



CENTER FOR HOMELAND
DEFENSE AND SECURITY
NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL



HSx: MANAGING GLOBAL ISSUES AS ACTORS MULTIPLY



June 2017

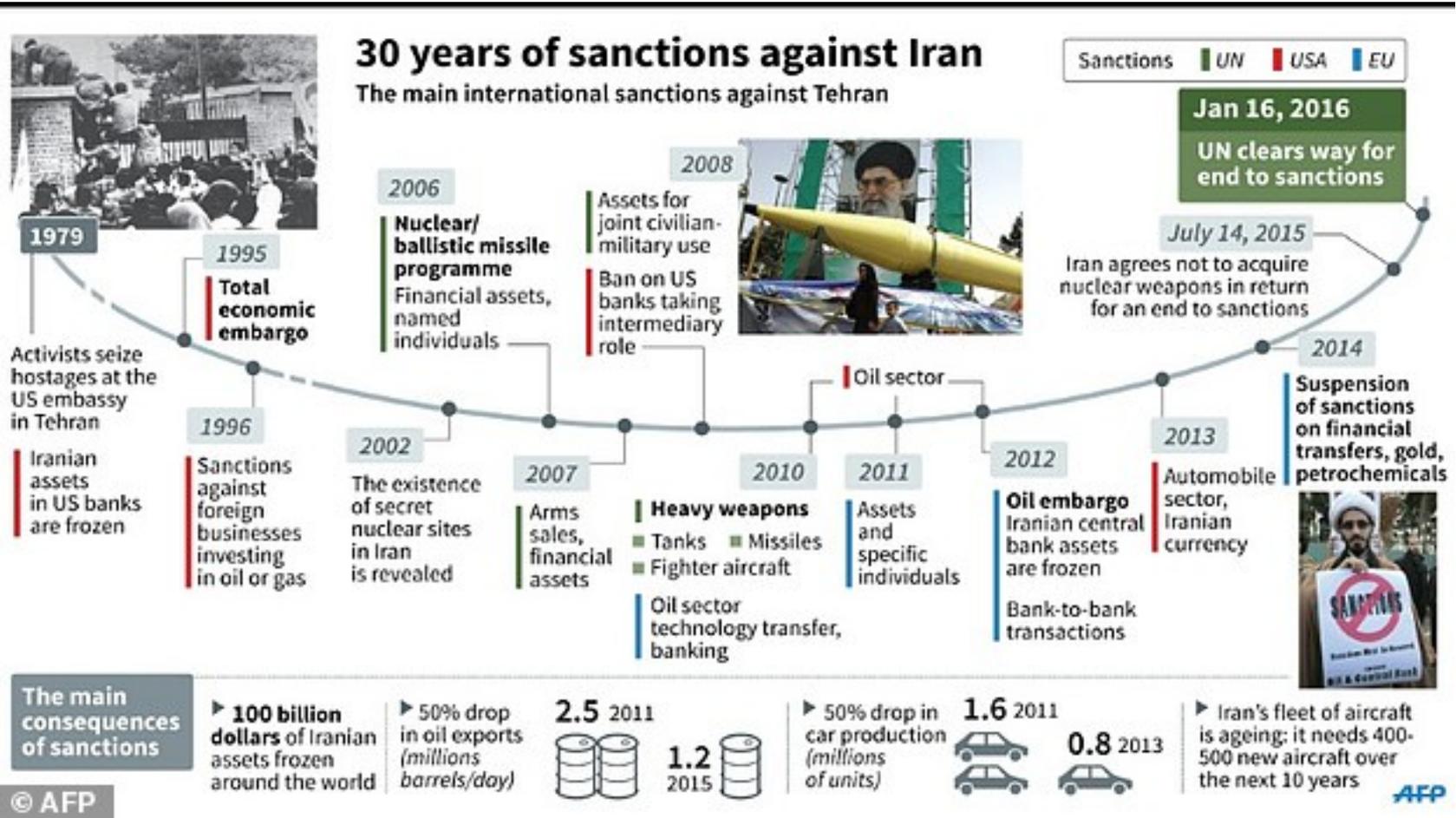
CONTEXT

- International nonpolarity in the 21st century: lack of hegemonic powers and increasing number and influence of non-state actors (NSAs)
 - NSAs include: non-governmental organizations (NGOs), terrorist groups, transnational corporations (TNCs), intergovernmental organizations (IGOs)
- Diffusion of state power makes it increasingly difficult for states to successfully unilaterally address global issues
 - Traditional methods of facing international problems less effective
- Increasing interconnectedness and globalization facilitated by technology and development
 - Increased incentive and ability for international cooperation
 - The emergence of coalitions and inclusion of NSAs when addressing global issues
 - Resulting shift of alliances/partnerships
- This new international landscape presents a new set of challenges and benefits that should be considered in state or organization decision-making

CONTEXT VARIES BY REGION/STATE

- Developing nations vs. developed nations
 - Developed: generally less dependent on international organizations, but often have a leading role in them
 - Developing: often rely on international organizations, NGOs, etc for development aid
- Regional differences
 - Middle east: NSAs often include terrorist organizations
 - Asia: NSAs include transnational corporations, development organizations, etc.
- Global leaders vs. small states
 - Global leaders see a decrease in relative power as nonpolarity emerges and number of NSAs increases
 - Small states generally advantaged by nonpolarity

CASE STUDY: IRAN PRE-2016



Source: Madiridze, Chamunorwa and Chingono, Heather. "The Nexus Between Sanctions and Non-Polarity: The Case of Iran." *Humboldt Journal of Social Sciences* 2.1 (2013): 44-56. *Academia.edu*. Web. 01 Mar. 2017. <http://www.academia.edu/13995953/The_Nexus_Between_Sanctions_and_Non-Polarity_The_Case_of_Iran>.

CASE STUDY: IRAN PRE-2016

- Historically, sanctions have been used for coercion of rogue states
 - Used as a means of indicating displeasure with a state, make a political statement, and attempt to coerce them economically
- The UN, US, and EU all held varying levels of sanctions on Iran in the early 21st century in response to the state's nuclear and financial behavior
 - Sanctions explicitly held in response to illicit nuclear behavior by the state, and later for human rights violations. Actors imposing the sanctions intended to urge Iran both to cease nuclear activity and development and address international concerns about this behavior
- However, these actors have seen a relative decrease in power as the nonpolar international system has emerged
 - Emerging power centers and complex structures/relationships decrease the impact of sanctions on offending states
 - Alternate powers: increased trade with other powers (esp. China) offset sanctions
 - Subversion: illegal shipment of US goods to Iran through UAE, Malaysia, etc.
- The result: traditional sanctions did not result in an Iranian policy or regime change in the early 21st century

Source: Madiridze, Chamunorwa and Chingono, Heather. "The Nexus Between Sanctions and Non-Polarity: The Case of Iran." *Humboldt Journal of Social Sciences* 2.1 (2013): 44-56. *Academia.edu*. Web. 01 Mar. 2017. <http://www.academia.edu/13995953/The_Nexus_Between_Sanctions_and_Non-Polarity_The_Case_of_Iran>.

POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS

- The increasing number of actors (state and non-state) and emergence of complex structures and power centers makes it difficult for states to successfully address global issues independently
- Moreover, the rapid proliferation and advancement of technology has given an unprecedented amount of political influence to both non-state actors (NSAs) and individuals
- Easier for non-state organizations and actors to gain support and put pressure on traditional global powers; changing role of the UN
- As demonstrated by the Iran case, previous policy methods may become less effective

TECHNOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

- Technological advancements have directly facilitated the rise of NSAs and their growing global influence
- Increased connectivity: potential for new coalitions and non-traditional partnerships
- Technology allows greater visibility to organizations addressing issues that might not have gained traction in the past
 - Example: Kony 2012 viral video increasing support for organizations opposing child soldiers; increased awareness of the issue

ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS

- As demonstrated by the Iran example: sanctions less economically punishing due to increasing interdependence and lack of clear hegemony
- Increasing actors specifically addressing economic issues i.e. the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, etc.
- Wide range of academic opinions on the economic benefits and disadvantages of the current international system

LEGAL IMPLICATIONS

- In the absence of hegemon/defined world powers, no set “enforcer” for international laws and norms
- Some scholars would argue that international law can never truly be enforced in any international system
- However, generally, it is agreed that it is more difficult to coerce state behavior in a nonpolar system than a unipolar or bipolar system (again, see Iran example)

SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS

- Easier for non-government organizations (NGOs) to put pressure on states committing human rights injustices, etc. without the direct aid of a state
 - Previously, direct pressure from a strong state was more often required to confront these issues
 - Now, with technological advances and the emergence of international organizations, it is easier for coalitions of non-state actors to address global social issues
- Potential domestic polarization regarding interdependence (i.e. globalization vs. nationalism)

IN THE ABSENCE OF DEFINED HEGEMONIC POWERS:

- Interests of smaller states/NSAs pose a competitive risk to the economic/political interests of traditionally powerful states
- Coalitions, interdependency, and cooperation are more relevant, required, and realistic
- Strategic alliances shift and new coalitions emerge in the interest of mutual benefit

BENEFITS OF INCREASING NUMBER OF INTERNATIONAL ACTORS

- Some states see this development in a positive light; states often empower non-state actors (NSAs) because they are willing to do the work the state does not want to, or are able to more easily maneuver through bureaucracy
- Non-state facilitation between states when addressing a variety of global issues
- Potential for streamlined expertise from NSAs when addressing specific issues (i.e. environmental, human trafficking, etc.)
- Non-state structures may be more flexible

DISADVANTAGES OF INCREASING NUMBER OF INTERNATIONAL ACTORS

- However, many scholars note the challenges surrounding this development
- More difficult for states to act alone when addressing global issues
- Easier for hostile NSAs (i.e. terrorist groups) to gain influence and audience
- NSAs are often unpredictable or unreliable
- Lack of hegemonic powers may make global partnerships, alliances, and commitments less stable

LOOKING AHEAD

- The number/relevance of Non-State or small state actors is unlikely to decrease significantly within the next 15-20 years
- We can likely expect a continued period of nonpolarity, a variance of power centers worldwide, and a complicated structure of actors

ADDRESSING RISING CHALLENGES VIA POLICY

- Several scholars recommend multilateralism as an effective policy shift in response to the changing global landscape
 - It is noted that multilateralism may be met with domestic backlash in some cases
- As demonstrated by the earlier case of Iran and sanctions, previous policy mechanisms become less effective as global power structures change
- It is more difficult for states to address global issues alone; multilateralism is essential for effective problem-solving, particularly partnerships with non-state actors

“Multilateralism will be essential in dealing with a nonpolar world. To succeed, though, it must be recast to include actors other than the great powers.”

-Richard Haass, *The Age of Nonpolarity*

POTENTIAL FORMS OF MULTILATERALISM

- NGO-state partnerships
- Global summits
- Informal issue-centered networks
- Bilateral/regional accords

RESOURCES

- The following resources provide further information on this topic:
 - Malhotra, Niyati, and MacLean, Laura. "Sharing the Stage: Non State Actors as Leaders in Global Governance." September 25, 2015.
<http://oefresearch.org/blog/sharing-stage-non-state-actors-leaders-global-governance>
 - Stratton, Trevin. "Power Failure: The Diffusion of State Power in International Relations." *Infinity Journal* 1.1 (2008): 2-7. Web. 1 Mar. 2017.
http://graduateinstitute.ch/files/live/sites/iheid/files/sites/international_history_politics/shared/student_profiles/Publications/Copies/Stratton-Power_Failure.pdf.
 - Haass, Richard N. "The Age of Nonpolarity: What Will Follow U.S. Dominance." *Foreign Affairs* 87.3 (2008): 44-56. JSTOR. Web. 01 Mar. 2017.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/20032650?ref=search-gateway:e8460b015266da64331b4b26dd0e08e6>.

- Additional research materials and information sources regarding this topic can be found in the associated *Literary & Scholastic Resource List*.

Literary and Scholastic Resources – Managing Global Issues as Actors Multiply

Date of information: March 2017

Overview: While not exhaustive, the following resources provide a roadmap to understanding the challenges that arise in the management of global issues as actors increase both in number and influence. These resources provide a baseline of understanding, but as the international environment continues to evolve, new data will become available and the resource list will require updates.

Module Resource Lists to Cross-Reference: Regional Powers Attaining Global Influence, Increasing Ideological Polarization, Changing Role of the Individual

Organizations:

- **National Intelligence Council:** The National Intelligence Council (NIC) supports the Director of National Intelligence in the role as head of the Intelligence Community (IC) and is the IC's center for long-term strategic analysis. The NIC publishes many reports, including papers addressing the emergence and impact of non-state actors (NSAs), particularly in relation to the United States.
https://fas.org/irp/nic/nonstate_actors_2007.pdf

Recent Publications and Journal Articles:

- **The Age of Nonpolarity: What Will Follow US Dominance:** Haass lays out an argument for non-polarity in the 21st century following United States' dominance for much of the previous century. He examines emerging centers of power as well as non-state actors, and the consequences that this will have for the US and international system as a whole. Haass prescribes multilateralism as essential in addressing global issues within this new non-polarity.
 - **Citation:** Haass, Richard N. "The Age of Nonpolarity: What Will Follow U.S. Dominance." *Foreign Affairs* 87.3 (2008): 44-56. *JSTOR*. Web. 01 Mar. 2017.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/20032650?ref=search-gateway:e8460b015266da64331b4b26dd0e08e6>.
- **The Rise of Non-State Actors in Global Governance: Opportunities and Limitations:** This essay examines the rapid changes to the international system and rise of new international actors in the second half of the twentieth century, with a particular focus on non-state actors and organizations. The authors acknowledge the benefits and challenges presented by this new international system.
 - **Citation:** Weiss, Thomas G., D. Conor Seyle, and Kelsey Coolidge. *The Rise of Non-State Actors in Global Governance*. Publication. One Earth Future Foundation, 2013. Web. 01 Mar. 2017
http://oefresearch.org/sites/default/files/documents/publications/GGWEISSFinalR6_0.pdf.
- **Power Failure: The Diffusion of State Power in International Relations:** This article gives an overview of how the rise of non-state actors—and frequent state facilitation of this rise—has led to a diffusion of power in the international landscape. The author argues that the result is nonpolarity: rather than few prominent world powers, there are many influential actors with different types of power.
 - **Citation:** Stratton, Trevin. "Power Failure: The Diffusion of State Power in International Relations." *Infinity Journal* 1.1 (2008): 2-7. Web. 01 Mar. 2017.
http://graduateinstitute.ch/files/live/sites/iheid/files/sites/international_history_politics/shared/student_profiles/Publications/Copies/Stratton-Power_Failure.pdf.

- The Nexus Between Sanctions and Non-Polarity: The Case of Iran: Chingono examines the decreasing efficacy of sanctions as a reaction to global issues in a non-polar world, presenting a relevant example of the need for adapted policy in a changing international setting.
 - *Citation*: Chingono, Heather. "The Nexus Between Sanctions and Non-Polarity: The Case of Iran." *Humberside Journal of Social Sciences* 2.1 (2013): 44-56. *Academia.edu*. Web. 01 Mar. 2017. http://www.academia.edu/13995953/The_Nexus_Between_Sanctions_and_Non-Polarity_The_Case_of_Iran.

Other Resources:

- Sharing the Stage: Non State Actors as Leaders in Global Governance: One Earth Foundation contributors give an overview of the role of non-state actors in multilateral response to global issues.
 - *Citation*: Malhotra, Niyati, and MacLean, Laura. "Sharing the Stage: Non State Actors as Leaders in Global Governance." September 25, 2015. Web. 01 Mar. 2017
<http://oefresearch.org/blog/sharing-stage-non-state-actors-leaders-global-governance>

Books:

- Global Energy Governance in a Multipolar World: The authors address states' use of coalitions and international cooperation to approach global issues related to energy. It examines the challenges and benefits afforded by the current international situation and emerging partnerships, particularly within the context of energy issues.
 - *Citation*: Lesage, Dries, Thijs Van De Graaf, and Kirsten Westphal. *Global Energy Governance in a Multipolar World*. Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2010.
https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=hu4GDAAAOBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PP1&dq=nonpolarity+global+issues&ots=JQ9J_bUakZ&sig=DR1kzPmRUFiubjtVhwBonHDtRkk#v=onepage&q&f=false