



## Managing Global Insecurity MGI

**“Responsible Sovereignty: International Cooperation for a Changed World”**  
**A Capstone MGI Advisory Group Conference**  
***In Partnership with Bertelsmann Stiftung***  
**Berlin, Germany: 15 – 16<sup>th</sup> July 2008**

Heads of international organizations and foreign policy leaders from around the world met in Berlin, Germany July 15-16, 2008 to discuss the future of international security and cooperation. Convened by the Managing Global Insecurity Project (MGI) in partnership with the Bertelsmann Stiftung, the event, “Responsible Sovereignty: International Cooperation for a Changed World,” focused on the idea that in a transnational world, all states share duties to their citizens and to each other in tackling common threats like terrorism, nuclear proliferation, and global climate change. The event was hosted by three members of MGI’s Advisory Group - Strobe Talbott, Brookings President; Javier Solana, European Union High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy; and Wolfgang Ischinger, Chairman of the Munich Security Conference - in partnership with Gunther Thielen, Chairman and Chief Executive of the Bertelsmann Stiftung.

The meeting participants addressed operational strategies to build a revitalized international order around the theme of “responsible sovereignty.” They also debated MGI’s recommendations to the next American President, key international partners, and heads of international institutions on how to galvanize international cooperation to manage global climate change, nuclear proliferation and regional crises and internal conflict.

The proceedings were opened by German Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier and United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon. Steinmeier said, “We are in the midst of a global reorientation, a collective process of adjustment in reaction to these new challenges. We need to come up with new concepts to master them. “Responsible Sovereignty” – as you term it in your project – refers to the most important part of this new approach: shared responsibility among the members of the international.” Ban congratulated MGI for coming to grips with “one of the defining challenges of the 21st century.”

**Climate Change.** Rajendra Pachauri, chair of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), delivered a comprehensive and sobering keynote dinner address on the challenge of global warming. The IPCC, he said, estimated that the world has seven years to begin the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions to avoid global temperature changes by mid-century that would have devastating human and environmental impacts. The only way to achieve that is to introduce new technologies that conserve energy and stimulate the development and adoption of new technologies that radically reduce our reliance on fossil fuels. For emerging economies, this will require greater openness to transfer technologies from industrialized nations. For the 1.6 billion who have no access to electricity, it will mean investments in sustainable energy sources. Developed and developing countries have to

jointly design imaginative and innovative solutions to sustain growth without the reliance on fossil fuels that characterized the previous industrialization era.

MGI Advisory Group member, Sylvia Mathews Burwell, President of the Global Development Program at the Gates Foundation, focused her remarks on the impact of climate change in the developing world, particularly on food security. She stressed that the international community is under-equipped and unprepared to assist least developed countries which will bear the brunt of the devastation of climate change. Nick Mabey, Director of E3G, underscored that many of the policies and technologies to create sustainable paths to development are known, but the political will to advance them is absent. Paul Martin, former Prime Minister of Canada, addressed the need to stop deforestation as a crucial development and policy strategy.

A central theme of the session on climate change was that while international institutions need strengthening, political commitment to undertake policies that curb emissions and stimulate innovation are a pre-condition for success. In order to galvanize necessary political pressure, participants stressed that issues of equity within the international system must be openly recognized and managed. Leaders of key states, including the U.S. but also new emerging powers like China and India, would also have to articulate the urgency of the challenge to their citizens, building domestic constituencies for progress.

**Nuclear Proliferation and Disarmament.** Mohamed El Baradei, Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency, led the discussion on nuclear security, laying out the significant steps needed to reduce nuclear weapons and control proliferation, thereby avoiding a new arms race that would further undermine the nuclear non-proliferation and regime.

Igor Ivanov, Former Foreign Minister of Russia, called for a renewal of arms control between the United States and Russia to build trust on nuclear issues. Ana Palacio, Former Foreign Minister of Spain and board member of the French nuclear company AREVA stressed the role of responsible corporate behavior combined with prudent international regulation as a tool to strengthen the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). Participants further concluded that future agreements on civilian nuclear energy must be made within a strengthened nonproliferation regime, with bolstered safeguards and expanded verification mechanisms in order to ensure that states and civilians are not put at risk. They also underscored that advocacy efforts by non-governmental organizations and civil society would play a crucial role in pressuring governments to act.

**Conflict Management.** Frances Deng, Special Advisor to the UN Secretary-General on the Prevention of Genocide began the discussion on conflict. Deng first developed the concept of responsible sovereignty, which was a precursor to "responsibility to protect," a principle to guide international action in countries where people are victims of mass atrocity and their governments are unable or unwilling to protect them.

The panelists, including Jan Eliasson, Special Envoy to the United Nations Secretary-General on Darfur; Salim Ahmed Salim, African Union Special Envoy on Darfur; and Ashraf Ghani, Chairman of the Institute for State Effectiveness and Former Finance Minister of Afghanistan, stressed that the greatest challenge in international response to

conflict was the gap between responsibility to protect and capacity to protect. Discussants referenced the international community's interventions in Darfur and Afghanistan, underscoring the vast resources and sustained commitment necessary for effective peacebuilding.

**Moving Forward.** On the issue of climate change specifically, but also across the range of global threats we face today, participants highlighted that the clock is already ticking. If action is not taken, these issues will become more imminent threats to global security and prosperity, if not existential challenges to our planet. Advisory Group members called on the MGI Project to further refine its action agenda and focus concerted effort over the next months to build momentum toward a 2009 campaign to strengthen international cooperation in the face of 21<sup>st</sup> century threats, particularly with the election of a new American President, as well as upcoming elections in India, Germany, Japan, Canada, Mexico and the European Parliament. As history illustrates, it usually takes a catastrophic event to bring about a redefinition of sovereignty and a re-building of international order. In the current context, the urgency of looming threats and existential challenges must provide the political fuel needed for a revitalization of the international security system.