Globalised democracy **Attila Fábián**

I. INTRODUCTION

I think that we have to take into reconsideration the question of the future of democracy. A lot of problems got raised through the development of the Euro-Atlantic civil democracy. The principle of democracy as a modern-western society turned into a market based business-policy. Its main values are the freedom of choice and that the individual can submit himself/herself to the norms of society. In that case the freedom and the order will be the two elements of problems of democracy. In this democratic order situation the power of authority will be the main value. In the case of individuals, the main standards will be the following: normative, autonomy, legal suvenerity. Of course, this democracy-theory is optimalized and utopist. In the XX. Century the method of democracy got ambushed of power conflict or finance-oligarchy.

The perspective of democracy should be analyzed together with the social functions, cultures and regional methods (like for example Islam, Middle-East, South-America etc.) Is the Euro-Atlantic democratical eco-social culture capable for the eastern or southern folks? Is there any international example, as the western civilization? Should we let this to be the foundation of the third millencolin?

Some of the researchers and experts think that there is no way to a planetary spread of the western civilization. Maybe the ideal solution would be that, if the totally different cultures and different civilizations would make a consensus. But sadly the situation doesn't look like this nowadays. Confrontation is more likely prevalent.

From an other point of view (analyzing from the side of globalization) the democracy getting empty. The harmonization of the global government and the effective democratic respect is the biggest challenge in the next few years for the experts.

I would like to introduce the following questions about the democracy during my work:

- What is the meaning of democracy in the function of globalization, and what should it be?
- Is the international democracy achievable?
- What are the main terms, conditions of a more democratic order?
- "Whom" is democracy belonging?
- Are the international democracy and its limits good and achievable?

II. Theory of democratism

The theory of democracy was always helpless if it had to define its own borders. The two sided opposition, I mean the public and private and the outlander and domestic interest, was always a topic for the discussions. The experts of democracy did not tried to get involved of the different governmental methods. The different democracy methods shoved off from eachother after the cold war, but at the same time they examined the possibility of a cross-border democracy, this is how the transnational (global) democracy theory got developed.

A lot of difference happened in the method of globalization in the XX.th Century. That questioned the effectiveness of the democracy and shrinked its territory. In the liberal democracy the experts combined the incapacity with different factors. These factors showed the social agitation, the decadent governance, the split of the society. The economic globalization recreated the tension between the transnational enterprises, global markets and democracy. The effectiveness of the

autonomy got into danger in this situation where the best operated governments looks weak. The weakening of the different democracies became into a global issue.

The theory that says that all the citizens are participating in the governance of their country, failed. All country and society needs political background that is ready to lead the fate of the population. The answers to these challenges coming from the civil sector. The global association led to the international infrastructure of the society. That led to the activities of NGOs and lobby organizations.

The democracy should be defined form different point of views. I mean here the national and international, global and regional levels. The globalization is changing the frame of the country functions. The international democracy is still over the national democracy, it is not changing them at all, because of the theory of subsidiary.

II. 1. Discussion about the transnational democracy

These discussions handling about the democratic multilateralism and cosmopolite democracy, about the international representational democracy. These discussions trying to define the transnational democracy and trying to identify the different normative that is necessary to achieve effectiveness. They are trying to define the basic theories and structures that are needs to develop a more human economic order. In this economic order the interest of the people are more important than the interest of the government. Maybe the multinational democracy is achievable next to the principles of globalization.

II. 1. 1. Democratic Multilateralism

The democratic multilateralism and the transnational democracy are the same in a functional way. They are urging the build of an international, opened and respected multilateral organization. The international institutes become a field of the carry of different interests. They are functioning as a key political organization where the consensuses the decisions are made.

Because of the disparity of the governance the democracy gets the prisoner of the interests of capital. We should not let to injure the interest of weak people among the interest of the stronger ones. The equality of exercising of interest need to be done. The democratic multilateralism was achieved only in the West. The transnational democracy can be effective on the level of national government

II. 1. 2. Cosmopoiltan Democracy

To compare the democratic multilateralism and the cosmopolitan democracy we can see, that the cosmopolitan democracy is dealing with the structural and political objects that are needed to the democratic governance between nations and internationally. The followers of the cosmopolitan democracy are preaching the two sides of the democracy of politics, because they are trying to recreate the democracy inside the state, they trying to spread it on the public sector and on the state sector also. In this case the transnational democracy and the national democracy is more likely definable as a complementary theory. The cosmopolitan democracy is trying to make a system of democratic institutions and nations, regions and global networks. The democratic autonomy is the middle of this model. The basics of this democratic autonomy are different and depending from the style of the society and states. There are no requirements for the development of the global government or super-state, but it is dealing with the problem of a global and split executive system. The cosmopolitan democracy is making a hierarchy from the local level to the globalized political

governance. This requires a regional, national and local suvenerity. The different levels need different authority and local government.

To achieve the rebuild of democracy, the basic requirement is that the routine of democracy have to implement into a wider range of society and into the life of civil organizations. According to this there is a need of strengthen of democracy from outside. The regional networks have to exchange the local territorial isolation. The global areas can develop into a transnational network only in this way. We can achieve the democratic autonomy as a political background.

The center of the cosmopolitism is the individual, and its liberal thinking. It does not dealing with the fact that the society is it that is shaping the individuals and their interests. So the democracy can develop only that way, if the democratic society got developed first. It is questionable how can the jurisdiction work in between the layers of different political system without any conflict. And also a good question is that how can this system be effective enough?

II. 1. 3. The democracy that is based on mature transnational decision-making

The experts of the democracy that is based on mature transnational decision-making are dealing with the problems of the existing government, and the need of its democratization. So there is not a need to develop a totally new system, people have to develop the already existing system to get further. Some of the democrats are dealing with the affect of the transnational society on the developing system that is controlling the political discussions and the operation of the government. They are actually trying to find out the principles of a democratic, transnational public sphere. These principles are for example the following: participation, impulsive governance, the right to have a voice on the position of interest. The basic rule of the transnational democracy, that the legitimacy manifests itself through the consultation.

The theory based on mature is trying to develop a network which is directed through its members thinking. This leads to the statement that the members are working for a transnational public sphere. In this sphere there is a need for dialogues between the institutions of government and them. To find out the public interest there is a need for finding out the mature interest and information of all stakeholders. This theory has to be separated from the liberal-pluralism democracy theory, which is thinking that a harmonization between the interests of citizens and the structural interest is more important. The stakeholders have to have the right of have a say in matter, but at the same time they have to ensure the governance that it is right all the time. The citizens think that a government is democratic till they have a say in matter. To decision-making has to make and clear these allegoric borders.

The difference between the democratic policy and emancipist is in the diversity of social movement like: feminism equality, peace campaigns. These are in front of the government. The war against the global institutions is a precursor of the new, developing political system. This kind of new political system is based on the results of critical public movements that are saying that only a centralized political system can ensure the safety.

The democracy based on decision-making can forget about the problem that the cultures and languages of the different countries are different. That can occur an block of the development of transnational public sphere. The mature based democracy poses a lot of problems, like allocation, the moderation of taxes, safety problems. These problems are seriously connected to the world-politics.

II. 3. Transnational democracy: is it abuser or desired?

There are a lot of critics against the followers of transnational democracy.

The anarchy is the biggest problem against the achievement of absolute power, the realist of politics say. But there can be some society in between the countries. In global terms the public order has a promiscuous fulfillment only. There are always problems caused by the power. In this objects there is not a big feasibility to a development process for a new democracy system. A new democratic system will operate well only if there is no conflicts caused by power. The international safety is a stage that is made by the strongest sates.

If the theory of transnational democracy would be good, it won't operate well in the political and ethic way. There is an opposition in the theory between the effective national democracy and an international/ cross-border democracy. This problem is coming from the situation that one person's decision has an affect on others life. So the other democratic rights are limited.

Without effective guarantees there is a danger of transnational democracy that it is opened for the easy-crude operated intervention. It can abuse the rights of national minorities. The biggest problem is that there isn't any way how the transnational democracy can be forced on geographical or international society systems. Because of this some of the countries that have better economy can destroy the equality in the transnational democracy.

There are not so many supporters on the level of poor people and in Africa, Asia or Latin-America. This is a distraction of attention from the biggest problems like AIDS, starvation, poverty. The poor people are not only those who do not have money or food, poor people are those also who does not have any representation of interests.

The development plan of UN (UNDP) is dealing with the most serious problem: can the globalization have a human face? The biggest problem is that nobody knows how we can represent the interest of the population with the capital of the world and with the Word-market without destroying our environment. The democratization of a word-governance may lead to a more distinct power of capital. The huge environmental disasters and global inequality not can be solved with transnational democracy. We need strong and effective organizations that are able over-criticize the interest of capital, and the welfare of social democracy will be ensured in a global level.

III. The practice of democratic order

III. 1. The democracy in the net of globalization

The global integration is followed by the neoliberalism. Most of the economic consultants are getting into the branch of political leaders. The basic thesis is the following: the market operates well without the intervention of power/state. Deregulation and the control of trade and capital will lead to a system that is not controlled by state. The only thing that is important on the market of telecommunication, banking, insurance, and software- development is that nobody has the chance to break away from the law of supply and demand.

The turbo capitalism that is spreading right now all over the world is destroying its foundation, the operational state and the stability based on democracy. The older system is falling down faster than the new one is getting developed. The neoliberal economists and politicians are preaching about the American model to the World. But the biggest destruction, failure of the population located in the United States of America. There is a huge range of crimes and the costs of the jails are bigger than the cultural budget. More than ten per cent of the population is living in secured tower blocks or in secured towns. The Americans spending two times more on armed security, than the state spending on the police force.

The protestation of losers are reaching only their own local government, but not reaching the State government. On local level the politicians can not do anything to help the citizens. But, if the states and countries can not do anything against the crimes, environmental pollution and against the power of media, than the democratic state loses its legitimacy. The democracy is taken prisoner of the net of globalization.

There are a lot of people loosing their jobs and social safety without paying any political price for it. The leaders of concerns and governments are happy with the global integration, because it is the biggest effect with the fewer wages. The competition for the worldwide effectiveness opens the door for the power.

IV. Reconsideration of democracy

The history of democracy is standing by the reconsideration of the theories of democracy. It is depending from the data of the history. The experts started to work with the following topics: like how necessary the transnational democracy is or how traceable its development is. They are trying to find out the power of transnational and global power.

There is a serious academic and political discussion where the different experts trying to develop new theories of democracy. These theories eventuate different global and regional (from the EU to the IMF) effects on the economic order. These theories are ensuring the solution for the challenges of the globalization and the democracy of global and regional governance.

Of course, these arguments are not convincing enough for the skeptics that are thinking that the transnational democracy is utopist. This kind of skepticism thinks that the "healthy" political thinking and the political life can come true only in an environment where there is a place for utopist situations also.

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