

Part II: A Changing World

The end of the Cold War left many experts arguing about what the future would be like. Confrontation with the Soviet Union would be replaced by something—but what? Some hoped for a “new world order” of cooperation to solve the world’s problems. Others wondered if ideological conflict had ended and if all the world would adopt the Western ideas of democracy and the free market. Still others speculated that the principal disagreements in international politics would be a “clash of civilizations” between Western cultures and others with different values and beliefs. What has become clear to many is that the world is changing quickly through a process called globalization.

What is globalization?

Globalization is an umbrella term which refers to the economic, political, cultural, and social transformations occurring throughout the world. It reflects the increased interdependence of various countries and people today. The migration of large numbers of people, as political and economic refugees or as voluntary immigrants seeking new lives, helps to spread ideas and establish connections among cultures that did not exist before. Ours is not the first era to experience globalization; many periods in history have seen globalization of varying forms. However, globalization today distinguishes itself by its speed and magnitude. Though the seeds of transformation were sown long before, the end of World War II marked the beginning of a new global era. The wave of globalization since 1945 has fundamentally changed the face of the international system and has dramatically altered the lives of people around the world.

What has been the role of the United States in globalization?

What may be most striking about globalization today is that the process is so strongly influenced by one country—the United States. While some praise globalization with an

American face, others are concerned that American dominance will conflict with other societies.

In the past half-century, countries have faced the challenge of navigating through a rapidly changing world. Today, the United States is challenged to reflect upon its leadership role in the process of globalization—past, present, and future. The principles of democracy and the free market promoted by the United States have never been so widely accepted.

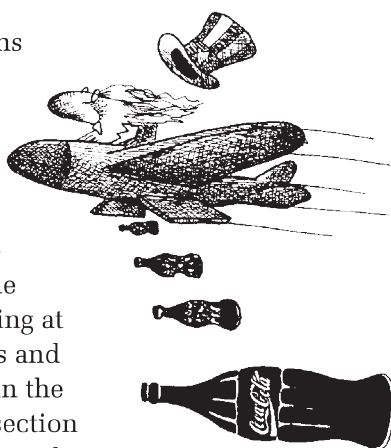
Yet, the dominance of the United States has another side. America’s combination of economic, military, and technological strength has put our nation far ahead of potential rivals. As the most powerful nation in the world, the United States is also the most visible nation in the world. American dominance comes from more than just military might. The ability of U.S. companies and ideas to expand throughout the world has kindled resentment against the “Americanization” of cultures of different nations.

“On top of it all, globalization has a distinctly American face: It wears Mickey Mouse ears, it eats Big Macs, it drinks Coke or Pepsi and it does its computing on an IBM or Apple laptop, using Windows ... and a network link from Cisco Systems. Therefore, while the distinction between what is globalization and what is Americanization may be clear to most Americans, it is not to many others around the world. In most societies people cannot distinguish anymore between American power, American exports, American cultural exports and plain vanilla globalization. They are now all wrapped into one.”

—author Thomas L. Freidman, 1999

Some fear that the cultures and traditions of their countries will be overwhelmed by the values, popular culture, technologies, and lifestyles of the United States. Some regard the values conveyed by MTV or Hollywood as harmful—an assault by an immoral American society on traditional values. For many people around the world the rapidly changing global and political environment has led to shifting and uncertain cultural and economic landscapes.

The four sections which follow—economy, health and environment, international relations, and culture and values—provide a structure for looking at some current trends and how they play out in the world today. Each section also looks at the U.S. role in these areas, and challenges you to consider how the United States should act in the future.



helped by the newly emerging economic order because they have the resources to expand production worldwide and to create goods that are in demand internationally. Individuals and small businesses have access to much larger markets and to buyers they did not have access to before. On the other hand, some countries and individuals have been hurt because they are not able to compete with the strongest producers internationally.

Today, the U.S. economy is the world's largest. The U.S. dollar serves as the most accepted currency of international trade. The United States is one of the world's leading exporters and maintains a lead in many of the future's most promising industries, including biotechnology, space technology, and computer software. U.S. corporations have sought a competitive edge by taking advantage of cheap labor in Latin America and Asia. Meanwhile, Japanese and Western European companies have invested in the United States, hoping to tap into American markets.

Economy

With globalization, the world economy has grown increasingly interdependent. The production of goods now takes place on a global scale. For example, a good that used to be produced by a single firm within one country may now be produced by people from many firms located all around the world. Additionally, an expanding international commitment to free trade among countries has internationalized the market for goods; people have access to goods that were previously out of reach. Finally, in addition to the exchange of goods across borders, traders move billions of dollars daily with the click of a mouse.

What has been the effect of economic globalization?

Economic globalization has had mixed and unequal effects. Some countries have been

How have U.S. leaders attempted to stimulate economic growth?

U.S. leaders have attempted to stimulate economic

growth by actively promoting new trade ties. Some of their most notable achievements

have been the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA).

The WTO and



Best of Latin America.
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NAFTA are both designed to reduce barriers to international trade. The scope of the WTO is worldwide, with a membership of 151 nations, while NAFTA is limited to the United States, Mexico, and Canada. The United States has also established bilateral Free Trade

Agreements with eleven other countries. Negotiations are currently underway for an additional four bilateral agreements.

How has the United States responded to economic globalization?

At the end of the twentieth century, the U.S. economy was cruising in high gear. The United States was benefitting from having played a central role in building the global economy. The gross domestic product (GDP) was growing at an impressive clip. The stock market soared to record heights. Supporters of free trade contended the opportunities created by the WTO, NAFTA, and other trade breakthroughs fueled this expansion. At the same time, critics say that the East Asian economic crisis in the late 1990s and an international economic downturn beginning in 2001 unsettled the lives of millions of Americans and other people around the world, drawing attention to the insecurities of the new global economy.

Globalization has swept away the employment security of the past. Businesses large and small must learn to compete on a global scale or be left by the wayside. Economists have noted that the United States has been more successful than much of the world in adjusting to these demands. The United States has, for

the most part, turned the forces of change to its advantage.

What do supporters of free trade say?

Supporters of more open trade argue that everyone has the potential to be better off when developing economies join the global marketplace. They contend that countries with free trade systems support the growth of democracy. New industries geared toward exports spring up in developing countries, while consumers benefit from a wider selection of competitively priced products. Investors benefit from opportunities for higher returns. Likewise, they argue that removing restrictions on financial markets fuels growth in developing economies in the long run.

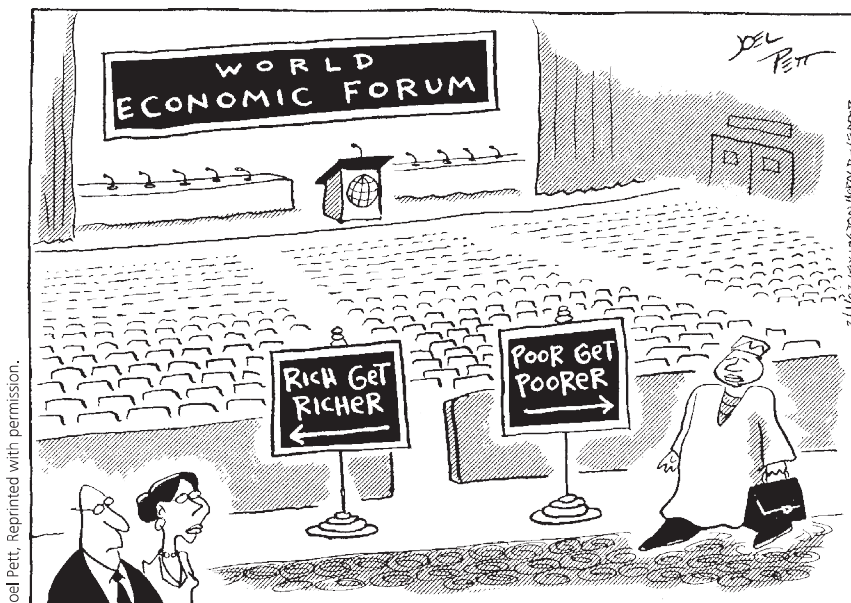
“Free trade is a proven strategy for building global prosperity and adding to the momentum of political freedom. Trade is an engine of economic growth. It uses the power of markets to meet the needs of the poor. In our lifetime, trade has helped lift millions of people, and whole nations, and entire regions, out of poverty and put them on the path to prosperity.”

—President George W. Bush, August 2002

What do critics of free trade say?

Many critics warn that U.S. policies favor big business and ignore the interests of workers. Some people want the United States to withdraw from the WTO and other trade organizations in order to protect American jobs. Others argue for reform of the trade system as a whole.

Critics of free trade maintain that losers outnumber winners in the global economy. Among the los-



Positions on Free Trade Policies	
Supporters Say:	Critics Say:
People have more access to cheaper products	Income disparity increases in the short run
Businesses have more access to buyers	Jobs are lost in developed nations
Unrestrictive trade promotes growth and wealth in the long run	Regional economic downturns quickly become global
Democracy increases as a tag-along to free trade	Smaller countries or less wealthy individuals have less power than wealthy corporations

ers are hundreds of thousands of American workers who have lost manufacturing jobs in recent years and tens of millions of people in the developing world who have lost their jobs or businesses. According to the critics, the winners are mainly rich investors who shift their money from one market to another and big corporations that relocate factories to the developing world to take advantage of low-wage labor. The losers, free-trade opponents assert, are typically found among the working class and the poor.

Ongoing protests at the WTO ministerial meetings highlight the unease generated by the evolving international economic system and capture the attention of world media and the public. A broad coalition of organized labor, environmentalists, human rights activists, and non-governmental organizations continues to protest the free-trade policies favored by the United States and other governments. Many of these protesters also argue that free trade and democracy are not linked, citing the case of China, which is becoming more open in trade policies but not becoming more democratic. Demonstrations against “globalization without representation” continue whenever the WTO convenes a meeting. These protestors say that

globalization does not represent the interests of ordinary people.

“Undoubtedly trade creates winners and losers. A good case can be made that the winners win more often than the losers lose, so the overall effects of trade are positive. But the distributional impacts can’t be ignored. The political reality is that winners don’t compensate losers. The only way those who lose from free trade can hope to be compensated is if they actively oppose it.”

—former Secretary of Labor Robert Reich, 1999

How has free trade affected income levels?

In the short run, inequality between the highest incomes in the most developed countries and the lowest incomes in the least developed countries continues to grow. Inequality within many countries has also increased. In the United States, for example, the gap between the rich and the poor has grown since the 1980s. Per capita income in the United States and other wealthy societies is forty times greater than per capita income in the world’s poorest countries. The United States and other highly developed countries continue to dominate international markets, and less developed countries struggle to compete, with varying degrees of success. The UN estimates that 1.5 billion people—about a quarter of the world’s population—get by on \$1 or less a day.

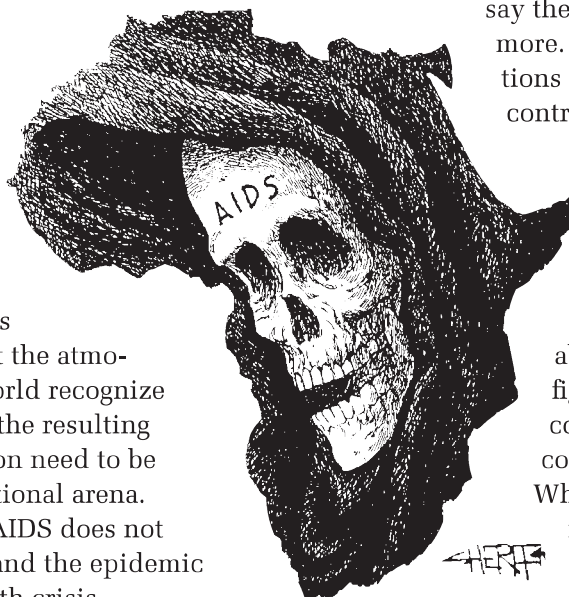
While the levels of poverty are declining in some regions, including parts of Latin America, South Asia, and East Asia, poverty continues to rise in other regions, including much of Sub-Saharan Africa. For many people, questions about the future of international economic policy remain.

Human Health and the Environment

A second set of major issues revolves around human health and the environment. Since the earliest days of international diplo-

macy, states have generally come together to discuss matters of war and trade. The health of the world population or of the world environment, if considered at all, were thought of strictly in a local context. Recent years, however, have witnessed a conceptual leap.

Environmental and health-related problems are increasingly seen as global in scope. A coordinated international approach has come to be seen as necessary. For example, because greenhouse gases are dispersed throughout the atmosphere, nations of the world recognize that climate change and the resulting environmental destruction need to be addressed in the international arena. Likewise, the spread of AIDS does not follow national borders and the epidemic is now a worldwide health crisis.



in developing countries intensify the effects of HIV/AIDS, the prevalence of the disease makes further economic development more difficult.

The United States donates more than any other nation to international HIV/AIDS research and assistance programs, though critics say the United States could afford more. Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and foundations also contribute resources in the fight against HIV/AIDS. As the impact of the HIV/AIDS epidemic grows stronger in the years ahead, the United States will have to make important choices about its goals and priorities in fighting the disease. Should we concentrate our resources on combating the disease at home? What should be our priorities in foreign aid—fighting the disease itself, increasing access to medicines, or assisting economic development?

What are some current health concerns?

While there are a number of health concerns facing the world today, three are both widespread and especially deadly: HIV/AIDS, malaria, and malnutrition.

HIV/AIDS: In 2007, an estimated thirty-three million people were living with HIV/AIDS. The impact of HIV/AIDS has not been felt equally the world over: incidence of HIV/AIDS is highly concentrated in the developing world. Sub-Saharan Africa, home to just 11 percent of the world's population, has 67 percent of the world's cases of HIV/AIDS. In Botswana, Zimbabwe, and Swaziland, more than a quarter of the adult population is HIV positive or suffering from AIDS.

Poorer nations often lack the resources and infrastructure to educate their citizens about the causes and prevention of HIV/AIDS and to provide treatment for those who are infected. Furthermore, the political instability that plagues parts of the developing world worsens the epidemic. At the same time that conditions

Malaria: Another significant international health concern is malaria. Malaria is the single largest killer in Africa and in many tropical developing countries. Health experts estimate that two children die of malaria every minute. Treatment of the infection, transmitted by mosquitoes, is straightforward and relatively cheap; however, treatment remains largely unaffordable or inaccessible for many who contract the disease in the developing world. Environmental factors, such as natural disasters or close quarters in refugee camps, increase a population's vulnerability to malaria. As of 2008, the United States had contributed \$2.5 billion to the Global Fund to Fight HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria, a leading international group in the fight against malaria.

Malnutrition and Hunger: An additional important international health issue is malnutrition and hunger. Malnutrition, like HIV/AIDS and malaria, is disproportionately prevalent in the developing world. While malnutrition is in some cases a matter of un-

derproduction of food in a region, it is more likely a matter of lack of access to adequate food in poor populations. The UN estimated that in 2008 approximately 854 million people were undernourished. Some experts note that famines never take place in democratic countries with a free press. Without a free press a government can withhold information about small crises which then become larger ones.

Today, the U.S. is the greatest contributor to the World Food Program (WFP), donating nearly half of the annual budget—about \$1.1 billion dollars in 2006. While uncertain or limited access to adequate sustenance—called “food insecurity”—is often considered a problem of the developing world, it is a symptom of poverty the world over. In fact, according to the U.S. census, over 11 percent of households in the United States are thought to be “food insecure.” In the years to come, the United States must determine where to focus its efforts in addressing malnutrition and hunger. For example, should we focus our efforts to fight hunger at home or abroad?

What are some of the leading environmental concerns?

Policymakers disagree about the extent of damage to the environment and about the direction the environment is heading. Scientists agree that climate change, which is characterized by an increase in the earth’s temperature called the “greenhouse effect,” has worsened as a result of human activity. Scientists say the problem will continue to harm the environment in the future if we continue to expel the gases into the atmosphere which cause climate change. Those gases, present in small quantities naturally, are increased dramatically when people burn fossil fuels like coal, oil, and natural gas in industrial processes and to heat their homes and drive their cars. Other major environmental problems include the destruction of the ozone layer in the atmosphere, water pollution and acid rain, deforestation, and the decline of biodiversity.

How have international leaders begun to deal with environmental problems?

Several international conferences in recent years have raised the profile of global environmental problems. In 1992 the largest gathering of international leaders in history met in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil at what became known as the Earth Summit. The UN protocol, which 150 governments signed in Rio, set in motion a series of conferences among governments on climate change that led to a 1997 conference held in Kyoto, Japan. More recently, more than ten thousand policymakers, environmentalists, and corporations met at the Climate Change Conference in Bali, Indonesia in 2007.

What unresolved conflicts prevent cooperation among nations on environmental issues?

These conferences have offered challenges to policymakers worldwide. It has been difficult, for instance, for countries to agree on how to combat these problems, and especially to decide on who is responsible and should make changes to limit future problems. The economy of a particular country, its values, and its political structure all contribute to its stance on environmental issues.

One political battle pits wealthy, developed nations against poor, developing countries. On the whole, people living in the former group (often called collectively the North) have access to a healthier environment than people living in the latter group (often called the South). Additionally, countries in the North tend to use far more resources. Until recently, Northern countries also contributed far more pollution than Southern ones. That gap is closing as population growth in developing countries has put pressure on countries to develop quickly with less concern for environmental impact. The United States has called for developing countries to curb population growth and reduce emissions, while it has bristled at proposals which might harm U.S. economic growth.

In many respects, the North-South dispute set the tone for the agreements that emerged from the Earth Summit in Rio and the Kyoto

conference five years later. In the eight hundred pages of guidelines produced at the Earth Summit, many of the thorniest issues were avoided. Population growth was hardly mentioned due to pressure from Southern countries. (Population growth was addressed at the 1994 Cairo Conference on Population and Development, where there was a mandate for education as the best means of curbing population growth.) At the same time, developed nations largely succeeded in protecting corporations that operate in many countries from new regulations.

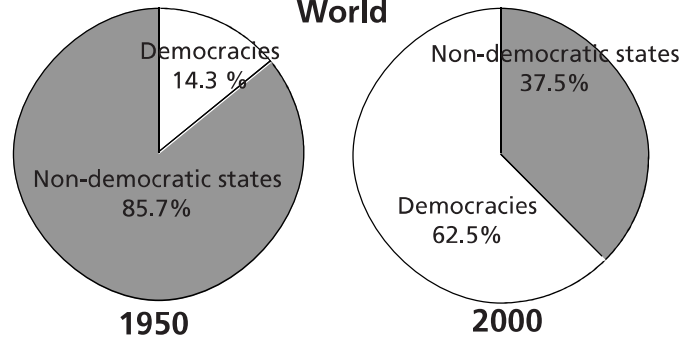
How has the U.S. participated in environmental regulation?

With less than 5 percent of the world's population, the United States consumes about 23 percent of the world's energy and produces over 27 percent of the world's output of goods and services. The United States also supplied much of the early initiative to address global environmental problems. Today, the United States is no longer on the forefront of worldwide environmental regulation. Current U.S. policy reflects the idea that economies need to grow in order for environmental issues to be solved.

Many Northern nations, particularly those in Europe, are more willing to eliminate threats to the environment, even if eliminating those threats is economically difficult. The United States did not sign the treaty which emerged from the Kyoto conference in part because it felt that the treaty would unfairly burden the U.S. economy.

The role of the United States in future international environmental policy is unclear. Some hope that the United States will take an active role in promoting "green" technologies such as hybrid cars and hydrogen fuel cells, and in reducing greenhouse gas emissions. Others would like the United States to work more closely within international frameworks and guidelines for environmental protection. Still others prefer that government stay out of the regulating business and let market forces determine the direction U.S. citizens will take.

Number of Democratic States in the World



International Relations

Over the past twenty-five years, democracy has spread along with free-trade capitalism around the world. Many newly emerging countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the former Soviet bloc have pursued transitions to democracy. Promoting these transitions around the world has been one of the United States' principal foreign policy priorities for several reasons. Among them is the belief that democratic countries respect the rights of their citizens and that wars between democratic nations have been virtually non-existent historically.

Whether democracy is universally valued or even universally possible remains unsettled. President Bush has argued that "liberty is the direction of history" towards which all of the world is working. Others argue that democracy reflects some people's cultural values rather than universal human values. In a 2006 study conducted by the Pew Charitable Trusts, 30 percent of those surveyed in Indonesia, 26 percent of those in Jordan, and 25 percent of those in Nigeria agreed that Western-style democracy would not work well in their countries.

What is the role of international organizations?

International governmental organizations (IGOs) seek to resolve problems that affect multiple states. These groups set rules for states which choose to be members. The United Nations (UN), which was formed to address issues of international security, includes all countries of the world. Other organizations

Definitions

A “State” is a country with a government that is recognized by its citizens and other countries and has sole control over its military power.

“State sovereignty” is the right of a country to make its own decisions free from outside interference.

are regional: the European Union (EU) and the African Union (AU) are examples. IGOs have proven to be a significant forum for dialogue and debate among states. To many, these organizations are a vehicle for a new form of international relations.

Governments around the world have reacted differently to the emergence of these new organizations. To some states, the authority of international organizations is seen as competing with their own. Some leading figures in the United States, for example, worry that the authority of IGOs threatens U.S. sovereignty, and could override the U.S. Constitution. To others, international organizations are thought to bolster national power by increasing cooperation and pooling resources. For instance, members of the EU follow the laws passed by a multi-national parliament, have all-but-dissolved borders between EU countries, and are in the process of adopting a single currency (the euro).

What concerns exist about the organization of international bodies?

Despite concerns on the part of some in the United States about the preservation of state sovereignty, the U.S. plays a leading role in many international organizations such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The World Bank and the IMF work to address issues of international economic development and global finance. The United States contributes the most money, and as a result is the single strongest governmental voice in these organizations. Many critics argue that these organizations serve more as proxies for U.S. foreign policy than as inde-

pendent organizations.

In fact, some countries’ voices are more heard than others. Permanent members of the UN Security Council (China, France, Russia, Great Britain, and the United States), for instance, have much more sway in international politics than others. Given this discrepancy, many have begun to consider the importance of democratization not only within states but in the international governmental organizations to which states belong. Some have called for a reform of the UN so that less powerful nations can participate at the same level as more powerful ones. Others say that the Security Council structure should be changed to reflect the changes in the political order since the founding of the UN after World War II.

What other groups have challenged the role of states in world politics?

In addition to the large international governmental organizations, groups smaller than states have begun to play a significant role in world politics as well. For example, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have had a significant impact around the globe. NGOs are generally non-profit, private organizations with a particular interest in a public policy issue. NGOs not only lobby governments to achieve their goals, but more and more they fulfill the role of governments by pursuing their goals in the field. Different NGOs work around the world pushing for reform in issues of education, human rights, environmental policy, health care, and poverty alleviation.

Year	Number of NGOs
1909	176
1978	9,521
1989	20,063
1999	43,958

Data from Union of International Associations.

Often, NGOs are more successful at solving problems and delivering services than governments because they have financial backing from donors and can sometimes act outside of government restrictions. In some cases NGOs have taken on roles that U.S. and other governmental agencies used to maintain.

Tragically, other small groups have also gained international importance. Terrorists and criminal organizations are both examples of this trend. They also work around the world to promote their “ideals.” Terrorist groups are sometimes funded by the dictatorial regimes of particular countries, but their members are widespread. You will read more about the role played by terrorist organizations in Part III.

What role these new international and non-governmental organizations will have in the years to come remains to be seen, and what effect they will have on U.S. policy and interests remains an open question.

Culture and Values

Different cultures and nations, like individuals, often have different values. The process of globalization has challenged and sometimes changed values within many societies around the world. In one sense, globalization has produced strong pressures for harmonization of values around the world—in particular, a value in universal human rights. In another important sense, globalization has resulted in the emergence, interaction, and competition of many different value systems on the global stage. While there have always been debate and discussion within cultures about values, globalization has brought these debates to a global scale. Sometimes the interaction of differing value systems has been a source of positive change and growth. At times, such interaction has also been a source of great tension.

The globalization of culture and values has brought Western conceptions of democracy and liberty to many areas of the world in the last twenty-five years. In many cases, the internet and popular culture have helped to spread those ideas. At the same time, however,

Major Elements of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Everyone is entitled to:

- life
- liberty
- security
- a nationality
- freedom from slavery, discrimination, or torture
- equal protection under the law
- presumption of innocence until proven guilty
- freedom from arbitrary interference with privacy
- freedom of movement
- freedom to marry and start a family
- ownership of property
- freedom of thought, opinion, expression, association, and religion
- suffrage (the right to vote)
- social security
- work and membership in trade unions
- equal pay for equal work and just remuneration
- rest and periodic holidays with pay
- an adequate standard of living
- free fundamental education

forces such as religious extremism have also increased. Many people resent the “Americanization” of the world and feel that the forces of globalization threaten their culture. For example, eight in ten Africans feel that their daily customs are jeopardized by globalization. These changes have the potential both to displace some cultures and to create new cultural combinations.

How have human rights been incorporated into the values of many nations?

The notion of universal human rights emerged after World War II and the Holocaust. Proponents of these rights argue that there are certain fundamental and absolute rights that every human being possesses, regardless of national laws or cultural traditions. Some of the fundamental human rights, as expressed in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, include the right to life, liberty, security, sufficient standard of living, equality under the law, education, freedom of movement, and freedom of thought and religion. The doctrine of universal human rights emerged in step with pressures for liberty, equality, and democracy.

The international community has enacted economic sanctions and taken military action to punish or prevent extreme abuses of human rights. International courts have held leaders who abused the rights of citizens in their own countries accountable. Particularly in the past fifteen years, the international community has

begun to take a stand against human rights abuses.

On the other hand, how far these human rights will be extended in the twenty-first century is unclear. Some have raised questions as to how universal these values really are. Some argue that since the tenets of individual liberty and equality are Western values, they do not encompass all of the world's value systems, especially those with strong communal traditions.

The human rights values championed by the UN and others are also criticized on political grounds. China, Russia, and other non-Western powers, as well as conservative critics in the United States, contend that an emphasis on human rights will topple a crucial pillar of the international system—the principle of state sovereignty. Defenders of state sovereignty maintain that states should be free from external control. Those who wish to prioritize human rights argue that state sovereignty should be limited when states harm their citizens.

You have read in this section about some of the numerous challenges facing the United States and the world. You have begun to examine the complex and interrelated issues that U.S. leaders are facing right now in this era of change and globalization. As you read the next section on security, try to keep in mind some of the issues raised above and where they might intersect with security. U.S. policies about these issues inform our policies on security issues, and our actions in areas such as economics and the environment impact our security in the world. For example, how do the issues surrounding culture and values affect our policy in the Middle East? How do our free trade policies affect our relationships with impoverished nations? How do our donations to global disease-fighting organizations affect security issues in the developing world?

Advanced Study Guide—Part II

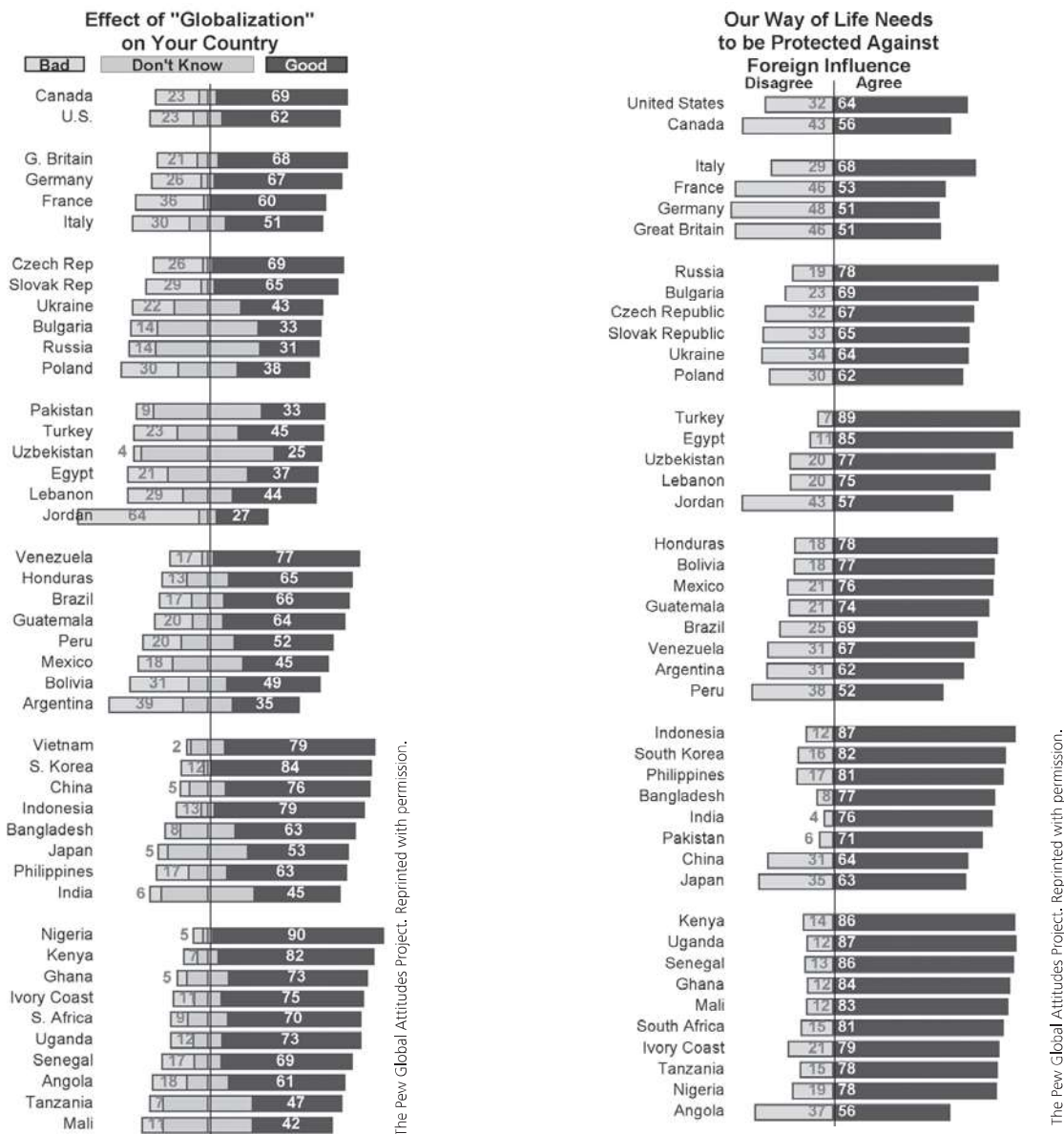
1. Why do some people associate globalization with “Americanization”?
2. Describe the effect of economic globalization and free trade on the world economy. Include both positive and negative effects.
3. How has the United States turned the forces of economic change to its advantage?
4. Why do many leaders see environmental and health-related problems as a global concern?
5. What is the relationship between state sovereignty and international organizations? Why do some people say sovereignty is threatened by international governmental organizations?
6. Why has the idea of universal human rights touched off controversy? How is this controversy related to the role of international organizations?
7. In your opinion, are the peoples of the world coming closer together or farther apart? What will be the effect for the twenty-first century?

Name: _____

Global Issues on the U.S. Agenda

	How does globalization affect this issue?	What are the top U.S. concerns about this issue?	What are the top concerns of other nations about this issue?		What policies does the United States have in place regarding this issue?
			industrialized	developing	
Economy					
Environment					
Health					
International Relations					
Culture and Values					

Pew Graphs 3: Globalization



Questions to Consider:

1. What information is shown in the graphs?
2. The graphs show statistics for different regions of the world. Are there trends within each region?
Are there trends between regions?
3. Compare the regions across graphs. For example, compare the findings for Eastern European countries in each of the graphs. Are there any surprising results?
4. Why do you think so many countries have such large "don't know" categories?