

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION.....	4
1. THEORETIC PERSPECTIVE ON STATE TRANSFORMATION	11
1.1. SHORT HISTORY OF STATE EVOLUTION AND DEFINITION OF THE WESTPHALIAN MODEL	12
1.2. GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE - DOMINANT PARADIGM OVER STATE TRANSFORMATION	16
1.3. GLOBALIZATION THEORIES	25
1.1.1. HYPERGLOBALIST THEORY	27
1.1.2. SKEPTIC THEORY.....	29
1.1.3 TRANSFORMATIVIST THEORY	33
2. STATE SOVEREIGNTY IN THE CONTEXT OF GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE	37
2.1. POST-WESTPHALIAN STATE BETWEEN INTERNAL SOVEREIGNTY AND EXTERNAL SOVEREIGNTY.....	38
2.2. LEGAL SOVEREIGNTY AS AN INTERNATIONAL LAW NORM IN THE CONTEXT OF GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE	47
2.3. EUROPEAN UNION– COMMON SOVEREIGNTY OF STATES.....	54
3. STATE TRANSFORMATION IN THE CONTEXT OF GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE	70
3.1. POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION OF THE STATE.....	73
3.1.1. REGIONALISM AND/OR GLOBALIZATION.....	75
3.1.2. GOVERNMENT VERSUS GOVERNANCE.....	80
3.1.3. MULTILEVEL GOVERNANCE	85
3.2. ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION OF THE STATE.....	97
3.3. SOCIO-CULTURAL TRANSFORMATION OF THE STATE	111
4. RELATION BETWEEN THE STATE ACTORS/ NON-STATE ACTORS.....	136
4.1. INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS – A NEW COOPERATION FORM.....	144

4.2. NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS AND THE STATE.....	153
4.3 TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS AND THE STATE.....	156
5. ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL CRISIS – RULE OF THE GAME AND THE SYSTEM OF GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 21ST CENTURY	165
CONCLUSIONS.....	185
APPENDICES.....	189
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	194

Key words: evolution of the states, interdependence, globalization, international system, European Union, governance, sovereignty, economic and financial crisis.

SUMMARY

The transformations that the Westphalian states undergo, after the Cold War, represent a theme of major interest in the contemporary debates, the doctoral thesis study meeting half-way the elaboration of forecasts on the evolution of the states as actors on the international scene, within the conditions of the global interdependence.

A classification of the **objectives** of the current research firstly aims not only at a simple inventorying of the field of international relations or the establishment of a general model to be applied in the case of all actors, but at the analysis of the relations and of those fluctuations and differences whereby certain concepts (e.g. sovereignty) and the different parts of the international system get to the point where they affect one another. In this respect, by an interdisciplinary study, I considered the thoroughness of the significations of the various general theories (the theory and history of international relations, the economic theories, political theories, social, cultural theories), but also the particular ones (the theories of integration, governance, management, interculturality).

Secondly, by a comparative study of the defining elements of the traditional Westphalian states and of the post-Westphalian ones, I set on myself the objective of capturing the undergone (political, economic and socio-cultural) transformations, the projection of the evolution, conducts and characteristics thereof in the relation with other

states, but especially with the non-state actors, within the conditions of the interdependence increase.

Thirdly, I supplemented the theoretic base with the study provided by the economic and financial crisis, as I wanted my demarche to help the verification of the analyzed theories for a better comprehension of the concepts in the academic environment, but also outside it, by the recognition of the characteristics of interdependence in practice and by the establishment of coordinates in the management of problems related to the state evolution, which requires an integrated approach.

All these starting from the fundamental **premise** that the principles of sovereign states continue to shape the international system up nowadays as well, but the Westphalian characteristics of the states and the sovereignty concept are subject to modifications.

Despite the predictions on the diminishment of the role of the state (Robert Kaplan, Zygmunt Bauman, Francis Fukuyama, Jacques Percebois, Thierry de Montbrial, etc.), or worse, on the dissolution thereof (Kenichi Ohmae, David C. Korten, Harold James, Keith Suter, etc.), it continues to represent a driving power in the international relations.

The arguments coming in support of the assumption according to which the state continues to shape the international relations up refers to the “survival” of the sovereignty of the state, recognized by the international law. At the same time, the state represents the main factor for the administration and regulation of the populations and territories of the state, holds political and cultural instruments for the participation in the global governance and economic instruments that are essential for the market regulation: the capacity to issue and apply the economic legislation, the monetary monopole, national banks, customs, tax and control authorities, state reserves, etc., continue to provide the security function. Within the terms of a global order, the state maintains these functions, but the insurance instruments thereof are different.

Arguments for the choice of the spatial and temporal context also need to be provided. The conventional establishment of the post-Cold War moment is validated by the approximate delimitation that the Iron Curtain fall moment provides, the restructuring of the contemporary international system, the passage from a bipolar world to a world of

multiple networks, the appearance of new actors of the international system, the renunciation to the balance of powers, as an ordering principle of the world, in favor of new elements that will govern the interactions between the entities of the system, the globalization intensification and especially the interdependence increase.

The nature of global interdependence in the contemporary international system means that a problem cannot be only economical, cultural, institutional or political. Any of the problems can have the four aspects, and therefore the world is a system of interactions and constant connections between the subsystems thereof, the evolution of the states in reference to these coordinates being a theme of major interest in the international relations.

As regards the **investigation methods**, they take all shapes and sizes, starting from pieces of work with a general character, dedicated to the international system and up to the specialized literature, articles and press, the discourse analysis, as well as the analysis of the conducts and policies of the actors in a given context (case study).

A first phase of the research consists of the study of historiography dedicated to the topic, starting from studies with a general character and reaching up to special pieces of work and special articles.

A second stage envisages the documents issued by various institutions, statistics, impact studies, which could concretely exemplify the theoretic premises discussed in the first stage.

In the third stage, the press of the investigated period is analyzed, especially the profile newspapers and the press releases issued on this theme.

The press dedicated to this problem, the press releases issued on this theme, comprising the opinions of specialists in the field, the opinions of those directly involved in this problem (e.g. the Governments of the member states) constitute useful instruments dedicated to the research. It is still the press, both the general and the specialized one, that provides the favorite themes of this field and identifies certain determinant factors and certain scenarios shaping up the image of the international system.

The declarations and press releases represent the primary sources that the generalist press and certain internet portals take over, resume and explain.

Finally, the actions and conducts of certain state and non-state actors will be monitored in conditions of interdependence, certain decisions which can be contemplated by this research, the genesis thereof, the motivations, and most importantly, the manner in which they get to influence the international system.

Therefore, despite the almost incommensurable horizon that the notion of international system comprises, a review and a monitoring of certain fields of interest are done by this research.

In this context, without abstraction, however, from other defining elements of the international system, I will place interdependence at the basis of the description, explanation and prediction of the actors' conduct, especially as regards the state actors.

The treatment of the state as an actor – object and subject – of the international system and of the main transformations occurred, as well as the placement and recording of the conduct thereof in a certain context therefore requires several **analysis levels**.

The first analysis level, corresponding to *the first chapter*, envisages the conceptual delimitations in order to mark the overall perspective that the representatives of the different schools of thought adopt as regards the state evolution.

In the first part, we find a definition of the Westphalian state according to which the main elements the state refers to are: a group of institutions, managed by the staff belonging to the state, situated within a territory inhabited by a population, geographically determined and passing laws within the limits of this territory, known as political culture.

This definition, accepted by most theorists, historians and politicians, constitutes the starting point in this analysis.

Starting with the 21st century, this model is subject to significant transformations determined by the interdependence increase and recognition.

In the second part of this chapter, I started by postulating the importance of the interdependence as a binding matter of the elements of the international system and as determining factor in the evolution of the actors in the context of the new world order.

At the same time, the global interdependences may be considered cause and effect in reference to the globalization process, involving transformations in the economic political and social environment, within each state and in the relations between the

international actors. Admitting these, we prevent the risk of considering inappropriate the multiple notes on globalization, as a phenomenon accentuating the global interdependences.

In the current paper, globalization operates by means of global interdependences, assembling its entities: state actors and non-state actors.

The configuration and content of globalization will implicitly refer to the global interdependence, therefore, within this paper, the two phenomena will originate from the same economic, political and cultural conditions and from the same structure of the international system in the analysis of the current force relations: the states and the non-state entities.

Subchapter three is dedicated to the globalization theories: the hyperglobalist theory, consisting in the assertion, without a shadow of a doubt, of the fact that the increase of the production forces, of the goods and the development of service will be, within a longer or shorter interval, possible without the intervention of the governments, the skeptic theory, which is based on a conception of the globalization as an exclusive economic phenomenon and the transformativist one, the latter supporting the theoretic position of the current paper.

This theory supported the state transformation under the auspices of the global interdependence and annuls the claimed evidence of the state disappearance in the context of the globalization, by the development of transformative capacities and by the generation of forever new governing modes.

The three types of theories may be ranked in an intellectual line managing to capture, in a multidisciplinary approach, the main theories of the enunciated international relations for the comprehension of a phenomenon that is so complex and controversial, as the state one.

The second analysis level (chapter two) is focused on the sovereignty transformation in the context of global interdependence and raises the problem of the state in a new perspective within which it exercises its sovereignty in a common framework, along with other states and other non-state actors.

This chapter reveals the fact that sovereignty is a concept which was subject to essential modifications, which received new elements and determinations, but which

continues to characterize and maintain the dynamics of the state in the contemporary international system.

Under these circumstances, the state projects its existence between the two representations of sovereignty: one within the borders of the national state (internal sovereignty) and the other of representation of the state sovereignty in the context of global interdependence. The latter will be generically referred to as “external sovereignty”.

The state with all its prerogatives continues to be considered a legitimate actor, exercising its authority in the international environment, inserting its interests along with other actors and manifesting its will by means of the sovereignty. In this case, the state cannot waive the sovereignty, but it can only make it subject to modifications and adjustments determined by the new external context, this being a manner of expressing and articulating its interests with the other actors and, by no means, one of imposing its will.

At the same time, the international law becomes more and more preoccupied with the protection of the fundamental human rights, which results in a diminishment of the sovereignty in the Westphalian sense, in favor of the responsibility of the state of protecting its citizens. Consequently, the state authorities are responsible for the providing of the security of its own citizens.

In the last part of this chapter, the European Union provides us with the clearest evidence on the sovereignty reorganization, by the renunciation to the Westphalian model in favor of a joint sovereignty of the states. The accent is thus shifted on the sovereignty of the interdependence. The states remain sole holders of the legal (judicial) sovereignty at international level, but they delegate certain competences that have been exclusively of the state so far, to international institutions, regional authorities or non-governmental actors, in order to participate in the challenges and the solving of the global issues.

Consequently, sovereignty in its current form does not mean the surrender or the disappearance thereof, but the sharing (pooling or distribution) or the reconstruction thereof on other coordinates. The surrender of sovereignty would be equivalent, in this case, with the disappearance of the state as an organization form, which is an impossible fact, whereas the sovereignty sharing implies the recognition of the interdependence relations, fact which is more and more proved at the beginning of the 21st century.

Chapter three envisages the state transformations: political, economic and socio-cultural, all in an integrated approach.

The identification of the main types of transformations of the state will start from the premise that no taxonomic repertory can be validated without the revealing of the changes in the state sizes, of the genesis thereof, of the motivations, of the manner in which they get to be specified.

All these in an integrated approach, since the states participate more and more in the global government, by the partnership with other state or non-governmental actors. It covers most aspects of life, including the political field, the one of the economic, cultural and social activity.

The first subchapter of this part is based on the interpretations provided regarding the globalization term and the regionalism /regionalization one.

On the one hand, this chapter raises a debate regarding the two terms: the regionalism which primarily refers to the political initiatives favoring the intra-regional commercial connections, with which interdependence is also, in many cases, associated, and the regionalization, which represents a phenomenon created by the market forces.

On the other hand, though a polemic rose between the two terms: globalization and regionalism/ regionalization, claiming that the spreading of the regionalism is sometimes considered a counter-argument to globalization, it is generally seen as an aspect of globalization.

The resulting conclusion is that the position of the state has changed, at the end of the 20th century, being burdened by the interdependence processes, allowing a state to reach its goals only by means of the cooperation with other states and with the other non-state actors, both at regional level and at global level.

Regarding the political transformation of the state analyzed in this chapter, the current demarche has attempted a comparative study between the two components: government and governance, with the purpose of crystallizing the repositioning of the state on the current contemporary context

Thus, the passage from government under the form of political control of a centralized state to governance is determined by the participation of the states to the processes of global interdependence, which, as noted earlier, admit the presence of other

actors to the global governance and the recognition of common problems requiring a coordinated resolution.

This generates the multilevel governance, the European Union being once again the laboratory which allows us the punctual debates and the evolution regarding this concept.

The project of the new type of state transcends the territorial borders in order to participate in the new regional or global networks, in order to constitute in an active level within the multilevel governance, along with the supranational level and the subnational one and in order to develop its transformative capacities within the global interdependence.

In the economic field, the last decade of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century marks the beginning of a new phase entitled the “economy without boundaries” or the “global economy”, characterized by the existence of technical and informational transfer flow at the planetary scale and in which the national economies no longer represent an ideal model and come to the point where they are a part of an interdependent global economy.

This implies a complex process, both of a quantitative nature, but especially of a qualitative nature, the current paper focusing especially on the latter.

The reality indicates with a great abundance of evidence that, from the economic perspective, the state has suffered most transformations, in the sense in which the national economies inserted more and more in the global or regional structures and its role on the international scene was supplemented by non-state actors, some attempting, in the vision of some specialists, to undermine the role of the state, but most of them pleading for a long-term partnership. Consequently, the new economic project that will take place will have to take into account all these transformations, the state thus becoming an organic wholeness in continuous transformation, both in its external (global) environment, and in its own instruments.

The socio-cultural transformation marks a new approach of citizenship and of the state identity, whereby the state must articulate with the new international evolutions, and the national identity with the global identity. The arguments exposed in this subchapter prove the fact that the new intercultural environment must have the guiding principle “unity in diversity”, supported by the participation of the civil society to the global governance, and by no means the consolidation of the nationalist or isolationist practices.

The states should thus acquire the orientation and vision that would allow them to fructify the opportunities provided by the globalization, by the transformation of the national values into competitive advantages.

Chapter four renders the evidence of the complex interdependence, in which the state performs its activity both in relation to other states by means of the international or intergovernmental institutions, and to the non-state entities (nongovernmental organizations, transnational corporations). This chapter is not dedicated to the taxonomic report of the various international institutions, NGOs or CTNs, but tries to capture the coordinates of the cooperation in the contemporary international system, the complexity of the international agenda and the accomplishment of the points on the agenda thereof in the management of the interdependence effects.

In this chapter, I underlined the fact that global governance is not understood only as the formal institutions and organizations whereby the rules and norms governing the world order are (or not) elaborated and supported - the state institutions, the intergovernmental cooperation and so on and so forth – but also those organizations and pressure groups – within multinational corporations, traditional social movements, the plethora of the nongovernmental organizations – envisaging objectives that are relevant for the transnational regulation and authority systems.

Thus, knowledge of the manner in which the relations between the states appeared and developed within the international organizations, in the relation between the state and the transnational corporations and, last but not least, between the state and the nongovernmental organizations support the central thesis of this paper, that of the state transformations and repositioning on the international scene.

The last chapter, considered the case study, considers the current economic and financial crisis and allows us to reconstitute the puzzle parts of the international system, providing us with a “hot” analysis.

On the background of the accentuation of the interdependences, the economic and financial crisis reflects most obviously the evolution and development of the economic environment in terms of the state – market relation.

In the context of the current paper, it is interesting to observe the manner in which the actors of the international system, under the pressure of the economic and financial

crisis, the states on the one hand and the financial markets on the other hand, attempt to consolidate their role and support their own vision, vision which, in many cases, is not a common one.

The specific evolutions of the crisis period revealed tendencies proving that the interdependence level is the axis around which the most effervescent visions on the future international system take shape.

Thus, despite the fact that the economic segment teethes as the dominant paradigm of the international system, wherefrom the specificity elements of the – economic and financial – crisis, the current situation reveals transformations that are as deep as possible. Some analysts of good repute claimed them as validity elements of the own theories, others ascertained the appearance of new variables, to supplement the enunciated theories with.

What deserves to be underlined is the fact that the system of global interdependence at the beginning of the 21st century proves an effective dynamics, which claims for a new convergence of the conceptions and actions. This convergence should be supported on several common convictions of the various processes of interdependence: an economically and socially sustainable development can be provided by the conjugated action of the state and of the market, the change is made in stages, gradually, in respect of the ethic rules and by the active participation of the citizens, the balance must be a real and not an artificial one, supported by the state, the market and the citizens.

Such a conviction implies a double process: the justified intervention of the state in the economic processes, the development of instruments for the society reformation, for the social protection of the population, but also for the economic increase and the places of employment, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the acceptance by the state and the encouragement of the actions of the market, on which the task of forecasting, appropriately managing devolves, especially preventing the future economic and financial crises. All these, by the obtaining of legitimacy from the part of the civil society.

Consequently, the market needs the state and the citizens as partners and vice versa, the pursuing of the consensus, of the coordination and efficiency needing to find its place in all the fields of social life, not only in theory, but also in practice.

Finally, the prospectus of the doctoral study has, as a purpose, the validation of an appropriate framework regarding the new global order and the definition of an international agenda, wherein the states have the capacity to anticipate and manage the changes, participating thus as active actors of the international system.