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REPLY TO
ATTENTION OF:

TO: Authors and Advisors to the NDU Globalization Study

FROM: Nick Dowling, Globalization Study Executive Director
Colleen Krafczek, Globalization Research Assistant

RE: Bibliography on Globalization

DATE: 16 December 1999

To assist with our research, we have prepared a bibliography of key books, articles and reports relating to globalization and security. Part 1 is an annotated bibliography of the twenty or so most important articles and books concerning globalization. This list, of course, is subjective and not all encompassing, but it gives a good representative sample of the literature. Also attached is a more comprehensive bibliography that should assist authors in researching and writing your papers. If you would like any additional information regarding this survey, please do not hesitate to contact us.

Annotations of Selected Works on Globalization

Barbar, Benjamin R. "Jihad Vs. McWorld" *The Atlantic Monthly* (March 1992).
Gives two scenarios --both pessimistic-- about the affects of globalization. One scenario focuses on integration or universalizing markets in which fast music, computers, and food are pressing nations into a commercially homogeneous global network. The other scenario focuses on regionalization or parochial hatreds in which national hatreds pit cultures against each other. Both scenarios have negative and non-democratic outcomes.

Binnendijk, Hans (ed.) Strategic Assessment 1999: Priorities for a Turbulent World
Washington, D.C.: National Defense University.

A comprehensive guide to issues on national security. Chapters particularly relevant to globalization include: Chapter One, by Richard Kugler, "Global Political Trends: Integration or Disintegration?"; Chapter Two, by Ellen Frost, "Economic Globalization: Stability or Conflict?"; Chapter Sixteen, by Kimberley Thachuk, "Transnational Trends: New Threats?". The book provides a comprehensive study on future security concerns in a globalized world and gives a number of policy options to deal with the new realities.

Cornelius, W.A., Martin, P.L. and Holifield, J.F. eds., *Controlling Immigration: A Global Perspective* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994).

The movement of people facilitates the exchange of ideas, cultures, skills, and ideologies, but it can also threaten labor markets and political cultures. This book asserts that governments in industrialized countries use similar policy instruments to combat undesirably high levels of immigration. Nevertheless, there is often a gap between immigration policies and actual outcomes. Japan and Spain are included in the historical case studies.

Danzig, Richard. *The Big Three: Our Greatest Security Risks and How to Address Them*. (Washington, DC: National Defense University Press: 1999)

Outlines three risks that are of the greatest concern to the US over the next thirty years. These are: renewed competition with major military adversary, traumatic attacks from non-explosive warfare (NEW) weapons (i.e. biological and information warfare), and erosion of support. In order to rectify these problems the US must work to sustain military dominance to avoid first risk. US needs to look to small countries as well as larger. US must achieve nuclear deterrence. Long term military investment is the foundation of dissuasion. To counter NEW weaponry, need new detector techniques, antibiotic and vaccine research, improved intelligence and training, technology to prevent intrusions to computer systems. US must also deal with consequence management. If successful, the US will remain the strongest country.

Drucker, Peter F., "Trade Lessons from the World Economy," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 73, No. 1, January-February 1994.

Management guru Peter Drucker argues that flows of money, information, trade, and investment are rapidly merging into one transaction. Corporate alliances, formal and informal, are becoming the dominant form of economic integration in the world economy. Despite lingering political, cultural, and psychological attitudes, the distinction between the domestic and international economy has ceased to be a reality, at least for developed countries. Managed trade and protectionism not only don't work; they make domestic economic problems worse. Citing Asia's successful growth in the 1980s, Drucker urges each country to develop a "world-economy policy" that reflects the new reality. Simply put, the dynamics of the external economy should take priority over domestic economic demands and problems.

Elliott, Kimberly Ann (ed.) Corruption and the Global Economy Washington, D.C.: Institute for International Economics, 1997.

This is a comprehensive guide to the implications of corruption in a globalized world. While much progress has been made in the fight against corruption, such as the OECD and the OAS Conventions against corruption, the attendant democratization and economic integration could be damaged seriously and even be reversed by wide spread misuse of public office. Among other things, the book includes a chapter by the Chairman of the OECD Working Group on Bribery discussing the evolution of the OECD convention and what measures should be taken to make it effective. Other chapters address the causes and consequences of corruption, including the impact on investment, growth and issues of governance. Some important conclusions are reached regarding important anti corruption initiatives worldwide.

Friedman, Thomas L. and Ramonet, Ignacio. "Dueling Globalization." *Foreign Policy* (Fall 1999) 110-127.

Globalization evangelist Friedman (author of The Lexus and the Olive Tree) debates globalization-phobe Ramonet (editor of *Le Monde*) on whether globalization is the new world order (Friedman) or a recipe for inequity and disintegration (Ramonet). This debate authoritatively captures the arguments about the potential power, both good and bad, about globalization. These are argumentative essays, not research pieces; there is little data here. This debate also lacks the perspective of those who believe globalization is not that important. If you don't want to read Friedman's book, at least read this article to understand this popular depiction of globalization.

Gompert, David C. 1998. *Right Makes Might: Freedom and Power in the Information Age*. Washington DC: Institute for National Security Studies, National Defense University.

Gompert details how the spread of freedom and the integration of the global economy due to the information revolution are affecting the nature, concentration, and purpose of power. Power depends on two explanations: the relentless spread of free market democracy and the ever shifting concentration and interaction of power politics. As technology spreads, the task of preserving commercial and military advantage for US groups is more critical.

Held, David; McGrew, Anthony; Goldblatt, David and Perraton, Jonathan. *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture* (California: Stanford University Press, 1999).

This textbook-like tome is an exceptionally comprehensive, authoritative and rigorous breakdown of globalization in historic, political, economic, demographic, cultural and environmental terms. It is balanced in approach, discussing a range of perspectives and possible conclusions about globalization and offering a detailed methodological analysis of the breadth and intensity of different aspects of globalization and why the contemporary era of globalization is new and different. Its section on military globalization is focused on traditional wars and the global arms trade. It has a wealth of tables and data on virtually every aspect of globalization. A must-have reference for globalization writers.

Hills, Carla A., Peterson, Peter G. and Goldstein, Morris. "The Future International Financial Architecture Report." Council on Foreign Relations Independent Task Force Report, 1999

The report is a summary of a study performed by CFR that focused on what was "broken" in the financial architecture and how to "fix" it. It affirms that the global recovery from the 1997 Asian Crisis is still in the early stages and remains fragile. It also asserts that the United States is not immune to foreign crises and it is in our best interest to reduce financial stresses abroad. The report gives seven conclusions/recommendations. These are: (1) the IMF should lend more to countries which proactively reduce crisis vulnerability, (2) emerging economies should take transparent and nondiscriminatory tax measures to discourage short-term capital inflows and encourage longer-term capital, (3) states should include the private sector to promote fair burden sharing and market discipline, (4) there should be no pegged exchange rates, (5) the IMF should abandon huge rescue packages in favor of smaller ones, (6) the IMF and the World Bank should be refocused to their original jobs, and (7) states should generate political support for and ownership of financial reforms.

Huntington, Samuel P. "The West, Unique, Not Universal." *Foreign Affairs* (November/December 1996) 28-46.

This article has Huntington's most up-to-date and relevant cautions about globalization of western culture or values. Huntington rejects the view that modernization and democratization lead to Westernization. Rather, he notes that these cultures are reacting to the perceived threat of "Westoxification" of their societies. Huntington believes that policies designed to intervene and facilitate Western values in non-Western areas are dangerous. Rather, the priority should be to fully integrate and unify a three-polar Western civilization around Europe, the United States, and Latin America. Huntington's thesis is controversial, but his work here and in his earlier book (*The Clash of Civilizations and the New World Order*) is rich in exploring sociology, cultural and democratization.

Krugman, Paul. "Globalization and Globaloney," *The Accidental Theorist* (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1998)

Krugman is a free-trade economist who argues that while globalization is a real phenomenon, it is often overstated in terms of sweeping negative social effects or the powerlessness of governments. He sees the perception of globalization as harmful and unstoppable as a threat to international trade and good governance. Krugman argues that globalization generally benefits consumers in developed countries and helps to raise income levels in developing countries even if those income levels are still at the poverty level. Krugman's concerns are relevant to considerations of how globalization – or perceptions of globalization – may facilitate instability.

Lipschutz, Ronnie D. (with J. Mayer), *Global Civil Society and Global Environmental Governance: The Politics of Nature from Place to Planet* (New York: SUNY Press, 1996).

Lipschutz argues that the best way to tackle global environmental problems is through political action at the local level. Non-government organizations can be used to help provide ecosystem management and restoration, technical assistance for environment and developmental projects, and environmental education at the local level. When people get involved in solving environmental problems in their own community, they are more likely to become involved in "global civil society." Presenting case studies from northern California, Hungary, and Indonesia, the book draws lessons for global environmental policy-making and governance.

Jessica T. Mathews, "Power Shift," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 76, No. 1, January-February 1997.

Drawing on quantitative data and factual examples, Mathews argues that the computer and telecommunications revolution has spawned a "novel redistribution of power" among states, markets, and civil society. The role and influence of non-government organizations have mushroomed. International organizations have begun extending their reach into hitherto exclusively domestic issues. The rise of nontraditional threats has fed a growing sense that individuals' security may not reliably derive from their nation's security. Controlling global crime, for example, will require states not only to pool their efforts, but also to establish unprecedented cooperation with the private sector. A world in which power is diffused could bring more peace, justice, and capacity to solve problems, but it could also bring confusion, fragmentation, and a weakening of a sense of identity and purpose.

Rosenau, James N. *Along the Domestic-Foreign Frontier* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

Rosenau argues that the dynamics of economic globalization, new technologies, and evolving global norms are clashing with equally powerful localizing dynamics. The resulting encounters are rendering the boundaries between domestic and foreign affairs increasingly porous and creating a new political space (the "Frontier"). Rosenau argues that it is along the Frontier, and not in the international arena, that issues are contested and shaped. He coins the term "fragmegration" to describe the tensions between fragmentation and integration along this turbulent Frontier. The chapter on war and peace presents systemic reasons why interstate war is an increasingly unlikely form of conflict. The book contains numerous tables and charts as well as chapters on the global context (e.g., boundaries, governance, and norms), societal contexts (sovereignty, constitutions, and elections), and actors.

Sadowski, Yahya. *The Myth of Global Chaos* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 1998)

A basic assumption of global chaos theory, as found in the writings of Kaplan, Huntington et al., is the inexorability of culture conflict and that as the world enters an era of unprecedented globalization, conflict will increase as cultures collide. Through an analysis of current and past conflicts matched with empirical indicators of globalization, Sadowski finds little evidence to suggest that increased exposure to foreign ideas and cultures results in violence. There is, however, a positive correlation between violence and the usual suspects: poverty, the scramble for scarce resources, and underdevelopment. Structural, as opposed to primordial, factors, are the root causes of conflict.

Schulze, Gunther and Ursprung, Heinrich. "Globalization and the Economy of the Nation-State." *The World Economy* (May 1999) 295-352.

The literature on the virtues and vices of the impending era of globalization is often contradictory and the analysis superficial. Through a review of available empirical studies, the authors find that the term globalization is a misnomer, as the economic situation in no way portends a single and uniform global economy. They also find that states have not lost significant economic autonomy, as often predicted, as states attempt to remain competitive and as economic factors become more mobile. This is partly the result of countervailing societal pressures, which mitigate purely economic incentives. The notion that the nation state is being subordinated to the global economy largely overstated, as are the fears of diminished democracy.

Slaughter, Anne-Marie. "The Real New World Order," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 76, No. 5, September/October 1997.

Slaughter, a professor at Harvard Law School, looks at the consequences of globalization for governance. Her thesis is that the state is not disappearing; it is "unbundling" into its separate, functionally distinct parts. Components of the state such as courts, legislatures, regulatory bodies, and executive agencies are networking with their counterparts abroad, creating a new "transgovernmentalist" world order. New security threats associated with globalization, such as terrorism, organized crime, and money laundering, create and sustain these networks. Slaughter sees trans-governmentalism as a useful compromise between liberals who favor expanding the power of international institutions and conservatives who fear the loss of sovereignty. She believes that judges in particular are contributing to this new order by building a global community of law. Ultimately, the strength of trans-governmentalism will depend on accountability to the world's people.

Winer, Jonathan M. "International Crime in the New Geopolitics: A Core Threat to Democracy" in William F. McDonald (ed.) Crime and Law Enforcement in the Global Village (Highland Heights, KY: Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences, Northern Kentucky University.)

Discusses three recent structural changes in geopolitics that have created unprecedented opportunities for international criminals. With the help of the increasingly integrated global economy, and changes to communications and transportation as well as technology, the barriers to trade have been eroded. These networks are a boon to organized crime as they may now engage in more complex and high tech crimes. They are also taking advantage of lax law enforcement and corrupt officials to step up activities. In a globalized world, states that operate as safe havens for criminals are considered the weakest link. International measures must be far-reaching and therefore somewhat intrusive into the internal affairs of states.

U.S. Congress, Office of Technology Assessment, *Multinationals and the U.S. Technology Base*, OTA-ITE-612 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, September 1994).

The most technologically sophisticated and economically important sectors of the U.S. economy (e.g., telecommunications, electronics, pharmaceuticals, chemicals, and autos) are marked by a high degree of foreign direct investment. But not all foreign firms are alike. Based on extensive interviews, data, and analysis, this OTA report finds that the means to innovate and generate new technology -- and the willingness to share it with others -- remain rooted in distinct national innovation systems. Japanese companies in particular are less likely to engage in two-way technology sharing and high-end research collaboration. The central challenge facing U.S. technology policy is to combine the benefits of multinational investment with measures that strengthen the U.S. technology base.



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