

Історико-політичні проблеми сучасного світу:
Збірник наукових статей. – Чернівці:
Чернівецький національний університет,
2020. – Т. 42. – С. 70-76
DOI: 10.31861/mhpi2020.4270-76

Modern Historical and Political Issues:
Journal in Historical & Political Sciences. – Chernivtsi:
Chernivtsi National University,
2020. – Volume. 42. – pp. 70-76
DOI: 10.31861/mhpi2020.42.70-76

УДК 323/02(477)«20»

© Liudmyla Novoskoltseva ¹

Ukraine in Modern Globalization Processes: Challenges to the National State

In the 20th and 21st centuries, the world has faced the acceleration of transnationalization, the strengthening of interdependence and the establishment of an international order with the help of the UN and other international organizations, as well as the phenomenon of “erosion” of state sovereignty. The information revolution and the interaction of cultures and values have intensified the trend towards building a democratic society and fighting for human rights and freedoms. The globalization undermines an ability of the state to maintain borders and exercise sovereignty. States today can be legally sovereign, but in practice they are forced to negotiate with all the actors on the world stage, as a result of which their freedom of action is significantly limited. The development of the modern world is characterized by the processes of globalization, enhances the universalization of all spheres of social life and certainly cannot but influence the functioning of national states. Globalization forces us to revise the traditional principles of sovereignty in connection with changes in ideas about the difference between internal and external, state and international, territorial and non-territorial politics. Ukraine's accession of independence provides for the formation of the integral socio-political, self-identified community, capable of withstanding internal and external challenges. In Ukraine, the process of becoming the full-fledged nation-state with its own interests continues. This problem is also actualized by the ambitious goal that has been set, about Ukraine's entry into forty developed countries of the world.

Keywords: globalization, state sovereignty, national state, transnational corporations.

Україна в сучасних глобалізаційних процесах: виклики національній державі

В умовах формування глобального порядку і пов'язаної з цим зміни міжнародної системи, що склалася, все гостріше стоїть завдання визначення історичних перспектив держави. Зростаючу напруженість між суб'єктами міжнародних відносин супроводять і зміни наших уявлень про найкращу форму організації публічної влади - ідеальний політичний інститут, його роль, місце і призначення в сучасному суспільстві. У ХХ-ХХІ столітті світ зіштовхнувся з прискоренням транснаціоналізації, посиленням взаємозалежності держав і становленням міжнародного порядку за допомогою ООН та інших міжнародних організацій, а також з таким явищем як “розмивання” державного суверенітету. Інформаційна революція та взаємодія культур і цінностей посилюють тенденцію до побудови демократичних суспільств і боротьби за права та свободи людини. Глобалізація підриває здатність держави підтримувати кордони та здійснювати суверенітет. Держави сьогодні можуть бути юридично суверенними, але на практиці вони вимушені вести переговори з усіма акторами світової сцени, унаслідок чого свобода їхніх дій значно обмежується. Держава, що виступала на різних етапах історичного розвитку в якості упорядковуючого начала суспільства, у своєму нинішньому стані стала недостатньо ефективним інструментом для досягнення глобальних цілей цивілізації. Розвиток сучасного світу характеризується процесами глобалізації, що посилює універсалізацію всіх сфер життя суспільства і безумовно не може не впливати на функціонування національних держав. Глобалізація змушує переглядати традиційні принципи суверенітету у зв'язку зі змінами уявлень про різницю між внутрішньою і зовнішньою, державною і міжнародною, територіальною й не територіальною політикою.

¹ Candidate of Political Sciences, Associate Professor of the Department of Political Science and Law, Lugansk National Taras Shevchenko University, Ukraine. E-mail: inovoskolceva@gmail.com; <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1082-7979>.

Основним ризиком сучасних глобалізаційних процесів є утвердження принципів загальної стандартизації та уніфікації суспільного життя, яке супроводжується втратою національної специфіки й позначається на етиці стосунків між людьми, організаціями і державами. В сучасних умовах глобалізації й інтенсивної трансформації цивілізаційних процесів розвитку посилюється тенденція до збереження і захисту права на ідентичність кожного окремого соціуму. Набуття Україною незалежності передбачає формування цілісної громадсько-політичної, самоідентифікованої спільноти, спроможної протистояти внутрішнім і зовнішнім викликам. В Україні триває процес становлення повноцінної держави-нації зі своїми інтересами. Дана проблема також актуалізована амбітною метою, що поставлена, щодо входження України до сорока найрозвиненіших країн світу.

Ключові слова: глобалізація, державний суверенітет, національна держава, транснаціональні корпорації.

Statement and relevance of the study. Globalization is a large-scale game of interests. Some nations and countries may benefit more from this game, some less, and some nations may even lose out in big transformations. Each national state seeks to realize its national and state interest in the international arena, which serves as the instrument for analyzing the content, sources and adequacy of the state's foreign policy in a specific historical and political situation. Domestic and foreign policy of the state should be based on national and national-state interests, to come out of them. The scientific approach to the definition of national and national-state interests involves taking into account historical, socio-political and economic-geographical factors. The national interest can be determined on the basis of the essential features of the nation as the ethnosocial community. The structure of national interest includes the strengthening of economic power based on its internal resources, the augmentation and rational use of national wealth, the harmonious development of the productive forces operating on the national territory, as well as ensuring the protection of the integrity of the territory.

The processes of globalization - all of the highest interdependence of citizens and states in the modern world - have become a challenge for most nation states, despite their geographical location and level of political and economic development. These challenges and threats actualize the place and role of the nation state in the modern world.

The purpose of the article is to study a number of global and local factors under the influence of which a new geopolitical economic and civilizational situation is formed, which creates challenges and traps for the national state.

Latest research and publications. The theoretical basis of the study is the work of domestic and foreign scientists, the development and derivation of which serve as a necessary basis for this study. Such approach allowed to inherit and generalize existing ideas, put forward new proposals, outline the contours and promising areas of further research in this field. The author has been carrying out a comprehensive study of the problem of globalization for a long time. The works of O.G. Bilorus, Z. Brzezinski, V.A. Zlenko, V.I. Burdiak, M.A. Pavlovskiy, O.K. Skalenko are significant in this area. The national factor in the context of globalization is considered in the articles of V.A. Mamonova, O.V. Narochnytska, V.B. Kalinovskiy.

Paying tribute to the theoretical and practical significance of the preliminary scientific legacy, it should be recognized that the problem of the impact of globalization on the functioning of nation states is insufficiently illuminated.

Presentation of the main provisions. At the beginning of the 21st century, globalization as a new reality has become the focus of scientists and politicians. The modern world, as experts mention, is characterized by all the lost economic and political interdependence and mutual influence, the expansion of international integration, the creation of regional integration associations, the inclusion of new markets and actors in the interaction, the use of new rules and tools on a global scale in this process².

Globalization is prepared throughout the course of historical development. It naturally continues the process of internationalization. Internationalization and globalization are closely linked, interact and compete, give rise to hybrid forms. However, globalization is qualitatively different from the process of internationalization. The distinctive feature of globalization is that the scale and depth of

² Білорус, О. (1999), Кому загрожують зарубіжні стратегії трансформації. *Віче*, № 3, с. 12 - 17.

understanding of the world as a single space is growing, and internal events in one country or another make no less strong influence on other peoples and states than the actual foreign policy actions³.

Everyone interprets globalization in their own way in accordance with their vision of what is happening, namely, as endless opportunities and prospects, as a historical victory of the principles of liberal democracy, as virtualization of reality, as a threat to the creation of neo-colonial empires based on the latest technologies. As V. Kuvaldin claims, many interpretations are sinful of one-sidedness, and the scale of changes is not enough. Any characteristic of globalization is incomplete, which is worth remembering when analyzing this complex phenomenon⁴.

The main attention of economists and political scientists is paid to the economic dimension of globalization. It is in the economic sphere that globalization manifests itself most of all, but it is complex in nature. Globalization does not mean only economic interdependence, and especially the transformation of space and time of our lives. Globalization is an economic, political, technological, cultural and information phenomenon.

We must distinguish between objective and subjective aspects of globalization. The objective side is caused by historical, economic, cultural reasons and reflects the relevant processes of a long-term nature, which in general lead to the formation of the global integrity of mankind as a society. The subjective side of globalization lies in the striving of individual participants in the world economy and politics for using the objective processes and trends of globalization in their own interests. This difference must be used for the purpose of scientific foresight of the possible direction of the development of the overall process of globalization, as well as for the formation of the international legal framework for the regulation of modern international relations. It is worth mentioning the benefits of globalization, as well as its shadowy aspects.

For a long time, globalization was treated exclusively in the positive light. In the foreground were the advantages that globalization gave countries to the development of relations with the outside world. The well-known American politician and political scientist Z. Brzezinski writes about such interpretation of globalization in his book⁵. He claims that the doctrine of globalization is a useful frame of reference for defining the modern world. The globalization attracts with its complexity, but at the same time it provides understandable explanations for these complexities of the post-industrial and post-national period. The attractiveness of globalization, he has said, is determined not only by the vision of the future it offers, but also by its myths about the present. Z. Brzezinski refers the statement that globalization creates equal conditions for competitive economic activity to such myths. In practice, however, some states are clearly more unequal. Richer, stronger and more developed countries are in better shape, which allows them to occupy a prominent place in this game. Global hegemony and economic globalization complement each other. It is this circumstance that explains why globalization has contributed to numerous protest movements and criticism by experts in many countries around the world. The approach to the problem of globalization began to suffer from unnecessary ideologization and emotionality, which do not allow considering this phenomenon in its integrity and multidimensionality. The globalization is proclaimed to be responsible for all the negative phenomena in the modern world.

The main purpose of the scientific analysis of globalization as a planetary phenomenon is to understand the essence and search for the algorithm for embedding one's country and state in globalization processes with the least loss and maximum profit. At the same time, one cannot fail to see a really clear place of the threat generated by globalization. It is about deepening global inequality between different countries and regions of the modern world. The gap between the "South" and the "North" is growing, although the absolute rate of development has increased in both groups of states. According to the UN estimates, one fifth of the world's population living in the highest-income countries accounts for 86% of global GDP, a fifth living in the poorest countries accounts for 1%, and the remaining 60% of humanity accounts for 13%⁶. The South has stratified into relatively prosperous

³ Тураев В.А. (2002), Глобальные вызовы человечеству. Логос, Москва, 387 с.

⁴ Кувалдин В.(2003), Глобальность: новое измерение человеческого бытия. М.С.Горбачев и др. Грани глобализации: Трудные вопросы современного развития. Альпина Паблишер, Москва, 592 с.

⁵ Бжезінський З. (2006), Вибір: світове панування чи світове лідерство Пер. з англ. А.Іщенко. Вид. дім «Києво-Могилянська академія», Київ, 203 с.

⁶ Арсєнко, А. (2010), Глобалізація чи поляризація: що чекає світ? *Урядовий кур'єр*, 22 квітня.

countries that have joined the process of globalization and countries that remain on the sidelines of world progress.

Millions of people live without the benefits and achievements of globalization. More than one billion people are deprived of the opportunity to meet their most basic needs. Poverty, violence and alienation have persisted in these countries for many years. The traditional way of life of a number of peoples is being destroyed, and it is being replaced by various versions of Westernization. In the conditions of globalization all new forms of dependence of some states on others constantly arise. A number of states have fallen into such debt traps that it is almost impossible to get out of them without losing part of their sovereignty⁷.

Modern mass media help the population of these countries to realize their deplorable position in the family of states that make up the world community. As a result, despair, envy, hatred, and resentment increase. The mass contingent of planetary scale is being formed, fully prepared for ideological and propaganda influence by radical elements. The international terrorism generated by this wave makes the most of the achievements of globalization and the latest technology. Modern means of communication allow operational communication between members of terrorist groups, establishing contacts between these groups, and widespread use of modern propaganda methods of a frightening nature. Practice shows that a world economic system oriented only to the market in the absence of other regulatory mechanisms cannot ensure harmonious development on a global scale. It is the contradictions of globalization processes that make us think about how to put globalization at the service of all of humanity. The problem of creating the new international economic order, to avoid a dangerous growth of contradictions, has turned out to be urgent.

In modern literature the prevailing opinion is that globalization is an exclusively objective process and therefore it is impossible and dangerous to resist it. At Berlin Conference on Nation-States in the Conditions of Europeanization, Americanization, and Globalization, held in September 2004, the above position was opposed to the idea that globalization should not be allowed to happen by itself. "It is important to prevent spontaneous globalization, marked by devastating consequences as a result of the creation of the regulatory framework in terms of social restrictions and even the prohibition of related negative processes"⁸.

The globalization is accompanied by a certain weakening of the role of the state in the political and economic structure of the world community, which has become only one of the actors in the field of international relations, and not an omnipotent monopolist. Along with these traditional subjects of international relations, new actors and structures are emerging. In some cases, these structures are able to intercept the state to perform social, military and arbitration functions, and this may correspond to both the immediate current interests and the logic of globalization processes. On its own territory, the state ceases to be the only subject that is allowed to carry out legal coercion for the sake of maintaining public order, and is deprived of the opportunity to regulate human rights, environmental policy and financial regulation. In Western states, the ideas of reducing the role of the state and abolishing the bureaucracy were popular. American President C. Coolidge once remarked: "If the federal government ceased to exist, then ordinary citizens of the countries for a long time would not notice any changes in their daily lives"⁹. These ideas became especially popular in the late 1970s. They became a reaction to the excessive expansion of the functions and claims of the state, which took up the management of the national economy to the last detail, the provision of the ever-growing complex of social guarantees, and the regulation of too many spheres of life.

German political scientist Z. Schwartz writes: "The national state is characterized by rather contradictory tendencies: on the one hand, it can stimulate the ability for political autonomy, self-regulation and the formation of powerful national economies. On the other hand, the misuse of its tools can lead to threatening excesses and distortions"¹⁰.

⁷ Камер, Х.-Р. Национальное государство пока продолжает жить. Available at: <http://www.deutschebotschaft-moskau.ru> (Accessed: 3 July 2020).

⁸ В Берліні пройшла конференція «Національні держави в умовах європеїзації, американізації та глобалізації». Available at: <http://www.rian.ru> (Accessed: 1 August 2020).

⁹ Камер, Х.-Р. Вказ. пр.

¹⁰ Шварц, З. Судьба национального государства. Замечания к статье Ханса-Рудольфа Камера Available at: <http://www.deutschebotschaft-moskau.ru> (Accessed: 3 August 2020).

The successes of European integration and the transfer of part of state powers to supranational bodies became additional arguments in favor of the concept of reducing the role of the national state. It has become clear that the EU is more than just a traditional interim coalition of states in its classical sense. The EU presents the new organizational model: in important areas, supranational structures assume long-term binding regulatory powers, acting “through the head” of the national Member States¹¹. However, the readiness of Europeans themselves to abandon the idea of the national state should not be exaggerated.

Political scientists speak of the growing inability of the national states to adequately respond to the new challenges of our time. The very system of international relations as interstate is being questioned, since the processes of globalization undermine the sovereignty of national states. The role of MNCs in the modern world and their negative impact on the national state has been the subject of many discussions. MNCs have occupied an extremely important niche in world economic relations. MNCs control more than 50% of world industrial production, more than 60% of international trade, more than 80% of patents and licenses for new equipment, technologies and know-how, almost 90% of foreign direct investment. Occupying the central place in the modern world economic system, MNCs are increasingly influencing international relations and the world economy as a whole¹².

In periods of stability, MNCs subjectively seek to reduce the role of the national state, and in times of crisis they turn to it for support. The state has enough leverage to influence MNCs, and it can withstand the costs of globalization¹³. It is the state that is the guarantor of fundamental constitutional rights and provides citizens with the opportunity to take the necessary actions both independently and through their representatives¹⁴.

There is an objective need to preserve the national state as a center for the consolidation and development of culture, distinctive political and legal features and support for national identity. In the vast majority of countries, the state continues to be the fundamental structure of national identity.

The idea of the national state is deeply rooted in the worldview of the significant part of citizens and will continue to function as an important form of organization of society for quite a long time, especially since we are speaking about the historically formed organism in which people feel the certain affection¹⁵. State formation is an important milestone on the path to self-affirmation in the modern world. For centuries, peoples have been striving to acquire their own statehood, and for them the national state is a supervalue that is capable of solving the issue of the scale and stability of social guarantees. American political scientist K. Kurtz claims: “States perform vital political, social and economic functions, and none of the organizations competes with them in this regard. In the era of globalization, the role of the social functions of the state does not decrease, but even increases”¹⁶.

The national state is called upon to play a huge role precisely in the context of globalization, since the development of various countries and regions is uneven. The national state should defend the interests of its country and regulate the situation not against globalization, but for a clearer and more conflict-free integration of this state into global processes. Taking into account all the arguments in favor of saving the national state, many experts have become more cautious in formulating their predictions. States have been and will remain major players in international affairs, although the nature of their functioning may change in some way.

Conclusions. The main risk of modern globalization is the approval of the principles of universal standardization and unification of public life, which is accompanied by the loss of national specifics and affects the relationship between people, organizations and states, their forms, methods of activity and ethics of relations. At all periods of history, it has been much easier to adapt to global processes in the world than to try to reverse or stop them. Therefore, instead of national models of modern social life, which until recently accompanied and determined the socio-political future of states, there are some Western American models, which the world community actively promotes and imitates. Almost

¹¹ Європа хоче бути полюсом. Available at: <http://www.nns.ru> (Accessed: 2 August 2020).

¹² Извеков, Н. Какие государства нужны ТНК? Available at: <http://www.rau.su> (Accessed: 1 August 2020).

¹³ Фишерман, Т. Государство останется сильным. Критика критики глобализации Available at: <http://www.inosmi.ru> (Accessed: 1 August 2020).

¹⁴ Камер, Х.-Р. Вказ. пр.

¹⁵ Шварц, З. Вказ. пр.

¹⁶ Земляная, С. Новый космополитизм и знамения времени. Национальное государство в контексте глобализации. Available at: <http://lists.ng.ru> Accessed: 10 July 2020).

the whole world has switched to new rules of the game, according to which the positions of national states mainly depend on subjective factors rather than on objective ones. Accordingly, the main principle of its development should be a new ideology of modern course formation, which provides for the purposeful formation of course trends, which would primarily contribute to ensuring maximum benefit and authority for their country in the external sphere of relations. As for the foreseeable future, the state will retain a significant part of its administrative, economic and cultural functions both domestically and internationally. The contribution to the management of various non-governmental organizations, business corporations and other groups is growing. The scientists are increasingly arguing about the growing importance of partnerships that arise from the distribution of resources between the state and various organizations. The globalization does not “abolish” or “close” the institution of the state, does not lead to its demise, but imposes higher demands on the state, which are dictated by the interests to maintain international peace, stability, security and development. The globalization inscribes the state into more complex structures of international relations and its regulation, sets before it the requirements of socioeconomic consistency and practical international responsibility for its internal actions. States that are unable to meet the new requirements are faced with the choice of losing domestic and international legitimacy.

Analysis of the current world situation shows that globalization and the national state are fully compatible. The globalization does not eliminate the national state, but forces it to think about the optimal scope and quality of those tasks, which the state defines. Without the active role of the national state, globalization processes can lose both dynamics and meaning.

Список джерел

1. Арсеєнко А. (2010), Глобалізація чи поляризація: що чекає світ? *Урядовий кур'єр*, 22 квітня.
2. Бжезінський З. (2006), Вибір: світове панування чи світове лідерство Пер. з англ. А.Щенка. Вид. дім «Києво-Могилянська академія», Київ, 203 с.
3. Білорус О. (1999), Кому загрожують зарубіжні стратегії трансформації. *Віче*, № 3, с. 14.
4. В Берліні пройшла конференція «Національні держави в умовах європеїзації, американізації та глобалізації». Available at: <http://www.rian.ru> (Accessed: 1 August 2020).
5. Європа хоче бути полюсом. Available at: <http://www.nns.ru> (Accessed: 2 August 2020).
6. Земляная С. Новый космополитизм и знамения времени. Национальное государство в контексте глобализации. Available at: <http://lists.ng.ru> (Accessed: 10 July 2020).
7. Извеков Н. Какие государства нужны ТНК? Available at: <http://www.rau.su>: (Accessed: 1 August 2020).
8. Камер Х.-Р. Национальное государство пока продолжает жить. Available at: <http://www.deutschebotschaft-moskau.ru> (Accessed: 3 July 2020).
9. Кувалдин В.(2003), Глобальность: новое измерение человеческого бытия. *М.С.Горбачев и др. Грани глобализации: Трудные вопросы современного развития*. Альпина Паблишер, Москва, 592 с.
10. Тураев В.А. (2002), Глобальные вызовы человечеству. Логос, Москва, 387 с.
11. Фишерман Т. Государство останется сильным. Критика критики глобализации. Available at: <http://www.inosmi.ru> (Accessed: 1 August 2020).
12. Шварц З. Судьба национального государства. Замечания к статье Ханса-Рудольфа Камера Available at: <http://www.deutschebotschaft-moskau.ru> (Accessed: 3 August 2020).

References

1. Arseienko, A. (2010), Hlobalizatsiya chy polyarizatsiya: shcho chekaye svit? *Uryadovyy kurier*, 22 kvitnia.
2. Bzhezinskyy, Z. (2006), Vybir: svitove panuvannya chy svitove liderstvo. Per. z anhl. A.Ishchenka. Vyd. dim «Kyuevo-Mohylyanska akademiya», Kyiv, 203 s.
3. Bilorus, O. (1999), Komu zahrozhuiut zarubizhni transformatsii. *Viche*, No. 3, s. 12 – 17.
4. V Berlini proyshla konferentsiya «Natsionalni derzhavy v umovakh yevropeyzatsiyi, amerykanizatsiyi ta hlobalizatsiyi. Available at: <http://www.rian.ru> (Accessed: 1 August 2020).
5. Yevropa khoche buty polyusom. Available at: <http://www.nns.ru> (Accessed: 2 August 2020).

6. Zemlyanaya, S. Novyy kosmopolitizm i znameniya vremeni. Natsionalnoye gosudarstvo v kontekste globalizatsii. Available at: [http:// lists.ng.ru](http://lists.ng.ru) (Accessed: 10 July 2020).
7. Izvekov, N. Kakiye gosudarstva nuzhny TNK? Available at: [http:// www. rau.su](http://www.rau.su): (Accessed: 1 August 2020).
8. Kamer, Kh.-R. Natsyonalnoye gosudarstvo poka prodolzhayet zhit Available at: <http://www.deutschebotschaft-moskau.ru> (Accessed: 3 July 2020).
9. Kuvaldin, V.(2003), Hlobalnost: novoie izmereniie chelovecheskoho bytiia. M.S.Horbachev i dr. Hrani hlobalizatsyi: Trudnyie voprosy sovremennoho razvitiia. Alpina Pabliher, Moskow, 592 s.
10. Turaiev, V.A. (2002), Hlobalnyie Vyzovy Chelovechestvu / V.A.Turaiev. Lohos, Moskow, 387 s.
11. Fisherman, T. Gosudarstvo ostanetsya silnym. Kritika kritiki globalizatsii. Available at: [http:// www.inosmi.ru](http://www.inosmi.ru) (Accessed: 1 August 2020).
12. Shvarts, Z. Sudba natsionalnogo gosudarstva. Zamechaniya k statye Khansa-Rudolfa Kamera. Available at: <http://www.deutschebotschaft-moskau.ru> (Accessed: 3 August 2020).