the Union – has been started. We have seen the political mistakes of the United States well but till now we have not been able to become completely independent of them because we have not had an alternative. György Konrád says that "Europe is held together by humanism; a culture respecting personality and culture that define itself like that on purpose and differs from America in this respect, as that is more weapon-friendly."⁴

Let's also notice that globalisation should not only be seen as the nations getting closer and the borders becoming open, but as significant problems affecting the whole mankind. From this point of view environment protection, worldwide health problems, demographic tendencies are all issues of globalisation as Endre Kiss suggests as well.⁵ One of the most significant political aims for all European countries wishing to develop is joining the Union. The greatest problem is how to exercise solidarity with each other here in Europe with different levels of development and system of values? Some think that another problem is that an equivalent of national governments is missing from the global level. Vattimo⁶ says that is why the world federation should have been established before the economic globalisation. They are making effort to solve this problem today by the Union. In order to avoid overlaps of the organisation system and

the procedures some suggest that the European Council and the Union should be joined but this has certainly not happened yet.

As the political existence of the Union is still being formed many do not believe in its power.⁷ Although there are innumerable international organisations to fulfil different political, economical, human rights aims only the Union is being formed to become a “world government” while the others remain within narrower limits. We have to realise that it is not only about the union of the European nations, but at least as much about the fear of losing the different traditions as well.

Samuel Huntington⁸ thinks that instead of developing into one single global system the world will fail in a civilisation clash in which six or seven great cultural system will exist parallelly without converging and the framework of a global conflict will be formed. Many people predict – among them Huntington as well - that national states will disappear in the process of globalisation, but if that happens however positive it may be, the process will not be free of difficulties.⁹ It would be an illusion to think that the free movement of capital, people, services and goods¹⁰ will be established without the free movement of violence even if it is not connected to the state but separated, and spread in the world.

Károly Grüber thinks that the coexistence of nationalism and democracy results in constant tension in our region. “Many societies in Central Eastern Europe have chosen nationalism on the value market of the post-modern age while the enlightened West has seemingly chosen integration over nations.”¹¹ So many people think that the reduction of political radicalism has not been solved. The reason for the overpoliticised nature of Central Eastern Europe is for example the minority issues being unsolved; while Hungary is still in a “transition” state in many aspects as 15–16 years time is not much in the life of a nation.

Comprehensive conflict theories: The theory of Kissinger and Brzezinski

The theories examined here are conflict theories analysing conflicts of continents so they are universal in this aspect. In other words they study the change that is going on today among the great powers and that we may call the crisis of the present world system. Our main question is how the map of the world's great powers is redrawn; what new power centres is expected to rise by the decreasing role of the USA; how the unified Europe develops? I think looking through all these theories is relevant as the great powers influence the historical development of the countries in our region as they have an undeniable role in the border conflicts of Central Eastern Europe. György Konrád points out that the conflict of the Central Eastern European nations for example

may be originated from the decisions in Yalta and that the great powers forced different political ideologies on the nations of the region throughout history. Related to this István Bibó concluded that the great powers are interested in settling the conflicts of our region; there is constant pressure from the two outer powers – Germany and the (former) Soviet Union – in the region.

The theories of two internationally acknowledged thinkers in security policy Kissinger¹² and Brzezinski¹³ are worth examining in comparison not only because Kissinger was Brzezinski's "favourite scapegoat"¹⁴ and although both had European roots their views regarding the role of the United States and the analysis of the world order being in transition were contradictory in many points. Kissinger dealt a lot with the power theories that were raised throughout history that he often referred to later. He thinks that power is not originally evil; it is rather the main initiative of history. Although he thinks there are negative and positive tendencies that throw the political system into a certain direction, he does not believe that these processes are irreversible.¹⁵ He considers this concept as valid regarding the spread and role of socialism that he castigates the most. Kissinger attributes an exclusive role to the statesman in changing the direction of political processes. He drew the conclusion from the political characters that he admired that a suitable statesman is able to change the direction of history.¹⁶ Taking his greatest example Bismarck he thinks that a leader of ingenious abilities has opportunities to change fixed institutions because "the genius creates laws for himself and the obligation to realise those falls to others."¹⁷ The crisis of the present world system therefore originates from the lack of suitable leaders as well. Kissinger the national security advisor, later Secretary of State who had a European point of view disapproved the views on the omnipotence of the United States in many of his statements, however he agrees with the theory that the United States should take the role of the world gendarme. Brzezinski is more optimistic. He thinks that the United States has huge unexploited reserves in all aspects. It is unquestionable that the role of the USA after the cold war has to be rethought, Brzezinsky also recognises the process I analysed that the theory of national states is getting stronger. By the change of the world order and the strengthening of certain European and Asian countries the power of the United States seems to be questioned. Brzezinsky thinks that this is why the major aim is to widen the international system of relationships of the USA with all rising military and politically relevant powers; America has to make efforts to find a balance with Europe and Japan. Later he calls this trilateral priority.¹⁸ Brzezinsky did not agree with the strengthened Western European nationalism, even if those would pay a role (he wrote this before the split up of the Soviet Union) in the collapse of the Soviet Union. He sees well that the ethnic conflicts would/will bring

innumerable new problems to the surface, more than what they could solve. His attitude was also characterised by a policy of searching for balance, however not in Kissinger's sense.¹⁹ The so called five-power balance theory is Kissinger's theory according to which the mutual balance of power among the United States, the Soviet Union, Europe, Japan and China is the guarantee for permanent peace. Brzezinski disapproves this being desirable and also disagrees with the view that these countries could be the participants of reaching the balance. He thinks that only the Soviet Union and the United States have real power out of the countries listed above, and China might possibly become a great power that might modify the bipolar relationship.²⁰

The kind of global uncertainty that rules the world today fades the abilities of countries to find compromises and strengthens competitive nature more and more.

Samuel P. Huntington's conflict theory

The world consists of innumerable ethnic groups and nationalities, says Huntington. The simplest solution is to create civilisation circles of these; the world may be divided into seven or eight civilisations. The world has been actually divided into two great cultures till now that may be formulated in the former cold war opposition of the West and the "non-West". Huntington thinks that the frameworks of national states will not break up in the future but the most important conflicts will not occur between nations but rather religions, ethnic groups and cultures; the most important "conflicts" will blow over these frameworks.²¹ This process may be considered as one that had already started by the end of the cold war. The nations of the world emphasise their cultural and religious differences against the unification efforts of the West even stronger. Huntington also states that "people define themselves with something that makes them different from others."²²

The disintegration of Soviet Union and the ethnic groups of the former Yugoslavia may also be interpreted as a civilisation clash however we have to admit that these states are originated from a very similar civilisation circle. Huntington also thinks that the new civilisation conflict might consider the clash against the West as its major aim to take revenge for the offences suffered before. In contrast Latin-America will approach to the Western European attitude; a sign off this may be the strengthened religious relationships and the spread of Catholicism.

As a result of the changes the improvement of the Soviet-Chinese relationships and a possible Islam-Chinese rapprochement may be worrying. The competition of certain Eastern states may also lead to conflicts for example the relationship between India and China. He thinks stopping China will probably be the interest of a number of states and

it has become obvious today that the other most general mutual interest in the world is to stop terrorism. These mutual interests may be so strong – says Huntington – that they may evoke cooperation between different cultures.²³ On the basis of the above the new lines of forces will be created along the following cultures: West, Orthodox, Japan, China, Hinduism, Islam, Latin-America and Africa.

Regarding the other danger, terrorism we have to face the spread of the Islam first. Huntington considers the Islam as a civilisation that has been constantly making an attempt on the West and that has endangered its existence permanently at least twice throughout history. The differences between Western Christianity and Islam religion can be seen well, the abyss between the two is so huge that it may not be solved at any time.²⁴ Both are monotheist and universalistic at the same time – says Huntington – therefore each insists on its own God and religion as the only true faith- Drawing up the new lines of force is also helped by the fact that the West has always been interfering with the life of the Muslim world and the factor that by the end of the cold war the former enemy of the West disappeared.²⁵ As a cause of the opposition we must certainly not forget the factor often emphasised by Bibó that hides behind the economic differences between the parties. Huntington also points out this when he says it is undeniable that the Islam feels jealousy for the quick economic development of the West, with which it has not been able to keep pace. Many have predicted the clash of the two cultures from the side of the Islam as well that they explained from their viewpoint with the loss of values and increasing worldliness of the West. They feel this perhaps as a more threatening danger than the Christian religion. As the West has lost some of its values it gradually depreciated in the eyes of other cultures. Huntington says that none of the movements, religions or prosperities last forever but they necessarily get stuck at a certain point and this will happen to the Islam as well. However he puts this recession of the Islam to the second or the third part of the 21st century from which time a new kind of cold war will begin between the Islam and the West.

Conclusions

Europe has different values than the United States but it has not become strong enough to be equal with it in every respect. Anti-globalisation therefore brings up the problem of Anti-Americanism, because until we Europeans do not get stronger we will not be able to achieve any significant economic result and all the political, economic, or other events related to America will significantly affect our lives. We have to realise that it is not only economic dependence but a competition between the different systems of values as well.²⁶ Globalisation is a great challenge for the nations of the Union to

become more competitive and liberal. Nevertheless in spite of the oppositions there are many supporters of the American point of view in Europe. If our main aim is globalisation; that is the nations of the world compete economically for catching up then how is it possible that wealth and poverty has still not been balanced?

Vattimo says: "I was convinced that the socialist economy has completely failed but because of the contradictions of the capitalist system becoming apparent at international level now I am not so sure about that."²⁷ The answer to this question is not easy and we may lay down that the solution is expected by the liberalisation of the market by many people; and the European countries will strongly depend on the American system until it is not done. The European Union itself should think about these problems. We can state that the worldwide expansion of imperialism is meant by the negative overtone of globalisation while other nations of the world are getting poorer and poorer.

Many think that economic globalisation has become somewhat slower and military globalisation has mainly taken its place.²⁸ We can see the faults of American politics well but presently we cannot make ourselves completely independent of it because we do not have an other ready alternative instead. We have to point out a process as well through which a part of the Asian continent is becoming the supplier of the developed world and is trying to catch up. The closing up of the four Asian tigers²⁹ was the beginning of the process after the Japanese economic miracle and after that other countries followed their example. Terrorist attacks have troubled the process of globalisation but they have not been able to overturn it basically. Economic globalisation has meant till now that the industrialised world swallowed some countries in the third world including countries with Chinese culture or under the influence of China. For example Africa is completely excluded from it and it only slightly touches the Indian sub-continent while Latin-America is also only marginally interested in it and the Islam world even less.

Many think that the most important part of the globalisation game is being played in China today so the continuation of the Chinese-Western integration process is guaranteed. China was therefore led to identify with America by its own interests, especially realising that the international status quo must be kept because the existing economic relations may be preserved this way. It is understandable with respect that in the past twenty years China has developed in an unprecedented way so any factor is unacceptable for the country that would disturb the international conditions increasing its performance. Many are afraid of the danger of the improvement of the Islam-Chinese relations nevertheless they also point out that the Muslim religion is alien for the Chinese traditions and helping the efforts of the Islam is not the interest of China either.

My final conclusion is that none of the communities can get rid of the global problems or globalisation because the problems of mankind are shared by all. Objective attitude, clear sight is only possible with the consideration of universal perspectives instead of temporary political interests. Regarding the future of the national state we can say that the national state point of view presently means the ethnically colourful nation (the concept that the nation = all the citizens is outworn) because the concept of the mono-ethnic, monolingual national state is past. Regarding the renewal of the world's map of great powers we can also add to our previous statements that the mutual sociological, economical, political dependence and division of labour on which globalisation is built would not be completely overturned even in the case of a general clash between the nations of the Far East and the Western-American civilisation.

Notes and references

1. F. MISZLIEVETZ: *The Future of Europe, Democracy, Civil Society, Extension*, p. 61 (Európa jövője, demokrácia, civil társadalom, bővítés) (MTA Politikai Tudományok Intézete, Budapest, 2002.)
2. E. KISS: *Monetarist Globalisation and the Change of Political System in Hungary – Studies in Socio-Philosophy*, (Monetarista globalizáció és magyar rendszerváltás – Társadalomfilozófiai Tanulmányok) (Ferenczi & Tsa Bt., Budapest, 2002.) p. 28
3. E. KISS: 2002, pp. 29–31
4. G. KONRÁD: *The War in Yugoslavia (and what may follow it), Notes from March till June* (A jugoszláviai háború-és ami utána következik) p. 81 (Palatinus, 1999.)
5. E. KISS: 2002, p. 37
6. Regarding Vattimo's quotation see: Zs. KOVÁCS, T. NÉMETHI (Eds) *11 September – Dialogue on globalisation*. p. 107 (Szeptember 11. – Értelmezések, elméletek, viták)
7. At the time of writing the article we see the process stop which brings up new type of questions regarding the future of the Union.
8. S. P. HUNTINGTON: *The Clash of Civilisations and the Formation of the World Order*, p. 73 (A civilizációk összecsapása és a világrend átalakulása) (Európa Könyvkiadó, Budapest, 1998.)
9. However Huntington adds that the conflicts among mankind never disappear; they are only transformed. The new source of conflicts of the 21st century will be based on the differences in religion, culture and traditions among civilisations, while the conflicts of the 20th century were based on ideologies.
10. The primary aim of the Union and the former EEC is to accomplish the four "basic freedoms". See in more details: In: Zs. KOVÁCS, T. NÉMETHI (Eds) *11 September*, Chapter: D. BENSÁID, W. PELLETIER: Oh my God, are these sacred wars! (Istenem, méghogy ezek szent háborúk!) p. 91
11. K. GRÜBER: *European Identities, Region, Nation, Integration*, pp. 18 and 28 (Európai identitások, régió, nemzet, integráció) (Osiris-BIP, Budapest, 2002.)
12. Kissinger, a professor in history comes from a German Jewish community; European roots are determining in his concept of security policy. Detailed information about his attitude of power in R. BÉKÉS: *Kissinger and Brzezinski*, (Kissinger és Brzezinski) (Zrínyi Katonai Kiadó, Budapest, 1980.) p. 23–25
13. Zbigniew Brzezinski is a political analysts of Polish origin, President Carter's national security advisor.
14. R. BÉKÉS: 1980, p. 299
15. Reference to Spengler's theory on the future of civilisations.
16. However, in my opinion this view is far reaching because I see innumerable factors co-effecting in political power tendencies the change of which does not depend on the abilities of the actual leader.
17. R. BÉKÉS: 1980, p. 33

18. R. BÉKÉS: 1980, p. 289
19. He urged string policies against the Soviet Union and he did not emphasise cooperation in this respect but rather on the arms race.
20. The uprising of China however does not present the balance of powers; it may cause uncertainty for both parties.
21. In an earlier paper I referred to my opinion that the most important value of the national state is cultural continuity; so in this respect I agree with the concept that the clash of civilisation will mean the opposition of national states as well.
22. S. P. HUNTINGTON: 2000, p. 97
23. S. P. HUNTINGTON: 2000, p. 416
24. In the Islam we can see the coexistence of religion and politics, while in Christianity the worldly and religious powers are separated, and the principle of love does not allow ordering the violent spread of the faith.
25. See in more details in: S. P. HUNTINGTON: 2000, p. 351
26. Thee anti-globalisation terror attack did not only target the economy but it also originated from the Eastern conviction that the American way of life and modernity in itself is sinful and demonised.
27. G. VATTIMO, C. TAYLOR, R. RORTY: Conversation on globalisation. In: ZS. KOVÁCS, T. NÉMETH (Eds) *11 September*, p. 115
28. After the terrorist attack the Germans quickly accepted an Act that orders to register the people originating from outside the Union in the whole territory of the Federal Republic of Germany and in Oil transport Russia has become the main supplier of the West instead of the Muslim States, etc...
29. Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore and South-Korea.

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