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DEMOCRATIZATION IN THE MODERN WORLD: TRENDS AND PROSPECTS OF THE SPREAD AND DEVELOPMENT

This article investigates the current trends of the global spread of democratic institutions and the difficulty of their rooting in non-Western societies. It is shown that the prospects for global democratization complicate the existing structure of international relations, asymmetry of democratization in different regions of the world. Widespread democratic reforms in many countries do not mean smooth development of this political phenomenon. Key factors that in the future will depend on the stability and the spread of democracy is economic development and political leadership. As powerful structural factors that facilitate the expansion and deepening of democracy is also social development, access to global wealth and education.

Keywords: democracy, illiberal democracy, Western civilization Westernization, USA, Europe, the countries of the «third world».

One of the major consequences of the transformation processes late XX – early XXI century was the establishment of democracy as a basic model of global socio-political system. In today's world, this process is becoming more global. Almost all more or less developed countries are now democracies or chose a strategy of democratization, which is based on national circumstances and traditions.

Problems of historical development and the prospects of democracy can be seen in a different theoretical context, often based on civilization paradigms and stages of world development. That is, the reflection of the fact that democracy is the product of a definite (Western) civilization or step required historical and political evolution of any society. While the attention of researchers focused on the trend to global spread of democratic institutions and the difficulty of their rooting in non-Western societies.

The establishment of democratic institutions was a relatively late stage of the development of Western civilization - in the era of so-called modern, i.e. democracy, understood as a set of representative government, free elections, ideological and political pluralism and turnover subjects of power by the will of the citizens, is the phenomenon of stages in framework of the present civilization. Analyzing the problems of modern democracy in this context, a renowned expert in the given area Ulrich Beck rightly sees the way to solve them in dedogmatisation and desecration of permanent the principles of democracy [1, p. 40–46]. This means that the simple reproduction of its foundations giving way to critical analysis and experiments of a constant in all spheres of social action. Search for new forms of democracy becomes a feature of modern public opinion and different dimensions of social practice. First of all, we are talking about the formation of new forms of sociality, designed to replace traditional forms of group socio-cultural community by more mobile, emerging on a voluntary basis on changing specific problems and situations. Searching “new communitarism” where sociality, determined “outside” is replaced by sociality voluntary, expressing the desire of individuals without sacrificing their autonomy, to overcome mutual estrangement on the basis of finding common values and aspirations [2].

Today it is really hard to say which changes in democratic institutions can lead this search to. However, the leading tendency is to increase the role of civil society and its impact on the development of the state, which apparently requires expanding the scope and enrich the forms of its activity, its penetration on the level of management, decision support systems, which are the domain of professional policy, technocracy and bureaucratic structures.

Arguably, it is here rather the need for development of a new stage of democracy than its evolution only within its civilization, i.e. the western area. Feature prospects for democracy as a global phenomenon, by stages, is the relationship of democratization and globalization, the evolution of democracy in the context of global historical process. Because none of the currently existing local civilizations, except Western, not made in its development of democratic values and institutions, we can assume that this prospect is real only in the event of a new global civilization that graft these values and institutions on the traditional foundations of other civilized areas.

The main factor in the democratization of globalization is often considered the impact of the modernization of economic and social structures: economic development based on modern technology leads to an increase in wealth, and the latter opens the way to democracy. Since by S. Huntington, “the relationship between the welfare of the nation and its democratization is strong enough” and S.M. Lipset, exploring the relationship between the level of economic development of countries and their political systems, found that democratization depends on many factors, but the level of socio-economic development is its “basic and essential” (74% of the countries with the lowest levels of economic development are authoritarian, 24% “semi” and only one country - India - the democratic regime. Among the countries with the level below and above average democracies are respectively 11 and 39%, but this category includes all countries with developed market economies) [3, p. 193–21; 4, c. 9].

However, the dependence of the democratization on the economic factor is hardly immediate. Socio-economic condition of representative democracy is not a Western-style market economy and level of economic development as such, but due to these factors

numerical superiority in the social structure of the so-called middle class. This social community is united by living standard, which provides access to a set of basic consumer goods, supplied with modern mass production, and interest in the socio-political stability and is internally split by specific diversity of group status and sources of income, which are formed by market relations. This combination of consensus and pluralism of interests makes the middle class the support of representative democracy that allows its different groups to identify, protect and accommodate their interests without disturbing at the same time, institutional bases of their economic and social status. Clearly, the role of the middle class in a democratic political system appears not in all historical situations, and some may even turn into its opposite. In particular, in the case when the society is in socio-economic processes that threaten the position of some of the middle class, they are quite capable by its socio-political behavior to destabilize the institutions of representative democracy, and even act as force support authoritarian and totalitarian regimes. However, if the middle class is not always a pillar of democracy, its significant share in the social structure of business and civil society is a prerequisite for sustainable democratic development.

If the welfare of major groups is not provided by their market situation but on the other basis, such as through state paternalism, the pluralism of interest does not appear, and even a very high level of welfare does not create social conditions of democratization. With all these warnings doubt that poor societies in which large segments of the population live in poverty and marginalized socially, do not constitute a favorable environment for the development of democracy and civil society.

In terms of socio-economic factor, the prospects of global democratization sometimes look quite optimistic. The current phase of globalization is accompanied by a deepening economic differentiation between the most developed countries and the other majority of countries. This trend continues we should not expect a quick and uniform economic and social progress, a radical increase in living standards and, therefore, the formation of social preconditions for real participatory democracy. In many of those countries, where formal democratic institutions were abolished the democratic progress

remains fragile and, in critical condition, it may even act as an additional factor of social and political instability of the political transformation processes.

A major obstacle to global democratization, at least it does not have clear alternatives to the Western model yet, is the cultural originality of non-Western societies, which is not able to dilute any Westernization. Thus, in the cultural context of some non-Western societies individual value, which is fundamental to Western culture and spiritual prerequisite of democratization is perceived as a foreign element. Although the process of individuation is developing in such societies, it is poorly violates inherent dissolution of the individual in the group. This does not preclude democratization at least in formal electoral level, but makes it unreal in those forms, which are developed in Western societies.

The analysis of the contemporary interdisciplinary discourse on globalization influences in socio-economic terms proves that members of the social sciences show division between those who consider globalization and post-industrialism potential from the standpoint of destruction, and those who see globalization in action a positive force [5]. The main problem in many countries is poverty that in today's world there are regions where the poor are not able to solve the problem of survival. In this situation, poverty is a source that produces only itself. Since these areas are not talking about any notion of development, there is deactualization of such important areas of international aid as security of physical, human and natural capital. When it comes only about a survival, it is too risky to invest in the future. Not surprisingly, the poor countries have low or negative ratings of economic growth, their governments can not effectively take advantage of the physical geography, national fiscal resources, the investments in infrastructure, on which the economic development depends. Moreover, in such habitats of poverty governmental system often riddled with corruption that adversely affects the identification and funding of high-priority projects and organizations the necessary mechanisms of management, taking into account the structure of the existing local cultural barriers and social norms which are provided with the advantages by different social groups. Demography is also a deterrent factor – large family denies individual opportunities to invest

money in its development. Lack of innovation in all spheres of life creates a significant gap in the trends of rich and poor countries. As individuals and whole groups in societies with low scores may be poor or impoverish, having lost hope for social progress of their societies. In such a situation rich world puts a logical question about the effectiveness of its own care.

Economic mechanisms of poverty reduction can be divided into two main categories: increasing resources through redistribution and enhance the effectiveness of the economic environment. Leading by supporting poor nations are often redistribution resources through targeting particularly important ones for the growth of national productivity industries – such as investing in agriculture, health, education, transport and communication. Investing in this manner is aimed at helping the poorest groups at least to get in the way of development. This approach has a logical solution to the problem of increasing national growth figures, because it is necessary to understand the growth in value of resources that belong to the nation. Of particular importance here is the question of the effectiveness of government efforts to regulate private economic activity, including the activity of foreign companies. The experience of developed European countries and the United States showed that strong economic growth depends less on direct government investment, but on the creation of an institutional structure of the government, when there is an effective transformation of income from private investment in both physical and human capital. In the case of poor countries there is another option to advance economic growth. There are various reasons that their national space is not attractive to private investors, including the implementation of projects related to poverty reduction. Besides corruption in poor countries there is frequent instability of governmental institutions, causing a high degree of risk and no guarantees, subsidizing unprofitable projects and tax profitable, the presence of ideological opposition to market processes. All this reduces the efficiency of such a mechanism, as investing in development. Thus, the primary attention of leaders of the international community is aimed at mechanisms of direct allocation of resources in poor areas of the world. They are as follows: through the central international organization the World Bank, through

bilateral government aid, through the international activities of individual citizens. Significantly, in the context of the implementation of active government support to invest in human capital, educational programs become particularly valuable. According to Western experts and functionaries, the successful combination of three levels of implementation of aid to poor countries will lead to a steady reduction in global poverty. In turn, a permanent reduction in global poverty would allow poor nations to find the necessary resources to conduct effective and systematic institutional reform.

Taking into consideration the duality of the effects of globalization, we consider it appropriate to note that not all relationships have to be firm – perhaps some of these effects of globalization can be very positive, but the nature of them may help to overcome high poverty and to increase it also. Redistribution of resources from the rich to the poor raises the question of support for investment and the level of economic growth. Therefore, it is important to use the potential of globalization in terms of investments in higher standards of living. Developing countries need not only transfers, but also creation of conditions under which it is possible to overcome the circumstances of poverty through trade, security, maintenance and investment. In this context, growth is often understood as a tool for poverty reduction and associated with the introduction of minimum standards of living in some temporal dimension. It is clearly, that poverty reduction and economic growth especially in the low-income countries are correlated. Empirical studies show: real progress in living standards makes it necessary to increase the national wealth. For example, India in the sense of rapid growth as the main tool for poverty reduction shows a significant positive contribution to the development. The positive association between poverty reduction and growth can be noted in the following countries with high levels of poverty, such as China, Indonesia, Philippines [6, p. 24–26]. It is clear this growth contributes to inject into the society of such long-awaited positives functioning as improving law and fiscal discipline. However, it is not the fact that the very existence of democratic institutions has a systemic impact on tackling poverty. In the context of globalization influences governments often show reluctance to quality combination of national

programs of short-and long-term interests which at the same time have to consider the interests of other countries. Practice of industrialized countries to protect vulnerable markets can be regarded as a sign of difficulty of dramatic changes. There is no denying the fact that the risks of globalization are particularly significant for fragile economies of developing countries. The negative side of globalization is evident during the global economic and financial crises. On the other hand, it is undeniable that globalization has the potential in terms of poverty reduction, including the developing countries, first of all, by creating an environment conducive to faster economic growth and rapid transfer of knowledge. Proper use of structural factors and channels of national economic policy in the world economy makes it possible to confirm the benefits of globalization. Progress in reducing global poverty exists primarily due to Asian countries that have chosen the path of intensive development [7, p. 4–7].

From this perspective, it makes sense to note the meaning of channels that connect the modern globalization with poverty. The most important mechanism is defined: growth-inequality-poverty. The link, which brings together globalization and the growth, is opening the market primarily due to liberalization of trade and movement of capitals. The way from openness to poverty is determined by the relationship between growth and inequality. Here, poverty reduction will depend on how you will profit sharing. If growth is aimed at increasing inequality in income, the last link combines the effect of the growth and impact of income inequality on poverty, at the same time, a high level of GDP growth is good for its reduction. Therefore, government officials often focus their efforts on the structure of growth more than on a level of growth as such. That is a significant reduction in poverty is a combination of high growth and a more “social” distribution of profits out of it. Opening global competition can promote the reduction of working places and deterritorialization under conditions of employment and labor. So, in any case, integration into the global economy could help the poor, but does not replace a strategy to fight with poverty.

In such a situation it becomes important the relationship between global technological diffusion, which in global terms is uneven, and the level of training. High qualified personnel does not

migrate to poor countries, on the contrary, the reverse tendency is observed. The confirmation of this is the active migration of medical personnel from African and Asian countries to the United States and the EU. Unqualified staff especially, is not in a position to support the programs of intensive internal development, and part of it again migrates to wealthier countries. Quite important becomes the role of multinational corporations which move the process of production to the areas where there is cheap labor. Despite criticism regarding the exploitation of the local population, the activities of corporations contribute significantly to the growth of incomes in the location, and also stimulate people to get qualified, and local companies to introduce new technologies and efficient management. So the positive from the operation of TNC in terms of improving individual social status depends largely on the attractiveness of the internal environment of the country [8, p. 15]. It is clear that from the standpoint of the use of the positive aspects of globalization to reduce poverty, governments and businesses need to realize social and collective capabilities. The latter point includes: investments in health, the institutions that are responsible for the observance of basic legal norms, collective investments in social insurance. In the absence of such elements globalization process only creates difficulties for those who due to it might take better living attitudes. These institutions, acting as a kind of filter, which intensifies the positive and negative effects of the relationship between globalization and poverty, should help to reduce the global socio-economic heterogeneity.

Positive results of the impact of progress on the global space of international relations have a very specific context. For getting positives from the effects of globalization forces, developing countries have to make strategic moves of correlation for the long term. Officials must define and implement an active strategy not only to benefit from globalization, but also to counter its negative effects. In this regard, it is appropriate the combination of movement through strategic integration into the global world market and conducting active internal policy of development aimed at poverty reduction and based on the use of scientific and technological opportunities of progress. That is what will improve living standards in poorer regions

of the world and thus give their members more opportunities to self-realization.

Lack of adequate resources in countries of the South only increases the gap between the levels of rich and poor worlds that needs attention first of all of the countries of the Great Eight. However, in terms of the complexity of determining the most useful single regulatory system, the most practical efficiency is revealed by coalitions “ad hoc”. Support for crisis centers is of strategic importance particularly for regional determining norms of collective action, because the latter requires a consensus in the implementation of specific assistance programs. At the same time the need for a global strategy becomes obvious.

At present the strategy of international organizations demonstrates a certain consensus on the inclusion of the poorest countries in the world economy. It is based on three components: the actual politics of development of these countries, the benefits of opening external exchange, the increasing foreign aid [9; 10, p. 1-4]. Largely profit becomes dependent on policy of a country and management quality of its institutions by the accumulation of capital in the creation of industries that will participate in the global economic exchange. This regulation rhythms and general modality of commercial liberalization is not less important than the help itself for the adapting by the new players in the market the most transparent mode does not automatically solve the problem of poverty. Therefore, this policy provides for the integration of the total population in the development process, i.e. the preservation of such important budget priorities as education and health, quality of social capital investment. And it already reflects the level of political decisions and political investment in the overall development.

The prospect of global democratization is considerably complicated by the existing structure of international relations, the asymmetry of democratization processes in different regions of the world. If Western society solves the problem of overcoming the dysfunctions of representative democracy by bringing democratic institutions in line with the realities of the post-industrial era, the societies of the South and the East develop and learn sustainable democratic order and democratic practice, appropriate for their

conditions and traditions. From the theoretical point variations “of future scenarios of democracy” are possible: a fundamentally new phase of democratic process in some regions and its stagnation in others, interweaving and mutual enrichment of its various streams. In the medium-term vision it can be argued that in most societies the principle of variability of power on the basis of relatively stable legitimate procedures involving the vote will be firmly established.

With globalization and the associated growing dynamism of economic and social processes, sufficiently flexible response of the political sphere to the new “challenges” and therefore ordering turnover of power is a necessary condition for the survival of modern societies. Thus today illiberal democracies differ neither in political nor in economic efficiency, as the ruling elite is not composed on the meritocratic principle. The basis of illiberal democracy is populism (as in Russia), or tight control over political life (as in most African countries). Both one and the other are possible due to the lack of secured and independent middle class. Often because of this illiberal democracy becomes a consequence of premature democratization. The main danger that conceals illiberal democracy, are, on one hand, that the people see how the power manipulates their opinion, comes to deep disappointment with democracy as such, on the other hand - that the economic foundations do not stimulate economic modernization, which leads to a gradual lag in the economic sphere and creates in people a sense of “deprivation” [11 c. 284; 145].

However, planting of Western values and democracy in Western societies is not correct. Conversely, premature transition to Western-style democracy could lead to serious economic difficulties and political instability, and as a consequence to raise authoritarian and dictatorial regimes which are a nutrient medium for organized crime. Choosing which, according to F. Zakaria the developing countries should do for themselves is a choice between illiberal democracy and liberal autocracy [11, c. 97].

Liberal autocracy, or at a higher stage of development, liberal constitutionalism, is a more effective way of becoming a liberal democracy. Considering the variety of cases that have occurred in the last three decades, of the transition of non-Western societies to liberal democracy, it is easy to find that significant progress achieved by

those countries which used their version of the European model: capitalism and the rule of law in the first place, and democracy - in the second. As a result they have achieved impressive commercial success, and over the past 15 years they have passed to democracy - and far more stable and effective one [12, p. 51]. Chance of building a truly liberal democracy is still far above where illiberal democracy entrenched.

The successful functioning of democracy depends on citizens as independent individuals. This means the ability to maintain their identity, to avoid emptiness and loneliness through their own intellectual resources. In the modern world there are a number of trends and factors that will threaten democratic institutions today and in the nearest future: the growth of fans of extreme forms of nationalism, religious intolerance and theocratic aspirations, terrorism and criminal violence, the crisis of the modern model of socio-political system that dominates most developed countries, the increasing role that is played by advertising specialists and consultants on the media in policy, the lack of interest of citizens in public affairs, unless it comes to protecting their specific interests. As Henry Kissinger said: "Politicians under pressure of voters are reluctant to turn to the problems, the existence of which goes beyond the electoral cycle" [13, c. 260].

Potentially the most important threat to democracy may come from long-term changes that are detrimental to mankind: overpopulation, resource reduction of agricultural land, water and ecological disasters that require future austerity measures, including the presence of many undemocratic restrictions.

Widespread democratic reforms in many countries do not mean smooth development of this political phenomenon. The experience of developed countries, democracy faces serious problems, which experts characterize differently: Zh. Beshler calls "distortion of democracy" N. Bobbio - "unfulfilled promises of democracy" F. Shmitter - "threats to democracy" Sh. Eyzenshtadt - "fragility of democratic regimes". Robert Dahl notes inequality of citizens as a fundamental problem in all democratic countries [14]. The prospect of democracy, from his point of view, depends on the degree of

approximation to the elite of the people who make decisions. Improving citizens, their active participation in society and the life of state is a necessary condition for democracy. And the higher the level of political participation, citizens closer to the ever increasing level of requirements for participants in the political process, the closer democracy is to its ideal.

J. Sartori believes the demand for more “pure” and perfect democracy to be a true threat to democracy [15, p. 47–49; 98–200]. Democracy can not but causes the creation of myths that are favorable to it, but not realized in time, these myths become utopia that destroys democracy. He also believes that democracy is fraught with tyranny, but the bearer of this threat is not the majority, which can weaken the centers of power but the minority which can take the advantage of the difficulties of the democratic system either to destroy it, or to give it closed oligarchic character.

The most important problem of democracy is the principle of majority when making collective decisions. Thus, the American political scientist Dankvart Rastou believes that “democracy is a system of governing of a temporary majority” [16, c. 7]. The considerable part of researchers recognizes the imperfection of this principle, but can not offer another versatile alternative. The experience in various democratic countries shows that in different circumstances the democratic process can be implemented with other principles of collective decisions that take into account the conditions in which they will be accepted.

But most experts are convinced of the loyalty of key theses: the democratic process is no more sophisticated alternative, and its deficiencies can be corrected by creating a real alternative process for improving a number of specific decisions or political strategies within the democratic system or the improvement of the democratic regime itself. At the same time a certain degree of democratic principles may be accepted as a payment for the benefits of the democratic process.

As the key factors which the future stability and spread of democracy will depend on, often marked economic development and political leadership are often marked. As powerful structural factors that facilitate the expansion and deepening of democracy, social development and the expansion of global wealth and education are

also called. But in the long run, the ultimate significance is given to the crucial political leadership, its choices and actions on many levels, which imposes obligations on government officials, political parties, interest groups and organizations in the “young” democracies, but also on institutions in those countries where the democracy has already been established. But democracy as a global and local process will eventually spread in the world as much as those who use power around the world and in some countries want to extend it.

Democracy as a basis for management has a greater deterrent effect only in those countries where there are common interests and fundamental values that are shared by the vast majority of citizens. This is what makes possible life for democratic parliamentary government. The decline of democracy comes when the unity of values and interests disintegrates, when there is no general agreement on the main principles and objectives, when supporters of various political parties are no longer willing to work together with the government, but they themselves want to become a state [17, c. 40].

Thus, the nature of contemporary social processes remains controversial and conflicting. On the one hand, new trends are apparent in facilitating interpretation and convergence rates of development, and on the other they are accompanied by significant deformations, deepening enforcement mechanisms, shaking and watching the traditional norms of national and international law, the use of double standards. However, despite the listed deficiencies of democracy, good optimistic reasons are preserved about the future of democratic development, basing this optimism that their gradual filling strengthens the stability of democracy. Modern democratic institutions and practices capable of solving problems between the government and society by peaceful means, and that is the biggest acknowledgment of its passing ahead effectiveness compared with other forms of social organization. Despite all the difficulties faced by democracy on its thorny path, the opinion expressed by Robert Dahl remains relevant “... Democratic idea will not lose its appeal for people in non-democratic countries, and, to the extent that these countries will form modern, dynamic and more pluralistic societies, their authoritarian governments will become increasingly difficult to resist the desire for the expansion of democracy” [14].

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У статті досліджуються сучасні тенденції глобального поширення демократичних інститутів і труднощі їх укорінення в незахідних суспільствах. Доведено, що перспективи глобальної демократизації значно ускладнює сформована структура міжнародних відносин, асиметричність процесів демократизації в різних регіонах світу. Значне поширення демократичних перетворень у багатьох країнах світу не означає безпроблемного розвитку цього політичного явища. Ключові чинники, від яких у майбутньому будуть залежати стабільність і поширення демократії, є економічний розвиток і політичне керівництво. Як потужні структурні чинники, які полегшують розширення і поглиблення демократії, також є соціальний розвиток, розширення доступу до світового багатства й освіти.

Ключові слова: демократія, неліберальна демократія, західна цивілізація, вестернізація, США, Європа, країни «третього світу».

В статье исследуются современные тенденции глобального распространения демократических институтов и трудности их укоренения в незападных обществах. Доказано, что перспективы глобальной демократизации значительно усложняет сформирована структура международных

отношений, асимметричности процессов демократизации в различных регионах мира. Широкое распространение демократических преобразований во многих странах мира не значит беспрепятственного развития этого политического явления. Ключевые факторы, от которых в будущем будут зависеть стабильность и распространение демократии, – экономическое развитие и политическое руководство. В качестве мощных структурных факторов, облегчающих расширение и углубление демократии, – также социальное развитие, расширение доступа к мировому богатству и образованию.

Ключевые слова: демократия, нелиберальная демократия, западная цивилизация, вестернизация, США, Европа, страны «третьего мира».