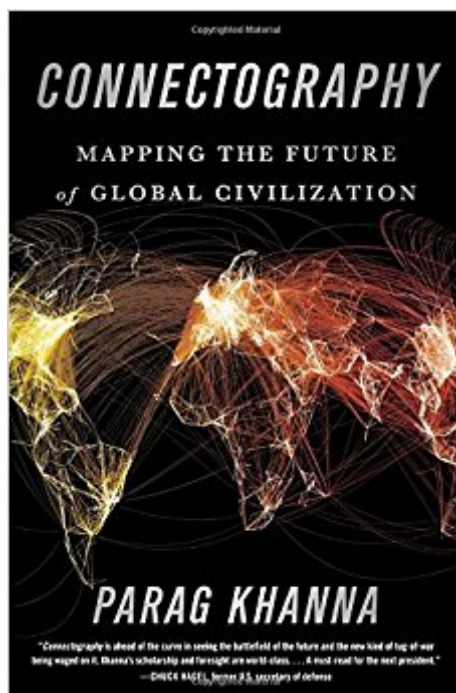


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# Connectography: Mapping The Future Of Global Civilization



## Synopsis

From the visionary bestselling author of *The Second World* and *How to Run the World* comes a bracing and authoritative guide to a future shaped less by national borders than by global supply chains, a world in which the most connected powers and people will win. Connectivity is the most revolutionary force of the twenty-first century. Mankind is reengineering the planet, investing up to ten trillion dollars per year in transportation, energy, and communications infrastructure linking the world's burgeoning megacities together. This has profound consequences for geopolitics, economics, demographics, the environment, and social identity. Connectivity, not geography, is our destiny. In *Connectography*, visionary strategist Parag Khanna travels from Ukraine to Iran, Mongolia to North Korea, Pakistan to Nigeria, and across the Arctic Circle and the South China Sea to explain the rapid and unprecedented changes affecting every part of the planet. He shows how militaries are deployed to protect supply chains as much as borders, and how nations are less at war over territory than engaged in tugs-of-war over pipelines, railways, shipping lanes, and Internet cables. The new arms race is to connect to the most markets—a race China is now winning, having launched a wave of infrastructure investments to unite Eurasia around its new Silk Roads. The United States can only regain ground by fusing with its neighbors into a super-continental North American Union of shared resources and prosperity. *Connectography* offers a unique and hopeful vision for the future. Khanna argues that new energy discoveries and technologies have eliminated the need for resource wars; ambitious transport corridors and power grids are unscrambling Africa's fraught colonial borders; even the Arab world is evolving a more peaceful map as it builds resource and trade routes across its war-torn landscape. At the same time, thriving hubs such as Singapore and Dubai are injecting dynamism into young and heavily populated regions, cyber-communities empower commerce across vast distances, and the world's ballooning financial assets are being wisely invested into building an inclusive global society. Beneath the chaos of a world that appears to be falling apart is a new foundation of connectivity pulling it together. Praise for *Connectography*—“Incredible . . . With the world rapidly changing and urbanizing, [Khanna's] proposals might be the best way to confront a radically different future.”—*The Washington Post*—“Clear and coherent . . . a well-researched account of how companies are weaving ever more complicated supply chains that pull the world together even as they squeeze out inefficiencies. . . . [He] has succeeded in demonstrating that the forces of globalization are winning.”—Adrian Woolridge, *The Wall Street Journal*—“Bold . . . With an eye for vivid details, Khanna has . . . produced an engaging geopolitical

travelogue. **Foreign Affairs** “For those who fear that the world is becoming too inward-looking, Connectography is a refreshing, optimistic vision. **The Economist** “Connectivity has become a basic human right, and gives everyone on the planet the opportunity to provide for their family and contribute to our shared future. Connectography charts the future of this connected world. **Marc Andreessen**, general partner, Andreessen Horowitz “Khanna’s scholarship and foresight are world-class. A must-read for the next president. **Chuck Hagel**, former U.S. secretary of defense

## Book Information

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## Customer Reviews

"This book is bad news for President Trump’s chief advisor, Steve Bannon, and his colleagues at Breitbart Media. Author Parag Khanna’s meticulous mapping of our planet’s human-designed infrastructure cannot be deconstructed, and neither can its administrative apparatus of global agreements and deal making---short of a nuclear holocaust....

In Connectography, Khanna traces his own extensive travels around this planet, basing his thesis that humanity’s global connective infrastructure now requires a new approach and a field of study beyond traditional geopolitics and geo-economics.... Khanna’s Connectography is stunningly buttressed by 18 fascinating cartograms mapping this new world.... I found Connectography invaluable and compelling reading. It reminded me of Jane Jacobs’ granular descriptions in her *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961) and *The Economy of Cities* (1969). This book will dispel any ideas of closing borders, building walls to exclude immigrants or

pursuing old goals of military superiority and spheres of geopolitical influence." -- Hazel Henderson, Seeking Alpha "Incredible . . . We don't often question the typical world map that hangs on the walls of classrooms -- a patchwork of yellow, pink and green that separates the world into more than two hundred nations. But Parag Khanna, a global strategist, says that this map is, essentially, obsolete. . . . With the world rapidly changing and urbanizing, [Khanna's] proposals might be the best way to confront a radically different future. The Washington Post "Clear and coherent . . . Khanna provides a rare account of the physical infrastructure of globalization. . . . Khanna also provides a well-researched account of how companies are weaving ever more complicated supply chains that pull the world together even as they squeeze out inefficiencies. . . . [He] has succeeded in demonstrating that the forces of globalization are winning the battle for connected space, building tunnels, bridges and pipelines at an astonishing pace. Adrian Woolridge, The Wall Street Journal "Bold . . . With an eye for vivid details, Khanna has nevertheless produced an engaging geopolitical travelogue, unearthing the Internet cables, energy pipelines, and electrical grids that link regions together more closely than ever before and allow people to lead increasingly connected lives. In his view, connectivity is transforming conflict between states into competition for access to the world's infrastructure of networks and markets. Foreign Affairs "For those who fear that the world is becoming too inward-looking, Connectography is a refreshing, optimistic vision. . . . The most convincing point in the book concerns policy prescriptions. To become part of global supply chains, Mr. Khanna argues, it is essential to invest in infrastructure. China, in particular, has built a sprawling network of ports, canals and the like across the world to acquire and transport natural resources. By contrast, rich countries, especially America, now underfund capital goods, in an attempt to reduce public spending. This short-term skimping bodes ill for future growth. The Economist "We desperately need enlightenment. For this reason alone, books such as Connectography should be welcomed. John Kornblum, Carnegie Europe "Connectivity has become a basic human right, and gives everyone on the planet the opportunity to provide for their family and contribute to our shared future. Connectography charts the future of this connected world. Marc Andreessen, general partner, Andreessen Horowitz "Connectography is ahead of the curve in seeing the battlefield of the future and the new kind of tug-of-war being waged on it. Parag Khanna's scholarship and foresight are world-class. A must-read for the next president. Chuck Hagel, former U.S. secretary of defense "Khanna's answer to what geography will mean in the

twenty-first century is the most compelling I have seen. . . . The world is changing, and Khanna is surely right not only that supply chains and cyberspace are taking on lives of their own but also that in the best of all possible worlds, inclusive functional geography will replace exclusive political geography, and the state and war will wither away. . . . I think Khanna is right that this is where the post-1989 trends seem to be taking us. . . . Connectography is one of the most stimulating and enjoyable books on the ongoing transformation of geography that anyone could ask for.

—Ian Morris, Stratfor

“Khanna’s content is genuinely innovative. He connects old dots in new ways, quite literally. He asks us to remap the world in terms of its connections rather than its borders. Connective infrastructure trumps separatist nationalism. The economics of supply lines moves into the foreground as politics and ideology fade into the background. . . . He is such a good writer—a master of the ringing cadence. . . . [Connectography includes] dozens of stunning maps.”

—Jay Ogilvy, Stratfor

“To get where you want to go, it helps to have a good map. In Connectography, Parag Khanna surveys the economic, political, and technological landscape and lays out the case for why competitive connectivity—with cities and supply chains as the vital nodes—is the true arms race of the twenty-first century. This bold reframing is an exciting addition to our ongoing debate about geopolitics and the future of globalization.”

—Dominic Barton, global managing director, McKinsey & Company

“This is probably the most global book ever written. It is intensely specific while remaining broad and wide. Its takeaway is that infrastructure is destiny: Follow the supply lines outlined in this book to see where the future flows.”

—Kevin Kelly, co-founder, Wired

“Parag Khanna takes our knowledge of connectivity into virgin territory, providing an entire atlas on how old and new connections are reshaping our physical, social, and mental worlds. This is a deep and highly informative reflection on the meaning of a rapidly developing borderless world. Connectography proves why the past is no longer prologue to the future. There’s no better guide than Parag Khanna to show us all the possibilities of this new hyperconnected world.”

—Mathew Burrows, director, Strategic Foresight Initiative at the Atlantic Council, and former counselor, U.S. National Intelligence Council

“Reading Connectography is a real adventure. The expert knowledge of Parag Khanna has produced a comprehensive and fascinating book anchored in geography but extending to every field that connects people around the globe. His deep analysis of communications, logistics, and many other globally critical areas is remarkable. The book is full of fascinating insights that we normally would not notice, and his writing reflects his extensive travel

experience. His recommended sites and tools for mapping are the most comprehensive that I've ever seen. This book is an invaluable resource for anyone involved in business, science, arts, or any other field.

•Mark Mobius, executive chairman, Templeton Emerging Markets Group

“Connectography gives the reader an amazing new perspective on human society, bypassing the timeworn categories and frameworks we usually use. It shows us a view of our world as a living thing that really exists: the flows of people, ideas, and materials that constitute our constantly evolving reality. Connectography is a must-read for anyone who wants to understand the future of humanity.”

•Sandy Pentland, professor, MIT Media Lab

“Khanna's new book is a brilliant exploration of supply-chain geopolitics and how the intersection of technology with geography is reshaping the global political economy. It is an intellectual tour de force that sparkles with original insights, stimulating assertions, little-known facts, and well-researched predictions. Highly rewarding reading for anyone seeking to understand the contemporary world order and why China's one belt, one road project is a winning strategy that outflanks the United States' rebalance to Asia by integrating all of Eurasia's economies under Chinese auspices.”

•Chas W. Freeman, Jr., chairman, U.S. China Policy Foundation, and former U.S. ambassador to Saudi Arabia

“Khanna imagines a near-future in which infrastructural and economic connections supersede traditional geopolitical coordinates as the primary means of navigating our world. He makes a persuasive case: Connectography is as compelling and richly expressive as the ancient maps from which it draws its inspiration.”

•Sir Martin Sorrell, founder and CEO, WPP

“From Lagos, Mumbai, Dubai, and Singapore to the Himalayas, the Arctic, and the Gobi desert steppe, Parag Khanna's latest book provides an invaluable guide to the volatile, confusing worlds of early twenty-first-century geopolitics. A provocative remapping of contemporary capitalism based on planetary mega-infrastructure, intercontinental corridors of connectivity, and transnational supply chains rather than traditional political borders.”

•Neil Brenner, director, Urban Theory Lab, Harvard University Graduate School of Design

“In high style, Parag Khanna reimagines the world through the lens of globally connected supply-chain networks. It is a world still fraught with perils—old and new—but one ever more likely to nurture peace and sustain progress.”

•Professor John Arquilla, United States Naval Postgraduate School

“Today's world has multiple geographies that do not fit the old geopolitics of states. In Connectography, Parag Khanna gives us not only new techniques for mapping but a whole new map—different, useful, and mesmerizing.”

•Saskia Sassen, Robert

S. Lynd Professor of Sociology, Columbia University

Parag Khanna is a global strategist, world traveler, and bestselling author. He is a CNN Global Contributor and a Senior Research Fellow at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy at the National University of Singapore. Khanna is the co-author of *Hybrid Reality: Thriving in the Emerging Human-Technology Civilization* and author of *How to Run the World: Charting a Course to the Next Renaissance* and *The Second World: Empires and Influence in the New Global Order*. He has been a fellow at the New America Foundation and Brookings Institution, advised the U.S. National Intelligence Council, and worked in Iraq and Afghanistan as a senior geopolitical adviser to U.S. Special Operations Forces. He holds undergraduate and graduate degrees from the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University and a Ph.D. from the London School of Economics. He serves on numerous governmental and corporate advisory boards and is a councilor of the American Geographical Society, a trustee of the New Cities Foundation, and a Young Global Leader of the World Economic Forum.

The author of this book has done something no one else has done – I say this as the reviewer of over 2,000 non-fiction books across 98 categories. For the first time, in one book, we have a very clear map of what is happening where in the way of economic and social development; a startlingly diplomatic but no less crushing indictment of nation-state and militaries; and a truly inspiring game plan for what we should all be demanding from countries, cities, commonwealths, communities, and companies, in the way of future investments guided by a strategy for creating a prosperous world at peace. This is a nuanced deeply stimulating book that makes it clear that China's grand strategy of building infrastructure has beaten the US strategy of threatening everyone with a dysfunctional military that crushes hope and destroys wealth everywhere it goes; that connectivity (cell phones, the Internet, roads, high-speed rail, tunnels, bridges, and ferries) is the accelerator for wealth creation by the five billion poor that most Western states and corporations ignore; and it provides to me more surprises, more factoids I did not know, more insights than any five to ten other books I have read over time. At one point it occurred to me that in some ways the author is our generation's successor to Alvin Toffler, Peter Drucker, and Robert Kaplan, combined. I really am deeply impressed, in part because the author's insights come from years of crisscrossing the world and touch reality in a hands-on manner not achieved by any diplomatic, intelligence, commercial, media, or academic network in existence today; and in part because the book comes

with 38 glorious color maps that are each alone worth the price of the book [an appendix points to 38 web sites that supplement the book and are a discovery journey of their own]. This is the best book I have ever read - the deepest and the most useful - the author has produced to date. This is a book that should be read by every prime minister, president, senator, organizational chief and by those who aspire to such positions. Many people publish content but few publish context - this book has both. I have over ten pages of notes below are just 4 quotes and 10 insights from among the hundred or so I took notes on and strongly recommend this book for all libraries, all high colleges, all university overview courses on civilization and its malcontents.

QUOTE (175): "America's nominal power is unsurpassed, but subtract for deterrence, distance, and competence, and its effective power is less formidable than appears on paper."

QUOTE (199): "Eurasia represents two-thirds of the world's population, economy, and trade, and that is before it genuinely fuses together into a connected mega-continent through voluminous durable infrastructures that will smooth and speed commerce."

QUOTE (225): "No amount of soft power can substitute for cutting a fair deal."

QUOTE (287): "Guangzhou's first lesson is the importance of administrative harmony. The second lesson from the delta region's evolution is leveraging openness."

INSIGHTS: 3/4 of the world's population lacks basic infrastructure and utilities - this is the center of gravity going forward. China has 2,000 commercial maritime vessels compared to 200 for the USA at the same time that Chinese high-speed rail is the 21st century alternative to air and road travel around the world. China also has multiple sucking chest wounds, including the loss of half its rivers such that its population has one fifth the per capita water compared to the rest of the world; buildings that last fifteen years instead of thirty-five. Devolution (smaller sovereignty/control zones) is inherently both democratic and efficient - we are migrating from sovereign space to admin space, in which hybrid governance where all non-government players have equal voice and vote) removes friction and increases flow. Global warming is good for Canada, Greenland, Iceland, Norway, and Russia - the Arctic is the next frontier, and ideally will be kept demilitarized - a priority championed by Norway. Iran is the most connected nation in the Middle East. Muslim violence in the Middle East is politically fostered and neither inherent in Islam nor ideological. Russia, for lack of infrastructure, is losing swaths of its previously controlled territory, citizens, and resources to Europe in the East and China in the West; Brazil,



India, Indonesia, Nigeria, and Russia are all under-performing for lack of investment in infrastructure (communications and transportation). Special Economic Zones (SEZ) represent the unbundling and remixing of territory and resources, the relative demise of the nation-state in the face of superior agility at the city-state level. Systemic change happens every couple of centuries – we are on the cusp of a global systemic revolution that will change every paradigm from economics to governance to lifestyle. I have one caveat about this book, easily corrected in future printings and translations. The book comes with the most incomplete index I have ever encountered in a book of this quality and depth. If the book as a whole is a six-star work, the index is at best a 2 and barely so. Readers interested in going into depth on any particular threat or policy (e.g. poverty as a threat or water as a policy) can find my 2000+ summary reviews online sorted by category at Phi Beta Iota Public Intelligence Blog. Below are ten books I recommend as supporting complements to this great work.

Transforming the Dream: Ecologism and the Shaping of an Alternative American Vision  
The Big Disconnect: Why The Internet Hasn't Transformed Politics (Yet)  
Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action (Political Economy of Institutions and Decisions)  
The Lessons of History  
Homeland Earth : A Manifesto for the New Millennium (Advances in Systems Theory, Complexity and the Human Sciences)  
A User's Guide to the Crisis of Civilization: And How to Save It  
World 3.0: Global Prosperity and How to Achieve It  
Grand Strategies: Literature, Statecraft, and World Order  
God and Science: Coming Full Circle?  
Ideas and Integrities: A Spontaneous Autobiographical Disclosure  
ROBERT David STEELE Vivas  
INTELLIGENCE for EARTH: Clarity, Diversity, Integrity, & Sustainability

Many of us who came of age in the late 20th Century see the world reaching a pivot point. The old 20th Century world of nation-states organized in camps of "Free World, Socialist, and Third World Non-aligned" now seems a quaint and archaic relic of a bygone era. But what will replace it? In the 1990s and early 2000s the vision of a globalized world based on free trade prosperity took root in the USA, Europe, Asia, and Latin America. Standards of living in every country were supposed to soar when barriers to free trade between nations were removed. Then the free trade agreements were signed, and the global economy promptly collapsed into the Great Recession. Growth rates in most countries have stagnated since then, and living standards may actually be falling in many developed countries. So, what does the future hold? What will the world look like at mid-21st Century? Will the stagnation continue, or will the promised global prosperity finally emerge? Author Parag Khanna argues the case for global prosperity based on the "connectivity" of human

migration, communication, and infrastructure:===The road map of this book follows several interconnected thrusts. First, connectivity has replaced division as the new paradigm of global organization. Human society is undergoing a fundamental transformation by which functional infrastructure tells us more about how the world works than political borders. Countries run by supply chains, cities that run themselves, communities that know no borders, and companies with more power than governments— all are evidence of the shift toward a new kind of pluralistic world system.==He envisions a coming world of economically vibrant urban areas that forge trading ties with each other, while the national governments that sit on top of them atrophy by “devolution” of their political authority to the city-states. San Francisco and Beijing might find themselves to be more connected economically than either city finds itself connected with other cities in its own country. After all, San Francisco’s real estate is being scooped up by Chinese investors, but San Francisco has about as much in common with Detroit as the Man in the Moon.===The true map of the world should feature not just states but megacities, highways, railways, pipelines, Internet cables, and other symbols of our emerging global network civilization. Second, devolution is the most powerful political force of our age: Everywhere empires are splintering and authority is dissipating away from central capitals toward provinces and cities that seek autonomy in their financial and diplomatic affairs.==But how far will that trend be allowed to continue? After all, it is NATIONAL governments that raise the taxes and issue the debt that pays for mega projects like globe-girdling bullet trains, continent-wide water management, airports, traditional highways, and internet connections. In fact, the debt generated by spending on infrastructure is a NATION-BUILDING event. George Washington got the ball rolling on America’s Constitutional Convention by calling upon the states of Virginia and Maryland to join together in building a Potomac Canal to link the Eastern Seaboard with the Ohio Valley Country. Canada exists because Britain’s North American colonies bankrupted themselves trying to build a transcontinental railroad as independent entities. So it would seem that infrastructure is more the friend of consolidation of national authority than of its devolution. Khanna speaks of the role of supply chains in connecting the world:==Supply chains and connectivity, not sovereignty and borders, are the organizing principles of humanity in the 21st century.==In reality, the governments of many countries rigorously control the supply chains coming into their countries in order to protect their domestic manufacturing. There is growing skepticism, especially in the USA, that free trade with these countries is mutually beneficial. The more the tariffs have been reduced, the more these countries have exported to the USA, without buying commensurate value of our products. The USA ran trade surpluses with Mexico until NAFTA was

signed. The very next year the surplus turned into a soaring deficit as thousands of U.S. companies closed their USA factories and moved production to low-wage Mexico. Trade with Asia has also fallen far short of the promise that it would "turn the USA into an export powerhouse, thereby creating millions of high-wage jobs for American workers." The reality is that the USA imports more than four times as much from China as we export to them, and import more than twice as much from Japan as we export. U.S. exports to South Korea actually DECLINED after the USA / South Korea free trade was signed, while imports from South Korea soared. It seems that free trade with low-wage countries not only discourages them from producing in the USA, but also encourages American companies to relocate THEIR production out of the USA. If a certain candidate is elected President of the USA in a few months, the "global supply chain" may take a beating. Another passage links the building of global infrastructure to political devolution of power from nation states to local governments:===We are in only an early phase of re-engineering the planet to facilitate surging flows of people, commodities, goods, data, and capital.===But has the devolution away from central governments (occurring mainly in ancient European Kingdoms like Britain and Spain) really been spawned by desire to "facilitate surging flows of people?" Or, has it been instigated by desire to protect the ethnicity and economic prospects of small, localized homogeneous populations from excessive foreign immigration coming across the open borders of large multi-ethnic nations? Thus, as appealing as Khanna's vision of a mid-century prosperity network among international mega-cities is, it is also possible that we may be seeing a backlash return to the nation-state model of commerce --- including customs posts, tariffs, capital controls, and intensive national regulation of multinational business. Perhaps we will not know until a few more decades have passed whether the reality will live up to the optimistic vision that Khanna lays out here.

Informed by extensive travel and an amazing network of colleagues around the world (see "Acknowledgments"), Khanna describes a hopeful future where military superiority and wars will cease to be a threat, replaced by supply chain and trade agreements that world leaders dare not violate if they want to survive. Khanna, by contrast to many who deplore the mass urbanization unfolding around the world, sees cities as the way to deal with environmental degradation and income inequality. "As the lines that connect us supersede the borders that divide us, functional geography is becoming more important than political geography." (7% through digital text) Khanna predicts that nations will have little power in comparison to cities that broker supply chains and trade at will, carefully managing the

flow (resources, goods, capital, technology, people, data, and ideas) and friction (borders, conflict, sanctions, distance, and regulation) within their purview. This world of evolving and permeable boundaries, is more effectively leveraged through engagement than containment. According to Khanna's predictions, "Connectivity is destiny" and those individuals, businesses, and countries that do not embrace this reality are at risk. In his concluding paragraph, Khanna advocates, "We need a more borderless world because we can't afford destructive territorial conflict, because correcting the mismatch of people and resources can unlock incredible human and economic potential, because so few states provide sufficient welfare for their citizens, and because so many billions have yet to fully benefit from globalization."

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Massachusetts: Mapping the Bay State through History: Rare and Unusual Maps from the Library of Congress (Mapping the States through History)  
The Mystery of the Shemitah: The 3,000-Year-Old Mystery That Holds the Secret of America's Future, the World's Future, and Your Future!  
The Age of Reason Begins: A History of European Civilization in the Period of Shakespeare, Bacon, Montaigne, Rembrandt, Galileo, and Descartes: 1558 - ... Book 7) (Story of Civilization (Audio))  
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Mapping the Nation: Building a More Resilient Future  
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