



FILLING THE GAPS IN INTERNATIONAL GOVERNANCE

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BACKGROUND PAPER

CIGI '11 AN UNFINISHED HOUSE: FILLING THE GAPS IN INTERNATIONAL GOVERNANCE

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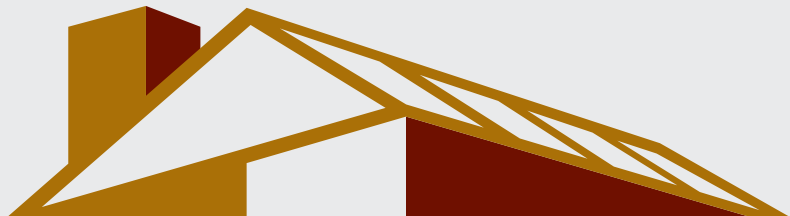


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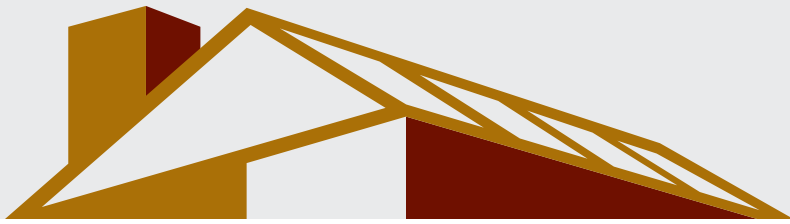
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ACRONYMS

BIS	Bank for International Settlements	MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
CCS	Carbon Capture and Sequestration	NEA	Nuclear Energy Agency
CEB	Chief Executives Board (UN)	NIC	National Intelligence Council
CGIAR	Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research	NPT	Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty
CIGI	The Centre for International Governance Innovation	OCHA	Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
COPUOS	Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space	OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
CTC	Counter-Terrorism Committee	OECD DAC	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development's Development Assistance Committee
CTED	Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate	OPCW	Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons
CTITF	Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force	OSPARCOM	Oslo and Paris Commission
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization	PCD	Policy Coherence for Development
FMCT	Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty	RDB	Regional Development Banks
FSB	Financial Stability Board	REEEP	Renewable Energy and Energy Efficiency Partnership
FSF	Financial Stability Forum	REN21	Renewable Energy Policy Network for the 21st Century
G20	Group of Twenty	UNAIDS	United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
GEF	Global Environment Facility	UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
HRC	Human Rights Council	UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency	UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
IASC	Inter-Agency Standing Committee	UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
ICANN	Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers	UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
ICAO	International Civil Aviation Organization	UNFSA	United Nations Fish Stocks Agreement
ICGEB	International Centre for Genetic Engineering and Biotechnology	UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
IDP	internally displaced people	UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
IEA	International Energy Agency	UNIDO	United Nations Industrial Development Organization
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development	UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
ILO	International Labour Organization	UNODC/TPB	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime Terrorism Prevention Branch
IMF	International Monetary Fund	UNPF	United Nations Population Fund
IMO	International Maritime Organization	WEF	World Economic Forum
INTERPOL	International Criminal Police Organization	WFP	World Food Programme
IOM	International Organization for Migration	WHO	World Health Organization
IPEEC	International Partnership for Energy Efficiency Cooperation	WIPO	World Intellectual Property Organization
IRENA	International Renewable Energy Agency	WMO	World Meteorological Organization
ITTO	International Tropical Timber Organization	WTO	World Trade Organization
ITU	International Telecommunication Union		
IUFRO	International Union of Forest Research Organizations		
IWC	International Whaling Commission		
LOSC	Law of the Sea Convention		



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INTRODUCTION

CIGI has been building a network of former and serving officials from foreign ministries, central banks, finance departments and international organizations, and with researchers at prestigious think tanks and universities from around the world. The defining objective of the network of individuals, working in independent institutions, is the cooperative development of innovative proposals for global governance to support the policy development work of the G20. The CIGI conference “An Unfinished House: Filling the Gaps in International Governance” is the initial stage in this CIGI-led G20 think tank network’s cooperative effort. The conference will address four questions:

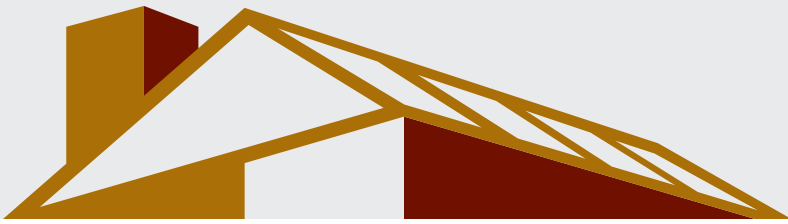
- What are the most important gaps in the mandates and resources of the existing spectrum of international organizations and international governance arrangements?
- Are there critical gaps in the coordinating mechanisms to address spillover and “external” effects, and ensure coherence?
- Are there early-harvest recommendations on how, in 2012, Mexico can best build on work already done in the area?
- What are the most promising areas of collaborative research for our “think tank network?”

The objective of this paper is to provide a useful collection of facts and observations about the universe of global governance arrangements. The paper’s attempt at an exhaustive inventory highlights the complexity of current global governance arrangements, and the issues and challenges facing reform and innovation. It offers a preliminary description of the critical gaps and inadequacies — to assist in thinking about the principal dilemmas and research priorities. The conference will focus on how to approach the labyrinth of global governance arrangements. Since all the issues are undoubtedly important, and there are arguments for the primacy and immediacy of each, it is important to ask in what way and from what angle should we tackle the labyrinth?

One approach is to focus on coordination and coherence mechanisms. There is an argument that linkages should be more fully appreciated, since progress in any one area requires sufficient progress in many other areas. Given the interconnected nature of global problems and the fact that they transcend the boundaries of ministerial portfolios and the mandates of international organizations, effective coordination is essential.

Another approach is to identify the most important gaps by issue area. Several potential criteria can be used to determine the most significant gaps in the mandates and resources of the existing spectrum of global governance arrangements:

- Immediacy: The most critical problem with a real need for immediate action;
- Long-term urgency: A looming crisis where we can anticipate the “train wreck”;
- Comprehensiveness: The issue has major implications and attraction for both advanced and emerging economies;
- Sequencing: The gaps to be filled first, given interlinkages of the different issue areas. Some problems must be resolved before others can be addressed, for example, resolving the financial crisis before dealing with poverty issues;



- Feasibility: The Pragmatic options, consistent with US and Chinese national interests, with good prospects for success. There is a scenario where the requisite political will and financial resources can be mobilized; and
- Last resort: National or regional solutions are ineffective.

These two approaches — focusing on coordination and coherence mechanisms, and proceeding by issue areas — are not necessarily mutually exclusive, and both are discussed in this background paper.

The paper provides brief definitions of “global governance” and “gaps,” drawn from the academic literature and other sources. It then sketches the principal coordination mechanisms extant in the system, proposes a taxonomy of issue areas and then describes the existing arrangements and gaps in selected issue areas.

DEFINITION OF GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

International or global governance can be defined as “the existing set of collective agreements and arrangements to set norms, make decisions, solve problems and monitor at the global level in the absence of a world government” (UN Intellectual History Project, 2009). Peter Haas has defined international governance as including the functions of issue linkage, agenda setting, developing usable knowledge, monitoring, rule making, norm development, policy verification enforcement, capacity building, promotion of vertical linkage and financing (Haas, 2004). Weiss and Thakur define global governance as “the sum of laws, norms, policies and institutions that define, constitute and mediate transborder relations between states, citizens, intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations and the market. It embraces the totality of institutions, policies, rules, practices, norms, procedures, and initiatives by which states and their citizens...try to bring more predictability, stability, and order to their responses to transnational challenges — such as climate change and environmental degradation, nuclear proliferation and terrorism — which go beyond the capacity of a single state to solve” (Weiss and Thakur, 2010). Global governance highlights the de facto limits on national sovereignty and, analogous to the concept of the “responsibility to protect,” it emphasizes the emerging “responsibility to manage.”

Global governance has also been characterized “by the increasing participation of actors other than states, ranging from intergovernmental organizations to multinational corporations and civil society (networks of) scientists and environmentalists” (Global Governance Project). There are “new mechanisms of organization such as public-private and private-private partnerships, alongside the traditional system of legal treaties negotiated by states” (ibid.). We have “different layers and clusters of rule-making and rule-implementation, both vertically between supranational, international, national and subnational layers of authority (“multilevel governance”) and horizontally between different parallel rule-making systems” (ibid.).

From Anne Marie Slaughter’s perspective, global governance is not a matter of regulating states the way states regulate their citizens, but “rather of addressing the issues and resolving the problems that result from citizens going global — from crime to commerce to civic engagement” (Slaughter, 2004: 16). Networks of government officials do not set formal, legally binding negotiated agreements. Rather, they devise terms of agreement that they themselves implement. Solutions to common problems are sought through the exchange of information, development of best practices and non-binding codes of conduct.

DEFINITION OF GOVERNANCE "GAPS"

A "gap" in global governance can either be a missing arrangement required to solve problems, or the inability of the existing arrangement to solve the problem it is designed to solve.

There are several approaches to the definitions of gaps in global governance. For example, "Weak or inadequate global institutions, agreements or networks, combined with competing national and political interests, impede attempts to cooperate on addressing global risks" (WEF, 2011).¹ The WEF's 2009 Global Redesign Project identified gaps and deficiencies in international cooperation. The list of intergovernmental initiatives in which progress is halting or stalled outright is dismayingly long, and includes, but is not limited to, UN climate change negotiations, the WTO Doha Development agenda, MDG funding, G20 financial supervision reforms, Non-Proliferation Treaty reforms, UN Security Council reform, Bretton Woods institution voting reform and macroeconomic cooperation to redress global economic imbalances (WEF, 2010).

Weiss and Thakur identify five gaps in global governance: knowledge, norms, policy, institutions and compliance.² Institutional gaps relate to the inadequate resources and autonomy of institutions or regimes ("recurring and stable patterns of behaviour around which expectations converge"). In some cases, there is no institution (for example, nuclear weapons); in others, key states are missing (for example, the United States in the International Criminal Court). Some institutions suffer from a lack of resources (for example, the UNEP).

Compliance gaps are "deficiencies in mechanisms to identify defections and defectors from agreed-upon norms and commitments in the realm of international governance as well as incentives that reward cooperation and disincentives that punish defection" (ibid.) Three facets are defined: *implementation*, where states may be unable or unwilling to implement the institution and treaty/policy in place; *monitoring*, where no one has the authority, responsibility and capacity to ensure that commitments that have been made and obligations that have been accepted are being implemented; and *enforcement*, where there are no adequately resourced, sufficiently empowered instruments to enforce agreements. These gaps are particularly noteworthy in the web of multilateral environmental agreements that have grown up in the wake of the Stockholm (1972) and Rio (1992) conferences.

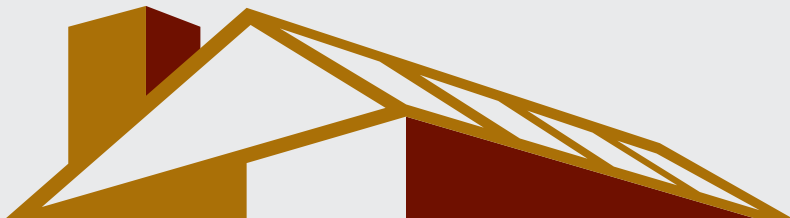
Current discourse discusses gaps between the distribution of authority within existing international institutions and the international distribution of economic power.³ Front and centre in the news is the mismatch of voting power in the IMF and World Bank, and the historical anomaly of UN Security Council seats and vetoes. In the latter, as Weiss and Thakur (2010) note, there is a "disconnect between the distribution of authority within existing intergovernmental institutions and the distribution of military power internationally."

Where you stand depends on national circumstances. A 2010 NIC report noted that "Diverse perspectives and suspicions about global governance, which is seen as a Western concept, will add to the difficulties of effectively mastering the growing number of challenges:

1 Failures cited include: UN climate change negotiations; the uncompleted Doha Development Round of trade negotiations; lack of progress on some of the MDGs; the stalling of United Nations' Security Council reform; and challenges to frameworks designed to prevent the proliferation of the capability of nuclear weapons.

2 Weiss and Thakur (2010) define knowledge gaps as "lack of consensus on the nature, causes, gravity, magnitude and solutions to a problem." Normative gaps can be defined statistically or ethically. Policy gaps are "interlinked set[s] of governing principles and goals, and the agreed programs of action to implement those principles and achieve those goals."

3 See Robert Gilpin (2001). *Global Political Economy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press: 388-389.



- Brazilians “feel there is a need for a redistribution of power from developed to developing states.” They tend to like state-centered multilateralism.
- Chinese interlocutors see mounting global challenges and fundamental defects in the international system but emphasize the need for China to deal with its internal problems. The Chinese envisage a “bigger structure” pulling together the various institutions and groups that have been established recently. They see the G20 as being a step forward but question whether North-South differences will impede cooperation on issues other than economics. “Global governance requires giving over significant sovereignty to others — that is the view in China...So far, sovereignty is the number one priority, but China has to balance sovereignty and international responsibility. When China thinks its sovereignty is guaranteed, it will go ahead to work with other countries.”
- For the Persian Gulf region, the “question is what sort of global institutions are most capable of inclusive power sharing. They bemoaned the lack of strong regional organizations.”
- “Indians thought existing international organizations are ‘grossly inadequate’ and worried about an ‘absence of an internal equilibrium in Asia to ensure stability.’ They felt that India is not well positioned to help develop regional institutions for Asia given China’s preponderant role in the region.”
- Russian experts “saw the world in 2025 as still largely one of ‘great powers’” but with more opportunities for transnational cooperation. The Russians worried about the relative lack of “transpacific security. The United States, Europe and Russia also have scope for growing much closer, while China, ‘with the biggest economy,’ will be the main factor in changing the world.”
- South Africans “assessed that globalization appears to be strengthening regionalization as opposed to creating a single global polity. They worried that the losers from globalization increasingly outnumber the winners” (NIC, 2010: 13).

According to Nicholas Stern (2009), “if Keynes and White sat down now they would design institutions very different from the current Bretton Woods sisters of IMF, World Bank and WTO. Given the twenty-first century challenges, I think they would propose one institution for development (something like a merged World Bank or IMF), one for environment (let us call it the World Environment Organization — WEO) and a WTO. In addition, we need a small and very independent institution to monitor international systemic stability. This fourth institution must have the authority and independence to assess and criticize the functioning of the world’s biggest economies, and thus the most likely sources of instability.”⁴

Robert Keohane wrote that “...even if national states retain many of their present functions, effective governance of a partially — and increasingly — globalized world will require more extensive international institutions” (Keohane, 2001).

Redesigning the international cooperative structure to cope with twenty-first century circumstances involves more than updating and strengthening the formal intergovernmental institutions. It will require extending intergovernmental norms and legal frameworks, integrating non-governmental expertise in policy formulation and non-governmental resources to strengthen policy implementation. This paper, ambitious though it is, limits itself to *formal intergovernmental institutions* as the first step in reinforcing global governance.

⁴ The authors believe one should not interpret this criticism as an endorsement of a WEO — there are too many entrenched interests that will reject moving the UNEP or consolidating environmental convention secretariats.

COORDINATION AND INTEGRATION

“We will not enjoy development without security, we will not enjoy security without development, and we will not enjoy either without respect for human rights. Unless all these causes are advanced, none will succeed.”— Kofi Annan⁵

“To manage a system effectively, you might focus on the interactions of the parts rather than their behavior taken separately.” — Russell Ackoff⁶

“We need to stop thinking about issues in isolation — each with its own champion, constituency and agenda... We tend to think about climate change as just an energy issue, but it’s also about land use: one-third of greenhouse gas emissions come from tropical deforestation and agriculture... We need to make sure that our policy solutions are as integrated as nature itself.” — Glenn Prickett, Conservation International⁷

Global governance is handicapped by inadequate appreciation of linkages and ineffective coordination: “Deeper interdependence poses an inherent challenge to a system that is highly segmented in the sense that it is characterized by specialized agencies and corresponding intergovernmental processes with responsibility for specific issue areas. The thematically stove piped nature of our system has often been criticized for producing fragmented, partial and sometimes even incoherent responses to problems” (WEF, 2010).

As noted in the introduction to this paper, global problems transcend the boundaries of ministerial portfolios and the mandates of international organizations; solutions to these problems extend beyond the policy toolkits of both national departments and multilateral agencies. Existing coordinating mechanisms are constrained by the fact that international institutions, with the exception of leaders’ summits, generally take instructions from national representatives of specific line ministries, who do not have cross-issue prisms. If climate change, energy, environment, development or security is approached independently, policies that advance one issue may undermine another.⁸ Issue linkages can also advance international negotiations if package deals provide incentives to cooperate on issues in which states would otherwise have little interest.⁹

Policy coherence has long been recognized as a challenge to international organizations. There is no lack of coordination machinery, although there is little that seeks to genuinely integrate policy responses across a range of agencies. At the global level, the United Nations has experimented with several approaches to advance coordination and inter-issue cooperation. The UN’s CEB, chaired by the UN Secretary-General, brings together the heads of UN agencies (with the IMF and World Bank) to promote coordination and cooperation on both substantive and management issues across the UN system. But neither the CEB

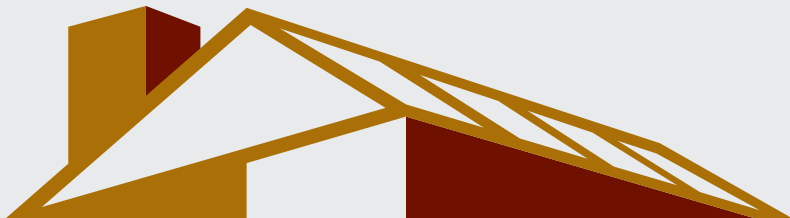
5 See www.unfpa.org/rights/quotes.htm.

6 See <http://managementimprovement.net/>.

7 See www.nytimes.com/2009/08/23/opinion/23friedman.html.

8 Other examples of this undermining are apparent in the contradiction between national agricultural subsidies and development policy, and the tensions between global health and intellectual property rights. “If there is introduced into a general equilibrium system a constraint which prevents the attainment of one of the Paretian conditions, the other Paretian conditions, although still attainable, are...no longer desirable. In other words, given that one of the Paretian optimum conditions cannot be fulfilled, then an optimum situation can be achieved only by departing from all other Paretian conditions” (Lipsey and Lancaster, 1956-1957).

9 Addressing several issues simultaneously may allow for trade-offs, so that each party emerges as a “winner.” Analysis of spillover and “external” effects may enable global problems to be addressed in a more coherent manner, as well as changing an apparently zero sum game into a positive sum game. See Alexander Betts (2009). *Protection by Persuasion: International Cooperation in the Refugee Regime*. London: Cornell University Press, 21.



nor UN Energy include non-UN groups, civil society or business groups. UN Energy “aims to promote system-wide collaboration in the area of energy with a coherent and consistent approach since there is no single entity in the UN system that has primary responsibility for energy” (UNIDO).

The IASC consists of key UN and non-UN organizations engaged in humanitarian work. The IASC develops policies, divides responsibilities among members, identifies gaps in responses, and advocates for the application of humanitarian principles. But the IASC struggles with coherence between headquarters-based policy work on global issues and field-based operational policy on country-specific issues; furthermore, the IASC is challenged by the tension between inclusiveness in the consultative process and efficiency in decision making.¹⁰

In conflict-affected countries, coordination mechanisms, aside from the Security Council, pledging conferences and in-country mechanisms, include the Executive Committee for Peace and Security, the IASC and the Inter-Departmental Framework for Coordination on Early Warning and Preventive Action (the Framework Team). “Coordination mechanisms and instruments have proliferated...particularly where there has been a concerted international response. Indeed, it is sometimes difficult to see how these various coordination mechanisms can coordinate among themselves. There is an urgent need to streamline and simplify such mechanisms and infuse them with clearer approaches and strategies for dealing with UNDP’s operations in conflict-affected countries” (UNDP).

In the health field, there is a recent innovation in the establishment of the Health Systems Funding Platform.¹¹ In 2009, the platform was developed by the GAVI Alliance, the Global Fund and the World Bank, and facilitated by the WHO, in consultation with countries and other key stakeholders, including civil society. The platform provides partners with a channel to finance the health systems elements of a country’s national health plan/strategy in a longer-term, predictable and results-focused manner. The platform is not a global pool of funds with a new governance structure, but is intended to be flexible and country focused. Countries can approach potential donors and partners to help address the issue of health system funding.

In the migration field, “the Geneva Migration Group brings together the heads of six agencies that work on migration: UNHCR, IOM, ILO, OHCHR, UNCTAD, and UNODC. They meet quarterly, or more often if needed, and plan to exchange information, identify critical issues, develop conceptual thinking, provide leadership system-wide, contribute to each other’s initiatives, promote debate on the issues, and work towards integrating human rights, refugee protection, criminal justice and victim-related dimensions in the general debate on migration” (Newland, 2005).

The OCHA serves as the secretariat for critical interagency coordination mechanisms, such as: the IASC; rapid-response tools, such as the United Nations Disaster Assessment and Coordination Teams and the International Search and Rescue Advisory Group; and for smaller forums such as the Geographic Information Support Team. The OCHA’s mandate is to coordinate the activities of all UN humanitarian agencies operating in the field during an emergency, to manage a centralized financial appeals system and to disburse money from the revolving fund to humanitarian agencies in the early phases of an emergency.

10 See Bruce Jones and Abby Stoddard (2003). *External Review of the Inter-Agency Standing Committee*. Center on International Cooperation.

11 See <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTHEALTHNUTRITIONANDPOPULATION/EXTHSD/0,,contentMDK:22299073~pagePK:148956~piPK:216618~theSitePK:376793,00.html>.

The UN website lists four mechanisms to coordinate the 39 UN organs and programs listed that deal with oceans and the Law of the Sea:

- Aquatic Sciences and Fisheries Abstracts;
- Inter-Agency Committee on Sustainable Development;
- Joint Group of Experts on the Scientific Aspects of Marine Environmental Protection; and
- Subcommittee on Oceans and Coastal Areas, Administrative Committee on Coordination.¹²

Even in the field of sports, two coordination mechanisms have been established to facilitate networking and coordination between the UN funds, programs and specialized agencies:

- UN Inter-Agency Task Force on Sport for Development and Peace; and
- UN Communication Group's Working Group on Sport for Development and Peace.

The OECD created the PCD initiative to ensure that "government policies are mutually supportive of the countries' development goals" (OECD). The PCD initiative focuses specifically on interactions between a donor country's development policy and its policies on trade, investment, migration, agriculture, health and the environment. However, the OECD does not include the emerging donors — Brazil, China, India or South Africa.

To effectively tackle integrated challenges, integrated solutions based on effective and coordinated cross-issue analysis are required. We need international institutions and interagency coordination mechanisms that can deal with the substantive relationships between the issues and the policy levers that intersect them. The relevant questions are:

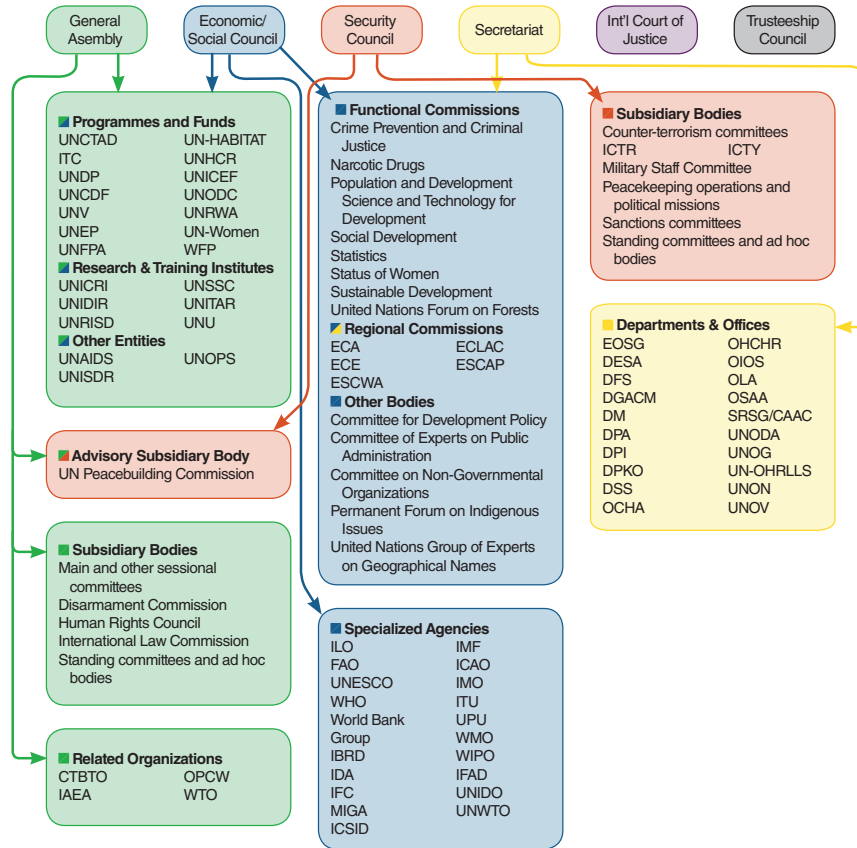
- Can we improve existing mechanisms to manage the interconnectedness of global governance and ensure policies are not working at cross purposes?
- What feasible innovations can improve coordination at the global level? Are there machinery and practice innovations that could ensure that global governance issues are addressed in a more coherent and integrated way, bridging the normal policy silos?
- What would an ideal map of effective international coordinating machinery look like in 2020?

The figure "The United Nations System" on the next page provides a graphic overview of the principal organs of the UN system.

¹² See www.un.org/depts/los/Links/UN-links.htm#Joint.

The United Nations System

UN Principal Organs



GLOSSARY OF ACRONYMS

CTBTO	Preparatory Commission for the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organization	ILO	International Labour Organization	UNIDO	United Nations Industrial Development Organization
DESA	Department of Economic and Social Affairs	IMF	International Monetary Fund	UNISDR	United Nations International Strategy for Disaster Reduction
DFS	Department of Field Support	IMO	International Maritime Organization	UNITAR	United Nations Institute for Training and Research
DGACM	Department for General Assembly and Conference Management	ITC	International Trade Centre (UNCTAD/WTO)	UNODA	Office for Disarmament Affairs
DM	Department of Management	ITU	International Telecommunication Union	UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
DPA	Department of Political Affairs	MIGA	Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency	UNOG	United Nations Office at Geneva
DPI	Department of Public Information	OCHA	Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs	UNON	United Nations Office at Nairobi
DPKO	Department of Peacekeeping Operations	OHCHR	Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights	UN-OHRLLS	Office of the High Representative for the Least Developed Countries, Landlocked Developing Countries and Small Island Developing States
DSS	Department of Safety and Security	OIOS	Office of Internal Oversight Services	UNOPS	United Nations Office for Project Services
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa	OLA	Office of Legal Affairs	UNOV	United Nations Office at Vienna
ECE	Economic Commission for Europe	OPCW	Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons	UNRISD	United Nations Research Institute for Social Development
ECLAC	Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean	OSAA	Office of the Special Adviser on Africa	UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East
EOSG	Executive Office of the Secretary-General	SRSG/CAC	Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict	UNSSC	United Nations System Staff College
ESCAP	Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific	UNAIDS	United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS	UNU	United Nations University
ESCWA	Economic and Social Commission for Western Africa	UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development	UNV	United Nations Volunteers
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization	UNCDF	United Nations Capital Development Fund	UN-Women	United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency	UNDP	United Nations Development Programme	UNWTO	World Tourism Organization
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development	UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme	UPU	Universal Postal Union
ICAO	International Civil Aviation Organization	UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization	WFP	World Food Programme
ICSID	International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes	UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund	WHO	World Health Organization
ICTR	International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda	UN-HABITAT	United Nations Human Settlements Programme	WIPO	World Intellectual Property Organization
ICTY	International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia	UNHCR	Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees	WMO	World Meteorological Organization
IDA	International Development Association	UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund	WTO	World Trade Organization
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development	UNICRI	United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute		
IFC	International Finance Corporation	UNIDIR	United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research		

TAXONOMY OF ISSUE AREAS

Presume that we accept the Haas definition of global governance on page 6 as the set of collective agreements and arrangements to set norms, make decisions, solve problems and monitor at the global level. If we focus on institutional and compliance gaps (setting aside gaps in knowledge, norms and policy), and given the complexity of the global scene (as shown in the organization charts included in this paper), we need a classification scheme with a relatively fine division of issue areas in order to grapple with the problem. The choice of the level or unit of analysis is arbitrary — especially since everything is interconnected.

We propose four areas as chapeaux, approximately corresponding to CIGI's four research program themes:

Global Economy

- International finance and macro-coordination (G20 summit, IMF, BIS, FSB)
- Trade (WTO, UNCTAD, WIPO)
- Energy (IEA, Energy Charter Secretariat, IPEEC, IRENA, the International Energy Forum)
- Climate change (UNFCCC, UNEP, WMO, World Bank, GEF, WTO)

Environment

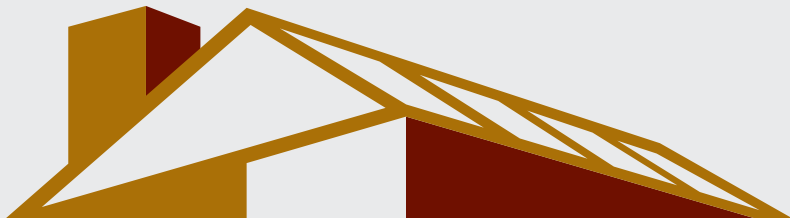
- Sustainability (UNEP, Multilateral Environmental Convention Secretariats, UNESCO and a host of others such as IWC, IMO, OSPARCOM, UNPF)
- Water (World Water Council, Global Water Partnership)
- Fisheries (LOSC, UNFSA, Regional Fisheries Organizations, FAO)
- Forestry (FAO, ITTO, IUFRO)
- Oceans

Global Development

- Development (UN Committee on Development, UNDP, OECD DAC, World Bank, RDBs)
- Agriculture and food security (FAO, WFP, IFAD)
- Health (WHO, UNAIDS, UNICEF)
- Human rights (HRC, UNHCHR)
- Migration (IOM, ILO, UNHCR)

Global Security

- Security: the use of force and conflict management (UN Security Council)
- Arms control (Conference of Disarmament, IAEA)



- Terrorism and organized crime (Security Council-CTC, CTED, CTITE, INTERPOL, IAEA, OPCW, UNODC, ICAO)
- Space (COPUOS, geoengineering, “Moon Agreement”)

This classification¹³ has several flaws. It does not provide pride of place to communication (ITU, ICANN and so on) or to humanitarian and disaster relief assistance (UNICEF, WFP, UNHCR and UNDP). Some will insist agriculture cannot be subsumed in food security. Others will argue that too much has been put in the economy basket — that energy and climate are primarily environmental problems and should continue to be dealt with primarily in environmental fora. Still others will maintain that employment and social protection (ILO), industry (UNIDO), education, population, gender and transport (ICAO) deserve their own categories. Readers, hopefully, will at least agree that our taxonomy is sufficient to launch the discussion.

GAPS IN GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

GLOBAL ECONOMY

INTERNATIONAL FINANCE AND MACROCOORDINATION (IMF, FSB, BIS)

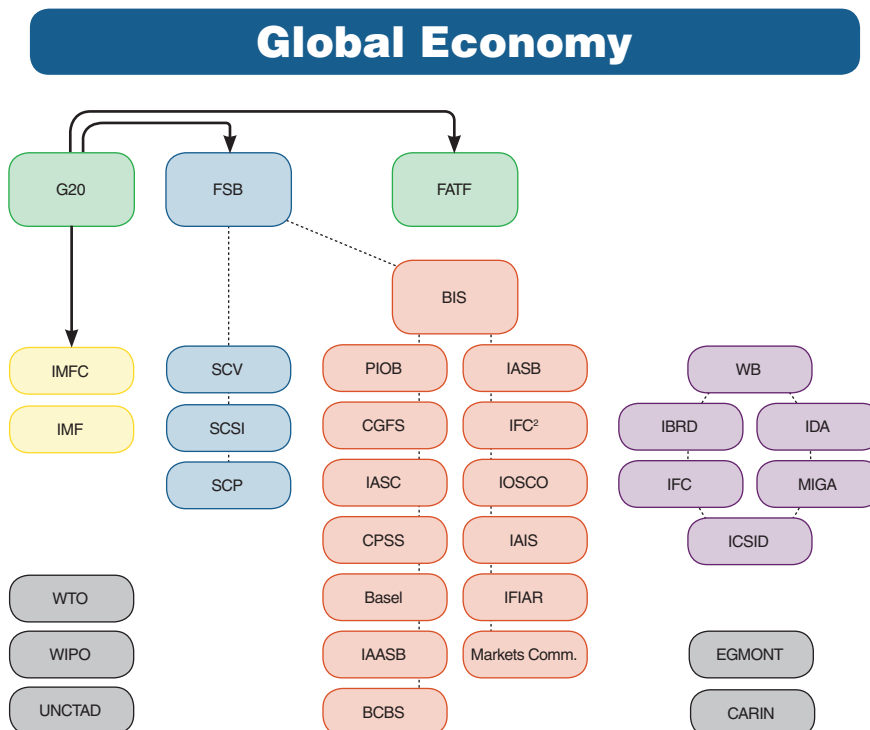
There is no formal global authority in the economic arena, no overarching authority to help facilitate stability or reduce the social costs of downturns. Yet we need arrangements and institutions to provide global public goods and address the sources of externalities in the provision of those goods. The international financial institutions set up as part of the postwar Bretton Woods arrangement are ill-equipped to deal with the changing world economic order and the increasingly complex interdependencies that tie countries together. The governance arrangements of these institutions, especially of the IMF, are woefully inadequate and need an overhaul. Greater clarity is required regarding roles and responsibilities to meet today’s global challenges, and accountabilities need to be strengthened through increased transparency. The G20 has filled a void by offering a way forward for addressing international policy coordination and financial sector reform. But how the G20 fits as part of the overall global governance architecture remains at issue. The transformation of the FSF into the FSB addressed some of the FSF’s legitimacy problems; the FSB now provides more effective mechanisms to encourage compliance with international standards and a stronger capacity to tackle macroprudential issues. To meet these challenges, the resources of the FSB will need to be increased. Rather than rigid rules and a special-function international judicial institution to enforce rules, the future international financial architecture must find the right balance between offering flexibility for countries to adapt and adjust to their changing circumstances and promoting effective international policy cooperation in recognition of an increasingly integrated global economy.

¹³ The WEF Global Redesign Initiative set out five areas of cooperation as chapeaux for analysis — economic, sustainability, development, security and values — with 29 subcategories. Economic cooperation’s six subcategories comprised the international monetary system, international finance (investment, risk), financial services, trade, employment and social protection, and migration and skills. Sustainability cooperation’s four subcategories comprised ocean governance, low-carbon energy transformation, sustainable energy and water security. Development cooperation’s seven subcategories comprised health; education; anti-corruption; food, agriculture and nutrition; humanitarian assistance; fragile states and global responsibility. Security cooperation’s six subcategories comprised nuclear terrorism, energy security, responsibility to protect, management of catastrophic risks, Internet resilience and election monitoring. Values had six subcategories, including gender. This paper does not purport to deal with values.

TRADE, INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY (WTO, WIPO, UNCTAD)

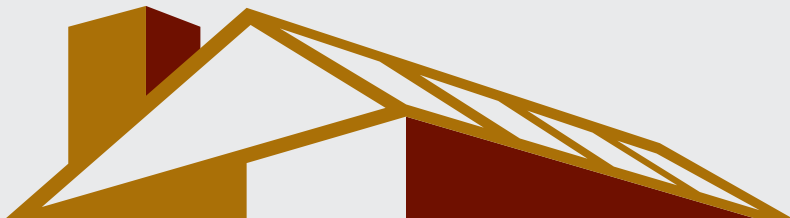
The WTO is considered deficient on many grounds. Its quasi-judicial approach to trade disputes has been characterized as biased against less-developed countries in terms of cost, time uncertainty and access to expertise. Of all the multilateral institutions, the WTO is the one that is least open to public control and civil society participation: "...many concerns of developing countries, from establishing preferences for poor countries to removing agricultural subsidies in rich ones, are marginal issues in the WTO" (Weiss and Thakur, 2010). The Doha Round deadlock is very disappointing. The lack of progress has led to substantial effort on suboptimal regional and bilateral trade deals.

Within this global economy section we also include energy and climate change. Climate change and the decarbonization of the energy system are two of the most difficult challenges facing the world in the first half of this century. The sums involved are in the trillions of dollars a year in Asia alone — and energy is at the heart of the modern economy. One of the problems of the UN climate negotiations has been that they have been dominated by environment ministers who have little political clout in their home capitals. As the heads of government discovered at the Copenhagen conference in 2010, only they and their finance ministers can make the economic decisions necessary for these transformations to take place. Energy and climate change therefore belong at the major economic tables.



GLOSSARY OF ACRONYMS

BCBS	Basel Committee for Banking Standards	IASC	International Accounting Standards Committee	IOSCO	International Organization of Securities Commissions
BIS	Bank for International Settlements	IBRD	International Bank of Reconstruction and Development	MIGA	Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency
CARIN	Camden Assets Recovery Inter-Agency Network	ICSID	International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes	PIOB	Public Interest Oversight Board
CGFS	Committee on the Global Financial System	IDA	International Development Agency	SCP	Steering Committee Plenary
CPSS	Committee on Payments and Settlements System	IFC	International Financial Corporation	SCSI	Standing Committee on Standards Implementation
FATF	Financial Action Task Force	IFC²	Irving Fisher Committee	SCV	Standing Committee on Vulnerabilities
FSB	Financial Stability Board	IFIAR	International Forum of Independent Audit Regulators	UNCTAD	UN Commission on Trade and Development
IAASB	International Auditing and Assurance Standards Board	IMF	International Monetary Fund	WIPO	World Intellectual Property Organization
IAIS	International Association of Insurance Supervisors	IMFC	International Monetary and Financial Committee	WTO	World Trade Organization
IASB	International Accounting Standards Board				



ENERGY (IEA, ENERGY CHARTER SECRETARIAT, IPEEC, IRENA, THE INTERNATIONAL ENERGY FORUM)

There is no institution that can claim to provide the strategic thinking about global energy governance. The IEA does not include China, India, Russia or other major emerging economies. Some of the other relevant players are UNFCCC, the World Bank, OPEC, IAEA, Global Environment Facility and the WTO.

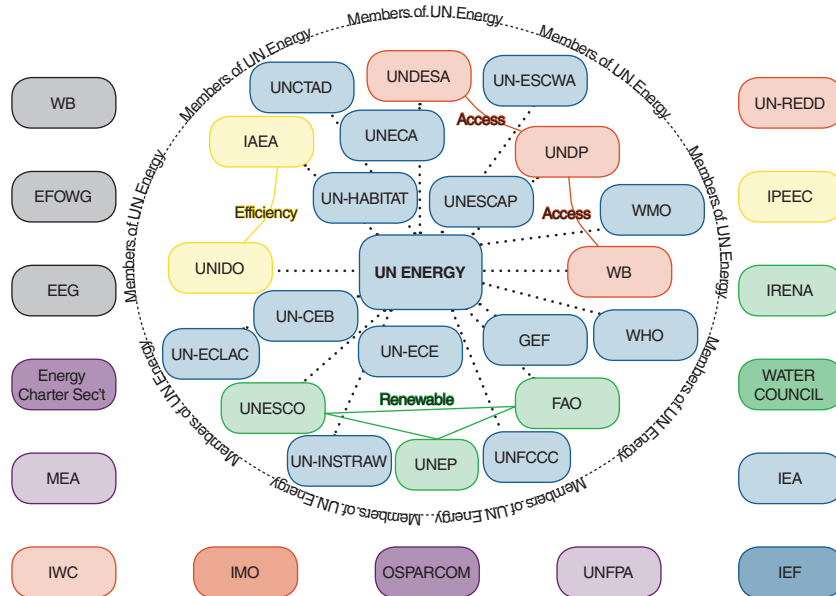
“In some areas, more than one ‘global’ institution is active. With regard to cooperation on renewable energy, there are IRENA, the public-private partnerships REEEP and REN21, and others...As for CCS, there is the US-based Carbon Sequestration Leadership Forum and the Australia-based Global CCS Institute. For the nuclear sector, there are the IAEA, the Nuclear Suppliers Group and the OECD’s NEA” (Lesage, 2009).

Even a cursory assessment makes clear that contemporary global energy governance arrangements are falling far short of meeting pressing needs to foster efficient markets, deal with externalities (notably, but not only, climate change), extend access to energy services to the billions of people not adequately served by markets, and address the many trade-offs involved with improving energy security. Indeed, as numerous studies have documented in recent years, the world is currently on an unsustainable and conflict-prone energy track of volatile and unreliable supply, brittle and vulnerable energy infrastructure, massive environmental degradation, and failure to deliver energy services. As former head of the International Energy Agency Claude Mandil notes, a continuation of existing trends in energy production and use is “not compatible with reality.” Changing to a different track is, however, a monumental governance endeavour. Few, if any, countries have effective energy governance arrangements and policies, and the global rules that shape and constrain national policy choices are an incoherent and inadequate mishmash. (Florini and Sovacool, 2011)

CLIMATE CHANGE (UNFCCC, UNEP, WMO, WORLD BANK, GEF, WTO)

Prospects for success in addressing climate change — the quintessential global tragedy of the commons — are bleak. The way forward involves policies across a wide range of areas beyond the remit of environment ministers or UNFCCC negotiators — including tax policy, energy policy, and agricultural and transportation policy. There is no international mechanism to prepare a grand bargain, even if we could devise win-win overall outcomes that involve trade-offs across elements of a deal (collaborative R&D, coordinated action on fossil fuel subsidies, formulation of future product and process standards, investment in high rate of return projects). A deliberate leaders’ process, such as the G20, is required — but there is fierce resistance to broadening the G20 agenda to include climate change.

Energy & Climate Change



GLOSSARY OF ACRONYMS

CEB	UN System Chief Executives Board Secretariat	OSPARCOM	Oslo Paris Commission	UN-ESCWA	UN Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia
EEG	Energy Experts Group	UNCTAD	UN Conference on Trade and Development	UNFCCC	UN Framework Convention on Climate Change
EFOWG	Energy and Finance Officials Working Group	UNDESA	UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs	UNFPA	UN Population Fund
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization	UNDP	UN Development Programme	UN-HABITAT	UN Human Settlements Programme
GEF	Global Environment Facility	UNECA	UN Economic Commission for Africa	UNIDO	UN Industrial Development Organization
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency	UNECE	UN Economic Commission for Europe	UN-INSTRAW	UN International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women
IEA	International Energy Agency	UNECLAC	UN Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean	UN-REDD	UN Programme on Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation
IEF	International Energy Forum	UNEP	UN Environment Programme	WB	World Bank
IMO	International Maritime Organization	UNESCAP	UN Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific	WHO	World Health Organization
IPEEC	International Partnership for Energy Efficiency Corporation	UNESCO	UN Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization	WMO	World Meteorological Organization
IRENA	International Renewable Energy Agency				
IWC	International Whaling Commission				
MEA	Multilateral Environment Agreements				

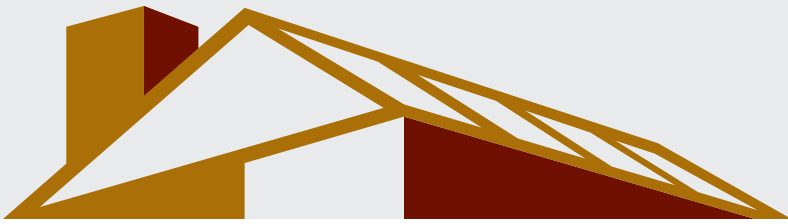
ENVIRONMENT

SUSTAINABILITY (UNEP, MULTILATERAL ENVIRONMENTAL CONVENTION SECRETARIATS, UNESCO AND A HOST OF OTHERS LIKE IWC, IMO, OSPARCOM, UNPF)

“The arena between environment and sustainability demonstrates a chasm between the size and nature of global problems, on the one hand, and the feebleness of global institutions and the inadequacy of their budgets, on the other hand” (Weiss and Thakur, 2010).

A conventional treatment of organizations in the environment field could include biodiversity, forests waste management, ozone layer depletion, oceans, air pollution and population, as well as the three areas treated separately here — climate change, water and fisheries. Criticisms of governance in this area typically point to the great fragmentation of bodies, the relative weakness of the UNEP and the generally second-class status given to environmental concerns. There are over 200 international organizations involved with administering multilateral environmental agreements (although the number of major influential ones is probably under a dozen).¹⁴ The locations of these secretariats are widely dispersed:

¹⁴ See Olav Schram Stokke and Øystein B. Thommessen (eds). *Yearbook of International Cooperation for Environment and Development 2002/2003*. Fridtjof Nansen Institute.



Geneva (11), London (nine), Vienna (four), Rome (four), Montreal (three) and Bonn (three), with the remaining secretariats spread over 17 locations. Could more activities be conducted if there was less competition for resources and less redundancy between organizations? Are there excessive redundancies and overlapping responsibilities and tasks among international institutions?¹⁵

According to John Ruggie, the decision to place the UNEP in Nairobi, without a system of cooperation based on interacting networks, without actors sharing clear objectives and without a sufficient resource base, limited its impact from the start.¹⁶ In terms of norm setting, Haas has pointed out that the environment does not have a high profile figure able to help develop normative principles for environmental protection and sustainable development, akin to the UN High Commissioners for Refugees or Human Rights. The current High-Level Panel on Global Sustainability has little public profile. The environment suffers in comparison with trade, which has the relatively powerful WTO. There is no advocate for the environment at WTO trade and environment arbitration panels, where there is a presumed bias towards trade liberalization over environmental protection.

WATER (UNESCO, UNEP, WORLD WATER COUNCIL, GLOBAL WATER PARTNERSHIP)

Over the next 20 years, the global requirement for water will be 40 percent more than today's supply... The International Energy Agency's predicted 45 percent increase in energy demand to 2030 will add further stress (currently ~40 percent of freshwater withdrawals in the US and EU are for the energy sector). Economic growth... depends on water... There is not enough water if we continue to manage it as we do today (OECD estimates that if present ground and surface water extraction trends continue, nearly 4 billion people will face water stress; the UNDP suggests that 56 percent of India's groundwater is already being used more quickly than it can be replaced; the equivalent figure is 25 percent for China). In the real world, water is becoming very scarce in many places. Crises of availability and distribution in energy, food and water are inextricably linked... Critical gaps in international cooperation currently exist... There is no international organization for water as is the case for health, weather, agriculture. (WEF, 2010: 143)

The WEF suggests a new kind of entity is needed to provide a "basket of coordinated and bespoke support to governments" to bundle together "tailored analytical work and neutral platforms for dialogue and planning."

FISHERIES (LOSC, UNFSA, REGIONAL FISHERIES ORGANIZATIONS, FAO)

Global overfishing is another example of the tragedy of the global commons. The worldwide decline of commercially important fish stocks is widely reported: many marine populations will not be able to recover from severe depletion, even if fishing is suspended.¹⁷ The FAO estimates that over 70 percent of fish species are either fully exploited or depleted. Close to 90 percent of all large predatory fish have been caught. The causes of gross unsustainability in fisheries include the presence of illegal, unreported and

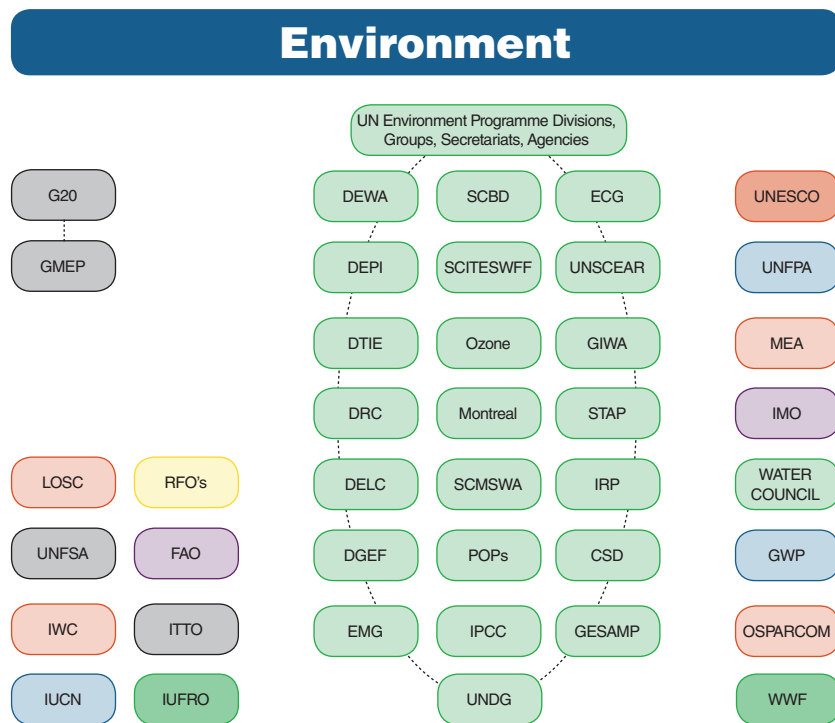
¹⁵ Peter Haas notes "some degree of redundancy is actually desirable, to provide for more contact and linkage between institutions and insurance against the decline of any individual international institution; it fits better with an ecological institutional design vision of requisite diversity. If the governance deficit is due to performance gaps then responses should be addressed through capacity building" (Haas and Kanie, 2004).

¹⁶ "...as much as I appreciate the desirability of locating a UN agency in a developing country, I thought UNEP was the one agency that should not have been... You couldn't then and cannot now coordinate fast-moving networks from places that lack the communication and infrastructure, and that are so far removed from the thing they are supposed to be coordinating" (John Ruggie quoted in *Complete Oral History Transcripts from UIN Voices*. CD-ROM. New York: UNIHP, 2007: 15).

¹⁷ See www.maweb.org/documents/document.273.aspx.pdf.

unregulated fishing, inappropriate subsidies that lead to excess capacity, poor governance at the national level and poor management. Subsidies have created excess fishing capacity, estimated at 250 percent more than is needed to catch the oceans' sustainable production.¹⁸

The Law of the Sea Convention does not deliver effective management of fisheries. Internationally agreed targets and declarations have not been respected. Key states do not participate in existing multilateral instruments and there is inadequate implementation at the regional level. International fisheries governance includes a range of hard and soft law instruments, from legally binding global treaties, such as the 1995 UNFSA,¹⁹ to non-binding declarations (the Declaration of Cancun, the Reykjavik Declaration, the Rome Ministerial Declaration, to name a few) and resolutions by the FAO Conference and the UN General Assembly. The most comprehensive non-binding instrument that has been adopted is the FAO Code of Conduct for Responsible Fisheries. The end result is a patchwork quilt of measures in the form of binding and non-binding instruments with differing geographical and legal reach, and different levels of participation by states.

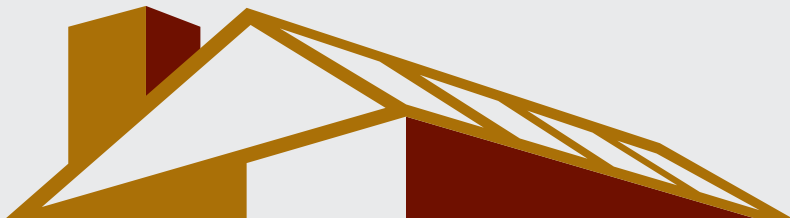


GLOSSARY OF ACRONYMS

CSD	Commission on Sustainable Development	IMO	International Maritime Organization	SCDB	Secretariat of the Convention for Biological Diversity
DELC	Environmental Law and Conventions	IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change	SCITESWFF	Secretariat of the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora
DEPI	Division of Environmental Policy Implementation	IRP	International Resource Panel	SCMSWA	Secretariat to the Convention of Migratory Species of Wild Animals
DEWA	Early Warning and Assessment	ITTO	International Tropical Timber Organization	STAP	Scientific and Technical Advisory Panel
DGEF	Division of Global Environmental Facility	IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature	UNDG	UN Development Group
DRC	Division of Regional Cooperation	IUFRO	Global Network for Forest Science Cooperation	UNESCO	UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
DTIE	Division of Technology, Industry and Economics	IWC	International Whaling Commission	UNFPA	UN Population Fund
ECG	Ecosystem Conservation Group	LOSC	Law of the Sea Convention	UNFSA	UN Fish Stocks Agreement
EMG	Environment Management Group	MEA	Multilateral Environmental Agreements	UNSCEAR	UN Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization	Montreal	Multilateral Fund for Implementation of the Montreal Secretariat		
GESAM	The Joint Group of Experts on the Scientific Aspects of Marine Environment Protection	OSPARCOM	Oslo Paris Commission Ozone – Ozone Secretariat		
GIWA	Global International Waters Assessment	POP's	Stockholm Convention on Persistent Organic Pollutants		
GMEP	Global Marine Environment Protection Working Group	RFO's	Regional Fisheries Organizations		
GWP	Global Water Partnership				

¹⁸ See www.unep.org/Documents.Multilingual/Default.asp?l=en&ArticleID=5688&DocumentID=519. See also www.unep.ch/etu/etp/acts/manpols/fishery.pdf.

¹⁹ Argentina, China, Indonesia, Mexico and Turkey are not parties to the UNFSA.



GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT

DEVELOPMENT (UNDP, UNCTAD, OECD DAC, WORLD BANK)

Despite unprecedented attention to the MDGs, results to date indicate that the prospects for success by 2015 are poor. “Disparities in progress between urban and rural areas remain daunting:

- The poorest children have made the slowest progress in terms of improved nutrition.
- Opportunities for full and productive employment remain particularly slim for women.
- Being poor, female or living in a conflict zone increases the probability that a child will be out of school.
- Improving the lives of a growing number of urban poor remains a monumental challenge.
- Progress has been uneven in improving access to safe drinking water” (UN, 2011).

William Easterly’s indictment of development assistance is that “The West spent \$2.3 trillion on foreign aid over the last five decades and still had not managed to get 12-cent medicines to children to prevent half of all malaria deaths. The West spent \$2.3 trillion and still had not managed to get four-dollar bed nets to poor families. The West spent \$2.3 trillion and still had not managed to get three dollars to each new mother to prevent five million child deaths” (Easterly, 2002). Among other deficiencies, negative appraisals²⁰ of development assistance highlight: a lack of concentration in key countries and best-performing multilateral agencies; proliferation of aid agencies, institutions and delivery vehicles; and deficiencies in coordination with other donors.

AGRICULTURE AND FOOD SECURITY (FAO, WFP, IFAD, ICGEB, CGIAR)

A threefold challenge now faces the world: Match the rapidly changing demand for food from a larger and more affluent population to its supply; do so in ways that are environmentally and socially sustainable; and ensure that the world’s poorest people are no longer hungry. More than one in seven people today still do not have access to sufficient protein and energy from their diet, and even more suffer from some form of micronutrient malnourishment. There is concern that we are in for a period of rising and more volatile food prices driven primarily by increased demand from rapidly developing countries, as well as by competition for resources from first-generation biofuels production...Finding ways to incentivize wide access [to genetically modified crops] and sustainability while encouraging a competitive and innovative private sector to make best use of developing technology, is a major governance challenge. (Godfray et al., 2010)

Urbanization, climate change, biofuel production and the impact on biodiversity all cloud the prospects of increases in future agricultural production.

Regarding the FAO, the central body in the system on food issues, “[t]here is no single cause that explains the crisis that has affected FAO for several years,” says a former, disillusioned, senior official. “The role of agriculture is changing, demands on our specialized expertise are growing and there is no doubt that we have a unique global role. But the Organization has been unable to adapt to a new era...In major international fora, our contribution and reputation have declined steadily...The way the budget has been

allocated in the last biennia undermines the Organization's credibility and thus confirms the members' impression that FAO is unable to manage its priorities...The current intent at reform does hardly anything to alleviate these problems...FAO deserves a fundamental reform which does not limit itself to hastily moving units across departments or dispatching generalist decentralized teams. FAO needs visionary leadership to move itself out of its bureaucratic paralysis..." (Fresco, 2006).

HEALTH (WHO, UNAIDS, UNICEF)

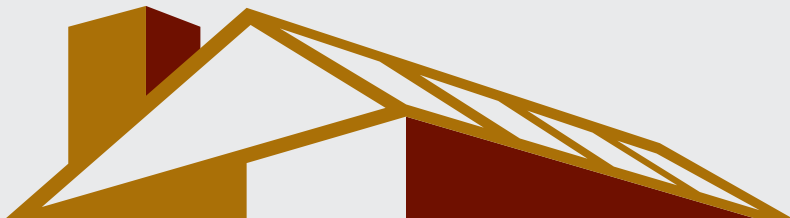
The WHO's director-general has written that..."WHO finds itself overcommitted, overextended, and in need of specific reforms. Priority-setting is neither sufficiently selective nor strategically focused. Given the large number of agencies now active in health, duplication of effort and fragmented responses abound, creating an unprecedented need for greater coherence and more effective coordination. Financial support for WHO does not always give priority to areas where WHO is best positioned to bring the biggest improvements in health. Preparation of programme budgets is cumbersome and often poorly aligned with implementation capacity or with the new reality of financial austerity. Procedures for staff recruitment, retention, and career development follow a staffing model established decades ago, adding to the rigidity that impairs rapid adaptation to increasingly complex challenges" (Chan, 2011).

Coordination in the global health architecture is a challenge. There are too many players working independently. Financing is insufficient. The focus is on health concerns of the rich world rather than diseases that affect the poor. To further complicate things, global health interventions can have unintended side effects. For example, increases in the availability of drugs to treat diseases such as malaria, HIV and TB have inadvertently accelerated drug resistance; subsequently raising costs and claiming lives. The world lacks a coordinated surveillance mechanism for new potentially epidemic diseases, which may be of increasing necessity with changing climate, migration and trade patterns. Framed in the context of preventing shocks that would undermine the global economy, a stronger mandate and increased funding for the WHO could be in everybody's interest. (Nugent, Back and Beith, 2010)

HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMANITARIAN LAW (HUMAN RIGHTS COUNCIL, UN HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, THE UN HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES, THIRD COMMITTEE OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT)

From 1856 to the present, 100 treaties and similar documents have been adopted to govern the protection of victims of war and the conduct of hostilities. These include, notably, the four Geneva Conventions and their additional protocols, the Torture Convention, the Genocide Convention, and most recently, the anti-personnel landmines and cluster munitions conventions. Since the UN issued the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, it has enacted dozens of agreements on political, civil, economic, social and cultural rights, including women's rights and children's rights, which, over time, have migrated, sometimes imperfectly, into domestic law around the world. Further, an extensive international criminal justice system has developed under UN auspices, a major innovation foreseen nowhere in the original charter.

Overseeing this body of laws, rules, norms and practices is the UN Human Rights Council, which in 2006 succeeded the heavily criticized Human Rights Commission. The council is an intergovernmental body within the UN system comprising 47 states and is responsible for strengthening the promotion and protection of human rights around the globe. Among its innovations is the new Universal Periodic Review mechanism, which assesses the human rights situations in all 192 UN member states, and a revised



Complaints Procedure that allows individuals and organizations to bring complaints about human rights violations to the attention of the council. While it is better in these respects than its predecessor, the council suffers from some of the same failings, notably a disproportionate focus on Israel and inadequate attention to and frankness on the failings of others, notably of the Middle East and African nations, China, Russia and Cuba, which band together to protect each other from criticism. In 2008, UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon stated: “We have come a long way since the Declaration’s adoption. But the reality is that we have not lived up to its vision — at least not yet.”²¹

MIGRATION (IOM, ILO, WTO, UNHCR, BERNE INITIATIVE)

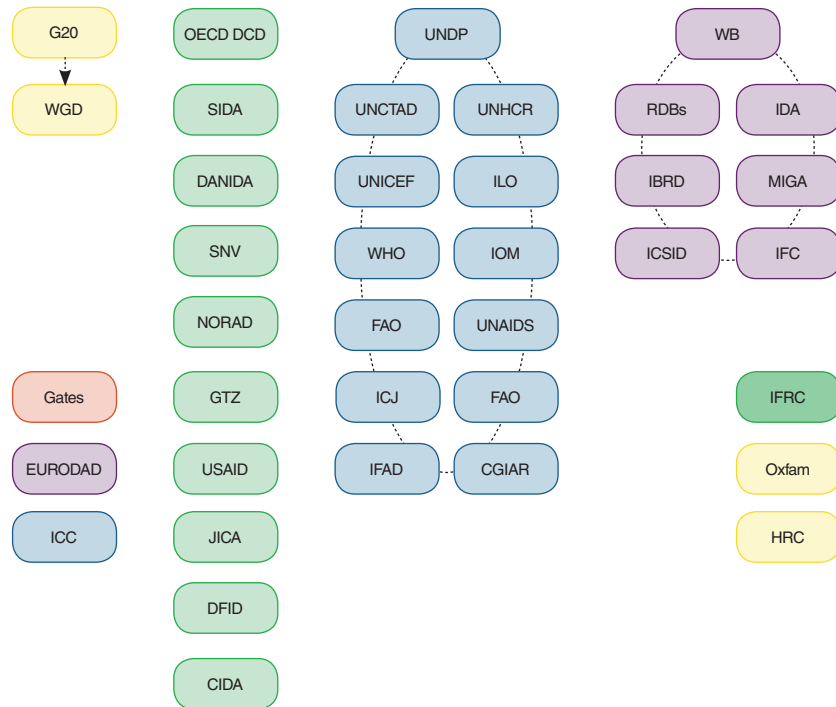
The issues surrounding migration include management of the global labour force, IDP, asylum and refugee protection, migration for employment, the spread of infectious diseases, terrorist movements, human smuggling, “brain drain” and human rights abuses. Despite numerous bilateral, multilateral and regional agreements, a harmonized and comprehensive international system to manage migration does not exist. There are no universal standards. Many countries have developed ad hoc strategies that serve only their national interests. International conventions have low rates of ratification. Furthermore, the challenges of managing migration reach across all issue areas, including the global economy (employment), global environment (resource depletion), global development (human rights, pandemics, infectious diseases) and global security (refugees, IDP, terrorism). Perhaps no issue transcends so many issues and institutional jurisdictions as does migration.

Michael Clemens (2010) has done a thorough survey of the very large benefits to global poverty reduction of even very small increases in labour mobility. He notes: “Minor reductions in the barriers to labor mobility would add more value than the total, global elimination of all remaining policy barriers to goods trade and all barriers to capital flows, combined.”

“Migration lies at the center of global problems today. Rich countries are trying to attract skilled immigrants and keep unskilled ones out; poor countries are trying to keep skilled labor at home. Both sides are doomed to fail. Governments must stop trying to curtail migration and start managing it to seek benefits for all” (Bhagwati, 2003). Kathleen Newland, writing for the Global Commission on International Migration, quotes the late legal scholar Arthur Helton: “the fragmented and uncoordinated policy environment relating to international population movements feed friction and fears... Achieving a comprehensive policy relating to the international movement of people would require new international institutional arrangements capable of serious research leading to the generation of norms in this field — a World Migration Organisation... The ultimate objective for a WMO would be to make and arbitrate global migration policy” (Helton, qtd. in Newland, 2005).

²¹ Ban Ki-moon to a special session of the UN HRC on the sixtieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. See http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2008-12/13/content_10497366.htm.

Global Development



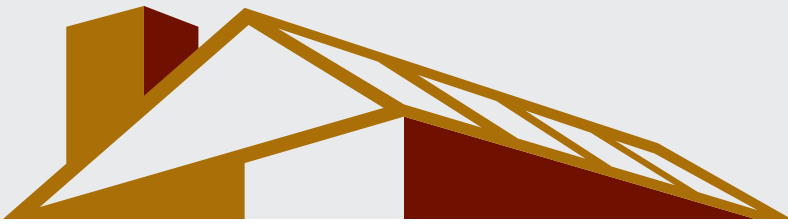
GLOSSARY OF ACRONYMS

CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency	ICGEB	International Centre for Genetic Engineering and Biotechnology	NORAD	Norwegian Development Agency
CGIAR	Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research	ICJ	International Court of Justice	OECD DCD	OECD Development Cooperation Directorate
DANIDA	Danish Development Agency	IDA	International Development Association	RDBs	Regional Development Banks
DFID	UK Development Agency	IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development	SIDA	Swedish Development Agency
EURODAD	European Network on Debt and Development	IFC	International Finance Corporation	UNCTAD	UN Commission on Trade and Development
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization	IFRC	International Federation of the Red Cross Red Crescent Societies	UNDP	UN Development Program
GTZ	German Development Agency	ILO	International Labour Organization	UNHCR	UN High Commissioner for Refugees
HRC	Human Rights Council	IOM	International Office of Migration	UNICEF	UN Children's Fund
IBRD	International Bank of Research and Development	JICA	Japanese Development Agency	USAID	US Development Agency
ICC	International Criminal Court	MIGA	Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency	WB	World Bank
				WGD	Working Group on Development
				WHO	World Health Organization

GLOBAL SECURITY

In his seminal 2005 report, "Freedom from Fear," former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan asked all states to come to a new security consensus, by which they would treat a threat to one as a threat to all, and would work together to prevent catastrophic terrorism, stop the proliferation of deadly weapons, end civil wars and build lasting peace in war-torn countries. The world appears to agree in principle with these expansive objectives, but too often fails to act in consequence. Unlike other areas characterized by gaps, notably finance, states do not feel the same security threat and, consequently, do not share in "the fellowship of the lifeboat," as Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper perceptibly described the initial response to the financial crisis of 2008-09.

States do not always come together because they do not always feel they need to and they do not always want to, for ideological or pecuniary or other reasons of concrete and immediate self-interest. There are many important exceptions, starting with the creation of the United Nations and adoption of its charter mandate to safeguard future generations from the scourge of war. Almost equally important has been



the conclusion of the NPT, an unequal bargain that most states have, nevertheless, adhered to because doing so enhances their security. The NPT showed that the world is indeed capable of changing collective course when all see an existential need to do so. Further, the world has found sufficient common ground to conclude 13 counterterrorism treaties and numerous other treaties from sustainable development to human rights to trade, where the benefits of adherence outweighed the (small) cost to sovereignty entailed. But the world permits itself to disagree on matters where narrowly defined national interests compete, and where there is not an overwhelming need or unavoidable obligation to cooperate. There are several vexing areas of disagreement, notably at the intersection of human rights and state sovereignty, on disarmament and weapons development, on terrorism and resistance, and on crime and drugs.

The UN has been plagued by gaps and divisions between rich and poor countries, between the Security Council and the General Assembly, between nuclear powers and others, between the Israelis and Arabs and Muslims more generally, between the Indians and Pakistanis, between North Korea and its neighbours, and, during the Bush years, between a unilateralist Washington and a multilateralist New York.

What is not always clear is whether the United Nations is divided because of the intractability of the problems it faces, or whether the divisions among its membership make the problems intractable. In either case, filling gaps is not easily done. Gaps include disparities in access to information and strategic analysis, the absence of UN rapid deployment police and security forces, and a general dearth of UN resources (for example, civilian teams providing human rights monitoring, policing, humanitarian and disaster assistance) to deploy in conflict emergencies.²²

UN SECURITY COUNCIL REFORM

In a shrinking, integrating, globalizing world, good global governance has become an end in itself, or very nearly. The means have become integral to the ends of security, safety, prosperity and dignity, internationally as well as nationally. At the same time, the institutions of international governance are not fully up to the job we need them to do.

Reform of the United Nations has become near-synonymous with reform of the Security Council. The council's perceived legitimacy has a direct bearing on the standing of the United Nations as a whole. As long as the members of the community of nations recognize themselves in the makeup of the council and see the council's decisions as expressions of the common will, the organization has a potential for effectiveness that no other can match.

Former Secretary-General Kofi Annan and Deputy Secretary-General Louise Fréchette, among many others, worry that this vital asset is being eroded. They believe that the Security Council, as currently constituted, has a representational deficit and does not reflect the emergence of a multicentric world. There is a "disconnect between the distribution of authority within existing intergovernmental institutions and the distribution of military power internationally" (Weiss and Thakur, 2010). The fear is that there comes a point where the mismatch between the capacity of the holders of permanent seats and the real-world distribution of power becomes so wide that it destroys the legitimacy of the body and, ultimately, its effectiveness. The gap between the world of 1945, in which the major victorious powers and France awarded themselves permanent seats with the ability to veto Security Council decisions, and contemporary reality is wide, and will undoubtedly get wider.

The countries that aspire to permanent seats regard an anachronistic council as only a quasi-legitimate one, and, equally bad, a semi-effective one. In their view, the council's decisions would be more respected,

²² See www.responsibilitytoprotect.org/files/UNEPS_PUBLICATION.pdf.

and therefore more readily and fully implemented by others, if the permanent members were more representative of the entire membership.

This raises the question of how to reconcile equity and accountability, and therein lies the rub. Not everyone equates enlargement with reform. Some member governments think the council's bigger problem is its performance and accountability deficits — Rwanda in 1994 and Darfur at the beginning of this century being tragic cases in point — and that creating a larger council would not fix that. Efficiency is also a consideration. The greater the number of council members, the more difficult it will be to reach agreement and the weaker the outcome, and the more certain that the five permanent members will effectively run things.

ARMS CONTROL (CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT)

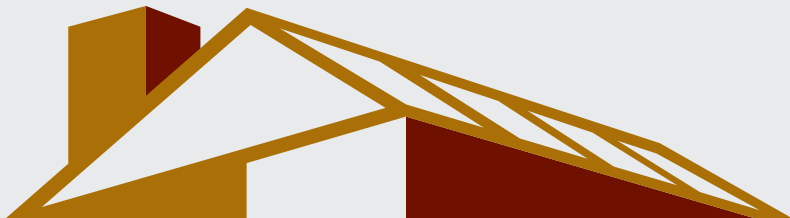
There are serious gaps in the interplay of disarmament and defence, particularly with regards to concluding the FMCT. The FMCT, which is a long-standing goal of the international community, would prohibit the production of fissile material for the manufacture of nuclear weapons, a necessary condition for turning off the tap on fissile material, essential to the production of nuclear weapons.

The 65-nation Conference on Disarmament in Geneva is the United Nation's focal point for the negotiation of multilateral arms control and disarmament agreements. But it has not produced an agreement since the 1996 Comprehensive (Nuclear) Test Ban Treaty and has not even been able to agree on a work program since 1998. A major flaw of the conference is that it operates on a strict consensus basis, which means that any country — in this case Pakistan, because it fears falling behind India in capability — can and does block all decisions. Nor is there unanimity on the rest of the work, notably on outer space security and security assurances to non-nuclear weapon states.²³ According to Kofi Annan, the Conference on Disarmament “faces a crisis of relevance resulting in large part from dysfunctional decision-making procedures and the paralysis that accompanies them” (Annan, 2005).

TERRORISM (SECURITY COUNCIL-CTC, CTED, CTITF, INTERPOL, IAEA, OPCW, UNODC, ICAO)

Multilateral cooperation on terrorism includes investigative surveys, intelligence gathering, the political-diplomatic dimension, intercultural and inter-religious dialogue, controls on financing, transport security and, where necessary, the use of military force. There are 13 UN conventions against terrorism. The Security Council coordinates international judicial and police cooperation, the fight against the flow of capital that fuels terrorist groups, and the development of technical aid programs aimed at strengthening the operational capacities of member states in this sector, and so on. The UN has five separate counterterrorism bodies: the Office on Drugs and Crime/Terrorism Prevention Branch (UNODC/TPB); the Security Council's Al-Qaida/Taliban Sanctions Committee and associated Analytical Support and Sanctions Monitoring Team; the Security Council's Counter-Terrorism Committee and the Counter-Terrorism Executive Directorate; the Counter-Proliferation Committee; and the working group on additional measures against terrorism. The G8 established two specialized bodies: the Lyon/Rome Group, a forum for information exchange, analysis and promotion of coordination and cooperation initiatives, and the Counter-Terrorism Action Group, which coordinates technical assistance to Third World countries, especially those whose institutions are weaker and who are more exposed to the threat of terrorism.

²³ See Paul Meyer (2011). “A path to nuclear disarmament leadership.” *Embassy Weekly*. February 2.



...[T]his multiplication of under resourced counterterrorism bodies has led to duplication in analytic and assessment functions at the UN and has imposed excessive reporting obligations on individual UN member states, which can be especially burdensome on smaller, less developed countries. Most important, the existence of separate bodies has impeded the development of more coherent, integrated strategies and programs for combating the terrorist threat. (Cortright and Lopez, 2007)

SPACE (COPUOS, INMARSAT, INTELSAT, ITU, CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT)

Governance of space involves several dimensions of disarmament and development. There is the issue of risk to space assets in the orbital environment posed by debris from past launchings. There is the question of the allocation of electromagnetic spectrum and orbital slots. There is no policy or any set of agreed-upon international rules of the road, codes of conduct or international standards for space organizations and businesses to exercise due diligence in their safety and liability concerns, and policy and legal obligations. The issues are complicated by the dominant role of military establishments, which acquire and control most data on space. The Chinese and US anti-satellite weapon tests, in 2007 and 2008 respectively, raised concerns about gaps in the global space regime. The tests added to the existing debris problem and, worse, raised the prospect that states may begin to weaponize space and make it another environment for destructive military action. The 1967 Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space has been ratified by close to 100 nations and signed by dozens of others. Attempts at a follow-up “Moon Agreement” have not been successful.

CYBERSECURITY (ITU, COUNCIL OF EUROPE)

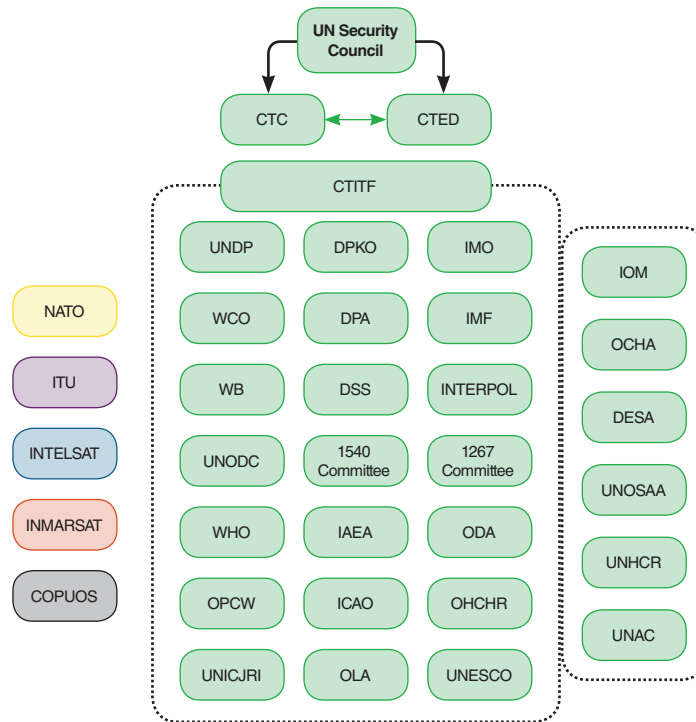
As many as six UN bodies and multiple regional and national forums have attempted to build a consensus on the future of Internet governance. Progress, however, remains elusive.²⁴ To provide a cooperative framework for addressing the growing issue of cybersecurity, the ITU has launched a Global Cybersecurity Agenda. A significant regional initiative is the Council of Europe’s Convention on Cybercrime, an international treaty signed by 47 member states and six others, including Canada and the United States.²⁵

According to an ITU report, “The need for international cooperation in cybersecurity is evident, due to the nature of cyberspace itself...the Internet...enables malicious individuals and groups to exploit ‘loopholes of jurisdiction,’ making investigation and law enforcement difficult. Perpetrators can act from any location in the world and mask their identity....The case for international cooperation is even stronger, when criminals take advantage of countries’ inability to coordinate, due to legal reasons or because authorities do not have the necessary technical expertise or resources to address the issue... As vulnerabilities increase, threats in cyberspace are growing rapidly...International cooperation is lagging behind and has difficulty keeping pace. The cross-border nature of cyberattacks and the organization of criminals necessitate international cooperation actions through justice and police systems. International cooperation can also work well, where countries develop watch and warning networks, with real-time sharing of the threat information. There is currently no global governance system to control spam, where international cooperative action is based on bilateral and multilateral platforms” (Global Strategic Report, 2008).

²⁴ See Robert K. Knake (2010). “Internet Governance in an Age of Cyber Insecurity.” Council Special Report No. 56. Available at: www.cfr.org/terrorism-and-technology/internet-governance-age-cyber-insecurity/p22832.

²⁵ See www.coe.int/lportal/web/coe-portal/what-we-do/rule-of-law/cybercrime.

Global Security

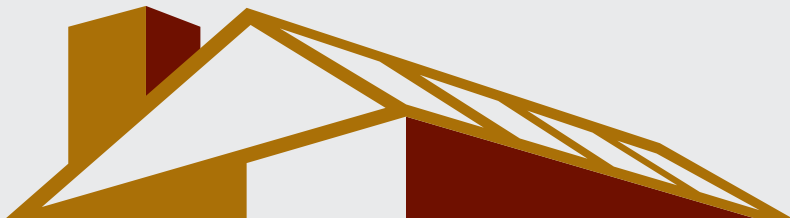


GLOSSARY OF ACRONYMS

COPUOS	Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space	INTERPOL	International Criminal Police Organization	UNDP	UN Development Programme
CTC	Counter Terrorism Committee	IOM	International Organization for Migration	UNESCO	UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
CTED	Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate	ITU	UN Information and Communication Technology	UNHCR	UN High Commissioner for Refugees
CTITF	Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force	NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization	UNICJRI	UN Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute
DESA	Department for Economic and Social Affairs	OCHA	Office of the Coordinator for Humanitarian Affairs	UNODC	UN Office on Drugs and Crime
DPKO	Department of Peacekeeping Operations	ODA	Office for Disarmament Affairs	UNOSAA	Office of the Special Advisor on Africa
DPA	Department of Political Affairs	OHCHR	Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights	WB	World Bank
DPI	Department of Public Information	OLA	Office of Legal Affairs	WCO	World Customs Organization
DSS	Department of Safety and Security	UNAC	UN Alliance of Civilizations	WHO	World Health Organization
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency	OPCW	Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons		
ICAO	International Civil Aviation Organization				
IMF	International Monetary Fund				
IMO	International Maritime Organization				

CONCLUSION

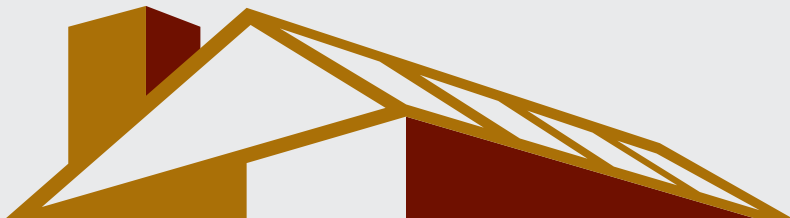
As the initial stage in CIGI's G20 think tank network cooperative effort, the October 28–30 "An Unfinished House" conference will identify the most promising areas of research for this network — the global governance "gaps" most in need of innovative proposals, either in the mandates and resources of the existing spectrum of international organizations and international governance arrangements or in the coordinating mechanisms to ensure coherence. The intention is to determine which issues are most receptive to "code sharing" activity by a think tank network, and to highlight the early-harvest recommendations for Mexican preparations for the G20 presidency in 2012.



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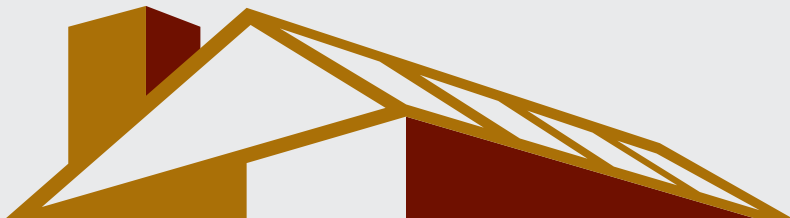
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The Centre for International Governance Innovation is an independent, non-partisan think tank on international governance. Led by experienced practitioners and distinguished academics, CIGI supports research, forms networks, advances policy debate 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 research programs focus on four themes: the global economy; environment and energy; global development; and global security.

CIGI was founded in 2001 by Jim Balsillie, co-CEO of RIM (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, co-chef de la direction de RIM (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.

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