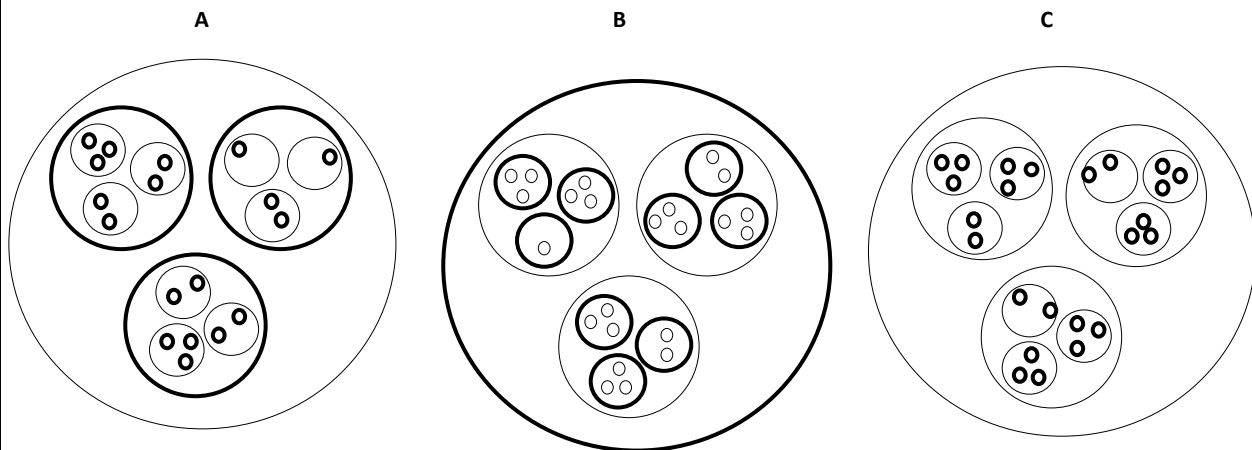


## ATTACHMENT E.2. GEOPOLITICAL STRUCTURE

Text in preparation. BOX E.2-1 illustrates several of the points to be discussed.

### BOX E.2-1. GEOPOLITICAL STRUCTURES: LEVELS AND INTENSITY OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ENGAGEMENT

The schematic figures show three geopolitical structures that differ in the *density* of political and economic engagement within different *levels* of engagement. Thick borders suggest a high density of political and economic engagement unique to that level. Thin borders suggest a low degree of political and economic engagement unique to that level.



GLOBAL	<i>thin</i>
REGIONAL	<b>THICK</b>
NATIONAL	<i>thin</i>
LOCAL	<b>THICK</b>

<b>THICK</b>
<i>thin</i>
<b>THICK</b>
<i>thin</i>

<i>thin</i>
<i>thin</i>
<i>thin</i>
<b>THICK</b>

**Figure A** suggests a world of strong continental/regional empires and strong local tribes or city-states

**Figure B** suggests a world of strong nation-states and strong global institutions.

**Figure C** suggests a version of **Green Sustainability World**, with political and economic engagement at the local level but only thin engagement beyond those.

Our archetypal scenario of **Techno-Progressive World** might display *thin* lines at all levels.

Our archetypal scenario of **Balanced Equitable World** might display *thick* lines at all levels.

**Mixed systems** can be imagined. For example, the world might have thin global structures and thick regional ones, with the regional structures differing in the relative importance and prominence of national vs. local structures.

## **E.2.b. WORLD ORDER 2.0: ELEMENTS OF SOVEREIGN OBLIGATION**

Council of Foreign Relations President Richard N. Haass (2017) suggested that the concept of *sovereign obligation* could serve as a “pillar of international order” in a globalizing world in which nation states would remain primal and sovereign but would have to agree on limitations on their sovereignty. It is another example of the sort of thinking that could support certain versions of our Balanced Equitable World scenario. A summary of Haass’s sketch of a “World Order 2.0,” incorporating many sovereign obligations, is shown here:

### **1. STATEHOOD AND BORDERS:**

- a. Respect for borders is reaffirmed.
- b. Opposition to changing borders through military force is reaffirmed.
- c. Sovereign states have full authority to act within their borders, subject only to agreed-upon treaties.
- d. A commonly agreed upon basis for statehood must be established. [e.g. self-determination cannot be simply asserted, it must be *granted* as well.]

### **2. TERRORISM:** Strong prohibitions must be agreed to on supporting or carrying out any form of terrorism.

- a. Definition of terrorism: “The intentional use of armed violence against civilians or noncombatants by non-state entities in pursuit of political objectives.”

### **3 WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION:**

- a. Strengthen norms against their spread or use.
- b. Agree on what is allowed, and by whom, if the spread or use of WMD is found to be imminent.

### **4. GLOBAL ECOLOGICAL INTEGRITY:** Agreements such as the UN Paris Treaty on Climate Change are an appropriate model for global problems caused by local actions and that have varying harmful impacts:

- a. An overall global goal is set
- b. Countries pledge to make the maximum possible effort they can towards helping achieve those goals
- c. Wealthier countries agree to assist poorer countries in carrying out these efforts.

### **5. ACTIVITIES WITHIN CYBERSPACE:**

- a. Goal: international agreements to discourage malign use and encourage benign use of cyberspace.
- b. Governments uphold these agreements as part of their sovereign obligations.

### **6. GLOBAL HEALTH:**

- a. Sovereign obligations are already acknowledged today: detect infectious disease outbreaks, notify others, respond quickly and appropriately. But more funding and technical assistance is needed, as well as naming and shaming of shirkers.

### **7. REFUGEES:**

- a. Countries should work to prevent local situations that result in large refugee flows. This is difficult.
- b. Faced with refugee flows, countries should ensure humane treatment and work to set fair quotas for resettlement, as part of sovereign obligations.

### **8. TRADE AGREEMENTS:** WTO has successfully set up agreements and mechanisms as sovereign obligations for resolving trade disputes. Analogous agreements and mechanisms must be set up to resolve disputes over *export subsidies* or *currency manipulation* by a government to advantage its exports and discourage imports.

**From theory to practice:** Getting the concept of sovereign obligation accepted as a pillar of international order will take decades, but small steps can and should be taken now. For example, the U.S. should consider what sovereign obligations it is willing to accept and what ones it would ask of other countries and draw up an outline to use as a compass in foreign policy.

Source: Richard N. Haass. 2017. *World Order 2.0: The Case for Sovereign Obligation*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations. February.