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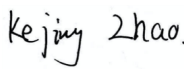
TITOLO DELLA TESI

**The Evolution of Attitudes Towards Globalization:
The Case of Brexit**

-Disciplina della tesi-

Sociology of Globalization

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The Evolution of Attitudes Towards Globalization: The Case of Brexit

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Introduction

From the period of great geographical discovery and the opening of new shipping routes, the connection between East and West in culture and trade has greatly increased, which has expanded Western civilization to the whole world. At the same time, it also brought the most popular keyword globalization to modern times. We can say that the great geographical discovery brought about free trade or the beginning of the war. These can all be regarded as the beginning of original globalization.

In order to better understand globalization, the first chapter briefly introduces what globalization is from a different perspective. At the same time, also explains the promotion and impact of the three phases on globalization.

Today, we have a deeper understanding of globalization. When the revolutionary wave hits, the relationship between countries has changed from closed to more subtle. We began to think about whether the effects of globalization were all positive so did the sovereign countries begin to consider about the process of globalization

This is also introduced in second chapter to look at globalization from the perspective of different nation-states, causing sovereign states to have different attitudes towards globalization. Globalization is essentially a product of national sovereignty, and even subjective strategies are also objective trends. On the surface, there is a crisis in the world system, and while all countries are seeking transformation, it will also increase friction between countries to a certain extent.

Since the outbreak of the financial crisis in 2008, the process of globalization has entered a low-speed development stage. The trend of anti-

globalization is becoming more and more obvious. However, in the same period, the world has established regional alliances represented by regions. The third chapter continues the content of second chapter to some analysis on the current globalization process, comparing globalization and regionalization. In today's world, the wave of anti-globalization is much higher than before while rising building the regionalization. Of course, some countries have benefited from it, while others are afraid to take on more obligations and reduce the number of organizations that they join. From the point of view of events, there is indeed a wave of anti-globalization in the world. It is difficult to define wins and losses in this game. It can be said that all countries are involved, but it is difficult to decide whether to win or lose.

From the first era of navigation, the plundering of resources and the demand for labor, the world began to connect with each other. Each of the three industrial revolutions has stimulated the continuous expansion of globalization, from the initial exchange of goods, population migration, to the current capital flow, immigration activities and the spread of ideology, etc. J.A. Scholte refers to this large-scale global flow of resources, population, and information as “deterritorialization” or “supraterritorialism”, he pointed «This approach identifies globalization as the spread of transplanetary – and in recent times more particularly supraterritorial – connections between people. From this perspective, globalization involves reductions in barriers to transworld contacts. People become more able – physically, legally, culturally, and psychologically – to engage with each other in ‘one world’ » (Scholte 2002, p. 14). The world is both territorial and global, no pure globality exists independently of territorial spaces. The global is not a domain separate from regional, national, provincial and local levels, and there is an intersection of all these. Obviously, these intersections have brought together what we call globalization today. However, just like Fiat cannot run on F1 racing, due to the different development processes of various countries, globalization only drives the development of some countries, or in other words, Globalization is the result of the long-term prosperity of some

countries, while for other countries, globalization may bring poverty, violence, war, and unequal development conditions.

This is the content to be launched in Chapter 4. Different countries have different attitudes towards development in the 21st century, especially today when economic and development have begun. Sovereign countries began to seek more development and benefits for their own countries. Regardless of the interests of other countries, at one point, US President Trump once closed the border between the United States and Mexico during his tenure to effectively reduce the incidence of smuggling and also reduce the entry and immigration of Mexicans. The United Kingdom referendum was completed in 2016, and the Brexit plan was drafted at the end of 2020, which was being implemented from January 1, 2021. Such examples have been very common in recent years, and relation between sovereign states have become increasingly tense. Whether we can judge these kinds of behaviors as a kind of anti-globalization development, and what changes will be made in the current world structure as a result, these are topics we are about to discuss at chapter 5.

Globalization in the 21st century already shown bit weakness, the emergence of regional alliance has further confirmed that sovereign states are more cautious when participating in globalization activities. On the contrary, in regionalization, sovereign states are more “handy”, The advantages of countries being close or neighboring on the ground make them more similar in terms of consciousness and culture.

Finally, we come to chapter 5. Before we had a deep understanding of globalization, sovereign states and regionalization, the reason why the process of globalization is retrogressed, the most obvious case should be Brexit. Therefore, in chapter 5, we introduced the history of Brexit, But the main contradiction is the development of the United Kingdom after Brexit and the future development of other EU countries without the United Kingdom as a former ally. For Brexit, the focus is not only on the regression of globalization, but more on understanding the deep meaning behind the regression of globalization. Taking

Brexit as a microcosm reflects the increasingly serious division of the two levels in today's globalization array. In the end, it is difficult for us to get an accurate result, because it seems that globalization is going backwards. In this article, we also quote the views and data support of many sociologists and economists, but at the same time, a considerable number of sociologists believe that now, globalization is irreversible, and the temporary stagnation is to prepare for future development, but mutual understanding and tolerance between countries are indispensable for globalization to achieve better development.

Chapter 1

Globalization: history and definition of a concept

After decades of technological progress and progress in cooperation, the world is closer than ever before. In the process of transition from regional integration to the world, territorial boundaries between countries have become increasingly blurred, and the development of the transportation industry has been shifted. From the beginning of a horse-drawn carriage to a steam train, from an ordinary sailing vessel to a steamboat, technological innovation directly drove the reduction of time and the increasingly dense population flow, thus driving economic exchanges and our world. The gradual decline in development began, and the cooperation between countries also promoted the birth of new organizations. The emergence and establishment of NATO, the Warsaw Pact, or the European Union all marked the arrival of the era of cooperation. The development model of a single country no longer applies to this era.

1.1 definition of globalization

«Globalization involves economic integration; the transfer of policies across borders; the transmission of knowledge; cultural stability; the reproduction, relations, and discourses of power; it is a global process, a concept, a revolution, and “an establishment of the global market free from sociopolitical control» (Nikitin and Elliott 2003, p. 14).

However, globalization is a constantly changing process. It is difficult for us to find a complete definition to explain what globalization is. Different experts and scholars have given different definitions of globalization in different fields.

In 1992, Roberston have put idea that «Globalization as a concept refers both to the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole... both concrete global interdependence and consciousness of the global whole in the twentieth century » (Roberston 1992, p. 8).

However, Giddens have defined globalization much clear as «Globalization can... be defined as the intensification of world-wide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and viceversa. » (Giddens 1990, p. 64)

The official definition of globalization by the World Health Organization (WHO)

According to the World Health Organization, globalization can be defined as «increasing ties and interdependence between people and countries. It is generally believed that this includes two interrelated elements: the opening of international borders for goods, services, and finance., The flow of people and ideas is becoming more and more rapid. And the changes in national and international institutions and policies that promote or facilitate such flows. » (WHO 2020)

According to the Committee for Development Policy (a subsidiary of the United Nations), from an economic point of view, globalization can be defined as: « (...) Due to the expansion of the cross-sectoral scale, the interdependence of the world economy continues to increase. Commodities The border trade with services, the flow of international capital, and the wide and rapid spread of technology. It reflects the continuous expansion and integration of the market frontier (...), the importance of information in all types of production activities, and the rapid growth of marketization is the two driving forces of economic globalization. » (Gao 2000, p. 3)

Whether it is from the perspective of sociology, economics, or globalization, the definition of globalization can be extracted the most frequently occurring word mobility or fluidity, this kind of flow from the initial population to economic and political and financial activities to the mutual flow and mutual

influence of cultural concepts have contributed to the development of the world in the direction of globalization.

Since the mid-1980s, social theorists have surpassed the compression of space and the characteristics of underdeveloped ideology. Today, we are talking about globalization with a more rigorous concept. There are still differences in certainty when the basic consensus on globalization has been formed.

First of all, contemporary analysts associate globalization with delocalization, and participants have nothing to do with their geographic location. Behind the information mask, The information department's emergence, and ultimate dominance.

Globalization means that when latitude and vertical position seem to be unimportant to current social activities, the possibility of action between people increases. Although geographical location is still crucial for many undertakings, in many social fields we have already broken through the limitations of geography.

In the following hundreds of years, with the continuous development and advancement of science and technology, the convenience of transportation has accelerated the flow of people, and new business models have been developed in the network, the geographical distance between people has been shortened.

Second, recent theorists believe that globalization and the development of social connections are linked across existing geographic and political boundaries. According to this view, delocalization is a key aspect of globalization. However, focusing solely on this would be misleading.

As early as the period of great geographical discovery, European fleets appeared on the oceans around the world, looking for new trade routes and trading partners. The movement of people brought new goods and trade, also brought plunder, a large number of black slaves were also forced to undergo population movements during the same period. In this way, the flow of hydraulic pressure directly drives the increase in enrichment, and more goods have

produced that need to be dumped to overseas markets, thus promoting trade and currency circulation.

The purpose of short-term population mobility can be short-term travel, study, or short-term residence. The purpose of long-term population mobility is mainly immigration. Among them, wars and diseases will also affect long-term population mobility. If the population movement hundreds of years ago were passive, then the population movement after the industrial revolution was more attracted by external conditions such as economy, education, job opportunities, and the environment.

Figure 1 - Distribution of movement reasons by era and category



Source¹: The distinctive character of policy-driven stock market jumps. Scott Baker, Nicholas Bloom, Steven Davis, Marco Sammon 21 May 2020

¹ The horizontal axis units are the percent of jumps attributed to that category in the indicated period. We order categories as follows: (i) policy categories by descending values of 1946-2020 share, (ii) non-policy categories, ordered the same way, and (iii) Unknown & No Explanation Offered. This figure uses next-day articles in the Wall Street Journal.

From a macro perspective, economic development dually affects population, economy and trade, and capital flows. More significance comes from its inherent meaning. Evolution refers to «the process of change, which provides a foundation for the transformation of human affairs organizations by linking human activities together and expanding human activities within regions and continents» (Held 1999, p. 15)

The cause is a degree of problem, because any given social activity caused more or less affect the occurrence of events: more and more activities seem to merge with events on distant continents, but certain human activities are within range the above is mainly local or regional. We may consider that the degree of cross-border interconnection no longer happens accidentally, or even foreseeable and standardized.

Finally, it must also include a reference to the speed or speed of social activities. Initially, de-regionalization and interconnection seem to be mainly spatial, but the proliferation of high-speed transportation, communications, and information technology constitutes something obscured by foresighted observers. The most direct source of geographical and territorial boundaries, the interconnection and expansion of cross-border social activities point to the possibility of relatively rapid flow and flow of people, information, capital, and commodities. In the global financial market, major cross-border finance can be dinner in the blink of an eye. The transaction, thus representing the emerging economic outlook. In political life, a unique form is adopted in which various nation-states cooperate in supervision, and the cross-border economic process may break the traditional supervision model given to nation-states.

Some key alternatives in certain countries seem to be destined to change human affairs in a seemingly permanent way: the economy and the proliferation of global and global political and legal institutions continue to develop at a rapid pace. It should be pointed out that with the emergence of nationalist and populist political movements that some international theorists will revive, the prospects and goals of the transformation seem to be increasingly blurred.

1.2 The impact of the three phases on globalization

When we talk about globalization, it is not only economic development driven by population movements, more importantly, the establishment of international organizations and the cooperation between countries have made the world no longer limited to geographical distances, and cooperation between countries like a manifestation of the further intensification of globalization. Nowadays, the world generally believes that globalization is comprehensive development, and the three industrial revolutions are inextricably linked.

The three industrial revolutions have not only greatly mobilized the development of productive forces, but also narrowed the distance between countries. Especially after World War II, many international organizations have been established such as the United Nations, the European Union, the International Monetary Fund, etc. The purpose of these organizations is to maintain the relations between the various member states, and at the same time, they have also made significant contributions to the peace and development of the world.

In the process of globalization, sovereign countries choose to adopt a more open attitude for more benefits.

Although economic and trade exchanges are a very important aspect, the relationship between countries can only be truly harmonious based on recognition of the culture and history among countries and based on this point, after the third technological revolution, the information society has enabled every country to be on the Internet. It seems that we have really shortened the distance between countries. But it is this dense and close connection that creates a great challenge for a country's information defense system. It seems that every country has no secrets, sovereign countries are particularly nervous at such an open environment. Not only that, Due to the developed transportation system, the disease spreads more quickly, smuggling, and human trafficking even more frequent.

1.2.1 The first phase of globalization, the first industrial revolution

The first phase of globalization lasted from 1870 to 1913 (Verde 2017, p. 3)

This period saw the proliferation of international trade, based on the exchange of primary commodities between western manufactured goods and developing economies along the low-tariff corridor. The production of these commodities is mainly funded by the West and supported by a stable global exchange rate system, so that capital can flow freely from rich places to scarce places and can obtain the highest return. For example, during this period, about half of all British savings went abroad, and by 1914, half of Argentina's total capital stock was foreign-owned. Immigration is practically unrestricted. Europeans across the Atlantic, and the labor and business flow in North Asia, South Asia, and East Asia are even greater.

From the end of the 18th century, through the establishment of the British Empire and technology, Great Britain has begun to dominate the world geographically. The invention and application of the steam engine not only reduced the time used by people's travelling, more importantly, but the distance of travel can also be increased, and the application of textile machines has further strengthened the development of the handicraft industry.

The "British" Industrial Revolution created a fantastic twin-engine for global trade. On the one hand, ships and trains can transport thousands of miles of goods within and between countries. On the other hand, its industrialization enabled the UK to produce products that are in high demand worldwide, such as iron, textiles, and finished products.

The resulting globalization is obvious in quantity. For about a century, trade has grown by an average of 3% per year, this growth rate promoted exports from 6% of global GDP in the early 19th century to 14%² on the eve of World War I. As economist John Maynard Keynes said« London residents can order by phone.

² *Two Centuries of Bilateral Trade and Gravity Data: 1827-2014*, Michel Fouquin & Jules Hugot, 2016.CEPII Working Paper 2016- 14, May 2016, CEPII

He drank morning tea in bed and drank various products from the entire planet. The quantity may be suitable for him. There are reasons to expect early delivery at his door» (Cit. in P. Vanham 2019, World Economy Forum).

Moreover, Keynes also pointed out that “similar situations exist in the investment field”. Those who are capable in New York, Paris, London, or Berlin can also invest in internationally active joint-stock companies. One of them is the French Suez River Company (Compagnie de Suez), which built the Suez Canal, connecting the Mediterranean with the Indian Ocean, and opening another major artery of world trade. Others build railways in India or manage landmines in African colonies. Foreign direct investment is also globalizing.

Although the United Kingdom is the country that has benefited the most from globalization, since Britain has the most capital and technology, other countries have also benefited by exporting other goods. For example, in the 1870s, the invention of refrigerated cargo ships or "refrigerated ships" brought countries such as Argentina and Uruguay into a golden age. They began to export meat in large quantities from the cattle herd on their vast land. Other countries have also begun to specialize in the production of products in the most competitive areas.

However, the first wave of globalization and industrialization also coincided with darker events. Most European countries (globalization and industrialization) competed for a piece of Africa. By 1900, the only independent country left on the African continent was Ethiopia. Also having a negative impact is that major powers such as India, China, Mexico, or Japan were powerless before, and either could not and would not allow them to adapt to industrial and global trends. Western powers have either restricted their independent development, or they are not competitive in other areas due to lack of access to capital or technology. Finally, many workers in industrialized countries have not benefited from globalization, the commercialization of industrial machinery, or the reduced output of imports. The withdrawal from the first wave of globalization is decisive and devastating. In the context of the Great

Depression, the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act ³ was passed in the United States, triggering retaliatory boycotts among the world's major economies that severely weakened global trade. The suspension of repayment of war debts and compensation has dried up international private loans. Many western economies have imposed controls on capital exports, while many developing economies defaulted on their debts. Economic difficulties have triggered anti-immigration sentiment, and governments of various countries have adopted strict restrictions on new immigrants for the first time.

1.2.2 The second phase of globalization, the second industrial revolution

The second phase of globalization lasted from 1945 to 1991 (Verde 2007, p. 8)

The end of the Second World War marked a new starting point for the global economy. Under the leadership of the new hegemony of the United States of America, and with the help of the technologies of the second industrial revolution, such as automobiles and airplanes, global trade has begun to grow again. Initially, this happened on two different tracks, and the world was divided into two spheres of influence. But since the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989, globalization has become a truly global phenomenon.

However, it was also during this period that the process of globalization not only accelerated, and the whole world began to form a Western-led mode of operation, and this mode of operation made a huge contribution to the prosperity of western countries. It was also during this period, inequality between countries appears to be more serious

In one important aspect, the international economic opening after World War II wasn't as open as before World War I which the free flow of international

³ *Log-Rolling and Economic Interests in the Passage of the Smoot-Hawley Tariff* (PDF). Irwin, Douglas A.; Randall S. Kroszner, December 1996, Carnegie-Rochester Conference Series on Public Policy.

capital. The Bretton Woods system is based on the government's control of international capital flows. But by 1970, the pressure on the Bretton Woods system was increasing. In the end, the U.S. budget deficit and inflation led to the collapse of the Bretton Woods system.

During this period, two organizations were established, namely the World Bank (IBRD) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). In addition to special agreements, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) came into effect in 1948 and set the framework for the gradual increase in global free trade, especially through the continuous reduction of industrial tariffs.

The emergence of many non-governmental organizations (NGOs) after the war was a response to the limitations of international institutions such as the United Nations. NGOs have also responded to the fact that many nation-states are unwilling or unable to formulate or implement various important humanitarian and environmental projects. The emergence of these non-governmental organizations has also temporarily alleviated the inevitable unevenness of some countries in the process of globalization. Therefore, the globalization of our era includes non-governmental organizations, such as Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International, Transparency International, and Greenpeace. Non-governmental organizations are modern examples of idealistic internationalism.⁴ Their mission makes us realize that today's globalization can be defined as including global responsibilities to the poor and disadvantaged, as well as to the endangered planet in which we live.

Since the 1970s, the cost of processing, storing, and transmitting information has been greatly reduced, thus creating new possibilities for international trade and commerce. In addition, political trade barriers have been relaxed in many ways. The World Trade Organization (WTO) was established in 1995 and developing countries with large populations especially China and India, have opened their doors to the world during this period, the continuous expansion

⁴ *Three Phases of Globalization*. <https://radjenovicsasa.wordpress.com/> 2013

and deepening of European cooperation, including the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, can be seen as a suitable starting point for the third phase of globalization.

In the past few decades, international trade has grown significantly faster than total output. In 2006, merchandise exports accounted for 31% of global GDP, compared with 12% in 1970⁵. The growth rate of foreign direct investment is twice that of trade, while the growth of foreign securities is even faster.

Today our world is in an exciting stage of globalization. Globalization has brought many new business potentials. However, the way of discovering commercial potential is different from the way of discovering mineral deposits. By uniquely combining a series of variables, more commercial possibilities are created in the way of creating artworks.

It was also during this period that a large number of multinational companies appeared. They brought capital and commodities to different countries. At the same time, they also began to purchase a large amount of resources and cheap labor in some underdeveloped areas, such as China, India, and Myanmar, those countries have begun to be involved in the wave of globalization have also laid the groundwork for their future transformation.

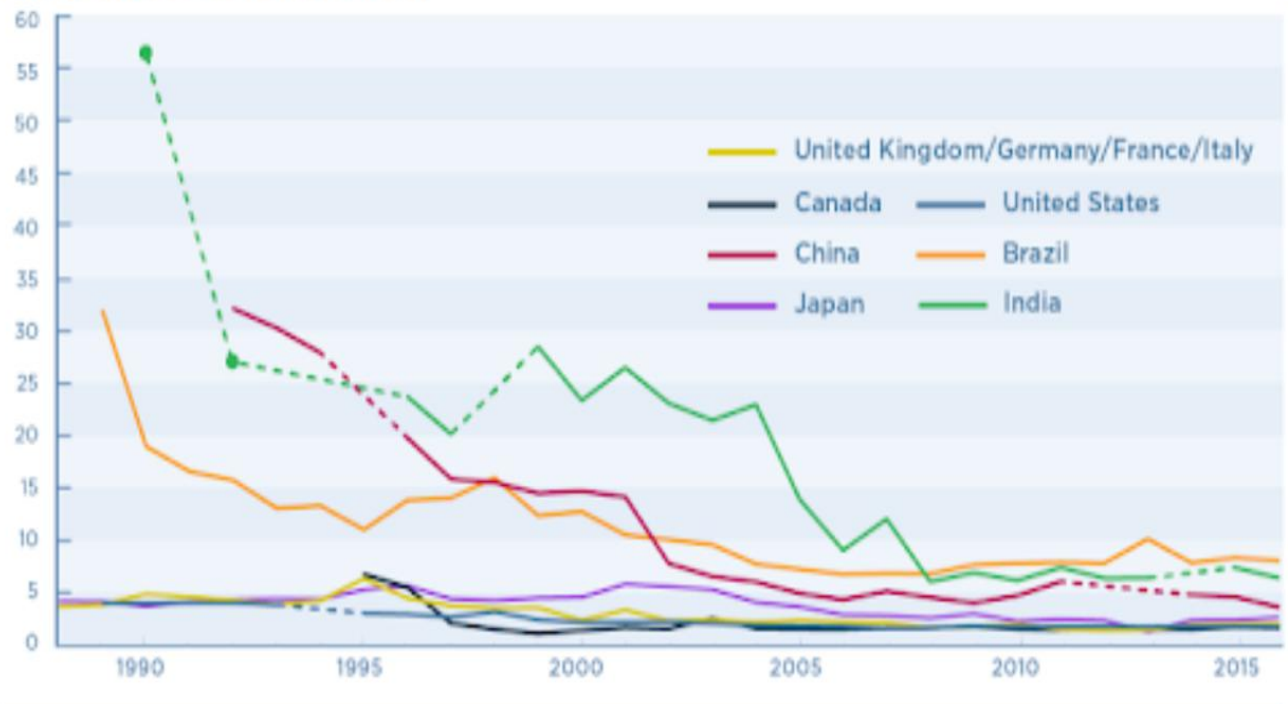
For the most successful international entrepreneurs in the future, the only thing we can say with certainty is that we don't know that they will be based on their business ideas. In the decades after World War II, institutions such as the European Union and other free trade tools promoted by the United States were the main reasons for the growth of international trade. In the Soviet Union, trade has grown similarly, albeit through centralized planning rather than through the free market. The effect is profound. On the worldwide, trade rose again to the level of 1914: in 1989, exports again accounted for 14% of global GDP. The income was paired with the middle class in Western countries.

Figure 2- Major economies dropped tariff rates and kept them low

⁵ World Bank – World Development Indicators. <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NE.TRD.GNFS.ZS>

Major economies dropped tariff rates and kept them low

Average applied tariff rates (1988-2016)



Note: Shows world's ten largest economies, 2016. Rates are weighted by trade value. Dotted lines indicate years when data are not available.

Source: World Bank DataBank.

Source: World Bank Databank ⁶

1.2.3 The third phase of globalization

The third globalization phase has been developed from 1992 up to today (Verde 2007, p. 11)

As mentioned above, the first phase has seen as portraying globalization as an inevitable, single process across regions that will erode the boundaries of nation-states, welfare states, and societies. It is said that this view is in the media,

⁶ Shows world's ten largest economies, 2016. Rates are weighted by trade value. Dotted lines years when data are not available.

business, and political fields. The first phase of views is supported by lack of empirical evidence or abuse of this view and the second phase of suspicion is believed to have brought empirical evidence in a way that undermined the first phase of globalism. Although Haye and Marsh are skeptical and critical, they do so within a framework that does not regard globalization as something they reject. Therefore, their analysis is only an attempt to develop a complex theory of globalization, rather than trying to expose it as a phenomenon. They believe that people are still in the second wave of globalization, but there has been a third wave of globalization. The third wave of globalization started worldwide in the second half of the 1990s with fully express its overwhelming presence in the early 21st century. The imminent third wave is the inevitable result of the development of the global information economy.

Like the first two waves of globalization, the third wave of globalization was caused by the internal development of global powers. It is these internal developments that attract the world's attention because they will eventually impact other parts of the world as they did in the past, and in the end, they will often affect the destiny of our country and develop in a direction that we did not want to take.

Before and after the two world wars, the colonial powers were originally mercantilist countries. In the early stages of industrialization, the countries were in the early stages of expansionism, and then the colonial powers were industrial countries in the later stages of industrialization. At that time, the capitalist countries further developed and merged industrial and financial capital into huge monopolistic groups to constantly look for new mergers and acquisitions, sources of cheap raw materials and labor, and markets. The third wave of globalization appeared in the most advanced industrialized countries. The first appearance and final dominance is still the information department, that is, the department that produces, manipulates, processes, distributes, and sells information products.

The third wave requires the free flow of information across national borders. This helps weaken the power of the country. The country itself appeared

monopolistic power in the first wave and continued to rule the company in the second wave, but in the third wave it found its power weakened. Working closely with supranational institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank (WB) and WTO (WTO), global companies now play a leading role in national corporate partnerships.

In fact, these global market platforms and their related supply and delivery systems are replacing complex supply chains, and complex supply chains are a common feature of the first three stages of globalization (Bhattacharya and Burkner and Bijiapurkar 2016 n. 3.2). Even small companies are more likely to compete in the global market. For example, a Chinese mobile phone company entered India by using such a platform. Compared with its competitors a few years ago, it did so faster and invested much less. The future is likely to include Alibaba founder Jack Ma's proposal for a global e-commerce platform that will enable small and medium-sized enterprises to reach customers and purchase from suppliers around the world, thereby eliminating the need to establish independent supply chains. The global system will become more mature, and its process will also touch new cultures and elements.

At the same time, as with the previous two phases, the extraction of wealth from other parts of the world is also carried out under the mask of concealing true intentions. Behind the information mask, the global information economy has imposed its own global rules to promote wealth transfer. The role of the nation-state is shrinking, and many of its functions have been taken over by private companies. Multinational companies continue to increase their political voice and influence, and directly establish partnerships with local elites and local governments, often by passing the host government and its own government. Through privatization and deregulation, corporate control over information, communications and media infrastructure has been strengthened. Supranational institutions such as the International Sovereign Fund, World Bank and WTO have further weakened national sovereignty.

Chapter 2

Different attitudes towards the nation-state and its role in the age of globalization

Globalization is essentially a part of national policy. It is generated and developed based on the existing national sovereignty system. Globalization cannot surpass people's ideas and develop independently, especially at the level of political system and cultural awareness; globalization is developed under the existing international order, it cannot overcome institutional barriers, and must be mutually in the existing institutional system, out in the same way as the existing institutional system. The development of globalization is closely integrated with the development of the country itself. In the context of long-term stability and prosperity, the development of globalization is a sharp sword, but just like the butterfly effect, once there are different voices in a country, it will affect the development of other countries and even globalization.

Because of this, globalization must recognize the reality of diversification. In fact, globalization itself has no definite rules, goals, and no model of globalization can adapt to the development models of all countries, so globalization must seek coordinated development in the reality of world economic diversification, regional cooperation diversification, political system, and cultural diversification. Just as the same fast-food shop has different business strategies and different flavors in different countries, globalization has never been static. Even some countries are forced to be involved in the process of globalization, but for most countries, the development of globalization should also be consistent with the development of their own countries. It emphasizes adapting to the nation-state where it is located rather than deviating from it. Of course, at the same time, globalization has also played a role in reshaping

national sovereignty. It has brought about tremendous changes in national sovereignty. Globalization and countries influence and shape each other, so in this chapter, I will discuss some important and interesting questions: How do different countries view globalization issues? Whether a nation-state abandons its sovereign status in globalization? How will future globalization affect the structural system of nation- states?

2.1 Globalization is a product of national sovereignty

Today we see that different countries have different attitudes towards globalization, that because the development process of globalization inherently contains both an objective trend and subjective strategies.

The objective trend is that the development of globalization driven by the three industrial revolutions mentioned in the first chapter that I mentioned was getting deeper and deeper, especially the information industry revolution brought about by the third scientific and technological revolution, under its influence, human society is in information, technology, commodities, currency capital and personnel exchanges are unprecedentedly frequent, so does the entire world.

The subjective strategy refers to western capital, the global development strategy of multinational companies, and the capital policy under capitalist globalization. The mutual cooperation of objective facts and subjective strategies has contributed to the development process of today's globalization.

The reason why globalization is the product of nation-states is that “in globalization, nation-states are still the decisive political unity.” and there are two points made by the same economy professor, he believed that «First, globalization is the stage of capitalism, in this stage, economic competition for higher growth rates has become very common among various nation-states. Second, globalization is a worldwide economic competition between companies supported by their corresponding nation-states. In both cases, it is clear that,

nation-states continue to play a strategic role in globalization» (Bresser-Pereira 2008, p. 362).

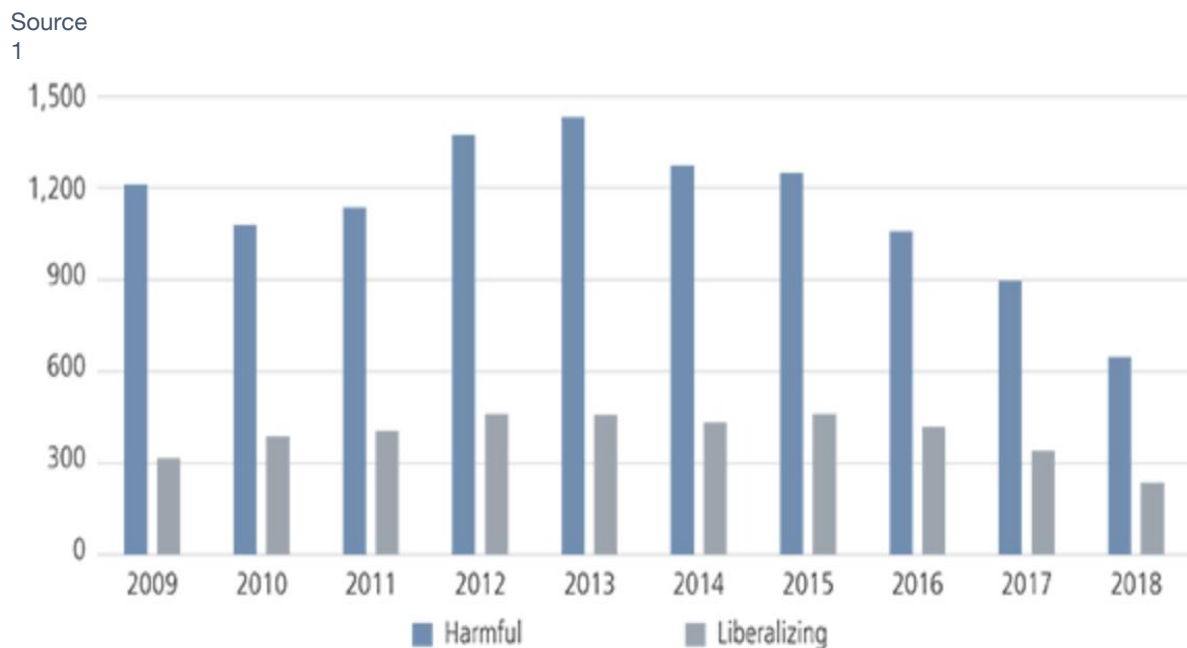
Therefore, globalization is an objective fact, in that point, it is a development trend determined by the development of productive forces and an inevitable result of the deepening of socialization of production. To say that globalization is a subjective strategy, institutional arrangements, guidelines, and policies are based on the relationship between the countries and globalizations. Or from the perspective of the role of the country in the process of globalization, which is considered not a natural process, but a product of deliberate manipulation by some countries.

From an economic point of view, globalization is a continuous process of transformation-since 1970, the world's major economies have experienced rapid development, and the process of social and political integration is also the name of the current stage of the capitalist economic system. In this economic system, all national markets have been opened, and all nation-states have begun to act following the logic of capitalist accumulation and competition. The dynamic nature of this stage reflects the rapid development of technological change. Its technological basis is the reduction of transportation costs, especially the reduction of the information technology revolution, which greatly speeds up communication, reduces prices, and reduces the transfer of financial assets. By promoting the establishment and integration of markets on a global scale, this technological revolution has promoted the intensification of international economic competition on the one hand, and on the other hand the incredible reorganization of the production structure sponsored by multinational companies. As long as the national economy is open, their international competitiveness will become a necessary condition for the continuity of their economic development.

However, according to the statistics of global trade alert, the number of global trade interventions continued to rise from 2009 to 2018. The trend of the number of trade interventions initiated by the 28 countries (now are 27 countries

and the U.K.) of the European Union, the U.S.A. and other advanced economies is basically the same as that of the world.

Figure 3 – Number of Harmful and Liberalizing Trade Interventions Worldwide Since 2009



Source: Global Trade Alert. As of September 21, 2018. Indicates trade measures that are harmful to foreign commercial interests, or that liberalize trade or make national policy more transparent

Therefore, developed sovereign countries are the first promoters of globalization, and it is also for them to oppose and reverse, at the same time, they are the main influencers. There are contradictions that are difficult to reconcile at the economic even political levels. The political elites succumb to populism and transfers domestic contradictions through the behavior of globalization.

From political point of view, G. Boxberger thought that, globalization, like other developments in markets and trade that have been upgraded in the past, is a political project. It is a development that has political will and is not determined by fate.

More generally, what we call globalization today must be seen as a phenomenon induced by politics rather than technology. The reason why it is political is that, first of all, in a general sense, the opening of the capital market is directly related to the product of government actions, the government is willing

or forced to succumb to pressure from financial interests. Therefore, we cannot just say that globalization affects national sovereignty and not that national sovereignty affects globalization, nor can we simply talk about globalization. It has brought shocks and challenges to national sovereignty, and it has also enabled the renewal and expansion of the sovereignty of certain countries. Even if it is a shock and challenge, its degree and performance in different countries are different.

Some countries claim that national sovereignty will inevitably be weakened in globalization is one-sided. If this is not specifically investigated, the analysis will fall into the trap of partiality. At the same time, each country must be wary of globalism and transnationalism. Those who are too enthusiastic in ism often lack historical knowledge, thus exaggerating the power of nationalism, but they do not recognize the diversity and pluralism of democracy, thus ignoring the relationship between countries.

With the unfolding of the cumulative consequences of globalization, advanced capitalist countries are undergoing a profound transformation. Under the conditions of globalization and regionalization of networks and systems, the power, roles, and functions of the state are being reconstructed, reorganized, and reorganized. Rearrangement, reduction, weakening or erosion of state power these metaphors may misunderstand this reconstruction or change. Economic globalization does not necessarily mean the weakening of state power, on the contrary, it changes the conditions for the implementation of state power.

The impact of globalization on them is not balanced. Compared with the economic and cultural sovereignty that is greatly affected by globalization, political and military sovereignty are more core and critical.

Expect that, the impact of economic and cultural sovereignty has not affected core sovereignty. The connotation of national sovereignty is rich and colorful, and its extension is also diverse, including political, economic, military, and cultural aspects. The impact of globalization on them is not balanced. Compared with the economic and cultural sovereignty that is greatly affected by

globalization, political and military sovereignty are more core and critical. The impact of globalization on economic sovereignty is significant. This is the main evidence that globalization has impacted national sovereignty. At the beginning globalization is an economic phenomenon, which based on the marketization of the economy, trade liberalization, and the transnationalization of production and investment. It is driven by market forces and transcends the boundaries of nation-states and regions. The development of the global market economy requires the free flow and allocation of various production factors such as capital, technology, and labor services on a global scale. The liberalization of the financial sector requires countries to open their financial markets and reduce capital controls. The global strategic decision-making requirements of multinational companies are not subject to the requirements of countries. Boundary constraints, international economic organizations require privatization and liberalization to replace nationalization, all of which will pose challenges to the economic sovereignty of nation-states.

So, even if globalization is a product of nation-states, but when we over-indulge its development, it may exceed our expectations. Therefore, the development method of globalization is to follow the developed free market, it seems that globalization is amplifying the problems under the free market to break away from policy control, and transferring these problems, or even spreading them to every sovereign country. When countries are in the face of globalization, every sovereign country has to sacrifice some of its rights to achieve a relatively balanced globalization.

2.2 The attitudes of different sovereign states towards globalization

Before exploring how different sovereign countries treat globalization issues, we need to understand what sovereignty is. Sovereignty is « the supreme authority within a territory» (Philpott 2020, Metaphysics Research Lab). Sovereignty entails hierarchy within the state, as well as external autonomy

for states (Hendrik 1994, pp. 3–7). In political theory, «sovereignty is a substantive term designating supreme legitimate authority over some polity» (Encyclopædia Britannica. Retrieved 5 August 2010). In international law, «sovereignty is the exercise of power by a state. » Normally, sovereignty means the possession of a right and power, disputes about sovereignty are disputes about right and power.

Sovereignty can be defined more narrowly as the right and power to create sovereignty. The final or final decision regarding the entire territory-based existence condition is physical politics. It represents the central core of rights and powers, which can be called the right to self-determination and decision-making power, that is, the basic issues involved in one's own (rather than the orders of others) one's existence. No external agency has the power to direct or order a sovereign country to take specific actions on specific basic issues. Sovereign countries enjoy this special privilege, that is, the citizens of their own government jointly manage the affairs of their own country, and jointly seek the development of the country and the prosperity of the nation.

In the process of globalization, globalization is a holistic process of social and historical changes, which produces an internal, indivisible, and increasingly strengthened connection in the world on the basis of economic integration. However, the essence of the process of globalization is an inherent contradictory process. It is a unity of contradictions, including the tendency of integration, but also the tendency of division. It is also decentralization, both internationalization and localization.

Globalization has not only greatly changed the mode of production, consumption, mankind, but also the way of thinking and behavior of human beings. The profound impact of globalization on political value, political behavior, political structure, political power, and political process is concentrated in that it poses new challenges to the ideology and structure of sovereign states.

Almost all sovereign countries and regions must comply with the reality that globalization is a process, and all parts of the world, countries, people, etc.

are more closely linked and interdependent. The number of common problems of countries have increased, and the number and types of globalization themes are also expanding. Therefore, the direction, form and result of the globalization process will always depend on the ever-changing balance of world power and on the strategy chosen by these countries or associations, as well as different geopolitical factors and other factors.

Since the beginning of the 19th century, the European interstate system has been developing an increasingly consensus international normative order and a set of international political structures that regulate various interactions. Craig Murphy called this phenomenon « global governance » (Murphy 2000, vol.76 no. 4, p. 789-803). However, this method of global governance did not prosper for too long, especially after the 2008 economic crisis, many countries in the EU have been hit hard, also due to economic crisis people in the EU begin to change their attitudes towards globalization.

According to public opinion surveys, the critical attitude of the French is particularly prominent: 85% of the interviewees said they "completely or quite agree" with the view that "in my country, globalization has reached the acceptable limit". This is the highest value among all 120 countries surveyed. In the Czech Republic (70%), Austria (69%), the United Kingdom (68%) and Germany (64%), respondents also believe that domestic criticism of globalization prevails.

In particular, those countries that have greatly benefited from cross-border trade in the past few decades seem to have reached the upper limit of their acceptance of globalization. It is in these countries that the reverse movement is particularly obvious: Britain's withdrawal referendum, the United States' Trump and his "make America great again", and France's yellow vest.

However, people on the other side of the world have a different attitude towards globalization. The world export champion and long-term "world factory", China, the majority (77%) of people who hold a positive view of globalization. The Philippines, Malaysia and many other developing or transition countries

share the same sentiment. It is because these countries still link great hopes with globalization. Perhaps we can draw a conclusion that people in rich countries believe that the limit has been reached and they can no longer benefit more from globalization.

We understand that one of the most relevant influencing factors for confidence in globalization is whether sovereign countries can obtain greater benefits from the process of globalization. In view of this situation, sovereign countries in the developing stage have obvious advantages. As shown in the above data, labor exporting countries led by China are at the lowest point of benefit in the world supply chain due to low labor prices. This is very profitable for companies and enterprises in many developed countries.

But for the governments of developed countries, these companies transport goods to other countries for production and assembly, although they can maximize the benefits, but to a certain extent reduce the labor positions in the country. So far, the governments of developed countries must reduce trade with labor-exporting countries, or force companies to reduce trade with foreign factories by increasing taxes. However, this series of actions violated the company's wishes.

As shown by public opinion surveys, more and more people are worried about the process of globalization. Such concerns are not unfounded. In fact, this concern is also reflected in the additional policies between countries. Or, it can be said that part of the world's sovereign countries have reduced their recognition of globalization. The other part of the public is obviously optimistic about the future development process of globalization. For example, China maintains a trade surplus all year round, especially when the world is enveloped by the haze of the Covid-19 virus. It is the first to break through the dilemma of the global economic decline and achieve economy in positive growth. Therefore, the opportunities and challenges brought about by globalization coexist.

In general, we must also look at the relationship between globalization and sovereign states dialectically. From the perspective of sovereign states, there is

no set of global development models suitable for all sovereign states. Therefore, sovereign states have different attitudes towards globalization. But it is also certain that globalization refers to the global flow of goods, services, and capital. When a country reduces its openness, it will affect other countries' attitudes towards globalization. When a country implements a trade protection policy, the result is obtained. Although it is a strong condemnation from other countries, it is likely to follow suit in the end.

In today's world structure, a powerful world economy can influence the transformation of other countries to a large extent, and even change the overall sovereignty of a country. This approach seems impossible to complete. However, in today's market economy, due to the global flow of trade, capital, and the development of multinational enterprises, large-power economies are indeed capable of subverting other economies, which is a privilege granted by globalization. It is also the source of inequality in development between countries. However, the claim that national sovereignty will inevitably weaken in globalization is one-sided in understanding.

In fact, it reflects in foreign policy. It can also be said that some sovereign countries in the world today consciously slow down the process of globalization, while another part of the people is obviously optimistic about the future development process of globalization. For example, China maintained a trade surplus throughout the year, especially when the world was enveloped by the Covid-19 virus. It was the first country to break through the predicament of the global economic recession and achieve positive economic growth. Therefore, we cannot simply say that the globalization process is advancing or retreating, but we must look at this issue dialectically. From the perspective of sovereign states, we say that there is no set of global development models suitable for all sovereign states.

we should distinguish: first, the different impacts on different regions and different types of countries; second, which trends weaken, and which strengthen the nation-state; The impact of globalization on the United States and the

Philippines are not the same, and no one will think that different countries will respond in the same to globalization. Because of the difference in national capabilities, the ability to take advantage of opportunities for international economic change is also different. In some countries, it is stronger than in others. Countries such as Southeast Asia have relatively weaker national development capabilities. Compared with the developed countries, this makes their economies more sensitive and vulnerable to external pressures.

It is sure that, national sovereignty may not be weakened, but people's consciousness of sovereignty has been greatly strengthened, they have gradually realized that as long as a country has a well-functioning government institution and the strongest strength, it can gain the widest recognition and support; Only by strengthening national sovereignty rather than weakening it could be guaranteed to meet various challenges. The various conflicts that emerged after the Cold War, the rise of hegemonism and power politics, the argument that human rights are superior to sovereignty and the application of strategies, the United States and other developed countries used them to trade barriers in globalization and reduce their participation in globalization. International Economic Organizations Coercive rules, ideological penetration, and even military threats and armed intervention have inspired strong demands from developing countries to defend their sovereignty, and let people see the need for weak countries to consciously strengthen their sovereignty. More and more countries have realized that they must further strengthen their state power in order not to lose their way in the process of economic globalization. More and more countries have realized that they must further strengthen their state power in order not to lose their way in the process of globalization to defend the greatest national interest, in an era of global structural changes, the actions of nation-states will never lose their meaning. Without efficient and capable countries, it is impossible to implement global policies.

2.3 The crisis of the world system, the transformation of sovereignty and the prediction of political changes

National sovereignty means that a country enjoys supreme domestic ruling power internally and completely independent autonomy externally. Sovereignty is the supreme power in the country. It is not subject to any domestic law. With this power, the country can handle all domestic affairs. Sovereignty is independent to the outside world. It is not subject to interference from any external force, nor is it infringed by external forces. Sovereignty is regarded as a natural combination of a country, and it is a country's essential characteristics and basic attributes. The sovereignty of a country is absolute, permanent, inalienable, indivisible, and inviolable. But in the era of globalization, national sovereignty itself has undergone great changes.

Today's national sovereignty no longer has the absolute supremacy inside either exclusiveness on the outside of traditional sovereignty. In the era of globalization, domestic issues are internationalized, international issues are domesticated, and the distinction between domestic issues and foreign issues is becoming increasingly blurred. Natural and man-made calamities, environmental pollution, terrorist activities, smuggling, drug trafficking, and other organized criminal activities have long transcended national borders and spread all over the world, and it is impossible to determine their ownership. In this case, a country may not exercise absolute jurisdiction over certain special matters within its territory, and it is impossible for certain matters to exclude the lawful jurisdiction of other countries.

At the same time, the convergence of global economic activities and lifestyles has led to the formation of common values, and common interests such as maintaining peace, protecting the environment, respecting human rights, and free trade have formed a level higher than that of sovereign states. Sovereignty has not been possible strictly limited to a fixed category of traditional state sovereignty is the right of a State entirely from the original have increasingly become co-owners of the rights of the international community; the absolute

authority of the sovereign territory within the original extension extending to relative authority on a global scale, sovereignty is no longer just a matter of the right of a state to control affairs that occur within its borders. The limit of a country's ability and desire to protect its people is also the limit of its sovereignty. The world has seen the terrible consequences of the negligence of Somalia, Rwanda and Indonesia in protecting their citizens

As UN Secretary-General Kofi. A. Annan said in the Global Compact¹, «the highest interests of mankind should be protected by the three chapters of the laws of all mankind. All countries are members of the world community, and each member must subordinate his own interests to the overall interests. » (Kofi 1999, SG/SM/6881)” Sovereignty is being redefined in its essence, and this is not only the result of globalization effects and international cooperation. Now, the state is seen as a tool for the people to serve, not the other way around. The 21st century is faced with a new and broader definition of national interest; it requires all countries to unite in pursuit of common goals and values. Sovereignty and the principle of non-interference should be adapted to new needs, and it should be recognized that there should be a balance between national and people's rights, and between national interests and the interests of the global village.

The transformation of sovereign states in the creation of the new world order is not a one-way nor linear transformation process. Although sovereign states have somewhat withdrawn during the process of globalization, they will be in the future for a long time. It will still be the leader on the world stage. In the future, only sovereign states will be able to solve many practical problems. Sovereignty may even increase in some respects because the current world unresolved once again shows that the national economic capacity is very high. To a large extent depends on the development of the country and the ability of leaders.

¹ SECRETARY-GENERAL PROPOSES GLOBAL COMPACT ON HUMAN RIGHTS, LABOUR, ENVIRONMENT, IN ADDRESS TO WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM IN DAVOS, Switzerland on 31 January.

Today, sovereign states may give up part of their sovereignty to supranational organizations in the cooperation of globalization. This is historical foresight and the only way to promote cooperation between countries. However, why give up and give up that part is within the sovereign state. The result of the discussion. The process of dealing with relations between countries has never been a simple zero-sum game process. In the first half of the 20th century, the seemingly stable movement of democracy suddenly turned to totalitarianism. In the late 19th century, the free trade market development has turned to protectionism. Therefore, it may be a long time to return to the country to a positive game between countries, but it is very necessary. However, it should be pointed out that when national interests are accepted by the country, they cannot be in the past. Based on the restoration of the country's increasing role, relationship is the highest reason for its activities on the world stage. We assume that if the country's foreign policy ideology is not substantially changed, the return of the role of the country will not succeed. In other words, in the pure national interest, the concept and performance of foreign policy will become the basis to the extent of the clamor in the process of striving for the organization and operation of the new world order, a new era of alliance will emerge. In this process, the outline of a new politics will be gradually drawn, as well as, in the future, the liquidity of partnerships within the world system may be strengthened, more and more alliances are getting appear around the world, such as ASEAN and the Pan-Pacific Alliance. The emergence of new alliances also means that the country has found relative stability in handling diplomatic undertakings. In this form, much similar to the intermediary, participants in the world and regional remediation arena will find the most powerful and convenient obstacles and agreements among them, and ultimately will also be satisfied with their interests in the alliance and establish a new world order. These changes will prepare the world for a new phase of globalization.

National sovereignty has changed from non-transferable to transferable. The concept of national sovereignty has served the interests of the country in a

specific historical period since they came into being. As a tool to safeguard the existence and development of a nation-state, it is not an end in itself. The purpose of safeguarding sovereignty is to achieve national interests and citizen welfare. An institutional tool for maximization. The transfer of sovereignty and the realization of sovereignty are not necessarily contradictory and incompatible. In the case of autonomy and voluntariness, the state surrendering part of its sovereignty is precisely a manifestation of the exercise of sovereignty. Its essence is a necessary restriction on self-rights by a sovereign state for the needs of development, and the transfer of rights is also for the better maintain sovereignty.

Chapter 3

Recent trends of globalization processes

Entering the market is a world market for standardized consumer products. In the process of homogenization on a global scale, the modern market is expanding, and many are gradually undergoing changes. To seek development for themselves, it will inevitably turn the labor-intensive market into a knowledge-intensive market. At this point, some people regard it as an ideal and irreversible engine for prosperity and progress, which has brought many benefits, including reducing poverty in some countries, but it also has a dark side: because modern technology includes compression, drugs and the diversified flow of human trafficking, organized crime, money laundering and global pandemics. This kind of early flow speed greatly strengthened the expansion of these dark sides, especially in some complications. Today, such problems can no longer be ignored.

When follow to the National Intelligence Council, the key trends in the development of the globalized world by 2035 will be weak economic growth, and thus, the main economies will face a reduction in the labor force and a decrease in productivity growth. Accelerating technological progress that will create new opportunities but will lead to increased discrepancies between leaders and outsiders; the further spread of automation and artificial intelligence, which threaten to swiftly change the industry, potentially pushing workers with traditional skills and limiting the usual development path for poor countries, climate change, environmental and health problems that will require more attention and collective action, even if cooperation becomes more difficult; the

change in the nature of conflicts, the number of which will increase because of divergent interests among the great powers, the expansion of terrorist threats.

The versatility and dynamics of the world's economic development indicate that it is necessary to conduct a systematic study of progress in order to identify the challenges that countries have dealt with. The conflicts that arise will only lead to further changes in trends. However, today's social globalization is still the bond of the relationship between countries. While enjoying the dividends brought about by development, we cannot ignore the growing imbalance in development among countries. Whether globalization will continue to bring the world into a state of rapid development as before, or will it face doubts and shrinking, this will be the topic we will focus on in this chapter.

3.1 Is globalization going backwards or forwards, or standing still?

In essence, it is no longer a brand-new phenomenon, and even the continuation of development has continued for a long period of displacement. However, the latest trend of national liberalization and the quality of economic activities are essentially different because the world is no longer a collection of relatively autonomous economies. Perhaps we should call these entities the country or region. Due to the influence of technology, the exchange of natural science and products across countries, the improvement of transport network engineering and technology, and the reduction of costs are aggravated, also intensity of competition. A flexible production form, global production has achieved further geographical dispersion and further network expansion. However, the new global production method has brought new risks and challenges to small industries. For factories, the substitution of production means that the combination of sub-packages can be changed. Although they are legally independent, these parts manufacturers still need to cooperate with the global scope. The domestic and foreign partners within the production network maintain close substitute relations. To ensure that the second world is closely connected,

especially in the process of providing trade markets and services. According to data provided by the UN Comtrade database ¹, between 20century 90'and 21 century first 5 years' parts and components accounted for a quarter of the export scale of transportation and machinery in many countries.

Table 4 - Geographic Profile of World Trade in Parts and Components, 1992/93 and 2005/06

	Exports		Imports		Trade (exports + imports)	
	1992/93	2005/06	1992/93	2005/06	1992/93	2005/06
East Asia	30.1	40.6	24.4	38.1	27.3	39.4
Japan	15.7	10.0	3.3	4.0	9.5	7.0
Developing East Asia	14.4	30.6	21.1	34.1	17.8	32.3
ASEAN + 3	26.4	25.6	18.1	29.4	22.2	27.5
Republic of Korea	2.3	4.9	2.7	2.7	2.5	3.8
People's Republic of China (PRC)	1.1	10.9	2.4	11.5	1.8	11.2
ASEAN 10	6.1	10.7	9.6	11.1	7.8	10.9
Indonesia	0.1	0.5	0.9	0.3	0.5	0.4
Malaysia	2.1	3.8	2.6	2.8	2.3	3.3
Philippines	0.6	2.1	0.5	1.4	0.5	1.8
Singapore	2.5	2.7	4.0	4.9	3.3	3.8
Thailand	0.8	1.4	1.6	1.4	1.2	1.4
Viet Nam	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.1
Other ASEAN	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Taipei, China	3.3	3.3	2.8	2.6	3.1	3.0
Hong Kong, China	1.7	0.8	3.6	6.1	2.6	3.4
South Asia	0.1	0.3	0.6	0.7	0.4	0.5
India	0.1	0.3	0.4	0.6	0.2	0.5
Oceania	0.3	0.2	1.3	0.8	0.8	0.5
NAFTA	24.8	17.6	26.9	20.4	25.8	19.0
Mexico	2.4	2.7	1.9	3.4	2.1	3.1
EU15	36.0	27.7	38.3	28.7	37.2	28.2
Developed countries	76.2	53.9	69.7	51.6	72.9	52.7
Developing economies	23.8	46.1	30.3	48.4	27.1	47.3
World	100	100	100	100	100	100
	502	1762	502	1762		

¹ The UN trade data reporting system does not provide for the separation of parts and components from total (reported) trade in these product groups. However, according to evidence from case studies, production sharing practices are not still widespread in these industries.

Source: Compiled from UN Comtrade database (importer record). P. 23

The increase in the share of imports and exports. The growth in GDP clearly shows that the national economy is increasingly exposed to the international community and national trade. Second, the continuous redistribution of manufacturing activities and industrialization have brought new opportunities for developing countries and countries in transition to expand trade.

(a) Total Manufacturing

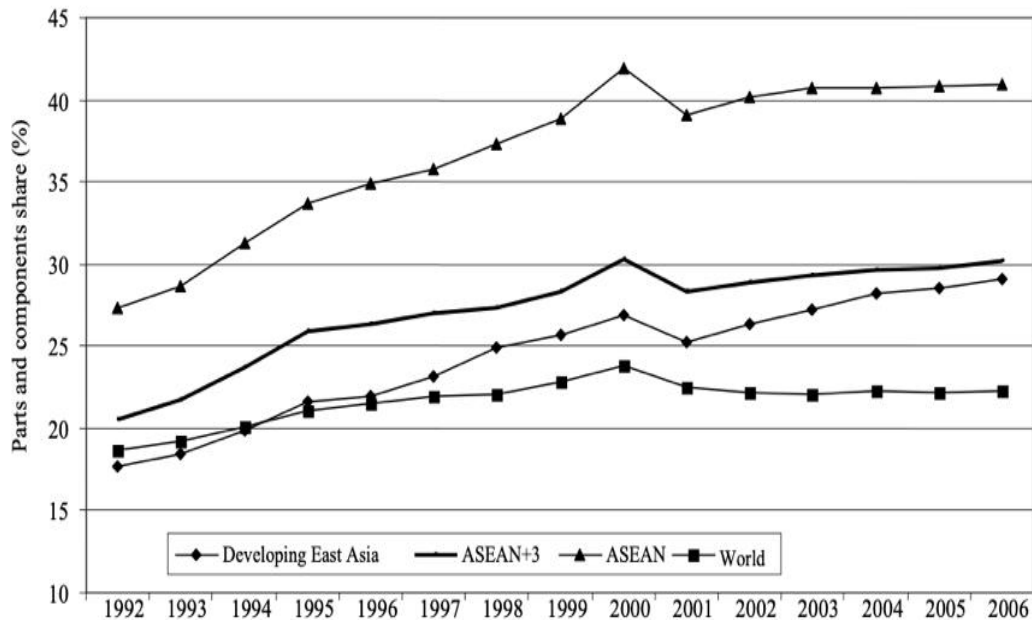
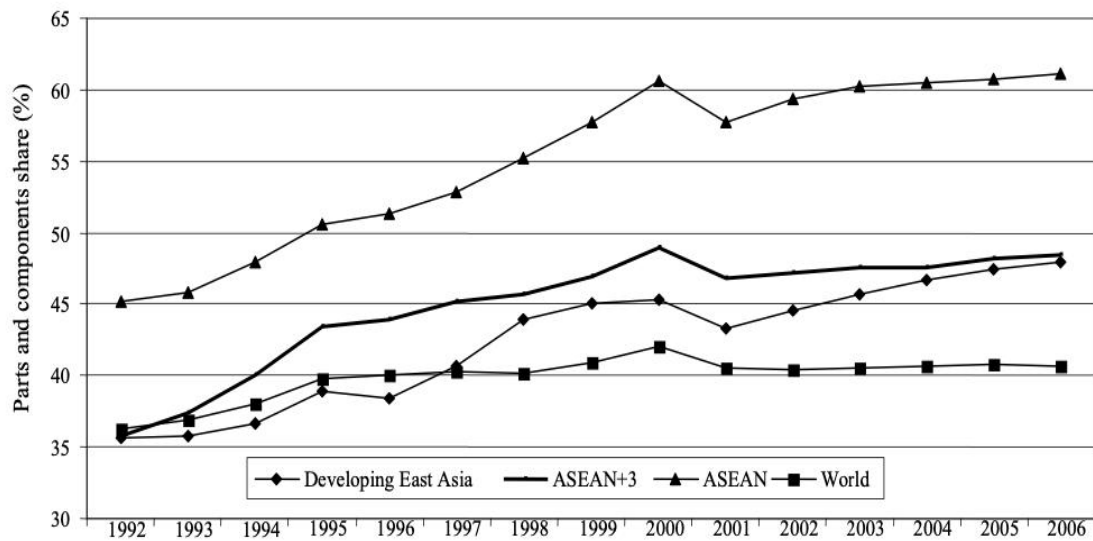


Figure 5 - Share of Parts and Components(P&C) in Manufacturing Trade by Region, 1992-2006

(b) Machinery and Transport Equipment



Source: Based on data compiled from UN Comtrade database (importer records).

Splitting the vertically integrated production process allows the company to locate production areas across countries based on the comparative advantages of each country. It may be that workers in a particular country or region often have different skills from other countries or regions, and the skills required by each production department are also different.

Therefore, decentralized activities will reduce the marginal production cost. At the same time, through two from the data, we can see that the trade situation of industrial parts and components has been on an upward trend in recent years, especially in some countries in ASEAN, which rely on the advantages of labor-intensive industries and become indispensable in the industrial chain. It also promotes the circulation of capital, labor, and trade worldwide. But through the chart, it seems to see that the industrial imports and exports of some regions and alliances are much higher than the world level, which also causes these labor-intensive industries. It is difficult for developing countries to change.

At the same time, it has also promoted the circulation of capital, labor, and trade worldwide. However, through those figures, we can also see that share of parts and components in manufacturing by ASEAN were much higher than the world level, which also makes it difficult for these labor-intensive industrial developed countries. Transformation can only develop at the bottom end of the industrial chain into the lowest stage of product production, hardly it could generate added value.

From a technical perspective, the technological changes we are witnessing today affect technical parameters and the exchange of natural sciences and products across countries. The continuous improvement of the transportation network has greatly enhanced the speed of product transportation and the quality of transportation. Under the globalization of the market, large companies have to focus on core areas, while non-core areas are outsourced to small companies. Respond flexibly to market signals. On the one hand, large companies can use their unique competitive advantages to dominate transactions in high-growth industries. On the other hand, new global production methods expose small-scale industries to new risks. Due to the lack of core competitiveness of small companies, it is easier to be replaced, but these small industries are basically the lowest link in the value chain we mentioned above.

As far as it is concerned, although low prices are obtained in the production process, the company expands a large amount of assembly business to it, and even builds the factory locally, which also dampens the degree of employment. As a result, some factories in developed countries are facing bankruptcy, workers are facing unemployment, because labor prices in these countries have no advantage, However, companies can better choose partners in the process of globalization, but factory workers do not have the opportunity to choose. They will not only become victims of globalization if they are forced to lose their jobs. It will also increase the pressure on the trade unions, and at the same time breed populism, and even hate those who “rob” them of their jobs.

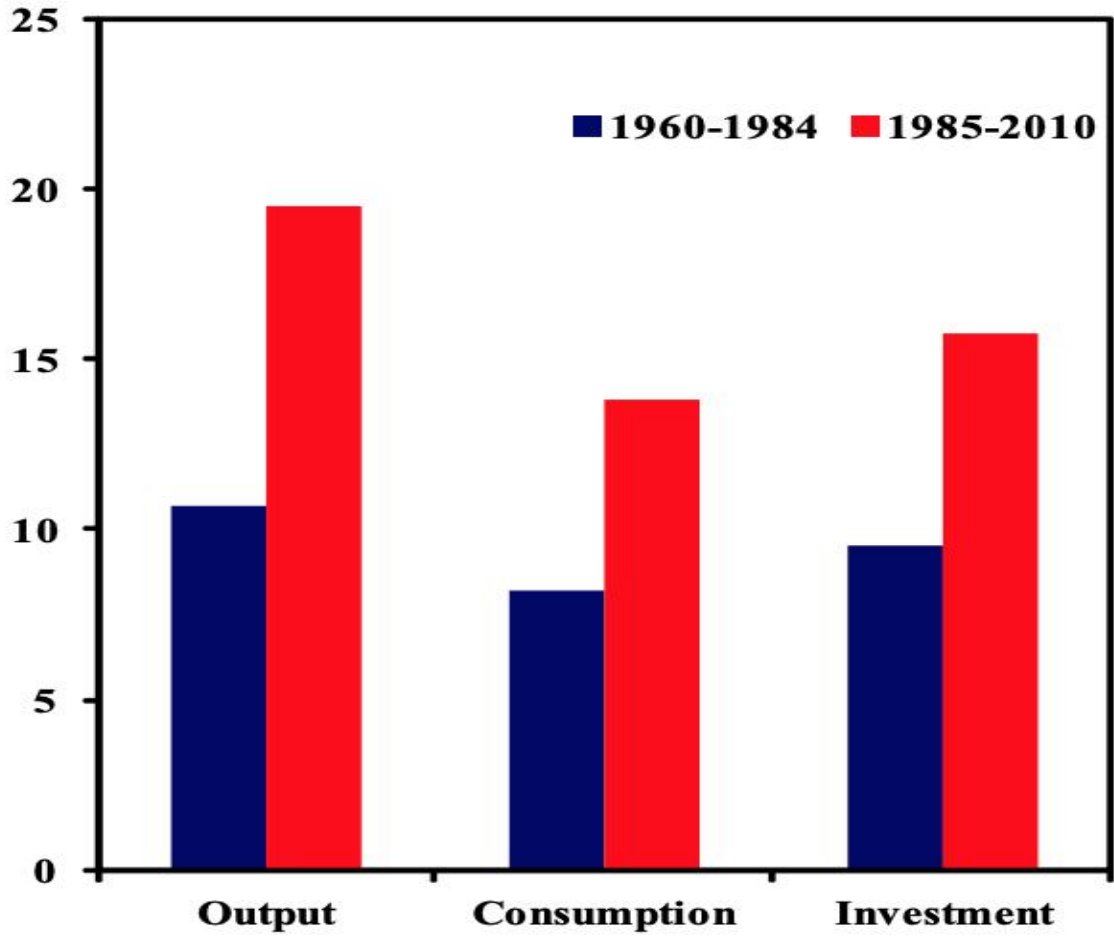
From this point of view, it is difficult for us to say whether the process of globalization is advancing or retreating, because it is true that some countries and organizations still benefit from globalization, but this simple gain in benefits cannot be the only goal of globalization, both developed and developing countries have realized that globalization has brought too close relations between countries, and that a country's crisis may spread to more countries in the world, such as the 2008 economic crisis making countries begin to reflect on the benefits brought about by globalization, as well as the unbreakable connections. No country can stand alone, but when the country began to doctrine and began to reflect, the process of globalization began to gradually cool down, but this only slowed down, it does not mean stagnation. We cannot find the performance of globalization regression from a single event, and at the same time, from the perspective of international politics in recent years, either find the performance of globalization. Therefore, globalization is a complicated subject. Performance is like being unable to give it a perfect definition, nor can simply define current state.

3.2 Globalization versus regionalization

Although we cannot accurately define the current state of globalization, global and regional economies have certainly been significantly strengthened in the past decade, especially the relationship between the evolution of global and regional business cycles from 1960 to 2010². It can be seen from the changes in the sample cycle of a large number of countries and regions that since the mid-1980s, regional factors have been significantly more important than global factors in explaining regional trade, capital flows, and national politics.

² IMF Working Paper Research Department Regionalization vs. Globalization Prepared by Hideaki Hirata, M. Ayhan Kose and Christopher Otrok 1 January 2013

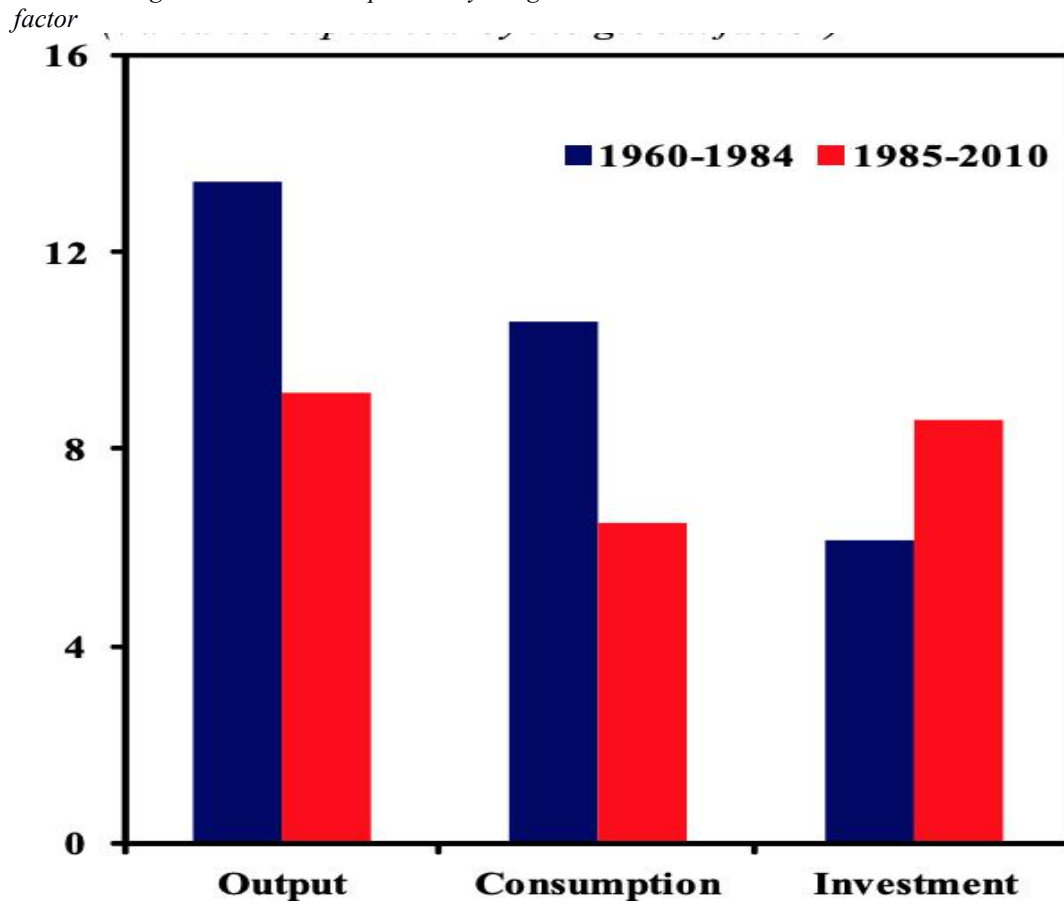
Figure 6 - Variance explained by regional factors



Source: IMF Working Paper Research Department Regionalization vs. Globalization

In contrast, the importance of global factors has declined over the same period.

Figure 7 - Variance explained by the global

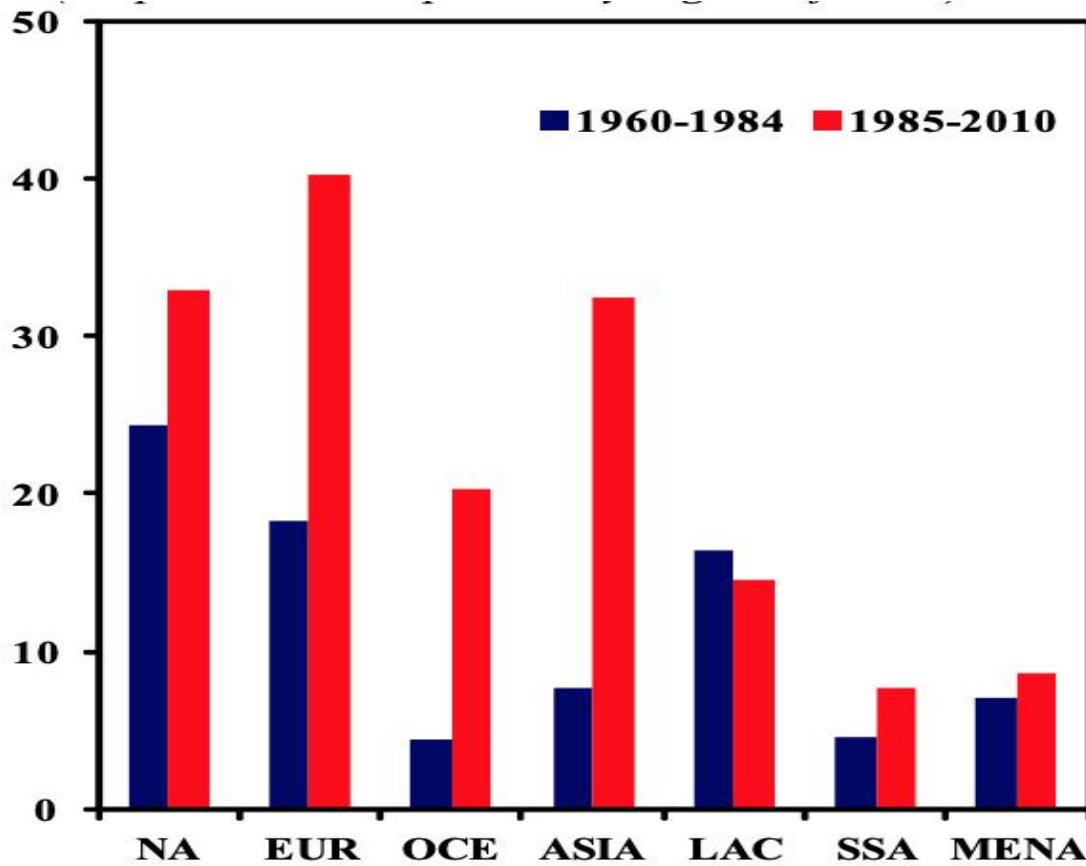


Source: IMF Working Paper Research Department Regionalization vs. Globalization

Therefore, the investigation IMF have taken into account the period of seven regions: North America, Europe, Oceania, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, the Middle East and North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa³.

³ They estimate the model separately over the two periods, 1960–84 (red) and 1985–2010 (blue). We then compute the variance decompositions for each country, for output, consumption and investment in each of these two periods. Each bar then represents the cross-sectional mean of the variance share (in percent) attributable to the respective factors for that particular variable in a given period.

Figure 8 - Output variance explained by regional factors



Source: IMF Working Paper Research Department Regionalization vs. Globalization

The largest regional alliance is the European Union, which has attracted global attention since the 2016 British referendum. Some experts, scholars and governments believe that the British referendum is one of the important manifestations of the decline globalization, while another part believes that the United Kingdom's withdrawal from the European Union alliance communicates with the world in the form of a sovereign state. This is the beginning of breaking regionalization and the beginning of reshaping transformation. On the contrary, it promoted the development process of globalization, rather than the regression of globalization.

Looking back at the whole world, are globalization and regionalization processes replacing or supplementing? Should countries enter the global

economy immediately or should they take regionalization as the first step and then integrate them into the integration of globalization?

However, the mutual answers to these questions are for different countries and depend on the overall development level and structural model of the sovereign state. Just like Brexit, in a group, if the gap is too large, it will be separated from the average level of development, which will also be a big blow to the more mature countries. Then some mature countries will inevitably reduce the agreements signed with other countries in the region alliance, so that the contradiction between the country and the country cannot be reconciled, and it will eventually be at the cost of a temporary goodbye from one party.

But the convincing argument is that every region and country in the world has participated in an in-depth debate about how to respond to globalization challenges and globalization behavior and design in today's world.

This strategy includes two aspects, the national part, and the regional part.

The prerequisite for each country or region to play a role in the evolutionary debate is that each country or region must have balanced development and reduce the possibility of wars, diseases, and other factors that are not conducive to national development.

At the national part, more attention is paid to the macroeconomic balance in the field of economic development, and the government also plays a very important role. The role of the government ineffective progress has been redefined (Emmerij 1999, p. 6). The policy goal is to avoid dismantling or shrinking the government but to strengthen the government's ability to make public decisions. Due to some substitution issues in the free market, it must be proactively handed over to the government to promote fair development.

On the regional level, the strategy requires the adoption of regionally dominant developing countries and transition countries to be superior to globalization. Globalization and regionalization are two processes driven by two completely different factors. Globalization takes the form of production internationalization or international trade, based on the form of global

international capital flows, and spreads through the form of company operations on a global scale. On the contrary, regionalization is the realization of economic and trade exchanges between neighboring countries. It is an agreement in which several countries have the same or similar markets and are arranged and guided by the governments of each country in a specific part, such as the North American Trade Agreement, ASEAN, EU, etc., where the country's trade unions are located in geographical locations. The above is close or adjacent and has a similar culture to the foundation. The connection and communication between governments are closely related, so this is a process promoted by the public sector.

Whether on a national or regional scale, the main problem affecting the development process stems from liberalism's overall policy of full liberalization of selective and temporary trade protectionism. This policy is actually a method adopted by industrialized countries coexisting for several years. Therefore, countries in a region should first improve their international competitiveness and evaporate their regionalization plan before exposing themselves to the mature global environment. (Emmerij, 1999 p. 12).

3.3 The beneficiaries and losers in globalization

It is generally believed that globalization, based on the liberalization of the ecosystem, will bring about economic progress and at the same time change existing policies and technological developments.

For example, as resource allocation improves, competition increases, and consumers have more choices, consumers can take advantage of the capabilities of the international capital market and new ideas, technologies, and products.

For the private sector, globalization means that economic entities face more opportunities, but competition is fiercer than ever. On the other hand, globalization also requires tremendous changes in the role of the government. In

a fiercely competitive environment, clear operating rules, a stable macroeconomic environment, unlimited import channels, and effective economic and social infrastructure are required, all of which are the requirements of the central government.

In recent years, all countries in the world have become more and more controversial about globalization. The core proposition in defending globalization is that under an open trade and capital system, investment and growth will be stronger. However, there is little evidence to support this argument. On the contrary, since the beginning of financial liberalization in the 1970s, the growth rate of world GDP has declined in the 1980s and 1990s. In addition, the overall share of global investment in GDP has declined, which indicates that the share has fallen. (Berthelot 1999 p. 6)

Another controversial issue raised by the promoters of globalization is that increasing liberalization of trade and capital markets is associated with higher resource allocation efficiency. However, globalization is a highly unbalanced process, and many facts can prove this. For example, increasing trade does not lead to fair distribution, and the proportion of low-income people has not decreased.

The beneficiaries and losers of globalization apply to different countries and different groups of people in the world. The increasing inequality between countries seems to be the result of the process of globalization. Compared with the past Gini coefficient, the world's use of Per capita GDP increased from 0.44 in 1960 to 0.55 in 1989 (UNIDO, 1996, p. 6). At about the same time, from 1960 to 1990, the income gap between the richest countries and the poorest countries doubled from a 30:1 ratio to a 60:1 ratio. In the following seven years the ratio was further increased to 74:1 (UNIDO, 1999, p. 2). At the national level, methods of measuring income levels.

Inequality is increasing almost everywhere. This applies to industrialized countries as well as developing countries and countries in transition. In it, for example, in the United States, the salary of an average CEO is 41 times the

average salary. In 1970, the average was a manufacturing worker. By 1997, this ratio had increased to 326:1 (Magarinos 1998, p. 9)

This imbalance is reflected in both the macroeconomic and microeconomics. In the first chapter, we mentioned that the reasons for long-term population migration include both economics and education, environment, culture, etc., while countries with mature economic development have other aspects. There are more advantages, while attracting more talents, while other populations are facing an awkward situation when they migrate abroad.

So, we can simplify the conclusion that some countries are winners in the process of globalization, and on the contrary, some countries are losers.

This is because in the process of globalization, there are major differences between individuals. Developed countries or regions have foresight and higher resistance to the risks brought by globalization. On the contrary, for developing countries and transitional countries, their circle performance can be measured by the level and speed of their integration into the world.

Two factors seem to be crucial. The first one is economic growth. A quarter of the developing countries with the highest degree of integration experienced rapid growth during 1984-1993, nearly 3 percentage points higher than the slowest growth. The second factor is the quality of policies. As it turns out, we mentioned in section 3.2, how the government redistributes various resources is a very important issue. In developing countries, a huge problem is that the inequality of resource distribution is much higher than that of developed countries. It is not only exacerbating the inequality between the rich and the poor among countries in the process of globalization, but also aggravating the inequality between the rich and the poor in the country.

Three types of policies have been identified as those that affect the speed of integration, relatively fast: those that affect macroeconomic policies, factors that affect the trade and foreign direct investment system, and economic infrastructure.

Policy reforms aimed at increasing the level of economic growth. Growth and stability may affect a country's integration speed and directly affect their impact on growth (World Bank, 1996b, Chapter 2).

Chapter 4

The evolution of attitudes towards globalization in the XXI century

In the past 70 years, mankind has developed rapidly. The three technological revolutions led to the rapid spread and development of economy, politics, and culture, as well as three waves of globalization, which changed the entire world. The development of mankind has accelerated at an exponential rate. Both population and trade are flowing in large quantities under the promotion of globalization. Cheap petroleum fuels have brought about the development of the transportation industry. The rapid changes in goods and services have improved the quality of life of billions of people. The growth of the global economy has led to a decline in the level of global poverty and suffering, as well as improvements in health, and the level of education and well-being has increased significantly.

Since the 21st century, globalization has entered a new stage. Globalization scholars define it as the third wave of globalization. It is distinguished from the first wave that began in 1870 and the second wave after World War II. Globalization is even a historical process. It is also a historical force that promotes major changes in the field of social life. Therefore, its manifestation and impact are constantly developing. Compared with the previous stages of globalization, the globalization since the 21st century or more accurately the globalization since the mid-1990s.

Economically, globalization is closely related to marketization, urbanization, industrialization and informatization, forming a complex process of mutual influence and mutual promotion. Undoubtedly, these are not new changes, but a new phenomenon that can occur on a global scale and form complex and diverse interactions. Globalization is primarily economic globalization, which is based on the main resource allocation mechanism for the development of the world market. World trade negotiations continue to deepen, the types and scope of

tariffs in various countries continue to decrease, and the market economy system continues to improve. This provides institutional conditions for the global flow of production factors (such as capital, commodities, information, and human resources) and the expansion and deepening of the international division of labor.

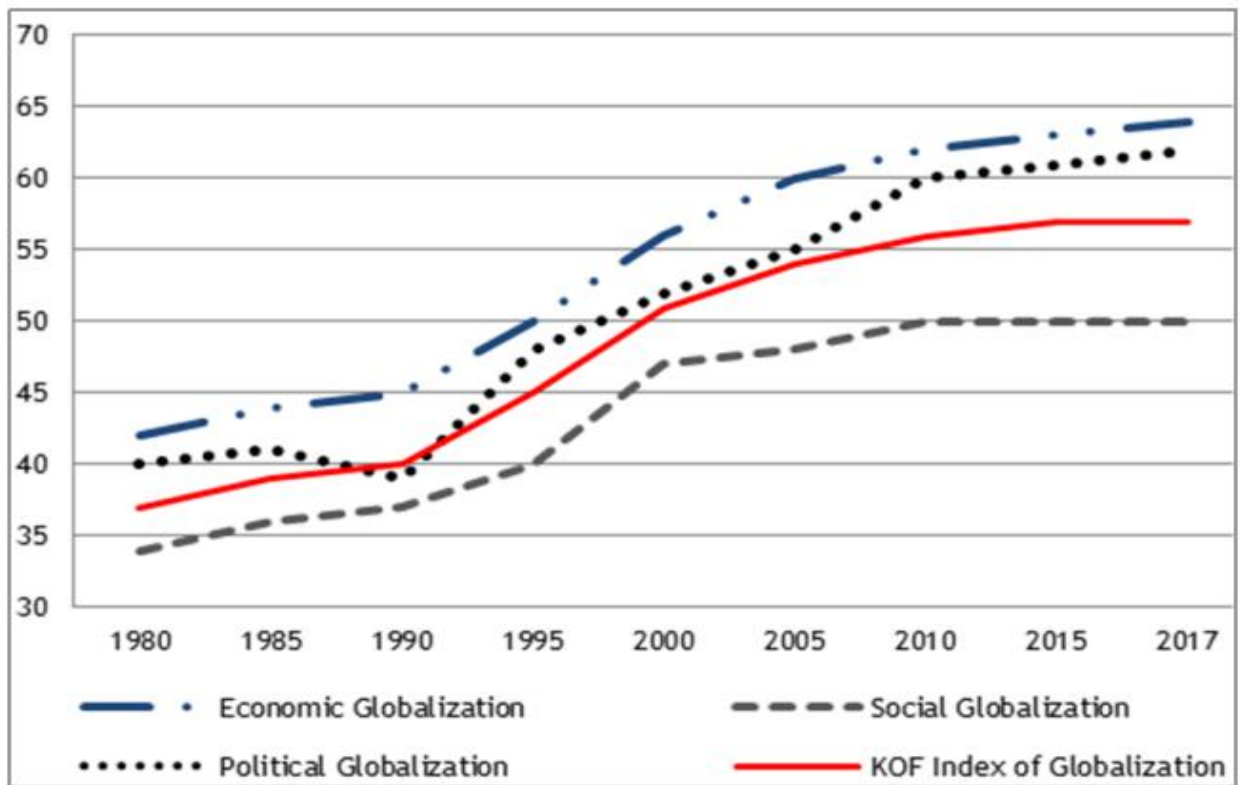
In international politics, with the development of globalization to multiple levels and multiple fields, globalization is also changing the situation at the center below. It is hoped that multiple forces will participate in and promote the transformation. The subject has been involved in the process of globalization and has continued to grow stronger. The «Western Center» (Hobson 2012, p. 185) situation is undergoing profound changes, and globalization is becoming more diverse. With the deepening of the degree of globalization in various countries, the interaction between the domestic and international levels has become closer and more frequent, leading to the "internationalization"(S. Gerald 2007, P281) of domestic problems and the «internalization of international problems» (Vygotsky 1978, p. 55-56). In the process of globalization, no country can stand alone. All countries no longer regard globalization as an external force or the background of development, but as a starting point for thinking and promoting their own development and a component of development, and actively form their own globalization strategies.

Since the 21st century, a series of global problems and global risks have occurred continuously, including the "September 11" incident, the global financial crisis, the tsunami, and nuclear leakage caused by the Japanese earthquake, and global warming. Global problems and global risks are inevitable and inevitable results. In the process of progress, the competition between countries has become more comprehensive and fiercer, and the performance of the country is facing more severe tests. Through the interconnection between countries, the degree of interdependence continues to increase, and the overall national strength competition becomes more intense and comprehensive. Since the 21st century, science and technology, human resources, institutional mechanisms, and cultural values have all become areas of competition among

countries, and competition around markets, resources, talents, technology, and standards has intensified. The core of the competition between countries is the strategic commanding heights and moral advantages of development.

To make globalization better measured, in 2002, the Swiss Institute of Economics proposed a calculation method, the KOF index method. This index is an indicator of economic, political, and social globalization. Through this indicator, we can simply calculate the world the index of the globalization of a country and know exactly the degree of globalization of a country, since the 1970s, the globalization in the economic, social, and political fields has been on the rise, and it has been particularly promoted after the end of the Cold War.

Figure 9 - The dynamics of the Globalization Index and its components



Source: KOF-globalization-index 2017. <https://www.kof.ethz.ch/en/news-and-events/media/press-releases/2017/04/kof-globalization-index-2017.html> (2017). Accessed 13 Nov 2018

From the figure 8, we can see that since the end of the Cold War, the process of globalization in the world has grown from about 40% to 60% in the past 40 years. However, the problem is that the process of globalization has been rapid before entering the 21st century. However, when we entered a new era, the enthusiasm for the wave of globalization began to fade. From the figure, it can be seen that the globalization index has not even risen more than 10% from 2000 to 2017. At the same time, since 2008 The process of globalization has stabilized since the beginning of the 21st century. In the first 20 years of the 21st century, the factors driving the development of globalization are particularly prominent in economic and political aspects, but from the perspective of provincial capitals, they are not satisfactory. In other words, people have begun to become conservative in social globalization.

The Globalization Index is calculated as the sum of these components with a weighting of 36%, 39% and 25%, respectively. The specialized databases of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the United Nations, the International Telecommunication Union, other international organizations and statistical institutes are the information sources in the development of the Index. The dynamics of globalization and its constituents testifies to the irreversibility of mutual influence and increasing the level of synchronization of the processes of functioning of an increasing number of countries in the world. The greatest progress has taken place at the level of economic globalization. Political globalization also progressed, but social globalization was characterized by stagnation. According to the KOF Globalization Index for 2018¹, the Switzerland -90.76, Netherlands -90.68, and Sweden – 89.43 were the most globalized. Italy's globalization index is 82.82, France is 87.69, Spain is 83.81, and Germany is 88.82. Globalization as a process of unifying socio-economic and political processes in its development raises new challenges for individual countries. However, this data is in a downward trend compared with the past ten years, and

¹ KOF Globalization Index_2020. <https://kof.ethz.ch/en/forecasts-and-indicators/indicators/kof-globalisation-index.html>

the top three countries are also changing. Therefore, countries have different views on globalization, and there are also gaps in their choices when opening.

Other forms of globalization affect even those countries that are less globalized economically, and therefore their successful development depends largely on the ability to respond adequately to constantly emerging challenges.

4.1 Globalization processes focus on the economic dimensions

Globalization has become one of the largest and most dynamic processes, and it is also one of the characteristics of the global economy. Therefore, the identification of economic characteristics of globalization is very important, thinking that it not only determines the current economic development trend but also provides feasible solutions to change the threat to individual countries.

«Globalized markets are world markets for standardized consumer products. In the process of global homogenization, modern markets are expanding to achieve cost savings on a global scale » (Harvard Business Review, 2018).

All in all, the evolution process in the 21st century has become an objective and realistic development of the modern stage, and its complexity has gradually emerged. In the initial stage, the global commodity, service and service market operations are in a relatively long and unified stage. The economic integration in the 21st century embodies more specific technological innovation. In the field of network technology and culture, both have direct or indirect effects on the economy. The reason why we are talking about a highly uneven process of development is also due to a transition in the economies of various countries, a transition from an industrial economy to a compact technology, and this process requires the country to be very mature and stable in the industrial sector. Downstream factories also provide a large number of funds and talents in the field of scientific research. However, for countries in the lower reaches of the industry, economic accumulation is more like plunder of resources. It is predatory because resources are inherently limited. Some countries are faced

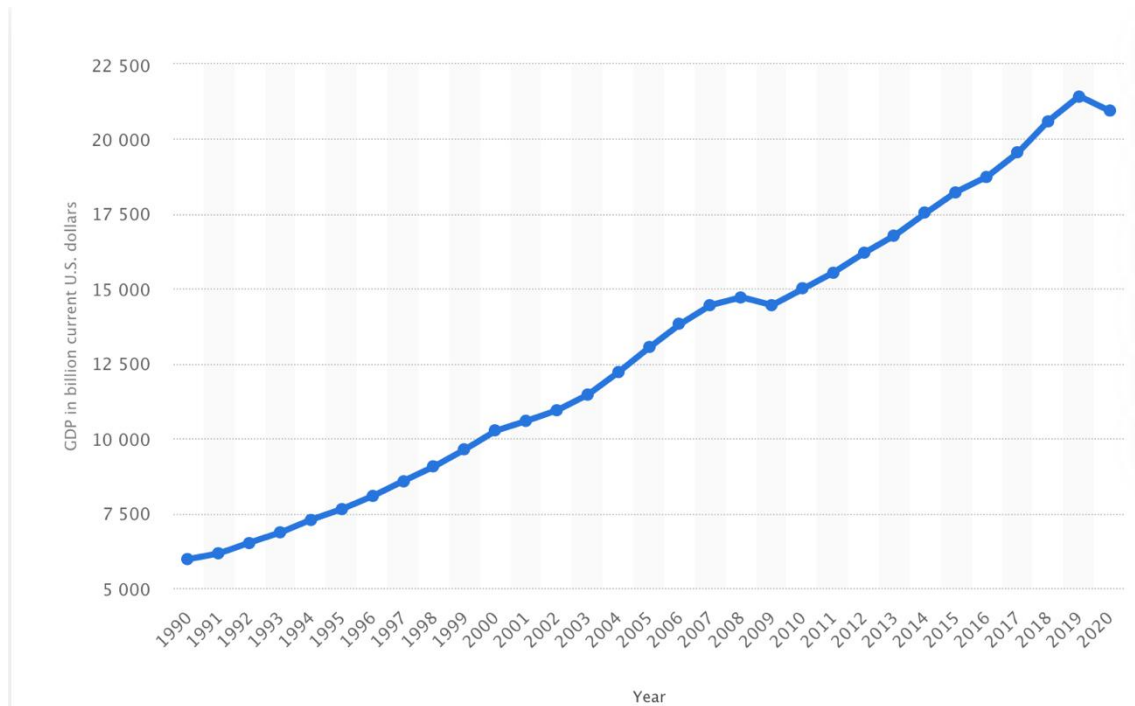
with these challenges. Behind this are new ideas, progress, and the emergence of new changes. This difference has promoted the country's transformation. However, this process is very difficult.

Therefore, we say that the economic foundation created is a huge challenge for any country, and the development of economic transformation needs to consider the objectivity of its content. One study by IMF experts indicate that economic dynamics in some countries are largely affected by the development in others. Thus, the temporary slowdown in the US growth rate about 1 percentage point directly leads to a decline in growth in all European countries by about 0.5%. In addition, indirect secondary effects of lowering growth rates in the developed European countries may weaken growth in emerging markets by 0.25% (Europe's Economic Outlook in Six Charts 2018, IMF COUNTRY FOCUS).

Global competition has not only intensified competition between countries and enterprises but also intensified the dependence on the development of "high" factors, which in turn is a serious obstacle preventing other participants from joining these processes. The battle for leadership will never stop at any level of the world economy. The competition of leaders in specific regions, the guise of global leaders-all of this leads to the search for true competitive advantage, which increasingly depends on the quality of the established socio-economic system in these countries or other countries. In fact, it can be said that targeting powerful players to provide competitive advantages in various ways has become another factor in the globalization process.

Therefore, for some countries, the level of economic development is further expanding, some countries have ensured national economic reforms and increased income on the road of economic globalization. What can be found from the figure below is that between 1990 and 2020, the trend of GDP from 1990 (5963.1 billion U.S. dollars) to 2020 (20934.8 billion U.S. dollars) has increased by approximately three time.

Figure 10 – Gross domestic product (GDP) of the United States from 1990 to 2020 (in billion current U.S. dollars)



Source: Statista Research Department, Mar 22, 2021

At the same time, we have also found indicators of investment activities in countries around the world in the process of economic globalization. From the figure below, we can see that the gap between developed countries and other countries is still relatively large. The countries that have developed countries can get more capital investment from the foreign branches of the country, but on the contrary, the inability of other developing countries to obtain the required amount of investment will limit their innovation capabilities and lead to technological disruption and economic backlogs. So, in the 21st century, the economic development of various countries is more towards the field of economic innovation, and the reform of economic structure is carried out.

Figure 11 – Indicators of the investment activity of individual countries of the world

Countries	Share of investments in GDP, %			Investment, US \$ per capita		
	2000	2010	2017	2000	2010	2017
World	24.1	23.9	24.2	1315	2266	2601
Developed countries						
USA	21	15	21	7654	7256	11204
Germany	24	19	20	5692	7939	9394
France	20	19	23	4495	7733	9852
Japan	25	20	24	9633	8900	11656
Sweden	22	23	26	6442	11977	14718
Developing countries						
Korea	31	30	31	3700	6645	8107
India	24	36	31	108	484	615
China	35	48	44	335	2188	3225
Brazil	18	20	15	670	2224	1637
Mexico	22	22	23	1460	1950	2286
Turkey	20	19	31	843	1920	4630
Transitive economics						
Poland	25	21	20	1123	2645	3165
Czechia	31	27	26	1860	5536	5916
Russia	19	23	24	337	2455	2748
Ukraine	20	20	21	127	593	629

Source: Indicators. The World Bank. <https://www.worldbank.org> (2018).

Figure 12 – Indicators of the innovative activity of individual countries of the world

Countries	Research and development expenditure, % of GDP			Research and development expenditure, US \$ per capita		
	2000	2010	2016	2000	2010	2016
World	2.06	2.04	2.23	163	262	350
Developed countries						
USA	2.62	2.73	2.74	955	1320	1461
Germany	2.39	2.71	2.89	652	1064	1362
France	2.08	2.17	2.24	545	782	959
Japan	2.90	3.14	3.12	770	1099	1335
Sweden	-	3.22	3.26	-	1342	1845
Developing countries						
Korea	2.18	3.45	4.23	394	1048	1098
India	0.74	0.82	0.83	15	35	39
China	9.89	1.71	2.07	26	160	154
Brazil	1.00	1.16	1.31	90	165	142
Mexico	0.32	0.54	0.49	33	79	98
Turkey	0.48	0.84	0.88	46	146	131
Transitive economics						
Poland	0.64	0.72	0.97	68	152	157
Czechia	1.12	1.34	1.73	181	371	368
Russia	1.05	1.13	1.11	72	232	126
Ukraine	0.96	0.83	0.45	36	64	33

Source: Indicators. The World Bank <http://www.worldbank.org> (2018).

This imbalance is also reflected in employment. On the one hand, population growth is showing an uneven situation. The level of wage income varies greatly among countries. The process of national economic transformation will inevitably lead to the transfer of labor, part of which is in the process of

economic transformation. Countries in transition will reduce some labor-oriented industries, causing this part of the labor force to become unemployed, while emerging labor exporting countries will become new world factories, but when they cannot meet the needs of the world, they will seek more population. This will cause future economic transformation to go back and forth in the next 50 years, and other economies in the world will face the same situation as today.

4.2 Focus on the economic and political dimensions

Global policy forum Europe is the organization to monitoring global policymaking which put that traditionally, politics is carried out within the national political system, and governments of various countries are ultimately responsible for safeguarding the safety and economic interests of their citizens, as well as protecting human rights and the environment within their borders. With the global ecological changes, the increasingly integrated global economy, and other global trends, there are more and more political activities on a global scale.

Under globalization, politics can be conducted on the state through political integration programs such as the European Union and intergovernmental organizations such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the World Trade Organization. Political activities can also transcend national boundaries through global campaigns and non-governmental organizations. Civil society organizations use global communication systems through alliances with organizations in other countries around the world and directly lobby international organizations and other participants instead of working through their own governments to take action on a global scale.

In the 21st century, experts and scholars from various countries have more intense debates on globalization and global governance. The European zone has always been the main zone against globalization, especially Western European countries, which is one of the centers and power sources of anti-globalization.

There are many NGOs and protest coalitions in these countries. Because of their instigation, large-scale anti-globalization protests are particularly prominent in the 21st century.

- 1999 June U.K, strike protests broke out.
- 2000 January Switzerland condemned globalization.
- 2000 May U.K. anti-globalization demonstrations broke out.
- 2000 September Czech Republic, anti-globalization demonstrations broke out.
- 2001 June Gothenburg, anti-globalization demonstrations broke out.
- 2001 July Italy, anti-globalization demonstrations broke out.
- 2001 December Brussels anti-manipulation.

Two main factors make the European continent so opposed to globalization. First, the huge impact of globalization on Europe is mainly manifested in unemployment. Unemployment rates in European countries are generally high. At present, about 13.282 million people cannot find jobs in EU countries (The rate of unemployment 2021, Eurostat). Although the current social security system prevents them from having a living, Europeans know that in the context of globalization, they will have to reform market requirements. The government can no longer afford the existing social welfare system, and enterprises cannot afford expensive human capital.

Although the unemployment rate of European people is rising, the refugee crisis has quietly approached, but this term is incorrect. Since the Geneva Convention ² came into effect in 1950, EU countries have made great contributions to accepting and protecting refugees. After the 21st century, the number of refugees continues to increase. Under the dual impact of the 2008 economic crisis, European countries have actually been unable to continue to engage in more refugee work. However, the immigration crisis that broke out in 2015 caused internal and external troubles in European countries (International Business Times. 2015-09-03).

²"State Parties / Signatories: Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949". International Humanitarian Law. International Committee of the Red Cross. Retrieved 22 January 2007

The refugee crisis in Europe has caused serious problems in Europe. During the social and economic crisis, many countries and politicians severely criticized the EU's refugee policy, believing that the EU's long-term free flow of population and open border policies have seriously affected the EU's national security, leading to the spread of Islamic terrorism and the initiator of Sharia law led to the rise of right-wing populism. In the context of high unemployment and frequent population theft, torts and other incidents that endanger public safety.

In some countries, neo-liberalism has led to the distribution of wealth between capital and labor in favor of capital, and has changed the relative salary levels among workers, with higher salaries gaining greater growth. This is the same as the social status enjoyed by senior executives due to their technical capabilities and the social dumping of workers at the bottom of the pay scale.

However, this situation will gradually evolve the conflicts between classes into conflicts between countries. Frédéric Lordon ³ worries that this caution is futile, because the structure of economic globalization has effectively brought the differences into an antagonistic relationship, and there is no denial that can be corrected. Trade protectionist measures will make confrontation between countries more important than class confrontation. In fact, the relationship between countries becomes more tense. In terms of policy, countries are more inclined to self-interest, that is, nationalism rather than globalism.

In Western European countries, public trust in parliamentary politics, government institutions, and politicians has generally declined. The number of citizens participating in the vote and the number of participating political parties decreased. The public lacks trust in the government, young people lose trust in politics, and generally feel empty. And the powerful impact of globalization and its influence in developing in-depth and has a sharp collision with the traditional western political system, social structure, and the concept of governance, which has intensified the contradiction between the development of globalization and

³ For an overview of the arguments, see: “Démondialisation ou altermondialisme?” and “La démondialisation heureuse? éléments de débat et de réponse à Frédéric Lordon et à quelques autres collègues”; Frédéric Lordon; Bernard Cassen and Jacques Sapir.

the lagging of the traditional capitalist system leading to an intensified crisis of capitalist democracy.

The expansion of globalization has led to an increase in market power, and nation-state governments and existing global institutions cannot adapt to the current complex developments, and cannot effectively manage the economic, political, conceptual, and other transnational issues brought about by globalization.

The government is in a dilemma facing the rapid expansion of multinational corporations. When the public interest is "infringed" by multinational corporations, it cannot provide effective attention or protection, causing the government to further lose its trust in the people.

The rapid development of non-governmental organizations in the 1990s contributed to this. These organizations have become vehicles for the public to express their concerns, and in particular have become "representatives" of the interests of marginalized groups. Under their agitation, the wave of anti-globalization has risen one after another.

4.3 Should globalization be given greater freedom, or how to regulate

The development of globalization begins with economic and trade. When it is formed to a certain scale, it needs to be restricted by rules. These rules can be defined as policies. We cannot deny that the current globalization is indeed in crisis, but it is not the case of individual countries. Crisis, the sum of these crises in Greece, Ireland, Portugal, and Spain has created today's global crisis. However, the root cause of today's situation is the uneven distribution of resources and the nature of people's pursuit of profit. The benefit is to turn the world into a huge free market, where countries can exchange freely here. But this is just an ideal situation. One of the main arguments against intervention advocates of the left is that it destroys employment in rich countries. And industrial reasons. However,

for developing countries, being forced to become involved is not only a lack of resources and population, but it is also difficult to successfully transform in the established rules.

It seems that the result of allowing the free development of globalization has no advantage for any country. We must establish a set of feasible integrated governance and supervision in the 21st century. The supervision of globalization advocates competition is very urgent and necessary in two aspects. On the one hand, it is related to the fight against climate change. The failure of the post-Kyoto talks in Copenhagen in 2009 and Cancun in 2010 was mainly due to conflicts of interest between the most powerful economies, which were prisoners of their connections with lobbyists and multinational corporations. In terms of energy saving and emission reduction, the restriction on a country's emissions can be considered as a restriction on its development, especially for developing countries and transition countries. Uniform rules force these countries to either transform into high-tech development countries or have been reduced to labor tools of developed countries. These two options cannot be applied immediately, and voices of opposition have abounded in the past two years, war, terrorism, we can't sit back and ignore it, either shirk the blame. It is useless to blame the threats brought by globalization blindly. Global governance requires that these problems must be solved at the root, so later organizations such as ASEAN and RCEP emerged, to provide support for developing countries' cooperation against risks.

The second aspect is reflected in the aspect of national sovereignty. «The obvious solution is to reconstitute national sovereignty. It has the great practical advantage, over all other solutions, of already being in place, of being immediately available subject » (Pica and Rodriguez 2011, p. 68-101). The most difficult task facing the country is not only to restore sovereignty, but also to completely rebuild sovereignty. This must be done at the national level or at the regional level because the stalemate with the capital market is no longer exclusive and may not even be primarily at the national level. However, the

paradox is that although democracy is still mainly reflected at the national level, the necessary regulations, and reorganizations, especially in the environmental field, must be carried out at the supranational level; Therefore, it is very important to gradually establish a democratic space, because the global crises are not only the sum of national crises, so there is no national solution, and more communication and understanding between countries are needed. The necessary protection measures (right to work, social security, environmental measures) do not necessarily constitute protectionism. Selective de-globalization or conversely globalization will undoubtedly be more difficult in practice, but it will have the advantage of determining the true goals to be achieved, outlining the social ecological differences of society, and gradually establishing true international cooperation. This is changing globalization, while criticizing all aspects of globalization, it does not advocate its obvious opposites, on the contrary, it is to use the advantages of globalization to build a model of global governance.

Chapter 5

Brexit as a way to Say “NO” to globalization

Since January 1, 2021, the United Kingdom has officially separated from the European Union and became a truly independent country. This process is defined as Brexit. Brexit is considered by a large number of economists and journalists to be the biggest anti-globalization in this century. The UK's move will no longer be bound by EU law, the European single market, and several free trade agreements, and it is also the beginning of its real global prosperity.

The entire process of Brexit wasn't as simple as the British referendum.

But what is certain is the decision has listened to the opinions of the British people and truly reflects the voice of the people, it is a truly democratic decision.

Long before the official establishment of the European Union, the United Kingdom held a vote on whether to join the European Community. Although the original results are different from today. It is very clear that the United Kingdom has started a new choice after 50 years of globalization.

This time the United Kingdom is not only say “no” to the European Union but also say “no” to globalization. It is worth mentioning that this Brexit is also an implicit trade-off of certain democratic control of some economic policies to achieve prosperity. Many countries around the world are not willing to give up the economic benefits and control rights brought about by globalization while demanding a higher degree of democratization.

However, from Associate Professor of Economics, University of South Carolina William Hauk, believe that «trend of turning away from the institutions that facilitated economic globalization is troubling and may lead to the unraveling of more than a half century of growing global integration – and the

economic growth that came with it » (Hauk 2020, The conversation Academic rigour, journalistic flair).

It must be mentioned that globalization has indeed set back some of the power of sovereign states, and the authorities may be able to give up some of their power in exchange for immediate benefits. But when the globalization process conflicts with the democratic process, the country needs to decide on how the society can obtain the benefits of globalization while maintaining democracy. At this point, Brexit can be a good model, to a certain extent, Brexit can indeed be regarded as an anti-globalization behavior. Because it does harm the process of globalization, Brexit has achieved a regression from the development of globalization to the development of a single sovereign country. However, this is not accidental. Into the 21st century, various countries have begun to join various organizations. Under the environment of alliances, the British approach has deviated from the current mainstream form, but when we analyze their decision in light of the reason and background of Brexit. We may be able to discover some deeper connections between Brexit and the development of globalization. This is not only a decision but may also be a long-planned “conspiracy”. There is no doubt that Brexit itself has brought corresponding impacts on the United Kingdom, those member states on European Union and other countries in the world. Just like a reaction of globalization, but next, it should be analyzed the far-reaching impact of these reactions.

However, Brexit also brings more reflections to the world. How to avoid large-scale anti-globalization incidents afterwards. Since globalization is irreversible, how to balance the forced weakened rights and the growing the people's dissatisfaction with democracy. Also, this is an opportunity to reconsider how to adapt to globalization while maximizing the guarantee. The national interests and power of the country are not affected.

5.1 The history and process of Brexit

The relationship between the United Kingdom and the European Union was questioned by the British public when the United Kingdom joined the European Community in 1973. In 1975, a referendum on whether to stay in the European Community was held, as a result, more than half of the voters supported staying in the European Community.

However, there has always been a strong voice of Euroscepticism in the UK (against the European Union and its predecessor, the European Community). However, there has always been a strong voice of Euroscepticism in the UK (against the European Union and its predecessor, the European Community). Regardless of whether the Conservative Party or the Labour Party is on the EU issue, the party is not unified. And there is also a political party that clearly advocates withdrawal from the European Union by the British Independence Party. In 2013, British Prime Minister David Cameron stated that if the Conservative Party wins the 2015 general election, it will hold a referendum on whether to withdraw from the European Union before 2017. The Conservative Party won the election in 2015. After reaching an agreement with the European Union, Cameron immediately announced that the referendum on Britain's withdrawal from the European Union would be held on June 23, 2016. He also expressed his support for Britain's stay in the European Union and actually led the European Union camp.

After David Cameron announced the date of the Brexit referendum, there has been no iconic representative to promote Brexit. For example, Nigel Farage the leader of the British Independence Party, who has been pushing the United Kingdom to leave the European Union for many years, is not a political newcomer, but he has not been a mainstream British politician and lacks representativeness. Until the Mayor of London Boris Johnson announced his support for leaving the European Union, the support of the Brexit camp increased

significantly. After Johnson expressed his support for leaving the European Union, the Conservative Party supporters who had been opposed to the European Union were willing to ignore Cameron's persuasion to support Brexit. Johnson has actually become a representative figure leading the Brexit camp. On June 23, 2016, the United Kingdom held a referendum on leaving the European Union. The voting result was that 51.9% of the people voted to leave the European Union (EU Referendum Result 2016). Soon after the results of the referendum were announced, Prime Minister Cameron, who advocated that Britain stay in the European Union, offered to resign.

In 2017, the new British Government led by Theresa May formally notified the EU of the country's intention to withdraw, beginning the Brexit process. The withdrawal was originally scheduled for 29 March 2019. It was delayed by deadlock in the British Parliament after the June 2017 general election, which resulted in a hung parliament in which the Conservatives lost their majority but remained the largest party. This deadlock led to three extensions of the Article 50 process. She also promised to abolish the "European Community Act 1972" and incorporate the current EU law into the domestic legal system of the UK. The Brexit negotiations were officially launched on June 19, 2017. On December 8, 2017, the United Kingdom and the European Union reached a Brexit framework agreement, paving the way for trade negotiations.

In January 2018, the House of Commons passed the "Leaving the European Union Act", passed by the House of Lords in May, and signed by the Queen of England in June. According to the Act, the United Kingdom will withdraw from the European Union at 23:00 on March 29, 2019. On November 13, 2018, after more than a year of negotiations, the United Kingdom and the European Union reached an agreement on the content of the Brexit agreement. According to the content of the draft agreement, the UK will withdraw from the European Union on March 29, 2019, followed by a transition period. During the transition period, the UK will temporarily stay in the EU's internal market and customs union. The transition period lasts until December 31, 2020.

However, the road to Brexit in the United Kingdom has not been so smooth. It has caused a series of problems within the United Kingdom. A series of problems have arisen within the United Kingdom. The Brexit draft reached by the United Kingdom and the European Union has not been passed by the British cabinet. It is necessary to repeatedly communicate with the European Union and the British cabinet, and at the same time disclose in a timely manner to solicit opinions and consent from the public.

In the end, the Conservative Party, represented by the current Prime Minister Boris Johnson, passed the votes of the House of Commons and the House of Lords, and reached a consensus. On January 31, 2020, the United Kingdom officially left the European Union and entered the transition period of Brexit. The United Kingdom will start at 23:00 on December 31, GMT. The formal departure from the European Union single market and customs union will take effect on first January 2021, Central European Time, regulating the free trade relations between Britain and Europe after the formal exit from the European Union and avoiding a no-deal Brexit¹.

So far, the UK has experienced three prime ministers, completed four years of voting, and revised the Brexit bill time and time again. This Brexit is also considered to be the most democratic vote in this century. It not only has a huge impact on globalization, but also has profound significance for the democratic process.

¹ A no-deal Brexit (also clean break Brexit) was the potential withdrawal of the UK from the European Union (EU) without a withdrawal agreement. Under article 50 of the Maastricht Treaty, the Treaties of the European Union would have ceased to apply once a withdrawal agreement was ratified or if the two years had passed since a member state had indicated its will to leave the European Union. The two-year period could have been extended by unanimous consent from all member states, including the member state that was wishing to leave the European Union.

5.2 The impact of Brexit

In 2015, the year before the British referendum, the UK's peacetime deficit accounted for a record 7% of GDP in the last three months. In the era of globalization, even a highly integrated European Union cannot guarantee that its internal nation-states will be hit by severe market surplus, market outflows, reduced people's welfare, The constant influx of immigrants and the outflow of job opportunities have caused constant contradictions within the EU. As Charles Grant, director of the European Reform Center think tank, «Brexit is a major event in European history. From now on, the narrative It will disintegrate, not disintegrate» (Grant 2016, CENTER FOR EUROPEAN REFORM).

“What we call the beginning is often the end, and announcing the end is the beginning.” European Commission President Von der Leyen quoted the famous sentence of British poet Eliot at a press conference after the agreement on the future relations between Britain and Europe. Express the feeling that the negotiations are over. Brexit is a foregone conclusion, but the impact of Brexit is emerging. Previously, the United Kingdom and the European Union reached an agreement on a series of cooperation issues including trade and security.

For the United Kingdom, and for the United Kingdom, reaching an agreement with the EU, the largest trading partner, means that some of the uncertainties that have appeared since the 2016 “Brexit” referendum have finally been eliminated. Avoiding the high tariff costs of bilateral trade between Britain and Europe due to the return to the WTO framework. This will bring more hope of recovery to the British economy that has been hit hard by the Covid-19 virtues. This will bring more hope of recovery to the British economy that has been hit hard by the new crown epidemic. Britain's “Brexit” is an unprecedented event in the process of European integration, and its impact on European integration and geopolitics will be difficult to show in a short period of time. The implementation of this 2,000-page new agreement requires a re-run-in process within the UK and between the UK and Europe. There are more than one

hundred fishes involved in the fishing rights, the biggest problem in the negotiation alone, and the difficulty of implementation can be imagined. Therefore, although the difficult negotiations are finally over, the impact of Britain's "Brexit" is far from over.

In the short term, even with the new agreement, the smoothness of trade between the United Kingdom and the European Union is not as good as before. This is not only reflected in the changes to the service trade, but also in the passage and border inspection procedures have become complicated. On the one hand, the United Kingdom and the European Union must adapt to this newly established trade relationship as soon as possible to avoid confusion due to insufficient preparation. On the other hand, in the United Kingdom and many other European countries under the epidemic, it is particularly important to ensure the smooth entry and exit of food, medicine and other materials. In the long run, the UK Budget Office previously predicted that, compared to staying in Europe, Brexit will cause the UK to face a 4%GDP loss in the next 15 years, even if an agreement is reached with Europe (Ebell and Warren 2016, p. 122).

From the perspective of globalization, Brexit, as a product of Britain's attempts to adjust its foreign affairs, is the end of an era in time, and it is also the beginning of an era. In the post-Brexit era, how can the UK ensure its political stability, economic prosperity, and international influence without breaking from its traditional European alliances? At the same time, for Europe, it may take some time for various countries to re-establish relations with the United Kingdom. Whether the departure of the United Kingdom is a pity for the European Union and whether there are problems in the development of the European Union are these issues that we continue to pay attention to.

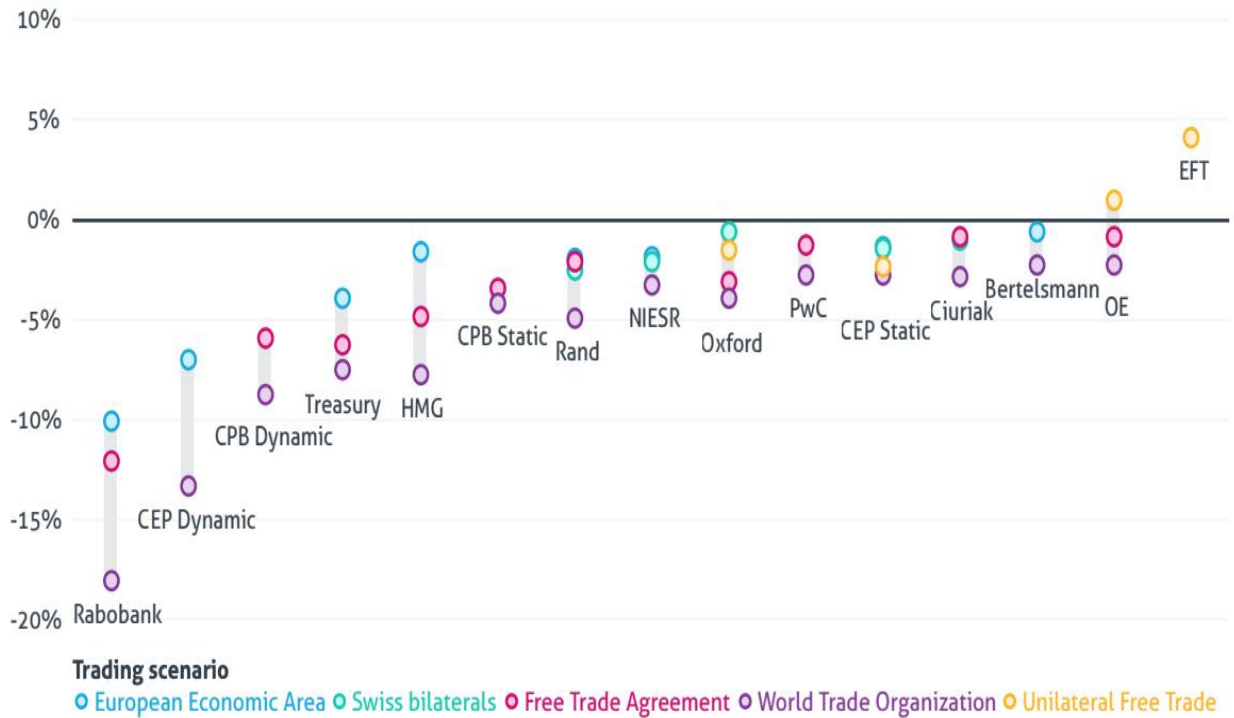
5.2.1 The impact of Brexit on The U.K. itself

Economists predict that Brexit will have short-term and long-term effects on the economy of the United Kingdom and at least 27 other EU member states. In particular, there is a broad consensus between economists and the economic literature that Brexit will reduce the real per capita income of the United Kingdom in the medium and long term, and the Brexit referendum itself will damage the economy. Study the impact of various aspects since the referendum showed the GDP, the reduction of trade and investment, and the household losses caused by the increase in inflation. In the long run, British economists have reached an overwhelming consensus that withdrawing from the European Union will create unfavorable factors for the British economy in the medium and long term.

In 2016 economists' investigations have shown that the UK might affect the per capita income. From 2019 and 2017 per capita income GDP, its valuation range is between 1.2% - 4.5% and 1%-10% of the British per capita income (Latorre, Olekseyuk 2019, PETERSON INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS). In addition, Figure 13 summarizes the estimates made so far for the long-term economic impact of Brexit. Most studies predict the impact of Brexit on British economic output in the next 15 years. (Until to 2030)¹.

¹ CEP – Centre for Economic Performance, CPB – Netherlands Bureau for Economic Policy Analysis, EFT – Economists for Free Trade, HMG – HM Government, NIESR – National Institute of Economic and Social Research, OE – Open Europe, Oxford – Oxford Economics.

Figure 13 -. Forecast long-term impact of Brexit on GDP, relative to remaining in the EU



Source: Institute for Government analysis²

It can be seen from the figure that in the future forecast, the GDP growth rate of the UK will be lower than the GDP level of the UK leaving the EU in the future. If the United Kingdom successively becomes a member of the European Union, it will grow at an actual growth rate of 1.5% per year in the next 15 years, but the growth rate will drop by 0.4%. Although the United Kingdom will withdraw from the European Union, the future economic output of the United Kingdom will be A reduction of 7.7%, but still better than staying in the EU.

² Note: The OECD has also estimated a scenario in which the UK falls back on to WTO terms and then subsequently signs an FTA. It finds a range of potential impacts to GDP from the optimistic -2.7% to a central estimate of -5%, with a pessimistic impact of -7.7%.

Figure 14 – Forecast long-term impact of Brexit on per capita GDP, relative to remaining in the UE



Source: Institute for Government analysis

The emergence of these situations is inseparable from the UK's future import and export trade and future tariff barriers. In the case of Brexit, the United Kingdom can no longer continue to enjoy the privileges of countries in the EU and needs to re-sign customs and trade agreements and tariff agreements with non-EU countries. The problems presented by this process will become more prominent in the future. In addition to economics, Brexit is the choice of British nationals. Cassie Werber published an insightful article on Quartz, «To young people in the UK, Brexit is a door closing – and a sign that hate is winning » (Cit. Jean-Pierre Lehmann 2016, IMD). In the vote in favor of Brexit, the 18-24 age group accounted for 20%, and more than 40% of the voters were over 65 (Cit. Jean-Pierre Lehmann 2016, IMD). The result of Brexit reflects the rise of the wave of deglobalization, and its decline in inclusiveness is reflected in the fact that globalization has benefited more rich people while poor people are poorer, and poor people are more discriminated against. This kind of dissatisfaction will

breed the emergence and deterioration of populism, and at the same time, the people who should be understood and helped in turn fight against more people in need, so that the degree of globalization continues to decline, and the ability to global governance continues to improve.

David Goodhart have proposed «Somewhere» and «Anywhere» the new tribes the “Anywheres” (roughly 20 to 25 per cent of the population) and the “Somewheres” (about half), (Goodhart 2017, Hurst; 1st edition July 1, 2017) with the rest in between. And it broadly works. Those who see the world from anywhere are, he points out, the ones who dominate our culture and society, doing well at school and moving to a residential university, and then into a professional career, often in London or abroad.

He also pointed out that these people divide the United Kingdom into two camps. On the one hand, people in anywhere have more wealth and educational resources. They may contribute more value to society, and they also need to further accumulate more wealth in the development of globalization. Therefore, they are more supportive of globalization. On the other hand, a large number of people in somewhere, most of which are middle and lower-class people. Their interests are more directly sacrificed in the process of globalization, for immigrants within the country, the migration of job opportunities is more experienced, and it is easier to become a populist group⁸. In short, they believe that their democratic rights are being deprived. This concept was directly revealed in Brexit, we can think of this as a manifestation of democracy but be wary of the emergence of populism. We can understand that the United Kingdom wants to develop as an independent country, but the United Kingdom has not developed without globalization, so the development problems brought about by globalization are still problems that British nationals need to face in the future. These problems may deepen the contradiction between the “somewhere” and “anywhere” camps in the United Kingdom. For the United Kingdom and some other countries, the problem of globalization has gradually evolved into a

national problem, which is not only a new challenge to sovereign countries, but also an exploration of globalization issues.

There are still many voices of dissatisfaction after Brexit. This Brexit may further shrink the United Kingdom's territory. The majority of people in Scotland and Northern Ireland tend to stay in the European Union, the results of the referendum may further intensify the conflicts and widen the differences between the already sensitive British domestic regions. If the independence referendums in Scotland and Northern Ireland are triggered and succeeded, they will not only set the United Kingdom politically, but will also hit the United Kingdom economically. A UK with a smaller territory not only means a smaller economic aggregate and a more uniform economic structure, but the UK's path to globalization will be more difficult.

Brexit is not only the result of a game of economic and political interests, but also a decision on the value orientation of regional governance and the future and destiny of European integration. In a certain sense, Brexit is a denial of the regional integration process based on cooperation and openness. Brexit to a large extent shows that the people at the bottom are dissatisfied with the status quo of society and resist European integration and globalization dominated by Western elites. After Britain completes Brexit, this anti-integration and anti-globalization trend may become more obvious, threatening the development of integration and globalization.

5.2.2 The impact of Brexit on the EU

The signs of Brexit had already been shown before the 2016 referendum. Even if the outcome may be different from what the European Union envisioned, it must be said that Brexit is a threat to the European integration process, and Brexit has made the EU lose an important partner, it is undoubtedly worse for the

European integration cooperation that is still trapped in a low ebb or even stagnant state.

However, for the EU, Brexit is not a bad thing. After the UK is excluded, the EU's decision-making efficiency is likely to increase. Historically, British shirts applied to join the European Community three times in 1961, 1967 and 1971. The first two were rejected, so the United Kingdom has always defined itself as a global power outside of Europe. With a relatively negative attitude towards the process of promoting European integration, the EU had to accommodate the UK to show that the discussion was shelved. But obviously, the negative impact of Brexit on the EU is more and broader.

Brexit has promoted the EU's trend towards conservative and closed economically. From an economic point of view, the United Kingdom is regarded as a representative of the economic liberalism camp in the European Union. To a certain extent, it balances the high degree of centralization of Germany and law, ideological discrimination, and trade protectionism of some new European members. After the Brexit, the leading influence of Germany and France in the EU will be further strengthened. As a result, the EU may slip into trade protectionism in the future. This will drive the further deepening of global trade protectionism and exacerbate the regression of globalization at the economic level.

In terms of politics, the departure of the United Kingdom will greatly reduce the EU's future international influence and international status. After Brexit, France is the only permanent member of the United Nations in the European Union and will no longer have the right to speak in the daily activities of the United Nations as before. In addition, the Brexit incident has greatly affected the morale and cohesion of the member states to deepen integration, shaken the confidence of the later joining countries, and also dampened the expectations and enthusiasm of candidate countries to join the EU.

Economically, the EU's budgetary capacity will be greatly restricted. After Brexit, the United Kingdom will no longer assume the obligation to pay membership dues to the EU³.

Figure 15 - Europe GDP – 2019 Forecast

	GDP, current prices (billions of US dollars)	GDP Share
Germany	4,117	17.9%
France	2,845	12.3%
United Kingdom	2,810	12.2%
Italy	2,113	9.2%
Russia	1,649	7.2%
Spain	1,474	6.4%
Netherlands	933	4.1%
Switzerland	731	3.2%
Turkey	631	2.7%
Poland	581	2.5%
Sweden	563	2.4%
Belgium	545	2.4%
Austria	470	2.0%
Norway	448	1.9%
Ireland	380	1.6%
Denmark	362	1.6%
Finland	282	1.2%
Czech Republic	264	1.1%
Romania	249	1.1%
Portugal	243	1.1%
Greece	224	1.0%
Hungary	165	0.7%
Ukraine	133	0.6%

Source: IMF World Economic Outlook, October 2018

The EU may have a budget gap of 10-15% (Amaro 2020, EU's Budget), which has caused considerable economic pressure on the EU under the Covid-19 Virus. In the last round of the European debt crisis, the EU, the IMF, and the European Central Bank jointly provided Greece with 240 billion euros in rescue funds. Brexit will weaken the EU's ability to provide large-scale assistance to

³ IMF forecasts Europe average GDP per capita to be \$30,610 in 2019. 18 countries have GDP per capita more than the Europe average GDP per capita. All of these countries are in Western Europe. Luxembourg leads the European countries with GDP per capita of \$115,203. 28 countries have GDP per capita less than the Europe average GDP per capita. Most of these are Eastern Europe countries. Ukraine ranks last with a GDP per capita of \$3,133.

member states again to a certain extent, and other net-paying countries will be forced to share the amount of British capital contribution, which may further stimulate their domestic dissatisfaction and new political turmoil.

With the impact of the European debt crisis unfinished and the economic recovery still sluggish, these uncertainties will make the EU's economic development even more lacking and weaken the EU's economic strength. The "negative demonstration" effect of Brexit will inevitably continue to overflow. This makes the previously unstable member states face more severe challenges and stimulates more member states to follow suit and consider the possibility of Brexit, and EU economic integration faces the risk of stagnation and even regression.

As a relatively successful demonstration of regional integration, the EU once promoted the process of world regional integration with its achievement in expanding and deepening cooperation and has written a historical chapter in the governance of global bilateral and multilateral cooperation. However, Brexit set a precedent for countries to withdraw from the regional cooperation alliance. The anti-integration of European society and the rise of protectionism, populism, and nationalism reflected by Brexit have not only put a huge test on global multilateral cooperation governance, but also weakened the EU International status and global influence, have a complex impact on the political structure of Europe and the world. However, once the giant wheel of globalization starts to operate, it cannot be stopped. The development of artificial anti-globalization will only bring more negative impacts. The anti-globalization incidents triggered by the United Kingdom are likely to bring about a domino effect. Will more countries launch referendums in the future to decide to withdraw from the European Union or the Eurozone? Whether it will hit globalization again in the already scarred development process of globalization, future immigration issues, disease prevention and control issues will become problems that various European countries cannot get rid of. However, the world political landscape and global governance changes are becoming more complicated. As an important

pole in the world's multi-polarization pattern, the EU advocates multilateralism and cooperativism, and actively promotes regional co-governance and global governance, especially playing an important role in the fields of multilateral trade, climate change, and development assistance. A united, strong and stable European Union is undoubtedly a force that cannot be ignored in the reform of the global governance system. However, Brexit has damaged the EU's overall strength, diplomatic resources and governance capabilities, and its global role will also increase many constraints. Even adding new resistance and uncertainty to the globalization process and global governance in the new era.

5.3 The Brexit is a democratic choice or a political need?

Perhaps the United Kingdom's departure has been confirmed since the 2016 British referendum. As I wrote at the beginning of this chapter, the British vote not only rejects the European Union, but also represents a rejection of globalization. However, this is only a superficial reaction. At the same time, there is also the hidden trade-off of certain democratic control behind the government's economic policy prosperity. The question that I began to raise is how to obtain the benefits of globalization while maintaining democratic participation. From the perspective of the country, the primary barriers restricting its globalization development are reflected in the economic aspect. Trade barriers and economic barriers are the primary means to exclude a country from economic globalization. In this regard, the EU's demonstration is absolutely second to none. It emphasizes the high degree of uniformity of internal country tariffs, enabling the EU market to develop more freely.

Harvard economists put forward «The Globalization Paradox» (Rodrik 2012, p. 368), leaving the country with three choices.

1. They can reject globalization's deeper integration and risk losing out on economic prosperity.
2. They can simply cede control of large parts of their economic policy to prevailing international standards, risking the ire of their citizens.
3. They can help shape globalization by joining and helping create the international organizations and agreements that set trade standards, giving up some control but having a seat at the table.

Just as the United Kingdom left the EU, looking at the EU, it is obvious that they are more inclined to sit down and negotiate, but obviously there are many differences within the EU. We easily come to this conclusion because it takes a lot of time for any agreement or bill to be generated in the EU. Brexit is considered to be a negative teaching material for global integration, so do it. However, the departure of the United Kingdom proves that even a public authority like the European Union can cause problems. The European Union is already a democratic organization, and it does not necessarily make its member states have a strong sense of dependence on it. On the contrary, the British approach is more real, it reminds all sovereign countries, policymakers, and negotiators should wisely consider voters' concerns about losing control.

Brexit seems to give us an explanation, that is, the interests of the people are higher than the deeper integration. British learners regard the Brexit event as the beginning of global prosperity and emphasize the role of democracy. In fact, it is true. In this way, Brexit means that the UK has started to conduct foreign affairs independently with other countries and no longer abides by the EU's system. Even if this is not easy, the British people and the government should be very confident about it, otherwise there wasn't such a decision like today.

However, from another perspective, as mentioned above, even a democratic organization does not necessarily make the people within it have a strong sense of dependence on it. We can delve into the views on "Somewhere" and "Anywhere".

First of all, Brexit is not a stable phenomenon, but a constant turmoil. More and more British scholars and experts regard the departure of the United Kingdom as a plan for the British bureaucracy to manipulate democracy. Since no country has withdrawn from the huge single market and chose to face high tariff barriers, the UK's Brexit plan is similar to self-destruction. If the UK can deal with the results of the referendum in another way, it may lead to a reduction in the degree of social division.

Gerard Delanty, Sussex University said, «there is no doubt that Brexit is mainly a right-wing political plan, and neoliberals and authoritarian British nationalists have participated together, so that the risk of Brexit has risen to a certain degree, forming a radical democracy, the people will no longer satisfy some of their existing democratic rights, and demand more » (Delanty 2019, BAS). At the same time, a major issue of Brexit is that the original intention of parliamentary democratic system is to listen to the results of the majority vote. However, in this referendum, there was no super majority vote to leave the European Union. So arises a major issue that the referendum on major open issues could easily lead to increased uncertainty rather than certainty.

Let us return to the problem itself. When the process of globalization and democratic development is inconsistent, what choice should the country make? It is also fundamental to establish legal collective decision-making in the context of how complicated contemporary society is. When the country needs to make a clear decision. Brexit has been considered a decision from the very beginning but not a means to an end, of course, need to be crowned a democratic decision requires a democratic vote. However, the British government has not given too many explanations for Brexit, which will lead to the abuse of populism, or the intensification of certain nationalisms in the government against globalization.

The Brexit incident has led to more disagreements in British society. Perhaps many people have noticed this. The problem that the UK needs to face after Brexit is not just about having a new foreign policy with other countries. What is more important is to reshape the democratic process and guide the

people positively and correctly. Whether it is foreign immigration policies or marginalized residents within the country, the correct guidance of the government to the people will make democratic decision-making more effective, regardless of whether the United Kingdom will return to the European Union in the future. But the people's vote is to really promote the progress of a country, not to be used to prove unproven conclusions but the people's vote is to really promote the progress of a country, not to be used to prove unproven conclusions. Perhaps in this way, we can better solve the problems and conflicts brought about by globalization. A more open and inclusive attitude is a necessary condition for the common development of democracy and globalization in the country, and it is also the basis for global prosperity.

5.4 The guess over the U.K. future

The future development of the UK after Brexit has aroused more and more speculations by experts and scholars, including the British government and the public. First of all, according to relevant EU regulations, after the successful Brexit referendum, the British government will formally submit an application for Brexit to the EU at the EU summit and activate Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty. There will be a two-year transition period for negotiations on relevant economic and trade agreements with the EU. Therefore, a more serious shock may not appear immediately. At the same time, the British domestic people, the European Union and its member states, and the global financial markets also need a wait-and-see period and a period of reflection and response. During this period, the trend of the U.K. - European relations deserves attention.

For the United Kingdom, what is more important is the dynamics of the European Union and whether the future EU will impose appropriate penalties on the United Kingdom. After all, the United Kingdom no longer enjoys the right to a single tariff of other EU countries.

Although the UK is leaving the European Union, this does not mean that it will cut economic links with the European continent. On the contrary, the United Kingdom hopes to reduce the constraints from the delicate aspects of the EU system. On the other hand, hope to imitate the Swiss binding treaty model and establish a close cooperative relationship with the European Union. After Brexit, the UK will pay more attention to the development of relations with non-EU countries. During the Brexit period, a large number of its merchandise orders were obtained from China. After Brexit, the special relationship between the United Kingdom and the members of the Commonwealth of Commonwealth will bring greater trade and investment prospects for the United Kingdom. In addition, the UK can also sign new trade agreements with emerging economies in Asia and Latin America, including China. This will help to start the development of a new multi-pass trade, and the United Kingdom will appear in the process of globalization with a new image.

At the same time, according to the voting percentage of Brexit and the survey of voters, we are already close to understanding that the percentage of voters who made the decision to leave the European Union did not win an overwhelming victory. The the proportion of young people in the population who chooses to stay is larger. We can greatly guess that in the future, with the changes in the age structure of the British population and the resurgence of European, the United Kingdom is very likely to join the European Union.

However, the problems facing the future of the United Kingdom are not only that, in order to achieve global prosperity, but the inherent contradictions of the United Kingdom also need to be resolved urgently. The upper-level elites control politics, and the working people at the bottom become the victims of politics. This seems to be a contradiction within the British system. At the same time, it is also a contradiction in the process of globalization. Resources cannot be distributed equally, hypocritical nationalism, increasingly intensified social contradictions, the situation of a country reflected from the rollover of Brexit is also a serious problem that is actually facing. Brexit really takes advantage of the

psychology of these marginalized populations. Their wishes and needs need to be understood and expressed. However, once they are given the right to speak, they are not given other equal rights. What they express is only strong. Dissatisfied, but did not find the source of the problem.

Goodhart quotes a Bulgarian political scientist: The outcome is a sort of struggle in which populists are becoming openly anti-liberal, and elites are becoming secretly anti-democratic (Marr 2017, NewStatesman). This is the problem facing the UK in the future. Otherwise, Goodhart would not write this kind of book, and there is no good opportunity for a referendum. the Anywhere or Somewhere divide would have remained buried, if perhaps pullulating, inside the bodies of our political parties. In short, the Brexit rebellion arose less from the vast forces of modern globalization than from the awkward decisions, wrong turnings, and mistakes of specific British politicians from the early 1980s onwards.

As Goodhart acknowledges, the British enthusiasm for large, crammed prisons, the tone of the debate on immigration, growing hostility to international aid, and an increasingly tough line on welfare are all wins for the supposed Somewhere mindset.

Therefore, the main contradiction in the future of the United Kingdom is still within the system. These contradictions will affect the future of the United Kingdom in all aspects of the economy, politics, culture, and society. They will become the cause of turmoil in the UK in the future and will also become the cause of preventing the UK's global prosperity. It may be more like a role model than a threat. Whether we are talking about globalization or global prosperity today, what he asks is that countries should share more responsibilities and have a common sense of mission. This is not only the UK that needs to be strengthened in the future It is also an aspect that other countries need to strengthen.

Conclusion

The reason why I chose to study globalization is because as an international student, I am also one of the global population migration army. I met many students from different countries in the school. Our cultural background and educational methods are very different, but this is the most charming things of globalization to unite different countries and regions, under different systems, capital, trade, political and cultural news, population, etc. are circulated.

Today, we say that globalization is in a retrogressive era because we cannot decide what can be circulated and what cannot be, globalization is originally the product of sovereign countries' external expansion and foreign exchanges. However, just like a game between multiple countries, the regression of globalization reflects the impact of the inequality of the game between countries. In order to avoid being brought by the development of globalization, the country began to move in a more closed direction. The development of globalization requires a comprehensive perspective. At the same time, the imbalance in world development has brought about a historic regression from regional development, global development, and regional development.

This retreat has temporarily faded the enthusiasm for globalization, giving sovereign countries more time to reflect. At first, we thought that globalization was dominated by the Western world. In the 21st century, the Western world is facing a more serious threat of globalization, and anti-globalization speeches are also the most direct and frequent. A large amount of literature, reports and figures come from the contributions of Western scholars and thank them for their work. However, in this process, I have not only seen the regression of the global economy, but also the destruction of the democratic system. There are two further aspects:

First, from a sociological point of view, most countries lack empathy and tolerance. They already have more resources but still not enough. It is even more

incapable of fulfilling the responsibilities and obligations of major powers. The government seems to represent the interests of the people, but in fact it uses the people's words to incite contradictions, use these contradictions for their own purposes and achieve their own goals. Such an approach does work for a certain period of time and can alleviate the threats posed by globalization. However, when democracy becomes a political method for the authorities to obtain benefits more conveniently or to evade responsibilities, democracy is deviating from its true role. What's more serious is that this approach will mislead the public to understand the event itself, and this kind of democracy will lay hidden dangers to the development of the country, the people and the society.

Second, the Brexit incident will not be an exception, it will only be the beginning. However, countries cannot rely on this behavior of abandoning themselves from globalization to avoid the harm caused by globalization. Although the Brexit incident continues to ferment, there are still a small number of people in the world who are sober and advocates of globalization. Globalization will definitely become a future trend, and the integration of countries also being realized, the democratic rights of the minority have not been realized, but they are the voice most needed for the development of globalization.

Globalization is an irresistible development process, but its regression is also predictable. The reason is the imbalance of national development. This imbalance is almost certain, so the role of globalization should be better highlighted. Attach importance to global governance and repeatedly emphasize inclusiveness and empathy. At the same time, the government must give the people the correct guidance. Only in this way can we truly achieve common prosperity under globalization.

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The Gini coefficient's a measure of the relative degree of inequality which from 1 to 0, zero is total equity, 1 is total inequality.