The Core and the Gap: A Review of Thomas Barnett’s The Pentagon’s New Map: War and Peace in the Twenty-First Century

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Visioning for the U.S. Government is a difficult process. No one entity has the responsibility to define the long term vision of the country. This has been argued for many years amongst those of us who discuss the role the United States needs to define for itself with the end of the Cold War and a world emerging in the 21st Century that is very different. But, little progress has ever been made. Until now. In a brilliantly lucid manor, Dr. Thomas P.M. Barnett, senior strategic researcher and professor at the U.S. Naval War College, has defined what that vision of a “future worth creating” should be in his new book, *The Pentagon’s New Map: War and Peace in the Twenty-First Century*.

The map he is referring to is the map of the world divided into two regions; those who represent countries whose populations are connected or moving toward connection to the global economy, internet, etc., and those who are still unconnected. It is not the usual discussion of helping the “have-not” countries through foreign aid or humanitarian assistance. It is a discussion of the “have” or “emerging have” countries, what Dr. Barnett refers to as “the Core and New Core” countries working together to bring the rest of the world of “have not” countries, what he refers to as “the Gap” into the global economy and the world’s rule sets.
The entire work describes the fact that the Core countries of the U.S., Western Europe and Japan, and the New Core countries such as China, India, Brazil, and Mexico, operate under one set of international security rules and the countries in the Gap, such as much of the Middle East, parts of Asia, South America, and the Caribbean, and most of Africa, operate under a different set of rules, and in some instances, no rules at all. His research over the years indicated that almost all of the conflict in the world occurs in the Gap.

Dr. Barnett comes to the conclusion that the “enemy” of the 21st Century is lack of connection to globalization – economically, politically, militarily and socially. His discussions integrate them all. They explain, far better than the current administration, why what the United States is doing in Iraq and Afghanistan is the right thing to do. It explains what the next administration must do regardless of who is resident in the White House and who is elected to Congress – that is “shrink the Gap” and “grow the Core.”

It also explains why the Bush Administration’s preemption policies should not distress most of the world. Dr. Barnett says, “the strategy of preemption is not new, nor will it be universally applied. Mutually Assured Destruction, deterrence, and collective security inside the Core are not altered one whit by the Bush Administration’s new strategy of preemption, because it simply does not apply to the Core – only to the Gap. Inside the Core we have a host of official mechanisms, both bilateral and multilateral, to deal with any security issues that arise. September 11 did not change any of that rule set, nor does the global war on terrorism. When the Bush Administration talks preemption, it is talking about actors and regimes in the Gap that we must prudently assume might be undeterrable, simply because they do not live in the same world or adhere to the same security rule sets that we do. Our goal in using the preemption strategy is not to destroy the Core’s security rule set but to extend it.”

During a fourteen year career filled with unusual assignments, Dr. Barnett gives us a view of the personal and professional challenges that he has experienced in the journey that brought him to understand what the world needs in this 21st century world of globalization to bring about a peaceful future. His explanations include an understanding of war “in the context of everything else,” the way systems scientists look at the world. He says, “Disconnectedness defines danger.”
“Eliminating the disconnectedness that defines the Gap goes far beyond simply defeating those forces willing to use violence to achieve or maintain it, because these terrorists are nothing more than parasites feeding off this political and economic isolation. Once that isolation is ended, and broadband connectivity is achieved for the masses, the forces of terror and repression can no longer hold sway. Will they ever disappear completely? Absolutely not. But, they will have to take their acts truly underground, off the net, and into the world of illegitimacy. That is how you turn a “heroic” terrorist into a common criminal: you surround him with a society deeply connected to the larger world of rules, opportunity, and hope. You render him an outcast among his own. You shame him out of existence. What you cannot do is simply catch him and kill him, because there will always be more. Over time, your violence will be delegitimized and his honored, unless yours is employed on behalf of a society growing in connectivity. Your effort must be intimately identified with that growing connectivity; your war must be in the context of everything else.”

Dr. Barnett’s strategy hinges on four flows; people, energy, money and security. These flows are required to “balance” the forces in the world in a market-based way. As long as these flows are not disrupted, the chances to make progress toward reducing the Gap and growing the Core are improved.

*The Pentagon’s New Map* is only pre-orderable for now at the following web-site. It will be available after April 26, when it will be published by G.P. Putnam’s Sons, New York. Find it on the web at: [www.thomaspmbarnett.com](http://www.thomaspmbarnett.com)

This work should be translated into every major language around the world, though the wit and wisdom may be difficult to translate. It is a must read, not only for policy analysts in the beltway and every American, but for every citizen of the world who cares about the future.