

Workshop:

New Foundations for Global Governance

8-9 January 2010

Co-sponsored by:

Project on the Future of Multilateralism (WWS)
International Institutions and Global Governance Program (CFR)
The Stanley Foundation
Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI)

This workshop will focus on the wide array of global governance challenges and opportunities confronting the international community as we enter the second decade of the twenty-first century. One year into the new American administration, the question can be posed: what should be the agenda for reform and reworking of economic, political, and security institutions? A great deal of scholarly and political effort has gone into both the reform of specific institutions and the wider questions relating to change and reorganization of institutionalized global cooperation. This workshop seeks to review this work and identify the next stage of the scholarly and political agenda.

The workshop will be organized in a series of panels. We will ask participants to present short memos that are distributed in advance. We also plan to provide a summary report of the discussions so as to provide wider circulation of our ideas and recommendations.

DAY ONE: Friday, January 8, 2010 Robertson Hall, Room 016

Panel One: The Shifting Foundations of Global Governance: Patterns, Challenges, and Opportunities 2:00-4:00pm

Today's global governance architecture both transcends the international order built after World War II and, in important ways, remains anchored in the past. Since 1945, the global institutional landscape has become increasingly crowded, with formal organizations like the Bretton Woods institutions and the United Nations system co-existing (and often competing) with multiple informal arrangements – including the “G” club-identified bodies, as well as proliferating regional and sub-regional organizations. This sprawling institutional diversity has its advantages, providing alternative frameworks for international cooperation. But it can also create problems of redundancy and overlap, as well as raise questions of accountability and legitimacy. At the same time, many outdated institutions we have inherited from the past continue to persist well past their “sell buy” dates. And perhaps most profoundly, some of the “bedrock” institutions of world order, from the UN Security Council and the IMF, are struggling to accommodate emerging powers and to adjust their mandates to a new era of threats and challenges. The international

community thus faces two big challenges: creating coherence amidst the cacophony of international options and updating old institutions to rising powers and new challenges.

And amidst these transformations, where does the leadership of the United States stand? Historically, the United States has taken an ambivalent approach to global governance, at times taking the lead in building international institutions, while reserving many rights and privileges to protect its sovereignty and freedom of action. In the Bush years, U.S. skepticism, even antipathy, toward international institutions frequently led Washington toward unilateral, regional, and multilateralism “a la carte.” In the early months of the Obama administration, we have seen at least an avowed desire to act multilaterally and restore multilateral leadership. Will the American desire to rehabilitate its leadership role be accompanied by an insistence on continued hegemonic privileges, or will the U.S. accept fewer advantages and embrace flatter and more equal decision-making structures even in the face of new rising powers?

Chair: G. John Ikenberry (Princeton University)

Panelists:

Andrew Hurrell (Oxford University)

Daniel Deudney (Johns Hopkins University)

Craig Murphy (Wellesley College)

Richard Rosecrance (Harvard University)

Discussants:

Miles Kahler (University of California, San Diego)

KEYNOTE SPEECHES 4:00-5:30pm

Robert Orr (Assistant Secretary-General for Policy Coordination and Strategic Planning, UN)

Suzanne Nossel (Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs, US Department of State)

Reception and Dinner Prospect House, 6:15pm

DAY TWO: Saturday, January 9, 2010, Robertson Hall Room 016

Panel Five: Rise of Asia and the Challenge of Governance

8:30-10:00am

When Jim O’Heill, the head of Global Economic Research for Goldman Sachs first identified the BRICs as a key group of rising powers, he suggested that their rise could augur a shifting global order. The BRICs and the G5/BRICSAM (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa, and

Mexico) today seem posed to enter the ranks of the major powers. Asia today is the home to two – perhaps the two – major emerging market powers: India and China. Are these powers really in a position to challenge the existing order, or is the threat exaggerated? If indeed they are potential challengers, does their rise pose basic questions about how Asia will resist or collaborate with “Western” multilateral institutions? How do these rising states think about global governance? Are they revisionist, revolutionary, or ultimately status quo powers? Are there areas where these rising powers have already shown leadership? Have they exhibited signs of becoming responsible stakeholders? Or is their strategy to work around or even overturn older Western governance institutions? What is the future prospect for great power – old and new – collaboration?

Chair: Alan S. Alexandroff (University of Toronto and CIGI)

Panelists:

Tom Christensen (Princeton University)
Jia Qingguo (Peking University)
Cheng Li (Brookings Institution)
Susan Shirk (University of California, San Diego)

Discussants:

Rosemary Foot (Oxford University)
Yong Deng (US Naval Academy)

Panel Three: Economic Institutions: Bretton Woods and GX

10:15-11:45am

This panel will look at the agenda for reform of multilateral financial and economic mechanisms, starting with the Bretton Woods system and the G-8 and G-20 forums. The global financial crisis has shined a spotlight on the Bretton Woods institutions, particularly the IMF, as well as the newly emergent G20 leaders forum. The latter especially has become the principal forum for multilateral efforts to respond to the crisis. A series of G20 summits – first in Washington, then London and September in Pittsburgh – have been the main venue for the collective response to the crisis, each in its own way. Measures such as fiscal stimulation, a trade and investment standstill, regulatory reform, and organizational revitalization, have been advanced. Repeated calls for resolving the Doha stalemate have been expressed. Elaborate work plans have been constructed. Reforms of institutions – IMF, FSF, etc. – have been drawn up. But what are the results? How effective are the collective actions? Beyond expressions of solidarity, have they really addressed the causes of the financial crisis? Have they ameliorated its impact? Have they reduced systemic risk and the danger of another crisis? If not, what must be done in the way of structural reform and substantive action?

Chair: Andrew Cooper (University of Waterloo and CIGI)

Panelists:

Paola Subacchi (Chatham House)

Dan Drezner (Tufts University)

Eric Helleiner (University of Waterloo and CIGI)

Discussants:

Helen Milner (Princeton University)

Jonathan Kirshner (Cornell University)

Lunch 12:00-1:00pm Bernstein Gallery, Robertson Hall

Panel Four: Governance Challenges: Energy, Environment, and Public Health

1:15-2:45pm

Dramatic issues face the global system. All involve either existential risks in climate change or potential systemic disruption as in global health or energy. This panel focuses on a number of the most serious governance challenges, including climate change, energy sustainability, and global health. These issues challenge governments to collaborate in extended and sustained ways across diverse stakeholders – advanced countries, large emerging economies, energy producers and consumers, developing countries and even least developed states. Are global governance organizations up to the daunting challenges at hand? Can they provide the setting and generate the required incentive compatibility to successfully tackle these major issues? If these global governance settings are inadequate, what changes would improve the prospects for success?

Chair: Stewart Patrick (Council on Foreign Relations)

Panelists:

Michael Levi (Council on Foreign Relations)

Joshua Busby (University of Texas)

David Fidler (Indiana University)

Discussants:

Bruce Jentleson (Duke University)

William Antholis (Brookings Institution)

Panel Two: Security Institutions: NATO, Proliferation and East Asian mechanisms
3:00-4:30pm

This panel will look at the changing demands on security cooperation in the international system. Are the UN and/or NATO still the best vehicles for the aggregation and projection of peacekeeping and military power into troubled regions? What other regional or global security mechanisms are emerging or should be developed to deal with new security challenges? The threats to international stability are varied and potentially severe. Chief among these challenges are: the threats of nuclear proliferation, most immediately in Iran and North Korea; asymmetric warfare and the threats posed by extremists; the consequences of fragile and failed states; and persistent crisis regions, most notably in the Middle East but also in South Asia and the Far East. Can current organizations and institutions such as the UN (particularly its PKOs), NATO, and other regional organizations, such as the IAEA, NSG, and NPT – provide the means to maintain international stability in the face of these dramatic challenges? If they are not up to the task, what will it take to bolster stability against these various stresses? In East Asia -- in the face of a rising China, a normalizing Japan, and the North Korean nuclear crisis – a debate is occurring over the merits and prospects for a new regional security mechanism. What are its merits and prospects?

Chair: David Shorr (The Stanley Foundation)

Panelists:

George Perkovich (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace)
James Goldgeier (George Washington University)
Sheila Smith (Council on Foreign Relations)
Bruce Jones (New York University)

Discussants:

Charles Kupchan (Georgetown University)
Art Stein (UCLA)

Concluding Remarks 4:30-5:00pm