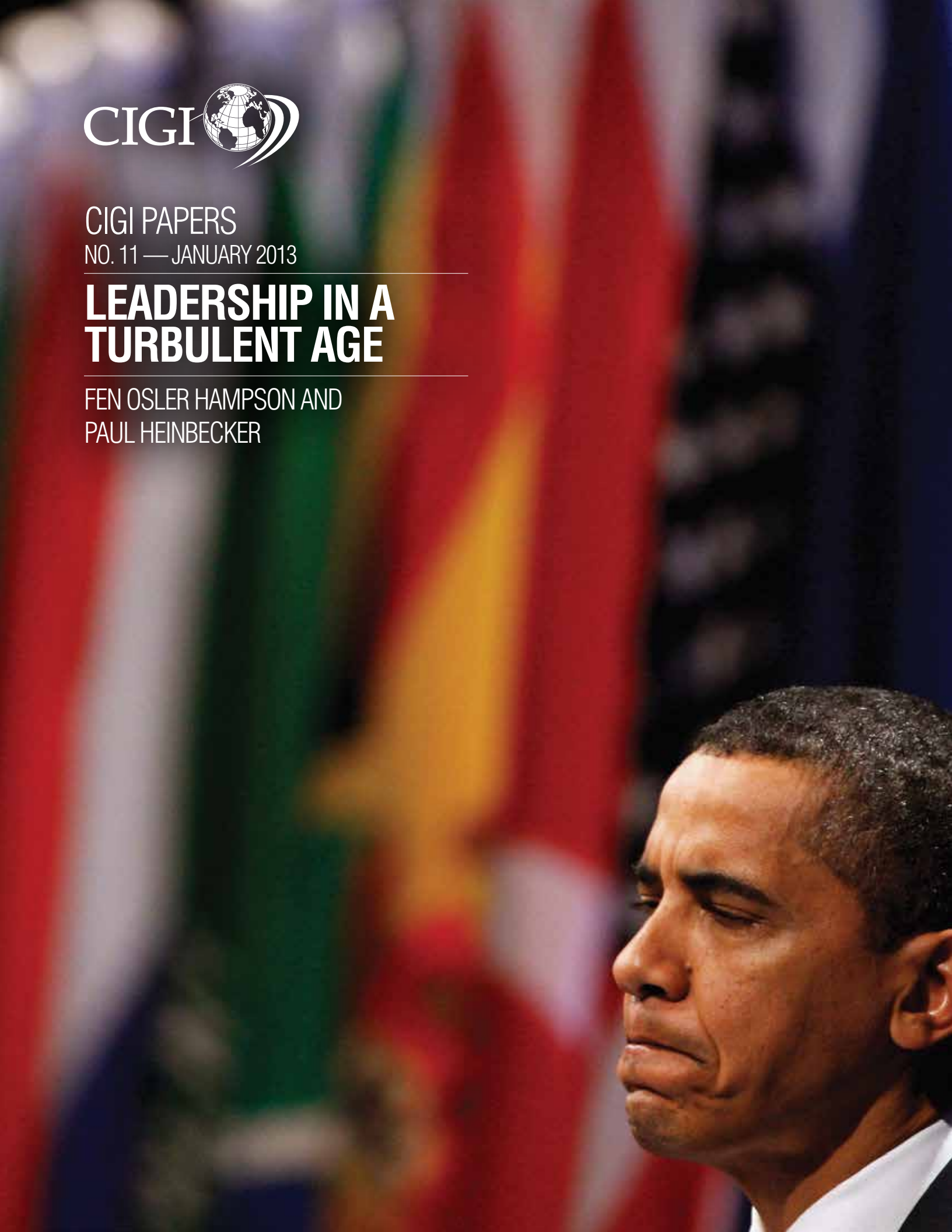


CIGI PAPERS
NO. 11 — JANUARY 2013

LEADERSHIP IN A TURBULENT AGE

FEN OSLER HAMPSON AND
PAUL HEINBECKER

LEADERSHIP IN A TURBULENT AGE

Fen Osler Hampson and Paul Heinbecker

Copyright © 2013 by The Centre for International Governance Innovation.

CIGI gratefully acknowledges the Government of Ontario's contribution to this project.

The opinions expressed in this publication are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of The Centre for International Governance Innovation or its Operating Board of Directors or International Board of Governors.

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution — Non-commercial — No Derivatives License. To view this license, visit (www.creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/). For re-use or distribution, please include this copyright notice.

Cover and page design by Steve Cross.

57 Erb Street West
Waterloo, Ontario N2L 6C2
Canada
tel +1 519 885 2444 fax + 1 519 885 5450
www.cigionline.org

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Fen Osler Hampson, CIGI distinguished fellow, is also director of the Global Security Program and oversees the research direction of the program and related activities. Most recently, he served as director of the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs and continues to serve as chancellor's professor at Carleton University. He is the recipient of various awards and honours, and is a frequent commentator and contributor to the national and international media.

Paul Heinbecker, CIGI distinguished fellow, has had a celebrated career in Canadian diplomacy, including posts as ambassador to Germany, permanent representative to the United Nations and adviser to various prime ministers. Paul Heinbecker is one of Canada's most experienced commentators on foreign policy and international governance. He is also the director of the Centre for Global Relations at Wilfrid Laurier University.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors would like to thank Barry Carin, James Manicom, Simon Palamar and Mark Raymond for their extremely helpful comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Our world is transforming itself at a rate never before seen. How well countries cope with the pace and extent of contemporary change depends, as the experience of the financial crisis makes clear, on how effectively they govern themselves, and how well they cooperate with others. Sound economic policies especially are of fundamental importance to national security and international leadership. Governments with healthy fiscal books are better positioned to lead — to underwrite the provision of key global public goods and, *in extremis*, to use military force — than those incurring persistent deficits and dragging enormous debts. If the United States, now and for years to come the leading global power, is to continue to wield decisive influence, it will need to fix its myriad governance and economic problems. But, even then, a return to the dominant *status quo ante* is not in the cards; others can and will assert legitimate claims to participation in global leadership. The United States will likely find it beneficial — even necessary — to share authority, and advantageous to accept that others will sometimes work together without it. As the complexity and integration of the world accelerates, new forms of "minilateralism," entailing voluntary, exclusive and targeted governance approaches and deriving from comparative advantages and issue-based interests, will take shape, complementing inclusive treaty-based agreements. These will also include new, informal partnerships among countries that are not themselves "great powers" by the traditional definition, but that nonetheless have compelling strategic interests, and the diplomatic and, sometimes, military capacity, economic strength and political disposition to make a significant difference. Other forms of cooperation, notably multi-stakeholder governance, comprising governments, industry and civil society, also seem likely to materialize in response to challenges arising in the global commons that defy conventional, state-based management.

INTRODUCTION

In the second decade of the twenty-first century, the contours of the future of international relations are becoming clearer. It seems certain that no country, or even group of countries, will be capable of dominating world affairs, and unilateralism will be of little avail. Problem solving where possible and issue management where necessary will require cooperation — multilateral and minilateral — between states and with non-state actors. The United States, still the world's greatest power and most resilient major economy, is, nevertheless, handicapped in its efforts to lead by deficits, debt, political deadlock and investor pessimism. The latter two problems hobble Washington in its attempts to achieve the bipartisan cooperation needed to deal with the first two issues and, thereby, to restore the United States to its former pre-eminence. Europe, with a collective GDP that outstrips America's, is in the grip of economic woes, including a widespread recession, a persistent banking and financial crisis and, in its southern tier, a lack of competitiveness, all of which threaten the viability of the euro zone; indeed, raising questions about the future of the European Union itself. The world's largest emerging economies — China, Brazil and India — that were the drivers of global economic growth and expansion in the past decade, are also not immune to global shocks. As key goods and services markets in Europe and North America sputter, China's rocketing growth rates have fallen well below the two-digit figures that catapulted it to the rank of world's second-biggest economy. There are also worries that China's real estate market, which accounts for more than 10 percent of the country's GDP, is a bubble that could burst. Meanwhile, Brazil's impressive GDP growth rates have slowed to a crawl as global demand for its commodities and resources weakens, and upward pressure on the Brazilian real makes its products less competitive in world markets. India is also grappling with a litany of problems that are stymying its growth, including the failed reform of its Byzantine tax laws, an energy sector that cannot keep pace with demand, an education system that lags its competitors — especially as regards pervasive female illiteracy — and chronic corruption and red tape, which deter investment and hamper growth. At the same time, Russia is caught between nostalgia and ambition, able to frustrate international cooperation, but unable to lead it. And Japan, which remains the world's third-largest economy and one of its most successful, struggles to surmount the challenges of a shrinking birth rate and anemic growth, an object lesson in the difficulties inherent in recovering from financial delusion and real estate extravagance.

The "tight shoe" of economics has direct and indirect impacts on global security. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is struggling with the impact of cuts — in some cases major cuts — to the defence budgets of its European and transatlantic partners.[1] As official development assistance spending is reduced in Western countries, there are fewer funds to support impoverished nations, with potentially adverse consequences for their social and political progress. During tough economic times, there is also less appetite among politicians and publics alike to attack the causes of climate change, or to intervene abroad in countries that are experiencing social unrest, or to deal with dictators who are turning their guns against their own citizens. Meanwhile, issues that directly threaten the security of citizens, such as deepening organized crime, generate social accommodations to

1 See Clara Marina O'Donnell (ed.) (2012). "The Implications of Military Spending Cuts for NATO's Largest Members." The Brookings Institution Analysis Paper. Available at: www.cer.org.uk/sites/default/files/publications/attachments/pdf/2012/military_spending_nato_odonnell_july12-5500.pdf.

worsening circumstances at progressively lower levels of security and rule of law.

Sound economic policies are fundamental to national security and international leadership. As former World Bank head Robert Zoellick has argued, when great powers take care to live within their means by carefully managing the public purse, they are better positioned to fight wars, underwrite the provision of key global public goods and rise to the "Olympian feats" that are sometimes required of them (2012). When they run up massive deficits and become hostage to their creditors, they are poorly positioned to do so. Sound economic policy is not simply a *sine qua non* of "hard power" or military power. It is also integral to "soft power," the influence derived from success obtained through economic dynamism, industrial innovation and social progress (Zoellick, 2012).

It is evident that if the United States aspires to leadership it must overcome its political deadlock, resolve its deficit and debt problems, and make itself more competitive by getting its skilled population back to work. But even if it does all of this and avoids labour market hysteresis, a return to American hegemony seems unlikely. In a world where geo-economics buttresses geopolitics, there are too many rivals for leadership for any one country to dominate in all fields all the time. Other powers can also build economies "that [can] shape the world" if not on their own, then collectively or in niches (Zoellick, 2012). To paraphrase an old idiom, "what is good for the American goose is sauce for the global gander." American exceptionalism, the apparently intoxicating elixir of American political convention-goers, seems an ever less convincing concept in real-world practice than in self-referential theory.

The real world is one of a plenitude of issues from regional rivalries to the spread of nuclear materials and weapons, from transnational organized crime and terrorism to climate change and pandemic disease, from cyber security and social media to financial regulation and economic protectionism. By their natures, these challenges are in fact best only met by collective effort. In the descriptive phrase of Richard Haass of the US Council on Foreign Relations, it is a world of "messy multilateralism" in which the United States is *primes inter pares* but probably more *pares* than *primes* (2010). No longer the one indispensable country for every problem, it is, nonetheless, a key leader that can bring vast resources to bear in any cooperative effort. This is a world in which the United States will work alongside others — and in which others will sometimes work together without the United States — to deal with a wide range of persistent and emerging global problems and issues.

No country, not even the United States, can handle these challenges alone. The world with its many different, newly mobilized actors and interests is simply too large and too complex to be led by any one country. The issue is not primarily what some believe is the relative and absolute decline of America's power (of both the hard- and soft-power variety), but rather both the changing capabilities, attitudes and values of others, including non-state actors aspiring to participate in leadership, and a diminishing interest in and need for global leadership on the part of Americans. The world is indeed becoming a more crowded place at the top, but that is not necessarily a bad thing.

There is greater order, moreover, in this "messiness" than may first appear to be the case. Its disappointments notwithstanding, there is still value in the United Nations, including its conflict prevention abilities, and its Charter remains the basic rule book of international relations, which most countries view as being in their interests to respect. The Charter and the 500 multilateral treaties negotiated under UN auspices make the United Nations the central operating system of international relations. As former Secretary-General Kofi Annan has observed, the UN is the one "organization that has the power to convene the whole world under one roof" and "to sustain the norms that allow us to live in a peaceful way."

Beyond the United Nations, there is a wide variety of evolving multilateral approaches to deal with the collective action problems of a complex and globalized world that fall outside the purview the United Nations. These include the "new" and not-so-new minilateralism, sometimes informal, sometimes more structured, of global institutions and coalitions of the policy willing. They also include multi-stakeholder governance, such as in the case of the Internet, which will require its own solution and presents a unique challenge to international cooperation and entrepreneurial leadership by senior officials in international organizations who are instrumental in taking key policy initiatives forward.[2] There is also resurgent regionalism and improvised forms of security management — which are sometimes termed collective conflict management — to deal with new security challenges. Old-fashioned political leadership remains indispensable, but that leadership is likely to see "more hands on the steering wheel and more feet on the brake." In this reality, cooperation is more likely to be coaxed along than commanded.

2 One such example is the UN Millenium Development Goals (MDGs), where astute UN officials, including Louise Fréchette, John Ruggie, Mark Malloch Brown and others, conceived and catalyzed implementation of the MDGs. Inter alia, see David Hulme (2009). *The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs): A Short History of the World's Biggest Promise*. BWPI Working Paper 100, Brooks World Poverty Institute, University of Manchester, Manchester, UK, September. On entrepreneurial leadership in multilateral forums more generally, see Fen Osler Hampson (1995). *Multilateral Negotiations: Lessons from Arms Control, Trade, and Environment*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

MULTILATERALISM AND MINILATERALISM

At its core, the concept of "multilateralism" centres on the collectively agreed norms, rules and principles that guide and govern interstate behaviour. Multilateral institutions are all based on the principles of generalized reciprocity, in which states agree to act cooperatively in common undertakings. But as G. John Ikenberry argues, there is not a "single logic," "fixed set of principles" or "practice" to the current liberal international order and the way it operates (2009). The postwar internationalism of the second half of the twentieth century, which was derived from former US President Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points and the regulatory principles of former US President Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal, is yielding to what Ikenberry refers to as a "post-hegemonic liberal internationalism" that is based on an expanding membership of non-Western states, post-Westphalian "principles" of sovereignty (as reflected in human rights and humanitarian law, and emerging doctrines such as the Responsibility to Protect) and an expanded set of rules and cooperative networks (2009).

This evolution is also apparent in the various ways different countries and regions approach the challenges of international governance. China's involvement in multilateral institutions, for example, is prefaced by a defensive desire to ensure its own sovereignty is not compromised and also by both Confucian and Taoist dispositions towards non-intervention and self-governance. Further, China is not working to overthrow the international system, but rather to exploit it. As Li Mingjiang argues, when it comes to matters of global governance and multilateralism, "China is likely to repeat what it has done in the East Asian regional multilateralism in the past decade: participation, engagement, pushing for cooperation in areas that would serve Chinese interests, avoiding taking excessive responsibilities, blocking initiatives that would harm its interests, and refraining from making grand proposals" (2011).

For optimal effectiveness, leadership in universal frameworks needs to be accompanied by "minilateral" efforts (Kahler, 1993). The number of participants in cooperative multilateral ventures varies, from the universal participation of the UN General Assembly to the "minilateralism" of the UN Security Council and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) executive board, with its weighted voting shares distribution, and the inherently exclusive Group of Seven/Eight (G7/G8) or Group of Twenty (G20) forums.[3] In minilateralism, cooperation is promoted and advanced through smaller group interactions that typically involve the most powerful actors in the international system, with the results then commended to and, under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, sometimes imposed on the world at large.

The G20, which is inherently minilateralist and has no formal global executive authority, has spurred the reform of the operations and membership of the Bretton Woods institutions. Even in the universal setting of climate change negotiations, recourse has often fallen to small, leading groups to negotiate outcomes acceptable to all. At the same time, a "G2" of the US and China is unlikely to emerge, at least in any overt sense, because just as the G8's membership base proved too narrow to deal with the complex, integrated challenges of the contemporary world, a G2 would likely prove even less capable of harnessing the diverse views of economically capable powers.

Notwithstanding the sometimes warranted criticism of the G20, its member countries have been effective in cooperating to stabilize financial markets, coordinate regulatory reform and launch a global economic stimulus (Drezner, 2012). In doing so, they have succeeded in averting grievous harm to the global economy, including quite possibly a global depression. The group has been engaged in re-engineering the financial system to prevent a recurrence of the crisis and to maintain the global flow of capital. It has put issues on the table that were once regarded as the exclusive province of sovereign governments, notably monetary policy, exchange rates and debt levels, thereby taking preliminary steps toward longer-term global macroeconomic governance. The G20 has, nevertheless, struggled thus far in addressing the highly political tasks of resolving the current account, trade and budget imbalances conundrum, the roots of which reach deep into the national economic and political philosophies of the world's largest economic players and touch their respective concepts of sovereignty.[4]

G20 leaders have promoted IMF reforms that will give developing countries greater influence in the organization. China has become the third-largest IMF shareholder, bypassing Germany as part of an overall six percent transfer of voting power to dynamic and under-represented economies. Some progress in reforming the IMF has been made, but a clear and widely shared view on the appropriate role and functioning of the Fund nevertheless remains elusive. In some respects, the Fund has progressed from acquiescing G8 views (especially US) to acquiescing G20 views, which is progress of a sort.

The obvious question is whether G20 countries can continue to provide the leadership the world needs to prevent economic crises or to achieve balanced, stable and sustainable global growth in a world of complex

3 On some of the practical challenges of multilateralism, see Thomas Wright (2009). "Toward Effective Multilateralism: Why Bigger May Not Be Better." *Washington Quarterly* 3, no. 2: 163–180.

4 See Barry Carin et al. (2010). *Making the G20 Summit Process Work: Some Proposals for Improving Effectiveness and Legitimacy*. CIGI G20 Paper No. 2, June.

financial and economic interdependencies. The G20 has stuck close to its self-prescribed economic and financial mandate because, undoubtedly, it will be judged primarily on its success in this domain. G20 leaders have to get the economic and financial issues right for everyone's sake, as well as the related reforms to the governing rules and regulations.

However, that does not mean the G20 should not take up any security challenges before the global economic "Shangri-La" emerges at last. The G20 has even been reluctant to contemplate security issues with major economic salience; but, sooner rather than later, G20 leaders will likely extend their leadership to a broader agenda — initially to issues that do closely connect international economics with foreign policy and international security (Jones, 2010). These include, notably, the world's most pressing hybrid issues such as the economic, energy and financial dimensions of climate change, food and energy security, transnational organized crime, cyber governance and security, and support for the political transformation of the Middle East and North Africa, all of which will have major economic dimensions and impact. To the extent that the practices of the G8 are relevant to the G20, the experience has been that when leaders come together the temptation is irresistible to take advantage of each other's presence to discuss the pressing issues of the day, whatever the agenda of the meeting may be that they are attending. It remains to be seen, however, whether the G20 will be a maxi-G8 or a mini-United Nations.

This minilateral group of the world's most powerful economies is unlikely to be a panacea for all that ails the world, especially given the G20's dysfunctional process. While the greater diversity in the membership of the G20 (relative to the G8) means there is less commonality of interest, and possibly regressive lowest-common-denominator agreements, there are offsetting advantages in terms of the breadth of support behind any agreement that is reached, and the capacity of the group to deliver on it. The G20 is a potentially important addition to those institutions that help nation-states govern relations between themselves in the age of globalization.

At the same time, the tension between exclusive and non-exclusive "clubs" is clearly growing as demands for democratic accountability deepen generally around the world and newly "empowered" states particularly chafe at the prospect of exclusion.[5] There is no clear way to square this circle and tensions abound, although give-and-take dialogue can help alleviate frictions. Invariably, minilateral arrangements are necessary to make international institutions work — notably in climate change negotiations — and sometimes exclusive clubs are more effective than inclusive ones, as the response to the financial crisis has demonstrated. The trend towards a greater role, voice and responsibility for the world's emerging powers is, nevertheless, evident in the dispute over UN Security Council enlargement, in IMF voting rights reform and especially in the G8 ceding much of its responsibility for steering the global economy to the G20 (Ruggie, 2003).

There is room and, indeed, a need for cooperative leadership at the regional and global levels by what might be called "Tier II" countries, essentially the non-nuclear G20 members and other influential, economically significant states with proven track records of constructive and innovative diplomacy, such as Australia, Brazil, Canada, Germany, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Mexico, South Africa, Switzerland and Turkey. There is an emerging role for such "constructive powers" to identify emerging security issues and bring them to the appropriate organizations and institutions for deliberation and, where possible, disposition. Cooperation among this new, more-flexible, like-minded group is likely to be issue-based, but the common thread that will run through its deliberations is the need to cooperate to improve regional and global governance, and to support national efforts.

A further dimension of leadership is emerging, as the empowerment of "ordinary" citizens by electronic media advances. Rapid social mediatization and a pervasive, omnipresent information culture are rendering electorates both more informed and less trusting. As publics become more aware and tech savvy, they seem increasingly attracted to direct, rather than to representative, democracy. Democratic governments seem likely to find themselves progressively driven to more open governance practices and more open policy formulation, which will challenge hierarchical and responsible systems of government, nationally and internationally.

MULTI-STAKEHOLDER MULTILATERALISM

Multi-stakeholder governance is another feature of the evolving international system, especially in areas like the Internet, where state and non-state actors are involved in managing, maintaining and developing rules of behaviour for complex systems in which many different interests are involved.[6]

At the end of 2012, nations of the world will convene at the Persian Gulf port city of Dubai to renegotiate key provisions of the International Telecommunications

5 See, for example, Kevin Watkins and Ngaire Woods (2004). "Africa Must Be Heard in the Councils of the Rich." *International Herald Tribune*, October 2-3. Also see Ngaire Woods (2001). "Making the IMF More Accountable." *International Affairs* 77, no. 1: 83–100.

6 This discussion draws on Fen Osler Hampson and Gordon S. Smith (2012). "Internet Wars." *Diplomat and International Canada Magazine*, September-November.

Regulations, a UN treaty that governs the use of airwaves, but not, thus far, the Internet. The World Conference on International Telecommunications is shaping up to be a "battle royal" because some countries, including Brazil, China, India and Russia, want to bring the Internet under the control of the United Nations. They are opposed by the United States and many — although not all — Western nations, which tend to favour the status quo and a liberal, multi-stakeholder regime that is generally free of greater state control and serves the interests of many, albeit from an American base.

The issues on the table are complex, but they boil down to the following: granting states new powers of taxation over Internet usage; issues of privacy and whether governments should play a greater role in surveillance and monitoring of the Internet by acquiring access to the real names and identities of online users; and transferring management authority for the Internet from the Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers (known as ICANN), a private, multi-stakeholder body that currently oversees the use and operations of the Internet by, for example, coordinating the assignment of Internet domain names and user protocols, to the UN's International Telecommunications Union or a new intergovernmental authority.

The battle in Dubai for control over the Internet is likely to be a prolonged one, which will not end with the December meeting. Although the main protagonists in Dubai are nation-states, they are not the only actors with interests in what is shaping up to be a struggle of epic proportions.

The other actors in this global e-drama include: the major Internet providers (the top 20 companies that field 90 percent of the world's Internet traffic); movie studios, songwriters, publishers and other producers of artistic or intellectual content that can be exchanged and downloaded on the Internet; technology companies such as Google, AOL, eBay and Twitter who do business with those operating sites where "free" movies and songs can be uploaded; political activists; champions of free speech who populate the academic and the legal community; business and commercial interests of every stripe and variety who ply their wares on the Internet, including banks and credit card companies; hackers who challenge computer security systems for both good and bad reasons; criminal elements who exploit the Internet for their own shady ends; law enforcement agencies seeking to protect the public from Internet abuses such as child pornography; and ordinary citizens who have real concerns about their personal safety and right to privacy when they go online.

Many of these interests were mobilized in the so-called Stop Online Piracy Act, or SOPA wars, which marked "round one" in the current battle for the Internet. The US Congress Stop Online Piracy Act was an ill-fated attempt to lower the boom on Internet piracy that was costing Hollywood studios and the songwriting industry dearly. Congress retreated by shelving the legislation, not least because 2012 was a US election year. The highly successful lobbying campaign against the legislation by technology companies and their social media supporters, which mobilized millions of people, was too much for even the powerful motion picture lobby and Washington's skittish political class to bear.

A variant on the multi-stakeholder model is the Ottawa Process, which produced the anti-personnel landmines treaty of 1997. Canada marshalled interested states and civil society to ban the production, use, transfer and sale of landmines. Currently, there are some 160 states parties to the agreement and a number of others, including the US, who observe it.[7]

REGIONALISM AND PROBLEM-SOLVING SECURITY MANAGEMENT

In the realm of global security, there are two contemporary, emergent patterns of multilateral cooperation: resurgent regionalism and increasingly ad hoc or improvised, problem-solving forms of collective security and conflict management, which involve collaboration — sometimes loose and uncoordinated, sometimes more tightly scripted — among a broad constellation of different intergovernmental, regional, sub-regional and civil society actors.[8]

Regionalism is a trend characterized by the growing involvement of regional (and sub-regional) organizations in security and conflict management in their own neighbourhoods. This is the new reality of our times and is reflected in the greater role that regional and sub-regional organizations are playing in Sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East, Latin America and the Asia-Pacific. Particularly since the end of the Cold War, regional entities have demonstrated a greater will and capacity for action. For example, although there is much that remains to be done, the African Union has developed its own capacities and structures for mediation and conflict prevention, and has mobilized resources in its early warning assessment systems, and prevention and response capabilities. So too have sub-regional entities in Sub-Saharan Africa, such as the Economic Community of West African States

7 For discussions of the political evolution of the anti-personnel landmines treaty see See Paul Heinbecker (2010). *Getting Back in the Game: A Foreign Policy Playbook for Canada*. Toronto: Key Porter Books; and Fen Osler Hampson et al. (2002). *Madness in the Multitude: Human Security and World Disorder*. Toronto: Oxford University Press.

8 The following discussion draws on the arguments presented in Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson and Pamela Aall (eds.) (2011). *Rewiring Regional Security in a Fragmented World*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press; see also Crocker, Hampson and Aall (2011).

(ECOWAS). In Latin America, the principles of sovereignty and non-intervention, which were the cornerstones of the inter-American system, have been relaxed and modified to allow the Organization of American States (OAS) to play a greater role in the defence of democratic principles and the advancement of human rights. The Santiago Declaration, incorporated in OAS Resolution 1080 of 1991, has served as the basis of OAS pro-democracy interventions in Peru, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Paraguay and elsewhere.

In the Asia-Pacific, key Asian countries are not just playing more important roles and asserting their own interests globally; they are also shaping rules in existing regional institutions and building separate ones. At the same time, competing claims over the resources of the South China and East China Seas remain to be resolved, as does the eventual configuration of the Korean Peninsula, a major regional and global flashpoint along with the Asia subcontinent where there are significant and serious unresolved border issues between India and Pakistan, and Pakistan and Afghanistan.

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the ASEAN Regional Forum and the ASEAN Defence Ministers' Meeting are the key instruments of regional engagement and confidence building. Track-two processes, including the Pacific Economic Cooperation Council and the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific, are also significant channels for promoting regional engagement on security issues.

In the case of the UN-sanctioned, NATO-led operation in Libya, regional organizations also played a significant role in galvanizing and legitimizing international actions. Condemning the Government of Libya's violent tactics against the uprisings, the Arab League suspended Libya's membership on February 22, 2011. The African Union also issued a strong denunciation of the Libyan government. Both statements were endorsed by the UN Security Council Resolution 1970, which objected to the Qaddafi government's actions, referred the case to the International Criminal Court and reminded the Libyan government of its responsibility to protect its citizens. On March 7, 2011, the Gulf Cooperation Council called for UN action, the next day the Organization of Islamic Cooperation called for the same, and on March 12, the Arab League asked the United Nations to "impose a no-fly zone against any military action against the Libyan people." A month later, in the face of further deterioration of the situation, the Security Council authorized member states to "take all necessary measures…to protect civilians" under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, and also established a no-fly zone and further sanctions.

Regional organizations playing a greater role in providing for peace and security is entirely consistent with the original conception of the United Nations and key provisions for collective security in the UN Charter. Those who framed the Charter originally foresaw a clear institutional link between the United Nations and regional arrangements. Although the Charter assigns key responsibility for international security to the UN Security Council (Chapter VII, Article 51), Chapter VIII of the UN Charter also looks forward to the "existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action." The resolution of regional disputes by regional organizations was foreseen by Articles 33 and 52 of the Charter, and the United Nations itself can refer disputes to regional organizations for mediation and arbitration (Article 52). Regional actors can also engage in collective self-defence in the event of an armed attack, pending action by the Security Council. The Charter has been interpreted flexibly with respect to Article 53, which requires regional organizations to seek prior authorization by the Security Council for enforcement actions. The Security Council, for example, gave its retroactive blessing to the military actions of ECOWAS in Sierra Leone, but it never formally sanctioned NATO's use of force in Kosovo or the "allied" invasion of Iraq. Indeed, in the latter case, it declined when invited to do so by Russia.

The emerging pattern of involvement by regional organizations in conflict management is the confluence of several factors: persistent demand for conflict management, especially of domestic armed conflict in recent decades; changes in the global security environment, notably the end of the Cold War, and the declining interest by most Western powers, with some notable exceptions (Iraq, Afghanistan, Kuwait), in regional conflicts that do not directly affect their economic and security interests; and the transformation of the international response to conflicts from peacekeeping to full-fledged combat missions.

The other major, general trend in global security is the emergence of problem-solving coalitions or what Crocker, Hampson and Aall refer to as collective conflict management (CCM) (2011). CCM describes an emerging phenomenon in international relations in which countries or institutions address potential or actual security threats by banding together to: diminish or end violent conflict; offer mediation or other assistance to a negotiation process or negotiated settlement; help resolve political, economic and/or social issues associated with the conflict; and/or provide monitoring, guarantees or other long-term measures to improve conditions for a sustainable peace.

CCM is related to, but distinct from, collective defence and collective security. The latter involves formal arrangements based on treaties ratified by the legislative bodies of the member states, binding on the signatories and relatively clear as to rights and responsibilities. Both collective defence and collective security arrangements involve long-term relationships among the members, formal decision-making structures and an expectation

that action under the arrangement could be activated by a variety of threats, including ones unforeseen by the original treaty drafters. In contrast, CCM ventures are not necessarily the result of a formal treaty or membership in an organization, but can also be the consequence of an informal agreement to act jointly to resolve a conflict; they do not involve an enduring relationship among the collaborating organizations, but can be either ad hoc or part of a jointly improvised mission; they may be organized around a single conflict and be disbanded once that conflict is resolved; membership may include both official and non-official organizations; interventions undertaken by collective conflict management arrangements can occur even if the target country does not invite help (especially if only non-governmental organizations are involved).

An example of CCM is the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI) launched by President George W. Bush in Krakow, Poland on May 31, 2003, in cooperation with 10 countries — Australia, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Spain and the United Kingdom. Many other countries have since committed themselves to supporting the initiative. PSI participants have downplayed the concept of membership in the joint initiative, explaining that PSI is "an activity not an organization."[9] Nevertheless, the PSI is now endorsed by some 95 countries, whose act of adherence consists of officially subscribing to a set of principles. The PSI aims to detect and intercept weapons-of-mass-destruction materials and related finance, and its operation is described in official US statements as "a flexible, voluntary initiative geared toward enhancing individual and collective partner nations' capabilities to take appropriate and timely actions to meet the fast-moving situations involving proliferation threats." Emphasis is placed on "voluntary actions by states that are consistent with their national legal authorities and relevant international law and frameworks." The PSI has principles in lieu of a formal charter, and conducts operational and training activities rather than regularized meetings or summits. It does not have a headquarters or dedicated facilities, and no intergovernmental budget. Interestingly, President Barack Obama described the PSI shortly after taking office as "a durable international institution" (Obama, 2009).

Problem solving does not necessarily depend on the United States or other great powers to take the lead. The United States, for example, has strongly supported the efforts of one of its closest NATO allies, Canada, to secure greater levels of cooperation between Afghan and Pakistani government officials on cross-border management issues, but has not itself been in the driver's seat. The issues addressed include: the cross-border movement of insurgents; the absence of proper infrastructure and customs management at key, legal border crossing points (Waish-Chamam, Ghulam Khan and Torkham); smuggling to avoid customs; the illicit cross-border flow of narcotics; and illegal migration.

The five working areas of what is now referred to as the Dubai Process (after the Persian Gulf Emirate where the first meeting took place) include customs, counter-narcotics, managing the movement of people, law enforcement in border areas, and connecting government to people through social and economic development. The meetings are part of an internationally recognized process that promotes dialogue between Afghan and Pakistani officials to advance cooperation in each of these areas. Importantly, the process has engaged and mobilized a wide range of partners and stakeholders not only in the two countries, but also at the international level, including the US Border Management Task Force in Kabul and Islamabad, the UN Office on Drugs and Crime, International Security Assistance Force Regional Command (South), the World Bank, the UN Assistance Mission in Afghanistan, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, the International Organization for Migration, other organizations working on border management and key donors such as Germany and Denmark.

The examples mentioned above are important illustrations of a new kind of multilateral, problem-solving approach to security in a post-9/11 world. These cooperative undertakings build on the traditions of collective defence and collective security. However, unlike collective defence and collective security, which involve formal obligations to undertake joint action in response to the actions of an aggressive state, these initiatives are voluntary and targeted at specific security problems. They also offer a different vision of multilateral cooperation: one that is not based on striking a formal consensus where each state has the right of veto (as in the European model), but rather on cooperation that emerges out of an informal process of consultation, and where final, decision-making authority continues to reside with national authorities (which is historically how the United States has approached many of its own international undertakings).

CONCLUSION

Cooperative ventures in today's world underscore the growing importance of new, issue-specific partnerships, of contemporary, even temporary, like-minded groups. Formal alliances seem less central in an age of global integration where major powers have not fought each other since the Sino-Indian conflict of 1962. Instead, new, informal partnerships in the realms of security, economics and global governance and international institutional innovation seem likely to emerge among countries that are not themselves "great powers" by the traditional definition, but that nonetheless have both compelling

9 From the US Department of State Proliferation Security Initiative, available at: www.state.gov/t/isn/c10390.htm.

strategic interests in a peaceful, prosperous world and the diplomatic and, sometimes, military capacity and political disposition to make a significant difference. Global governance and regional arrangements seem unlikely to be left exclusively to the permanent members of the UN Security Council.

It is not yet possible to be categorical about what the future holds for multilateralism in its different forms and guises, including the new "minilateralism" of institutions such as the G20, which to date are the best solution to the legitimacy/efficiency conundrum, combining inclusiveness and representativeness, albeit not universality, with capacity and effectiveness. We are also seeing the rise of problem-solving arrangements involving traditional players — the United Nations, powerful states and regional organizations — but in new partnership configurations to deal with some of the world's major new security challenges. Ways of thinking and acting established over generations are not modified quickly, and interests rarely change suddenly or as a factor of the institution in which they are addressed. Most basically, there is a greater diversity in political cultures and less common purpose in the world. It will take dispersed, issue-specific leadership in these new multilateral forums and cooperative ventures to maintain stability and order, and to advance progress. However, the bigger lesson, to use the old cliché, is that "nature abhors a vacuum," even in the case of global politics. For constructive and engaged powers, which generally tend to punch above their weight, there is a real opportunity in a messy world to provide leadership collectively or individually, or both. Narrow, issue-based multilateralism that focuses on coalitions of states who share similar interests is, therefore, not just a morally defensible project, it is practical, effective and, quite possibly, the path to the future.

WORKS CITED

Crocker, Chester A., Fen Osler Hampson and Pamela Aall (2011). "Collective Conflict Management: A New Formula for Global Peace and Security." *International Affairs* 87, no. 1: 39–59.

Drezner, Daniel W. (2012). "The Irony of Global Economic Governance: The System Worked." International Institutions and Global Governance Program Working Paper, Council on Foreign Relations. Available at: www.cfr.org/international-organizations/irony-global-economic-governance-system-worked/p29101.

Haass, Richard N. (2010). "The Case for Messy Multilateralism." *Financial Times*, January 5. Available at: www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/18d8f8b6-fa2f-11de-beed-00144feab49a,Authorised=false.html?_i_location=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.ft.com%2Fcms%2Fs%2F0%2F18d8f8b6-fa2f-11de-beed-00144feab49a.html&_i_referer=#axzz289og598s.

Ikenberry, G. John (2009). "Liberal Internationalism 3.0: America and the Dilemmas of Liberal World Order." *Perspectives on Politics* 7, no. 1: 71–87.

Jones, Bruce (2010). "Making Multilateralism Work: How the G-20 Can Help the United Nations." Policy Analysis Brief, Stanley Foundation. Available at: www.stanleyfoundation.org/publications/pab/Jones_PAB_410.pdf.

Kahler, Miles (1993). "Multilateralism with Small and Large Numbers." In *Multilateralism Matters: The Theory and Praxis of an Institutional Form*, edited by John Gerard Ruggie. Pages 295–326. New York: Columbia University Press.

Li Mingjiang (2011). "Rising from Within: China's Search for a Multilateral World and Its Implications for Sino-US Relations." RSIS Working Paper No. 225. Available at: www.rsis.edu.sg/publications/workingpapers/wp225.pdf.

Obama, Barack (2009). Message delivered by C.S. Eliot Kang at the 2009 Plenary Meeting of the Global Initiative to Combat Nuclear Terrorism, June 16. The Hague, Netherlands. Available at: www.america.gov/st/texttrans-english/2009/June/20090630111842xjsnommis0.7028009.html.

Ruggie, John Gerard (2003). "The United Nations and Globalization: Patterns and Limits of Institutional Adaptation." *Global Governance* 9, no. 3: 301–321.

Zoellick, Robert B. (2012). "American Exceptionalism: Time for New Thinking on Economics and Security." Prepared remarks for the Alastair Buchan Memorial Lecture, The International Institute of Strategic Studies, London, July 25.

ABOUT CIGI

The Centre for International Governance Innovation is an independent, non-partisan think tank on international governance. Led by experienced practitioners and distinguished academics, CIGI supports research, forms networks, advances policy debate and generates ideas for multilateral governance improvements. Conducting an active agenda of research, events and publications, CIGI's interdisciplinary work includes collaboration with policy, business and academic communities around the world.

CIGI's current research programs focus on four themes: the global economy; global security; the environment and energy; and global development.

CIGI was founded in 2001 by Jim Balsillie, then co-CEO of Research In Motion, and collaborates with and gratefully acknowledges support from a number of strategic partners, in particular the Government of Canada and the Government of Ontario.

Le CIGI a été fondé en 2001 par Jim Balsillie, qui était alors co-chef de la direction de Research In Motion. Il collabore avec de nombreux partenaires stratégiques et exprime sa reconnaissance du soutien reçu de ceux-ci, notamment de l'appui reçu du gouvernement du Canada et de celui du gouvernement de l'Ontario.

For more information, please visit www.cigionline.org.

CIGI MASTHEAD

Managing Editor, Publications	Carol Bonnett
Publications Editor	Jennifer Goyder
Publications Editor	Sonya Zikic
Assistant Publications Editor	Vivian Moser
Media Designer	Steve Cross

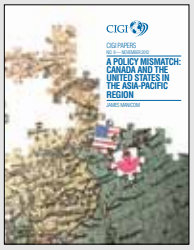
EXECUTIVE

President	Rohinton Medhora
Vice President of Programs	David Dewitt
Vice President of Public Affairs	Fred Kuntz

COMMUNICATIONS

Communications Specialist	Declan Kelly	dkelly@cigionline.org (1 519 885 2444 x 7356)
Public Affairs Coordinator	Kelly Lorimer	klorimer@cigionline.org (1 519 885 2444 x 7265)

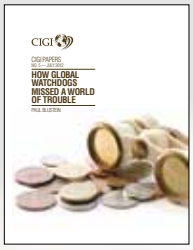
RECENT CIGI PUBLICATIONS



A POLICY MISMATCH: CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION

James Manicom

The United States and Canada, two of the world's closest allies, have reinvigorated their diplomatic and military postures toward the Asia-Pacific region. On balance, however, Canada may not be an ideal Pacific partner for the United States.



HOW GLOBAL WATCHDOGS MISSED A WORLD OF TROUBLE

Paul Blustein

Based on interviews with scores of policy makers who worked on the Financial Stability Forum (FSF) and thousands of pages of previously undisclosed documents, this paper examines the FSF and brings to light the failure of regulators to keep pace with the globalization of the financial system.

ZERO: THE SURPRISING AND UNAMBIGUOUS POLICY RELEVANCE OF THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS

James G. Blight and janet M. Lang

Drawing on a quarter century of research on the Cuban missile crisis, this paper argues that given what is now known about what actually happened in Cuba by October 1962, the escape from nuclear catastrophe seems even more miraculous and the drive to rid the world of nuclear weapons is even greater.

A FLOP AND A DEBACLE: INSIDE THE IMF'S GLOBAL REBALANCING ACTS

Paul Blustein

The need for economic cooperation among major powers is greater than ever, and a well-coordinated plan aimed at shrinking imbalances is seen as highly desirable. This paper is a detailed account of the initiatives, led by the IMF, to address imbalances prior to the 2008 global financial crisis.

FROM BRETTON WOODS TO THE EURO: HOW POLICY-MAKER OVERREACH FOSTERS ECONOMIC CRISES

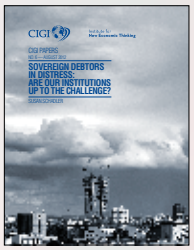
Pierre Siklos

This paper considers the relevance of the Bretton Woods system for the prospects of reform of the international monetary system and in the context of the ongoing euro area financial crisis, exploring the challenges that must be met in attempting to reform the current international monetary system and euro area policies.

FORGING A NEW STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN CANADA AND MEXICO

Andrés Rozental and Perrin Beatty

This report offers substantive recommendations that point to the benefit of efforts that will intensify bilateral partnerships, not only in their own right, but also in strengthening both Canada and Mexico's ability to deal more effectively with the United States in pursuing matters of mutual concern.



SOVEREIGN DEBTORS IN DISTRESS: ARE OUR INSTITUTIONS UP TO THE CHALLENGE?

Susan Schadler

A CIGI and INET conference brought together global experts on sovereign debt crises. This paper expands on the ideas put forward during the discussion, highlighting relevant recent history and research, and proposes an action plan.

POST-2015 GOALS, TARGETS AND INDICATORS

Barry Carin and Nicole Bates-Eamer

The UN Millennium Development Goals have been remarkably successful in mobilizing resources to address the major gaps in human development, but future goals must reach beyond traditional development thinking. This conference report discusses possible indicators for 12 potential post-2015 successor goals.

All CIGI publications are available free online at www.cigionline.org.

CIGI
57 Erb Street West
Waterloo, Ontario N2L 6C2, Canada
tel +1 519 885 2444 fax +1 519 885 5450
www.cigionline.org