

GLOBALIZATION - RISK OR SECURITY FACTOR FOR EUROPE?

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***Abstract:** A review about globalization. Its beginnings and fundaments. Definitions and backgrounds, historic, contemporary and future aspects. Understanding contemporary globalization under its aspects of global trade & finance and also under its cultural and multinational (social) worldwide impact. Globalization and hyper-globalization in the contemporary world. Technological and communicational globalization. First-hand actors in globalization. Official agenda of the key-stakeholders of the globalization project vs hidden agenda. Sovereignty in the newest process of globalization. Territory borders in the globalization era. Questioning the benefits, but also the risks of globalization regarding European/world security. Globalization – where to?!*

***Keywords:** risks; globalization; paradigm; challenges; security; terrorism; state power; world politics.*

1. Globalization overview

1.1. Introduction

Globalization - viewed globally, represents the broad, profound and active framework of world interconnectivity - a litigation in the global policy area.

Hyperglobalists¹ argue that globalization is the cause of the disappearance of the nation-state, as global forces undermine the ability of

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governments to control their own economies and societies (Kenichi Ohmae in 1995's *The End of the Nation-State*, Jan Aart Scholte, in the work *Globalization, A critical introduction* in 2000).

Yet, other people, namely skeptics² - reject the idea of globalization, considering it to be absurd, and claim that states and geopolitics continue to remain the only forces capable of shaping global order (Stephen Krasner in *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy* 1999, Robert Gilpin in *International Economic Order*, 2001). This chapter will try a different approach - a transformational perspective - and will try to prove that both hyperglobalists and skeptics exaggerate in their arguments, misinterpreting the contemporary global hierarchy. While the transformationalist view seriously treats globalization, it recognizes that it does not necessarily lead to the disappearance of sovereign status but to globalization of policies: it leads to the emergence of an extremely obvious global policy, in which the traditional distinction between domestic and international affairs is not still valid. So "it seems that policies everywhere are intertwined with policies everywhere," and the orthodox approaches to studying international relations - which are based on this distinction itself - only succeed in casting a diffused light on the true nature and on the way the world hierarchy is working (James N. Rosenau, in *The Scientific Study of Foreign Policy* dated 1976).

Since it is such a slippery and erroneously used concept, it is not surprising that globalization causes so much controversy. This chapter

¹ Hyper-globalization is the dramatic change in the size, scope, and velocity of globalization that began in the late 1990s and that continues into the beginning of the 21st century. It covers all three main dimensions of economic globalization, cultural globalization, and political globalization. The concept first arose in the 2011 work by Dani Rodrik, an economist and professor of International Political Economy at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, who described it in *The Globalization Paradox*. Rodrik criticized the state of globalization, questioning the wisdom of unlimited economic integration beyond national borders. He sees a conflict between the workings of the nation state and free flow economic globalization that has gone too far "toward an impractical version that we might call hyperglobalization" Frunzeti, Teodor, Zodian, Vladimir "The World 2015" – Romanian Academy of scientists - Military science department, page 26.

² Criticism of globalization is skepticism of the claimed benefits of globalization. Many of these views are held by the anti-globalization movement.

begins by elucidating the concept of globalization, before exploring its implications for the study of global politics. The chapter is organized in three major sections: Section I will deal with significant questions (What is globalization? How is it best conceptualized and defined? How does it manifest today, especially if we take into account the events of September 11 in the US?). Section II will look at how globalization contributes to the emergence of a distorted global policy, strongly inclined to the global elite, excluding most of humanity. Finally, Section III will focus on the ethical challenges that arise with the realities of this global political order and on current normative thinking about the conditions and perspectives for a more global human policy that is closely linked to the needs of the global community.

1.2. Understanding globalization

In the last three decades, the unique goal of global interconnectivity has become increasingly evident, starting with the economic and continuing with the cultural one.

World economic integration has intensified as the expansion of global trade, finance, and production has been the binder that connects the fate of nations, communities and households in the world's largest economic regions and even beyond them in a global market emerging. The crises in a region, whether it was the economic collapse in Argentina in 2002 or the 1997 East Asian recession, put its mark on jobs, productions, money set aside, investment over time what an economic slowdown in the American economy is felt everywhere, from Birmingham to Bangkok.

"Europe's environment and security priorities are changing rapidly. There is no longer a threat (exclusively, a. n.) from the East. The enemy now comes from a sub-state or is invisible. The European Community has seen radical changes with the Arab Spring. Conflicts in the Middle East are far from over. The civil war in Syria has almost caused an American intervention, while Iran's nuclear condition remains an unanswered question. The moment could not have been worse for Europe. Both the United States and Russia turn their attention to Asia and China. The EU is

going through the euro-zone crisis and the UK is more skeptical than ever, the years of recession are not yet over. "³

"A multidimensional, multipolar world, a new planetary distribution of power (to the Asia-Pacific), a globalization in the sphere of trade, geopolitical mutations,"⁴ said professor Frunzeti, in an effort to define as faithfully as possible the new world reality, a reality that is reflected as well as in the new European security order.

Every day, more than 1.2 trillion dollars circulate on foreign exchange markets,⁵ so no government, no matter how powerful, has the resources to withstand the speculation of its exchange rate and to maintain the credibility of its economic policy.

Transnational corporations now account for at least 40% of world production, 70% of world trade and 80% of international investment, while overseas production of these firms far exceeds the level of global exports, turning them into key players in the global economy, controlling the location and distribution of economic and technological resources⁶.

New ways and infrastructures of global communication have made it possible to organize and mobilize people who share the same opinions across the globe in real time, as evidenced by the latest protests of the "yellow vest" in Paris in the beginning of 2019, or as is the case for Al-Qaeda's terrorist networks, to live ISIS posts.

Together with the global communications infrastructure, the transnational spread of ideas, cultures and information, from Madonna to Mahommed, both of which share the same opinions, but also from different cultural groups - highlighting simultaneous trends: global solidarity between those who think the same and even hostility between different cultures, nations and ethnic groups.

People - with their level of culture - are also on the move - irrespective of whether it is legal or illegal - global migration reaching almost the

³ Zachariadis Stamatis, "*New Threats and Challenges for European Security*", edited under the aegis of the NATO-EU Working Group, 2013, p. 37.

⁴ Frunzeti Teodor, Zodian Vladimir *The World 2015*, Romanian Academy of Romanian scientists, RAO Publishing House, Bucharest, 2015, p. 50.

⁵ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Foreign_exchange_market.

⁶ World Investment Report 2018 – UNCTAD, World Investment Report 2018 – UNCTAD, https://unctad.org/PublicationsLibrary/wir201_en.

impressive level of the nineteenth century, but going beyond the continents from south to north and from east to west, while 550 million tourists are moving each year.

As globalization has evolved, the recognition of transnational issues that require global change from climate change to the spread of weapons of mass destruction has evolved. These transnational aspects have led to an explosive increase in regulations, both through jurisdictions of international organizations such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) or the International Civil Aviation Organization, as well as thousands of informal cooperation networks, parallel government agencies, from various countries, from the Financial Action Task Force (the agency that brings together governmental experts from various countries dealing with money laundering) and the Dublin group (bringing together EU, USA and other anti-drug agencies).

With the recognition of global issues and global interconnectivity, it has become evident how the security and prosperity of communities in the various regions around the world are interconnected. One bombing in Bali has repercussions on how public security is perceived in Europe and the US, while US and EU farm subsidies have a significant impact on the lives of farmers in Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean.

We live in a world where even the most distant events (geographically) can have profound consequences for our individual and collective prosperity and security perception. For the most skeptical, however, this is not a proof of globalization, if the term signifies more than a mere international interdependence (e. g. ties between countries).

Then, what distinguishes the concept of globalization from notions such as internationalization or interdependence? In other words, what is globalization?

In the last three decades, the unique goal of global interconnectivity has become increasingly evident, starting with the economic and continuing with the cultural one. Skeptics do not see this as proof of globalization if this term means more than mere international interdependence, such as links between countries. What we understand by the term "globalization" is important.

1.3. The conceptualization of globalization

Initially, it may be helpful to think globalization as a process characterized by:

- expanding social, political and economic activities along political borders, and events, decisions and activities in a region of the world are important for individuals and communities in remote areas of the globe. Wars and civil conflicts in the poorest regions of the world increase the number of asylum seekers and illegal immigrants in the most prosperous countries;

- the intensification or magnitude of interconnection in almost every sphere of social existence, from the economic to the environmental, from Google's activity to the spread of harmful microbes, from the intensification of world trade to the spread of weapons of mass destruction, etc.;

- The rapid pace of global interactions and processes, such as the evolution of global transport and communication systems, increase the speed or speed with which ideas, state, goods, information, capital and technology move around the world. UK telephone banking transactions are resolved by call-centers in India in real time;

- The expansion, intensity and speed of global interactions are associated with a deepening of the confusing situation of the local and global, as local events can have global consequences and global events can have serious local consequences, with a clear collective consciousness of the world that shared social space (globalization or globalism). It is thus expressed by the global dissemination of the very idea of globalization, being embodied in the many languages of the world, from Mandarin to Galician.

- As this short description suggests, not only simple interconnectivity describes globalization. This implies that the scale of cumulative values, the purpose, the speed and the depth of contemporary interconnectivity dissolve the importance of the boundaries and boundaries that divide the world into 193 constituent states or economic and political spaces (James N. Rosenau in *Globalization, Security, and the Nation State: Paradigms in Transition* in 1997). Beyond the growing interdependence between states, or internationalization - as the skeptics call it, the concept of globalization tries to include dramatic changes in organizations: from a world of interdependent states to a space-sharing or social world. The concept refers

to structural changes within social and economic organizations. Beyond being organized on a national or local scale, social, economic and political activities are strongly organized on a transnational or global scale. Globalization thus signifies a significant change in social organizations in every sphere, from economic to security, going beyond the major regions and continents.

Centers of its structural change are contemporary information technologies, as well as communication and transport infrastructures. They have facilitated new real-time coordination opportunities from multinational corporation operations, global mobilization, and anti-global demonstrations. Although geography and distance remain important, globalization has the power to compress space and time, to shrink the world – thus, even the sources of remote local development can be identified with precision. Globalization is thus a process of fragmentation of the territory: social, political and economic activities are "stretched" to the fullest, all over the globe and no longer belong to a strict territorial logic. Therefore, terrorist networks will operate both locally and globally. The national economic space, globalized, is no longer bordering on national territory, because many of the big UK companies have their headquarters abroad, while many domestic companies get their productions outside (e. g. China and East Asia).

1.4. Political globalization

Enlargement: In the political sphere, globalization is evident in the way in which the crisis in the West Bank spreads globally, or in the way in which World Trade Organization (WTO) decisions can dramatically affect the lives of European workers, farmers in Japan, or even access to medication for extremely poor communities. The policy is actually "stretched" across borders, decisions and developments in a community with significant (unwanted or unintended) consequences for distant communities.

Consolidation: The association of this stretch is a thickening of the infrastructures related to the global political interaction. Since the mid-twentieth century, there has been a remarkable expansion of global, regional and transnational institutions, or supervisory and decision-making networks, from the World Trade Organization to the World Toilet Organization. More than 6,400 multinational organizations or networks are trying to monitor and

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regulate each sector of global activity from the Missile Technology Control Regime - which is trying to prevent the spread of weapons of mass destruction - to the International Telecommunication Union, which sets global communication standards.

Increasing speed: real-time communication of events may sometimes affect the context and dynamics of the political sphere. A foolish remark must be eluded if it undermines the authority of any government. For governments and for transnational corporations, decision-making and response times have considerably diminished with global market pressures. Decisions in an organization swiftly flow through global systems, with cumulative global effects that sometimes unnecessarily increase the consequences. When the Thai monetary authorities decided in July 1997 to break the Thai Baht (* Thai currency unit) from the US dollar they could not foresee that this decision would cause the worst financial crisis in East Asia since the Great Depression and even the threat of global financial stability. And that's happened over 20 years ago, as individual communication technology and online social platforms did not exist today. So, this is how global communication transforms the political context, accelerating political processes and spreading political ideas, amplifying the global impact of political actions and decision-making processes.

Accumulation: With this stretch, thickening and acceleration of political processes, there is also a significant distortion of local-global, domestic-foreign dichotomies. The domestic economy requires rigorous multilateral co-operation, while global warming requires coordinated local action. Domestic issues are internationalized and world affairs domesticate, creating the term "intermestic" (inter-national, domestic) - we are talking about inter-political issues that arise with the globalization of economic, social and cultural life.

Territorial borders no longer delimit the borders of economic or political space. This does not mean that the territories or boundaries are no longer relevant, but that, in the context of globalization, their relative significance diminishes. In a real world of real-time communications, the distinction between domestic and international, between the inside and outside of the country, becomes vague.

A shrinking country refers to the fact that power and those who handle can be on distant continents. Under these conditions, the location of power

cannot be reduced to local circumstances only. As demonstrated by the economic collapse of East Asia, 1997/1998, key points where global power was located - the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank - are oceans far from the communities whose destinies influence them. In this respect, globalization implies the idea that power, irrespective of its nature - economic, political, cultural or military - is organized and exercised remotely. The concept of globalization thus denotes the relative denationalization of power, in a strongly interconnected global system, power is organized and exerted on a transregional, transnational or transcontinental basis, while - as mentioned in the discussion on political globalization - many other actors, from international organizations to criminal networks, exercise power inside / across and even against countries. Countries no longer have the monopoly of power resources, whether they are economic, coercive or political.

Globalization is the major phenomenon of the late 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century. It is not just a present phenomenon, it is a growing one.

Theorized by Roland Robertson, glocalization is the sum resulting from the increase in global interdependence and localizing tensions. Apparently, although a definition of globalization is actually a theorization of Robertson's own vision of globalization in contemporary times, he launches the concept of glocalization (as a new and natural stage after the globalization stage) in public space.

Thus, if globalization approaches, glocalization takes away. We can say that the emergence of glocalization may cause local communities to be like "the rest of the world".

Zygmunt Bauman defines globalization as "the great war of independence from space."⁷ Bauman also states that "mobility is a consequence of globalization that stimulates social stratification, in a global world, the new social, political, economic and cultural hierarchies replenishing."⁸ On the issue of globalization, we must also take into account the views of other scientists like Paul Virilio, who proclaimed with the

⁷ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Foreign_exchange_market.

⁸ World Investment Report 2018 – UNCTAD, World Investment Report 2018 – UNCTAD, https://unctad.org/PublicationsLibrary/wir201_en.

beginning of globalization, the end of geography. On this, Stephen Graham was of the opinion that "geographical distances and boundaries are becoming more and more difficult to sustain in the real world."⁹

2. Definitions of globalization

Globalization is defined in a variety of ways:

1) "Enhancement of global social relationships that connect distant localities in such a way that local activities are modeled by events that happen thousands of miles away and vice versa" (The Consequences of Modernity by Anthony Giddens 1990).

2) "Integration of the world economy. "(Global political economy, Gilpin 2001).

3) "Defragmentation of territory - or ... development of supra-territorial relations between people" (Globalization, A critical introduction by J.A. Scholte 2000).

4) "Time-space compression. "(The Condition of Postmodernity by David Harvey 1989)

5) Zygmunt Bauman defines globalization as "the great war of independence from space." (Bauman, Zygmunt, "Globalization and Its Social Effects", Antet Publishing House, Bucharest, 2010)

To summarize, globalization is a process that involves much more than just developed connections or interdependence between states. It can be defined as follows:

A historical process involving a fundamental change or transformation of the spatial scale from social organizations linking distant communities and expanding power relations across regions and continents.

Such a definition allows us to distinguish the globalization of more spatial delimitation processes, such as internationalization and regionalization. While internationalization refers to the increasing interdependence between states, the idea of internationalization itself presupposes that they remain national units with clearly defined boundaries. By contrast, globalization refers to a process in which the distinction between domestic and external is itself canceled. Distance and time

⁹ Bauman Zygmunt, "Globalization and Its Social Effects", Antet Publishing House, Bucharest, 2010, p. 11.

collapse, events happening thousands of miles away can have immediate local consequences, while the impact of clearly localized developments can be rapidly spreading around the globe. This does not mean that the distance and the borders are irrelevant, but that in their globalizing conditions, their relative significance does not matter anymore.

If globalization refers to transcontinental or trans-regional networks or to interconnection, regionalization refers to the intensification of interconnection and integration patterns between states that share common borders or are geographically contiguous, as in the EU. While the financial flows between the three major economic blocs - North America, Asia Pacific and Europe - represent globalization, by contrast, such flows within these blocks are best described by regionalization.

2.1. Key Points

Globalization is evident in increasing expansion, intensity, acceleration, and the acute impact of global interconnectivity.

Globalization denotes a change in the scale of the social organization, the transformation of the world into a shared social space, the relative territorial defragmentation of social, economic and political activities and the relative de-nationalization of power.

Globalization can be conceptualized as a fundamental change or a space-based transformation of the social organization that unites distant communities and extends power relations across distant regions and continents.

Globalization is different from internationalization and regionalization.

2.2. Key concepts

Transnational civil society: the political area where citizens and private interests collaborate across borders to meet their common goals or to make governments and official institutions respond to their activities.

Globalization: a historical process involving a fundamental change or a space-based transformation of the social organization that unites distant communities and extends power relations across regions and continents.

Asymmetric globalization: describes how contemporary globalization is unequally felt in the world and in various social groups, producing a geography of inclusion / exclusion from the global system.

Globalism: the state of globalization at any time, usually measured by its size.

Internationalization: growing interactions between national states.

Regionalization: Strong interdependence between neighboring geographic countries, as is the case in the EU.

Institutionalization: The extent to which networks or patterns of social interaction are formally constituted as organizations for certain purposes.

Territory defragmentation: a process in which the organization of social activities is less and less affected by geographical proximity and territorial boundaries.

Time-space compression: canceling distance and time, creating the appearance of a diminishing world.

Global Governance: The system of political coordination (formal and informal), which includes local and global areas between public authorities (intergovernmental organizations) and private agencies (NGOs and corporations), trying to accomplish common goals and solve collective problems by creating and implementing global or transnational rules, rules, programs and policies.

Global politics: the policy of global social relationships where the rush of power, interests, order, and justice goes beyond regions and continents.

Global policy organization: the collective structures and processes through which "interests are articulated and gathered, decisions are made, values are allocated, and policies are brought to fruition through transnational or international political processes"¹⁰

Trans-governmental networks: formal and informal mechanisms that unite government officials from an agency with foreign ones for purposes including coordination, harmonization, dialogue and entry into force of the rules.

Global political networks: complexities bringing together government, NGO, and corporate sector representatives to create and implement global tactics.

¹⁰ Ibid.

Normative theory: systematic analyzes of ethics and morals, as well as political principles that govern or should govern the organization or political behavior.

The disaggregated state: the tendency of states to become fragmented actors, but also global politics, every party in the government car mingling with foreign parties in an attempt to resolve global issues through the proliferation of trans-governmental thinking and global networks.

Sovereignty: the legal right to reign exclusively within a well-defined territory.

2.3. Contemporary globalization

According to John Gray, the cataclysmic attacks of September 11, 2001 in the United States unveiled a new era in the business world, "The Globalization Era" (Moisés Naim 2002). States have reimported their power and borders have been sealed in response to the global terrorist attack. Economic globalization has certainly been altered, as compared to how it looked at the end of the century. This was speculated by skeptics (The Future of Globalization by Paul Hirst and Grahame Thompson, 2003). Skeptics say not only that globalization has been exaggerated, but it is also a myth that has hidden the reality of a world that is less interdependent than it was in the nineteenth century, a reality that is increasingly more regionalized than globalized (Hirst and Thompson, 1999; The Challenge of Global Capitalism, World Economy in the 21st Century by Robert Gilpin, 2002).

Globalists, however, sustain that the September attacks and the insecurity that they caused have become clear evidence of a "crash of globalization." There is a strong confrontation between Western globalization and globalization of counter-reactions. But we are talking about different interpretations of globalization - theoretical and historical.

One of the skeptical problems is that globalization is combined exclusively with economic trends. It has the tendency to look at other important evidence. Indeed, contemporary globalization is not a singular process: it has effects in all aspects of social life, from politics to production, from culture to crime, from economics to education. It is directly and indirectly involved in many aspects of our daily life, from the clothes we wear, the food we eat, the knowledge we accumulate, to the

background of a sense of individual and collective security, in an uncertain world. Evidence of globalization is everywhere: universities are global institutions, from recruiting students to the way academic studies are done. To understand contemporary globalization, we need to distinguish distinct patterns of interconnection in all key sectors of social activity, from economic and political, to military, cultural and environmental.

2.4. Skeptical attitude of globalization

Skeptic skepticism on globalization is annoying in importance in the study of global politics. Pleas in law:

1. Compared to 1870-1914, the world was much less economically, politically and culturally globalized.

2. Beyond globalization, the contemporary world is marked by a strong regionalization and internationalization.

3. Density of international, economic and political activity is concentrated in the OECD countries - the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.

4. Compared to the prosperous period of global European empires, most people around the world and southern countries are now less integrated into the global system.

5. State power, nationalism and territorial borders have a growing importance in the political world.

6. Internationalization and regionalization are state creations, not corporations or proofs of capitalism.

7. Globalization is, at best, a myth or an ideology that reassures western and American hegemony in the political world.

(Global Economy and the Possibilities of Governance by Paul Hirst and Grahame Thompson 1999), Entrepreneurship and Global Competitiveness in Regional Economies by M. Hay 2000, Globalization and the Postcolonial World by Ankie Hoogvelt 2001, The Challenge of Global Capitalism. The World Economy in the 21st Century by Robert Gilpin 2002).

As the casuistry of the above paragraphs shows, globalization is all, although with an intensity that varies in every field of social activity, in some more powerful than in others. Economic globalization is far more extensive and intense than cultural or military globalization. Contemporary

globalization is irregular; trying to understand it, we must ask ourselves: which globalization? Contrary to the skeptics, it is very important to recognize that globalization is a complex multidimensional process: patterns of economic and cultural globalization are not identical. We do not have to draw conclusions about the trend of globalization by analyzing only one domain. After the terrorist attack in September, skeptics predicted the decline in economic globalization, although they ignored the acceleration of globalization in the military, technology and cultural fields. What differentiates contemporary globalization is the confluence of globalization trends in all key areas of social activity. These trends have been remarkably strong in the face of global instability and military conflicts.

If the patterns of contemporary globalization are unclear, then they are also asymmetrical.

2.5. Patterns of contemporary globalization

Globalization, to a certain extent, is evident in all the basic sectors of social activity:

The economic sector: patterns of world trade, finance, and production create global markets and a single global capitalist economy - what Castells (Rückblick auf Castells' Netzwerk-Gesellschaft, 2000) called "global information capitalism." Multinational corporations organize production and marketing at a global level while global financial market operations determine which countries receive international recognition and under what conditions.

The multitude sector: global arms trade, the spread of weapons of mass destruction, the rise of transnational terrorism, the importance of transnational military corporations, and the discourse of global insecurity, recognize the existence of a global military order.

The legal sector: the extension of transnational and international laws, from trade to human rights, along with the creation of new legal institutions (The Hague International Court) recognize the existence of a global legal order.

The ecological sector: a common ecology involves common environmental issues, from global warming to species production, along with the creation of governmental institutions that are responsible for environmental issues.

The cultural sector: a complex mix of homogeneity and heterogeneity accentuated by the global spread of popular culture, global media corporations, communication networks, etc., simultaneously with the reaffirmation of nationalism, ethnicity and differences. But a low number of cultures are completely isolated from cultural interaction.

The social sector: migration patterns from south to north and from east to west have transformed the issue of migration into a global problem, with migration reaching a record level close to that of the nineteenth century.

2.6. Globalization engines

The explanations for globalization tend to focus on three interconnected factors: technology (technological change and social organization), economy (markets and capitalism), politics (power, interests, institutions).

The technique is the center of globalization, because without modern communication infrastructure, the global system and the global economy would not be possible.

Economy - just as important as the technical factor. Demand for new markets and profit from capitalism inevitably leads to the globalization of economic activity.

Policy (ideas, interests, power) is the third logical factor of globalization. If technology provides the physical infrastructure of globalization, policy provides the regulatory infrastructure. Governments, as in the United States and the UK, have been key factors in the globalization process.

2.7. Globalization after the September 11th terrorist attacks

"Before burying globalization, remember that I've heard that before. In the months after September 11, 2001, the end of globalization was predicted as we knew it. The borders that enlivened the global movement of money, goods, people and ideas were to be covered with barbed wire and control points, affecting commerce and tourism ... Despite the reluctance, at the end of 2002, the world was more stable than never ". (Foreign Policy, February 2004)

Many skeptics have the wrong view that globalization implies universality: the global term in globalization implies that all regions or

countries must be similarly involved in world processes. But there are different patterns of involvement, so we have what Castells calls 'variable geometry' (2000). The rich countries of the OECD - Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development - are much more globalized than many poor African countries. Globalization is not unevenly felt across regions or countries, and not even in communities, because we are talking about an asymmetric process. Even in the case of the OECD and African countries, some are in the globalization elite, while others are excluded. As a strong asymmetric process, globalization has a special geography of inclusion and exclusion; there are losers and winners not only between countries, but also inside and around them. For the richest, globalization can bring about a decrease in the world - global television, the internet, etc. - but for most of humanity, it tends to be associated with a strong sense of empowerment. Inequality is strongly enrolled in the processes of contemporary globalization and it is better described as asymmetric globalization.

Given these asymmetries, it is not surprising that globalization does not predict the emergence of a global community or the consciousness of global co-operation. Moreover, as the tragic events in September showed, the more the world becomes a common social space, the more the division and the differences become more acute. Asymmetric globalization is perceived beyond the OECD center as a Western globalization, causing the fear of the emergence of a new imperialism but also important counter-reactions from the anti-globalization movement's protests to the actions of various cultural and national communities that seek to protect their own culture and lifestyle. Beyond bringing a global order more willing to cooperate, in many ways globalization has exacerbated existing tensions and conflicts, generating new divisions and insecurity, thus creating a difficult world to control. Globalization is a complex process that contains contradictory tendencies: global and fragmented integration, cooperation and conflict, order and chaos. This was his past.

Compared to earlier periods, contemporary globalization combines a remarkable affluence of global interconnectivity patterns, along with their unprecedented institutionalization, through new global and regional control and communication infrastructures, from the World Trade Organization to transnational corporations. In almost all areas, the contemporary patterns of

globalization not only surpassed those of the earlier epochs, but there were also different qualitative differences of how globalization is organized.

2.8. The 3 steps of globalization

Globalization is not a new phenomenon. Seen as a secular historic process through which human civilizations formed a single world system, it consisted of three stages:

1 - During the discoveries (1450-1850), globalization was decisively modeled by European expansion and conquests;

2 - Between 1850 and 1945, a major expansion of European empires took place;

3 - By comparison, contemporary globalization (from 1960 until now) marked a new era in world affairs. As the industrial revolution and Western expansion defined a new stage in world history, so today, the microchip and satellites are the emblems of a globalized world.

3. Conclusion

The existence of global real-time communication infrastructures, in which the world is transformed into a single social space, clearly distinguishes contemporary globalization from other types existing in the past. It is best described as a solid form of globalization or globalism (The Global Transformation Reader by David Held and Anthony McGrew 1999; Robert O. Keohane 2003).

Moreover, it delimits the set of restrictions and opportunities that condition their freedom of action and autonomy, especially in the economic field. For example, daily financial flows of over \$ 1.2 trillion a day require a significant discipline for every government, even the strongest economic.

Solid globalization has a strong logical system, structuring the context in which states operate and thus defining the parameters of state power. It has important consequences on how we perceive world politics.



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