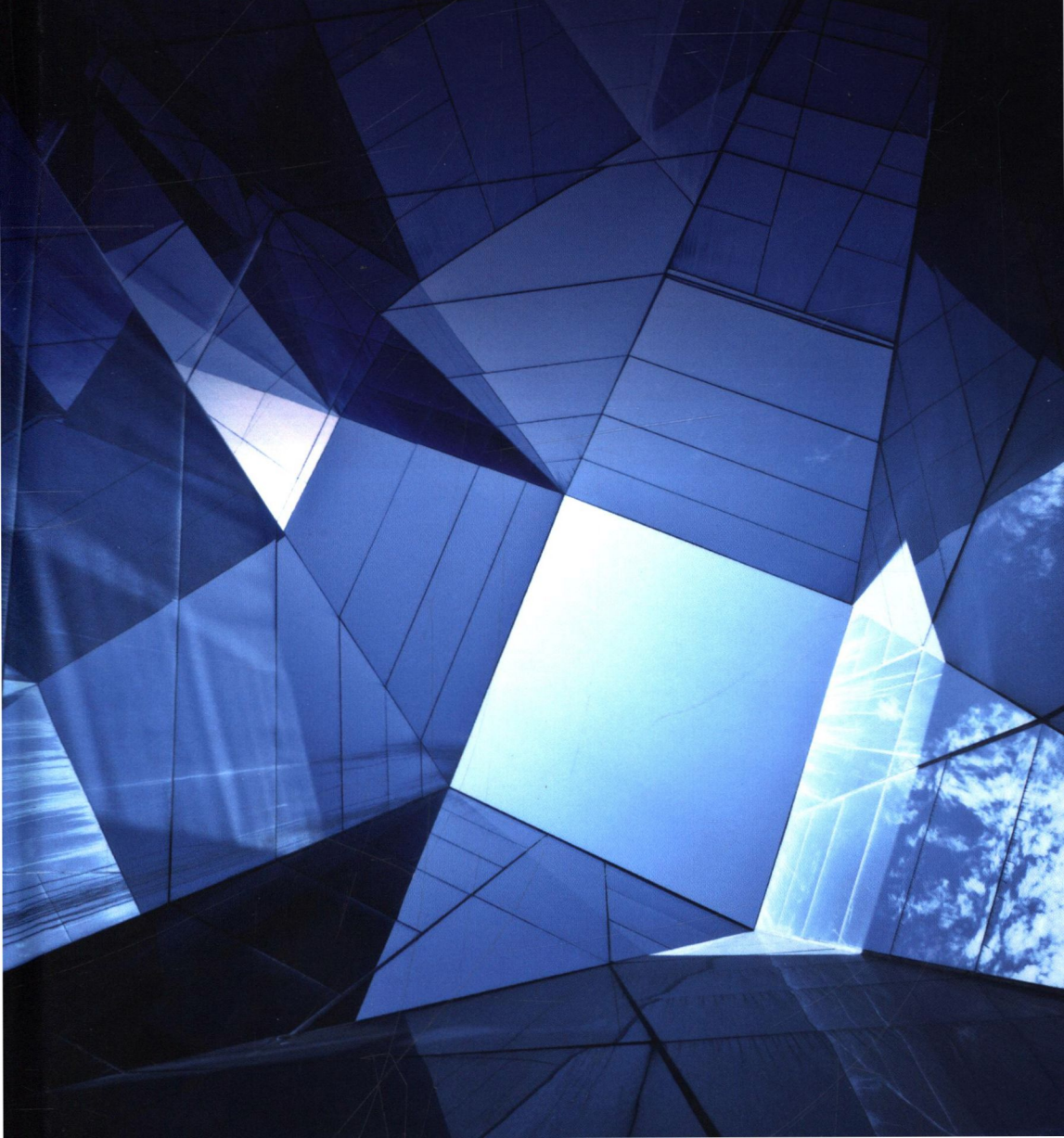


BEYOND GRIDLOCK

Thomas Hale and David Held et al.



'Beyond Gridlock is a powerful, authoritative, timely, and ultimately sobering sequel to *Gridlock* ... Required reading for all scholars and practitioners aiming to strengthen the global cooperation that is vital for the world's survival and sustainable development.'

Jeffrey D. Sachs, Columbia University

'Hale and Held's overarching vision, and their collaborators' deep-dive into specific challenges, provide the frontier, key statements on global gridlock. Everyone needs to read Hale and Held.'

Danny Quah, Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, NUS

'Getting us beyond current gridlock will require every good idea we can muster. This book shows the way forward.'

John Gerard Ruggie, Harvard University

'Hale and Held unfold a fascinating map of multiple pathways of change that are never prescribed, sometimes mutually reinforcing, always challenging.'

Christiana Figueres, Executive Secretary, UNFCCC 2010-16

It is now conventional wisdom to see the great policy challenges of the twenty-first century as inherently transnational. It is equally common to note the failures of the international institutions the world relies on to address such challenges. As the acclaimed 2013 book *Gridlock* argued, the world increasingly needs effective international cooperation, but multilateralism appears unable to deliver it in the face of deepening interdependence, rising multipolarity, and the growing complexity and fragmentation that characterize the global order.

The *Gridlock* authors have now partnered with a group of leading experts to offer a trenchant reassessment of elements of the argument. Comparing anomalies and exceptions to multilateral dysfunction across a number of spheres of world politics, *Beyond Gridlock* explores seven pathways through and beyond gridlock. While multilateralism continues to fall short, *Beyond Gridlock* identifies systematic means to avoid or resist these forces and turn them into collective solutions. This book offers a vital new perspective on world politics as well as a practical guide for positive change in global policy.

Thomas Hale is Associate Professor of Public Policy (Global Public Policy) at the Blavatnik School of Government, University of Oxford.

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GRIDL

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Beyond Gridlock

Thomas Hale and David Held

with

Garrett Wallace Brown, Michael Clarke,
Camila Villard Duran, Ann Florini, Lucas Kello,
Andreas Klasen, Kyle McNally, James Orbinski,
Tom Pegram, Taylor St John, Kevin Young

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Beyond Gridlock

Abbreviations

| | |
|---------|--|
| AMR | antimicrobial resistance |
| APT | advanced persistent threat |
| ARPANET | Advanced Research Projects Agency Network |
| ASEAN | Association of Southeast Asian Nations |
| BCBS | Basel Committee on Banking Supervision |
| BIS | Bank for International Settlements |
| BIT | bilateral investment treaty |
| BRICS | Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa |
| BWC | Biological Weapons Convention |
| G6 | US Federal Reserve, European Central Bank, Bank of Japan, Bank of England, Swiss National Bank, Bank of Canada |
| CAT | Convention against Torture |
| CEM | Clean Energy Ministerial |
| CFE | Contingency Fund for Emergencies (WHO) |
| CGFS | Committee on the Global Financial System |
| CMIM | Chiang Mai Initiative Multilateralization |
| COP | Conference of the Parties |
| COP21 | 21st Conference of the Parties to the UNFCCC, Paris, 2015 |
| CPSS | Committee on Payments and Settlement Systems |
| CRA | Contingent Reserve Arrangement |
| CRD | Capital Requirements Directive |
| CTBT | Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty |
| CWC | Chemical Weapons Convention |
| DAH | development assistance for health |

| | |
|-------|--|
| DSM | dispute settlement mechanism |
| EU | European Union |
| FATF | Financial Action Task Force |
| FDI | foreign direct investment |
| Fed | United States Federal Reserve |
| FSB | Financial Stability Board |
| FTA | free trade agreement |
| G7 | Group of Seven (Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, UK, US) |
| G8 | Group of Eight (G7 plus Russia) |
| G20 | Group of Twenty (major economies) |
| G30 | Group of Thirty (consultative group of academics and financiers) |
| G77 | Group of Seventy-Seven (developing countries) |
| GATS | General Agreement on Trade in Services (WTO) |
| GATT | General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade |
| GDP | gross domestic product |
| GEG | global energy governance |
| GFATM | Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria |
| GFF | Global Financial Facility |
| GHSA | Global Health Security Agenda |
| GICNT | Global Initiative to Combat Nuclear Terrorism |
| GSM | Global Stabilization Mechanism |
| HRC | Human Rights Council |
| HSS | health system strengthening |
| IAASB | International Auditing and Assurance Standards Board |
| IADI | International Association of Deposit Insurers |
| IAEA | International Atomic Energy Agency |
| IAIS | International Association of Insurance Supervisors |
| IASB | International Accounting Standards Board |
| ICANN | Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers |
| ICC | International Criminal Court |
| ICRC | International Committee of the Red Cross |
| ICSID | International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes |
| IDA | International Development Association |
| IDP | internally displaced person |
| IEA | International Energy Agency |
| IEF | International Energy Forum |
| IGO | intergovernmental organization |
| IHR | International Health Regulations |
| IIF | Institute for International Finance |

| | |
|--------|---|
| IMF | International Monetary Fund |
| IOPS | International Organisation of Pension Supervisors |
| IOSCO | International Organization of Securities Commissions |
| IPCC | Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change |
| IRENA | International Renewable Energy Agency |
| ISDS | investor–state dispute settlement |
| IWG | International Working Group on Export Credits |
| LDCs | least developed countries |
| LNG | liquefied natural gas |
| MAI | Multilateral Agreement on Investment (OECD) |
| MDB | Multilateral Development Bank |
| MDG | Millennium Development Goal |
| Mtoe | million tons of oil equivalent |
| NAFTA | North American Free Trade Agreement |
| NATO | North Atlantic Treaty Organization |
| NGO | non-governmental organization |
| NHRI | national human rights institution |
| NPT | Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons |
| OCHA | UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs |
| ODRF | Over-the-Counter Derivatives Regulators' Forum |
| OECD | Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development |
| OHCHR | UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights |
| OPCAT | Optional Protocol to the Convention against Torture |
| OPCW | Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons |
| OPEC | Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries |
| OSCE | Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe |
| OTC | over-the-counter derivatives |
| P5 | Permanent Five (members of the United Nations Security Council) |
| PEF | Pandemic Emergency Financing Facility (World Bank) |
| PEPFAR | President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief |
| PSI | Proliferation Security Initiative |
| R&D | research and development |
| R2P | Responsibility to Protect |
| SALT | Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty |
| SARS | severe acute respiratory syndrome |
| SDG | Sustainable Development Goal |
| SDR | Special Drawing Right |
| SE4ALL | Sustainable Energy for All |
| SML | Local Currency Payment System |
| START | Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty |

| | |
|----------|---|
| TCP/IP | Transmission Control Protocol/Internet Protocol |
| TPP | Trans-Pacific Partnership |
| TRIMs | Agreement on Trade-Related Investment Measures |
| TTIP | Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership |
| TW | terawatt |
| UHC | universal health coverage |
| UK | United Kingdom |
| UN | United Nations |
| UNAIDS | Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS |
| UNCITRAL | United Nations Commission on International Trade Law |
| UNCTAD | United Nations Conference on Trade and Development |
| UNEP | United Nations Environment Programme |
| UNFCCC | United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change |
| UNGGE | United Nations Group of Governmental Experts |
| UNHCR | United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UN Refugee Agency) |
| US | United States |
| USAID | US Agency for International Development |
| WHO | World Health Organization |
| WMD | weapons of mass destruction |
| WTO | World Trade Organization |
| XDR-TB | extensively drug-resistant tuberculosis |

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Michael Clarke was Professor of Defence Studies at King's College London from 1995 and was the Director General of the Royal United Services Institute from 2007 to 2015. He remains Visiting Professor at King's and also at the University of Exeter and is a Specialist Advisor both to the House of Commons Defence Committee and to the Joint Committee on the National Security Strategy. In 2016 he began chairing an Inquiry into drone warfare on behalf of the All Party Parliamentary Group on Drones.

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Preface

There are increasing signs that the liberal international order created after 1945 now verges on collapse. While populism and nationalism are on the rise across the world, asserting the claims of particular peoples and places, we are more linked than ever before. These links require global cooperation and careful management. And yet we are not rising to this challenge. A series of global collective action problems, from the spread of weapons of mass destruction to climate change, threaten to render our societies weaker, poorer, and more violent. There is a substantial risk that humankind may not end the twenty-first century as well as we began it.

How these existential challenges are governed, and why their governance has been so inadequate, has preoccupied us for many years. In *Gridlock: Why Multilateralism Is Failing When We Need It Most*, published with Kevin Young in 2013, we sought to understand and explain the achievements and the limits of the postwar order. We concluded that deep structural trends, rooted in the extraordinary success of international cooperation and the transformations it allowed, now undermined its continued effectiveness and responsiveness. We set out a bleak picture of how gridlock paralyses multilateral governance, with dangerous implications.

This grim picture has stayed with us, and in some cases darkened further. However, it does not capture significant anomalies to the argument. Across world politics, some resilient pathways endure, and new pathways of change unfold. Over the last three years we have explored and examined these exceptions, and tried to understand the balance between the pressures of gridlock, on the one side, and

pressures for change, on the other. Without understanding these trends, we cannot begin to break the cycle of gridlock.

Beyond Gridlock is distinctive in two ways. First, it offers a unique and comprehensive insight into political stasis and change at the global level – what works, and why, and where. Second, it has been written in an innovative way, drawing on the expertise of outstanding academics and policy experts working in a diverse range of problem areas. We brought this group together twice, once in Durham in 2015 and once in Oxford in 2016. These were far-ranging and intense discussions in which expertise on specific topics came into dialogue with arguments concerning cross-cutting global trends. This process laid the foundations for the work on this book, which began as an edited volume of essays but ended as a highly integrated, multi-authored text that deploys jointly developed theoretical and analytic tools. The result is an original and comparative analysis of the fundamental challenges of global governance in the twenty-first century.

We would like to thank all those who contributed in these discussions. These include all the contributors to this book, as well as Oliver Stuenkel, Vanda Felbab-Brown, Seyom Brown, Eva Maria Nag, Robert Wade, and Saba Mahmood. We also thank the Global Challenges Foundation for their support of the two workshops. Finally, Polity Press has been hugely supportive; we thank everyone there for their professionalism.

Thomas Hale and David Held
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