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PROCESS OF GLOBALIZATION AND ITS CONTROVERSIES

Сажетак

У овом тексту, аутори анализирају процес глобализације као феномен савременог друштва који има пресудан утицај на промене структуре друштва, друштвених група, појединаца и друштва у целини. Иако је релативно нов појам познат модерној социологији, чињеница је да је праћен бројним контроверзама и истовремено изједначаван са глобализмом као савременом политичком идеологијом. Аутори посебно посвећују пажњу теоријским аспектима глобализације, као и теоријским контроверзама, противречностима глобализације и њеним даљим могућим тенденцијама. Такође, аутори указују на озбиљност произведених ризика у савременом глобалном ризичном друштву.

Кључне речи: глобализација, глобализам, противречности глобализације, друштвена промена, међузависност

GLOBALIZATION: TERMINOLOGICAL DETERMINATION

Thanks to scientific and technical-technological progress since the period of industrialization up to now, different forms of globalization are being discussed. From scientific perspective, globalization is a relatively young notion. Term *globalization* is mentioned for the first time in the English language dictionary compiled by Dirk Messner for

the first time in 1961. Certainly, use of the term in scientific sense does not coincide with phenomenon of different forms of globalization for which it may be claimed that in its rudimentary form exists since earliest stages of human civilization.

In laymen, but often also in academic discussions, globalization is often co-equated with globalism or interdependency although these are similar but essentially different notions of science and modern society. Therefore we think it is necessary to indicate the clear scientific distinction: primarily between globalization and globalism, i.e. globalization and interdependency.

Interdependency means existence of mutual dependency of states, phenomenon, processes and relations within them on one or several levels (economic, political, cultural, etc.). In earlier stages of history, interdependencies of neighbouring states were predominant, where economic order of one state conditioned order of the other either in positive or negative context. If such interdependency exists at the same time on several different levels, we talk about so-called: multilevel interdependency.

In other words, interdependency can be observed as one of prerequisites or presumptions of globalization, but never as synonym for globalization.

It is difficult to define globalization at least for two reasons. Primarily, it is a societal process which functions by the principle of *perpetuum mobile* and, if described in Heraclitus words: a process which continuously changes and up to certain extent transforms. And secondly, having in mind there are different *dimensions of globalization*, definitions are different depending which key dimensions of it is highlighted with their integral components. Therefore, each definition of globalization is very relative and conditional making scientific analysis of this notion additionally difficult.

Globalization is a „process of multilateral world connectivity and its establishment as equal and pluralistic community of free individuals“; but, globalization can also be determined as „process and system of world conflict connectivity“ content of which is primarily determined by „planetarization of capital, interests and influence of big corporations and above all United States“¹⁾. It is rather difficult to dispute against such concrete observation of globalization by arguments. Anthony Giddens who gave his immeasurable contribution to the subject of modernity and globalization in contemporary sociology says as fol-

1) Z. Vidojević, Kuda vodi globalizacija (Where to Globalization Leads), Filip Višnjić, Beograd, 2005, p.15

lows: „Globalization can be defined as intensification of social relations on a global plan which connects distant places in such a way that local events are formulated by events happening kilometres far away and *vice versa*“, indicating dialectic character of globalization process²⁾. One of the most famous understandings of globalization is certainly the one highlighted by Nobel Prize winner for economy in 2001 – Joseph Stiglitz. In his famous book „Globalization and its Discontent“, Stiglitz says that globalization is „more compact integration of countries and nations of the world happening by (...) breaking down artificial barriers to commodities, services, capital, know-how and (in lesser extent) people flows across borders“³⁾.

Having in mind previous considerations, the question is imposed: where are earliest beginnings of globalization and did this process exist from time immemorial or it just appeared after the fall of Berlin wall in 1989 as some authors think? In its rudimental form, globalization appeared already in the earliest stages of human history. Dissemination of different ideas, values, and religions in states which are not neighbouring can be considered as primary, rudimentary form of globalization. Of course: dissemination of knowledge, ideas, values, life-style or religious beliefs, was more slowly in the time of hydraulic societies of Orient or antic Greek polis then today – in the era of modern communications and information technologies. Anyhow, we must not disregard the fact that first dimensions of globalization are primarily environmental and military dimensions arising from first environment pollution and spreading of armed conflicts in certain continents among states of that time.

If, yet, we want to stay within the scope of modern centuries history and analysis of globalization, understanding of globalization where some authors recognize three eras of globalization and some of them name them exactly like that: globalization I, II and III seems very appropriate⁴⁾. First globalization era is linked to famous transatlantic cable laid in early 1860s and discovery of steamboat and steam machine. This great era lasted until IWW in 1914. Mentioned discoveries certainly had crucial impact on it – thanks to them movement of people and commodities in further distances was facilitated. Second era of globalization starts in last century's mid-80s thanks to technological

2) A. Giddens, *Posledice modernosti (The Consequences of Modernity)*. Filip Višnjić, Beograd, 1998, p.69

3) J. Stiglitz, *Protivrečnosti globalizacije (Globalization and its Discontent)*. SBM-x, Beograd, 2002, p.23

4) B. Milanović, *Dva lica globalizacije (Two faces of Globalization)*. Arhipelag, Beograd, 2007, p.13

revolution, development of international trade, integration of the People's Republic of China into world's economy, but certainly also thanks to fall of communism and fall of the Berlin wall marking the end of division into blocks and beginning of integration of former communist states into global economy.

At the beginning of 21st century, as indicated by David Held, „writing epitaph to globalization“ is more and more often⁵⁾. Yet, globalization did not simmer down and there are no hints it will do so in sooner period of time. So it may be said that we live in third era of globalization primarily characterized by dissemination of information and communication technologies, significant decrease of telecommunication prices (above all, mobile telephony) and computer equipment, dissemination of multinational companies and their dominance in global economy.

SCIENTIFIC DISTINCTION BETWEEN GLOBALIZATION AND GLOBALISM

When Stiglitz writes about globalization as its prominent critic, he recognizes very important moment: Stiglitz stresses that it may not be said that process of globalization is either good or bad, because process itself is *neutral* from the perspective of its values, but method of *globalization management* can be determined in respect of its values⁶⁾. Exactly this globalization management extends scope of the notion of globalization and it breaks into the notion of *globalism as a system and modern political-economic ideology*.

Significant theoretical approach to globalization which could explain transformation of globalization into globalism is *theory of international relations*. Researches of international relations theoreticians are based on analysis of creation and development of national states, as well their spreading all over the European continent. For representatives of this way of thinking, national state is the key subject in all relations in the international community, both politically and economically.

These relations are based on interaction of several states and their interaction with inter-governmental, i.e. international organizations. Basic theoretical arrangement is that process of globalization conditions changes on the level of national states, and *vice versa*. Namely,

5) D. Held, A. Mc Grew, *Globalization Theory – Approaches and Controversies*. Polity Press, Cambridge, 2007, p.1

6) J. Stiglitz, *Globalization and Discontents it causes*, Algoritam, Zagreb, 2004, p.40.

key characteristic of modern (national) state is sovereignty – highest, single, indivisible and non-transferable rule, as it was defined earlier by Jean Bodin in his famous work „Six Books of the Republic“. Modern national state is, in other words, based on complete and effective rule within its own borders over its own population. Such theoretical and practical arrangement was taken and it is still taken today as prove of statehood. However, complexity of international relations led to the state where European system of states, as representatives of this theory claim, become globalized and complex. In practice this meant increased political, economical, and other forms of interdependencies among existing national states on European soil. Therefore, it is not rare some say that exactly this school of thinking was insisting on the idea of „moving towards single world“⁷⁾. Such movement is mostly reflected in the fact that sovereignty of states started weakening in its effect, and state becomes less and less the only controller over its' own political, economical and other affairs.

Theory of international relations opens an important question. If it may be said that globalization made European system of national states so complex that sovereignty ceased being dominant or at least obvious feature of the state; then, question is raised: does this mean that today, in modern times, we live in a world where political and even economical sovereignty of a state does not exist any longer. In other words, did political and economical sovereignty become „worn-out“ term surmounted by modernity. Existence of growing number of international organizations having extreme supra-national elements, like United Nations or European Union, only additionally makes mentioned question more actual.

Yet, theory of international relations has particular relevance to make distinction between globalization and globalism. By highlighting categories of sovereignty, statehood, international organizing and international relations (i.e. international politics), globalization got its own new ideology thread. Even Giddens listing reasons of enlarging globalization, listed as the first one breakdown of communism, dissolution of Soviet Union and fall of Berlin wall which will be by Francis Fukoyama referred to as „end of history and beginning of dreams“, actually meaning full domination of liberal democracy over autocratic regime.

In ideological sense – thanks also to the theory of international relations, globalization is most often connected to classic liberalism, i.e. neoliberalism in the modern context. The fact that democracy was spreading in waves of democratization makes: codification of human rights and civic freedoms, establishment of the principle of free move-

7) Giddens, op.cit., p.71.

ment of goods, people, services and capital, and *laissez-faire* economy main reasons why even today, in factual sense, globalization is co-equated with (neo)liberalism as ideology, i.e. liberal capitalism as form of socio-economic order. Finally, globalization in a way led to „end of society as territorial notion“ as it was excellently noticed by Miroslav Pečujlić⁸⁾ – among other reasons exactly because internationalization of phenomenon, processes and relations was insisted.

Exactly thanks to geopolitical stakeholders, to development of global economy, but also thanks to creation of so-called new world order, globalization survived light and unnoticeable transformation into globalism.

Globalization as a comprehensive process needs to be distinguished also from the notion of globalism which is usually, in a layman manner, co-equated with the notion of globalization. We may freely underline, that under terms of new world order, globalism is political and economic system which highlights relevance of diminished state sovereignty in areas of political, economic and legal orders; idea on erasure of borders between states and creation of so-called global world order based on „common values, ideas or interest“, as it is often stressed.

Globalism has *all characteristics of political ideologies*, and for this it was exactly classified as modern political ideology. Having integrating effect on those following it, globalism is having capacity to mobilize large number of significant subjects (people, social groups, organizations or states), with clear proclaimed economic, social and political interests. Basic characteristics of globalism as an ideology are: dominance of Western values (Westernization) in the fields of social, economic and political orders; promotion of economic liberalism and spreading of economic freedoms in all parts of the world; dominance of Western type of culture and dominance of most powerful world states' interest.

Resistance to establishment of such domination appeared in 1999, in Seattle, US, as *anti-globalism movement*. As it can be noticed from the etymology of its name: the movement itself is not named anti-globalization, but anti-globalism.

DUAL CHARACTER OF GLOBALIZATION

Based on previously presented theoretical considerations of the process of globalization, a question is necessarily raised: by its values,

8) M. Pečujlić, *Globalizacija - dva lika sveta (Globalization – Two images of the World)*. Gutembergova galaksija, Beograd, 2002, p.7

is globalization positive or negative process? Can we say that thanks to globalization life of a modern man and his actions in all areas of society and social life became better and improved in relation to periods before such a prominent globalization?

Did globalization bring with itself equality in all rights and duties of citizens all over the world, and relative economic equality to states? Is there a universal model of economic order which could guarantee to all states within international community welfare, prosperity and continuous progress? These are just some questions imposing the need to pay special attention to *pro et contra* arguments of globalization, i.e. to try to establish is globalization extremely positive or negative phenomenon.

Which are positive consequences of globalization visible today more than clearly? Firstly, globalization brought with itself grand opening of international trade and beyond all doubts by this contributed to economic increase and improvement of economic standard of numerous countries of modern era, above all those considered to be countries of the „third world“. Secondly, human life expectancy extended⁹⁾ exactly thanks to globalization, particularly having in mind demographic indicators for developing countries. Thirdly, if individual periods of human history could be marked as filled with isolationism and seclusion among states, third great era of globalization we live in is certainly characterized by increase of multilevel interdependencies between countries, phenomenon, processes and relations within them. Fourthly, globalization was often contributing to the feeling of concomitance within the world order. Examples of global humanitarian aid to most endangered parts of the world are numerous. Fifthly, globalization contributed to dissemination of values on which contemporary political order is founded – rule of law, legal state (Rechtstaat), human and civil rights and freedoms, free market, democracy, etc. All these elements are undisputable elements of (post)neoliberal new world order we are living in, and for who many will say that in economic sense beaten by newest global economic crisis, biggest world remembers in modern economic and political history.

However, given parameters have their *averse* and *reverse*. Although based on economic indicators it could be determined did economic globalization contributed to increase of standard and economic growth of numerous countries of the world, it cannot be said that globalization caused establishment of economic equality and that economies of scope which appeared with globalization are exactly the most responsible

9) According to official OUN data, live expectancy was extended from about 50 years in XIX century to around or even over 80 years in certain parts of the world.

for economic growth and development. If globalization only brought positive economic effects, how it is possible that gross national product in developed states differs than GDP in most undeveloped states more than several tens of time. On the other side, if standard of people became better, how it happened that around one seventh of global population has no access to drinking water, making this problem one of the dominant environmental, economic and political problems of the modern era. Lastly, if globalization brought only good in economic context, how was it possible for global economy crisis to appear in such an unforeseeable scope – crisis from which states and global world institutions still recover.

If it is claimed that life expectancy extended, it needs to be clearly mentioned that such claim is not necessarily true, particularly having in mind undeveloped states of the world where people still die of bacteriological infections treated by simple antibiotics. Is it not an ideal that new world order should provide to everyone equal right to life and equal quality of social and health protection? If it is so, we have to say that this mission failed, at least for now; yet, if it is not the case, we have to say that above presented claim of longer life expectancy is to generalized and widened.

There is no doubt interdependency exist today. However, is it only about interdependency, or also about Westernization of the whole world and harmonization of existing values with values of the West and Western lifestyle. If it is about domination of the West, can we talk about (mutual) interdependency or about some sort of latent imperialism? This question stays completely opened for different answers and different arguments.

Globalization did not bring only common, global humanitarian aid to those parts of the world endangered by natural disasters or some other scourges. On the contrary, those situations where collective use of force in the name of common values led to large scale humanitarian catastrophes must not be forgotten. Exactly for these numerous examples from modern political history of the mankind, it is difficult to say that globalization was only creating humanitarian aid, but also humanitarian catastrophes. Beside, unlike periods when modern state was created as the only entity having monopoly over means of force, authors like American thinker Joseph Nye say that exactly globalization led to democratization of violence by making violent methods available not only to states, but also to groups and individuals.

Lastly, democracy did go through expansion in waves, as Huntington says. It is not a matter of dispute that it was born in ancient Hellas a couple of centuries BC and was then extended to other parts of the

planet. Spreading the idea of democracy was crucial and one of the key components of socio-political globalization. All this, yet, is not enough to make unambiguous conclusion that globalization is a democratic process and it necessarily guarantees democracy. The fact that The People's Republic of China accepted some of the rules of free market economy and becomes a global rival to United States, European Union and Japan does not mean it accepted all features of Western democracy. On the other side, not even all states having their democratic constitutions for several centuries were always leaders of liberal-democratic ideas, but sometimes also leaders in ideas of racial segregation and apartheid, even when they were matchless global economic players (ex. United States at the beginning of second half of the last century).

Such comparative analysis clearly shows that it is difficult to characterize globalization in one word as positive or negative process. Therefore, it is wrong to observe globalization as compact totality, exactly for existence of large number of different dimensions and dual character each of dimensions, and globalization as a whole, has; but it is even more wrong to identify globalization as globalism since that would be material and fundamental mistake.

FURTHER TENDENCIES OF GLOBALIZATION

Before industrial revolution and great discoveries, it was unimaginable to reach one part of the state from another with no large expenditures: in time and money. No one then could surely know that two hundred years latter it will be possible to travel across the whole world map in just one day. At the time when people were hallooing to communicate from one hill to another, it was equally difficult to believe that today we will be able to communicate with anyone in any part of the world; that it will be possible to communicate with business partners in Washington, Beijing or New Delhi not even seeing them live; that important decisions will be made in big companies in a meeting held by video-link or via satellite telephone sessions. All these are just some of social changes and changes of the society globalization brought.

Although we have identified that globalization has its positive and negative consequences (or better said: effects), question of future tendencies and trends is also raised when comes to this comprehensive phenomenon. In economic context, there are four most significant tendencies, i.e. trends of globalization. First: global economy becomes more and more linked because irrespective of numerous differences between states and nations money naturally imposes as common langu-

age of all of us¹⁰⁾. Second: chances in life dramatically differ for people depending of the state they live in. Third: the planet becomes more and more populated. Over seven billion of people on it represent global environmental risk and growing economic problem having in mind that resources on the planet are lesser than those exploiting them. Last: increase in anti-globalism movements is noticed becoming louder in opposing to global economic and political order¹¹⁾.

It is also important to note the intensification of the so-called produced risks in a risk society. These risks are unpredictable, with huge negative consequences of global proportions, but with very little ability to be prevented and eradicated. This is one of the biggest challenges in the century ahead. The global environmental crisis, the negative effects of global warming and intensifying demands for the respect of the principles of the green economy, could become a new paradigm of the new world order.

Theoretical operationalization of globalization opened numerous questions regarding character, terms of duration or nature of globalization itself and their aspects, i.e. dimensions. There is an extremely small number of answers given with certainty exactly because nothing else can certainly be claimed regarding globalization but that it exist and crucially impacts lives of people, functioning of the state, society and all social groups and organizations.

Globalization and globalism are affined notions which became particularly relevant in the second half of 20th century and became key stakeholders importantly determining social changes, but also changes in modern society. Although etymology is similar indicating importance of intercontinental influences of different social events and changes, these are completely opposite notions. Globalization is a modern process, and globalism is ideology or form of (the new world) order. Thanks to globalization, human life expectancy is longer, higher degree of democratization of political order all over the planet has been achieved; fundamental economic freedoms were established; global impacts to positive changes in the process of education were made, etc. These positive effects, certainly, do not diminish all contradictions of globalization and its negative effects we highlighted earlier.

Globalism was created on similar ideas as globalization, but with clear political and economic mechanisms of management and attempts of certain most developed countries to dominate over averagely and less developed states and societies. This domination has its manifestati-

10) J. Naisbiit, *Global paradox*, William Morrow, New York, 1994.

11) T. Fridman, *Svet je ravan (The World is Flat)*. Dan graf, Beograd, 2007, p.488

ons like domination in international organizations, but also sophisticated latent forms like: imposing certain pro-Western values and cultural patterns denying identity of states, even in those parts of the world where such values are completely artificial and non-typical.

Negative effects of this ideology, but also negative effects of globalization are clearly visible and main reason for having today global society becoming more and more risky society with more and more prominent weakness of individuals and social groups to resist to domination of pro-Western values, ideas and ideals, simultaneous to weakness of societies all over the world to fight for its inalienable right to establish its own values, social norms and living standards.

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ПРОЦЕС ГЛОБАЛИЗАЦИЈЕ И ЊЕГОВЕ КОНТРОВЕРЗЕ

Резиме

Глобализација је појам од огромног значаја за савремену политичку социологију и политикологију у целини. Овај свеобухватни друштвени процес, често неправедно изједначен са глоба-

лизмом као савременом политичком идеологијом, бива посматран као један од извора нестабилности и неравнотеже у такозваном новом светском поретку. Иако је сам појам настао половином двадесетог века, сама глобализација, додуше у рудиментарним облицима, датира из времена антике и првих освајачких похода Александра Македонског, који је вредности ондашњег запада пронео до средњег и далеког истока. У свом пуном обиму и капацитету, глобализација се интензивира у другој половини двадесетог века, захваљујући великим техничко-технолошким проналасцима, који су омогућили вишестепену међузависност држава, појава, процеса и односа у њима, а потом и стварањ такозваног хиперглобализованог друштва.

Теоријске контраверзе које прате процес глобализације су бројне. Оне се односе, не само на време настанка глобализације, већ и на њене основне појавне облике и димензије, а истовремено и на њен вредносни карактер. Док једни наглашавају да је глобализација вредносно неутралан друштвени процес, други истичу да је управо глобализација отворила пут глобализму као политичкој идеологији заснованој на доминацији једне државе запада или, више моћних држава западне хемисфере, на уштрб слабије и средње развијених држава, које се неретко називају „трећим светом“. Ове недоумице праћене су врло интензивном академском полемиком о томе да ли је глобализација с почетка трећег миленијума доживела својеврсни крах кроз светску економску кризу, те да ли нам предстоји стварање неког новог – постглобалног новог светског поретка, уравнотеженијег но пређашњег.

Најзад, важно питање за разумевање суштине глобализације јесте управо јасно дефинисање где престаје глобализација као процес, а почиње глобализам као систем, односно глобализам као политичка идеологија. Ово питање остаје отворено за даље стручне и академске расправе.

Кључне речи: глобализација, глобализам, противречности глобализације, друштвена промена, међузависност

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