# Globalization and International Relations: Actors Move from Non-cooperative to Cooperative Games

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#### **ABSTRACT**

Globalization has various aspects which affect the international relations. It increases interdependency, so causes a lot of changes in the international system. Before the globalization, within the international system, international actors used to play individual rather than the collective games. But after the globalization, regarding the interdependency between the nations, the collective games will increase. So, International players will move from non-cooperative to cooperative games.

**Keywords:** Globalization, international relations, international system, noncooperative game, cooperative game.

One of the most basic issues discussed in the academic circles for a few recent decades is the issue of Globalization. Globalization in its literal sense is the process of globalizing, transformation of some things or phenomena into global ones. It can be described as a process by which the people of the world are unified into a single society and function together. This process is a combination of economic technological, sociocultural and political forces (Croucher 2004). The term of globalization has only become commonplace in the last three decades, and academic commentators who employed the term as late as the 1970s accurately recognized the novelty of doing so (Modelski 1972). Globalization is very often used to refer to economic globalization that is integration of national economies into the international economy through trade, foreign direct investment, capital flows, migration, and the spread of technology (Bhagwati 2004). This issue regarding to its expanded dimensions can create a very vast transformation in the

human life. So, this issue has been considered intensively important and has been repeated in the literature of social and political sciences (Krasner 2001, 2) and it is attempted to be interpreted all of its impacts from all sides and corners. And this is our main question that we are trying to answer it. What type of changes has globalization created for human being? In this way who agrees or confronts the globalization, has attempted according to his view point and his proficiency to reply to this question.

One of the discussed areas is the impact of globalization on the international relations. Although all human beings live in separate and different societies, they aren't separated from other societies, either. During the history of human being, societies have been dealing with each other in different ways and have formed all kind of relations. Hence, according to these relations and proportions the international relations have been conformed. So, in the conditions which the issue of globalization is debated, there is a question which I want to refer. What kind of changes do the international relations have on behalf of the impacts of globalization?

In relation to the different dimensions of globalization, and the variety of subjects and issues of international relations, the survey of globalization impacts on the international relations contains a very vast and expanded discussion. In this paper with a glance at the game theory, we attempt to discuss on the impacts of globalization upon the international game players. According the framework of game theory the environment and atmosphere of international is the scene of players who are playing with each other. These players are the international players (Allan and Schmidt 1994).

The essence of game theory is rationality. According this theory international actors are wisdom players. They play whit calculation of theirs benefits. So, their decisions and acts are rational decisions and acts, and their plays are rational plays to achieve the goals (Seifzadeh 1997, 191-210). The way these actors play, form and direct the international relations.

During this discussion we are attempting with a sharp glance at the impacts of globalization to interpret the globalization impacts on the international players and through this way we are going to identify its impacts on the international relations.

## What Do We Mean Globalization?

Globalization has been presented in different and various definitions, such as globalization as an idea, globalization as a pattern or project, globalization as a

process of human being's history, globalization as a probable future, globalization as a situation, and finally, globalization as a trend (Nahavandian 2007). There aren't one and single definition about the term of globalization. Everyone has seen it in his perspective. So, there are different opinions about it (Salimi 2005). Jan Aart Scholte (2000, 15-17) has argued that at least five broad definitions of 'globalization' can be found in the literature.

Firstly, globalization as internationalization. Here, globalization is viewed as 'simply another adjective to describe cross-border relations between countries'. It describes the growth in international exchange and interdependence. With growing flows of trade and capital investment there is the possibility of moving beyond an international economy (where 'the principle entities are national economies') to a 'stronger' version - the globalized economy in which, 'distinct national economies are subsumed and rearticulated into the system by international processes and transactions' (Hirst and Thompson 1996, 3).

Secondly, globalization as liberalization. In this broad set of definitions, 'globalization' refers to 'a process of removing government-imposed restrictions on movements between countries in order to create an "open", "borderless" world economy' (Scholte 2000, 16). Those who have argued with some success for the abolition of regulatory trade barriers and capital controls have sometimes clothed this in the mantle of 'globalization'.

Thirdly, globalization as universalization. In this use, 'global' is used in the sense of being 'worldwide' and 'globalization' is 'the process of spreading various objects and experiences to people at all corners of the earth'. A classic example of this would be the spread of computing, television, etc.

Fourthly, globalization as westernization or modernization (especially in an 'Americanized' form). Here, 'globalization' is understood as a dynamic, 'whereby the social structures of modernity (capitalism, rationalism, industrialism, bureaucratism, etc.) are spread the world over, normally destroying pre-existent cultures and local self-determination in the process.

Fifthly, globalization as deterritorialization (or as the spread of supraterritoriality). Here, 'globalization' entails a 'reconfiguration of geography, so that social space is no longer wholly mapped in terms of territorial places, territorial distances and territorial borders. Anthony Giddens (1990, 64) has thus defined globalization as 'the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa. David Held et al. (1999, 16) define globalization as a 'process (or set of processes) which embodies a transformation in the spatial organization of social relations and transactions - assessed in terms of their extensity, intensity, velocity

and impact - generating transcontinental or inter-regional flows and networks of activity'.

Globalization should be understood as a multi-pronged process, since deterritorialization, social interconnectedness, and acceleration manifest themselves in many different (economic, political, and cultural) arenas of social activity. Although each facet of globalization is linked to the core components of globalization described above, each consists of a complex and relatively autonomous series of empirical developments, requiring careful examination in order to disclose the causal mechanisms specific to it (Held et al. 1999).

These are various definitions about globalization which have been presented. My understanding of globalization is compatible to the latter definition. In which globalization is as a trend and process of the far past and is continued to the present time and will be continued in the future, too. Along this process all the phenomena and social problems of human beings are being changed from the individual, racial, local and national into global ones. In this process the human being lives are more related and dependent on each other. Subsequently, instead of racial, local, and national different societies, there will be conformed a single and united global society. In this global society, all the people have memberships and have a dependency and concern toward it (Ohmae 1990a). So, with cooperation and collaboration they attempt to remove their needs and the difficulties of global society which can be removed (Keohane and Nye 1977, 5-35).

With the definition presented here, the specific changes will appear in the globalization process which are such as: (1) the removal of the borders which separate the societies of the human beings, (2) fading away of racial, local and national issues and replacement of these with the faithfulness to global issues instead, (3) the appearance of global citizenship instead of national citizenship, (4) the association of all human beings in societies together and the expansion of communication and the contact among these societies, (5) the formation of global cultural and the promotion of common values accepted by all the worldwide people, (6) devaluation of racial, local and national institutions because of the importance of all the global and transnational organizations and institutions, (7) the formation of international general laws and the empowerment of global organizations, and (8) appearance of global phenomenas and issues. These changes are not confined to specific areas such as political or economical ones. But it covers all the fields of human being's life. Therefore, as the result of globalization process, it contains all the human being life dimensions and causes their transform and changes. One of these areas is the field of international relations.

## The Definition of International Relations

Human beings are living in different and various groups. But according to sociability of human being, it is necessary to have relation with others. This kind of need has caused the relation not to be confined to the people and individuals who are living beside each other in a human group, but also they attempt to relate with the other individuals and the people who live in other groups. Such human groups in far past of the time were as the very small communities like tribes. Their relations appeared as the relations of intertribal. But in the modern time the human groups were conformed as the national units. During this period the relations between the national units caused the appearance of the international relations.

International relations, represents the study of foreign affairs and global issues among states within the international system, including the roles of states, intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and multinational corporations (MNCs) (Kaplan 1962, 4-20). The international relations are series of global issues and relations which are among the nations, states and organizations with the framework of international system. With regard to this definition, international relation has been explained in the framework of international system. According to the system theory, international relation has acts like a system. Kaplan (1962, 4) has argued that in the international relations are an action-system.

With due attention to the current of international relations in an international system, these forms of relations have the special essence according to the international system. Therefore, in each period and according to international relations get form with specific essence which is different from hereafter or beforehand of it. Kaplan (1969, 47) has explained that at least six models of systems can be found. With due attention to six factors it is possible to study the international systems completely. And with due attention to these six factors the essence and form of international system are identified. Which is possible to determine the difference of an international system to the previous ones. These six factors are:

Firstly, the international players. Regarding to the international players, they are the units which have the main role in the international system and have some kind of activities which form the international relations. From the far past time all the states have been recognized as the international players, but with the great transitions in recent centuries, little by little, organizations and individuals have taken their places in the scene of international area and as players they have taken roles. Even though the states are recognized as the main players (Krasner 2002, 8-48).

Secondly, the structure of international system. The form of power distribution in the international system could identify the structure of international system. In the nineteen and the first half of twentieth centuries which included the structure of the balance of power. In this structure the power had been divided among the European powers. But in the second half of twentieth century the power had been divided into the two East and west blocks. The USA and the previous Soviet Union were two main powers in that time. The structure of international power could be different form (Waltz 1979, 80) for example unipolar, bipolar, multipolar, hierarchical and global (Kaplan 1969).

Thirdly, the boundaries of the international system. The boundaries of the international system determine the limitations of actions and the impacts of the international system. It may seem that in a system the boundaries be confined to a continent. But a system may have expanded borders which expands it to the whole globe. In this system all the area of activities and impacts are global. And are not confined to an area or a continent.

Fourthly, the essence of players' relation. The essence of players' relations can determine the type of a system in an economical essence. The international system's formation, direction and its fading away internationally become in the form of security essence. Therefore, in promotion to essence of relations of international players, the international system may have the specific characters.

Fifthly, the current rules and laws in the international system. In every system, the players follow the current rules and laws of inside the system. These written or unwritten rules and laws which govern over the manners of all the players can determine their directions. They are the agents which recognize one system from another. In a system it is possible the players to follow the pervasive and throughout laws. But in another system it may seem the laws can't be pervasive and throughout, and the players only obey the specific and limited laws.

Sixthly, the current implements in the international system. The usable implements in every system are the factors through which we can study the formation, fading away and essence of any system. Therefore, one of the main factors in studying the international system is the current implement. So, in relations to other players and achieving the targets, the players use force, such as weapons or diplomacy and dialogue. These implements can identify the direction and function of a system (or regulation). Anyhow with the aid of studying these implements, we can find out the changes and promotions in the international systems.

# The Impacts of Globalization on the International Relations

With the definition of the globalization which presented, we can survey and determine the impacts of globalization on the international relations. With due attention to these conditions which the international relations are moving toward them in current framework of an international system, any changes and promotions in international relations can change them.

To determine the impacts of globalization on the international relations, we should survey the six determiner indexes of the international system. With due attention to what was brought up as the globalization, we can foresee the intensive impacts of globalization on these six factors. So, the process of globalization causes the change in the international relations. The changes which globalization causes are such as:

Firstly, the divergent of players and the appearance of global players. With regard to the process of globalization the international players will change. During the previous centuries the states were the only players at first, and then they became the most important international players. In the process of globalization the new players are being activated. Besides the new organizations (inter-governmental organizations, non-governmental organizations, and multinational corporations) and international and global institutions appear alongside of the states . In a few cases they replace the states, or the international non-governmental organizations and global organization that usually can disregard the states (Berton 1999).

The most visible characters of new players are their collective, multi-national and global characters. On the contrary the nation-states emphasized on the national interests of a nation and they attempted to make individual decisions to pursue their own targets. But the new players pay much attention to the interests which different nations take advantages of them, and they attempt with cooperation and collectively to pursue their targets (Ohmae 2002, 208-210). With activation of new players, the role of states and governmental players becomes limited (Ohmae, 1999b, 3). The character of new players in the form of collective, multinational and global forms, causes the loss of their validation about their old type of games.

Secondly, the changing in structure of international system and the distribution of power in different centers. The other impact of globalization is changing in structure of international system. Structuration and create a new structure is one of the most important impact of globalization. Robertson (1992, 61) has argued that we can not understand globalization, whiteout regard to structuration. Until the globalization period, The power was centered in specific areas. Although the power had the aspect of military.

With the process of globalization the power in the global level went out of the hand of limited members of the states and was distributed in different centers all over the world. Meanwhile the concept of military power was reduced. And the intellectual, cultural and social dimensions and social dimensions of it was out standing. With these two changes, the situation in which only one or two super powers to exist and the others have to obey them begins to change. With changing in power concept, the different canon and institutions of power would be activated and affected. With the distribution of power the superiority and sovereignty would be removed. And a type of equilibrium of power would be conformed. The result of this situation makes conditions in which cooperation and collective decision making about the issues of human being society and human being interests would be more important. The situation in which the competitions are limited and cooperation are enforced.

Thirdly, elimination of limited borders and globalization of boundaries. The other impact of globalization is the elimination of limited borders which makes the global boundaries of international system in all dimensions. Before the twentieth century the borders of international system was limited and confined to the continents. After the twentieth century gradually the borders of international system changed into global ones and a world system appeared. Wallerstein (1974) has described that:

A world-system is a social system, one that has boundaries, structures, member groups, rules of legitimation, and coherence. Its life is made up of the conflicting forces which hold it together by tension and tear it apart as each group seeks eternally to remold it to its advantage. It has the characteristics of an organism, in that it has a life-span over which its characteristics change in some respects and remain stable in others. One can define its structures as being at different times strong or weak in terms of the internal logic of its functioning.

Therefore, impact of international system (or regulation) weren't confined to a continent or two, but also it became global. But whatever it was, the international system in its own had limited boundaries and its members were limited in the boundaries. Although the impacts of international system was global, the field of action and the players of the international were confined. Only few of the players (super powers) had the vast and expanded of area action. The process of globalization causes these limited borders to be faded away and be removed. Therefore, not only the impact of international system becomes global, but also with elimination of these limited boundaries, the area of action elements and players become global. Thus, practically the absolute global system is conformed and its area action and its impact become global (Ohmae 1990a).

Fourthly, strengthening of the global rules and laws. During the previous years the states and governments mostly with the emphasizing on national rules and laws could govern their affairs. Before the appearance of the impacts of globalization processes they emphasized on their national interests. The laws with the aim of acquisition of national interests are collected and executed. So, each country and nation had various laws different from other laws (of other nations) and on basis of those they could act. The contradiction and conflict in nations, actions were the natural result of doing according on those different laws.

The impact of globalization is enforcing the gradual general and global rules and laws, and replacing them with the national laws. By the result of this process, the nations have got out of depending on national laws and are attempting to adopt their own laws to global laws. The result of this process is conforming the global laws which are collected according to collective interests of human beings.

The conformation of global laws which are acquiring all the collective interests of all human beings, can uniform all the behaviors and activities of global people. This issue removes all the contradictions and conflicts which were appeared as the result of acting according to different laws. Beside these cooperation's which include the execution of the laws. They can enforce the collecting interests of all human beings, too .

Fifthly, the change of essence of international system. The essence of international system in the past was mostly military, security and political. Because of its indicators and its military, security and political elements could determine the compatible relations among the players inside this system. The change which after the globalization process takes place, is this; the military security and political essence of relations among these players fades away. And economical, social and cultural essences conquered their domains. Therefore, we can mention that the international system in the process of globalization finds and gets the economical and socio-cultural essences. In these conditions, the economical and cultural elements and indexes can determine the relations and the appropriateness among the different countries (Ohmae 1990a, ix).

The consequences of these changes make the players get out of this security and political atmosphere, and enter the atmosphere of economical and cultural one. In this atmosphere most of the transforms are under the social and cultural conditions rather than states. So, this pyramid of influential over the decisions making becomes upside down. In the past, all the decisions were from up to down. The states made the decisions and the people and the social groups were obligated to obey them. But after globalization, all the decisions will be from down to up. Social trends in the national and international levels made the decisions and the states obligate to obey them. It means the socio-cultural conditions influence over

the decisions – makers and made them obey the social and cultural conditions. While these conditions increase the role of non-governmental players and collective games, on the contrary may confine the role of national-state players and their individual games, too.

Sixthly, the movement of implements and the replacement of software instead of hardware facilities. The other impact of globalization is that the implements used by the international players would be changed. In the atmosphere of before globalization, with due attention to security and political essences in the international system, the players mostly use the military implements and political talks. Because of the change in international system essence, consequently the process of globalization, the economical and cultural implements replace the former implements.

This transformation and replacement of the implements in the international system has the special impacts which cause the enforcement of cooperations. Because of their usages and their applications of these implements through cooperations they get no results. Even though they might be collective implements. It means their applications and their impacts are collective and multi-dimensions. Therefore, the transformation of these implements tend to reduce the individual actions. The players are persuaded towards the collective activities, too.

With the changes which are the outcomes of the globalization, in the international system, totally the international relations might be transformed. After this type of transformation, consequently the new players will come to scene who intensively for obtaining the victory are depending on the other players. In this way its international structure would be transformed, into which there would not be any core powers among them. Of course the power is distributed among the distributors separately. The confining boundaries of the players in the international system are fallen and broken down. In this way all the players beside each other in a unit and without confining boundaries can do their activities. So, they can play the games perfectly. The confined laws are global and they can cover the whole. So, all the players are obligated to adopt themselves with them. The essence of international system becomes economical, social and cultural. And consequently the change in the economical and cultural implements can replace the military and political instead.

### Conclusion

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With the help of these changes, the international players are intensively depending on each other. This type of dependency is not as the same as a vanguard and his follower, but also it is as the dependency of the elements of a united body. It means all the elements have the united interests and they might pursue the united goal, too. Because of this dependency, the members' interests are accessible only through their cooperation with each other.

In this situation, there is no individual interest or target, but all the interests are concentrated and accumulated. So, there is no access to any targets and interests through the individual activities. Therefore, the individual game would have no result. Even the most powerful players can't pursue their interests individually. The most apparent example of this is the game of USA in Iraq. While the USA's assumption was this game to be one-dimensional and individual one. Because of this assumption the USA attacked against Iraq. But, it encountered the different problems. The USA put a step towards the revision of its diplomacies and attempted to activate the other players in Iraq, to solve the crisis of Iraq through the cooperation and collective games. Therefore, with the changes, which are the outcomes of the globalization, the collective games are paid much attention to, and the players in the collective games together attempt to pursue their targets. This transformation directs the international players from the individual games towards the collective ones.

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