

《論 說》

Globalization and the Formation
of Global Politics

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1 Introduction: Global Debates and the Transformation of
International Politics

With the development of globalization, we are required to construct a global social framework such as global society, global politics (world politics), global economy, global culture, global system and the like instead of state-centric social framework such as international society, international relations, international politics, international economy, the international system and so on. At the same time, we should also deconstruct and reconstruct the traditional state-centric concepts such as security, economy, culture, nationalism, democracy, governance, power, sovereignty, conflict and peace in the globalized society or politics. These understandings are based on an essential condition that the globalization of the world can bring about the fundamental transformation of international relations or politics, resulting in constructing global relations or politics. Certainly, it is possible and necessary to recognize that “we are becoming aware of historical transformations of human society.” Martin Shaw continues to say that “[f]or the first time since human beings inhabited this earth, it is possible to describe comprehensive networks of social relationship which include all people. We have not just some global connections...both the clear outlines of a global society.”¹⁾

It is true of political society as sub-global society. We are having comprehensive networks of global political relations including human beings in terms of globalization. We are subject to have daily lives in global political relationships. However, such a view is not necessarily agreed by all people. Globalization concept is too ambiguous and questionable, so its concept has various meanings and contents. The structure of global production resulted in questing the opportunity cost of being isolated from the world economy. It affected the orientation of Soviet foreign policy in the late 1980s. It seems that the change and end of the Cold War was closely connected with the globalization process.²⁾

Although most people will consider globalization as global widening of all social lives' space, we cannot easily discover a certain agreement "as to how globalization is best conceptualized, how one should think about its causal dynamics, and how one should characterize its structural consequences, if any." Generally speaking, there are three main views of globalization; the hyperglobalizers, the skeptics, and the transformationalists. The hyperglobalizers argue that globalization brings about a new condition in which the disciplines of the global marketplace may increasingly control all peoples of the world. The skeptics emphasize that globalization refers to only the reality of an international economy relying largely on powerful national governments. Moreover, the transformationalists assert that "contemporary patterns of globalization are conceived as historically unprecedented such that states and societies across the globe are experiencing a process of profound change as they try to adopt to a more interconnected but highly uncertain world."³⁾

Which one of those three views should we select as the most proper one of globalization? In order to give answer to the question, we have some problems to be inquired. Is globalization an unstoppable force that will destroy or marginalize the nation-state? Is globalization a singular process

based on a unitary master-trend? Is globalization an umbrella term for a number of processes, political and cultural as well as economic, involving different aspects of social change and leading in a variety of directions? Does globalization have limits? Is globalization synonymous with the history and contemporary power of the West? Does globalization inevitably means homogenization? Or does globalization promote fragmentation? Does globalization exert impact on economic, political, and cultural life?⁴⁾

In short, we should discuss the following questions in particular.

- (1) What is globalization? When has globalization started? And what has caused globalization?
- (2) What is the impact of globalization on the framework of international politics composed of actors and structure, resulting in forming a global framework of world politics?
- (3) What global politics with fundamental characteristics does the transformation of global framework of spatio-temporal terms bring about?
- (4) Does globalization create global problems (conflicts) and global governance (cooperations)?

Undoubtedly, question(2),(3), and(4) mainly depend on question 1),namely, the conceptualization of globalization. Nevertheless, it is not necessary for us to stress on its view. Because to investigate question(2), (3), and(4) can rather make it possible to conceptualize globalization. What is important is to illuminate the question of whether and how globalization transform the structures, the processes, actors, and conflicts (problems) of the global system (the international system). This article aims to investigate such four questions.

2 The Conceptualization of Globalization

What is globalization or the global (globality)? What does globalization or the global mean? What conditions can prescribe or organize globalization? Since, like other concepts such as power, democracy, state, nationalism, regionalization and the like, globalization concept are essentially ambiguous, resulting in having various meanings such as reality, objective, policy, ideal, ideology, process and so on. Certainly, some one may reject the existence of globalization concept or cannot acknowledge globalization as proper concept in order to understand the fundamental condition and intrinsic significance of contemporary world. We should make much of objective standard of globalization in case of conceptualizing it. This means to be the transformation of spatio-temporal condition (time-space) of relationships or interconnectedness of human social lives. That is to say, human social relationships construct the world as a total space. And the former develops in its world. Such a World is composed of (1) the stretching of global social networks, (2) the intensification of global patterns of interconnectedness, (3) speeding up of global flows, (4) the structuralization or organization of global social networks and global patterns of interconnectedness, global flows, (5) the stretching and intensification of consciousness of global networks and interconnectedness, global flows, global organization.

Globalization concept, first and foremost, relies on the extension of global social networks. This is to say that one social activity beyond frontier of one state or society, region may directly or indirectly extend to other society or state, region, resulting in influencing, to great degrees, on them. Put it differently, one decision or behavior in one society or state, region of the world may have influence or significance on people and society of all distant regions of the world regardless of its degree. Every decision or policy, action, movement may construct global networks of interconnectedness and may be affected by its networks. Every society as well as state no longer evades such a condition, and cannot enjoy desirable activities and

lives without having relations to its global network. Since even a small space of social life may have spaceless or distanceless, borderless qualities, the former itself may directly stretch to a global space of social lives. The former is closely connected to the latter. Consequently, the former space may be always influenced by the global space of social relations. That is to say, human lives of any space are more and more carried out in the global space as a total place. Social relations are increasingly being conducted and organized on the base of a planetary unit. So, social space' s position, and particularly the boundaries among territorial states are more and more becoming less central to our lives. "Globalization is thus an ongoing trend whereby the world has—in many respects and at a generally accelerating rate—become one relatively borderless social sphere."⁵⁾

At the same time, the intensification of global social interconnectedness also may construct globalization, and promote increasingly the development of globalization. What is important for globalization is that there are not only the stretching of global social networks but also the intensification of global social interconnectedness. Because, without intensifying global patterns of social interconnectedness, cannot in full support and largely promote globalization process. Beyond the stretching of global social networks, "globalization implies that connections across frontiers are not just occasional or random, but rather are regularized such that there is a detectable intensification, or growing magnitude, of, interconnectedness, pattern of interaction and flows which transcend the constituent societies and states of the world order."⁶⁾ The more intensified and the stronger global flows such as people, goods, money, information, idea, thought, technology, art, life style, food and the like or global networks of social relations, moreover, transactions of political, economic, cultural activities among social life space without border may more and more construct a global and common, single life space. Accordingly, a part of social life space

may directly be linked to a global social life space, and the former space can always be influenced by what the latter global space should be.

One aspect of globalization is the speeding up of global patterns of interconnectedness. Globalization is largely formed and promoted in terms of the velocity of global social interconnectedness as well as global flows of people, goods, money, information, policy, life style, activities and so on. The stretching and intensification of global social networks as well as global interconnectedness may make it possible to bring about the speeding up of global interconnectedness and global flows, and vice versa. This is to mean that activities, policies, movements, and information of one social life space can almost simultaneously or without delay have connection to a global social space, and may impact on the latter. It implies at the same time that the former can always and at once construct relations with a global social space, and may be influenced by the latter. Furthermore, the condition of the velocity of global interconnectedness and global flows can more and more strengthen the extent of extensity and intension of global social networks as well as global interconnectedness, ending in enhancing the extent of globalization (globality).

While it is right and necessary to consider the widening, intensification and speeding up of global social interconnectedness as fundamental conditions, we must make much of another condition, namely, organizational dimension such as the infrastructure of globalization, the institutionalization of global networks and the exercise of power, the pattern of global stratification, and the dominant modes of global interaction.⁷⁾ "In addition to the spatio-temporal dimensions which sketch the broad shape of globalization, there are four dimensions which map its specific organizational profile: infrastructures, institutionalization, stratification and modes of interaction." The organizational dimensions refer to conditions capable of facilitating or carrying, promoting global networks of relations, global social

interconnectedness, and global flows. The extension, intensity, and velocity of global networks, global interconnectedness, and global flows may, to great degrees, depend on and be supported by the situation of complex organizational dimensions. Without the support of organizational conditions, the extensity, intensity, and velocity of spatio-temporal conditions cannot be in full filled up. Henceforth, the more organizational dimensions may be strengthened, the more the time-space' dimensions may be remarkably enhanced. Nevertheless, this is not to imply that for globalization the organizational dimensions may be more important than the time-space' dimensions. Rather the former will become supporting conditions to the latter. But then, it is essential and necessary to assert that global organizational or structural condition can markedly sway movements, activities, policies, and relations with other space of one space.

In consequence, as Jan Aart Scholte puts it, globalization implies deterritorialization or supraterritorialization. Globalization is a developmental process in which the world has become one global borderless social space. Global social space means to be transborder networks of global relations. From the standpoint of supraterritorial relations' space between people, globalization is different from internationalization, liberalization, universalization, westernization. In particular, it is necessary to stress that globalization is not the same as internationalization. Internationalization refers to a process of strengthening interconnectedness among national spaces or borders. Even increased international interdependence may be in essence based on nation-state border divisions. But internationalization and globalization don't constitute incompatible relationship. Both can coexist. In reality, the contemporary world is internationalized and globalized.⁸⁾

Furthermore, we should recognize that globalization suggests the situation of time-space compression of the world. We can also say that the world is now shrinking. Such expressions are not inconsistent with the globalization

of the world. Because one social life space may directly compose a part of a global life space, and may have direct connection with the latter space without distance as well as time. At the same time, it is true of the relationship between globalization and localization.

Meanwhile, in case of discussing another condition capable of supporting and promoting globalization of the world like the organizational dimensions, we must point out global consciousness and understanding, desire of globalization. A increasing accurate recognition of the reality of globalization, a enhanced consciousness of importance as well as necessity to support and promote globalization, and a strong desire to carry out and gain a good globalization, all may lead to realizing increasingly enlarged globalization.

At all events, we can regard globalization as a process constructing global social life space as a single place with networks, interconnectedness, and flows. Put it another way, globalization implies the compression of time-space of the world. Although we can map so the framework of globalization, we should account more concrete content and meanings of globalization. Jan Aart Scholte points to the following qualifications about globalization. First, globalization has not been experienced everywhere, namely, every social life space to the same extent. Certain conditions of globalization cannot come to exist in all places and for all people to the same degree. Second, globalization may not be the single and straightforward process of homogenization, but its process may have heterogeneous or fragmentary qualification. Third, globalization has completely not eliminated the significance of place, distance, and territorial borders in world politics. In reality, international and global relations can coexist, and the contemporary world politics is both internationalizing and globalizing. Fourth, globalization cannot be understood and explained in terms of a single driving force. We must pay attention to a complex of stabilizing, integrating, fluctuating, disordering forces. Fifth, globalization is not a panacea. Globalization cannot

resolve various global problems. On the contrary, globalization has brought about and strengthened many global problems. One can say clearly that there is no automatic link between globalization and emancipation. Nevertheless, what is essential is that in spite of five questionable qualifications of globalization, we must and can in full recognize various fundamental changes in world politics as a result of globalization.⁹⁾

Clearly, the debate of globalization's conceptualization is closely connected to the debate of globalization's causation. What forces could have caused and promoted globalization? In other words, what is driving globalization? We can discover two distinct sets of explanations for its causation: "those which identify a single or primary imperative, such as capitalism or technological change; and those which explain globalization as the product of a combination of factors, including technological change, market forces, ideology and political decisions. Put simply, the distinction is effectively between monocausal and multicausal accounts of globalization."¹⁰⁾ However, it is not necessary and significant to specify one causation of globalization with neglecting other conditions capable of giving rise to globalization. Because globalization has various faces and aspects, and it is the production of a variety of driving forces. While we can mainly stress on one driving force cause, support, and promote globalization, this does not imply that its force itself can do so without relations to other driving forces. Since phenomena of globalization are essentially complex, comprehensive, and multiple ones, to reduce multiple driving forces to one force may be wrong and insignificant. Without doubt, we can emphasize relatively one factor more than other factors. What is important is that we must illuminate comprehensive relationships among a variety of driving forces involving economic, political, socio-cultural, technological, and ecological environmental change. According to Martin Albrow, at least five major ways include "the global environmental consequences of aggregate human activities; the

loss of security where weaponry has global destructiveness; the globality of communication systems; the rise of a global economy; and the reflexivity of globalism, where people and groups of all kinds refer to the globe as the frame for their beliefs.”¹¹⁾

In order to illuminate the issue of what is driving globalization process and of what relationships among various driving conditions are, we may try to construct a global social system derived from globalization process, composed of political, economic, socio-cultural, and environmental sub-systems. And we must comprehensively explain interactions among four sub-systems of the global social system. These sub-systems constitute such another interdependent relationships, ending in impacting on each another. According to Anthony Giddens, globalization has four dimensions: (1) the global information system is the network of symbolic orders and modes of discourse; (2) the global nation-state system constitutes the political institutions, the authoritative resources of global society; (3) the capitalist economy consists of the economic institutions, the allocative resources of global society; (4) the military order is the arena of the normative and of modes of sanction in global society.¹²⁾

In addition to the issue of causation, we must investigate the issue of periodization: when has globalization started? Like the former issue, this issue is also closely linked to the issue of conceptualization of globalization. For to make clear of the periodization of globalization amounts to illuminating proper qualities of globalization. It is difficult to specify a starting time when globalization brought about. The periodization of globalization seems to be always ambiguous and contentious. In the first place, it is natural that since globalization concept itself is not necessarily precise and unquestionable, one cannot easily determine the starting period. In particular, globalization concept may have two meanings: reality and process. From the standpoint of process, for example, modernization or

westernization, capitalization, we can consider the onset of globalization as from the fifteenth century or the seventeenth century, the nineteenth century. However, from the standpoint of reality, namely, production of globalization process, we can point to 1960s or 1970s as the period of completion of contemporary globalization. Indeed, from the standpoint of stressing the formation of integrated markets, some cannot admit globalization itself for the reason that there is not the global economy.¹³⁾ Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye say that globalization implies that something is increasing, and that globalism is a condition that can increase or decrease. "Globalism is a state of the world involving networks of interdependence at multicontinental distances. The linkages occur through flows and influences of capital and goods, information and ideas, and people and forces, as well as environmentally and biologically relevant substances (such as acid rain or pathogens). Globalization or deglobalization refer to the increase or decline of globalism."¹⁴⁾ That is to say, globalization is the increase of globalism. The contemporary globalization, as mentioned above, means the reality fulfilling the widening, intensifying, and speeding up of global social networks or global interconnectedness, global flows on the one side, and organizational conditions such as global infrastructure and global consciousness. And, as Martin Shaw puts it, one can regard the formation of global society having a global network of social relationships of human beings. Furthermore, as Jan Aart Scholte asserts, we can conceive of globalization as the rise of suprateritoriality. In case of determining certainly the period of globalization, we must clarify a certain distinctive condition able to distinguish the contemporary globalization from former old one. On judging from one distinctive condition, we can determine 1960s and 1970s as the period of the establishment of the contemporary globalization.

3 The Construction of Global Framework of World Politics

Today, a social life's environment has largely transformed, and, at the same time, our social lives themselves have remarkably changed at a worldwide level. A fundamental unit (space) of our social lives has up to this point been a nation-state (national society) and the international system constructed among nation-states. In this case, since the international system is the extension of nation-states, and the latter with borders should be may restrain what the former should be, the latter nation-states are, in fact, the most fundamental as well as the largest social life space of human beings.

However, through the development of globalization, state-centric life space has so far transformed to a considerable extend, resulting in constructing globality-centric social life space, namely, a global life space.

So, we must illuminate the scale, content, significance of political in particular as well as social life space, the relationships between a global social space and each individual political life space, the relationships among various levels of political space, as impacts brought about through globalization. In particular, we should answer some essential problem of what impact the construction of a global social life space may exert on a traditional framework of political life space, resulting in transforming the latter. That is to say, The important point to stress is that we should sufficiently investigate the structure and meanings of a global political life space.

"So, instead of having a single 'international system', one would envisage a wide array of 'complex system' of this sort, some linked with and 'inside' each other. Rather than a cobweb, we might see the international system as a 'system of systems' - to some extent like a 'Russian doll' - in which one system can 'opened up' to expose another."¹⁵⁾ However, we can

recognize the cobweb not as a serious of links between state governments, but as a global network. One must emphasize an image of a global seamless world, on considering the existence of a global life space, "[t]he image of a borderless world is a powerful one. However substantiated, it posits a degree of 'one worldism' within which global interconnection assumes a significance for in excess of any residual elements of national separateness. If once extended from its empirical base in the global economy, it has powerful potential to reshape political programmes and normative agendas." A doctrine of human rights may become the most effective example.¹⁶⁾

There are, with regard to the relationships between globalization and a global political space (political system), four main problems: the relationships between a global political space and each individual political space; the relationships among various levels of political space; the structural impact of a global political space on smaller individual political spaces; and the influence of the latter spaces on the former space.

First of all, we have to consider the relationships between a global political space (system) and each individual political space (system) in order to recognize the cause, process, and meanings of the transformation of the old international system framework. Through the process of globalization, a global political space with a global framework of political relationships among various kinds as well as levels of political spaces, or units, systems has been constructed, resulting in making it possible for a global political space to connect itself with all other political space directly or indirectly and more or less. To put it differently, every individual political space may constitute a global political space, namely, a global network of relationships among these smaller political spaces or political actors. Since every individual political space may become constituents of a global political space, and may participate in its space, the former spaces may be

connected with the latter global one without almost distance and time difference.

A global political life space with such a structural characteristic has so far transformed largely international political life space composed of nation-states. Consequently, nation-state-centric political space may occupy a part of a global political space, and may, to some degree, weaken its position and significance having so far occupied. What follows is that globalization could change the political framework of the international system from the state-centric system to the globality-centric system. To recognize the construction of globalized political life space as social change implies a change of the international system. The meaning of a global political life space has the following contents: (1) the standard of activities of social system is to change; (2) if social change means to change of space for action or meaning, and the pattern of behavioral connections or meaning suggest to change, it is these changes that signify structural change of a social system; (3) it turns out that there are some cases when social change can bring about the change of the social system's boundary.¹⁷⁾ This is to mean that when intersubjectivity of a social system's boundary swayed through social change, it might be significant to create a new intersubjectivity to want main social change. From the standpoint of considering social change as the change of a political system (space) as a whole, it means that the stage of political activities is always a global one as a single place regardless of an integrated one.

The global (world) political system can merely suggest that it includes among other various political spaces, political behavior units (actors). The global political system may imply inclusion of the whole space including all political spaces, actors, and political meaning-spaces. To put it another way, it is the global political system that is a complex of all, large or small, political spaces, units of political behaviors, and meaning-spaces.

Accordingly, the political framework of the international system can no longer have enough the connections with other political spaces, and cannot exert great influence on them over regions as well as states. We can by no means understand political phenomena as simply a local or domestic social activity. Most importantly, we should always view political phenomenon as a social activity with a global dimension.¹⁸⁾ There is a good reason for thinking that not only political activities but also their changing processes themselves must be interpreted as worldwide phenomena. Particularly because social changes include a global dimension, as Robert Cox puts it, contemporary historical changes in social life can, at length, signify through being grasped by the standpoint of world order structure.¹⁹⁾

Second, as one aspect of the changing framework of the international system (space), each border(boundary) of various levels of political spaces composing a global political space has no longer a definite line. Since each level of political life space each other may more and more enhance a penetrating quality, one level of political space and another level of political space are directly connected with each other, ending in constructing interdependent relationship' s structure. Since so far every nation-state has relatively been having a definite and solid boundary, domestic political space and international political space might be clearly and strongly distinguished each other, and there might not be any opportunities to penetrate each other. We have generally understood that territorial borders could distinguish political space or political activity on state-boundary from international political space or political activity over its boundary. So, one should reconstruct 'the domestic' and 'the international'. "What this suggests is that the 'domestic' is as much a part of the international system as any abstracted 'structure of the relations between states.'²⁰⁾

Of course, the duality of domestic political space and international political space relies not only on territoriality but also state sovereignty,

state autonomy, state primacy, and anarchy. State sovereign power and authority may perfectly rule their own territorial space. Every state has autonomy able to maintain autonomous governing capability without being interfered from political pressures of domestic political space as well as international space. States have a monopoly of authority over other political counter-powers and their citizens. Moreover, an anarchic world has no authority beyond the sovereign state.²¹⁾ As a result, for state's boundary distinguishing domestic political space from international space to weaken its significance, resulting in promoting a penetrating force between the former and the latter, at the same time, implies the erosion of state sovereignty, the decline of state autonomy, the weakening of state primacy, and the transformation of an anarchic world.

As for every political space, actor, event, and behavior, a global political dimension leads to a losing significance of the distinction between the special framework of domestic political space and international political space. That is to say, the old prevailing boundary, seen as an extremely solid politico-social framework, has remarkably enfeebled its importance. The significance of conventional national boundaries has more and more been eroded by globalization and the eruption of sub-national or non-governmental movements. "There is renewed support for the contention that many of the crucial actors in the world political system are not states but sub-national movements, transnational corporate interests, social movements and regional and universal international orientations."²²⁾

The space of social life relationships has been so unprecedented extensive that we can no longer view world politics as inter-state relations, namely, international politics. Rather we should understand the various political relations as global political relations. Since, in fact, its global political relations compose of diverse social life spaces or actors including nation-states, inter-states relations can construct only a part of global

political relations.

Consequently, to weaken a definite and solid boundary between domestic political space and international political space means to make it possible for a part of domestic one or an actor as well as an activity of domestic society to be directly connected with international political space beyond national borders. To the contrary, a part space, an actor, an activity of the latter space beyond state's boundary have direct relationships with a part space or an actor of the former space without governmental control. Transnational political relations, in other words, supraterritorial relations may construct a global political space. This is to mean that transnational or supraterritorial actors may become main component members of a global political space (system). In short, A globalizing world is a multi-layered and asymmetrical complex of international, transnational, domestic, and local processes.²³⁾

Third, in order to investigate the transformative framework of the international system, one must draw attention to the direct and spontaneous impact of a global political space on other smaller levels of political space. Each level of political space may, to a considerable extent, rely on what a global political space should be, and may always and structurally be swayed by the latter. It is natural that a global structural network of relationships among various political spaces can largely exert on and restrain what every other political system should be. For the structure of the global political system constructed of various relationships among individual political space can control the movements of political spaces as well as the activities of political actors. And then this structure may be supported by their political spaces and political actors. At any rate, every individual political space cannot avoid control and influence by a global political space. With the development of globalization, the more structured a global political space may conspicuously become, the more stronger the impact of its global space

on every other political space may become. Such a condition suggests the compression of space-time of the world.

Fourth, we must pay attention to a contrary aspect to the third condition. Although a global political space may influence on and restrain what other smaller political spaces should be, to the contrary, the latter may have direct connections with the former and may exert impacts or sway what the former should be. For a global political space(system) is composed of various political spaces or actors. A global political space is essentially the production of many smaller political spaces or actors. There is no opposite relationship between the former and the latter. It should suffice to point out that both may fundamentally construct a compatible relationship. We are nothing but approach one reality from two contrary orientations. We can recognize the fact of the compression of space-time of the world from the standpoint of smaller political space or actors. At any rate, the important point to note is that the development of globalization makes it possible for smaller political spaces or actors to construct or influence on, transform what a global political space should be.

Figure 1-1 and Figure 2-1 show such four conditions constructing a global political space (society). And Figure 1-2 and Figure 2-2 suggest the international system. As Figure 1-1 shows, the international system or the international political space can only occupy a part of the global system or a global political space. While internationalization or interdependence among states can refer to the widening, speeding up, and intensifying of international network of relationships, international interconnectedness, and international flows among states, both conceptions are not equal to globalization conception.

We must review internationalization or interdependence among states as a part of globalization despite a large and important one. The former is, to the end, a part of the latter. The enhancement of interdependent

relationships and states may also promote the extension of a global political space. The important point to note that globalization is by no means equal to internationalization, but the latter is, in fact, one aspect of the former. Accordingly, the more internationalization or interdependence among states can become increased, the stronger internationalization may sustain and promote globalization. And transnationalization or supraterritorialization capable of behaving freely beyond national boundary without national government' control also may, to a great extent, construct a global political space. Moreover, that each individual political space (actor) can directly constitute and impact on a global political space implies that units or parts can globalize or universalize, and that localization itself seems to construct a part of globalization. Put it another way, globalization has two faces: upper-down orientation and bottom-up orientation. Both orientations may not be compatible, but compatible. This is, at the same time, to mean that units (actors) can transform the system structure or totality with being influenced by the latter. As a result, it is undeniable that these conditions such as internationalization, interdependence among states, transnationalization, supraterritorialization, localization may lead the world to compression of space and time of the world.

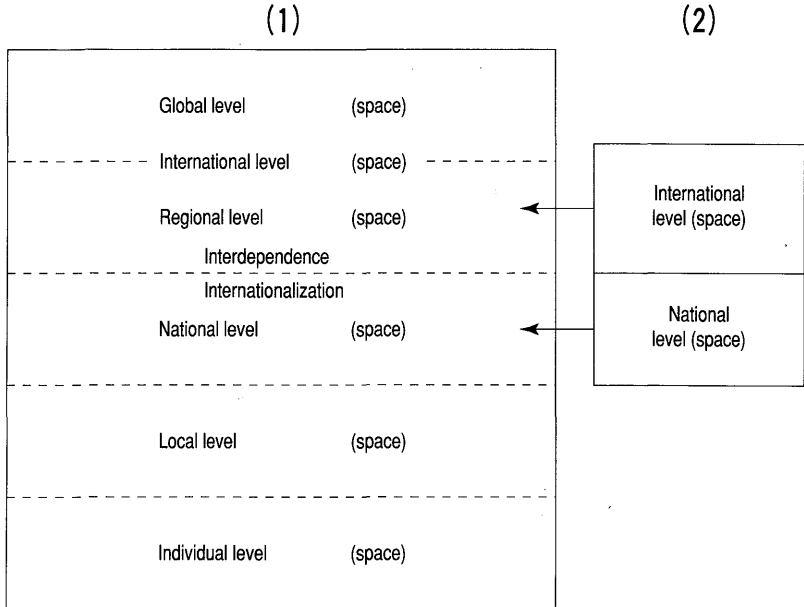
However, we again address attention to concrete qualifications of globalization or a global political space. As mentioned above, globalization has, in fact, various complex qualifications: (1) globalization has not been experienced everywhere to the extent; (2) globalization is not the single (linear) process of homogenization or integrative process of everywhere; (3) globalization has the significance of place, distance, region, locale, time, and territorial borders; (4) globalization may be developed diverse driving forces. (5) globalization is not a panacea.²⁴⁾ Put it another way, "Viewing international relations through the lens of fragmentation in a period of growing globalization reveals two different and conflicting realities." On the

one hand, there is the conflicting system of international relations in which the state remains by far the most important actor. On the other hand, most today's problems are transnational in nature and cannot easily be resolved by states with their own national interests.²⁵⁾ Especially, [t]he end of the Cold War and the process of globalization have affected not only the role of the state in the international system but also the individual state structure. ... [T]he pre-eminent place of states in the international system has been lately challenged from two fronts, are external (transnationalism or globalism), the other internal (fragmentation).²⁶⁾

It is the former principle of sovereignty that can never solve global (planetary) problems such as human rights, the planetary environment, development and inequality, peace and order produced through the development process of the globalization of world. Regardless of the living place of world, "the inhabitants of the planet experience a set of common problems that can be exacerbated by the actions of an individual nation-state. This development represents, at the minimum, a 'nationalization' of global issues, an expectation that national policies must address the common problems of the planet."²⁷⁾

In short, we must essentially recognize that globalization is by no means integrative, single, stable, cooperative, homogeneous or orderly. However, we must understand one reality that globalization constructs a global network of politico-social relationships over all human beings, resulting in being able to sway increasingly our social life. Most important to be recognized is the fact that today social environments including international society which are surrounding us are on the dramatic transformation. We are living in the time of global and profound social change. Everyone almost has an agreed opinion of how a systemic and global transformation should be interpreted. There are three different understandings: (1) a change in power distribution (the most superficial tier of the structure); (2) a great leap forward in the

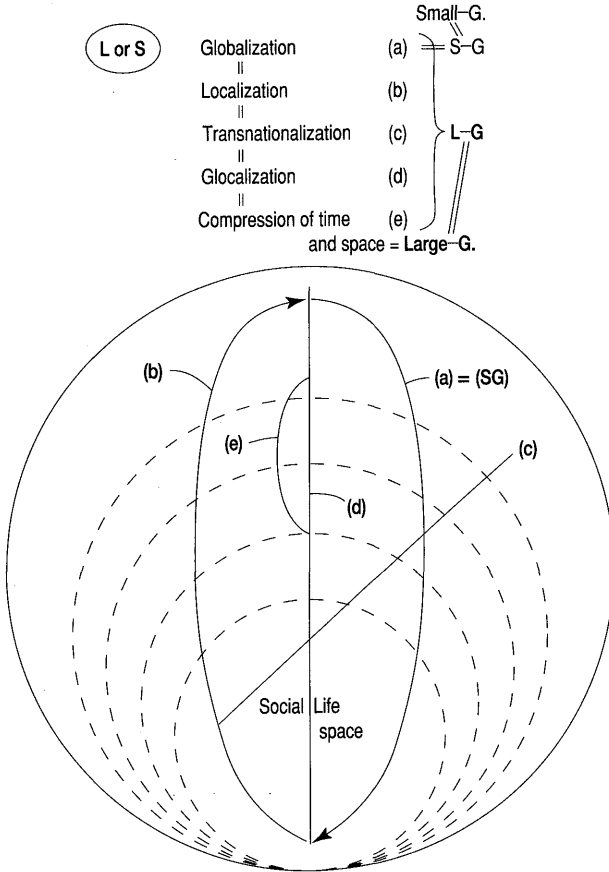
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progressive history of mankind; (3) a revolutionary rather than evolutionary, understanding of change (fundamental disruption in the international relations).²⁸⁾

More generally speaking, according to N.J. Rengger, from the standpoint of the international system or of the nature of international order, there are three views of a change: (1) a qualitative change of the pattern of international events (a change taking place within relatively familiar parameters); (2) the new original major characteristics of the contemporary system (the change from the above mentioned concentration on international order to a concern with world order); (3) a complete change in the

図 2



system rather than the ameliorative prescription of the second view.²⁹⁾ What do we mean by systemic changes?

We must reject state-centric systemic changes. We had better pay attention to the global basis of relationships among various levels of society and a totality of complex global social relations. In case of considering a transformative framework of international relations, one must stress on the need to perceive states as well as inter-states relations as one social phenomenon in global social relations. Through such an understanding, we are to overcome the notion of a state-centric change or of a inter-state relations-centric change. So, social change that links all levels of society one another can be extracted. This is to mean that our daily social life is globalized: social life exists in the globalized context and social life is under the influence of its globalization. In other words, it is the globalization of social life that is the fundamental of international political framework.

4 The Structural Characteristics of Global Change of International Politics

What structural characteristics have the globalized international politics had? If we may define international politics as a global process and enforcement of decision-making over global social value-allocation, contemporary international political system may become globality-centric process of global social-value allocation. Apparently, we have as far had state-centric political system or great power-centric order for a long time. This means that the decision-making mechanism of social value-allocation was mainly dominated by states, power, and national interests. However, it is evident that the international system as great powers-centric system has, in effect, changed gradually. Its transformation has depended on the mode and degree of interactions among actors, the size and structure of political

space, the content and structure of social values, the structure of power-distribution, and the like. Extreme changes of such factors may have naturally led to the change of the international system. We are going to have now the global political system, namely, a global social space, instead of the former effective decision-making for international social value-allocation in the international system. That is to say, the global political system on a global social space is transforming actors' behavior and the relationship-pattern among actors. We must illustrate the causes and process of the transformation of the international system into the global political system.

What structural characteristics could constitute the global political system? What conditions could the globalization of politics create? We can find out the intensification and deepening of interdependent relations among actors with a global size: the multipolarization of global values and their globalization; linkage phenomena between domestic and international decision-making processes over value-allocation; the formation of global patterns of value-allocation; the outbreak of global problems; a growing of consciousness of humankind; the multipolarization of transnational actors, subnational actors, and supranational actors; and a new rule of game.

First, we should point out a global process of decision-making and enforcement of global value-allocation over global social values. In terms of globalization, state-centric process of decision-making over international value-allocation cannot avoid changing. Needless to say, globalization can extremely have exerted a great influence on what states should be, resulting in weakening its function and position in the international system. The establishment of global politics, to a great degree, transforms a fundamental framework of value contents as well as means to realize these values. In particular, states have the common experienced three kinds of changes: (1) there have been relatively rapid changes in national boundaries

constituting the basic units of the international order; (2) many contemporary states seem to be characterized by increasing fragmentation and disintegration; (3) substantial increases in international and cross-national connections and institutions are challenging an international order dominated by monocentric, hierarchical, and unitary states.³⁰⁾

If every state cannot be interdependent one another, the political, economic, and socio-cultural life of every state is difficult to maintain or improve. Any behavior in the system may mutually influence everybody else. The scope of an actor's behavior and the space of relations among actors, through enlarging at the global level, can easily influence other actors, and in turn can be influenced by them. An event in one region or state spreads all over the world, and directly affects other regions or other states, and vice versa. A foreign policy of one state, as it is, creeps into the decision-making process of other states, and has the other process under its control, and vice versa. Regardless of superpowers or small powers, this is true of every state. To maintain individual state's economic development and to guarantee their people's standard of living, every state should, to a great degree, extend its economic activities at the global level, and closely connect them to those of other states. Trade, investment, finance, economic assistance, economic cooperation, technological transfer, the activities of multinational corporations and so on are increasing their degree of interdependent relations. With their movements, people, goods, ideas, and information cross territorial borders, and may penetrate into other societies.

Such effects of transformation of the international system may deprive nation-states of their functions. Owing to globalization, nation-states can no longer monopolize privileged functions. Globalization demands the quest of states' functions as container of states.³¹⁾ This is to say that "[t]he role, power, authority and function of national government is being transformed by globalization. A power shift is underway as political authority and power

are diffused above, below and alongside the state.” This reconfiguration of state power is articulated in several ways such as territoriality, state sovereignty, state autonomy, primacy, and anarchy.³²⁾ Every state, regardless of its power, to a great extent, weakened its sovereignty such as autonomy, authoritative force (decision-making power), independence, hard territorial, supreme governing power, non-intervention, and the like. “Sovereignty is disintegrating. States are less able to perform their traditional functions. Global factors increasingly impinge on all decisions made by governments. Identity patterns are becoming more complex, as people assert local loyalties but want to share inglobal values and life styles. The traditional distinction, namely, foreign and domestic policies is less tenable than ever. And there is growing awareness that we are sharing a common world history.”³³⁾ From the standpoint of the impact on policy-making, globalization dynamics creates turbulence on state (government)-centric policy-making processes.³⁴⁾

No state can pursue its values or interests without relations to and the cooperation with others. As long as an actor takes egoistic actions towards the world, he himself is most likely to be badly hit by such behaviors. The regulative decision-making for global social value-allocation can no longer be monopolized only by great powers, or be swayed by the structure of power-distribution. In short, the global political system means to stretch across space of decision-making processes, with the result of a shrinking a political world. “The notion of a shrinking world contains within it the implication that political action and political processes must be conceived of as a social activity with a global dimension.”³⁵⁾ However, we should pay attention to the fact that while interdependent relations remarkably increase among actors, it has the same meaning for all actors. There is not only a part of high degree network of interdependence but also a part of low degree network of interdependence. There are the asymmetrical relationship-

ps between powers or interests(values) of states. Here we have the problem of whose global interdependence.

It is noteworthy that global interdependence implies interdependence of all kinds of actors including states. However, such conditions do not imply to make little of state's position and function. The territorial integrity norm has by far played and still plays an important part, despite the enlargement of global pressures' penetration into borders.³⁶⁾ "Most importantly, it seems the principle of sovereignty retains a sufficient grip on the thinking of enough political actors to withstand the assaults of the army of images and metaphors deployed against it."³⁷⁾ Every state generally trends to decline and weaken its position and function in the global system, some states can positively apply their policies to global forces, ending in strengthening their position, power, and function.³⁸⁾

Second, we have to suggest the extremely multipolarization of global values. The international system has so far been dominated mainly by decision-making process over national security-value or national interests among great powers. The traditional states system (international system) has developed power politics for national security within its system (center), while its system as such has dominated the periphery (a-Europe) of the world as colony and the dependent. The states system itself as the center of international politics was closely interested in national security in particular under an anarchical system, ending in making mutually great efforts to maintain and strengthen military forces without limits. Of course, although great powers made much of economic and cultural values, their priority was national security. It is the reason not only why the great powers-centric system has not extremely anarchical, but also why getting national security-value was considered equal to getting other values too. The national security-centric value-allocation system has for a long time been maintained. The multipolarization of global values has fundamentally

derived from globalization in other social life spaces as well as the political life space.

Such a condition has remained since the post-World War II. The network of security (military)-relationships has, on a large scale, covered the international system's surface. However, through the globalization of the international system, multiple channels besides security were constituted among various actors including states, resulting in strengthening multiple networks of values. While the weight of national interest-value in the decision-making process of social value-allocation in the international system has relatively weakened, the importance of other values, especially economic values have more quickly risen more than up to this point. Meanwhile, since the international system carries out multi-issues at the global level, it is increasingly important for diverse global issues to be effectively resolved. A security-centric international system has no governing capability any more dealing with proper value-allocation among actors.

Third, so, we must become aware of the increasing linkage between domestic and international decision-making process over global social issues. In other words, we can find out an adequate condition declining importance of the traditional dichotomy between the domestic and the international, or between the inside and the outside space. As noted above, indeed, globalization has as far weakened or wiped out boundaries among all levels of political life space. The globalization of the international system, in reality, shaded off the border line between the international system and the domestic system. The globalization of politics more and more produces linkage phenomena between the former and the latter. Since the internationalization of domestic politics and domestization of international politics is remarkably developing in the global system, the decision-making process of value-allocation of one system cannot move independently of the movement of the other. Overlapping scope between both processes is

growing over all value-allocation processes from the small scale. Ecological pollution shows how an issue can relate at the same time to the individual, the local, and the transnational level.³⁹⁾

Fourth, we have to emphasize the functional and positional decline of the military forces as a means capable of deciding value-allocation in the global system. Through the globalization of the world, military forces by no means become effective and essential. This is especially true of global condition such as the enhancement of the interdependent relations among actors, the multipolarization of international social values, multipolarization of actors, the eruption of various global problems, the partial establishment of the consciousness of humankind, and linkage phenomena between the international system and the domestic system. The nature and structure of the international system has so far been dominated by great powers holding on to large and strong military forces. The military forces are now falling the capability of decision-making for social value-allocation in the global system. The most crucial problem of them is the uselessness of nuclear weapons for all particular objectives on account of having a high capability of mass destruction. Military forces as a whole, including nuclear weapons, have ceased to be effective means to realize political objectives. The failure of the American war in Vietnam and the Soviet war in Afganistan can, above all, illuminate this fact. The use of military forces by great powers against small powers under asymmetrical relationships would entail voluminous costs for the former. The use of military powers might cause resistance of small powers or nationalist movements, resulting in boosting costs. We should point to the role of international opinion regarding the high cost of using military forces. Owing to its high cost, it is natural that a great number of opinions, activities of various international organizations, and opposition-movements should control or resist the use of military forces or the threat of it use.

And with the increasing economic interdependence between states, in particular developing countries, the cost of military forces has conspicuously increased. In case of using military forces, the loss is larger than the gain. Its use might lead to the grave influence on the maintenance of the high standard of living. The high monetary costs for preserving or using military forces are regarded as an important constraint to the effective function in military forces today. In the final analysis, the globalization of the international system demands a new global decision-making mechanism over global value-allocation instead of military means. Nevertheless, regardless of such a reality, military forces themselves have remained a strong force, arms races continue, and a global military system is sustained and reinforced. It constitutes one grave global problem.

Fifth, one must recognize the enlargement and deepening of global structure of unequal allocation over global values. The process of decision-making over global value-allocation is enlarged at the global level, and multiple networks of relationships were constituted as a complex and multi-levels. Today a global value-allocation structure with dominance-dependence structure between center and periphery in the global system has, to a great degree, been maintained and intensified. The center composed of great powers in Europe has for a long time dominated periphery of a-Europe, ending in constructing the dominance-dependence structure of global value-allocation. The latter has been the object of dominance by the former. Since center and periphery have constituted asymmetrical relationships between both, the latter has been eliminated from the process of decision-making of global value-allocation. The development process of formation of modern state-centric system, at the same time, have been the development process of a-Europe's dependence. Although rising nations emancipated from the colonial system could formally have become sovereign states with equal position to great powers, these nations still remain

dependent on center. What is ultimately at issue is that the asymmetrical relationships between center and periphery is more and more strengthened in the global system. It is not surprising that the North-South relationship is in reality the extension of dominance-dependence structure between center and periphery in the modern international society. This extension of dominance-dependence structure also constitutes the most important problem.

Sixth, we should pay attention to global problems referring to global structural incompatibilities of global values among actors left unresolved by the former state-centric international system. We are faced with worldwide problems such as environmental destructions, the proliferation of nuclear weapons, population explosion, the exhaustion of energy and national resources, the North-South problem, poverty, regional conflicts, national-religious conflicts, arms races, refugees, AIDs, drug, nuclear energy, the repression of human rights. These global problems are increasing in number and degree. Regardless of where we live, we cannot escape these issues. Since these become common ones for all states, all regions, all peoples, and mankind as a whole. As long as one state takes one action to seek its own power and interest, those problems will ever deteriorate. If every actor tries to maintain and develop inadequate decision-making in the value-allocation network on a global scale, we may end up in losing our own values themselves. Instead of an actor-oriented decision-making mechanism for global-allocation dominated by great powers or the pattern of power-distribution structure, we must constitute a new regulative decision-making mechanism for global value-allocation from the standpoint of humankind as a whole or a global interest.

Seventh, we must, in part, point to the existence of consciousness as humankind in global decision-making process over global social values. To begin with, the change of state-centric consciousness might have been

initiated by the arrival of the nuclear age. Nuclear weapons can, without fail, drive humankind as a whole to death and annihilation. The use of nuclear weapons is based on a contradictory rationale that national security of one state can be guaranteed by enhancing the possibility of annihilation of all mankind. Ironically, the nuclear era succeeded in bringing about the common consciousness as humankind was forced to coexist together as one fate-community. Outcomes of other global problems also promote and strengthen the consciousness of coexistence of humankind as a whole. The events, crises, social lives, survival, predicaments of other areas and other states are closely connected with those of oneself, one state, and one region. The change of feeling from 'they-feeling' into 'we-feeling' of one global community is steadily growing. The development of information can markedly contribute to the constitution of the situation.

Eighth, one has to stress the multipolarization of actors in global decision-making process over global value-allocation. With multipolarized values, transnational actors and subnational actors, supraterritorial actors as non-state actors seek for values beyond national borders. They have conspicuously appeared in the international system, resulting in constituting today a variety of transnational relations among non-state actors and between transnational actors and state actors. Especially international non-governmental organizations as well as inter-governmental organizations have increased rapidly. Voluminous transnational actors participate in the decision-making process of transnational value-allocation, and constitute a complex of relation's networks composing of value-allocation's behavior by transnational actors and subnational actors.⁴⁰⁾ Moreover, their networks, competing sometimes with one of the inter-state system, have enlarged its size and density in a global space. The state-centric network among states has, on the whole, lost its capability of self-support, and has been affected by the transnational actor-centric actors, state behavior, in the decision-ma-

king process of international social value-allocation has, in fact, been constrained. While it is undeniable that the state-oriented network still remains, a great degree, from now on, its predominance will decrease gradually.

Ninth, one can suggest the changing rule of game of international politics as one aspect of a transformative international system. Zero-sum game has thus far seemed to be dominant. In fact, the games between states have been developed on the condition that the one's gain of value may make it possible to deprive the other of his equivalent value. It is difficult for both to create a compatible value. Accordingly, there are always conflicts among states. Without some cooperating behaviors among them, conflicting relationships among them could inevitably become dominant. But with globalization, every state itself cannot easily and one-sidedly gain its own desirable value. The same thing can say about non-state actors. Since one state constructs a extremely interdependent relationships with other states, it cannot gain its value or interest without cooperating with others. Through various cooperation of actors one another in global games, most actors may not lose their own value as well as a global social values. There may be various cases in which many actors can make it possible to let their values compatible in terms of constituting close cooperations among actors. We can easily discover various non-zero-sum games in a lot of issue-areas. There is no wonder that globalization may largely demand interdependent cooperating relationships among actors in order not only to resolve global problems but also for each actor to gain individual value or interest. Certainly, we can in reality find out still a variety of zero-sum games. In consequence, the global political system, today, has actually two kinds of rule of game: zero-sum game and non-zero-sum one.

5 The Types of Global Problems and These Significances

Contemporary global politics is developing on center of various global problems and global governance aiming to resolve these problems. The promotion of globalization has increasingly brought about global problems unable for the international system as well as states to cope with and resolve properly. The more all states become covered on various global networks of interdependent economy, communication, culture, ethics and so on, the more globalization perfectly demands the reconstruction of priority of the international, security, strategy, and value. Globalization also makes it impossible and inadequate to resolute international conflicts in terms of military forces. For example, at present and in the near future security concept becomes larger and more multiple ones than the former. One cannot distinguish national security from world security on environmental problem in particular.⁴¹⁾

Contemporary global problems have more various forms than the former ones. The problems of international politics have up to this point been mainly security or military problems. Today there are multiple global problems from nuclear weapon problem to social injustice. We can use interchangeably these problems and global conflicts. For we can say that global problems refer to situations or affairs capable of making it impossible to fulfill value or interest which one actor himself want to gain on the global level. Unlike the former conflicts, contemporary ones have the following characteristics: diverse actors such as state, national society, nation, ethnic group, non-state actor, international organization, human beings as actors of conflicts in a global social space constitute conflicting relationships; these conflicts cannot accidentally bring about, but may take place structurally and usually; they are complex ones; domestic conflict and

international one make linkage system without distinguishing the former from the latter clearly. So that, it is understandable that to resolve global conflicts is difficult.

While general conflicts have the limited conflict space between actors, global conflicts have global relationship space of incompatibility of value and interest for one actor. The conflicting relationships between all kinds of actors such as states, group of states, national societies, regions, locales, social groups individuals have a global space without limited borders, are connected with all kinds of conflicting relationships, and influence on conflict-structure of a global social space, and vice versa. This implies that complex network of global conflicts is realistically constructed to a great extent. One conflict in the global political system tends to globalize always.

Global conflict has not only a global space of conflicting relationship, but also a global structural quality. A global quality as well as a structural one of conflict do not construct an asymmetrical relationship, but may constitute a compatible relationship. For conflict to structuralize relies on the fact that conflicts are solidly structuralized on a global social space. Put it another way, global conflicts may be reproduced on conflict-structure. We can certainly say that global society is setting the mechanism able to produce systematically conflicts. Globality and structural quality seem to produce a coin composed of two faces of global conflicts.

In order to understand the essence and mechanism, significance of global conflicts, and to resolve these conflicts, we must illuminate the structural characteristics of global conflicts. As mentioned above, the development of globalization has led to the global extension of political relationships and to the system formation of global decision-making process over value-allocation and enforcement able to promote interdependence among constituents of world politics. The existence of every actors may be always linked with what world politics should be, resulting usually in being influenced by the

latter, and vice versa. Through a global stretch of relationship-network among actors, every actor may constitute complex relationships capable for actors of interdepending or influencing one another regardless of its distance. On such a global complex network of relationships, every actor can no longer satisfy sufficiently his own value or interest without considering properly such a fact. The globality of world politics can, to that extent, restrain definitely not only the existence of actors but also what actors should be. To put it differently, globalization can produce global extension of conflicts among actors. One conflict among actors itself may not be individually and automatically constructed, developed, and changed, but may be connected with and influence on global structure of conflicts and may be swayed and regulated by it. Henceforth, it is not easy for actors to conflicts without being for its structure taken into consideration and being resolved.

The second characteristic of conflict structure is its multiplicity and complexity. Globalization, exerting what value and interest of every actor should be in world politics, has, to a great extent, brought about various values and interests such as economic one, socio-cultural one, ecological environmental preservation, technology, information, knowledge, energy-resources, human rights, identity, ideology, and the like besides value system focusing on security, power, and military forces. Main international conflicts in the twenty-first century are not necessarily constrained in terms of territorial conditions. The threat to global peace and stability may derive more from conflicts within nation, domestic society, or civilization than between great powers.⁴²⁾ This is to mean that globalization can not only promote it in the political area, but also deepen it in diverse areas of economy, socio-culture, techno-information, ecological environment, and so on.⁴³⁾

The third structural trait of global conflicts suggests that domestic

conflicts and international conflicts have closely connected with so that it is difficult to distinguish clearly the latter from the former. Since, through the development of globalization, forces and actors going freely cross conspicuously increase, ending in being deprived of significance of certain boundary able to distinguish the international system from the domestic system. Through enhancing an interlocking quality between decision-making process over international social value and one over domestic social value, to divide into two parts is difficult. The former level and the latter level can influence each other, and still more, both can constitute a linkage system between them. It is what domestic value-allocation should be that may be usually regulated by international pattern of value-allocation. A domestic polity itself cannot one-sidedly determine and satisfy its own value and interest. On the contrary, internal affairs and conflicts cannot stop within national boundaries, may participate in international process of decision-making over international value-allocation beyond border, and may influence on it. As one example of its situation, one can find out the fact that a lot of non-state actors and transnational actors join in the international system, and play an important function. Here it suffices to note the internationalization of a domestic conflict as well as the domestization of a international conflict. So, in order to resolve a domestic conflict, one must take note of the connection with international conflict from the standpoint of conflict linkage. It is true of the resolution of international conflict. There is evidence that values such as national security, democracy, economic development, cultural identity, environmental preservation, technology-information, human rights are closely linked with values of global, international, regional, national, local, transnational, and individual levels.

The fourth point of global conflicts is the decline of the position and function military forces in the process of decision-making over global

value-allocation. In terms of the formation of global conflicts, the multipolarization of global values, the multiple actors, the linkage between domestic process and international one of decision-making over value-allocation, military forces have no longer kept the former effectiveness as means of decision-making over international value-allocation. The more one state has military forces, the more it can gain, maintain, enlarge, international values and interests such as security and economic interests. In other words, the arena of international politics is the stage on which military forces can become the most driving force able to sway international relations. However, globalization has deprived military forces of its position and function in the international system. Rather, we must quest for other causes as conditions able to decline its position and function. Military forces themselves have their own internal reason bringing about declining military forces. In the nuclear era, nuclear weapons has by no means used besides a deterrent function. Moreover, even conventional weapons are no longer easily used in decision-making process over value-allocation. In case of using military powers, its user cannot avoid a high risk and cost including economic cost, resistance by the attacked, or anti-war movement. The more globalization progresses, the more difficult it is for an equality of possessive quality=using quality=effectiveness of military forces. Nuclear weapon's deterrent function itself produces, today, various dilemmas. What is ultimately at issue is that in spite of declining function of military powers, it is maintained and strengthened a high level of it.

The fifth structure of global conflicts is, as noted above, a reality that while globalization has produced many global conflicts, it, at the same time, has even partially brought about some conditions able to solve partially these global conflicts. The partial constitution of human beings-consciousness or a community-consciousness, the establishment of common objectives among actors, and the construction of cooperative regimes on the basis of

their objectives we can recognize without doubt. These conditions even incompletely seek to resolve global conflicts. That is to say, governmental regimes orienting to manage and govern global problems, namely, global governance have been constructing with a worldwide stretch.

The sixth trait of global conflicts-structure is that there is a new rule of game regarding decision-making over global value-allocation among actors. Zero-sum game as game of decision-making over value-allocation among states has so far been dominant. In a globalized society directly connected with individual value and interest, most people may recognize that rather the rule of zero-sum game may result in losing its own value and interest. One must address to the rule of non-zero-sum game able to gain and maintain its own value through making it possible to coexist self-value and other-value. Global conflicts themselves may, on the contrary, quest for the rule of non-zero-sum game. If do so, they can be by no means resolved at all.

The seventh character of global conflicts is that global conflicts have produced very voluminous non-state actors or transnational actors, and made these actors participate in the decision-making process over global value-allocation controlled by state actors in terms of giving them a certain capability. A lot of transnational actors stretching over national borders may become direct actors capable of constructing and developing decision-making process over global value-allocation. Since transnational actors become actors with a certain value, they can promote the multipolarization of values in a global social space, resulting in making the condition of incompatibility of values between transnational actors and state actors complicated. However, the former, in most cases, behaves with an objective to solve global conflicts rather than they directly construct an incompatible situation of values. Nevertheless, multinational corporations and non-governmental organizations must not necessarily carry out a same function.

We can call the situation of incapability of value relating with transnational actors transnational conflicts. Relationships between transnational actors have two faces: conflicting face and cooperating one. In either case, transnational conflicts are one component constituting global problems or conflicts. The development of such a condition, in reality, implies that we today live in the world society. There are a variety of social and power relations organized into nation-states. And we can find out various experiences referring to making lives and behaving across national borders. Integratization of states, societies, and individuals is going forward a fragment. That much, it is necessary for us to grasp global conflicts as a complex composed of international conflicts and transnational ones.⁴⁴⁾

The eighth structural trait is, as mentioned above, that an asymmetrical value-allocation is more and more structuralized on the global level. Generally speaking, this structure is composed of actor A and actor B or collective actor C and collective actor D constituting an asymmetrical relationship. One can easily discover an asymmetrical situation of values constructed by the unequal value-allocation structure in a global society. Global conflicts are essentially derived from global social structure. It is global social structure itself that is the situation structuralized at the global level of diverse asymmetrical values. Globalization may still advance structuralization able to reproduce regularly an incompatible situation of values.

The formation of this conflict structure is not a new phenomena since the Second World War. As the North-South problem suggests symbolically, the prototype of its conflict structure was constructed in the same time of the establishment of the modern international society (Western states system in the seventeenth century. Consequently, contemporary North-South problem is no more than the extension of old dominance-dependence structure, namely, center-periphery structure. Global conflict structures has

mainly two types: as the North-South problem, asymmetrical value-allocation structure; like the East-West problem or inter-developed countries, symmetrical value-allocation or decision-making power of value-allocation.

So, one must pay attention to some more concretely patterns of global conflict. For this makes it possible to extract some necessary and possible conditions capable of resolving these global conflicts. From the standpoint of relationship's content, we can point to four patterns: symmetrical conflict structure, asymmetrical conflict structure, symmetrical-asymmetrical conflict structure, and actor-structure coexisting conflict structure.

The first symmetrical conflict structure refers to the conflict structure that value-allocation relationship between one actor (group) and another (group) constitutes the symmetrical. That is to say, its conflict structure is constituted by nearly equal power holders. There is few gap of value-allocation between actors (groups). They may play games of value-allocation on an equal footing. In spite of a condition of value's incompatibility, non-zero-sum game can, to a great extent, establish, and, in some cases, both also can gain a certain value. It is not the dominance-dependence relationship over value, but the symmetrical value-allocation relationship at the horizontal level. On its relationship both one actor and the other can gain a certain value in terms of performing a status-quo oriented policy. Since the symmetrical conflict structure may construct equal power relationship between actors making it possible for both to get a certain value, at the same time, its structure means the symmetrical power relationship.

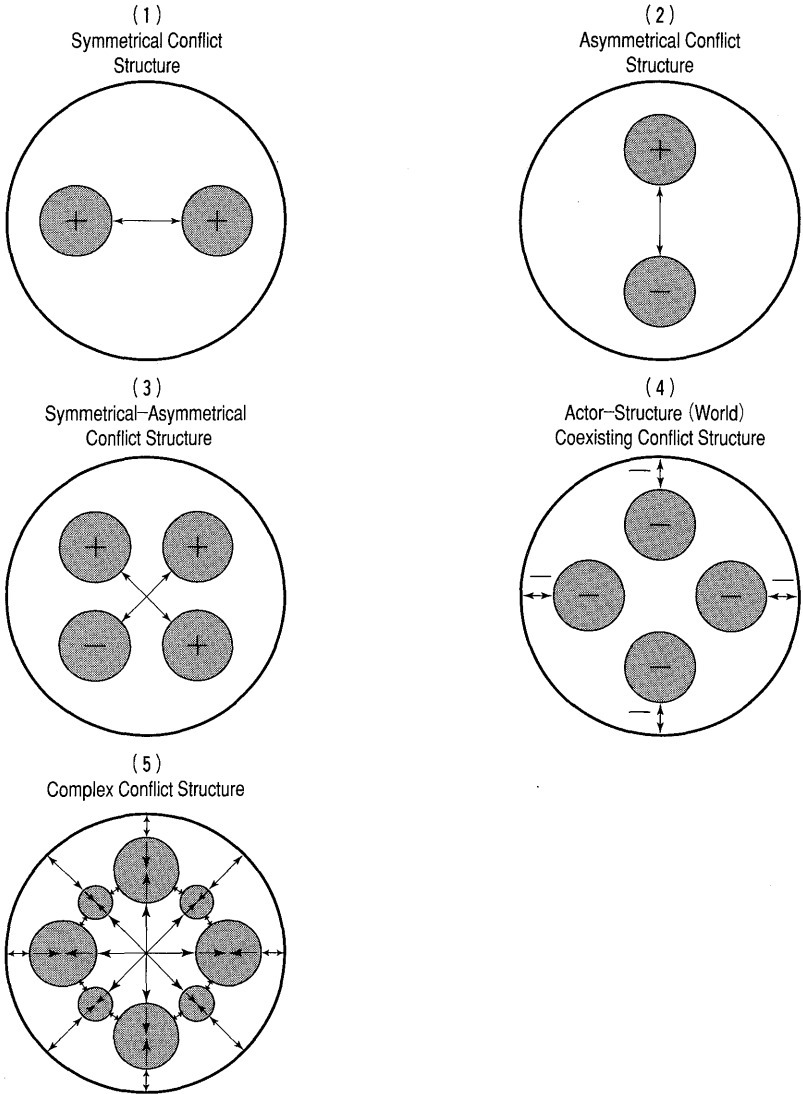
Unlike the symmetrical conflict structure, the second asymmetrical one is conflict relationship structure on which value-allocation relationship between actors (groups) constructs a conspicuously incompatible one, namely, an unequal value-allocation one, resulting in being made up zero-sum game referring to that for one to gain a certain value leads to loss of the other's

value. As the North-South problem suggests, the unequal allocation of value or power may construct the dominance-dependence structure, and operate as a mechanism capable of reproducing the vertical conflict relationship. On this conflict structure for one to gain a certain value may bring about the loss of equivalent value for the other. Since power relationship as well as value-allocation relationship are unequal and asymmetrical, the dependent cannot essentially resist the dominant and has, in reality, no capability to transform its dominance system.

The third symmetrical-asymmetrical conflict structure refers to constructing the symmetrical-asymmetrical relationship of value-allocation between actors. Like conflicts over socio-cultural values such as nation, ethnicity, region, locale, religion, one actor and the other construct an incompatible relationship between both actors, or the former reject, neglect, exploit, or discriminate the latter's value. Meanwhile, in some cases, the former's value and the latter's one may construct a symmetrical relationship, ending for both in gaining a certain value. In case of these conflict structure, what is important is not the content of value-allocation, but an incompatible situation over value-view or identity.

The fourth actor-structure coexisting structure means to be the direct incompatible relationship over value-allocation between actor (group) and a total system structure different from the incompatible relationship's condition between one actor (group) and the other (group) on the global level. Consider, for example, the environmental deterioration problem. It may construct a remarkably incompatible relationship between all actors with on the one hand value and the system itself with value on the other hand, but not between actors. With the development of globalization, regardless of any actors causing environmental destructions, values of actors constituting the world system are enhancing incompatible relationship with the global system's value. Every actor must have the relationship with the

图3



global system. Every actor can individually gain a certain value without connection with the global system. That much, as long as every actor cannot transform the global conflict structure itself, nobody can fulfill its own value. In the final analysis, not only actor but also the global system may reduce or lose mutually their own value. As far as every actor takes status-quo oriented policy, it cannot transform the conflict structure, resulting in strengthening its structure. The first, second, and third conflict structures may be considered as various aspects of the fourth conflict structure.

Such all conflict structures, as figure 1-3 shows, are connected with all ones, and construct interactive relations. There is no wonder that the global conflict structure be closely linked with domestic conflict structure. Since the former constructs a part of the latter, the former may always influence the latter, and vice versa. Because most domestic conflicts may directly construct and influence global conflicts, the former and the latter cannot be decoupled each other. Henceforth, the latter can be resolved without the former's resolution, and vice versa.⁴⁵⁾ In short, all levels of political spaces are covered with global conflict structures.

6 Global Conflict and Global Governance

How can we properly resolve global problems? How can individual actor fundamentally transform the global conflict structures? By what methods and policies can every actor realize security, economic justice, socio-cultural value, and environmental preservation on the global level? From what perspective must we approach global problems and their resolution?

Globalization may provide states and people with not only interests but also disadvantages, problems (conflicts), and disorders. It is doubtless that globalization has so far bought about various global problems, and can

provide states and people with disadvantages, resulting in producing the movements of anti-globalism.⁴⁶⁾ In globalized transnational structure there are social movements aiming to crystallize a global civil society or to realize cosmopolitan democracy, to develop a complicated but self-governed world order.⁴⁷⁾ However, it is difficult for these movements to be realized.

Globalization, as mentioned above, may structuralize various global conflicts, while it may, at the same time, structuralize partially some common consciousness, cooperative regimes and orders among actors on the global level. It is possible for a partial formation of a compatible situation of global values to be realized by the establishment of cooperative institutions or organizations as well as the shaping of common objectives among actors. On the global conflict structures, there is an abnormalized state unable to realize the value both actors want without cooperations between actors. Certainly, we live in a partially globalized world society. "Globalization depends on effective governance, now as in the past. Effective governance is not inevitable. If it occurs, it is more likely to take place through interstate cooperation and transnational networks than through a world state. But even if national states retain many of their present functions, effective governance of a partially-and increasingly-globalized world will require more extensive international institutions."⁴⁸⁾

Although we can understand the necessity to construct cooperative regimes among actors, it is questionable what and how actors can and must quest for these regimes. Generally speaking, we can discover two kinds of policies: (1) one is the status-quo oriented policy aiming to modify partially a global incompatible conflict structure, or to manage and control conflicting situations. And (2) the other is non-status-quo oriented policy aiming to transform fundamentally an existing global conflict structure. It seems little doubt that while both policies by no means construct an incompatible relationship, the latter means to be the most essential

resolution of global conflict structure.

In both policies, there are fundamentally various actors aiming to manage, govern, and resolve global conflicts through cooperations of actors, and diverse forces such as organizations, thoughts, movements, and public opinions aiming to resolve conflict structures. Through removing hard walls between states, national societies, regions, and citizens as well as establishing human consciousness, community-consciousness, and global common objectives, it is possible to weaken and transform an incompatible situation of values. The establishment of cooperative systems on the international level, international institutions, organizations, regimes, social movements, NGOs, international law, international public opinions and the like supporting their cooperative systems, all shape a global network of governance able to restrict even partly actors' behaviors. Regardless of recognition of necessity to realize them by individual actor, in reality, in the global conflict structure, according to the increase of people's demand to states, states should quest for a set of policies unable to resolve properly without cooperating with other states as well as non-state actors.⁴⁹⁾

Since value or interest of every state is connected with other states' value or interest, it is difficult for every state to gain, maintain and expand its own value or interest without considering and making much of other own values. Without recognizing appropriately such a view, every state may result in promoting still more an incompatible situation of value, and vice versa. It is questionable whether actors can realize a certain thought, institution, and policy capable of weakening its incompatibility.

What policies, objectives, or institutions must we look for in order to make it possible to do so? Seyom Brown points to the following: (1) survival of the human species; (2) reduction in the amount of killing and other extremely brutal treatment of human beings; (3) provision of the basic conditions for healthy subsistence to all the world' peoples; (4) protection of

individual citizen rights; (5) preservation of cultural diversity; (6) protection of the planet's basic natural ecologies and environment; (7) expansion of accountability.⁵⁰⁾ And Anthony Giddens, asserting that on the development of globalization states' policy should be more completely integrated with a global perspective, suggests the following five points as fundamental areas having to promote and develop global institutions: (1) global economic governance; (2) global ecological management; (3) the regulation of corporate power; (4) the control of old wars and new wars; (5) global democracy.⁵¹⁾

The most essential issue of policy able to resolve such global conflicts relies on the problem of how for actors to respond adequately and properly to the reality threatening value and survival of the globe as a whole rather than threatening the existence and survival of states. What is important is that we consider the globe itself rather than states themselves as value's subjects. This is to say that state-actors must give priority to global values such as survival of human beings and the fulfillment of fundamental human rights over units' values.⁵²⁾ We can regard global values world interests and global public goods. Global public goods may have public quality and universality of convenience. Most states over a part of states can become beneficiary without eliminating any social groups intentionally, and regardless of present and future, every generation cannot be removed.⁵³⁾

What kinds of methods and organizations guaranteeing concretely such as institutions and policies can we perform? We can point to international organization, international institution, international law, international regime, social movement, international public opinion, NGO (Non-Governmental Organization), multilateralism, regional integration, neo-functionalism, world confederation, world federalism, global civil society, global governance⁵⁴⁾ and the like. They, mutually overlapping, influence the global process of

decision-making over value-allocation and performance, and may manage, govern, or weaken the incompatible value-allocation structure. We can discover some governing principles, behavior-regulation, and procedure of value-allocation capable of making it possible to regulate thought and behavior of every actor. These are called international regimes by Stephan Krasner. International regimes is defined "as sets of implicit or explicit principles, norms, rules and decision-making procedures around which actors' expectations converge in a given area of international relations." That is to say, regimes are composed of four different level's components: principles (beliefs of fact, causation, and rectitude), norms (standards of behavior defined in terms of rights and obligations), rules (specific prescriptions or proscriptions for action), and decision-making procedures (prevailing practices for making and implementing collective choice).⁵⁵⁾ International regimes seek to manage and govern international problems which individual trade, finance, fishery, human rights, energy, refugee, environment and so on may be faced with, and are reflected in trial conquest eliminating practice, insecurity, and marginalization.⁵⁶⁾ Put it another way, regimes are a complex set of rules and institutions through which actors may take governed behaviors. Multilateralism as IMF, G7(G8), NATO, WTO, the United Nations system fulfill their functions, and may arrange relations among governments on the basis of principle able to constitute order of relations among various groups of states.⁵⁷⁾

International organization, international institution, and international law also fundamentally intend to arrange and govern problems among states to be resolved. [T]he global governance concept seems to have an encompassing trend of authority being located in multiple directions. The Westphalian or territorial state system is no more than one form or element of contemporary global governance. Numerous other forms of governance seep through the fabric of global life, proliferating and diversifying. The global

governance concept does not refer to a distinct sphere or level of global life. It is not monopolized in any special organizations.⁵⁸⁾ We must outline three significant conditions in case of supposing the position and meaning of global governance: (1) global governance means redefining sovereignty undermined by globalization. It requires the acceptance of the sharing of sovereignties through the transfer of competencies to local, regional, and global organizations; (2) global governance refers the intensification of international cooperation by means of international regimes and organizations governed by binding rules of cooperation in correspondence to states' reduced capacity problem-solving; (3) global governance implies to become aware that we have vital interests in common, and questing for a foreign policy geared to the global common goods. Under increasingly global interdependences, international cooperation becomes imperative.⁵⁹⁾

In consequence, on considering the meaning of governance in the global governance system, it is necessarily adequate to emphasize that "the concept of governance excludes, by definition, any idea of centralized organization on control. Conversely, it postulates a proliferation of modes of organization, levels and decision-making authorities."⁶⁰⁾ At the same time, it is true of the necessity of construction of global government. The most important point to note regarding essence of governance is that it not only encompasses the activities of governments, but also includes any actors who possess and use command mechanism to make demands, frame goals, issue directives, and pursue policies. For, under fragmented and disordered international system innumerable actors extraordinarily take actions along and across the Frontier.⁶¹⁾ "States from institutions because important interests are at stake. Institutions help realize the benefits of cooperation because they constrain, to a greater or lesser extent, the behaviors of their members. In turn, the greater the risks of cooperation, the more likely states are to act unilaterally or build more hierarchic institution."⁶²⁾

It is a complex of various parts of arrangement and rule, namely, comprehensive governing order that is governance.⁶³⁾ In other words, the performance of the global governance is essential social function for the survival of all human society. Since governance engages in decision-making of interdependence, it attaches importance to the arrangement of complex interdependence among actors behaving to influence individual welfare. Global governance may fulfill functions of the provision of public goods, the arrangement of general elimination, and the satisfaction of necessary conditions for minority.⁶⁴⁾ "If the legitimacy and robustness of institutions of public governance ultimately rest upon their capacity to provide a range of most valued public goods, then public interest and notions of legitimacy will tend to be focused on those institutions that actually deliver core public goods."⁶⁵⁾ Where the structures of international relations beyond national boundaries cannot satisfy human needs, there seems to make the international society uncertain, and to bring about diverse conflicts, resulting is losing states' legitimacy. The legitimacy of state sovereignty over its territorial domain was based on its claim capable of providing various collective goods such as security, internal law, order, economic welfare, and social justice. Today to realize these collective goods are open to question. The force of globalization has made wars for conquest pointless, made it difficult to deal with other types of threats to security, made it less easy to supply other kinds of public goods, and made it more stimulating to enhance the power of various transnational entities.⁶⁶⁾ One may consider global governance as multi-layer framework formal or informal institutional-organizational rules capable of fulfilling these functions. At the same time, we want the structure of global production resulted in questing increasingly the opportunity cost of being isolated from the world economy. It affected the reorientation of Soviet foreign policy in the late 1980s. It seems that the change and end of the Cold War was closely connected with the

globalization process.⁶⁷⁾

Consequently, instead of state-centric governance, globality-centric governance is required in terms of the necessity and possibility of global solving, that is to say, global arrangement. "Governance is ultimately concerned with creating the conditions for ordered rule and collective action. The outputs of governance are not therefore different from those of government. It is rather a matter of a difference in processes."⁶⁸⁾ What is important is that the essence of global governance depends on an effectiveness of international arrangement mechanism not through formal authority of governments.

However, it is difficult for global governance to fulfill function as a mechanism able to transform the global structure of incompatible value-allocation. It is not right for one to consider the development of global governance as the stable one expanding all areas of international life and all regions of the world. Hobbesian power struggle is still existent in the reality of international politics. And various political conflicts are unfolding in a global political space. The world governed by norms is extremely weak.⁶⁹⁾ However, more than anything else, what is ultimately at issue is that almost all components of global governance are developed countries or great powers, and global governance is by no means constructed on the basis of equal relationship among actors in terms of value as well as power. Rather the governance system at present demands for the stronger generally status-quo in order to hold persistently gained value and interest, resulting in negating or making light of the weaker.

In order to resolve global conflicts, it is necessary for actors to transform fundamentally its asymmetrical social structure itself. As long as the global social structure itself can produce incompatible conditions, unequal allocation of value remains unchanged. Moreover, incompatible value-allocation structure can be reproduced. Global conflicts can be resolved only by

structural transformation.⁷⁰⁾ It is important for actors to construct transformation oriented global governance capable of having compatible value-allocation structure as well as symmetrical power-allocation structure. In consequence, global governance should have the framework of governing rule and institution making it possible to demand the largest value and interest to locale, minority, region, nation, ethnicity, state, people under the most disadvantage situation.

As a result, in order to transform the status-quo oriented international politics, every actor should construct necessary value-views able to lead to transformation-oriented world politics instead of status-quo oriented value-views. Transformation-oriented world politics paradigm can be supported totality(world)-centric value-view, cooperation-centric value-view, equality-centric value-view, long time-centric value-view, periphery-centric value-view(bottom-up). It is through the construction of these value-views that every actor may transform incompatible value-allocation structure, namely, global problems.

In short, it is necessary to understand that global governance must have two orientations: upper-down governance or status quo-oriented one and bottom-up governance or non-status quo-oriented one. Accordingly, what deserves to be pointed out is that we must ultimately build a good global good global governance, namely, the latter's governance unnecessary to contribute to a world government. We must search for non-status quo-oriented governance. Global governance should essentially become a framework of governing rule capable, for the weakest and the most disadvantaged of local, nation, state, region, people and minority under global problems and conflicts, of gaining the largest value and interest.⁷¹⁾

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