

Multi-polarity and Global Leadership

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Abstract

Contemporary world policy does not seem capable enough to address urgent global problems and to prevent the emergence of the new ones. As a result, injustice and inequality aggravate in the world scale. Progressing crisis within Western civilization has created new waves of conflicts in the Euro-Atlantic area, as well as in other regions of the world. Meanwhile, globalization, economic regionalization and growing multi-polarity have opened new development possibilities for non-Euro-Atlantic macro regions and civilizations. The article compares different models of globalization, where each of them attempts to adopt its own scenarios for global development, and achieve leadership on global scene. But despite such ambitious pretensions, global problems of humanity are still ongoing and aggravating, due to inflexible, archaic, bureaucratic decision-making processes. Moreover, in the context of globalization, unsustainable world politics becomes a transnational problem.

Keywords: models of globalization, civilizations, sustainability, multi-polarity, world politics.

Introduction

Contemporary world system creates more problems than it solves. There are a multitude of pretensions for global leadership imposed by different states, macro regions and civilizations. However, efforts to build well-balanced international cooperation framework cooperation have constantly failed. There is also a constant change in world power hierarchy. De-democratization processes within Western civilization have created new waves of crises in the Euro-Atlantic area, as well as in other regions of the world. The interdependence of global and national crises has become deeper and more unpredictable. The efforts of world leaders to tackle some of the problems rarely go beyond political rhetoric and hopeless agreements.

So, the need to rethink current global and local processes becomes more relevant and urgent. However, the reconsideration, which is based on old categories, formats and mechanisms, does not seem capable enough to solve contemporary global problems, to address current global challenges and to prevent the emergence of the new ones. And this is a fact - we have not been ready to manage it. For that reason, the global system needs a deep conceptual update based on the recent needs of the humanity.

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The research arranged in a logical sequence, where first chapter is dedicated to the macro regions growth and global leadership issues; and the second is devoted to the analysis of civilizational interactions in the context of globalization. Therefore, the goal of this research concentrates on two key issues:

1. World balance of power: origins and consequences of the Euro-Atlantic crisis. Macro regions in the global system: difficulties and opportunities.
2. Civilization-based models of globalization: is there any efficient one for present developments? How national interests transform under the influence of globalization?

Methodology

It utilizes an integrated approach to analyse two thematic issues. Comparative method helped to highlight characteristics of different models of globalization. Meanwhile, the systemic method was used to investigate system of international relations and its basic elements, as well as to define the interaction between them within a global whole. Furthermore, the civilizational approach served to study different models of globalization and to analyse some conflicts in contemporary international relations. It was determined rising polarization of differences between civilizations can cause conflicts and initiate serious confrontations (Huntington, 1997: 21-27). The author of the clash of civilizations theory, Samuel Huntington, predicted that in the XXI century a new world order will be formed, which would not be based on ideological confrontation - as it was in the XX century - but on the inter-civilization one, with interreligious feature¹. These findings were taken into account in this article, but stressed that nowadays there is an internal conflict within these civilizations, and it is the biggest challenge that modern international system faces.

Finally, the application of civilizational approach together with globalist approach, to complex research of large-scale global issues, helped to reflect a panorama of growing interdependence of countries and civilizations within a single global system.

¹ S. Huntington identified some regions-civilizations that distinguished by different history, language, culture, traditions, and, what is most important, by religion. Among them: Western; Latin American; African; Islamic; Sinic; Hindu; Orthodox; Japanese; Buddhist.

I. Global Leadership and Grown Multi-polarity

a. The Euro-Atlantic Crisis

The information revolution actualized, strengthened and exacerbated the problems of global inter-civilization relations - interreligious, interethnic and intercultural dimensions. Migration flows diversified and became one of the most difficult challenges of contemporary globalization. Asia, Africa, Latin America and the new post-Soviet democracies have begun to defend and reaffirm actively their own interests, traditions and culture on the international arena (Bilorus, 2013: 6).

In the meantime, what has become increasingly clear today is the failure of the experiment to “export” the universal model of democracy as conceived in the Western civilization to another. Democracy is a quite abstract concept, which makes it difficult to have the same interpretation in various civilizations and cultures of the world. Democratic regimes are still very different even within the Western civilization itself, which fact prove the absence of a single, final, clearly regulated model. Format of the democratic regime has different adaptation in different civilizations, because every culture has its own historical background, traditions, customs and religion. Therefore, it is incorrectly to consider Western socioeconomic model as the best or universal. In fact, we can see the hard times of deep systemic crisis began for the West (Bilorus, 2014: 4-5).

The European Union and NATO were especially successful initiative when united against the common enemy - the Soviet Union and the communism advancement towards West. However, being on the edge of the economic, political and cultural development, both the United States and Europe have made no efforts to hold their status as world leader. But achieved success do not lasts constantly, and its positive inertia is not eternal. Therefore, the extended EU lost its original civilizational homogeneity, and all efforts to harmonious assimilation were failed. Nowadays, the common enemy of the West – terrorism – destroys the EU’s unity. We can observe the absence of consensus between the EU members concerning migration and security crises (Vimont, 2016). Meanwhile, the emerging contemporary challenges of the XXI century every time become more dangerous, hence require a responsible, long-term approach to its solution. Moreover, Sustainable Development Goals² encourage joining not only the Western civilization, but the whole global human civilization for the common good and survival for all.

² See more: <http://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/sustainable-development-goals>

However, it is always easier to fight against something bad, than for something good, especially when the results of this fight depend on those who live very well now.

Ten years ago De Vlieghe and Vreyman (2006) described one to one the financial collapse of the European socioeconomic model that we see today: "Europe's present social model is unsustainable because it is based on robbery of future generations... (it) is built largely on credit to be paid back by its own children". Europe lost its time and did not use the period of unity, and now the EU model do not stand contemporary challenges neither in the economic, nor in the social or political context. The lack of political coherence, a multitude of geopolitical errors and strategic blindness; the strengthless financial system; the uneven distribution of resources among member countries; and also failure to manage progressing migration crisis are almost dissolved transnational unity of the EU (Brzezinski, 2013: 126-128).

Every region of the world has its own special features that must be considered and respected, because globalization is not universalization. On the contrary, global relations have given a new impetus to the national interests of each state that are unique elements of the world's landscape. Thus, for the other regions of the world it is better not to follow the Western imperfect example, but to learn from the mistakes of others and to form an authentic model of development with regard to its own specifics. In case of emerging model's effectiveness, powerful states will not be tempted to impose their own reforms and conditions. Instead, cooperation will be transformed into partnership. Given the nature and form emerging risks and challenges that appeared before global humanity, mutual cooperation seems the best way to make international relations sustainable. Otherwise, we will have huge mutual losses (Ibid.: 183-184). However, it still sounds like utopia.

b. Asian Alternative

The format of European foreign relations with other regions of the world is losing to the Asian one. For example, if we look deeper on the Euro-African relations we will have an impression that enormous Africa was made to keep Europe that three times smaller. This neo-colonialism continues after African decolonization in 1960. Such an exploitative algorithm of cooperation distracts Africa from Europe towards Asia, especially to China, which offers partnership for common development and without political preconditions (except official non-recognition of Taiwan). If we compare the interests of Europe and China in Africa, we would identify that the West is mainly interested in oil and mineral resources, while China invests in various sectors of the African economy and infrastructure, including the framework of Forum on China-Africa Cooperation

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(FOCAC). The Chinese model of economic expansion on the African continent has broad social orientation, among them: development of Win-Win business and maritime economy; fighting against poverty; building of irrigation systems, hospitals, schools; improving health, education and agricultural knowledge of African professionals; IT systems development and e-commerce (Carey & Li, 2016: 2).

Moreover, the Sino-African model of economic cooperation channels investments directly to Chinese companies that provide projects in Africa, leaving aside local corrupted officials. As well, China does not impose to the dictatorial regimes of many African countries its own political ideas, instead proposes a partnership dialogue (Krebs, 2016: 177). Consequently, it leads to the “Chinesation” of Africa both in internal and external dimensions. For brief instance, on the internal level, Chinese companies provide their infrastructure projects according to the PRC standards that diversify strategic Chinese presence in this continent. On the external one, in the framework of international organizations and at international forums, China has obtained more geopolitical relevance among African countries and partners than its Atlantic colleagues, because the Chinese “soft” exploitation of Africa is focused on long-term common development.

Definitely, the results of export of any local ideas to other cultures and civilizations - either it democracy, communism or neo-liberalism - will be always unpredictable, even if the idea is constructive. Today, the Western countries have fully felt the consequences of interference in political systems of the Middle East and Africa countries. Ideological dissonance creates new forces of popular resistance that arise against foreign interference in its own problems. These organized groups of so-called patriots, defenders of their homeland from foreign expansion, are asymmetric threat to powerful countries. They use against them non-traditional methods, in particular terrorist attacks.

c. Challenges of Islamic Civilization

In the XXI century terrorism has become a major issue in international relations. The usual hierarchy of military and political power was transformed. Terrorism attested that even the most powerful states are unable to defend its national security, as well as safety of individual citizens. Recent terrorist attacks in Paris in November 2015 and in Brussels in March 2016 it reminded once again. Nowadays, growing tensions between Western and Islamic civilizations increasingly exacerbate geopolitical confrontation. Along with existing differences in worldview and ideology, the rich energy resources in the Middle East have a great influence on the development of terrorist

conflicts (Redissi & Lane, 2013: 10). Fundamentally, economic interests of the West always were a foundation of their policy in this region, but at a certain stage interstate economic relations have turned into a business. The result of this business have not been equal and internal social climate got worse: the corruption has increased in the Middle Eastern countries, human rights have been constantly violated and unemployment has significantly increased. Social pressure has got extreme tension and has exploded by the wave of revolutions of the Arab Spring in most countries of the region. The core demand of demonstrators was obvious: better share in economic opportunities in their rich countries, where most of them live poor and unemployed, and respect for human rights.

However, now we see the decline of Western triumphalism and the suffering of Europe from the Arab Spring failure consequences. This failure is tragic for all sides and nations involved in this conflict, both for the Middle East and Europe. The example of the Middle East authoritarian political leaders obviously shows the dramatic consequences of the national interests neglect in their countries. Above all, it is highly important for Europe to understand the after effects of its destructive strategy, which results in terrorist attacks, from which it suffers now. There are also numerous testimonies in the world history when opposition make a decisive attempt to shake the era of hard-core, intransigent power, either it was the failure of Tianmen square demonstrations in 1989, or the Euromaidan Revolution in Ukraine in 2013-2014. Usually, the key force of these protests is student-led power that rises for fair share of goods and respect for human rights. Every time opposition power is forcibly suppressed by government, then it leads to asymmetric or even radical methods to achieve the justice, as well as worsens the geopolitical climate. Obviously, terrorism attacks constitute the consequences of European actions in the past (Samman & Al-Zo'by, 2015: 5). On top of that, the internal geostrategic division in Europe has formed a very indecisive, weak and helpless EU policy that led to the migration and intersocial crisis on the continent.

d. African Consolidation

Research on this topic gives rise to the idea of analogical realization the African Spring scenario. For centuries, Europeans tended to think that Africa is an underdeveloped continent with unlimited resources. However, looking at the problem from within the African region, it becomes apparent that these countries have a huge potential that does not work for their own interests. Primarily, poverty in Africa is the result of political trade of national strategic reserves and human resources. A systemic non-fulfilment of the national

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interests of their own states by African leaders only helps to provide neo-colonial Western policy on this continent.

Africa is not only tropics, deserts and abundant resources, available at a cheap price. It is more than one billion people who endure systematic violations of human rights; suffer from confessional, ethnic, linguistic, gender and other discriminations. All this is happening against the backdrop of climatic disasters, demographic crises and armed conflicts that make it impossible to obtain an adequate social and health care, good education and stable work. New waves of resistance have emerged in Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Burundi and Uganda, where people are tired of corrupted dictatorship that monopolized power for decades, and privatize state resources and production facilities (Potter, 2015: 3). There are currently in progress deep crises in South Sudan, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Central African Republic, Mali, Somalia, Nigeria and others.

Consolidation of African nations formed long enough, and aspirations of freedom, rights and democracy are very strong. History demonstrated that sometimes an unexpected incident is sufficient for revolution explosion. In addition, it is unlikely that African Spring will repeat the Arab Spring scenario. The war in Syria is a tragic experience that makes Africans to find new, more effective ways for the revival of dignity, state and civilization. It is important that serious socio-political changes are possible only with a wide activization of most countries of the continent. Spanish historian J. Costa argues that the most important item in state regeneration is intensification of people's decisiveness and self-determination for achieving freedom and justice (Costa, 1902: 67). Europe must realize that by exhausting Africa it warms up a bomb, which explosion will be a real disaster for Europe and will radically change whole system of international relations.

II. Civilizations and Globalization

Global issues have become the most difficult challenges for contemporary nations, states and individual humans. No country - or even superpower - is able to solve such problems as global warming, environmental and space pollution, resource depletion and many others. Climatic, environmental, food, migration, demographic and others factors are a great challenge for the whole world, because its solution went far beyond the individual interests of nations and states. This raises a discussion about the main problem: the formation of a global management that should be transparent, flexible, with a rapid-response mechanism.

The future of humanity depends of the choice on methods and tools management to solve global problems. At this stage, there are a lot of problems, such as which model of globalization is more constructive and prospective: Western or Asian? The analysis of both models, some alternatives, and author's position are presented below.

a. Western Model of Globalization

Western or Atlantic globalism was the result of cultural, economic and social inertia of postcolonial relations. After the USSR collapse and the end of the Cold War, the free, democratic, and liberal lifestyle has quickly become attractive to most countries and regions (van Zon, 2010: 68). The latest infrastructure changed people's perception about time and distance. Any destination around the world has become much easier to reach just in a few hours; the delivery of goods in any volume has become faster; an increased access to high technologies and resources has been accelerated; new destinations and types of tourism, new opportunities for work and education have been appeared. The social networks enhancement formed and popularized the fashion for an appropriate lifestyle, an American one. Coca-Cola, Apple, fast food products are well-known and available in almost all countries. They are cultural "ambassadors" of American culture and lifestyle in the world, but for sure with a certain strategic economic programme.

Nevertheless, the triumph of neo-liberal economy, idea of global democracy and universal human values could not keep the global expansion of the United States and Euro-Atlantic in the world any longer. The US role of global leader has ironically been undermined by rising impact of the pillars of the American economic system -the global expansion of TNCs. The expanded economic imperialism of the world oligarchy along with successful offshore zones functioning have led to a structural degradation of the Western model of globalization and the collapse of all good values on which this model was built (Beck, 2000: 5). Billions of income that circumvents national taxes has led to: national sovereignty loss for the benefit of economic interests and connections; to global unemployment and extremely low wages; to increment of intersocial tension and food conflicts. Van Zon very preciously described that offshore and tax paradises under the hegemony of the Wall Street and the City of London system have turned the world capital on global Las Vegas (van Zon, 2010: 66). Definitely, such model is unlikely to be a global economic model that fits all, as they positioned themselves.

A deep internal conflict within the Western civilization has become obvious. The globalization of trade and economic liberalization, synchronously with political efforts to "export" democracy, has created new problems that await

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complex and long-term solutions. The main reason is that the EU member states were under the optimistic influence of dynamic growth and did not feel the changes that occurred in the global economic and technological development (Weiler, 2010: 143-144). Hence, the necessary reforms for intellectual potential and general productivity stimulation did not provided, but kept at a politically safe distance. As a result, suppressed by the global financial crisis, European countries have moved to a lower growth trajectory, especially South European: Portugal, Greece, Spain and Italy. The crisis has gradually affected key sectors of the European economy and became systemic.

Below are some points that the author suggests as positive and negative effects of Western model of globalization.

Positive points:

- Democratic paradigm of life: the respect of human rights, the freedom of speech and opinion, humanistic principles and values, the rule of law.
- Liberalization of economy, international competitiveness, effective economic productivity.
- Move from racism and intolerance; advocacy of peace and equity “We are the people”; consensus based policy that ensure relatively stable Europe without internal wars.

Negative points:

- The neo-colonial relations format with less developed countries that are far from partnership; the uneven recovery, whereby the rich become richer and the poor become poorer; the disproportion of benefits and development among economic sectors and countries.
- The export of democracy through the exercise of power; interference in the countries’ internal affairs, traditions, cultures with attempts to transform them.
- There are absence of policy coherence, constructiveness, management efficiency, and regional and global responsibility in practice.

b. Asian Model of Globalization

Asian globalism developments are unconventional for the Western perception. Its strategy is founded on the newest economic model, changing the focus from the economic globalization to the information and research based globalization. Competitive racing between China and India for regional and global leadership offers two different globalist scenarios: China’s new industry and India’s leading development in IT services. Though, these two regional

giants are able to present their own model of globalization that will be more powerful and ambitious than the Western unsustainable and ineffective one.

India's rapid economic growth and its phenomenal success were strongly influenced by non-investment, informational development model. India realized in time that information, research and education industry will form the foundation of the productive forces of society in the XXI century (Mehta, 2006: 27-28). Europe missed this, but China has learned opportunity for their country from India's best practices. In its 13th Five-Year Plan (2016-2020) China announced its new concept of national economic transformation, particularly, that cheap and low-quality Chinese goods are in the past for now (Hong et al, 2015: 19). Otherwise, there is a transition from labour-intensive to an urban knowledge-based economy with a focus on information and high technologies (Ibid.: 23). This reorientation is also one of the instruments of demographic correction, due to stimulation of the migrant workers to flow from megacities to the new growing cities. This experience can be useful for Europe.

Xi Jinping's initiative One Belt, One Road to revive the Silk Road is a powerful instrument of China's geo-economic and geopolitical impact in a macroregion scale (Qiu, 2016). Chinese expansion has also increased in a global scale, when on October 2016 the IMF approved yuan as a global reserve currency. This important step included the Chinese yuan to the five most influential currencies. Before, such status had only four currencies: the US dollar, euro, yen and pound sterling (McDowell, 2015). The advanced integration of China into the global financial system can cause some inconvenience for the global status of the United States in many positions. Furthermore, this impact can spread on that countries and businesses, whose economies are fixed to the euro, pound or yen. In this context, it should be highlighted that in terms of population, language and in many other strategic indicators China has already held leading places in the world.

Asian powerful forces increase their global geopolitical relevance and external economic expansion throughout the world. The prospect of world leadership is very desirable for East Asia. A significant weakening and even failure for the Euro-Atlantic could be an integrated power of Asian giants, for example, if the political, economic and financial interests of China, India, Japan and the Republic of Korea join forces in a global alternative to the Western system. Nevertheless, it is not only about trade intensification; here is also an educational power of globalization too. For instance, Asian universities develop their own prominent and promising research for regional issues, with global impact and respect. However, top ten of the world universities are still represented by Europe and the United States. Nair (2016) suggests that Asian

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countries should coordinate its efforts in a prestigious, world-class scientific network - for example under the auspices of ASEAN - to incubate Asian ideas for global studies. He argues that such ASEAN University campus may be located in Manila or Johor that have a strategic geopolitical potential in the region (Nair, 2016).

However, China's world leader ambitions are very strong. Chinese economy is very egocentric and controls almost the entire East Asian region, excluding Japan and the Republic of Korea (Huntington, 1997: 170). Thus, the Asian model of globalization is not based on homogeneous unity of Asian civilization. Huntington was right identifying the largest number of civilizations in the Asian region, among them: Sinic, Hindu, Japanese, Islamic, Orthodox, Buddhist.

Positive points:

- High-tech, informational technology, innovative, scientific, intelligent globalism.
- Partner relations with less developed countries; a new impetus for the development of Asian macroregion.
- Successful experience of synthesis of the traditional and the modern, the national and the global.

Negative points:

- Asian authoritarian traditional culture: lack of democracy, equality, freedom of speech and opinion. Even local successful experience of Confucian principles of governing and lifestyle cannot be integrated into other civilizations with the same success.
- Unsustainable development: rapid population growth, income inequality, ecological collapses and degradation due to a high and rapid economic growth at any cost.
- Absence of integrity within single Asian civilization; fragmentation of interests between Asian civilizations and inside them; high level of inter-civilization rivalry in all areas. In this context, one of the ways to achieve integrity within Asian civilization could be a large scale free-trade zone (FTZ). It can be independent or based on any regional organization or forum, but the essential precondition is self-government. Such FTZ should function without influence of the US and Europe.

c. Alternative Models of Globalization

Islamic civilization brings an authentic, original model of globalization based on their own religious traditions and culture, and is formed as counteraction to westernization. Islam as the second largest religion in the world - every fourth

inhabitant of the planet is a Muslim (The World Factbook, 2010) - has already involved into globalization processes, especially into the areas of politics, economics, energy, security, ecology, culture. Islamic civilization faces a difficult task of stopping and eradicating religious radicalism to recover its image in the world. The internal division within this civilization is the most dangerous in the global scale (Huntington, 1997: 177). Therefore, Islamic civilization should not be left on the periphery of global modernization; otherwise, it will be a constant conflict generating factor of international and inter-civilization relations. Both, Islamophobia and Eurocentrism form together an extremely dangerous stereotypes built on hatred and intolerance, which is not well both for Western and Muslim countries (Halliday, 2002: 14-15).

Japanese model of globalization has a special status in this regard. This is the only country that successfully adopted the Western model of globalization, simultaneously preserving its national identity. Japan is also the element of both Western and Asian civilizations: it is the only non-Euro-Atlantic country that is a member of the Group of Seven, while at the same time preserves its own, authentic globalization model. Japanese national modernization is a synthesis of constructive principles of the Western model of globalization and its own civilization traditions. Such a format of inter-civilization relations is the most harmonious because there remains a balance between the global and the national. Thus, globalization has brought to Japan more opportunities for development and growth, than weaknesses and dissolvent (Inoguchi, 2000: 231). We can add to this type of West-oriented but self-sufficient model of globalization the Republic of Korea, Singapore, Taiwan and Hong Kong (Cvetkovich & Kellner, 1997: 11).

d. The Author's Position

After the collapse of the bipolar system of international relations, it seemed like the leadership was held after the Western model of globalization: its lifestyle, economic, political, business and social traditions. Importantly that for the maintenance of such a unique, powerful global status a lot of constructive efforts should have been done; and what is the most important they had to prevent their status from strategic mistakes that have increasingly took place in the US and EU foreign policy. Therefore, at the beginning of XXI century this leadership has began to move to Asia, but then gradually dissolved in the growing processes of regionalization and multipolarity. It seemed like globalization processes are following a particular model - the Western, the Asian, etc. - at first glance. But later its temporality has become obvious.

From the analysis stated above in this and previous chapters, it becomes evident that there are many contradictions within each of models of

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globalization and every model in its pure form is ineffective and weak. The internal heterogeneity of the aforementioned models indicates the lack of unity within these civilizations. Thus, it is not just about conflicts between civilizations, but also demonstration of a deep crisis inside of them.

Therefore, in the author's opinion, it is impossible to define a clear globalization-leader, by which example transformed or will be transformed the world. No one model of globalization has proved its effectiveness and long-term perspectives. Moreover, even under the influence of globalization, China will always be China, and Europe will always be Europe.

So, we cannot consider any civilization-based model of globalization as universal that fits for all, now or in future. On the contrary, such common model of globalization can be sustainable development model that joins all the people from all civilizations of the world in a common purpose - tackling global problems.

Actually, globalization accumulates different features of all members of the global society and unites them in a common, unified, global civilization. Its basic reason is a planetary integration (not a homogenization) involving absolutely all members of society, where there is no time for contradictions and conflicts. This comprehensive, sustainable values-based process should include elements from different globalization models and civilization systems, from the smallest to the most powerful.

For example, a completely new world phenomenon is the increasing participation of the less developed countries in global affairs that puts important new accents to globalization and expands its scope (Saul, 2004: 223). The contribution of poor countries is special because their people felt dramatic changes and effects of global warming, demographic collapse, food crises and all other global challenges. These people are the least protected; millions of them live in poverty, but they draw attention to the dramatic consequences of globalization that usually elude the developed countries (Bales, 2012: 6-10). The nations of the less developed countries form the history of contemporary globalization along with developed countries; they have an inevitable influence on globalization as evolutionary process, emphasizing on the importance of humanistic principles over the materialistic ones.

Under the influence of globalization the perception of national interests has been transformed. In contrast, a "re-nationalization" has emerged, as a revival of the national category, where individual national identity obtains a new relevance (Beck, 2000: 3). For instance, social studies of Sasaki

demonstrated that the Japanese do not consider themselves citizens of a homogeneous global village (Sasaki, 2004: 84). Truly, even under the influence of globalization, it is hardly ever imagine like, for example, the United Kingdom, Japan, Nigeria and Turkey negate their own national identities and merge into a single global society. On the contrary, they have already become self-sufficient national elements of the unified global system.

Thus, we again came to the conclusions that protection, adherence and effective implementation of the national interests have extraordinary importance for each country in the world. Globalization is not homogenization, universalization or Americanization. This is a multifaceted process that has both positive and negative effects for every country and human. To take advantage of the latest features and withstand the challenges, the political elite of each state should effectively accomplish national tasks, maintain an original national identity and protect its own national interests.

Conclusions

1. The Euro-Atlantic systemic crisis is not a regional problem, but a global transformation in hierarchical structure of international system. The cause of the systemic crisis in Europe is the weakness of the political and geopolitical position of the European Union and its member states individually. European policy is no more homogenous, as it was planned at the beginning of the common economic, political and values integration. Current geopolitical transformations in Eurasia and the Middle East have changed the image of the European Union as an advanced, powerful, strong leader of the international relations. The Arab Spring and its consequences, imperial ambitions and aggressive Russian policy have obviously demonstrated the inability of both Europe and the United States to prevent, respond and solve geopolitical conflicts in the affected regions.

The newly emerging leaders of world politics have gained an increased geopolitical relevance. The strategic weakness of the Western civilization has given a new impetus to the development of polycentric processes and led to multi-civilization renaissance of Asia, Africa, Latin America countries and the new post-Soviet democracies. These regions are increasingly playing a leading role in global cooperation, by building relationships with the Euro-Atlantic, and among themselves, in a radically new format. In some cases, vigorous efforts for self-affirmation are constructive (China and BRICS as a whole), and in others takes destructive turn (Arab Spring and its consequences). In this context, it is important for each country to determine correctly and implement effectively its national interests. Upon it depends on whether the country will be able to face difficult challenges of new international

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system and even improve its status, whether the country will be weak and will remain on the periphery.

2. The emergence of a new global society, that we can observe, fosters civilizational identification of the humanity. Under contemporary developments, there is still no one among models of globalization, the Western, the Asian and others, which has proved its effectiveness, constructiveness and long-term ability. So, it is unlikely that any single civilization-based model could be successfully adapted for all parts of the world. On the contrary, the biggest opportunity has sustainable development as an integrated model of globalization, where all civilizations could join together into global civilization for a common purpose - to solve global problems of humanity.

The key idea of the global and responsible society should be a global equality, rejection of xenophobia, chauvinism, racial discrimination and human rights violations. Due to conflicts and climate changes, millions of people involuntarily become homeless every year, so migrants need a special tolerance and attention. Nations and ethnic groups are always different, because each presents its authentic culture and language. But, it should not be turned into the cause and/or motives for revolutions and wars. War, as a way of conflicts resolution, is an archaism in the XXI century. Contemporary political leaders and diplomats should work so effectively that they can prevent armed attacks in any part of the world.

National interests have been transformed under the influence of globalization and their reason has changed. There is a re-nationalization takes place, as the revival of national category, where national identity obtains a new relevance. Now, the developing countries' nations are not just observers of the world politics processes. Globalization has transformed them into self-sufficient national elements of global society. They successfully form the history of contemporary globalization along with developed countries. The people from poor countries try to refocus the world's attention from the materialistic principles to the humanistic, and to the importance of sustainable development, through their own life experience.

In addition, developing countries' experience has demonstrated that countries are poor not because of lack of resources, but because of neo-feudal politicians who are failed to implement national interests. It is of highly importance to ensure the national interests of each country in the world. In fact globalization helped to understand it. To tackle global challenges successfully and take advantage of the newest opportunities, the political elite of each state must maintain a constructive national strategy, support its national identity and protect its own national interests.

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