



**INTERNATIONAL BLACK SEA UNIVERSITY  
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
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**Political Aspects of Globalization after the End of the “Cold War”  
on the Case of Georgia**

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## **Introduction**

The discussion about the political aspects of globalization has become especially possible after the World War II, because period after the World War II created some possibilities of the development of global processes in the field of politics. In this regard probably should be mentioned about the following aspects, that if for example after the World War II there were about fifty states on the world political map and biggest part of the territory of our planet was covered by the colonial territories gradually the process of globalization created the condition for the increasing the number of the independent states in the world, particularly it is necessary to point out here that during the Cold War period 102 states appeared on the world political map. After the disintegration of the USSR, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia in the beginnings of 1990-th, 22 new independent states appeared on the world political map. And here it is necessary to point out that of course increasing the number of the independent states in the world somehow created the necessity from the each state to be involved in the global processes on the political level, taking into the consideration the existence of such global problems of the political and security characters as terrorism as possible distribution of the weapons of mass destruction WMD , as energy problem for example, as violation of the principles of the human rights and resolving of the conflicts in the different regions of the world etc.. The more integration of the countries of the world in the fields of politics is important factor taking into the consideration for example the existence of the number of the conflicts in the world. According to the f Heidelberg Institute in 2013 there were 414 conflict points in the different regions of the world. In this regard it would be impossible to resolve different kinds of conflicts of the internal character and interstate characters without of cooperation of the international community. There were some examples: the war in the Persian Gulf about which will be discussed in the other topics of our research when for example after the military aggression of Iraq against Kuwait, international coalition was founded for the preventing the aggression in this case and providing the independence of the sovereign country. The other example most probably was the involvement of NATO in the resolving of the conflict in Balkans when maybe we are talking here about one organization NATO, but today NATO includes 28 countries. Furthermore, we should mention here about the biggest international coalition which was founded after the Cold War period ISAF mission, which included fifty states because we know that Afghanistan during the long time period represented the source for the terrorism in some cases and because of this the problem of terrorism of course concerns each country in the world of different regions of our planet.

Today one of the big problems as it was mentioned above is interrelated with the problem of terrorism because we have the new type of terrorism at this stage which is reflected in the activity of so-called ISIS which has no common either with Islam nor with state but anyway this terrorist organization managed to establish control over the important part of the territory in the Middle East, particularly over the provinces of Iraq and Syria, and especially ISIS managed to establish control over the important oil fields in both countries which provided for ISIS producing about 80 thousand barrels of oil per day and to the September 2014, their income was about two million dollars per day. By this way this action again clearly showed the importance of the fighting against terrorism. For example, two years ago, in Brussels the conference was held with participation of 60 states which established the coalition with the purpose of the fighting against this global threat. Due to it such issues related to the principles of collective security and defense also would be included to the agenda. Other important problem is interrelated with the problem of democracy, because we know here that democracy enlargement itself creates the convenient base for the process of globalization in the field of politics. In this regards we should mention here about the gradual increase of the number of democratic states in the world. For example, during the World War II period there were 13 states in the world which could be called as democratic and at the end of 60s there were 37 states and with regards to the today's world there are about 90 states according to the Freedom House which are free countries. However, we should mention here that if we take into consideration that there are 200 states on the world political map, that majority of the states according to the Freedom House are partly free or non-free and authoritarian. Also it is important to mention that, for example half of the population in the world live under the anti-democratic conditions we should say here that this problem on the development of democratic institutions seriously hampers the strengthening the cooperation among of the states in the fields of politics, because we know that as world is more democratized it will be more secured because we know the main formula in international relations that democracy do not fight with each other. It is necessary to point out here about the role and place of Georgia in the international system, because Georgia managed to gain its independence after the long time of the dependence to the superpower from the period of the end of the 15th century and the exception was the period of 1918-1921, but at the same time we should mention that Georgia lost its independence during that period because global processes on the political level were weak during this period and Georgia itself could not manage to be the part of the global world. For example Georgia was not admitted as the member of League of Nations which created the problems for our country during that period of time. With regards to the period after the gaining of national independence in 1991, taking into consideration some global processes of the political character it accelerated integration of Georgia

to the International Society because since 1992 Georgia became the member of the more than 100 international interstate institutions and at the same time it should be mentioned here that Georgia took plenipotentiary part of the international society.

It is crucial to mention the purpose of Georgia to be involved in any security operation for example within the NATO or European Union to prove that by the membership Georgia not only wants to have the benefit whether from NATO or European Union, for example to be under the common defense umbrella of NATO but at the same time Georgia wants to give the benefit to the other countries of EU and NATO. One of the clear examples here can be the involvement of Georgia in peacekeeping operations in Kosovo and later in ISAF and also to be involved in the peacekeeping operations together with other NATO member countries on the territories of Iran. With regards to the European Union in this field, the cooperation is developing by the involvement of Georgia military servicemen in the peacekeeping operations on the territories of Central African Republic and Mali, together with EU forces. It should be also mentioned that the European Union is one of the main guarantors of the independence of Georgia and providing security in Georgia, because we know the example of the EU when it monitors the territories of occupied Georgia.

### **Goal/Objectives**

Due to it that one of the most critical processes, which is going on in the modern World is firmly connected with the process of globalization and considering the significant role of the International Governmental and non-governmental institutions in the improvement of the Integration practice among of the states and different regions of the World, which will very confidently have reflected on the resolving of the other type of the global problems in the World.

1. One of the primary purposes of the thesis is to implement research related to analysis of the problem – which are connected with the main aspects of the Globalization Process in Politics, compared to the state's gradual introduction to the International relations based on the principles of International Law, increasing the number of the International Interstate and Non-Governmental Organizations, promoting the political integration on the example of the of the several international institutions.

2. The goal of this study is not to theorize about the nature of globalization or prove that it is, in general, a negative or positive phenomenon, but rather to analyze the impact of increasing socio-economic and political interconnectedness, that arises from globalization, on development of countries that are still trying to define their place within the international political system.

3. To write about the impact of Globalization on Georgia and the politics of our country.

**Research question:** To analyze the Aspects of Globalization one has to try to answer the following question: What are the main characters of the globalization process in the field of politics and how this process will be reflected on Georgia?

**Hypothesis:** According to many experts, the globalization process including field of politics has its positive and negative consequences and it's essential to analyze the basic issues of political integration and present the deep analysis based on different aspects and to prove above prevailing the positive factors, which promote the peace and stability in the World and will be positively reflected on the national interests of Georgia.

**Methodology:** During the research, the Interdisciplinary methods will be used, which will be reflected in the collecting and using for the further analysis the different literature and conducting an interview and nationwide survey related to globalization in the field of political science, international relations, conflict studies, legal sciences, history, economic, etc. The research will be mostly focused on qualitative and quantitative methods, but at the same time, different statistical dates also will be used during the working process.

**The novelty of the research:**

At the dissertation, will be deeply analyzed and presented the results of the aspects of globalization on the political level amongst the various countries and regions of the World.

For the first stage will be researched political reasons of globalization, including functioning of international regimes, international intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations and principles of international law and main processes, which determined the globalization in the political level in the 21st century.

For the first time, the national comprehensive survey for the determination the attitude of the citizens of Georgia toward the process of globalization will be conducted.

**Theoretical Value:** Political Aspects of Globalization will be analyzed on the bases of main points of view of theories of International Relations. First of all, Liberalism and Realism and English School.

**Practical Importance:** Research will be fascinating for the government officials, professors, scientists, researchers, mass media and NGO representatives, students and all other people who are interested in politics and International Relations.

## **Chapter 1. Literature review**

Abundant primary sources, archival documents, government resolutions, decrees, laws, statistical data, Georgian and foreign literature were used when writing this doctoral dissertation.

A lot of primary sources are available about the Political Aspects of Globalization in the 21st Century, which makes it possible to conduct objective and thorough research. Georgian, as well as foreign researchers, and historians, provide us with valuable information about Globalization and Politics.

Definitions of globalization also vary in emphasis from the economic and technological to the socio-cultural and political. While some scholars attempt to offer purely descriptive, no normative definition, others convey within their definition assessment, or in the case of Martin Khor's definition, an indictment: "Globalization is what we in the third world have for several centuries called colonization"(1995,16).

According to Board Task Force "The integration of political, economic and cultural activities of geography and/or nationally separated peoples". Also we should take into the consideration the definition of Keohane and Joseph Nye : "The Increase of globalism with 'is the state of the world involving networks or interdependence at multi-continental distances.... Through flows and influences of capital and goods, information and ideas, and people and forces, as well as environmentally and biologically relevant substances'".

One view sees globalization as the fruition of liberal economic principles. A global marketplace has brought growth and prosperity (not to all countries but to those most integrated with the global market). This economic process has made traditional states obsolete as economic units. States are thus losing authority to supranational institutions such as the International Monetary Fund, and European Union, and to transnational actors such as MNC and NGOs. The values of technocrats and elite, educated citizens in liberal democracies are becoming global values, reflecting an emerging global civilization. The old North-South division is seen as less important, because the global South is moving in divergent directions depending on countries' and regions' integration with world markets.

A second perspective is skeptical of these claims about globalization. These skeptics note that the world's major economies are no more integrated today than before WWI. The Skeptics also doubt that regional and geographic distinctions such as North-South divide are disappearing in favor of a single global market. Rather, they see the North south gap as increasing with globalization. Also, the economic integration of states may be leading not to a single world free trade zone, but to distinct and rival regional blocks in America, Europe and Asia. The supposed emerging world civilization is disproved by the fragmenting of larger units (such as the Soviet Union) into smaller ones along lines of language, religion, and other such as cultural factors.

A third school of thought sees globalization as more profound the skeptics believe, yet more uncertain than the view of supporters of liberal economics. These "Transformationalists" see

state sovereignty as being eroded by the European Union, the World Trade Organization and other new institutions, so that sovereignty is no longer an absolute but just one of a spectrum of bargaining levers held by the states. The bargaining itself increasingly involves non state actors. Thus globalization diffuses authority. State power is not too much strengthened or weakened by globalization, but transforms to a separate, in a new context with new tools.

## **Chapter 2. The main Theories of International Relations which promotes the International Integration, Liberalism, neorealism and English Schools**

The purpose of this chapter is to compare the assumptions, casual claims and policy prescriptions of realism, liberalism and English Schools.

It is necessary to mention, that realism has its intellectual roots in ancient Greece. It is also extended beyond the Western world to India and China. Discussions related to the “power politics” flourished in the Arthashastra, an Indian Treatise on statecraft, which is written during the fourth century BCE by Kautilya.

Modern realism appeared on the day before the World War II, when the dominant belief in a nature harmony of interests among states came under attack. It should be mentioned that, a decade earlier this belief made numerous countries to sign the treaty, which is called Kellogg-Briand Pact. This treaty once again renounced the war as a tool of national policy. It should be mentioned that Kellogg- Briand pact has been widely violated in Nazi Germany, Italy, and in Imperial Japan. British historian and diplomat E.H. Carr (1939) complained that assumption of a universal interest in peace had allowed too many people to “evade the unpalatable fact of a fundamental divergence of interest between nations desirous of maintaining the status quo and nations desirous of changing it.

Talking about globalization and its political aspects, I think mentioning of neorealism will be essential. Neorealism is a “theoretical account of states behavior that explains it as determined by differences in their relative power within the globe hierarchy, defied primarily by the distribution of military power, instead of by other factors such as their values, types of government, or domestic circumstances” (Kegley Jr. and Blanton, 2010-11). Kenneth Waltz (1979) who is the biggest supporter of neorealism, claimed that international anarchy explained the reason of why the states were locked in aggressive struggle with one another.

Liberalism has been called the “strongest contemporary challenge to realism” (Caporaso 1993, p.465). Like realism, it has a distinguished pedigree, with philosophical roots extending back to the political thought of John Locke, Immanuel Kant, and Adam Smith. Liberalism warrants out attention because it speaks to issues realism disregards, including the impact of domestic politics on state behavior, the implications of economic interdependence, and the role of global norms and



institutions of economic interdependence, and the role of global norms and institutions in promoting international cooperation.

Several corollary ideas give definition to liberal theory. These include:

The need to substitute attitudes that stress the unity of humankind for those who stressed parochial national loyalties to independent sovereign states;

The importance of individuals-their essential dignity and fundamental equality throughout the course of history, and the analogous need to place the protection and promotion of human rights and freedom ahead of national interests and state autonomy;

The use of the power of ideas through education of arouse world public opinion against warfare.

English school also take into the consideration the important factors of cooperation based on the principles of international convention which is obligatory for different nations.

The theory of international society is seen by its proponents alongside that of international system. The concept of system is the more essential and less problematic: it simply requires us to recognize outlines of interfaces between states as possessing a coherence which, at least in part, determines their actions and possibly those of others. Bull, whose account of the relationship of system and society is the most careful, recognizes the vague character of international society by proclaiming it no more than an 'element' in the international system. At the same time, however, he very definitely writes as though it has a capacity for action, as when it acts in common to assure its goals, which seems to ascribe to it a greater degree of reality than that of a mere element in a system.

### **Conclusion of the chapter**

The main purpose of this chapter was presenting the comparative analysis of the positive and negative aspects of globalization and role in practice (in the process of globalization) the leading theories of international relations – realism, liberalism, English school

### **Chapter 3. Main tendencies of the globalization in the fields of politics**

Chapter will present the principles of International Regimes and international law, collective security, the interdependence which promotes the process of globalization.

International regimes often form in response to a need to coordinate behavior among countries around an issue. In the absence of an overarching regime, for instance, telecommunications between countries would have to be governed by numerous bilateral agreements, which would become impossibly complex to administer worldwide. A regime such as ITU serves simultaneously as a forum, a multilateral treaty, and a governing body to standardize

telecommunications across countries efficiently. The International, Biological Weapons Convention, and Kyoto Protocol are other examples of international regimes. The number of international regimes has increased dramatically since the Second World War, and today regimes cover almost all aspects of international relations that might require coordination among countries, from security issues (such as weapons non-proliferation or collective defense), to trade, finance, and investment, information and communication, human rights, the environment, and management of outer space—to name a few.

Some scholars emphasize the importance of a hegemon in creating a regime and giving it momentum. This is called the hegemonic stability theory. The United States, for example, has been instrumental in creating the Bretton Woods system, with organizations such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. The rationale is that a hegemon, being the dominant actor in international politics and economics, often stands to gain the most from the creation of global standards. For instance, while other countries might benefit from it, U.S. companies like Microsoft, Universal Studios, and Pfizer would be among the greatest beneficiaries of a strict global intellectual property regime. As the hegemons use their power to create regimes, their withdrawal similarly can also threaten the effectiveness of regimes.

The war of Persian Gulf has created a new shade for the concept of Collective Security. It is widely spread that the improved relationship between the super states, eliminated the majority of resistances, which did not let the United Nations Organization to fulfill all its will in the sphere of Security. It should be mentioned that International acting toward the Iraq, made visible that Collective Security can be implemented in many effective ways. Other example were interrelated with the antiterrorist operations in Afghanistan and foundation of ISAF Mission, or the foundation of the coalition with about 60 states for the fighting against ISIS in the Middle East.

We are living in the world interdependence. This vogue phrase expresses not well realized but widely spread feelings that the concept of the world is changing. The strength of nations – measurement criteria for the analyst's and public figures which was used for many centuries – has become more difficult to understand: “Methods to measure power are improved but at the same time more inaccurate than it was in past. Henry Kissinger, who is the follower of classical traditions, claimed, that “traditional schedule of International issues – balance of power between the super power states, Security of nations - does not measure our security and abilities any more. We are entering into the new epoch. Old international models have been collapsed. The world has become interdependent with economic, communication and humans' aspirations. For realists, international politics, like all others, is the struggle for power, but if we compare it to the domestic politics, we will find out that, organized violation is leading in the international political system.

In the most influential book, after the World War II we will find out the following sentences: “The whole history of the mankind indicates that, the participants of the international politics, continuously are in preparation process, and are very actively involved in violation, in order to reestablish their power”. Three main characteristics are famous concerning to the realistic concept:

States as the indivisible units, are the main actors of the world politics. This conception has two assumptions itself: states are dominant; and are acting as an indivisible units.

According to realists, power is very useful and effective tool. It is possible to use additional tools too, but using power or threat, is the most effective tool to gain political power.

The third assumption is derived from the second one. Realists recognizes the hierarchy of the world politics, where the security of the military problem is leading: “high politics’ of the military security is important the “low politics” of the social and economic issues.

Public international law covers issues of relations between governments and the interactions of governments with intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) such as multinational corporations. Some believe that we should use the phrase world law to describe the mixture of public and private, domestic and international transactions that public international law seeks to regulate in an increasingly globalized world. However, it is the regulation of government-to-government relations that dominates the headlines in discussion of public international law. This area of activity also receives most of the criticism, for here, failures- when they occur- are conspicuous. As Israeli diplomat Abba Eban cynically quipped, “International Law is that law which the wicked do not obey and righteous do not enforce.” This is especially true with respect to the breakdown of peace and security. When states engage in armed conflict, criticism of public international law’s shortcomings escalates.

In conclusion within this chapter, it was explained the main aspects, which promote the global processes in the field of politics and which are strongly connected with the principles of International Regimes, interdependence theory and positive and negative aspects of the principles of International law.

#### **Chapter 4. International Society**

The idea of International Society is strongly connected with the name Hugo Grotius (1583-1645) who is from Nederland’s. It should be mentioned that, the world of Hugo Grotius created the idea concerning to the International Relations which is regulating the states relations which are members of this mentioned society. According to Hugo Grotius potential solidarity exists in the members of International Society, and common economic, trade interests and diplomacy will bring them friendship relations. According to Hugo Grotius, people will have the common rules for

habits and new laws will appear which will regulate the relationship between states. If we follow Hugo Grotius, war is foolishness and finally people will say no to war.

How the modern international society will be developed? How will it be in future? E. Luard from Britain suggests us five possible versions of how society can be in future:

**Transnational Society** – In this kind of International Society, one tension of modern world – to weaken the meaning of state border- is more intensive. Nation- state, territorial state will lose its meaning. Transnational processes will be ruling in the world. At the same time terrorism can be developed, which will be a very complicated problem.

**International Society** – It will be different from the modern international society. This difference will be indicated in the fact that the role and power of international organization will be increased. International society can become like the world's ministry organs. Such kind of international society, can be the most peaceful society ever.

**Society of Influence Sphere** - In this kind of society leading powerful states can influence the world and in this case international society can developed in this direction. In this case a distinct influential sphere will be outlined, where the leading states will be dominated and will control the whole world.

**World composed with regions** - The process of regional integration can lead the government to concentrate on the level of regions (E.g. Continents), which means the strong weakness of government on the level of state and world. Every region will develop its own economy and political institutions and regions will not interfere in other regions businesses.

**The Society of Rich and Poor** - International Society is characterized with the tendency to formulate the Rich and Poor society. Which means that society will be distinguished according to their Economic development and level, not by the geography or ideology. World will be divided into three main economic classes, which will have the antagonist features. It will be very un-stable society, where the order will established with the power of wealthy state.

While talking about the main players of the International Society first of all should be mentioned about the states. States are the main actors in the International relations and accordingly within the discussions about international society it is important to mention about the gradual increasing the numbering of the states in the world. For example if after the ww2 periods there were about 50 independent states in the world because of the changes of the world political map which were connected with the process of inter colonization for example the number of the independent states increased and today there are 193 plenipotentiary members of the United Nations which are the sovereign states and in this regards should be mentioned that state institutions which are responsible for the foreign and internal policy of the states they represents

the part of the international society because on their functioning is very much depended the international relations and accordingly the promotion of cooperation within the international society.

As a conclusion, it should be mentioned that human beings themselves create the society, where they live. Also human being is the main actor in creating the International Society. Here should be mentioned that the process especially is very difficult for the weak and small states, because if the international system is anarchic or if the international society or institutions are weak, in this case it is very difficult to maintain the state sovereignty. Humanity strives to live in a world where justice will be the ruler, they are searching for a place without wars or conflicts. Taking into the consideration the positive and negative factors related to the international society's development we can make a comparative analysis of the optimistic and pessimistic scenarios of the development of international society. With regards to pessimistic scenarios there were presented in the beginning of last century by Samuel Huntington who did not believe in the further process of the globalization and is strengthening the consolidation of the International Society, because according to him there were eight different civilizations and most of this anti-western civilizations they would unite against west and he presented his ideas "The west and the rest" and by this way he somehow separated the western civilization with other civilizations. Partly, with regards to Arthur Toby, British scientist he mentioned about the existence even more as a first state 21 and later 33 different civilizations in comparison with Huntington. So because of this some experts they think that because of the factors that there are more than 5000 nationalities in the world and they belong to different civilizations, will be impossible by this way to develop the globalization which will promote the strengthening of globalization at the same time we can see here the existence of the North South Gap when for example on the share of North is coming on about the 15 % of the world population but at the same time they produce more than 16% of the world GDP. With regards to the optimistic scenarios of course we can base here on the concept of Fukuyama in his research "The end of the history and last man" where he mentioned about the perspectives of the democracy enlargement in the world and we also can justify the concept of Francis Fukuyama too, taking into the consideration the democratization of the world, that today there are about 90 countries which are free according to the standards of the Freedom House also for example during the World War period there were only 13 democratic countries in the world.

## **Chapter 5. The role and place of Georgia in the globalized World**

Georgia after the becoming the independent state gained the opportunity to be the part of the globalized world and to put its maybe modest contribution to the international economic and

political order. It is also crucial to mention that Georgia today is member of the more than fifty international intergovernmental organizations and it has diplomatic relations with more than 100 states in the world. And for the providing more successful implementation of Georgia in the globalized world of course it is necessary to promote rational foreign policy.

Conclusion of the chapter: Purpose of this part of the thesis was to present the importance for Georgia to be maximally involved to the global processes and to analyze the bilateral relations of Georgia with USA, EU, NATO, Russia.

### **Conclusions**

In general, based on the concept of Globalization of world political space and principles of Mundialization and polycentricism, economic and political integration is featured and permanently growing tendency of modern world. Political integration processes are revealed in formation of international interstate and nongovernmental organizations.

In the middle of 80s of XX century, world counted more than thousand intergovernmental organizations; leading countries regularly participate in working of more than 100 organizations. For example, Denmark is the member of 164 organizations, France – 155, Great Britain – 140, USA – 122, Canada – 110, Japan – 106, Brazil – 100. After the WWII, in a very short period of time, there were created UN, NATZO, OSCE, WORLD BANK, European Union, etc. Lately, Comecon (The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance) and Warsaw Pact stopped functioning. No less role is played in geopolitics, by organizations such as OAS, OPEC, OAU, Organization “Islamic Conference”, etc. It is notable that number of such organizations continuously increases and functions of existing ones are developing.

Formation of NAFTA is actively on, including countries such as USA, Canada and Mexico. In 1989, there was created Asian-African Economic Cooperation; ASEAN, ADB, various unions and organizations work successfully in Asia.

Integral processes in Europe are well developed, especially on the territories of developed countries, which are united in European Union. For free movements of people, goods and capital, there are practically no barriers. Transnational cooperation of political parties in various countries are more and more widened. Leaders of political parties with various political ideologies keep all efforts to consolidate and coordinate on international levels. They try to gain transnational character for their parties and work out common ideological-political principles and thesis for everyone. European parties were formed – Socialist Union of Europe, People’s party of Europe, federation of liberal and democratic parties, progressive European democrats, etc.

Annual meetings of G8 on economic and foreign policy issues are the important event of the world politics. Except sovereign national states, active subjects of international relations are transnational structures, various organizations, unions, institutions, influence on tendencies and character of development of international relations. Very often, decisions received in headquarters of transnational corporations influence the life of separate citizens of the country.

All the said organizations, unions or corporations support the elaboration and introduction of behavior rules of the states within world commonwealth. They determine collaboration principles and ways to solve the conflicts and avoid wars, also elaborate methods for global economical growth, etc.

Central tendencies and regionalization and globalization processes are expressed in the role and functions of the states and international political system in general. Some time ago, politics (domestic, foreign) was reviewed as the function of national state. Presently, in the field of international relations states cooperate with each other for realization of their national interests. Exactly unity of such individual states created the world commonwealth. Each state, whether acting separately or in cooperation, decided its own defense and security issues independently.

Present picture is different, as the whole world is being united as one complex, with its parts tightly connected with each other. Ability of politicians, organizations, governments and states to control events, receive decisions and accomplish them, depends on not only their capabilities and priorities on domestic level, but on their skills to consider those circumstances on international level and have relevant influence on them.

We should pay relevant attention to the fact that globalization factor, notwithstanding its diversity, does not allow to solve problems with traditional, official methods (negotiations, launching or termination of diplomatic relations), which are used by official state structures and instances.

Making of decisions on issues, such as increasing or decreasing prices on oil, coffee, milk, etc is received not by specific state, but by international organizations (OPEC, EU, etc). Issues solved on domestic political level before, now acquire international-political character. Domestic and foreign politics are amalgamating and this is revealed on every important field of public activities. It is notable that, domestic political issues always contain specific international component. As a result, we receive that widely recognized norms, habits and practice of political government is not enough for states to solve their problems.

There is notion that, the state, which represents either major or one of the subjects in international politics, doesn't have sufficient political-economical shape; it is just particle of larger formation, called world political and economical system. All these processes allow us to speak

about “two worlds of the world politics”: the first containing sovereign national states and second comprising of non-governmental organizations, unions, corporations, etc. Opposite side of internationalization, interaction of countries and people is strengthening of competition. States reaction on economical globalization was widening of international relations. But ironically, this cooperation is based on strict control principle by that state, in which these companies operate. In other case, according to the international agreements, companies are not allowed to act beyond national borders. This is well seen in banking system, having extremely high levels of globalization.

One of the most difficult problems in international politics is the issue of force using (validity and lawfulness of such usage in various regions and countries). In this concern, pursuant to 2(7) rule of UN, prohibiting intervention in domestic policy of states, except the cases when such domestic process puts international peace and security at risk. Exactly for the purposes of international peace and security, criteria of intervention in domestic affairs may be reviewed. “Right of intervention” is especially important as one state (or group of states) is entitled to intervene in domestic affairs of the states, if rights of own population are violated or the government fails to stop civil war, etc. For example, European Union follows the principle, pursuant to which, protection of human rights is the affair of the whole world commonwealth. In OSCE summit declaration – 1992, state leaders acknowledged that responsibility on humanitarian states is not only domestic affair of the state. The most difficult issue in this context is whether the international commonwealth is authorized to intervene in domestic affairs or not, when approval is not received from the target country. We should confess that very often international organizations are the tools for implementing interests of great states. The same refers to UN. For example, 5 permanent members of Security Council (USA, Great Britain, Russia, France and China) are authorized to put veto on any decisions of the council and thereby unilaterally block the will of majority of international commonwealth. Thus, a kind of crisis of UN is seen in general.

Simultaneously, it should be noted that UN accelerated entering of new independent countries in international commonwealth and gave them chance to acquire international action rules and experience of diplomacy and negotiations. UN is international tribunal for extremely poor countries (having no representatives in other countries), where they are allowed to apply the world society on their problems.

Events of the last years show that, great states are not able to decide the same issue within a long period of time – the issue referring to the world peace.

Globalization and the disappearance of national borders



Since the word has both technical and political meanings, different groups will have differing histories of "globalization". In general use within the field of economics and political economy, however, it is a history of increasing trade between nations based on stable institutions that allow firms in different nations to exchange goods and services with minimal friction.

The term "liberalization" came to mean the acceptance of the Neo-classical economic model which is based on the unimpeded flow of goods and services between economic jurisdictions. This led to specialization of nations in exports, and the pressure to end protective tariffs and other barriers to trade. The period of the gold standard and liberalization of the 19th century is often called "The First Era of Globalization". Based on the Pax Britannica and the exchange of goods in currencies pegged to specie, this era grew along with industrialization. The theoretical basis was David Ricardo's work on Comparative advantage and Say's Law of General equilibrium. In essence, it was argued that nations would trade effectively, and that any temporary disruptions in supply or demand would correct themselves automatically. The institution of the gold standard came in steps in major industrialized nations between approximately 1850 and 1880, though exactly when various nations were truly on the gold standard is contentiously debated.

The "First Era of Globalization" is said to have broken down in stages beginning with the first World War, and then collapsing with the crisis of the gold standard in the late 1920's and early 1930's. Countries that engaged in that era of globalization, including the European core, some of the European periphery and various European offshoots in the Americas and Oceania, prospered. Inequality between those states fell, as goods, capital and labor flowed remarkably freely between nations.

National borders are a big hurdle to the expansion of the open economy. Integration today remains imperfect because national borders translate into trading costs, including differences in monetary regimes. Political borders shelter many goods and services from external competition and, consequently, represent a critical exogenous force in the integration process. Borders are thicker for the small countries than the large countries. Regional trade arrangements have softened or, in some cases, pushed outward national borders, but in the process new borders have emerged. Borders affect also finance and monies. While the speed of financial integration suggests currency consolidation and a decline in the ratio of independent monies to sovereign nations, the formation of multilateral monetary unions pushes the ratio towards unity.

Under-developed countries can empower themselves by doing what the industrialized world has done. Free markets have worked in the west, and the rest of the world should aim to mimic that. This is a controversial theory, since the gap between the developed and under-developed world is growing. Many people strongly protest globalization because it opens up

boarders to outside influences, and leaves economies in the control of trans-national corporations. Globalization may very well result in the disappearance of national borders. Only time will tell if this system will work.

Gideon Rachman at the Financial Time writes about the political dimensions of globalization today, taking note that so long as the very poorest in the world do not feel the benefits of these processes, political support will continue to hamper the free flow of capital, goods, and ideas, feeding into the next wave of protectionism.

The challenge to the globalization consensus comes from below. Political elites in the US, Asia and Europe are struggling to convince citizens that globalization is not just a game that benefits the rich. If the argument is lost in any of the major world economies, the political consensus that underpins globalization could unravel.

That consensus is a recent creation. The political changes that made globalization possible took place in a remarkably short period of time – from 1978 to 1991 to be precise. The first and most important development was China's decision to turn from Maoism to the market, with the reforms initiated by Deng Xiaoping in 1978. A year later, Margaret Thatcher came to power in Britain. One of her first acts was the abolition of foreign exchange controls, easing London's rise as a global financial centre and setting an example that was emulated internationally. Then, in 1980, Ronald Reagan took power in the US on a platform of deregulation and tax cuts – giving a huge boost to market ideology around the world. In the mid-1980s, the European Union committed itself to creating a single market.

In 1989, the collapse of the Berlin wall allowed Eastern Europe – and Russia itself – to join the globalization game. The 1980s also saw the discrediting of protectionist populists in the largest countries of Latin America. Finally, in 1991, came another huge change: the decision by Indian leaders to move away from the regulation and protectionism that had hobbled the Indian economy since independence.

So, in less than 15 years, the political elites in the power centers of the world had come to broadly similar conclusions. They embraced global business and market economics.

The result is a world in which it now feels as natural to do business in Beijing, Moscow and Delhi as in London and New York. But this world has been with us for less than 20 years. Previous eras of globalization were ended by political upheaval – the outbreak of war in 1914 and the rise of fascism in the 1930s. So could the same thing happen again?

The most obvious threat is a crisis in the most important political and economic relationship in the world – that between the US and China. The Bush administration, despite its bellicose reputation, has been assiduous in avoiding confrontation with China; and the Chinese similarly

have no desire for a clash with America – at least, not now. Globalization has created a web of mutual interests. The real risk in Chinese-American relations is of miscalculation: a clash – whether over trade or Tibet or Taiwan – that escalates into something that does real damage. Combine a looming recession in America, a presidential election and the Beijing Olympics and you have a formula for potential trouble.

Over the longer-term, terrorism and climate change also pose risks to the system. Globalization depends on ease of travel. But, in different ways, both global warming and global terrorism threaten the ability to hop on a plane at a moment's notice.

But the biggest risk is that politicians simply begin to lose the argument for globalization. A recent opinion poll showed that 58 percent of Americans think globalization is bad for the US and just 28 percent think it has helped America. Ten years ago, there was a narrow majority in favor of globalization. Politicians are reacting to this shift. Democratic presidential candidates are taking an increasingly skeptical line on free trade. Republicans rail against illegal immigration.

In Europe, Nicolas Sarkozy, French president, has been arguing for protectionism on a European level. He wants to re-establish “community preference” – essentially higher tariffs against goods from outside the European Union. Mr. Sarkozy does not have many European Union allies yet. But the re-election of Silvio Berlusconi in Italy could change that.

Outsiders see the Indians and the Chinese as the greatest beneficiaries of globalization. But the last Indian government lost a general election, largely because poor, rural voters felt left out by the boom. With another election in the offing, India's politicians are not rushing to sign a new world trade deal. The political climate in a one-party state such as China is harder to gauge. But the authorities' evident anxiety about rural unemployment, environmental protests and the wealth gap between the rich coasts and the poorer inland regions suggests that global capitalism can be a tough sell – even in China.

The sense that the poor have lost out as a result of globalization has grown with the rise in world food prices. Hunger – that most traditional threat to ruling elites – is returning to many countries that have embraced globalization.

Political leaders around the world are struggling to contain all these pressures and maintain the consensus that has made globalization possible. But their task is getting harder. Globalization was made possible by political change. But what politics made, politics can take away.

The hypotheses have been proved with the help of qualitative and quantitative data analysis, which are proved in the cited interviews and national wide surveys.

### **Publications related to the Dissertation**

Mkalavishvili, T. (2015). International Society. Journal of Social Sciences. Vol 4, Issue 2  
pp .49-54

Mkalavishvili, T. (2015). Comparative Analysis of USA's Foreign Politics Toward  
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