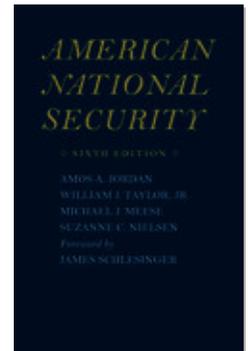# American National Security

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## Globalization and Human Security

Although it is necessary to examine U.S. national security interests and challenges in particular regional and country contexts, it is no longer sufficient. Many important actors and issues are now global or transnational in nature. This important trend is now widely analyzed and discussed in terms of the impact of globalization on the international system.[1] Although there is no single agreed-upon definition, *globalization* is generally described as an ongoing multidimensional process that is decreasing the significance of state borders. National security policy makers have to be aware of the implications of this process as they analyze policy options.

One effect of globalization is that nonstate actors are playing increasingly significant roles in an international system previously dominated by states. A second implication is that the permeable nature of state borders and the phenomenon of weak and failing states make it more and more necessary to look beyond traditional state-centric conceptions of security. Analysts have to look at intrastate violence and transnational problems, such as disease, environmental degradation, and resource scarcity, as human security issues that deserve more attention than they have traditionally been given. After reviewing nonstate actors and the issues highlighted by a human security perspective, this chapter concludes by examining some of the challenges and opportunities created by a globalizing world.

### The Global Security Environment

Enabled by reductions in transport and communication costs, new technologies, and the policy choices of many of the world's political leaders, international trade is increasing, international flows of capital are on the rise, the nature of international business activity is changing, and there is a tremendous, transnational diffusion

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of cultural forms. Although these manifestations of globalization have a tendency to lessen the significance of state borders, international relations scholar James Rosenau has argued that they are accompanied by a related process known as *localization*. Localization responds to individuals' needs for a stable sense of identity and stems from the value that human beings place on traditional cultural practices and community. As globalization "allows people, goods, information, norms, practices and institutions to move about oblivious to or despite boundaries," localization "derives from all those pressures that lead individuals, groups and institutions to narrow their horizons."[2] As the changes brought by globalization threaten and disrupt political, economic, and social life in many countries, localizing tendencies may gain force as a reaction.

As a result of diverse choices by national political leaders, as well as the varying abilities of different countries to prosper from globalization, the impact of globalization varies widely across regions and states.[3] Although globalization can create new and vastly expanded opportunities for economic growth and development, it can also place new pressures on leaders, institutions, and societal structures. It can therefore lead to instability as well as to progress.

The process of globalization has caused "a novel redistribution of power among states, markets, and civil society" and led to a situation in which "resources and threats that matter, including money, information, pollution, and popular culture," are less and less restricted by state borders.[4] As this diffusion of power occurs, even "individual actions may have dramatic consequences for international relations."[5] Perhaps there is no single better example of this than the impact that nineteen hijackers had on the United States and its national security policy through their attacks on September 11, 2001. The actions of these hijackers were enabled by many of the same advances in information technology and transportation that underpin other dimensions of globalization. It is clear that in this environment, challenges to U.S. national security can no longer be seen as stemming solely from the actions of other states. Similarly, responses that emphasize only state-centric solutions may be insufficient.

## Nonstate Actors

Key nonstate actors include intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), multinational corporations, the media, and religious groups. This category also includes groups once primarily thought of as "subnational," such as labor unions and political parties. Many of these formerly subnational actors now have extensive international connections. Finally, nonstate actors include violent entities, such as criminal organizations and terrorist groups. American national security is likely to be increasingly affected by some or all these actors in the years to come.

**Intergovernmental Organizations.**     An *IGO* is a multinational body whose members are states. These organizations may be relatively global in scale, as exemplified by the United Nations (UN; 192 members), the World Bank (185 members),

the International Monetary Fund (IMF; 185 members), and the World Trade Organization (WTO; 150 members). However, IGOs can also be regional organizations, such as the European Union (EU; twenty-seven members), the African Union (AU; fifty-three members), and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN; ten members).[6] The purposes of IGOs can vary widely, including the coordination of policies relating to security, trade, currency exchange, communications, and economic development.

The UN and its affiliated organizations were created by the United States and its allies following World War II to promote global peace and stability. The UN provides a forum for all countries to meet together to address global problems. Although in theory all UN member states are equal, in practice some states have more power than others; the composition of the UN's most important body, the Security Council, reflects this reality. There has been pressure in recent years to expand the number of countries seated on the Security Council to balance the influence of the five permanent members who each hold veto power, but these proposals are unlikely to result in substantive change anytime soon.

IGOs such as the IMF and the World Bank provide supranational mechanisms for meeting common goals related to currency stability and economic development and growth. Each IGO has its own decision-making process and procedures for determining the best available solution for a given problem. Although the world's international financial institutions have had successes, some solutions have proven to be less effective than anticipated, and others have produced unintended negative consequences. For example, efforts to privatize state-owned industries have in some instances undermined confidence in governments and exacerbated corruption as political elites gained control of newly privatized companies.[7]

It is not surprising that powerful countries seek to manipulate decision-making processes within IGOs to support their own interests. During the Cold War, for example, the UN became an ideological battleground for the United States and the Soviet Union as the two superpowers competed for the loyalty of other states. It is still the case that the effectiveness of an IGO will depend not only on the capabilities of its member states but also on its decision-making procedures and the degree of consensus underlying its core purposes.

Regional IGOs, such as the AU, have come to play increasingly important roles in recent decades. Whereas the UN is large and often slow to react, regional IGOs can have the ability to respond more rapidly and, in some cases, more appropriately. Regional associations of states may also enjoy greater local legitimacy. These characteristics make regional IGOs an attractive vehicle for developed states as they seek to distribute the global burden for peacekeeping and humanitarian actions, particularly in the less developed world. An important constraint, however, is that in many cases the military forces available to regional associations, such as the AU, are very limited in terms of their capabilities, training, and professionalism.

A number of Western nations are attempting to redress this deficiency through sponsorship of regional military training. France's Reinforcement of African Peace-Keeping Capacities program coordinates with the AU and the UN to provide training. The U.S. Trans-Saharan Counterterrorism Program promotes regional

security cooperation and provides training to facilitate local responses to security crises. Such programs seek to build trust between participating nations as a basis for future cooperation in international peacekeeping operations.

Expanding the capacity of regional organizations benefits developed and underdeveloped states: Underdeveloped states gain capabilities that allow them to manage regional problems themselves, and developed states do not have to shoulder as much of the responsibility and costs of crisis response. In supporting these multilateral capacity-building initiatives, donor states also avoid the appearance of favoritism that often accompanies bilateral aid relationships. However, regional organizations also come with drawbacks. In cases where the strongest state in a given region is also the leader, smaller states may feel that their interests are threatened or may believe that the organization is merely a proxy for this state. Despite these limitations, increasingly capable regional organizations have the potential to make important contributions to the resolution of regional economic and security challenges in the years to come.

**Nongovernmental Organizations.**    *NGOs* are nonstate entities that often operate both domestically and abroad. Some NGOs rely on financial support from donor states, while others raise funds through individual and corporate donations. Well-known NGOs include humanitarian aid organizations, such as *Médecins Sans Frontières* (Doctors Without Borders) and the International Committee of the Red Cross. Many NGOs focus on specific goals, such as providing vaccinations for children, reducing communicable diseases, or expanding educational opportunities for girls. NGOs play a critical role in international development, as they often address problems that less-developed states are unable or unwilling to tackle on their own. NGOs may also disburse funds on behalf of a developed state when local authorities are too corrupt to be trusted to spend foreign aid appropriately.

In their contributions to development as well as to other issue areas, NGOs have strengths and limitations. Turning first to strengths, most NGOs approach their work with a wisdom acquired from experience. They seek to promote solutions that are time tested and locally appropriate. Most also emphasize the development of local capacity—collaborative programs rather than donations—because sustainable development only takes place when the target audience is committed to the value of the project. In most cases, NGOs attempt to hire local employees, a policy that increases their legitimacy while reducing operating costs.

Though these strengths are invaluable, NGOs also have important limitations. Like all actors, NGOs can make mistakes, but they are not generally held accountable for their actions in the same way that IGOs may be. NGOs may have conflicting constituencies they have to satisfy, including private and state donors, government partners, and the people whose lives they seek to improve. Moreover, NGOs are sometimes as vulnerable to corruption as any other organization. A few use development work as a cover to promote radical or divisive political goals, such as the promotion of the interests of one ethnic or religious group at the expense of another, thereby generating suspicion among local populations and complicating the work of other NGOs. In addition, NGOs can only operate with the

permission of the host country and must therefore avoid the appearance of taking sides in local political contests. In some cases, host governments that become uncomfortable with the work of an NGO will accuse it (rightly or not) of political activity to force it to leave its territory. Finally, NGOs are generally focused on a single issue or problem, which makes them less capable than governments at prioritizing among all the needs of a given community.

The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) is the primary liaison between the United States government and a number of NGOs that it supports. Working closely with U.S. embassies, USAID sets American development priorities to ensure that U.S. taxpayer dollars are put to the best possible use, based on the judgment of career professionals with local expertise. Though USAID has considerable latitude in determining the most appropriate uses for its limited budget, the agency is not completely safe from domestic controversy.[8] As one example, USAID programs relating to the promotion of reproductive health care abroad may touch on issues currently the subject of intense religious, social, and political debates within the United States.

**Multinational Corporations.** *Multinational corporations* (MNCs), such as Coca-Cola, Royal Dutch Shell, and De Beers, are primarily motivated by profits. Accordingly, it is important to recognize that the loyalties of MNCs are to their shareholders and not to the states in which they operate. Due to their sheer size and wealth, MNCs can be powerful actors, and many underdeveloped states will provide tax benefits and waive financial restrictions, environmental regulations, and labor laws to attract them. As an unfortunate side effect, the resulting arrangement can spark local resentment at the power of the MNC and constrain the local government's ability to pursue other socially desirable goals.

To be sure, some MNCs attempt to give something back to the societies in which they operate through such activities as building schools, subsidizing health clinics, or repairing damaged environments. Whether these initiatives are mere token gestures meant to deflect local resentment is often difficult to determine. In any case, such philanthropic initiatives do improve the quality of life for some local people, but it would be a mistake to expect MNCs to replace the state in providing social services or to serve as an adequate replacement for international development organizations.

MNCs also bring needed technology and employment opportunities that frequently pay better than indigenous sectors of the economy; they often offer prestigious jobs to well-educated elites who might otherwise seek jobs abroad. Unfortunately, such interactions can also lead to corruption. MNCs may employ family members of political elites, or government officials may be given shares in the company as an incentive for supporting the corporation's operations.

MNCs are rarely held accountable in local courts, creating an enormous potential for civil rights abuses. Local populations may become angry at the presence of the MNCs because of perceived corruption and the appearance (or existence) of an exploitative relationship. Also, the presence of an MNC can sometimes attract predatory attention from local criminal groups. For example, Shell's foreign

workers in Nigeria have been kidnapped and held for ransom, and there is a large black market for oil stolen directly from Shell's pipelines. MNCs that require physical protection may hire security contractors or form private paramilitary groups, either with or without the consent of the host government. These armed groups may be above the law, again creating the potential for abuse. Host governments are often reluctant to pressure MNCs to alter their behavior, because the MNCs may then simply relocate to a less demanding host.

Although accountability to host governments is often problematic, some MNCs may be held accountable in their home countries. For example, Nike has been sued in U.S. courts for allegedly using false advertising to describe working conditions at its foreign factories.[9] In another example, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in 2001 that Shell (which is based in the United Kingdom) could be sued in a New York court over accusations that the company manufactured evidence to support murder charges against Nigerian activist Ken Saro-Wiwa, accusations that resulted in Saro-Wiwa's execution by Nigeria in 1995.[10]

**The Media.**    The media play an important role in raising awareness of transnational security issues in the United States. Television coverage of humanitarian disasters is critical for mobilizing private donations to relief organizations, such as the International Committee of the Red Cross. Considering that relief organizations often arrive on the ground long before any other form of international response, the media's role in attracting attention to a brewing crisis is critical. Media coverage can often spur donor states into action as well, as voters exert political pressure on their government to "do something" about the horrendous images of starving children or devastated villages appearing on their televisions. The media is a fickle presence, however, as broadcasters must keep their viewers interested. Coverage will decline rapidly once the initial reporting begins to lose its impact.

The media also plays a role in framing issues, which can affect policy response. Media expert Susan Moeller describes the way in which the media uses "frames" to facilitate reporting by drawing on familiar reporting themes.[11] For example, the public is familiar with the "famine frame," so most reports on famines begin with the image of a thin African child, crying and covered in flies. The audience will instantly fill in the rest of the story based on similar stories they have seen in the past, the report will have the desired emotional impact, and the network does not have to spend time providing contextual details. The lack of contextual understanding encourages cookie-cutter responses to crises that are not at all similar in either source or scope. Again, using famine as an example, the implication is that if children are starving, sending food to them will solve the problem. Policy makers may be as likely as average viewers to fall victim to the attractive simplicity of such solutions. Although the media may oversimplify and be biased, its role cannot be discounted, and it is important to recognize its potential impact on policy making.

In some cases, the media becomes an actor in its own story. An example of this has been the Pentagon's program to "embed" reporters in various military units to facilitate reporters' access to breaking events in the war in Iraq that began in 2003. This program provided the news networks with an intimate, visceral, and at times

highly emotional stream of news reports that proved extremely popular with viewing audiences. The reporters sometimes found themselves in dangerous situations, and their personal security was dependent on the actions of the American troops on whom they were reporting. Many reporters developed close bonds with the units they covered, which necessarily altered their views of events.

**Religious Groups.**    Religion will likely continue to play an important role in international affairs, as well as in the domestic affairs of various states. An obvious and very relevant example from the perspective of U.S. national security is the fact that al-Qa'ida is using appeals to a particular interpretation of Islam as the justification for its actions. As a second example, prior to the end of the Cold War, the Catholic Church in Poland played a critical role in the de-legitimization of communism in that country. As a third example, competing claims over treasured holy sites is part of what makes competing Israeli and Palestinian claims over Jerusalem so seemingly irreconcilable (see Chapter 20 for more on this conflict).

The processes of modernization and globalization inevitably bring social changes that are disruptive to traditional community and family structures, creating fear that traditions and even identity will be lost. Religious authorities can provide an alternate source of inspiration and guidance.[12] Consistent with the localizing tendency discussed early in this chapter, religious and other social groups may reassure people facing change by revitalizing traditional norms and practices. In a vacuum of authority or capacity, religious figures may step up or be pushed forward to fill the void. In certain cases, religious groups have provided social services, including education, health care, insurance, small business loans, job training, and employment opportunities. For example, Hezbollah has demonstrated that it is more effective than the state in providing social services in portions of southern Lebanon, seriously undermining the state's legitimacy and authority. In certain areas, Hezbollah functions as a parallel government that cannot be ignored.

Religion can also be used to define one group's identity in opposition to that of another. Many fledgling independence movements have used religion as a basis for mobilization, because it serves as a clear way to differentiate indigenous culture from that of an occupying colonial power.[13] Mobilization based on religion can be extremely problematic, because throughout human history religion has been used to sanction extreme forms of violence. People who believe they are acting on the will of a god or gods may feel less guilt and personal responsibility for their actions. Scholars believe that religious violence is substantively different from other kinds of violence in that it has facilitated greater acceptance of "civilian" casualties.[14] Additionally, whereas traditional political violence is assumed to have an achievable goal, religious violence may not need to achieve anything within the participants' lifetimes to be considered successful. Obviously, this complicates any security response, as such groups may not negotiate and may be difficult to deter. Clerics play a critical role, because their sanction of violent action absolves perpetrators of responsibility and assures them that their actions will be rewarded. Clerics also affect public opinion, and their support for violence may convince the greater community that violent actions are acceptable or even admirable.

**Subnational Groups.**    Multiple interest groups exist in every state, large or small. These groups may be organized around social or economic class, ethnicity, religion, geography, or trade. Some of these interest groups fit neatly within the borders of a particular state, but many do not. Ethnic groups are often dispersed through several states, and in some cases an individual's sense of ethnic identity may be stronger than his or her identity as a citizen of any state. When the majority of people in an interest group feel that their group identity is more important than their national identity, this can become a source of social unrest and political instability. In some cases, the actions of such interest groups may undermine state sovereignty.

*Ethnic Groups.*    Particularly in the case of states that gained their independence after colonization, political borders were often determined by negotiation between great powers with no consideration of ethnic groups. As a result, the traditional homelands of many ethnic groups now sit astride two or more states or have been combined into a common political entity. (See Chapter 20 for the impact of this in the Middle East and Chapter 21 for a discussion of sub-Saharan Africa.) Some states have been able to create a national identity that encompasses all the diverse ethnic groups within their territories, but this is no easy task. Even a country as stable as the United States has difficulty assimilating and accommodating its diverse ethnic minorities. States that never develop a strong national identity face a perpetual risk of instability, particularly if one group dominates others. The risk of instability increases when these states are in unstable regions and when ethnic cleavages overlap with socioeconomic status or other social divisions, such as class or religion, as is the case in Iraq.

*Professional, Labor, and Migrant Groups.*    Labor unions and professional associations are examples of interest groups that are organized around a shared trade or occupation. These groups tend to be most powerful in developed states, where they have played a key role in forcing governments to enact legislation to protect workers' rights. Examples include restrictions on child labor, limits on mandatory overtime, and workplace health and safety regulations. Generally, these groups work within their domestic political systems, using legal mobilization techniques to negotiate solutions with business and the government. A small number of labor groups have also been able to generate pressure to improve working conditions abroad at the factories of MNCs through negative publicity campaigns.

There are also unorganized or informal labor groups, and these groups may also become transnational actors. When the economic environment in one state deteriorates, people may migrate elsewhere to seek employment. Environmental triggers, such as drought, crop failure, loss of grazing lands, or the death of livestock, may also trigger mass migrations. Labor migrations may be legal or illegal, but, in either case, these labor migrations have the potential to cause social and economic disruption. For example, states obviously cannot tax illegal workers, yet these workers may have access to costly social services, such as hospital care. In addition, even a relatively small number of instances of crime or prostitution by migrants may

become politically salient. Even worse would be instances in which labor migration accelerated the transmission of an infectious disease, such as HIV/AIDS.

In addition to problems in the receiving state, labor migrations represent a loss of potential productive capability in the state of origin. Prolonged separation of workers from their homes may also cause severe disruption to communities and families, such as occurs in many instances in Mexico, for example. States may not have the capacity to monitor the scope of labor movements (and some are unwilling to acknowledge the issue), yet few states are able to ignore these migrations completely.

**Violent Nonstate Actors: Political Opposition, Terrorism, and Crime.**   It is critical to understand the role of violent nonstate actors, because the very existence of such groups poses a direct challenge to international stability and state authority.[15] Globalization has facilitated the growth of such groups, which like businesses have benefited from advances in information technology and transportation. Secure communications, ready availability of arms and other supplies, access to global financial markets, global recruitment opportunities, and the increasing ease of international travel have allowed these groups to operate as transnational entities. The increasing sophistication of violent nonstate actors has created new dangers and a greater need for cooperation among states. Although there are commonalities among violent nonstate actors, each poses a slightly different security threat based on its strategic motivations. Nevertheless, these groups often overlap, and their boundaries can shift over time.

*Violent Political Opposition Groups.*   Violent political opposition groups, a category that includes guerillas, revolutionaries, insurgents, and terrorists, are motivated by deeply held political convictions and seek to change the political order in either a local or global context. By contrast, criminals are motivated simply by profit. Successfully limiting violent activity—criminal or political—requires that states respond on strategic and operational levels. Strategic responses undercut motivations for violence by removing personal or organizational incentives for violent action. Operational responses prevent violent activity by disrupting the operating environment and by removing individual actors where possible.

To achieve their goal of altering the existing political or social order, violent political groups need support or at least acquiescence from the general population. For this reason, such groups are often engaged in an ideological battle with the state, using messages based on religion, ethnicity, or social class to challenge the legitimacy of state authority. Violent political groups may use intimidation to coerce support from the population while also providing some level of social services in an attempt to demonstrate that the state is ineffective in responding to the opposition group's challenge and in providing for the people. If the state responds in a heavy-handed manner, this may alienate the population and further support the opposition group's assertion that the state is illegitimate.

Today's violent political groups pose a greater threat to peace and stability than their predecessors, because their capacity for violence is exponentially greater and

because their range of movement has expanded. It has become much more difficult for states to contain violent political groups within their borders. In some cases, even formal cease-fires and peace agreements may not end the violence. Any time that large numbers of combatants are disarmed and demobilized, a small number of fighters inevitably refuse to cease fighting. These individuals may become mercenary fighters who travel from one conflict zone to another, bringing their skills and social networks with them. Africa has been particularly cursed by this phenomenon.

*Terrorism.*    Terrorism is a tactic used by politically motivated groups that, for whatever reason, feel that there is no other way to achieve their goals. Terrorists emerge from the radical fringe of a political movement, using violence to draw attention to a cause that has been unable to generate mass support. Political terrorist groups use violence for specific purposes, such as attracting attention, mobilizing support, undermining the authority of the state, and reducing the political will of the target population.[16] Individuals join terrorist groups for a variety of reasons, which may include spiritual absolution, revenge, fanaticism, camaraderie, or even in some cases money.[17] It is important to acknowledge that not all terrorist groups are political in the common sense of the term. An apocalyptic group may conceive of violence as an end in itself rather than merely a means to an end. In any case, long-term success in combating terrorism requires capturing or killing leadership elements and countering the ideologies that support violence, while also providing socioeconomic alternatives to terrorist activity.

Al-Qa'ida provides an excellent example of how violent groups can take advantage of the benefits of globalization. Al-Qa'ida has capitalized on advances in communications technology to spread its political and religious messages while creating a vast network of suppliers, financiers, and logisticians. It has taken advantage of weak states and gaps in international oversight and has proven to be flexible in its associations, making common cause with drug traffickers, diamond smugglers, warlords, and petty criminals. It is one of the first truly global terrorist groups in that it has an ideology that emphasizes loyalty to the group over loyalty to a national identity, and it has a truly global recruitment network. (For more on the origins and evolution of al-Qa'ida, see Chapter 14)

*Transnational Crime.*    Transnational crime is not a new phenomenon, but globalization has allowed criminal groups to expand their activities by capitalizing on international black markets for counterfeit currency, drugs, human trafficking, and small arms and light weapons. In extreme cases, powerful criminal groups may even hold territory (undermining one of the fundamental principles of state sovereignty, which is territorial control). Groups may conduct criminal activity in one state, launder their money in a second, and bank in a third. Given the mobility of criminals and the diversification of their activities, robust international cooperation is often the only way to seriously reduce the capability of such groups.

*The Complex Relationship between Crime and Terrorism.*    Although scholars have often considered that mutually exclusive goals would prevent substantive

cooperation between criminals and terrorists, growing evidence shows that this is not always the case. One key difference is that criminal groups are motivated by profit and desire secrecy above all else, whereas terrorist groups must attract media attention to be successful. Despite this and other differences, instances of cooperation and organizational learning between criminal and violent political groups have increased.[18]

Successful terrorist groups have many of the same operational requirements as criminal groups. All violent nonstate actors must move money, goods, and people without detection, and they have similar logistical requirements, such as access to false documents, arms, and transportation. Trading in drugs and precious stones is a good way for any illegal organization to launder money, and, in many cases, it is just as easy to move these items across international borders as it is to move cash.[19] Violent groups of all kinds benefit from "ungoverned spaces" where law enforcement is unable to monitor their activities or where the state simply lacks the capability or authority to enforce its will.

Individuals with certain criminal skills, such as an ability to forge documents or smuggle goods, can be useful to terrorist groups. Terrorist groups take a risk in hiring criminals, as they may draw the attention of security services to a group that was previously unknown. Scholars have also cited this increased risk of discovery or interference as a reason why cooperation between terrorists and criminals is likely to remain the exception rather than the rule. However, it is becoming increasingly apparent that certain kinds of terrorists—in particular, self-directed cells that have had little formal training—benefit enormously from criminal associations, as demonstrated by the importance of criminal networks in the 2004 train bombings in Madrid. The attacks were made possible by an "in-kind" trade of illegal materials; drugs and a stolen car were exchanged for stolen explosives. In addition, there has been a rise in terrorist recruitment from within prisons as radical extremists have used their incarcerations as opportunities to attract skilled criminals to their causes. The United States has not yet experienced this problem on a large scale, but the potential certainly exists.

*State Responses to Violent Nonstate Actors.*     Government responses to armed political opposition groups, terrorists, and criminals will, in many cases, require similar types of solutions, including sharing of intelligence, monitoring of financial flows, arrests, and prosecutions. Since the attacks of 9/11, the U.S. government has brought more resources to bear against criminal actions that facilitate terrorist activities out of an appreciation that today's drug smuggler may be tomorrow's terrorist financier. For any state, devising a national strategy requires an intricate understanding of the enemy (or enemies) and how they evolve and adapt.

Many governments have increased their level of cooperation with the United States to respond to these actors, at times incurring harsh criticism at home from citizens who fear that human rights may be violated in the pursuit of terrorists. Moreover, given the increased levels of foreign aid available for fighting terrorism, there is an incentive on the part of governments to frame any security problem as "terrorism." International cooperation has been complicated by the fact

that the United States is most concerned with international terrorism, whereas many states view terrorism as primarily a domestic problem. Even in the best of circumstances, international security cooperation is beset with rivalries and suspicions, because it requires security services to share some of their most sensitive intelligence. However, there is simply no other option. Information sharing and coordinated action is absolutely essential to respond effectively to these threats.

These threats are growing as violent groups effectively exploit not only bureaucratic seams within the United States, and among the United States and its allies, but also areas beyond the reach of these countries and even local governments. These ungoverned spaces serve as potential havens for terrorists and also may contain populations vulnerable to the appeal of radical ideologies. When states are weak and cannot meet even the basic needs of their populations, people look elsewhere for relief. Consequently, countering terrorism requires a comprehensive understanding of the security environment in ungoverned spaces and an ability to address effectively the basic needs of vulnerable societies.

## Regional Variation in the Impact of Globalization

As noted earlier, due to a variety of factors, the impact of globalization has varied across the different regions and countries of the world. States and societies that are unwilling or unable to participate in the process of globalization are likely to fall behind the rest of the world by all indicators—politically, socially, and economically. These less-developed regions are most likely to contain the ungoverned spaces alluded to above.[20] Many less-developed regions consist of weak states that have porous borders, overlapping ethnicities, and colonial histories. Many of these weak states entered the international system late, attaining legitimacy more from the international system than from their own citizenry. Moreover, the threats facing these states have historically been internal, many times reflecting weak institutions, a weak state identity, a lack of state capacity, and a bankrupt economy, as well as dangerous neighbors.[21] Unfortunately, the gap between the "haves" of the developed world and the "have-nots" in the less-developed world is growing.[22] As a result of political corruption and persistent underdevelopment, the number of failing and failed states has been on the rise. Where states have failed, violent nonstate actors will find a natural sanctuary.

## Transnational Issues and Human Security[23]

Because the circumstances that tend to create ungoverned spaces are complex, policy makers have to consider complex multidimensional solutions. *Human security* is a concept that provides a useful approach to understanding these issues. Due to variations among regions and localities, a first step is to understand the dynamics and circumstances at the ground level. The UN recognized this approach in 1994:

> The concept of security has far too long been interpreted narrowly. . . . Forgotten were the legitimate concerns of ordinary people who sought security in their daily lives.

> For many of them, security symbolized protection from the threat of disease, hunger, unemployment, crime [or terrorism], social conflict, political repression and environmental hazards. With the dark shadows of the Cold War receding, one can see that many conflicts are within nations rather than between nations.[24]

Although human insecurities may occur primarily in weak and failing states, such insecurities can quickly spread. Global effects, such as migrations, reverberations in diaspora communities, environmental impacts, and the exportation of terrorism, are possible.[25] A current example is the northwestern region of Pakistan along the border with Afghanistan. In a poor region, which the central government has long had difficulty controlling, local tribes and foreign militants engage in a complex and violent struggle that claims the lives of combatants and civilians.[26] Unsurprisingly, al-Qa'ida members are reportedly finding refuge and regrouping there, illustrating this statement from a 2006 UN study: "In an era of globalization, the concern with human security is linked to interdependence and the fact that no state can insulate itself any longer from insecurity in other parts of the world."[27]

The human security paradigm has important implications for traditional notions of state sovereignty. Recognizing this, the UN has argued for a new conception of sovereignty that reflects the realities of today's challenging security environment:

> In signing the Charter of the United Nations, States not only benefit from the privileges of sovereignty but also accept its responsibilities. Whatever perceptions may have prevailed when the Westphalian system first gave rise to the notion of State sovereignty, today it clearly carries with it the obligation of a State to protect the welfare of its own peoples and meet the obligations to the wider international community.[28]

According to this formulation, some will argue that when a state cannot or will not protect its citizens, the international community has an obligation to engage.[29] Scholars have described this forward-leaning definition of security as the "duty to protect."[30] Although laudable from a humanitarian perspective, this is a shift with important implications, and specific applications of this doctrine are likely to be met with less-than-universal acceptance. What some see as an appropriate intervention can be seen by others as interference or even cloaked neocolonialism.

*Operationalizing Human Security: Understanding Its Transnational Components.* An advantage of focusing on human security is that this perspective requires an examination of the specific characteristics of each situation and recognition of the inter-relationships among complex factors that need to be addressed if security is to be enhanced. Most regions of the world suffering from human insecurities are facing several or all of the following issues: economic underdevelopment; environmental degradation; food scarcity; health insecurities; political and/or civil inequalities; and violence, including human trafficking, terrorism, crime, and armed conflict.[31] Many insecure populations also are vulnerable to radical ideologies that stifle development and exacerbate social tensions. Not all areas face the same insecurities or combination of insecurities, and therefore there is no common strategy for all situations.

*Economic Insecurities.*    In combating human insecurity, a first goal is to eradicate hunger and limit poverty. Basic subsistence requirements include the necessities of life, such as food, clean water, and other basic requirements of good health.[32] Unfortunately, globalization has tended to harden the distinction between haves and have-nots; the UN Development Program's global income distribution model reveals a huge gap between the very rich and very poor on a global scale that is greater than the inequalities within any one country.[33] Although rising incomes in the extremely populous countries of China and India have contributed to a positive global picture, they have masked the deep inequalities that exist across regions.[34] Particularly within twenty-five sub-Saharan African countries and ten Latin American countries, stagnation has been a prevalent accompaniment to globalization. When faced with chronic poverty, people look for relief by migrating to cities or to other countries. The social dislocations stemming from economic insecurities affect social, political, and economic development not only within the particular state but also often within the region.

*Environmental Degradation.*    To be sustainable over the long term, economic development must be accompanied by preservation of the environment.[35] Scholar Thomas Homer-Dixon warns:

> Within the next fifty years, the planet's human population will probably pass 9 billion, and global economic output may quintuple. Largely as a result, scarcities of renewable sources will increase sharply. The total area of high quality agricultural land will drop, as will the extent of forests and the number of species they sustain. Coming generations will also see the widespread depletion and degradation of aquifers, rivers, and other water resources; the decline of many fisheries; and perhaps significant climate change.[36]

Many areas in Africa are already witnessing the impact of environmental instabilities, such as arable land degradation, drought, and deforestation. Widespread migration, refugee flows, and conflict have set in, as in Sudan's drought-plagued Darfur region, putting great pressure on already weak states. Although countries in the developed world may not directly feel the impact of this situation, they are not likely to be immune to its consequences.[37]

*Food Shortages.*    Recent estimates suggest that 1 billion of the world's people are undernourished, and challenges in this area are only likely to grow because the world's population is projected to increase by three billion by 2050—mostly in less-developed states.[38] Former Chairman of the United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development Henrique Cavalcanti defines *food security* as "practices and measures related to the assurance of a regular supply and adequate stocks of foodstuffs of guaranteed quality and nutritional value."[39] He identifies the three pillars of food security as availability, access, and stability. Between 1950 and 1984, availability was increased as grain production outpaced population growth. However, since 1984, grain harvests have declined. Some of the major causes include soil erosion, desertification, transfer of cropland to nonfarm purposes, falling water tables, and rising temperatures. Shocks, such as natural disasters,

droughts, and disease, also contribute to food insecurities. These conditions may reveal themselves globally in the form of higher food prices, but at local and regional levels, these conditions can develop into catastrophic shortages and conflict.[40]

*Health Insecurities.*    Poverty, environmental degradation, and food shortages all can have a negative impact on health. Given that about 1 billion people in the world lack access to clean water, for example, it is not surprising that water-related diseases account for millions of deaths per year.[41] One issue that particularly highlights the inter-relationships among human security challenges is HIV/AIDS. In some African countries, HIV/AIDS has infected 20% to 30% of the adult population.[42] It should be no surprise that the prevalence of HIV/AIDS in Africa directly exacerbates food insecurities, as the loss of workers due to AIDS adversely affects the ability to harvest crops.[43] Unfortunately, Africa is not alone—"major epidemics are already underway in China, India, and Russia."[44] Inadequate state actions as well as local social mores inhibit adequate responses to the spread of this disease.

There is also a clear connection between the rise of infectious diseases and the degradation of the environment. According to the World Health Organization (WHO):

> Poor environmental health quality is directly responsible for some 25 percent of all preventable ill health, with diarrheal diseases and acute respiratory infections heading the list. Two-thirds of all preventable health due to environmental conditions occurs among children, particularly the increase in asthma. Air pollution is a major contributor to a number of diseases and to a lowering of the quality of life in general.[45]

Moreover, the 2005 Millennium Ecosystem Assessment report claims that continued degradation of ecosystems may increase the spread of common diseases, such as malaria, as well as facilitating the evolution of new diseases.[46] States that have inadequate health public support systems will be most vulnerable and least able to respond. Even developed states that do have such systems could be severely challenged in reacting adequately to a serious global health crisis.

## Human Security and U.S. National Security

In a globalized world, meeting basic needs at the individual level has important security implications at the state, regional, and global levels. The challenges are most acute in weak or developing states and their regional neighborhoods. Without state support in meeting basic human security needs, people lose faith and look for other ways to survive. Although sometimes people turn toward ethnic groups, kin, and other subnational entities, they may also turn to violent groups that offer hope and tangible support. Security policy requires a holistic approach that views human security as critical to building state capacity and legitimacy vis-à-vis these other groups.

Somalia provides a useful example—though by no means the only one—of the nexus between the rising importance of nonstate actors, human security challenges,

International Aid to Somalia

and threats to international peace and security. Somalia has been without an effective government since President Siad Barre was overthrown in 1991. According to the United Nations, this situation has led

> to the destruction of infrastructure, the disintegration of basic health and social services and widespread human rights abuses. The country also has some of the worst human development indicators in the world. At the start of 2006, the country was experiencing an aggravated humanitarian emergency brought on by the worst drought in a decade. Of an estimated population of 7.7 million, around 2.1 million people countrywide were in need of critical assistance including an estimated 400,000 internally displaced persons.[47]

As mentioned in Chapter 21, in 2006, an armed group Islamic group claimed control over the capital, Mogadishu, but it had been expelled by early 2007 by Ethiopian troops with support from the United States. This intervention returned the leader of the internationally recognized Somali Transitional Federal Government, Abdullahi Yusuf, to power to serve out the rest of his five-year mandate, which began in 2004—if he can manage to stay in office.

The weakness of Somalia as a state has long had an effect on regional security as well as the condition of its own people. Civil strive, starvation, and the flow of refugees into neighboring Ethiopia, Djibouti, and Kenya led the UN to respond by establishing a task force that included U.S. involvement from 1992–1994. The UN has since continued its nonmilitary involvement in cooperation with a wide variety of NGOs to meet basic human needs and to foster development.

After the terrorist attacks of 9/11, Somalia again received the attention of U.S. policy makers concerned that it could become a potential base for international terrorist organizations, such as al-Qa'ida. In addition to providing assistance in expelling the Islamic Courts Union government, U.S. involvement in 2007 also included military strikes against suspected terrorists living in Somalia.[48] Though these military actions may make a contribution, the assessment of the U.S. State Department is that "the long-term terrorist threat in Somalia . . . can only be addressed through the establishment of a functioning central government."[49] In order for a Somali government to be effective and to attain legitimacy, it will have to address some of the critical human security challenges discussed in the preceding section. To gain the capacity to make progress, the Somali government will undoubtedly need partnerships with such IGOs as the UN and the AU, a variety of NGOs, and other states. The new U.S. Africa Command (AFRICOM) may enable the United States to be a more consistent partner, though some fear that its establishment reflects an overly militarized approach to Africa's many challenges.[50] The optimal relationship between AFRICOM and its programs and State Department efforts in the region will have to be worked out in practice over time.

## Challenges for U.S. Policy Makers

The preceding discussion suggests that those concerned with U.S. national security policy have to be concerned with the capacity and legitimacy of states around the world. Only a legitimate and effective government can adequately address the

human insecurities that exist in many states, especially in underdeveloped countries. Accordingly, U.S. national security policy makers must craft effective approaches to fostering good governance abroad, as well as activate institutions of the U.S. government that may not previously have seen this function as one of their core tasks. They also must overcome the political challenge of creating support for policies that lack natural constituencies within the United States but that may be necessary to long-term success.

One example of a nontraditional national security policy that may be needed in this new environment relates to educational systems in underdeveloped countries. Better education is an essential element of any sustainable development program. Some *Madrassas* (religious schools in Muslim lands), for example, not only fail to prepare students for the modern world but also often serve as incubators of extremism. A cornerstone of the needed education process is likely to be the inclusion of women. The education of women doubles the talent pool of a society—Mao Zedong's aphorism phrased it as "women hold up half the heavens"—but also brings numerous other beneficial effects. Educated women tend, for example, to have fewer children, which reduces pressures stemming from overpopulation. In addition, educated women who know how to prevent diseases, understand nutrition, and send their children to school can positively influence the direction of a society and its state. U.S. policy makers who wish to further these dynamics will have to seek ways to increase the limited resources available for such programs and create effective partnerships with other states and nonstate actors.

The cultivation of legitimacy within another state is likely to be a very challenging task, because it requires an understanding of local culture and historical context, as well as an appreciation of formal and informal governing institutions. Similar painstaking analysis must precede efforts to counter violent nonstate actors, such as terrorist groups. Local terrorist groups have specific goals and ideologies that must be understood in the context of a specific region. In some cases, there may be little that the United States can accomplish directly. However, it may be able to shape the incentives of local governments and at least ensure that U.S. actions do not inadvertently undercut the governments it seeks to support.

Unfortunately, many of the regions that suffer from grave human insecurities have harsh and extreme climates, as well as geographical features and environmental challenges that affect local populations in significant ways. This is important on several counts. First, environments change over time, thus contributing to the dynamic nature of human insecurity challenges. Infrastructure is also critical. It is hard enough to grow crops in some vulnerable regions, but food insecurity is often compounded by the difficult task of getting crops and goods to market. Understanding the environment is essential when seeking to understand the totality of challenges faced by the local population, the government, and external actors.

These complexities must be understood as policy makers try to anticipate the direct and indirect effects of their decisions and actions. Cultivating the development of stable and legitimate states that are capable of good governance will take time, and progress is not inevitable. If U.S. policy makers are to succeed, they will need

to acquire local political support, enhance interagency cooperation within the U.S. government, and effectively collaborate with a broad array of state partners and nonstate actors—and avoid the hubris to which the helpful outsider is often prone.

## Discussion Questions

1. Should the UN be restructured to more effectively address current and future security challenges? If so, how?

2. When and under what conditions can regional organizations be more effective in promoting peace and stability than organizations that are global in scale?

3. What impact can the global media have on U.S. national security policy?

4. Is the presence of an MNC beneficial to a developing country? Explain.

5. What is the relationship between *poverty* and *instability*?

6. Should the United States try to counter all terrorism or just terrorism that threatens U.S. interests?

7. Why should U.S. strategists be concerned with human insecurities occurring halfway across the globe?

8. How should the United States prioritize its efforts toward ungoverned spaces? Which U.S. government agencies should be involved?

9. Is the U.S. government taking adequate measures to foster the international cooperation necessary to global governance in an environment of increasingly important transnational security challenges? Give examples to support your answer.

10. What steps must the United States take to leverage its interagency talents and expertise?

## Recommended Reading

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## Internet Resources

African Union, www.africa-union.org
International Committee of the Red Cross, www.icrc.org
INTERPOL, www.interpol.int
Memorial Institute for the Prevention of Terrorism, www.tkb.org
United Nations Development Programme, www.undp.org
The World Bank, www.worldbank.org
World Health Organization, www.who.int