
CHAPTER 8

THE FUTURE OF GLOBALIZED SECURITY

NAYEF R.F. AL-RODHAN

Dr. Nayef R.F. Al-Rodhan is Senior Scholar in Geostrategy and Director of the Program on the Geopolitical Implications of Globalization and Transnational Security at the Geneva Centre for Security Policy, Geneva, Switzerland

I. Introduction

Since the end of the Cold War, the field of international relations has redefined itself along lines that are no longer dependent on bipolarity. National and transnational security threats have moved the world toward a system that is much more complex and focused on multilateralism. Progress has been made in trying to deal with the impact that a globalizing world has on security, the nation-state, and the individuals within the global system. As Philippe Legrain reminds us, “security is everyone’s priority: without it we can survive, but we cannot flourish. So the right question is not whether national security must be paramount but whether it is compatible with people, goods, and money zipping around the globe with ease. The answer, in general, I think is yes. Although a heightened risk of global terror may require some changes to our way of life, it does not imply that we have to barricade ourselves behind national borders.”¹

This book presented a new security concept that challenges the belief presented by Herz in 1950. Notably, no country can claim or achieve security through its own efforts alone. All countries need one another to achieve global security. We proposed an alternative to the Herz belief that suggests that security be attained through justice for all cultures and nations. The principle that we proposed is called the “*justice-based penta-security principle*,” which states: “**In a globalized world, security can no longer be thought of as a zero-sum game involving states alone. Global security is a pentagon of human, environmental, national, transnational, and transcultural security, and global security and the security of any one state or**

culture cannot, therefore, be achieved without good governance (domestic and global) that guarantees security through *justice* for all individuals, states, and cultures.”

This publication has briefly illustrated the economic, environmental, societal, political, and military aspects of globalization by showing the impact of this concept in each discipline. It allowed for a cohesive look at the process of globalization in the areas where the impact can largely be collectively assessed. None of these sectors exist independently from the others, nor are the decisions made in any one of these sectors independent of the others. While the divisions of these topics might appear arbitrary, they are important delineations that identify trends and trajectories in each sector in order to predict the stability and security levels of states in the future, in both the short and long term.

II. The Future Dimensions of Globalized Security: Lessons Learned

The purpose of this conclusion is to identify trends and trajectories within the international system that could serve as a way to drive policy toward a more comprehensive and effective strategy when dealing with threats. All of our authors offered a different piece of understanding when looking at the impact of globalization on national and international security strategies. Globalization has made security a transnational phenomenon, and national security has become transnational primarily because of the impact of globalization on the world. But what do these trends tell us about the future of globalization and the way in which it can be assessed? What impact will it continue to have in the future, and how will it shape the national and transnational agendas of states? This section will revisit the main conclusions of each chapter and will provide some identifying themes in the future trajectories of each dimension as a way of looking forward.

As noted by Neil MacFarlane in his contribution, the improvements in technology, communications, education, and other transnational flows have altered the environment in which states currently operate. Therefore, the security challenges that states find themselves faced with are complex and multifaceted. He identified a number of geopolitical implications of globalization and security: the emergence of a complex array of security challenges; the impact of

globalization varies greatly depending on the state and region with which you are dealing; globalization is not eroding the state entirely as a force within the international system, but rather is redefining its role; and, the impacts of globalization on security are acting as forces that help to assist global interstate cooperation since each individual state realizes its inability to handle the new challenges in the system.

(a) Economic Security: Lessons and Trends

When assessing the economics of the international system, a number of dilemmas were presented as states move forward in developing economic policy. The major policy recommendations relied on two points: further market mitigation and the need to address the lack of consistency between economic institutions. If both of these recommendations were implemented, the economic sector would become more secure and this, in turn, would lead to more stability for the entire international community. As Cédric Dupont indicates, these measures are not necessarily either going to be easily accepted by states or implemented without strong measures. However, without steps toward fulfillment of these recommendations, little more is possible in terms of stable survival when dealing with economic globalization.

According to the *World Economic Situation and Prospects, 2006*, published by the United Nations, world economic growth is expected to remain at around 3 percent for the duration of 2006.² There are a number of factors that contribute to this figure, most notably the increasing cost of oil, as well as the threat of a worldwide avian influenza.³ Future economic trends will largely depend on how effectively the world manages demographic changes and migration and how it works to finalize the negotiations of the Doha Round. Policy makers are working to address these issues, which are often linked to aspects of societal security and globalization. Unemployment continues to be a challenge for states: “Unemployment in terms of actual people out of work is at its highest point ever and continues to rise. In the last ten years, official unemployment has grown by more than 25 per cent and now stands at nearly 192 million worldwide, or about 6 per cent of the global workforce.”⁴ The slowdown in economic growth can account for these rising numbers, and policy makers must work toward the creation of solid policies that can increase global economic growth. The United States continues to dominate growth levels. However, with increasing

global economic players such as India and China, other countries are increasingly impacting global economic prospects.⁵ As global conflicts also drain economic resources, and reduce consumer confidence, the markets will have to work hard to maintain and increase growth in order to reduce these unemployment levels. In order to stabilize markets in the course of the upcoming months and years and “[t]o mitigate the risk of a disorderly adjustment in the global imbalances, the major economies should coordinate their macroeconomic policies over the medium run.”⁶ The gap between rich and poor, particularly in underdeveloped countries, will also play a major role in the coming years. Without handling these issues and the consequences of poverty and hunger properly, the world will continue to have pockets of insecurity that are created as a direct result.

As this chapter concludes, there are three major scenarios that can be anticipated and projected. While each provides a variation in the future of this sector, all of them are facilitated by some change. Dupont made clear throughout his piece that the status quo as it currently stands will not maintain itself. Either global markets will adopt policies of prudent expansion, they will maintain, as he calls it, “status quo minus” or pursue “status quo plus.” In short, either governments will agree to open up their markets and work toward furthering liberalization in sectors such as agriculture, or states will come to an agreement and conclude the Doha Round without considering agriculture and services, or there will be a situation where elements from both scenarios are incorporated into market trends. The Doha Round of negotiations will conclude with some issues still unresolved, but it will help to address some of the more pressing issues and it will indicate a serious commitment on the part of states to move forward on bilateral and regional agreements dealing in trade issues. The outlook of states, as Dupont concludes, would indicate that the status quo minus situation will most likely emerge; however, as he reminds us, markets are difficult to determine, and, therefore, various aspects of each of these elements are likely to surface in the near and long term.

(b) Environmental Security: Lessons and Trends

In the chapter dealing with environmental issues, there was a strong emphasis on institutional structures. While the direct link between environmental scarcities and conflict was rejected in the author’s assessment, there was a direct link made between the “political

tragedy of the commons” and the potential resulting exploitation of common resources. Without a sound definitive stance on how resources should be protected and restricted, neither conflict nor the exploitation of current resources can be avoided. The environment is often a victim of short-term planning. Therefore, states and institutions must work toward an effective long-term plan for handling resource allocation and must develop specific guidelines for property rights. Without these provisions, the regulation of property and resources becomes nearly impossible for states. Measures that encourage the protection of valued resources are also important. The overuse of renewable resources such as wood and fish should be regulated in order to prevent complete depletion. While this can seem an impossible task, as Luterbacher concludes, it is not unattainable when attempted by democratic and industrialized states.

In addition to the increased concerns over resource allocation and proper management of non-renewable resources, another cause for concern is the increasing amount of societal waste production. Particularly as a result of the information age, “E-waste” (a term used to describe the increasing levels of electronic waste) is growing to troublesome proportions. As noted in a recent report by the UN agency that handles environmental issues (the United Nations Environment Programme, or UNEP): “Over the past decade, E-waste has become one of the world’s fastest growing waste streams and—due to the presence of lead, mercury, brominated flame retardants, and other hazardous substances—one of the most toxic. The disposal of computer waste in particular is becoming a difficult issue as millions of computers and other electronic devices are rapidly becoming obsolete as each year the industry produces ever-greater quantities of less-expensive equipment.”⁷ As globalization has continued to increase the need for this equipment, the resulting waste will need to be properly handled in order to decrease the likelihood that it will impact other areas of the environment such as water supplies, which, when allowed to happen, can have far-reaching consequences.

As this chapter identifies, in communities and states that are the most vulnerable to change, resource scarcity and therefore effective management become critical in maintaining order and avoiding conflict. This can be attacked on the international level, but it also requires states to play a critical role in identifying policy measures that ensure resource protection and allocation. Property rights must be well defined, and these definitions must be enforced at

the state level in order to be effective. The consequences of not doing so will bring destruction and instability to regions within states and could potentially create a global resource problem if allowed to spread. Therefore, environmental policy must be designed with global prospects in mind and can no longer be confined to nationalistic policies and approaches. A transnational effort in order to protect and preserve environmental features will be increasingly crucial in the coming years to minimize the negative aspects of the human footprint⁸ on the planet. This will in turn minimize the impact on our own security.

(c) Societal Security: Lessons and Trends

If communities and groups of people within the societal structures of a state feel threatened due to the increasing numbers of immigrants and policies that seemingly favor some groups over others, then security cannot be guaranteed for the state. The impact of globalization on societies is felt more personally than the impact of globalization on other sectors addressed in this publication because of the fear associated with the destruction of traditional norms and customs. This issue has become even more personal during recent times due to the melting away of traditionally understood borders. Globalization has brought communities together and exposed communities to each other, and therefore has the potential to be a great source of conflict for states in the future. However, if states work toward inclusive policies of tolerance, understanding, and empowerment, these effects could be contained. States must make societal security a priority and start to understand security in more than just the context of the state, but also in the context of those dimensions that are impacting the transnational nature of states via individuals, communities, and society as a whole. Only then can the positive effects of globalization become an influential factor when assessing societal security and, eventually, security at the state, regional, and international levels.

In this chapter, Bethany Webster concludes that, without focusing on some of the traditionally understood softer security issues, states will not be able to maintain their security. Providing funding for national education programs, working toward achieving the Millennium Development Goals, and incorporating international law and norms into national strategies are all points that are raised in this chapter. The focus on societies and the way in which they can maintain their identity and security are threatened, but they are also

granted a new lease on life with the introduction of globalization to the international system. The link that exists between the security of states and the security of societies is irrefutable. Webster concludes that, without security of the individual and community, state security can never be fully achieved and therefore recommendations in order to improve individual status and security must become a priority for states. The international system should provide an environment that facilitates the incorporation of positive opportunities provided by globalization in order to make individuals feel and experience further security.

Issues such as migration, health dilemmas, demographic decline, identity, and integration will become increasingly important within the context of comprehensive policies toward addressing the future of societal security. The resulting impacts of these policies on other sectors (economic and political in particular) make them critical features within any security agenda. Human mobility does not show any signs of decreasing in the near future and therefore will continue to impact the security and stability of states from the perspective of both the society and the individual. Increased efforts to combat poverty have yielded commitments from the developed world that show prospects for the future. The prospects for combating extreme poverty show positive signs but will require continued support and commitment from the developed world. Health coordination will continue to be important in the years to come and will require cooperative efforts from governments and agencies to develop vaccines, as well as to coordinate relief efforts when required. Each of these collaborative efforts will lead to increased security for individual societies and can also lead to increased stability at the state level. As Esther Brimmer noted in a recent publication, "Defending against modern transnational threats requires a more holistic understanding of security. A delicate web of values, connections, and infrastructure characterizes the modern globalized world."⁹ Furthermore, "Societal security should focus on protecting people and the vital connections of society from catastrophic manmade or natural threats."¹⁰ Constructing policy that protects the structure of society will have a progressively more important place in the future development of security agendas. Societal security must become a priority for states.

(d) Political Security: Lessons and Trends

Globalization has a very strong impact on the state conception of globalization and the impact that this has on the security of the system. In this context, Graeme Herd predicts that, in the long term, if the United States continues to respond in the way it has to date, there will be strategic damage to its position in the world, as well as to its political and national interests. The way in which states understand their political realities and how they handle their emerging positions within the international system are important factors in the advancement of security coordination. State policies should be aimed at furthering cooperation, which will in turn increase the effectiveness of policies when dealing with changes, either in economic, political, or military terms. It has become apparent through a number of different politically motivated events in the past few years that globalization and its interference in politics can lead to both positive and negative developments. To say that political globalization depends heavily on the democratization of the East and exportation of American ideals is a narrow and confused idea of what globalization can truly mean for progress.

The role of the UN and its agencies should be strengthened in the coming months in order to better facilitate the decisive and efficient resolution of transnational conflicts. The UN needs to be empowered by its member states to meet the challenges of the 21st century effectively. In political developments, the way in which the US continues to handle the disintegrating situation in Iraq will dominate security agendas and the decisions made by policy makers. The impact of globalizing democracy and the way in which policy develops around these themes can have looming security implications. The fight against global poverty and corruption at the political level indicates that this will have positive outcomes in the near- to long-term future. The increased cooperation between states in working toward fostering political security and stability within the international system will lead states in the direction of sound policy decisions. By doing so, shared security probabilities increase and as security dependencies amplify on the political scale, so will securities in subsequent other dimensions.

Herd determines that the way in which the EU and the US have politicized and reacted to both the Mittal Steel issue and the ports issue, respectively, indicates that there will not be a bright future for either entity. An increase in protectionist measures as demonstrated in

these instances will isolate their economies, and, as Herd concludes, globalization based on a liberal international order will consequently be damaged. This is also the case in Europe. He concludes here as well that isolating tendencies in the global marketplace are not conducive to the development of economic interdependence, which can provide opportunity for further economic growth.

(e) Military Security: Lessons and Trends

While Anthony Cordesman concludes that the global system is not handling the effects of globalization in the most efficient manner, it is certainly not a probability that the entire international system will slip into a state of chaos. Rather, he agrees with the assessment that globalization and its impact on security and stability largely rests with the states themselves and their willingness and ability to work together in key areas in order to help the international system evolve and to introduce legislation that guides it toward a more stable future. He argues that there is only one way to do this, and that is to identify and implement a strong, clear, and concise strategic policy toward dealing with the threats as they develop in the modern, globalizing world. This is largely dependent on how states recover from the Cold War understanding of security and how they move forward as a unit to protect themselves and handle threats in the most efficient way possible.

With the continued military deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan, the military capabilities of the world's superpower continue to be stretched. A review of the latest *Quadrennial Defense Review* of the US Department of Defense published in February of 2006 indicates that US forces must evolve "from a threat-based posture to one which is capability and effects-based, recognising that armed forces must be able to cope with threats emanating from 'dispersed non-state networks' rather than from the traditional military forces or an adversarial nation-state."¹¹ For the US in particular, it is important that the current military forces develop "a more flexible and adaptable force that will give policymakers more options to engage in full-spectrum operations, ranging from high-intensity warfare to disaster relief and peace support operations."¹² This shift accounts for the way in which security threats are now developing. Military powers are working toward further cooperative efforts that put emphasis on partnerships and the development of strategic capabilities within NATO and other institutions. Military preparedness can no longer

account for the entire security of a nation and therefore efforts in other areas of development and cooperation are reaching new levels of importance.

The learning process will prove itself in the long term. States must define their interests on a transnational level, which is not something that can easily be achieved or understood by all national governments. The idea of the melting away of the nation state and its related system will not happen overnight, and reform of the national and transnational strategies certainly will not be easy. Nevertheless, this progression will become an essential tool as threats become more imminent.

III. Future Opportunities in Globalized Security

Globalization as outlined in the contributions to this book presents a number of challenges and dilemmas to states and their current and future policy decisions. At the same time, globalization provides opportunities for further collaboration, cooperation, and increased security within the international system. Through a brief overview of how each of these sectors can provide challenges to the state, potential areas of insecurity and instability were identified. Conversely, the following paragraphs will present how globalization provides opportunities for furthering global security and stability within the system. In other words, what aspects and influences of globalization provide the chance to incorporate measures for furthering stability? This could emerge as a cooperative effort that would not exist without the connecting nature of globalizing trends, or it could be that, in identifying transnational threats between states, better measures may be put in place in order to combat current security threats. In any of these dimensions, globalization has certainly challenged traditionally understood ways of handling threats and has raised questions about the way in which states interact. What we propose in the following sections are opportunities and chances for further collaboration and effective policy making that can be employed by states through channels provided or highlighted as a result of globalization.

(a) Economic Opportunities

In a recent article, John Graham highlighted that “when government regulations vary enormously from one nation to the next, they become roadblocks to the smooth flow of international commerce, and hurt

both consumers and workers.”¹³ While this can be seen as a direct result of economic globalization, it also provides a chance for countries, especially the US and countries within the EU, to agree on a number of economic regulations that can both boost productivity and the financial benefits of transnational commerce. As economies become more intertwined, their dependence on one another also increases, thereby making inefficiencies in one market a possible inefficiency on the other side of the world. This interdependence constantly puts pressure on large economic players to work out these economic “roadblocks,” as they can potentially lock them out of commercial agreements and export opportunities. Naturally, this outcome would not be the desire of any trading, industrialized nation and so can then act as a catalyst to promote further cooperation in commercial terms. The connected nature of economies, trade agreements, and the global market creates an environment where nations are impacted by the actions of other players and therefore have an interest in streamlining processes worldwide. Globalization has to a large extent created these links and provided the basis on which these reforms can be based. Current regulations that are designed to protect markets (particularly in the agriculture sector) require reform in order to propel global markets forward in a way that will benefit both consumers and producers.

(b) Environmental Opportunities

Within the environmental debate in current academic and policy circles, resource and food management are two issues that often dominate when assessing the current impact of globalization. Linked with many other aspects affected by globalization, the environmental dimension can largely benefit from the cooperative measures that are facilitated by interconnectedness and knowledge sharing. Improved technologies for food preservation and techniques that can improve crop production can provide great benefits to areas that are solely dependent on agriculture for sustainability and economic growth. This can in turn improve resource management and can advance techniques that are currently being used to preserve resources in order to minimize the damage inflicted on the environment. Larger populations and productivity will continue to put a strain on our environmental resources in the future: there are no indicators that would lead one to think otherwise. It is critical that countries and governments work together to make sure that those resources are managed in a way that

is beneficial to all and not only to some. When states focus on the environment in isolation from other issues, they create further insecurities, as noted in a publication addressing the security opportunities of proper environmental management: "Focusing only on threats overlooks the environmentally related opportunities available to improve global security. Protecting and enhancing the environment can have very positive consequences for people's livelihoods, well-being and opportunities for fulfillment."¹⁴ Globalization can provide the links and the cooperative forums that could make this a reality and at the same time makes the need for such discussions more significant.

(c) Societal Opportunities

The societal facet of globalization impacts states in a number of ways from migration and the issues surrounding integration to health and the subsequent challenges thereof. The threats felt by native cultures and communities as a result of globalization present a number of significant questions to states that demand quick and decisive answers. The economic and political stability of nations will largely depend on decisions made in this area. With the future looming large over global society, it may be more difficult to see the opportunities that present themselves here, but despite this impasse, opportunities that promote tolerance, inclusive statements, and integration are plausible. The cooperative movements that have collectively organized around issues such as poverty, HIV/AIDS, and environmental degradation could not have found an international stage without the information flow provided by globalization. As transnational communities rally behind causes such as health cooperatives and policies to end poverty, they all find themselves in a position to exert pressure on global players to do more. The global nature of these movements provides them with more leverage and potentially more power, as they can apply pressure for a change in policy in global forums, giving them more strength and perhaps even more credibility. These measures will greatly benefit those in need and can promote security at the societal level in areas where this is a critical path to development. In other respects, issues such as demographic change and the movement of people is also putting pressure on governments to answer questions about immigration, guest workers, and the introduction of new religious beliefs and ideas that would otherwise lay dormant. By promoting these policy questions, states will be led toward legislation that will

provide security at both the individual and societal level, ensuring state stability and security for the future.

(d) Political Opportunities

The United States' 2006 National Security Strategy addresses the potential implications for national security as a result of globalization. Among the opportunities highlighted was the resulting political impact of the Asian tsunami. One of the lessons gained from this experience was that: "The response and the new partnerships it [globalization] creates can sometimes serve as a catalyst for changing existing political conditions to address other problems. For example, the response to the tsunami in Southeast Asia and the earthquake in Pakistan developed new lines of communication and cooperation at a local level, which opened the door to progress in reconciling long-standing regional conflicts in Aceh and the Kashmir."¹⁵ Opportunities are presented due to the response mechanisms and measures for political cooperation that are possibly largely due to the effects of globalization. While globalization cannot be credited with all of the positive aspects of political developments and initiatives, it can be credited with, in some cases, providing opportunities for dialogue that may not have otherwise been possible. Governmental systems may view the flowing ideas of democracy as threats, but in some cases this flow of information will facilitate political change in countries where it is long overdue. Globalization provides the tools for that change to take place on a more global scale and can help to bring self-governance and political stability to far-reaching corners of the world and shed positive light on otherwise isolated corners.

(e) Military Opportunities

Cooperative measures in the military realm can be viewed as a sign of furthering global insecurity rather than a promoter of global security and peace. However, as governments choose to continue to spend large amounts on military equipment, globalization can provide opportunities for savings and reduced research and development when applications are shared. A good example of this potential is in the development of the EU's Galileo system, which will be very similar to the GPS system currently employed in the US. The development of the dual systems may mean that "both the United States and Europe may realize economic benefits with a cooperative approach that enables seamless use of both systems."¹⁶ The cooperative

technological developments can advance military devices to minimize civilian casualties even further when military methods are deployed. In addition, cooperative efforts to share technologies may mean fewer resources are deployed at the military level, which would therefore provide further resources for other initiatives toward combating security threats at the state level. The sharing of information and knowledge that has been used to take a transnational stance against crime such as terrorism and human trafficking reduces the ability of criminals to hide within systems that do not communicate with one another. As globalization brings global networks together, opportunities for arresting and prosecuting transnational criminals also greatly increase.

IV. Policy Recommendations

Based on some of the opportunities that we presented in the previous section, one can offer a number of recommendations that could enable the international system to deal with the effects of globalization, whether positive or negative, in a more efficient manner. Globalization, while posing a number of transnational and national threats on a variety of levels, can also provide the basis for furthering global understanding and tolerance and provide the tools that will empower states to be more effective vehicles of change and security. The following recommendations are proposed directions in which the system should move in order to further progress, and they can be identified as overarching themes from each of the dimensions examined in this publication. Each of the main themes of the chapters is represented in these recommendations and in the subsequent discussion of what the international system needs to do in order to facilitate effective policies that can provide the foundations for security and stability within the global network.

(a) States should work toward empowering the United Nations to be a more effective governing body

The world is in need of a supra-state entity that can develop policy in order to regulate states. When states are left to their own national interests, this may work against the interests of the international system. In order to prevent this, drastic reform of the current UN system is required. However, if this cannot be achieved within the current structure of the UN, then another institution must be created in

order to fulfill these tasks. As is the case with individuals, states must be regulated and checked in order to ensure fair and good governance because only when this occurs at the state level can it be guaranteed on an international basis. When this is not regulated and states are able to run rampant within the system, any measures taken toward furthering global security and stability may not make great gains. The UN, including the Security Council, must reform to reflect the globalized power balance of today's world. Kofi Annan argues that "decision-making structures through which governance is exercised internationally must reflect the broad realities of our times. The United Nations Security Council is an obvious case in point. Based on the distribution of power and alignments in 1945, the composition of the Council today does not fully represent either the character or the needs of our globalized world."¹⁷ Consequently, the United Nations should be reformed to be more reflective of current trends and needs. The secretary-general goes on to agree with this point by stating that "the international public domain must be opened further to the participation of the main actors whose contributions are essential to managing the path of globalization."¹⁸

(b) Governments should work toward policies that prevent increasing inequalities between groups of individuals and communities while promoting policies of cultural respect and tolerance

Policies that encourage development for all will make significant steps toward guaranteeing a flourishing state and society. As the gap between rich and poor increases in some countries, the security of the state is threatened. In some instances, "globalization has improved living conditions in some areas, [while] it has also increased the risk of conflict in others."¹⁹ Thus, it is understandable that, in areas where economic development has been slow or non-existent, the desire to reap benefits from other, sometimes criminal, activity increases. Reducing inequalities globally will help in the battle against transnational terrorism and other threats to the international system. Cultural tensions are also becoming a primary source of insecurity and therefore should be addressed in any comprehensive security agenda. This will only be combated in the long term through the promotion of tolerance and respect in the larger picture. Xenophobic statements, whether overt or covert in nature, should be avoided at all costs, and communities should be empowered through the political process so

that they feel secure and respected. When these elements do not exist, societies will not flourish and this in turn can contribute to the detriment of the state and the international system.

(c) Every government should work to employ the minimal criteria of governance required in order to be an active, contributing part of the international system

States must work toward implementing criteria that guarantee their viability at the state level and therefore as a constructive member of the international system. Those criteria include aspects of statehood such as the protection of civil liberties, accountability and transparency, and the protection of the state apparatus. However, also included are issues at the institutional level such as effective and efficient governance tactics, equal and inclusive treatment of citizens, justice and a standard applicability of the rule of law, as well as a separation of powers and protected participation of citizens in the democratic process of elections. The state must also remain a credible source of security and governance within the global system. When any of these criteria cannot be applied, it implies that a state is not working toward security and stability. This is not necessarily because of a lack of desire or political will, but it may simply be that at their current political status a particular state is unable to achieve some of these standards. This would then require support from the other states within the system in order to help that particular state fulfill these criteria with a view to furthering the ability of individual states to contribute to global security.

(d) International norms, including international law, justice and environmental treaties, should be ratified by states whenever necessary in order to ensure strong, global coherence

If the process of developing international legislation conforms to international standards, as well as to some of the standards outlined above for the state level, it becomes clear that international norms and treaties should be adhered to. There is little systematic enforcement currently in place to ensure that international norms are ratified and accounted for. However, this point was addressed in the first recommendation regarding the development of a true international governing body. National interests are the primary reason that states hesitate to ratify international treaties, and, consequently, there must be incentives and encouragement within the system to do so. As

expressed during a UN General Assembly meeting in 2005 to discuss the Law Commission, Cuba observed that “[r]eservations were an expression of the will and political sovereignty of a State.”²⁰ When this does not apply, states are allowed to opt out of certain treaties that do not appeal to them or their national interests. In order to ensure justice and fair treatment within the international system, this must be altered. States such as the US should be encouraged and pressured by the international community to ratify environmental treaties and to adhere to international law. With even just a few dissenting countries, international law becomes a seemingly useless tool in regulating the members of the international community. Assurance of these norms must be given if treaties and international conventions have been developed in a fair, concise, and clear manner. When states refuse to adhere, the international community should develop a system of isolating techniques that would protect the system from potentially harmful threats coming from that state and put economic and political pressure on the state to change its policies.

(e) States should move toward further economic integration and conclude the negotiations of the WTO Doha Round

The Doha Round of negotiations has stalled due to countries’ lack of ability to move any further toward an agreement on these issues. In the opinion of Angel Gurría, secretary-general of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD): “The Doha Development Agenda is an opportunity to re-balance trade rules in favour of developing countries while boosting the world economy. The Doha talks reportedly collapsed largely because of disagreements over agriculture, but clearly that is not the whole story. Indeed, some rich countries were not ready to accept larger tariff cuts or bigger reductions in trade-distorting domestic subsidies for farm products. Emerging market countries, meanwhile, offered what some saw as only modest improvements in market access for goods and services.”²¹ The subsidies and tariffs currently imposed, largely in the agricultural sector, must be altered in order to boost developing country economies as well as to help boost economic interdependence, which will largely benefit the entire global economy.

Economic independence does not help to sustain the international standards and therefore must be changed in order to encourage the system to move toward further economic integration. If the economies of the world become increasingly tied to one another,

there is less likelihood of states acting purely in their own self-interests. This helps to protect the international economic situation and potentially prevents states from taking unilateral action that could have severe economic consequences for the international system. As the current system operates, there is little in the way of checks and balances to prevent outrageous spending and potential currency weakening that affects the economies of weaker states. In addition, as Martin Wolf argues, “Globalization has not increased inequality. It has reduced it, just as it has reduced the incidence of poverty.”²² He goes on to argue that, based on a study by the World Bank in 2002, a “wide range of countries that increased their integration with the world economy... prospered, in some cases, dramatically so.”²³

(f) States should implement and maintain strong educational systems and should make this a priority when designing their own security agendas

One of the main points of interest in looking at the geopolitical implications of globalization is raised when discussing global education. Culture, technology, and education form a triangle of strong influence, whether it is on the micro or macro level. Without knowledge of other cultures, language, histories, people, and ideas, major misunderstandings can disrupt even the most stable of systems. This has particularly been the case as migration has brought new groups together for the first time and has been a great source of instability and insecurity within various regions. This can be largely reduced through education if mass communities are educated in a balanced and fair manner. Without this cornerstone, the remaining recommendations are rendered almost impossible to maintain. Through education, communities become empowered to improve their own standing in the world, and it therefore can be the biggest contributor to sustainable development. In a globalizing world, “Education is no longer a power tool in the hands of few, but it is freedom, liberty, development, life and future for millions who are trapped in servitude, trafficking, forced beggary, domestic labour, prostitution and as child soldiers. Free quality education for all is the key to social justice, equity, protection of childhood and combating poverty.”²⁴ The framework and foundation of education must be maintained at all costs in order to advance communities, states, and, eventually, regions. Priority must be given to education at the state level, and this must be encouraged at the international level. Starting

at the grassroots level, ensuring a strong and fair educational system is a vital step toward empowering individuals in the direction of a brighter future for themselves that will, in turn, lead to the promotion of security on the geopolitical stage.

(g) States should work toward developing coherent processes for decision making in all international institutions, particularly those dealing with political and economic elements

International institutions currently do not have a coherent policy, particularly in the political and economic sectors. This situation needs to be altered in a way that encourages institutions to streamline their decision-making processes and develop coherent, effective, and concise strategies. This is particularly the case with the WTO. Currently, most states are aware of the situation, and what needs to be done to rectify it is apparent. However, due to national interests and often the interest of governments in reference to their place in the international structure, there is a lack of political will to facilitate real change. With this pacifism remaining unchecked, governments will continue to operate within these organizations but will make little progress in working toward implementing real change. Without that encouragement and incentive from one another, this will never take place, but there are few other options available in order to provide true economic and political security within the international community. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) is also an organization that is realizing that the context of its development is not the current situation of its existence and therefore reform is needed if the organization is going to be effective in the future. A medium-term strategy has been developed and “has been a process rich in debate within and, more importantly, outside of the organization. The priority now, after strong support from our 184 shareholders in April [2006], is to proceed with the implementation of reform measures that will make our 61-year-old organization better able to prevent and resolve crises. Today's challenges are considerably different from those of 1945 when the IMF was created.”²⁵ These waves of reform will help to make these institutions more effective and therefore will contribute to furthering global security and stability in the entire international system.

(h) States should develop specific strategies for dealing with transnational threats while protecting the civil liberties of individuals and communities

The most important elements of security are clearly civil liberties and human rights. In any state situation, these two components must be maintained. Without minimum criteria to guarantee these basic rights and freedoms, a state cannot effectively do its job to ensure security for its citizens. This must also be the case at the international level. Transnational threats such as terrorism become difficult to deal with when those wishing harm to individuals and states show little remorse and restraint when inflicting destruction on civilian populations. It means that difficult tactics to counter these threats must be undertaken. Nevertheless, this needs to take place within a framework that guarantees the basic rights of citizens, both for those that remain innocent bystanders in society and for those that have committed crimes. The act of committing a crime does not mean that that person has relinquished their civil liberties. The true psyche of a nation may be found in the way it treats its prisoners. Humans should be treated with at least a minimum level of respect and protection regardless of their place within a particular society. Transnational threats require a new level of cooperation and communication between states, but this should not occur at the expense of basic human rights and liberties. In fact, the contrary should apply. As states work together to combat these threats, communities and individuals should be encouraged to support these efforts, thereby making the state action more effective. When civil liberties and rights are guaranteed, individuals will be more likely to protect their communities and states from those wishing it harm. This becomes particularly difficult in situations where times of war and peace are not well defined, the US “war on terror” being a prime example. States should work to impose clear situational terms and definitions and adhere to the Geneva Conventions whenever they should be applied in order to increase credibility and reliability within international cooperative measures. In addition, those that do not adhere to the Geneva Conventions, or any other international treaties ratified to protect individual civil and human rights, should be prosecuted, regardless of their governmental level. As Kenneth Roth reminds us, “What is new is not the concept of extraterritorial jurisdiction but the willingness of some governments to fulfill this duty against those in high places.”²⁶

(i) States should empower current development aid programs to further strategies working toward peace and sustainable development, particularly in the developing world; where these

organizations do not exist, their development should be encouraged, and countries should work toward achieving the Millennium Development Goals

In some cases, there is clearly not enough aid within countries in order to meet the needs caused by a particular disaster. This is not always the case, however, and a more efficient way of utilizing and dispersing aid must be implemented. Countries that are currently able to contribute to development aid programs should be encouraged to do so through incentive measures. In countries where more aid agencies are needed, they should be developed and communities should be taught better ways of managing their resources. Simple farming techniques in Africa, for instance, might provide enough knowledge to yield further crops in some areas, and the development of simple tools and irrigation systems by other members of the international system should be encouraged. Overall, “The key idea here is that poor countries in stagnation or decline can be pushed above the basic thresholds and establish self-sustaining growth if they receive enough aid to invest in health, education and basic infrastructure. External financing is not needed to fund the entire growth process—merely to support the takeoff. In most cases that takeoff can be achieved within a generation.”²⁷ Incentives should be developed that motivate other members of the international community to donate further aid, and the possibility of incorporating these donations as a percentage of GDP should be explored.

(j) States should develop clear and precise strategies for dealing with transnational disasters, whether in the form of a natural disaster such as a tsunami or in the case of a global pandemic such as bird flu

As has become apparent in recent times due to the increasing number of natural disasters, often the areas that are the hardest hit by such disasters were not well equipped, either because they are part of the developing world and do not have the means or because existing structures were ineffective. The aftermath of these disasters were littered with images of aid not reaching survivors, which was often due to the fact that the infrastructure critical to delivering aid was completely destroyed. However, the presence of national relief funds may provide a situation where individual countries are better prepared. Naturally, every state has a different ability to handle disasters due to economic, political, or military resources. Nevertheless, these factors

do not always make a disaster-relief effort more effective, as was illustrated by the case of Hurricane Katrina in the US. The world's superpower was not able to handle the relief effort effectively. In less prominent places in the world, this is also the case. Clear early-warning systems need to be put in place to reduce the loss of human life, and relief strategies should be implemented before disaster hits in order to minimize the planning that takes place in the direct aftermath of these disasters. Too often, strategies are developed on the ground and critical delays in aid delivery occur. While it is important to recognize that every state will require slightly different strategies depending on the disaster that occurred, states should nonetheless work toward developing contingency plans that can be implemented immediately when a disaster occurs, even if slight modifications are required. In 2005, the United Nations launched plans for a global early-warning system for natural disasters in response to the 2004 tsunami that took thousands of lives.²⁸ The development of this project should be supported by all member states in order to assist developing countries in implementing these systems in an effort to combat the devastating effects of natural disasters.²⁹

(k) States should encourage states within the international system to develop policies of cooperative, coherent, and specific strategies whenever possible in order to ensure a transnational approach to dealing with transnational threats

As indicated earlier, states currently act primarily in their own self-interest and, as a result, they do not always develop the most effective strategies for dealing with transnational threats. States should be encouraged to develop policies that are coherent and cooperative in their nature. Often, the groups that inflict the most damage on states in today's globalizing world exist at the transnational level (terrorism and trafficking in drugs and weapons of mass destruction being primary examples). Consequently, national groups and agencies are insufficient to handle these types of threats. The solutions must take place at the transnational level and therefore require cooperation at the state level. When this is not possible, the strategies employed will be ineffective and global security will become the immediate victim. Transnational threats require transnational responses, and, therefore, states must develop cooperative efforts in order to ensure maximum return on their investment in the international security agenda.

(I) States should promote real and perceived fairness and international justice by resolving outstanding international conflicts through international institutions while avoiding hypocrisy and double standards; the success of this implementation will almost certainly result in globalization-mediated global security

Unresolved international conflicts perpetuate global insecurity and injustice. Anything short of a long-lasting resolution of these conflicts, conducted through international institutions and facilitators of international justice, will be increasingly detrimental to global peace and security. As states develop policies for handling conflict, hypocrisy should be avoided at all costs since its consequences discredit nations and therefore their power to implement sound and effective policies for peace in the system, regardless of the merit of the proposals. Conflicts such as those taking place in the Middle East, Africa, and Afghanistan must be resolved quickly and decisively so that international justice may be restored in these areas. Globalization can provide the communicative networks required to deliver and maintain this security and therefore can act as a strong facilitator of global security. Since the impact of these conflicts is no longer confined to the nations in which they occur, their resolution will not only promote furthering peace and stability in their direct vicinity but will do so in the entire international system. Fair, balanced, and consistent state policies will increase the credibility of some global players, thereby making future negotiations and resolutions of conflict more immediate.

V. Conclusions

The links between economic, political, military, environmental, and societal security have been explored through the assessment of a number of different aspects of globalization. The primary challenges to states and future trends were identified through an in-depth analysis of each of these sectors. Consequently, it helps to paint a complete picture of where security agendas must head in order to move toward furthering stability and security within the international system.

National security can no longer be viewed and conceived of within national borders. It must encompass a transnational and a transcultural perspective. Globalization therefore has a significant role to play at every policy level, whether it be national or international. In

the global pursuit of security, no state can rely on the insecurity of another state any longer. Rather, the security of one nation is inextricably linked and dependent on the security of another state. Only then will true global security be achieved.

Thus, we proposed a new, alternative security principle, which we support as the means to achieving true global security for all nations and all cultures. Our principle is termed the ***“justice-based penta-security principle,”*** which states: ***“In a globalized world, security can no longer be thought of as a zero-sum game involving states alone. Global security is a pentagon of human, environmental, national, transnational, and transcultural security, and global security and the security of any one state or culture cannot, therefore, be achieved without good governance (domestic and global) that guarantees security through justice for all individuals, states, and cultures.”*** In this pursuit, global security can be achieved and further, can be maintained.

In many of the scenarios presented by our authors, states are aware of the necessary steps required in order to make the world more secure. Unfortunately, political will, economic assets, and military capabilities often stand in the way of change. National interests are slowly moving toward a more transnational perspective, but only when this occurs on a more far-reaching scale will the world truly gain from all that globalization has to offer and reap the geopolitical benefits of this phenomenon.

References

¹ P. Legrain, *Open World: The Truth About Globalization* (Chicago: Ivan Dee, 2002), p. xi-xii.

² *World Economic Situation and Prospects, 2006* (New York: United Nations, 2006).

³ *Executive Summary of the World Economic Situation and Prospects, 2006* (New York: United Nations, 2006), p. 1, 3.

⁴ “ILO Director-General Warns of ‘Unprecedented Jobs Crisis’ Hails World Economic Forum Focus On Jobs Creation,” International Labour Organization press release, January 25, 2006.

⁵ United Nations, *op. cit.*, note 3, p. 1.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁷ “One Planet, Many People: Atlas of Our Changing Environment,” United Nations Environment Programme, 2005.

⁸ *Ibid.*: “The Human Footprint is a quantitative analysis of human influence on the Earth’s surface,” p. 67.

⁹ E. Brimmer, “From Territorial Security to Societal Security: Implications for the Transatlantic Strategic Outlook,” in E. Brimmer (ed.), *Transforming Homeland*

Security: U.S. and European Approaches (Washington, DC: Center for Transatlantic Relations, 2006), p. 29.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *The Military Balance* (London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2006), p. 13.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ J. Graham, "Regulatory Reform on Both Sides of the Atlantic," *Washingtonpost.com*, August 15, 2006.

¹⁴ S. Khagram, W. Clark, and D. Firas Raad, "From the Environment and Human Security to Sustainable Security and Development," in L. Chen, S. Fukuda-Parr, E. Seidensticker, *Human Insecurity in a Global World* (Cambridge, London: Harvard University Press, 2003), p. 113.

¹⁵ "The National Security Strategy of the United States of America," March 2006. A full transcript of the document is available at <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss/2006/>.

¹⁶ "The United States and Europe Should Work Together to Build a Multinational Global Navigation Satellite System," RAND Research Brief, 2005, available at www.rand.org.

¹⁷ K. Annan, *We The Peoples, The Role of the United Nations in the 21st Century* (New York: United Nations Department of Public Information, 2000), p. 13.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ M. Klare, "The New Face of Combat: Terrorism and Irregular Warfare in the 21st Century," in C. Kegley, Jr. (ed.), *New Global Terrorism: Characteristics, Causes, Controls* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 2003), p. 33.

²⁰ Sixtieth General Assembly, Sixth Committee, 19th Meeting (AM), "Reservations to Treaties Said to Be Useful Expression of Will in World of Growing Interdependence, But Still Diverse," General Assembly Media Information Release, November 2, 2005, see <http://www.un.org/news/Press/docs/2005/gal3288.doc.htm>.

²¹ A. Gurría, "Doha: The Low Hanging Fruit," OECD, August 21, 2006, see http://www.oecd.org/document/4/0,2340,en_2649_37431_37295108_1_1_1_37431_0.html.

²² M. Wolf, *Why Globalization Works* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2004), p. 142.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 143. The study that Wolf refers to is reflected in the World Bank publication *Globalization, Growth and Poverty: Building an Inclusive World Economy* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 2002).

²⁴ K. Satyarthi, "Keynote Address at UNESCO's Working Group on EFA Meeting," Global March Against Child Labour, see <http://www.globalmarch.org/news/EFA.php3>.

²⁵ A. Carstens, "Reshaping the IMF's Role in the 21st Century," International Monetary Fund, Fifth Annual Regional Conference on Central America, Panama and the Dominican Republic, Punta Cana, Dominican Republic, June 29, 2006.

²⁶ K. Roth, "The Case for Universal Jurisdiction," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2001, Vol. 80, No. 5, pp. 150-154, p. 151.

²⁷ *Human Development Report, 2003: Millennium Development Goals: A Compact Among Nations to End Human Poverty, United Nations Development Programme* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 78.

²⁸ “UN Launches Plans for Global Early Warning System on Natural Disasters,” January 19, 2005, UN News Centre, see <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=13077&Cr=natural&Cr1=disaster>.

²⁹ Also see the “Project Overview Plan Early Warning Strengthening Project,” UN-ISDR Platform for the Promotion of Early Warning (PPEW), updated as of April 30, 2005, and will be periodically updated with information on the progress of program development, <http://www.unisdr.org/ppew/tsunami/pdf/project-overview-plan.pdf>.