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### **The Interrelation of National and State Interests under the Modern World Order Conditions**

The rapid changeability of the human environment, the high dynamics of social processes give rise to new and, sometimes, rather contradictory phenomena in the existence of modern states, transforming their nature and influencing the content of national and state interests. State economic policy is organically integrated into the globalization processes; it allows the state to be not only a subject, but also a factor of the globalization. The process of economy globalization, as well as any other socially significant process, realized within the struggle of various economic and political forces for their own interests, which are often divergent.

#### **Keywords**

Globalization, globalization processes, global governance, global world economy, national interests, state interests, sovereign state, civil society.

### **Взаємозв'язок національного та державного інтересів в умовах сучасного світового порядку**

Стрімка мінливість середовища життя людства, висока динаміка суспільних процесів породжує нові і часом доволі суперечливі явища в житті сучасних держав, змінюючи їх природу і впливаючи на зміст національних та державних інтересів. Державна економічна політика органічно вписана в глобалізаційні процеси, що дозволяє державі-носію цієї політики функціонувати в якості не лише суб'єкта, але і фактора глобалізації. Глобалізація економіки, як і будь-який інший суспільно вагомий процес, реалізується у боротьбі різних економічних і політичних сил за свої власні, часто різноспрямовані інтереси.

#### **Ключові слова**

Глобалізація, глобалізаційні процеси, глобальне управління, глобальне світове господарство, національні інтереси, державні інтереси, суверенна держава, громадянське суспільство.

**The formulation of the problem.** The process of globalization dictates new game rules for the modern statehood and conceals the new challenges for state to overcome in the nearest future. The rapid variability of the human environment, the high dynamics of social processes give rise to new and sometimes rather contradictory phenomena in the context of national and state interests.

**Analysis of the previous researches.** In the scientific community during the past decade there are many researches concerning the issue of country's national and state interests content and degree of understanding; in these researches authors are trying to determine the essence of national and state interests, the subject of these interests and implementation problems. National interest's consideration is always started with a historical background, with the explication of parallels between the contemporary state of affairs in the country and its historical realities. Country's national interests are in conflict with the state interests, moreover, at the present moment national interests are often substituted by state interests, which often represent the hidden needs of the particular groups, or even individuals the power authorities.

**The research tasks and objectives.** The task of present research is to clarify the understanding of the dialectical essence of national and state interests, its interconnection in the context of globalization, to clarify the essence of Ukraine's state cultural interests and their realization on the world level.

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**The statement of the core material.** The concept of "national interest" is one of the modern political and economic science key concept. According to the traditional conception of G.Morgentau, national interest is a bilateral sovereign territorial state and civil society interest. National interests are defined by Morgentau as the long-term, vital for the national expression of unity factors, which are embodied in the aspiration of one nation`s representatives to find the common ground for unification based on culture, that is to say, on the language, family and moral traditions and customs, religious rituals, based on a common political system, common economic policy. According to G.Morgentau, the concept of "national interest" consists of three elements: a) the essence of the interest that must be protected; b) the political environment in which interest is being realized; c) national necessity, which limits the choice of tasks and means of the international economy actors. Internal and external economic policy is based on a certain political, cultural, physical "reality", capable to realize the nature and essence of its own national interest. Nation plays the role of such "reality"; all nations on the international level tend to the satisfaction of their primary need, namely the need for survival<sup>2</sup>.

According to the theoretical views of political pragmatism and realism followers, national interests are defined by means of the categories of power, namely, national interests are interpreted as the ability to establish and to maintain control of state over the nation and nation over the state, while in the framework of liberal-idealistic theory national interests are considered mainly in the context of the modern world economic development. Thus, according to F.Fukuyama and M.Doyle point of view, in the era of globalization the role of national state is weakening and the national interests are replaced by the interests of the international business presented by multinational corporations<sup>3</sup>. These definitions reveal the national interests main content and direction of development within the framework of the modern world order, in the context of globalization the role of the nation-state is being essentially weakened and the national interests are replaced with the interests of international business.

The concept of national interest is changing alongside with the development of globalization and the very society that objectively determines the transformation of the world order; it requires the new approaches to the definition of national interests and its priorities. In accordance to our opinion in the contemporary world order national interest presupposes the coordination of the interests of all people living in the country. Within the context of "national interest" and "the state economic policy" coordination the national interest, as it is supposed to be, should be regarded as a fundamental methodological concept of the state, which expresses the most important points for the nation on the way of its power growth, as well as for the country's power authorities and all governmental bodies activity for the welfare of people and all citizens of the country, but not at the expense and not contrary to the realization of the national economic interests of other states. By its volume this concept is much broader used in political practice than the concepts of "state interests", "vital interests", "the interests of individual ethnic groups and communities."

State interest is connected with the system of public authority and functions of different social management structures. Outside the interests of the power authorities and the law bodies, the interests of individual and society are contentless. The notion of vital interest in the very title emphasizes the hierarchy of interests and its belongings to the highest level of interests. The interest of ethnic groups as an expression of the needs of a particular national community are not equal to the national interest, as soon as national interest represent the needs of nation as more complicated economic and cultural-historical unity of people. From the Organization of the United Nations point of view: to be a nation – means to act as a kind of ideal unity of power regime, territory and population. It is assumed that this unity acts as a kind of entity that conducts its policies, takes part in some world game and the prize gained in the course of this game is shared by all those who identifies himself with this unity. The understanding of nation in the Western intellectual tradition is the following: it is a political unity of citizens of a certain state, living on the territory of this state and consciously identifying themselves with this state regardless of their ethnic, religious and other differences. K.Schmidt defines three types of such interest subjects: it is community of people as whole, individual members of this community and

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<sup>2</sup> Morgenthau, H.A. (2000). *Realistic Theory of International Politics // Classics of international Relations.* – Prentice H Cliffe, New Jersey.

<sup>3</sup> Doyle, M. (1999). *Liberalism and the End of the Cold War.* – *International Relations Theory and the End of the Cold / Fukuyama F. The End of History and the Last Man.* – NY.

just individuals<sup>4</sup>. The properties of national interest connected to these definitions, which presents a way of integration and expression of vital individual, social and state needs and values, motivates nation and direct its development, contributing to the growth of the national power of the country. Orientation to national interests makes it possible to realize the functions of survival in a contradictory and changing world, to ensure the security of country and its progressive development. Ukraine's system of national interests is determined by combination of basic individual, social and the state interests in the most important spheres of social life: in the field of economics, social and cultural life, in the field of domestic policy, international relations, defense, information and other spheres.

The basic interests of the person consist of the real possession and disposal of property, of the production tools, the right to work, the provision of constitutional rights and freedoms of citizens, it presupposes the maintaining of a particular level of their life which could ensure the optimal opportunities for physical, cultural and intellectual development.

Basic interests of society presuppose the creation of the influential and independent civil society institutions, the insurance of internal socio-political stability and integrity, motivation of the working part of population creative activity, as well as the spiritual revival of Ukraine.

The basic interests of the state consists of the constitutional order protection, preserving sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine on the way of national power building up, the overcoming of threats to national security, creating a zone of good-neighborliness along the border of the country's territory and developing interstate cooperation on the basis of international partnership.

The national interests of the state can be defined as conditioned by the needs for survival, security and progressive development of the country, as well as determined by the values of the historical and cultural heritage, by the national way of life, by the state power authorities aspirations and incentives for national power growth in all its considerable (economic, scientific, technical, spiritual, military) components as well as improving the welfare of the majority of citizens.

The sphere of national interests in geographical sense is not limited by terms of national territory and goes far beyond it in accordance with the actual base of the state national interest's realization and primarily, the economic ones. The position of understanding and recognition of these sphere of interests by other countries and first of all by those which territories has the necessary ground for it. Ukraine's national interests are directed not only to the post-Soviet space, but it also has a certain basis for realization in the countries of Eastern and Central Europe and other regions of the world. The system of internal national interests of countries involved in the process of globalization should be built around its main value - people, their cultural, educational, qualifications, creative and entrepreneurial abilities. Such attitude to the problem of national interests makes possible to create a system of domestic economic interests and to formulate the state policy objectives and directions. In this context of consideration it is possible to underline the following category of national interest. It is connected with the category of irreducible interests of society. The problem of national interests, in our interpretations, these concepts are treated as identical in general, as well as the question of the interrelationships between individual and group preferences - the "eternal plots" that go through countries and epochs and constitute the main topic of research in "public finance theory" (the English tradition) and "financial science" (German tradition)<sup>5</sup>. By our opinion, this has a direct relationship to the current conceptualization of national and state interests, and to their mutual development, as well as to the prevailing economic theory that interprets the problems of national interests, and this way of conceptualization contains a number of starting points concerning which there is no clear consensus among scientists today<sup>6</sup>. Thus, according to some scientists, it is possible to reject the ultimate methodological individualism and to transform it in the less ultimate methodological principle of complementarity, with makes possible the co-existence of group's interests along with the individual preferences. If the individual preferences, coming into the market flow, are averaged over the entire set of individuals, the

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<sup>4</sup> Schmidt, K. (1964). *Geschichte der Lehre von der Kollektivbedürfnissen Methoden Systeme und den in den und Wirtschafts Sozialwissenschaften* / E. von Beckerath ua (Hrsg). Tübingen: JCBMöbr (Paul Sie Beek), 335 pp.

<sup>5</sup> Musgrave, R.A. (2006). *Public Finance and Finanzwissenschaft Traditions Compared* // *Finanzarchiv*, Vol. 53, No 2. 145 – 193 pp.

<sup>6</sup> Liebman A.M. Sustained size of regional integration projects and the post-Soviet space / Libman A.M.// *Eurasian economic integration*. – 2008. – № 1. – P 11; Haylbroner R. *Economic theory as a universal science*/ Haylbroner A // *Almanac THESIS*. – 2003 – V.8. , Vol. 1. – 49 pp.

preferences of society as such, existing along with the individual preferences, are not involved in such reduction and state interests are determined through the mechanisms of the political system. Being formed in the different institutional environments these interests are irreducible to each other. First of all, speaking about the category of irreducible interests, it should be pointed out that it comes about two simultaneously developing parallel processes - the market and political branches of national interest formation. The concept of irreducibility in this context means only that the interests revealed by the political system cannot be reduced to the individual preferences revealed by the market system, that is to say, it cannot be represented in the form of any aggregate<sup>7</sup>. Secondly, the very existence of national interest as such does not mean the subjection of individual interests to the national interest, since the supplementation of individual preferences with an autonomous national interest does not entail the emergence of their hierarchy. This, in particular, manifested the fundamental difference between this theory and any other theories which establish the primacy of national interests. Thirdly, within this paradigm the complementarity of usefulness' is being transformed in the complementarity of the market exchange entities: the unity of individuals whose activities are rational by definition (ego principle or a self-seeking principle); beside that everybody is free to determine his own preferences (the principle of sovereignty), everybody complements state which acts as a nonprofit organization whose mission is the realization of irreducible public interests. "The state's motivation in such circumstances is not determined by the free trade phenomenon, but by the ability to meet the needs of society as such"<sup>8</sup>.

By considering both types of the of national interest formation it is important to keep in mind that this is a process of shaping the needs of society, it does not come about a personified entity that takes "state decisions". The important feature of this process is a way and degree of individuals' participation in the process of decision-making on behalf of society. However, many scientists studying social processes share the traditional assumption that the utility function of each individual "includes along with the market benefits the diverse parameters which reflects state of society in various fields"<sup>9</sup>. It is obvious that only a limited number of individuals participate in the process of forming the national interests generated by the political system, the random sampling of such individuals is not always representative. Therefore, if one can speak of the participation of individuals in the formation of national interests generated by the political system, then it is possible to speak about participation in a very indirect form, referring mainly to the institutions and mechanisms for transferring of voters' voices "into the trust". It should be pointed out that we are not talking about different individuals' ways to act in relation to the same event, but the "... other way to act in relation to another event and, as a rule, to other people"<sup>10</sup>. What does these "other people and events" mean? Firstly, it is a democratically organized society and its institutions, including the parliament, whose members determine the interests of society and their current priorities based on the established procedure. In accordance with this the "other people" is the limited number of selected individuals entrusted to care about the common good by the rest of the population, therefore, as a rule, "other people" are involved in the current political process of national interests forming

Secondly, if the market economy environment in the individual evaluates the alternatives from the perspective of his own benefit, the political branch generates alternatives associated with the welfare of society as a whole. In this sense it really comes about "other events".

Thirdly, we are speaking about "the other way to act" - because "other people" in their preferences on behalf of the society are not guided by personal, but by the public funds. This fact does not deny the different attitude of "parliamentary" people to their own private and public funds. The possibility of a lower evaluation of the public resources utility for the selected people in relation to their private funds has been pointed out by many authors<sup>11</sup>. In this sense, even a referendum cannot fix a "genetic defect" of public funds; this one defect largely determines the phenomenon of "the other way to act."

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<sup>7</sup> Nekipelov A.D. The establishment and functioning of economic institutions /A.D.Nekipelov. - M.: Ekonomist, 2013. - 271 pp.

<sup>8</sup> Keynes J. M. General theory of employment, interest and Money// J. M. Keynes. - M 1948 - 365 pp.

<sup>9</sup> Nekipelov A.D. The establishment and functioning of economic institutions //A.D.Nekipelov. - M.: Ekonomist, 2006. - 271 pp.

<sup>10</sup> Rubinstein A.Y. On the issue of expansion of "pure theory of public expenditure"/ Scientific report //A.Y Rubinstein. - M.: IE RAS, 2008. - 55 pp.

<sup>11</sup> Krueger, A.O. (1994). The Political Economy of the Rent Seeking Society, *American Economic Review*, Vol. 64, №3, pp. 291 - 301.

Based on the foregoing, it should be said that we are talking about two fundamentally different types of the society national interests, which are revealed either by the market or by political environment, which, in fact, is manifested in their irreducibility to each other and its` mismatch.

The position of the "social contract" theory followers according to which the state power is the only structure that ensures the peaceful co-existence in the conditions of the war of all against all, it is also indicated that in contemporary conditions it is difficult to talk about single national interest. I. Wallerstein argues that in the countries which have become the periphery of world capitalism, the dependent development did not entail the different ethnic, religious and other groups integration in the national society, i.e, it doesn't result in the creation of the national economic system. Moreover, he believes, it does not happened in even the developed countries. "National development" does not really exist. In his opinion, it is just more convenient approach to the different economies description<sup>12</sup>. In the context of economic globalization, according to many researchers, the question of the national economic interest is the removed issue. "Really, the open global market, - as it is said in the research of Kara-Murza, - places peoples as structural units of humanity in an entirely new environment. In the long term it leads to the disappearance of the nations and the emergence of the world class society. In general economy ceases to be "national" and the concept of "country" in fact is disappearing. It turns into a space where the economic operators are producing goods to meet the effective demand of the global market"<sup>13</sup>.

German researcher Klaus Segbers also believes that it is time to re-evaluate the role of the classical nation-state. "It no longer appears as a unitary actor. The role of internal economic, social and political actors is more considerable than ever before. They compete with each other and their interests, as a rule, rarely coalesce into what is called the "national interests". The latter ones are still subject to talk about, but they do not subjected to the efficient aggregation. The state apparatus, or rather the state bureaucracy also express different interests - starting with the interests of transnational globalizing bureaucrats to the protectionist inclined interests of state clerks. It becomes increasingly difficult and inefficient to establish the internal social consensus (inclusion) and to maintain it in external relations"<sup>14</sup>.

At the same time, in spite of the noted before - the divergence of the social (national) interests, reducing the role of the nation-state in a globalizing world economy – it is too early to say that in contemporary conditions there are only private interests of the various economic actors or that there is no single national, state interest of the country. The presence of such interest, in our opinion, is inherent in the nation-state, even inspire of the definition of the state essence: whether it is based on class structure or it is the result of a "social contract". Moreover, the state interest will be gradually expanded to the borders of social (national) interest and thus it will be transformed into it, and a significant role in the realization of national-state interests will, in the near future, belong to the state structures. In terms of total economic globalization and formation of a single world economic space the concept of the "national economic interest" will be substantially changed. It is not going to be even similar to what we can say today in the context of a multinational state, when a single national interest (including the economic component) of a nation is realized due to the desire to support by the existing national state (diaspora interest), or the desire to create the own national state (the interest of "small" nations). As part of the global world economy, where the role of the nation-state has changed significantly, "national interest" to a certain extent ceases to be the purely economic one. At the present stage of globalization, in our opinion, it is impossible to deny the existence of single nation-state economic interests. The state is the expression of national-state interests. Its realization will be complete when the private interests of citizens and their common interests are in harmony and the first ones get their satisfaction by means of second ones. It is rather the ideal situation, but more often we can see the various contradictions and conflicts between state and civil society, at the same time the temporary balance between it is always mobile. Civil society does not exist by itself; it is created and developed along with the state. These two processes are inseparable; they do not exist without each other.

<sup>12</sup> Wallerstein, I.(2011). The world we are entering: 2000-2050. /I.Vallerstain , *Russia and the modern world*, № 1 (30), 68-69 pp.

<sup>13</sup> Kara-Murza, S. (2010). The openness to the global markets: economic and virtual reality /S.Kara-Murza // Bulletin of Moscow Economic Institute. – 2010. № 1. – P.35.

<sup>14</sup> Segbers Claus. Sewing together a quilt/ Segbers Claus. – <http://pubs.carnegie.ru/p&c/>

**The conclusions and prospects of the future researches.** Whatever power regime exists in the country, in spite of its nature, it cannot stop to think at all about state security, and thus it expresses the common interest. National-state interests, security, geopolitics – it is the inseparable elements of the same chain, converging at its ends in the sovereignty of the state, where the key role is played by the preservation of the territorial integrity. In the era of globalization, the aim of the national state interest takes the form formulated vice versa; it is true especially for those countries that have not reached a high level of development, i.e., countries which are not the part of "golden billion". So as long as the state and civil society are not strong enough to overcome the challenges they face because of development and to establish their indisputable right to exist before the face of internal and external forces, the problem of national interests will not exceed the borders of purely logical and theoretical exercises.

The formation of a single economic area of the world is proceeding against the background of the strategic interests of the particular states and groups of states fight. The phenomenon of the world economy globalization is accompanied by a clash of interests of the states involved in this restructuring process. The interests are promoted by the use of force in its broad sense, including economic force, when the sphere of international trade, financial, investment and other regional, inter-regional and global, universal systems of management are the "areas of concentration and conflicts of interest".

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