

communications (in the form of television, radio, newspapers, telephones, fax machines, the internet and electronic mail, etc.), appear to be uniting and fragmenting audiences, exacerbating social cleavages as well as bringing formerly disparate groups together, heightening existing antagonisms as well as providing a means through which such friction can be resolved, eroding national boundaries as well as propelling ultra-nationalist fervour, increasing political cynicism as well as raising the level of civil society's political consciousness. Individual citizens have been empowered as a result of the media's influence. At the same time, because of their adeptness with the utilization of communication systems, state leaders have also been empowered vis-à-vis civil society. Modern transportation has allowed people of formerly distant societies to interact more frequently. It acts as a conduit for bringing individuals from different countries with similar interests together.³⁶

The overall effect of the above "double movement" has been a shrinkage in social, political, economic, and cultural distances. As a consequence of this phenomenon, formerly dense and opaque frontiers are being dissolved, thus breaking down the Westphalian notion of inside versus outside. National boundaries are no longer able to divide friend from foe. Indeed, the technological revolution has the potential of creating in the minds of people around the world a sense of global citizenship which could result eventually in the transfer of individuals' loyalties from "sovereignty-bound" to "sovereignty-free" multilateral bodies. "The changing relationship between the public and private spheres and the virtual collapse of the dividing line separating the domestic from the external environment suggest a fluid but closely integrated global system substantially at odds with the notion of a fragmented system of nationally delineated sovereign states."³⁷ However it does not yet mean that a global civil society has been formed, although one could argue that such an entity is in the process of being established. Some critical scholars are beginning to observe and analyze the emergence of anti-systemic movements that are opposed to the globalization phenomenon.

The third substantial contribution of post-internationalist and critical reflectivist scholarship is the analysis of the impact of globalization on multilateralism. Aided by the technological revolution, globalization has also been a contributor to global space and time shrinkage. The globalization of trade, production and finance has resulted in a marked decline in governments' ability to control these sectors and has challenged the traditional concept of state sovereignty. It has also expanded the number of players that can be involved in multilateral processes. Robert Cox sees the globalization movement and the seemingly paradoxical adherence to territorialism as two concepts of world order that stand in conflict but are also intertwined. He points out that the globalization of economic processes "requires the backing of territorially-based state power to enforce its rules." But post-fordism, the new pattern of social organization of production that is congruent with the globalization phenomenon, implicitly contradicts the lingering territorial principle that was identified with fordism.

The results of post-fordist production have been, *inter alia*, the dismantling of the welfare state and the diminishing of the strength of organized labour. But it also has had the effect of increasingly fragmenting power in the world system, providing fodder for "the possibility of culturally diverse alternatives to global homogenization".³⁸ If Cox is right, we can see how this dialectical "double movement" of the globalization process can alter the relationship people have established with the political arena and how it can eventually cause a reaction leading to what