

The impact of globalization on the main factors affecting States' foreign policies (sovereignty, national interests and national power)

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Abstract: Comparison and verification of foreign policy within conventional approach and the era of globalization, are used in are used in measuring the impact of globalization on foreign policy. In traditional approach, some consider foreign policy as an introvert phenomenon, and others know it as the outcome of systematic factors. However both groups emphasize the separation and segregation of policy to domestic and foreign policy. In globalization era, domestic environment (local, national) becomes global and global environment becomes local. In globalization era, both cooperation methods and domestic and foreign conflicts of the states affect the foreign policy, because interwoven interests and common goals have affected countries survival. This article aims to analyze the foreign policy of different states in terms of sovereignty, national interests, national government, national power and etc. It also tries to show how these affective factors are before and after globalization and how they are influenced by it.

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1. Introduction

New conditions created since the last decade of the twentieth century have led to the emergence of a new situation in various political, social, economic and cultural fields; the collapse of bipolar system , the realization of information revolution , the emergence of new international actors , proposing transnational problems and issues , offering common ideals and goals and interests in domestic and international arenas , and exploiting technical facilities of temporal communication , have made normative and structural changes in global environment and international atmosphere (Jervis Robert.1991) . Globalization is a tangible reality, an undeniable process, and at the same times a controversial issue. There are many definitions about globalization. It is due to its novelty in post-cold war conditions, communications and their dimensions, because globalization is not a one-dimensional phenomenon and involves all individual and collective spheres in political and non-political fields. According to David, globalization is a process which expands beyond the national borders and makes individuals, groups, institutions, and organizations do similar acts or participate in inclusive and cohesive processes, organizations or systems (Held David, Anthony McGrew. 1993). Charles Smith defines globalization as “compacting global social occasions which connect separate areas in such a way that local incidents are formed by the events which happen several kilometers away and vice versa” (Smith,

Charles (2007). After the collapse of bipolar system ant the United States' attempts to establish a new global order, and with the accelerating trend of “globalization”, the international relations and consequently the foreign policy of the states are changing. Globalization has created a new environment around the world and all components of international system are affected by it. However, the nature, form, and the rules governing its behavior are not determined. In another definition, globalization has been defined as: Globalization is different developing relations and ties between governments and societies which form the world novel discipline. Processes through which, events, decisions, and activities in one part of the world might have important implications for individuals and communities in another part of the world (Tehrani, M. 1999). Globalization is known as a process which has affected all domains of human activities such as the foreign policy of different countries. It's obvious that every country is affected by new global changes and processes. This process influences the environment of foreign policy from inside and outside simultaneously. Also foreign policy in globalization era is affected by domestic policy and domestic policy in this era is greatly affected by international system. Therefore communication with the world requires realistic and intelligent foreign policy formulation (Tehrani, M. 1999). Foreign policy is one of the most complicated and deepest issues among all branches of social sciences and tens

and even hundreds of social , cultural , economic , political , historical , and technical factors within political units and in different levels of international system are repetitively or mutually involved in it. In a classic definition, foreign policy has been defined as: “A theoretical basis and a behavioral approach which is held by a government to achieve its interests in relation to other states and international players (Stiglitz, Joseph E. 2002). In other words, foreign policy is a strategy or a series of pre-planned governmental decision-making affairs which aims to achieve certain goals within the framework of national interests in international environment.

1.1. Factors affecting foreign policy due to globalization

Several factors are involved in adopting states’ foreign policy through which policy makers must determine their country’s foreign policy. Some factors which affect foreign policy due to globalization are referred to as follows.

1.1.1. Sovereignty: Studying the effect of globalization on sovereignty requires studying the effect of forces supporting globalization in government. In international relations, often the death of government is mentioned and globalization is considered as the newest cause of government’s death in this old tradition. It is said that globalization indicates the end of independent system involving ruling governments and therefore sovereignty has lost its authority. Due to the process of globalization, national sovereignty of states will actually face some limitations (Oslander Andreas. 2001). Globalization has two consequences for sovereignty:

First, political, social, and economic activities get global domain and thus the distinction in domestic sovereignty is vanished and states become legally equal in foreign relations which is very important in traditional definition of sovereignty. If domestic sovereignty and legal equality of governments are not districted anymore, then the sovereignty must be formed again (Benton, Lauren (2010)). If globalization makes the distinction between national and international affairs vague , changes the conditions of national decision-making, changes legal framework and executive approaches of the governments , darkens the borders of responsibility and changes the institutional and organizational contents of national political issues ,then sovereignty as a doctrine is not authoritative anymore. Second, globalization erodes traditional homeland of international relations in terms of reordering time and place. Sovereignty is tied to national government inseparably as an unchanging issue of time and place. Globalization has had the

greatest impact on the pillar of sovereignty which is a pillar of national government as domestic authority and foreign independence. Several factors are involved in adopting states’ foreign policy based on which policy makers must determine their country’s foreign policy. But in globalization, these factors have changed to some extent. Globalization has changed the concept and the factors which are affecting foreign policy and has also made the scholars in this field think again about this concept and has made foreign policy makers adopt foreign policy based on the new situation.

2. 1.1.National Interest:

National interest is one of the most important key words in political science which involves the most crucial needs of the government. Gvosdev believes that national interest is useful in two domains of decision making and decision implementation. In first domain , national interest is considered as the main factor in determining and assessing foreign policy and in second domain , national interest will particularly justify the national policies and strategies and will comment and criticize strategies of other states and the stance against them (Gvosdev, Nikolas K. (2004)). National interest is considered as the common goals of a society about which governments will bargain. In globalization era, the nature of national interest has changed. According to “Joseph Frankel” in “National interest in future”, the needs and interests of the society are increasingly provided out of the reach of national government and configuration of the paradigm of government-nation is empty inside and its strength is transferred upward to coalitions , regimes and transnational institutions and downward to the regions and non-responsive pseudo-governments as trusts and NGOs. In Fact, national interest is drawn from the interaction between ultra-national, national, and infra-national elements. Globalization has impressed the enduring concept of national interests which is generally the first step in formulating foreign policy. The consequences of globalization, in addition to greatly important infra-national elements, are the emergence of new players with the authority and the performance similar to the state within the arena of international system that have got excellent position. In other words, it is impossible to formulate national interests without considering world concerns; it is necessary that national interests become global (Byrd, Peter (1996)). States’ national interest might change due to modification in one of these levels:

1. Domestic level
2. Regional level
3. International level

In international level, the following elements change the national interests:

- A. change of global values
- B. change of the structure of international system
- C. change of ultra-national regimes

Considering the national interests in the era of globalization it could be said:

- There are other players except the governments determining and providing national interests.
- In the era of globalization, it has become more difficult to come to an agreement on national interests.
- In spite of worldwide changes and the spread of the range of national interests, this term has not faced deconstructing crises.
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3.1.1. National power:

One of the most important evolutions of international system in globalization era is the change of nature and distribution of power. Countries are not able to keep and reproduce national power which is one of the requirements of a proper foreign policy without understanding changes in the nature and distribution of power because power is considered as an element organizing discussion about foreign policy. Definition of power is divided to three categories based on the attitudes on which power is studied. Top-down attitude, bottom-up attitude, and internal attitude. In international relations, typical and conventional attitude towards power is top-down attitude. In other words, power is a relationship between the controller and the controlled. Power means making someone do something which he is not willing to. The highest kind of power belongs to the ruling government which is synonymous with violence. In globalization era, the usage and definition of top-down attitude towards power has declined. Violence, as the factor controlling behavior, loses its usage and legitimacy and will be replaced by monitoring and in this situation, due to the development of communications and related technology; the methods of affecting humans' thoughts and behavior are more emphasized. Generally, there has been a deep change in power; first, power is distinct from violence; second, power has been released from legal and sovereign control. Moreover, in addition to military power as the only source of power in recent years, economic power and informative-communicative power after the cold war have very important roles in national relations and foreign policy.

4. 1.1. National government:

After more than three and a half centuries that Westphalia model of government was

particularly legitimate and was known as the only international system, and with the collapse of bipolar system and the growth of globalization, governments are more vulnerable, sovereignties are more limited, borders are more penetrated, and authoritative governments are facing much challenges. In this condition, government is not limited to a particular geopolitical situation and is not regional anymore; many behavioral patterns (especially economic) do not follow the physical condition of a certain land anymore (Hans J. Morgenthau.1963). This situation makes us think about the concept of government within globalization era because the performance and the nature of government-nation have somewhat changed and international relations have been replaced by intermediate relations and the world of policy has been decentralized. It seems that following new evolutions, and posing novel questions, the modern world requires a new concept of time and place. In Other words, it requires a new concept of political social atmosphere. A concept which does not match with trapping and threatening policy within the framework of national government, because the national government is trapped in various fields. In field of economy, international market and investment specially the activities of multinational firms have crossed the borders of national government, new communicative-informative technology has compacted time and space and information exchange is out of government's control and has spread to national borders. Culture, has witnessed the emergence of formulated identities which has made the concept of nationality beyond the pale that is called as the new identity sources. Moreover, environmental issues and attempts to solve these problems are evident examples of inseparability of domestic and foreign sides in globalization era. In globalization era, the worldwide system of Westphalia has somewhat lost its analytical identity in comprehending global phenomena and a new paradigm is being formulated, although it cannot be called a dominant paradigm yet. Therefore the regional government-nation has faced crisis in globalization era.

Today, globalization wave has largely affected national governments and has made them face new problems in some aspects. Globalization has affected national government in two aspects:

- A. The erosion of economic power of national government
- B. A change in the influence of national government's sovereignty

A. The erosion of economic power of national government:

One of the obligatory and necessary requirements of independent economic policy is the

boundaries, while the spectacular advances in communications and information have eliminated the boundaries which are physical infrastructure of national government's economy. Markets and communities are impressed by each other more and more every day and this matter has gradually reduced the chance of National economy's policy to survive and has ruined the national government's capabilities to control its own policy. One of the most important factors weakening the economic power of national government is determining the structure of international economy system by multinational companies. In this structure which is developing every day, international trades and production are tried. In this economic system, monetary and financial policies of national governments are often under the sovereignty of international financial markets. Also, employment in a country, amount of investment and income all depend on the decision of multinational companies to establish mechanisms of production and management. In summary, national governments cannot make decisions about their economic issues without considering marketing and distribution of global economy and procedures of multinational companies. Internationalization of economy has caused the qualifications of national government in its economic system to be transferred to supranational institutions. This issue is one of the factors which weakens national government. Decisions of World Bank Group, International Monetary Organization, and World Trade organization on one hand, and the current laws of regional cooperation treaties which are made by national governments, on the other hand have seriously undermined decision-making, control and performance of national governments. Therefore, due to this mutual dependency, national governments, in spite of their citizens' willing, have to admit the economic conditions of organizations which are their members and have signed their treaties.

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