

The World of Tomorrow Paper on "Globalization" By: Tariq Al-Ansari

I. Introduction

Scope and multifaceted definition of Globalization

- 1. This paper will examine the effect of various trends conducive to broader and continuous force of Globalization as multifaceted power that we will witness in our future, particularly in the next 10 years. Globalization will exceed its classic economic scope and understanding of being a developmental trend or phenomena and will entail changes to the global state of international peace and security. Globalization, through its aspects of universality has broader meaning that will corrode states borders and will pose challenging circumstances for humanity, while we in the same time can not deny its shared benefits as well.
- 2. For better understanding, indications show that Globalization will continue to develop and evolve for the next decades till it changes our current understanding of state sovereignty and individualism. Article 2.7 of the UN Charter defines how States are sovereign within their borders when it states the following "Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter; but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII". However, this article will no longer provide immunity to states in the future. (1)
- 3. To understand what will globalization look like in the world of tomorrow, we need to read the indications and trends of today. Perhaps even these days we are witnessing an interdependence and mutually reinforcing driving force for globalization that may even change the world map in the future. No country or individual will be able to hide from the effects of globalization since it means interdependence indeed. (2)
- 4. These indications can be observed in some trends related to Information and Communication Technologies, international trade and development, migration, the role of civil society, the general international political and security status, the concept of sovereignty and other factors.
- (1) UN Charter
- (2) Joseph Nye and Robert Keohane "Power and Interdependence"

II. Facts

- 5. "Globalisation" as a classic UN term, means the growth, or more precisely the accelerated growth, of economic activity across national and regional political boundaries. However this is only one aspects of the greater globalization definition.
- 6. UNCTAD describes how all countries interests are interlinked due to globalization force which makes them in a position to share the benefits of diversity and in the same time share the insecurity and consequences of any international economic and financial challenges. Latest UNCTAD report says: Economically, globalization means closer integration of national economies through trade and financial flows as well as cross-border migration of people. As national economies "open up" and lower their external barriers, they become more exposed and more vulnerable to global forces and influences. With the long-run globalizing trend well established since the end of the Second World War, the pace of globalization accelerated over the past 25 years, resulting in unprecedented levels of economic integration and interdependence in the world, surpassing the pre-First World War peak. After reaching a tentative culmination with the global boom of 2003–2007, globalization reared its ugly head and the world economy ushered in the most severe global economic crisis since the Great Depression from which recovery remains fragile and incomplete.
- The era of accelerated globalization that preceded the global crisis saw rising imbalances in international trade and financial flows that starkly contradicted traditional development theory and the conventional wisdom of policymaking of that very era. Seemingly paradoxical capital flows and imbalances were part of the buildup of financial fragilities at the core of global finance in key developed countries that provided the precondition for the global crisis of 2008–2009. The global crisis had a severe impact on global economic activity, incomes and employment; though more lastingly so in key developed countries than in many developing countries. The legacies of the crisis are posing difficult challenges to designing short-run policies suited for sustaining the global recovery. Unbalanced competitiveness positions provide the background to financial stresses that continue to plague parts of the developed world today, especially in the euro area. While briefly shrinking during the global crisis, global imbalances in trade and financial flows and their underlying systemic causes have not gone away. Global imbalances are a symptom of existing systemic governance shortcomings. They can only be properly addressed by global governance reform and proper international policy coordination. (3)
- 8. Globalization finds expression in the increased movement of tangible and intangible goods and services, including ownership rights, via trade and investment, and often of people, via migration. It can be and often is facilitated by a lowering of government impediments to that movement, and/or by technological progress, notably in transportation and communications. The actions of individual economic actors, firms, banks, people, drive it, usually in the pursuit of profit, often spurred by the pressures of competition. Globalisation is thus a centrifugal process, a process of economic outreach, and a microeconomic phenomenon. Defined in these generic terms, globalisation is not new. The last 100 years alone have witnessed three distinct periods or "waves" of globalisation: we have been in the midst of one since the 1980s; another occurred during the 1950s and 1960s; while the previous wave took place during the 50 years or so prior to World War I1.

- 9. Globalisation resembles and builds on earlier periods of globalisation; but globalisation today also differs crucially from earlier periods. Policies to deal with globalisation must come to grips with the specificity of the process today, especially at the microeconomic level, relative to globalisation in the 1950s and 1960s, in particular. Large segments of the world's population face not only a threat of exclusion from the welfare gains to be derived from globalisation through enhanced productivity, but a threat of significant loss of income and of economic security. The extent to which that threat to economic security in turn creates a threat to political security (and thus to globalisation as well) should not be underestimated. (4)
- 10. However I would argue that the broader concept of Globalization started when life started on earth where ancient people and civilizations dominated earth and crossed borders for various motives.
- 11. In the span of one generation, global economic interdependence has grown extraordinarily as a consequence of enormous technological progress and policies aimed at opening national economies internally and externally to competition.
- 12. Globalization has brought benefits and opportunities for many people in many parts of the world. However, many others have been excluded from its positive impact. Extreme poverty remains a daily reality for more than 1 billion people who subsist on less than \$1 a day. More than 800 million people have too little to eat to meet their daily energy needs. Inequality between countries and within countries has also increased and global environmental risks have increasingly become a matter of global concern.

Globalization at the UN

- 13. Promoting a coherent approach to policy making through greater coherence and coordination is essential to ensuring that the benefits of globalization are expanded and spread more broadly and that its potentially negative effects are diminished. The globalization of production, finance and information, among others, has not been matched by a corresponding reshaping of institutional mechanisms. Addressing this institutional and governance gap is the second great challenge of globalization. With its universal membership the General Assembly is particularly well placed to serve as a forum for building consensus on how to better manage globalization in order to promote development. Globalization and interdependence has been included on the agenda of the Economic and Finance (Second) Committee of the General Assembly since 1999, following a High-Level Dialogue held on 17 and 18 September 1998 on the social and economic impact of globalization and interdependence and the policy implications.
- 14. The General Assembly debates and in particular the special events of the General Assembly's Second Committee have provided a forum for exchange of views among Member States and have helped to forge a global consensus on actions which need to be taken at the global, regional and national level to turn globalization into a positive force for development that benefits all. For its 2008 debate, the General Assembly requested the Secretary-General in resolution 62/199 to prepare a report on the on the "Impact of globalization on the achievement of the internationally agreed development goals, including the Millennium Development Goals" under the broader theme of "Globalization and interdependence".

- 15. Globalization, the economic interdependence of states, describes the course of international integration of global ideas, products and cultures. Providing a myriad of opportunities for the world, globalization centers on the areas of finance, trade, communication, technology, migration and the exchange of ideas.
- 16. The world's dominating corporations, such as Pepsi Co., Nike and McDonald's, symbolize enabling worldwide opportunity for marketing. The result of increased trade has contributed to growth across the world, including in developing countries, which have thereby diminished poverty by benefiting from the fruits of globalization. The Internet and ICT immediate access have largely driven these opportunities to knowledge and information.
- 17. Widespread issues of civil war, armed combat and political volatility are impeding the positive effects of globalization in many countries. These, along with the added problems of unemployment, environmental ruin, and the exclusion of groups such as the elderly, youth and women, highlight governmental insufficiency in meeting the needs of affected persons. The international war on terror, the use of drones and other peace and security challenges gave globalization teeth and other challenging faces that will be highlighted within the following analysis and conclusion to describe more the wider scope of Globalization and its effects.

III. Analysis

The bigger scope

- 18. Based on the above facts, is it wise to think of Globalization within its classic term only? Is Globalization limited to trade and development? Or it recently exceeded this limited understanding and will continue to do so in the next decades to come?
- 19. Political Globalization started by signing the Charter of the UN. In my opinion, multilateralism is all about the concept of "no more living alone". Collective interests, coexistence and sharing our planet along with astonishing emerging technology, determined new and continuous changes to the concept of Globalization. The many signs of new Globalizing trends we witness, will not stop today or tomorrow but will continue to evolve and develop.

The emergence of the concept of "Responsibility to Protect"

20. In the area of International Peace and Security, the concepts of Human Security and Responsibility to Protect "R 2 P", made changes to our political reality and how it will become in the future. In the year 2000, the world leaders adopted R2P as a concept, provided a clear threshold for intervening in the domestic affairs of sovereign member states of the United Nations. (5)

- 21. Following the tragedies in Rwanda and the Balkans in the 1990s, the international community began to seriously debate how to react effectively when citizens' human rights are grossly and systematically violated. The question at the heart of the matter was whether States have unconditional sovereignty over their affairs or whether the international community has the right to intervene in a country for humanitarian purposes. In his *Millennium Report of 2000*, then Secretary-General Kofi Annan, recalling the failures of the Security Council to act in a decisive manner in Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia, put forward a challenge to Member States: "If humanitarian intervention is, indeed, an unacceptable assault on sovereignty, how should we respond to a Rwanda, to a Srebrenica, to gross and systematic violation of human rights that offend every precept of our common humanity?". (6)
- 22. The expression "responsibility to protect" was first presented in the report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS), set up by the Canadian Government in December 2001. The Commission had been formed in response to Kofi Annan's question of when the international community must intervene for humanitarian purposes. Its report, "The Responsibility to Protect," found that sovereignty not only gave a State the right to "control" its affairs, it also conferred on the State primary "responsibility" for protecting the people within its borders. It proposed that when a State fails to protect its people either through lack of ability or a lack of willingness the responsibility shifts to the broader international community. (7)
- 23. Having said this, and while we are witnessing growing and escalating violations of Human Rights committed by states against its own citizens, the rational behind the concept of R2P is also growing which will make it more needed and more applicable in the coming decades.

Global Counter Terrorism and global mechanisms

24. The Global Counter Terrorism Strategy and efforts to combat terrorism that were established by the UNGA and the Security Council, represent a good example of how mutually reinforcing and shared are the security and stability aspects in the 193 member states of the United Nations. By UNGA Global Strategy and Security Council Chapter 7 resolutions the efforts in combating terrorism became "GLOBAL". The UN issued resolutions that have binding requirements from all states in the area of global counter terrorism efforts, which means that no state can protect its jurisdiction from promulgating binding regulations required by International Law in accordance with resolutions from the said 2 main organs. Each state must promulgate laws and provisions to combat terrorism, which annually, get evaluated by mandated UN subsidiary bodies. (8)

⁽⁶⁾ Millennium Report of 2000.

⁽⁷⁾ ICISS Report of 2001).

⁽⁸⁾ The UN CT Global Strategy, Security Council Resolutions 1267, 1373, 1540, 1624.

Drones

25. The use of military drones "unmanned fighter air crafts", represents another alarming trend on how globalized military operations are becoming a reality. The US followed by Israel are the largest producers of this new technological killing machines while they refrain from exporting this technology to other countries. This trend became worrying for other opponents such as North Korea and China which provoked the latter to also start producing such technology for military use. Drones can fly 3 times distance than a fighter aircraft and perform operations where no man on board to endanger. On top of the increasing anxieties of individual countries, there also are international concerns that some governments might not be able to protect these new weapons from hackers and terrorists. Kenneth Anderson, a professor of law at American University who studies the legal questions surrounding the use of drones in warfare, said "Everybody will wind up using this technology because it's going to become the standard for many, many applications of what are now manned aircraft." (9)

Cultural tensions and threats to International Peace and Security

- 26. The continued identity based tensions between East and West, between different ideologies and different groups, combined with escalating security concerns and interests of super powers, will push the unilateral actions and also the Global Counter Terrorism Mechanism to continue existing with forceful teeth and will intrude more and more in the domestic affairs in states in the coming decades. These continued cultural tensions pushed for the creation of what so called the "United Nations Alliance of Civilizations". In its first report, the High Level Group that recommended to the UN Secretary General, the establishment of this institution, recognized how globalization made a big difference in how we perceive the other in a globalized world.
- The High Level Group acknowledged that the political and technological developments during the twentieth century raised the hope and possibility for an unprecedented period of harmony between nations and a vast improvement in global well-being. Indeed, much has been achieved. Multilateral cooperation and civil society activism paved the way to a number of positive developments in international relations, including a ban on the use of landmines, the establishment of international criminal tribunals, and the initiation of a wide range of cooperative initiatives aimed at eradicating diseases or fighting poverty. Despite these achievements, however, a general malaise continues to be felt in many quarters regarding the state of the world. There is a widespread perception that the multilateral institutions established to advance universal principles and to improve general well-being are ineffective mainly due to the lack of support of the most powerful countries and a real fear that the prospect of a more peaceful, stable, and prosperous future for today's youth is at risk. In some cases, this pessimism is the result of particular local, national, or regional dynamics, but there is also a broader global context that must be considered. In social, political and economic terms, the West is both driving globalization and yet seemingly threatened by some of its trends. Western powers maintain overwhelming political, economic, and military power in the world, including disproportionate influence in multilateral political and economic bodies. Porous borders, mounting population flows from poor to rich countries, un-integrated immigrant communities and cross-border spill-overs of economic, environmental, health and even physical security factors have highlighted both the interdependence of societies and the widening gaps between them. (10)

⁽⁹⁾ The Washington Post - Global race on to match U.S. drone capabilities.

⁽¹⁰⁾ UNAOC – High Level Group Report

Global Criminal Accountability effect

28. The International Criminal Court can also be an example on how globalization is eroding our borders. Even heads of state and governments are not immuned from its application once a country enters the Rome statute. (11)

International trade and development and the global financial confrontation

- 29. On the area of International Financial and Economic Order, an agreement on regulating the driving force of globalization couldn't take place due to the different approaches and conflict of interests between developed and developing countries.
- 30. Developed countries are more capable of making the best use of globalization to sell their agricultural products, goods and heavy industry products to the south nations, getting best revenues from developing countries which some are with high income. On the other hand, developed countries put impediments to prevent opening their markets for the south countries. Indeed, in any south country today you can see the theory of the "Hamburger and Supermarket", you can see that giant brand names, movie industries and even military sales are increasingly filling the south countries.
- 31. Thus, due to this unstoppable force of forceful globalization in the area of trade and development, rounds of negotiations called "The Doha Round" took place to achieve major reform of the international trading system through the introduction of lower trade barriers and revised trade rules. The work programme covered about 20 areas of trade. The Round is also known semi-officially as the <u>Doha Development Agenda</u> as a fundamental objective is to improve the trading prospects of developing countries. The Round was officially launched at the WTO's Fourth Ministerial Conference in Doha, Qatar, in November 2001. The Doha Ministerial Declaration provided the mandate for the negotiations, including on agriculture, services and an intellectual property topic, which began earlier. In Doha, ministers also approved a decision on how to address the problems developing countries face in implementing the current WTO agreements, however negotiations broke down in 2008 after failing to reach a compromise on agricultural import rule. (12)
- 32. Industrialized nations argue that in order to attract their foreign investment, developing countries must establish secure, democratic and accountable governments to generate a business-friendly atmosphere. Though globalization can serve as universal tool, with prosperous nations assisting their developing counterparts, individual responsibilities should not be forgotten. Ultimately, each country must develop national policies and strategies to increase economic growth and tackle the ever-present issue of poverty. Thus, a combination of acknowledging primary responsibilities at the domestic level and global cooperation will help to increase the number of countries that can benefit from the process of globalization. (13)
- 33. Having considered the nature of confrontation over the Global Development Agenda between developed and developing countries, I see no reason to believe that an agreement on Global Trade will be reached in the coming 10 years at least.
- (11) International Criminal Court Rome Statute
- (12) WTO reports
- (13) (A/63/333 http://www.un.org/esa/coordination/Globalization report.08.pdf Impact of globalization on the achievement of the internationally agreed development goals, including the Millennium Development Goals), (A/61/286 Report of the UNSG on Globalization and Interdependence The Role of Innovation, Science and Technology (S&T) in Pursuing Development in the Context of Globalization), (Resolution A/C2/63/1.29 The role of The United Nations in promoting development).

The role of civil society as effective globalization force

- 34. Civil society organizations have been able to increase their influence and boost their role in confronting global issues. Flexible trade barriers, financial liberalization could complement this and of course the technological revolution that has provided us with new paths of communication. With the United Nations estimating that one in five people is associated with a non-governmental organization, civic participation is essential in decision-making to ensure inclusion of all levels of society.
- 35. If we analyse the role of civil society in Globalization, we notice that NGOs play a key role in advocating policy and legislation changes within these spheres. They help in promoting the imperative message that public policy must aim to expand upon valuable social, cultural and environmental principles. However, inequalities exist between NGOs based in developed countries and their counterparts in developing nations. As these organizations are propelled partly by the Internet, some do not have the funding to be connected and therefore cannot access essential information. Helping to facilitate availability of this information will enable under-informed NGOs to participate globally on a playing level field. With the increasing trend of civil society's involvement in international issues, the United Nations is making distinctive efforts to ensure that these organizations are duly represented. A surge in trade, markets, business, employment opportunities and information has elevated living standards for millions of people in many countries. However, despite the massive growth our world has experienced, many nations continue to be excluded from the benefits of globalization.
- 36. We still face many neglected areas, such as investment in the education of women and girls that require attention at both national and international levels. Distraction from these issues is part of the reason why we are not on track for meeting the objectives of the Millennium Development Goals.
- 37. Not only are billions of people still dwelling in extreme poverty, poverty levels have actually increased for certain developing nations. In addition to those who have been overlooked by the advantages of globalization, others are completely opposed to the process. In contrast to those who view it as a prospect for development, others see it as a destructive force. People living in traditional societies fear that globalization will intertwine other cultural ideas with theirs, thus dissolving treasured, age-old customs. The opposition also includes those who believe globalization will intrude upon local job markets, environmental resources, and even individual freedom and rights. In my opinion this may sound like a serious threat to sovereign nations beyond their borders and in their own homes.

Migration and Globalization

38. Another pressing concern is the worldwide issue of "brain-drain". Emigration is causing health professionals in developing countries to turn to developed areas with stronger health systems. This prevents progress in non-industrialized areas, as all of their intellect is being transferred out. It is evident that targeted policy changes and reprioritization are required to prevent globalization from increasing health, gender, and socioeconomic disparities. This includes increasing efforts to involve all divisions of society in employment opportunity, by investing in education for girls and women. There is also an inherent need to provide an agreeable environment for continual

economic growth, so that employment opportunities are created for all. On a more general note, developing countries must be engaged in international decision-making processes to ensure that their needs are met. These nations cannot progress unless their concerns are voiced and addressed. In order for globalization to be successful, worldwide cooperation is vital. As poverty is exceptionally severe in these areas, development is a priority. While developing countries have turned to their wealthy, neighbour-nations for debt relief and financial assistance, wealthy countries have instead been redirecting foreign investments mostly to China.

- 39. On the demographical dimension of globalization. Migrants bring fresh energy and ideas to receiving areas, contributing directly to economic growth. Migrants can also relieve the pressure caused by underemployment in countries of origin and support those economies through remittances and the transfer of services, knowledge and ideas. Migration is an age-old strategy for people seeking to escape poverty, mitigate risk, and build a better life. (14)
- 40. Migration and migrants remittances have big impact on economy as well. While far less advanced than trade and financial integration, migration flows and the cultural intermingling of populations too has increased in many countries and regions. Rising migration flows have come along with a marked increase in the role of private remittances. Remittances have become an important source of foreign exchange earnings for many developing and transition economies. Remittances may serve to support various developmental ends. The global crisis had an immediate and sizeable impact on migration flows and migrant remittances. (15)
- 41. Some politicians and senior academics think that original migration was a phenomenal of Globalization that started since man dominated earth. (16)

Conclusion

- 42. Having considered the facts and analysis above, it seems that Globalization will proof itself as a force that will continue to keep going on for the next decades and evolve to take many aspects beyond its classic UN definition or understanding as we experienced as diplomats. The force of Globalization will make our borders of our own states more virtual than real protective ones, which mean our sovereignty, as we know it in accordance with article 2.7 of the UN Charter, will no longer be the sovereignty we can read in that article.
- 43. Without any doubt, the reasons to keep these aspects take its course and develop more and more are more visible than ever before. International Peace and Security concerns will push for more interventions in our domestic affairs. Conflicts over natural resources, trade and development will get sharper and more acute. The International Community will keep pursuing developmental achievements due to the failure of meeting the expectations of the peoples of the world. Migration will have more reason to continue than to decrease. Ideological tensions will grow and become more intense. Civil Society components will have more say in the global policymaking.

⁽¹⁴⁾ The UN High Level Declaration on International Migration and Development, 3-4 October 2013.

⁽¹⁵⁾ Development and Globalization: Facts and Figures, 2012, UNCTAD

⁽¹⁶⁾ Ambassador Ahmad Kamal - http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HUl8hvjzbVU

- 44. The end of the Cold War has brought no mere adjustment among states but a novel redistribution of power among states, markets, and civil society. National governments are not simply losing autonomy in a globalizing economy. They are sharing powers -- including political, social, and security roles at the core of sovereignty -- with businesses, with international organizations, and with a multitude of citizens groups, known as nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). The steady concentration of power in the hands of states that began in 1648 with the Peace of Westphalia is over, at least for a while. (17)
- 45. It is also logical to think that power of the states has a role in deciding which state will be affected and which state will dominate in the area of globalization. In my opinion powerful states are in better position than smaller states since powerful ones will have the military, economic and political powers that will enable them to dominate and act as a template that smaller states will follow. The American globalization power for example has replaced the United Kingdom with the United States military, political and economic ability to be the influential country, as mentioned by Joel Krieger in a study on "Globalization and the Exercise of American Power". (18)
- 46. However, we shouldn't be pessimistic or negative only since as mentioned above, globalization has its developmental advantages. It is also the responsibility of the state to know and explore how to deal with and exploit globalization for its interest and the benefit of its people.
- 47. In the world of tomorrow, we will need to leave on this earth, a generation that can survive the said challenges and make the world a better place for all.

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⁽¹⁷⁾ Power Shift – The Rise of Global Civil Society, www.foreignaffairs.com

⁽¹⁸⁾ Joel Krieger - Globalization and State Power.