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GLOBAL TRENDS AND MODERN PROJECTS OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL EVOLUTION¹

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Southern Federal University, Russia
info@ores.ru

Ph. D. Alexey Yu. Mamychev

Far Eastern Federal University
mamychev@yandex.ru

Ph. D. Andrey A. Plotnikov

Vologda Institute of Law and Economics of the Federal Penal Service of Russia, Russia
plas1972@yandex.ru

Ph. D. Sergey S. Shestopal

Vladivostok State University Of Economics and Service, Russia
ss.shestopal@ya.ru

Ph. D. Svetlana V. Kachurova

National Law University, Russia
kachurove@mail.ru

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Abstract

This article deals with the analysis of the modern approaches to the evolution of the concepts of the state and state power in a globalizing world. The approaches of representatives of various directions of political and legal thought are studied. The authors focus on the challenges to the traditional understanding of state sovereignty, on the transformation of state sovereignty, consider the differing points of view of realists and institutionalists on the need to revise the concept of sovereignty in the global world. They consider the role of international government organizations and other transnational regulators in regulating interstate relations, their influence on the transformation of the role of the states and state power in global processes. The authors prove that the adaptive potential of the state is aimed at reducing its role in the life of modern global society.

Keywords

State – Statehood – Political Society – State authority – Public Power

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Introduction

The term “globalization” comes from the French word “global” - universal. This term denotes the objective process of formation, functioning, and development of a fundamentally new world system of relations between countries and peoples based on the deepening interconnection and interdependence in all spheres of the world community² [Kapto A.S. 2002, p. 106]. Globalization in its broad sense, on the one hand, means the overgrowth of national and regional problems into global ones, and on the other, the formation of a common economic, social and natural-biological environment on a planet scale. In the narrow sense of the word, the process of globalization is interpreted only in terms of its socio-economic aspect as the transformation of national, societal, and economic structures into an integral and unified geosocioeconomic reality.

We shall distinguish between globalization and globalism, understanding globalism as the expansion of the market with the dominance of supranational monopolies, and globalization as everything that contributes to the universalization and adequate functioning of institutions - political, economic, humanitarian, etc. We believe that the specificity of our time lies in the fact that globalization does not keep pace with globalism. In many peripheral countries, the market expansion is not accompanied by shifts towards globalization. The protests of anti-globalists, in fact, are directed against this situation. Moreover, the anti-globalization movement includes not only traditionalists but also people with international humanistic ideals, who are the leaders of this movement.

In our opinion, an important problem today is to bring institutions - cultural, state-legal - in line with the expanded market since economics, as K. Marx noted in the Communist Manifesto, always seeks to outgrow national borders. In this regard, every effort should be made to ensure simultaneous development of the globalization process, i.e. improvement of state-legal institutions, especially at the international level with the process of market expansion.

Globalization is not always the crash of old state-legal institutions but a necessary adaptation. It should be noted that representatives of the political philosophy of realism and institutionalism from opposite positions assess the impact of globalization on the activities of the national state.

Methods

The theoretical and methodological basis of the presented scientific article is based on developments in the field of political and legal theory, geopolitics, sociologists, theorists, and historians of state and law. This study is based on the works by D. Kerimov, V Inozemtsev, D. Lukovskaia, N. Spikeman, J. Donnelly, C. Omae, R. Rosekranz, D. Baldwin, P. Katzenstein, R. Putnam, and many others.

The subject of scientific research has determined its methodological basis, which is provided by a combination of universal (dialectic, synergistic, and systemic analysis), general scientific (logical and structural-functional analysis and synthesis, sociological, intellectual-technological and mental measurement, genetic reconstruction, etc.) and special research methods (comparative and legal, historical and legal, etc.).

² A. S. Kapto, Encyclopedia of the world (Moscu: 2002).

Main part

Realists believe that the state in a globalized world continues to pursue its own interests. “In international politics,” N. Spikeman says, “all forms of violence, including destructive wars, are permissible. This means that the struggle for power is identical to the struggle for survival, and the main task of domestic and foreign public policy is to strengthen the positions of power. Everything else is secondary”³. According to J. Donnelly, a globalized world has no world government that would lead the actions of states in the international arena. “In order to survive in this arena, the state must pursue its own interests only”⁴. Realists deny the impact of globalization on the change of state power.

Institutionalists are on the opposite side of the issue. They predict the replacement of the national state by the transnational institutions of a globalized world. K. Omae argues that in the context of globalization, the national state turns into a “nostalgic function”. According to V. Reineke, “globalization challenges the sovereignty of the national state”⁵. The sprawling international organizations and regimes, the internalization of international norms by local civil societies lead to the erosion of state sovereignty.

Investigations of institutionalists, devoted to the study of this process, emphasize one of its most important consequences - change in the functions of the state system⁶. If state institutions previously independently determined the main parameters of national domestic and foreign policy in the economic and social spheres, exercised unchallenged border control over the movement of people and goods over their territory, then today the concept of national sovereignty is eroded. The most economically and militarily powerful states have an increasingly strong influence on the domestic and foreign policy situation in less influential countries. Another important consequence of the globalization of the modern world is the emergence of supranational institutions that give features of federal structure to interstate relations. This is most pronounced in the European Union.

A systemic-functional approach is used to overcome the extreme views of realists and institutionalists, which focuses on studying the processes of state adaptation to the challenges of the globalized world⁷, as well as the principles of historical and logical unity, as a methodological basis for the study of objective laws of evolution of the state, law, and the entire historical process of human activity. In the course of this adaptation, a change in the nature of state power and an adjustment of state functions occur. Let us turn to changes in the power and functions of the state in the global economy.

The above effects of the globalization process go back to the period of the height of the Cold War, which split the world into two poles. During this period, the processes of economic, political, and military unification began in the national states of Western Europe, which, according to P. van Ham, was promoted by two main factors⁸. Firstly, it is a threat

³ N. J. Spykman, *American Strategy in Worldpolitik: The United States and the Balance of Power* (Nueva York: 1994), 18.

⁴ J. Donnelly, *Realism and International relations* (Cambridge: 2000), 12.

⁵ W. H. Reineke, “Global public Policy. “Foreign affairs”, Wash Vol: 76 num 6 (1997): 129.

⁶ *The state and society in the context of globalization: a look from the left* (Moscú: Ed. A.A. Galkin, 2003).

⁷ D. A. Kerimov, *Methodology of law. Subject, functions, problems of the philosophy of law*. 2nd ed. (Moscú: 2001.).

⁸ P. Ham van, *Can Institutions Hold Europe Together?* In: Miall H. London: ed., *Redefining Europe: New Patterns of Conflict and Cooperation*. 1994.

coming from the countries of the Warsaw Pact, which made European countries forget about their historical divisions and unite against a common enemy. Secondly, European integration spurred the post-war domination of the United States. In the face of the Soviet threat, Americans invested heavily in strengthening the defense capability of the countries of Western Europe, which allowed the latter to divert significant resources specifically to economic development. Consequently, it was external factors that contributed to interstate cooperation in post-war Europe that was unthinkable in the recent past.

The most important feature of the institutional structure in post-war Europe is the relative stabilization of state-territorial borders. Western European states did not seek to increase their power at the expense of territorial expansion, which interrupted the previous course of history in this part of the world. The emergence of new regimes and international organizations has reduced the need for national states to resort to unilateral means of ensuring their own security and defending their interests. More and more, they began to assess their welfare economically, not geopolitically. If, over a long period of time, states reposed mainly on territorial gains, during this period they begin to focus on control over the distribution of world resources as the main means of ensuring their well-being. Goods gradually acquired greater mobility than capital and labor, which led to the emergence of a trading state⁹.

The trading state has a number of special characteristics. Firstly, it does not consider the military rivalry as an attribute of power. Its attribute of power is international trade. Until the mid-twentieth century, forced seizure of a foreign territory was economically profitable, rather than the creation of sophisticated economic and trade institutions that generate profits from the commercial exchange of goods with neighboring territories. Today, the price of forcefully ensured welfare exceeds its economic benefits. The proliferation of modern types of weapons, such as nuclear, biological, and chemical, their destructive potential cause strong public resistance and provoke unnecessary conflicts in society. In addition, secondly, the trading state carries out economic development on the free-market basis, rather than on the basis of the mercantilist model, focused only on super-profits. Therefore, it seeks to adapt to local markets and structures to international standards.

The development of the European market has led to a serious change in the power of the state and the redefinition of its role in economic processes. The function of the state has become the organization and protection of the self-regulating market¹⁰. Values in a liberal democracy are consumer welfare and market autonomy, and the state plays a minor role. It is common for the modern state to bear the constant responsibility for providing people with goods and correcting market mistakes in order to promote economic growth and stability. Therefore, the commercial state formed other political and economic interests in comparison with the former national state. Focusing on trade, rather than power expansion, the trading state directs most of its resources to the development and production of new products and to the achievement of new positions in the international market. Those countries that have fully integrated into the global market show very good economic growth rates even in the context of a lack of natural resources. Examples

⁹ R. Rosecrance, *The Rise of the Trading State: Commerce and Conquest in the Modern World* (Nueva York: 1986).

¹⁰ J. G. Ruggie, *International Regimes, Transactions and Change: Embedded Liberalism in the Postwar Economic Order*. Krasner S. (Ithaca: ed. International Regimes, 1983).

include Singapore and Taiwan. At the same time, countries focused on ignoring the process of globalization, regardless of what natural wealth they have, turn out to be on the sidelines of the world economic space, as exemplified by the Soviet Union¹¹. Trade states are abler to cooperate with each other and create institutions and regimes that limit international anarchy. They also gain interest in the development and maintenance of economic well-being in partner countries as they begin to make direct investments in their economies. These investments relate to industrial infrastructure, therefore, they are not highly liquid within the local market. A mutual investment promotes the development of cooperative trends at the interstate level. Moreover, these cooperative trends do not just try to harmonize each other's economic policies, but also strive to incur short-term losses until trading partners adapt to the new policy.

The emergence of such cooperative trends is caused by the action of three factors. Firstly, a trading state relies on an open international trading system, which excludes such barriers as tariffs, quotas, or price support necessarily includes the freedom and openness of trade and guarantees the free movement of capital. Such a system provides states with the opportunity to freely invest each other. Secondly, trade states ensure their own security through collective efforts, rather than through isolation. The states of Western Europe in the last forty years could significantly save their defense expenditures since individual countries incurred them not independently but within the framework of a common European security system. Third, the trade states recognize their inability in an interdependent world to take the position of ignoring international organizations and regimes without serious economic and political losses for themselves. In other words, complete independence and freedom of action of individual states are completely unrealistic expectations in modern international politics.

The integration of states into the global economy is uneven and leads to inequality between them according to the degree of economic power. V. Inozemtsev notes the increased closure of cooperative relations of economically influential states. This trend is evidenced by the statistics of modern international trade, the movement of investments, and labor flows¹².

During the XX century, the growth of trade turnover outpaced the growth of GNP of most industrialized countries. If the total GNP of all countries of the world increased from 1950 to 1992 from 3.8 to 18.9 trillion dollars, the volume of trade turnover increased from 0.3 to 3.5 trillion dollars. In the late 80s - the first half of the 90s, the growth of world trade was from 5.3% to 7% on a year-on-year basis. Meanwhile, the structure of these trade flows has changed significantly. In 1953, industrialized countries sent 38% of total exports to countries that reached the same level of development; in 1963 this figure was 49%, in 1973 - 54%, in 1987 - 54.6%, and in 1990 - 76%. In the second half of the 90s, the post-industrial states imported goods and services from developing and industrialized countries for an amount not exceeding 1.2% of their total GNP. In 1996, the ratio of exports to GNP was three times smaller in the United States than in England 150 years ago, in the mid-40s of the 19th century. In Europe, formal indicators remained higher, which was due to the fact that commodity flows within the EU, which accounted for 74% of all export-import operations of European countries, were counted as international. The situation has changed dramatically as the European Union completed its formation. The value of trade

¹¹ R. Putnam, *Two-Level Games: The Impact of Domestic Politics on Transatlantic Bargaining*. In Haftendorn H. And Tuschhoff C. eds. *America and Europe in an Era of Change* (Boulder: 1993).

¹² V. Inozemtsev, "Globalization: illusions and reality", *Svobodnaia mysl - XXI century* num 1 (2000).

flows between the EU and developing countries (with the exception of China) today does not exceed the volume of trade with Switzerland¹³.

The spread and strengthening of international organizations and regimes turned out to be a challenge to the traditional concept of state sovereignty. Realists argue that the nation-state remains the main participant in the global relationship system, and international institutions express their will. Institutionalists say that international organizations and regimes limit the independence of the modern state in exercising its functions. The extremes of the voluntarist approach of the realists and the procedural approach of the institutionalists may be overcome using a broader system-functional analysis. The modern state internationalizes international norms and rules, which limits traditional state sovereignty and at the same time acquires new functions of a member state of the international community, which increases the power of the state in solving domestic and foreign policy tasks¹⁴.

In the post-cold period, the institutions of the global economy, international organizations, and regimes have limited the independent activities of the state. State participation in the global economy leads to the emergence of a commercial type of state, measuring its power by the share of world economic resources, rather than by the size of the territory and military power. The trading state directs most of its resources to the development and production of new products and to the achievement of new positions in the international market. A trade state is interested in maintaining economic welfare in the partner countries since it makes direct investments in their economies. Strengthening the interdependence of trade states is accompanied by the emergence of state inequality in economic power. States developing on a post-industrial basis form a closed system, while industrial and pre-industrial countries find themselves dependent on this system. This is evidenced by the closure of trade and investment flows within the post-industrial system, its growing resistance to the outskirts of economic crises and the tightening of immigration policies.

The globalized world is characterized by a developing network of international governance systems that limit traditional state sovereignty. A. Martinelli proposes to distinguish within transnational regulators: firstly, international institutions referred to as international government organizations (IGOs), and, secondly, regimes of international treaties¹⁵.

The modern world has a developed network of international government organizations. Their number increased in the XX century by six times. The number of annual conferences and congresses held under their support has exceeded 400 thousand. The United Nations system and other autonomous IGOs, for example, the World Trade Organization (WTO), together with the regimes of international treaties, are neither a world government (they limit the sovereignty of member countries but lack a monopoly on the legitimate use of force) nor even a democratic world government. However, they contribute to global governance and integration, increasing attention to the collective problems of

¹³ Y. P. Bytyak; I. V. Yakovyuk; O. Tragniuk; T. V. Komarova & S. S. Shestopal, "The State Sovereignty and Sovereign Rights: the Correlation Problem", *Man in India*, Vol: 97 num 23 (2017): 577-588.

¹⁴ International law and international security: military and political areas. Dialogue of Soviet and American experts (Moscow: 1991).

¹⁵ A. Martinelli, "Markets, governments, communities, and global governance", *Socis* num 1 (2003).

politics in the economy, ecology, and social protection, in contrast to traditional attention to interstate relations. They also promote polyarchy growth, multiply the number of actors in global politics, mainly through the Security Council and agencies in the areas of health, food, cultural heritage protection, industrial development, drug control, and peacekeeping. IGOs are often used by leading global actors in their own interests and goals, although they provide other actors with the opportunity to be heard, they give the floor to minorities, and support, at least to some extent, the principles they were created for, namely, peace, development, and human rights.

According to Martinelli, the erosion of national sovereignty stimulates the need for international coordination, a more powerful and democratic UN¹⁶. The IGO system has grown quite quantitatively and qualitatively, undergone major changes, however, in the new “post-Westphalian” context it does not meet the realities of the world. After the XIX century, many multilateral treaties have been concluded for joint regulation or common benefits such as high seas, air, or actions that connect, integrate people and institutions of different states (transport, mail). The next step was to create international institutions that perform new tasks of common interest (International Telegraph Union (1865)) or those created by the League of Nations (1920) (International Court of Justice), the United Nations created in 1945 with more ambitious goals than the League of Nations: maintaining peace and international security, solving basic world problems through international cooperation, and promoting the protection of fundamental human rights. In addition to specialized bureaus, the United Nations Children's Fund, the UN Commission on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), the Environmental Protection Program, etc., the UN is the center of a comprehensive system of autonomous specialized institutions. They existed before (International Labor Organization, World Bank). But, mainly, they were created by the UN itself: the United Nations' Education, Science, and Culture Organization (UNESCO), the World Health Organization (WHO), the International Monetary Fund (IMF). All of them are connected with the UN system and integrated therein through special treaties.

The UN system was created to ensure the peace of international relations of sovereign countries through a compromise between the equal democratic representation of states in the General Assembly, openly and collectively regulating international life, and the “real policy” of power relations, giving veto power to five great powers, practically paralyzing the UN in several important cases. In addition, since legitimization and efficiency are closely related, then the less strong a UN member state is, the less legitimate it considers the UN and the more it backs out of transferring to the UN part of its sovereignty on key issues, such as environmental protection and human rights.

Despite these limitations and a complicated negotiation procedure, lack of resources and the right of veto, the UN shows good results. It gave alternative principles of global governance in comparison with traditional geopolitics. These principles are based on collective decision-making by governments and non-governmental organizations and the goal is a consensus solution of international problems.

The UN system needs serious reforms to become more efficient and legitimate. The UN Charter contains the prerequisites for reform but still remains an expression of the unresolved conflict between the two alternative principles of world affairs. Today several proposals are under discussion. Among them is the creation of a Global Civil Society

¹⁶ A. Martinelli, “Markets, governments, communities...”

Forum with the right to vote on certain political issues for transnational actors - except for national states; the creation of the Assembly of the Peoples of the World, which is electing the Security Council together with the UN General Assembly. The merits of these proposals are the development of identities not connected with national states, the spread of democratic voting procedures (elections to the Assembly of the Peoples of the World) to countries with authoritarian regimes.

The role of IGOs in the global market - those related to the UN (IMF and WB), and those connected with the UN (WTO), is more controversial. The World Bank guarantees loans for investment projects in infrastructure, energy, transport, agriculture, and industry. Recently, we are talking about education, birth control, urban development. The results are contradictory: by providing significant assistance to countries such as India, Brazil, Mexico, and Pakistan, the World Bank mainly responded to the views of US governments. The International Monetary Fund intervenes in financial crises of states, provides loans on the terms of a certain economic policy of borrowers. The IMF lines in imposing tax orthodoxy on developing countries are promoted by the fact that only a few nation-states are similarly competent or strong to argue with it. These international bodies are not controlled by regulated processes, as is the case in democracies. For example, Argentina, where the IMF, along with internal corruption, became the main cause of the crisis, proved that the policies directed by the IMF meet the interests of foreign borrowers and investors, but not the needs and aspirations of other social groups.

A special position belongs to the World Trade Organization, the only transnational institution with the power of coercion in the regulation of disputes. The WTO has evolved from the GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade), expanding its scope from industrial goods to agricultural, services, intellectual property, information technology. The WTO, like the World Bank and the IMF, is criticized for making decisions under the strong influence of the most powerful countries with their ideology of market fundamentalism. On the other hand, it is praised for maintaining the standards of commercial rivalry and contributing to the growth of developing countries.

Other transnational regulators close to IGO are regimes established by international agreements that play an increasingly influential role. International agreements set direct or indirect principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures around which the actors' expectations are concentrated in a particular subject area of international relations¹⁷. These are very diverse spheres: nuclear weapons testing, broadcasting frequencies, fishing in international waters, orbits of Earth satellites. Some of them can be considered functional equivalents of markets, since they regulate the supply and distribution of goods and services, contribute to the growth of the institutionalization of global politics, create forms of global governance different from the traditional idea of national sovereignty. Some of them exist for a long time, while others are new. The novelty is their ever-increasing number and importance. Some international agreements are based on one or several intergovernmental organizations: the global regime of the international transport system, where the core is the International Association of Civil Aviation and the International Air Transport Association. Most of them are based on soft agreements arising from specific treaties, collective problems, or interethnic community of interests. Thus, the regime of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons is built on an international treaty, supplemented by regular international conferences. One of the specific types of international regulators is international commercial arbitration - an organization that

¹⁷ A. Martinelli, "Markets, governments, communities..."

monitors safety and stock ratings. A huge number of professional analysts around the world allows them to more strongly influence the policies of a particular country than foreign governments. Thus, the governments of nation-states find themselves in an expanding network of global management systems. The lawmaking of national states is increasingly intertwined with the norms of international law.

State sovereignty consists of two components: internal and external. The internal component concerns relations between the state and civil society. Expressing the interests of the main social groups and strata in democracy, protecting the aggregate interests of the whole society, the state seeks to put a limit to group egoism, which can endanger the existence and proper functioning of the social system itself. State activity in the regulating sphere of the economy inevitably affects the interests of specific corporations and other individuals who as a result of prescriptions may incur substantial material losses but, in general, the government regulation is focused on the creation of the most favorable conditions for the activities of economic entities to meet social needs. At the same time, the sovereign power of the national state has a monopoly on the use of force, a monopoly on power regulation in many spheres of life, including the economy. This monopoly of the nation-state is exercised by local political bodies. In the economic sphere, domestic sovereignty is expressed, including in the collection of taxes or in the regulation of the private enterprise sector. The external component concerns the recognition of a certain state by other members of the world community. It is based on mutual respect and recognition of territorial integrity within established boundaries. In the anarchic system, relations between members of the global community are characterized by the absence of central authority and any effective governing structures at a level higher than the nation-state. Realists focus on the environmental dimension of anarchy and argue that the absence of an international government means that in this case there is no comprehensive power structure that would protect all states from violence, the threat of violence, submission or destruction. Liberal institutionalists, by contrast, focus on the process of international relations as a context for the interpretation of the interests and behavior of the state. They draw attention to the fact that realists lose sight of the institutions and interaction patterns that are included in the structure of interstate relations and are associated with the perceptions and expectations of the involved people. Therefore, anarchy is not associated with the denial of the possibility of the existence of an international state, even if it is fragmented since most international relations continue to exist without special supranational institutions and represent embodied expectations regarding the behavior of partner countries¹⁸.

In the economic sense, sovereignty in the external sphere of the state is manifested in the collection of tariff payments and the manipulation of customs duties. It also manifests itself in the phenomenon of economic coercion. Economic coercion can be defined as causing economic damage from one state to another in order to achieve a political goal. It is carried out (or, at least, begins to be carried out) through the intervention of politicians in the normal course of the process of economic interaction (market, planned or mixed) through the blocking of export-import operations [Nincic M., Wallenstein P. 1983]. Interdependence limits the possibility of applying economic coercion for the purpose of maintaining foreign economic sovereignty. When states become interdependent, they begin to recognize the ineffectiveness of attempts to establish statehood based on full independence and autonomy. On the contrary, in this case, they begin to focus on

¹⁸ J. M. Grieco, *Cooperating Among Nations: Europe. America and Non-Tariff Barriers to Trade* (Ithaca: 1990.).

international specialization and the division of labor at the interstate level. Since such a division of labor undoubtedly increases the dependence of each individual state, it forces them to integrate more and more closely.

Over the past few years, a significant layer of scientific literature has emerged that criticizes the theoretical thesis of neorealists that states act as unitary subjects of international relations. The leitmotif of this research is the assertion that internal political, rather than interstate, circumstances affect foreign policy decisions. P. Katzenstein writes that the main goal of any foreign economic strategy is the coordination of the internal economic policy of the state with international political economy¹⁹. Another author, D. Baldwin, argues that foreign economic policy and the ability to manage economic processes are beginning to push back traditional forms of diplomacy aimed at ensuring state security²⁰. R. Putnam called the modern phenomenon of the interrelation of foreign and domestic policy a “two-level game”²¹. At the national level, domestic political groups pursue their own interests, influencing the government to implement a favorable policy for them, while politicians secure power for themselves through the creation of coalitions between domestic political groups. At the international level, the national government tries its best to meet the interests of domestic political groups and minimize the adverse effects of foreign economic development trends. Both levels must be taken into account by decision-makers, as their countries remain interdependent, albeit sovereign. In other words, modern state and political figures are limited in the choice of political means of influence by the interests of domestic political groups, who possess enormous resources to realize their interests and are ready to exert pressure in order to secure steady growth. On the other hand, state and political figures are forced to strike a balance between the costs associated with ensuring state security and social programs. As a result, a state may, at first glance, act irrational, since what seems to be quite rational and justified at the international level may turn out to be apolitical at the domestic level and rejected by its citizens. The growing importance of the world economy and the economic interdependence of countries on a planetary scale, combined with the increasing influence of domestic political interests, have forced modern countries to abandon their territorial expansion and military methods of achieving economic goals. Instead, trading states have focused on increasing their contribution to the world economy. Only those countries whose economy is primarily based on the production of agricultural products retain their territorial ambitions. While those states, which capital, labor resources, and technologies are mobile and where the need for the development of market exchange dominates, have abandoned their territorial claims. These states, according to R. Rosekranz, became “virtual states”, since there are few industries left related to the physical (geographic) space²². In many industries, the complexity of the technological process, along with the price and degree of risk, has led to the phenomenon of expanding the areas of sales markets and their promotion far beyond the borders of one national state. The territorial boundaries of national states have become too small for the organization of competitive production of new goods and the development of new technologies. We can state that the global economy is based on the desirability of the functional integration of geographically dispersed types of production activities.

¹⁹ P. J. Katzenstein (ed.), *Between Power and Plenty: Foreign Economic Policy and Adbaced Industrial States* (Madison: 1978).

²⁰ D. Baldwin, *Economic Statecraft* (Princeton: 1985).

²¹ R. Putnam, “Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-level Games”, *International Organization*, Vol: 42 (1988): 427.

²² R. Rosecrance, “The Rise of the Virtual State”, *Foreign Affairs* Vol: 75 num 4 (1996).

Trade serves as the main means of integration of the global economy. Since the 1960s multinational corporations appeared, which served as a factor in the emergence of the phenomenon of the commercial state as a result of the internationalization of the means of production. These corporations were further replaced by a network of international trade organizations representing corporate alliances or simply cooperation agreements between various firms and developing on the basis of collective action. The need to achieve an individualistic goal was transformed into a demand to achieve a collective goal. Consequently, by their nature, such networks are interdependent and, to a certain extent, imply a reduction in the degree of individual control.

The emergence of a global economic space has significantly changed the pattern of interaction between the public and private spheres of the state. Globalization means that the state no longer monopolizes the function of legislative power on its territory since it exists in a single economic space for many countries. This space covers many territories and requires the establishment of rules and regulations at the supranational level. In order to implement multi-level trade agreements based on the principle of reciprocity, states must bring local legislation into line with international norms and established practices. This, in turn, means that states are increasingly becoming the so-called “member states” of international institutions and government bodies. And they exchange their sovereignty for the potential access to collective commodity production. The formation of member states is most prominent in Europe. As M. Kaler points out, if modern European states are defined in terms of aggregate sovereignty or proto-federation, the creation of common institutions of the European Union turns out to be a much more important task than the development of regional authorities²³. In Europe, this process has covered not only the economic sphere but also reached the level of creating a common security system, in which the nation-states gave up on part of their autonomy to achieve common goals.

Organizations like the European Union are mainly engaged in reducing unproductive losses during the interaction of individual states and formalize the ways of this interaction²⁴. In addition, they make available to all participants huge amounts of the necessary information, increasing the transparency of the international system. Supra-government authorities help the Member States deal with emerging issues related to internal affairs, such as problems of immigration and social policy, solving them on the international level and setting generally accepted behaviors and standards for resolving issues. All this, however, requires a revision of the traditional role of the state. R. Rosekranz sees the change of this role in the following²⁵. The state is becoming just one of multiple participants of the international market and is forced to take into account the factor of foreign influence in the production of goods, even when solving domestic economic issues. It turns out to be forced to allow the influence of foreign capital on traditionally its own areas of influence since the state must attract foreign investment for its successful operation. But, to receive foreign investment, the state must actively address the problems of reducing inflation, increasing labor productivity, strengthening its currency, increasing flexibility and education of the workforce. The solution to these problems is often associated with the emergence of conflicts between the international economic regime and the internal interests of the state, meeting which leads to significant budget spending, an increase in the budget deficit, etc.

²³ M. Kahler, *Regional Futures and Transatlantic Economic Relations* (Nueva York: 1995).

²⁴ G. A. Raymond, “Problems and Prospects in the Study of International Norms”, *Mershon International Studies Review* Vol: 41 num 2 (1997).

²⁵ R. Rosekranz, “The Rise of the Virtual State...”

Conclusion

The formation of a supranational economic and political organization is due to the loss of state power and its identification. An expression of this general trend and at the same time its interpretation is the category of “management”. The word “governance” means management, control, function, or power of government in the public sphere of society. The concept of “governance” is different from the concept of “government”. The latter is understood as the government, i.e. according to Weber - formal institutions of the state with their monopoly on the legitimate use of violence or as a functioning system of political governance. A member state of the international community subordinates its autonomous interests to international rules and regulations, trying to harmonize domestic and international legislation. The need for harmonization can lead to the fact that international laws will be internalized as their own. This internalization can be achieved in two ways. First, international rules and regulations can become the ideals and values of various actors within a state. Citizens and organizations within a state can use international rules to justify their actions to question the validity of the actions of other citizens and organizations. Governments can also invoke international rules to justify and legitimize unpopular decisions. Secondly, international rules and regulations can be integrated into domestic political processes, if they are based on new domestic legislation. The ability of subjects within a single state to use international law is one of the main advantages of a member state. Instead of the limitations of its own autonomy, it gets significantly greater access to things provided by international institutions. Thus, within the framework of the international regime, there is a need for behavior change. In Western Europe, the economic regime of the Common Market and then the European Union initially acted only in order to promote economic cooperation. But then legal norms began to emerge that go beyond market relations and affect the spheres of politics, society, and state security, and the activity of this structure began to spread not only to the economic growth of member states but also to solve general security problems. Among the main trends observed in post-industrial countries in management in terms of its adaptive capacity, attention should be paid to the following aspect. The adaptive potential is not aimed at enhancing the role and importance of the state in society, but at reducing its former functions. Since the 80s, there has been a decrease in the role of the national state by transferring its functions, on the one hand, to the Pan-European level, and on the other, to lower ones, starting with government agencies and ending with municipalities. According to a number of liberal institutionalists, the decentralization and crowding out of the state gives rise to new methods of administrative-political management, new conditions are created for the organization of the society itself and its management. The English researcher of management problems Jessop notes that “The management activities are (directed) in favor of the concept of “heterarchy”, that is, horizontal self-organization among interdependent actors”. Things happening in governance in the West are called a large-scale revolution in the relations between the state, public administration, and society. Of course, this requires its special scientific attention to these processes, which demonstrate qualitative changes in the self-organization of a certain part of the human community. It should be noted that the process of supranational integration of Western states, for example, the EU, is not yet completed. European integration is likely to lead the EU countries to the form of a federal union, but internal contradictions and anti-globalization processes significantly impede integration. Thus, today, national states are significantly limited in their ability to independently solve internal tasks, because their activities are included in the context of the activities of international organizations and government bodies. A nation-state may not contribute to the process of globalization, may

restrain it, however, cannot stop this process²⁶. Therefore, the question of how this problem will be solved is important. It seems that the redistribution of power between state institutions and new economic structures is already underway. Traditional state political institutions are poorly adapted to new realities, so we can talk about the transition to a new historical type of state that has special meta-institutions for their continuous adaptation to new conditions. States are steadily turning from nation-states into member states of the international community. The term “a state is a member of the international community” means the participation of a state in international institutions and regimes²⁷. A member state is an economically more powerful state with broader access to more economic resources of a globalized economy (capital, labor, technology, and the market) than past political associations, with the exception of empires. Unlike empires, a member state is able to maintain the loyalty of its citizens. Cooperative efforts of states reduce their political rivalry and alleviate the problem of state security. Through participation in international institutions and regimes, the state defends its interests and influences the definition of rules and regulations that do not contradict local interests. The states that are trying to preserve autarky and do not seek multilateral relations have difficulties in a globalized world. In the global world, states continue to play a central role in international politics.

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²⁶ I. V. Yakovyuk and S. S. Shestopal, “The sovereign rights and sovereignty of the state: the problem of the correlation”, *Azimuth of Scientific Research: Economics and Administration*, Vol: 4 num 21 (2017): 381-387.

²⁷ A. Y. Mamychev et al., “Archetypal (socio-cultural) coding of governmental organization”, *Journal of Scientific Research and Development* (2016).

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DR. VALENTIN YA. LIUBASHITS / PH. D. ALEXEY YU. MAMYCHEV / PH. D. ANDREY A. PLOTNIKOV
PH. D. SERGEY S. SHESTOPAL / PH. D. SVETLANA V. KACHUROVA