COURIER

Provoking Thought and Encouraging Dialogue on World Affairs

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War, Peace, and Legacy

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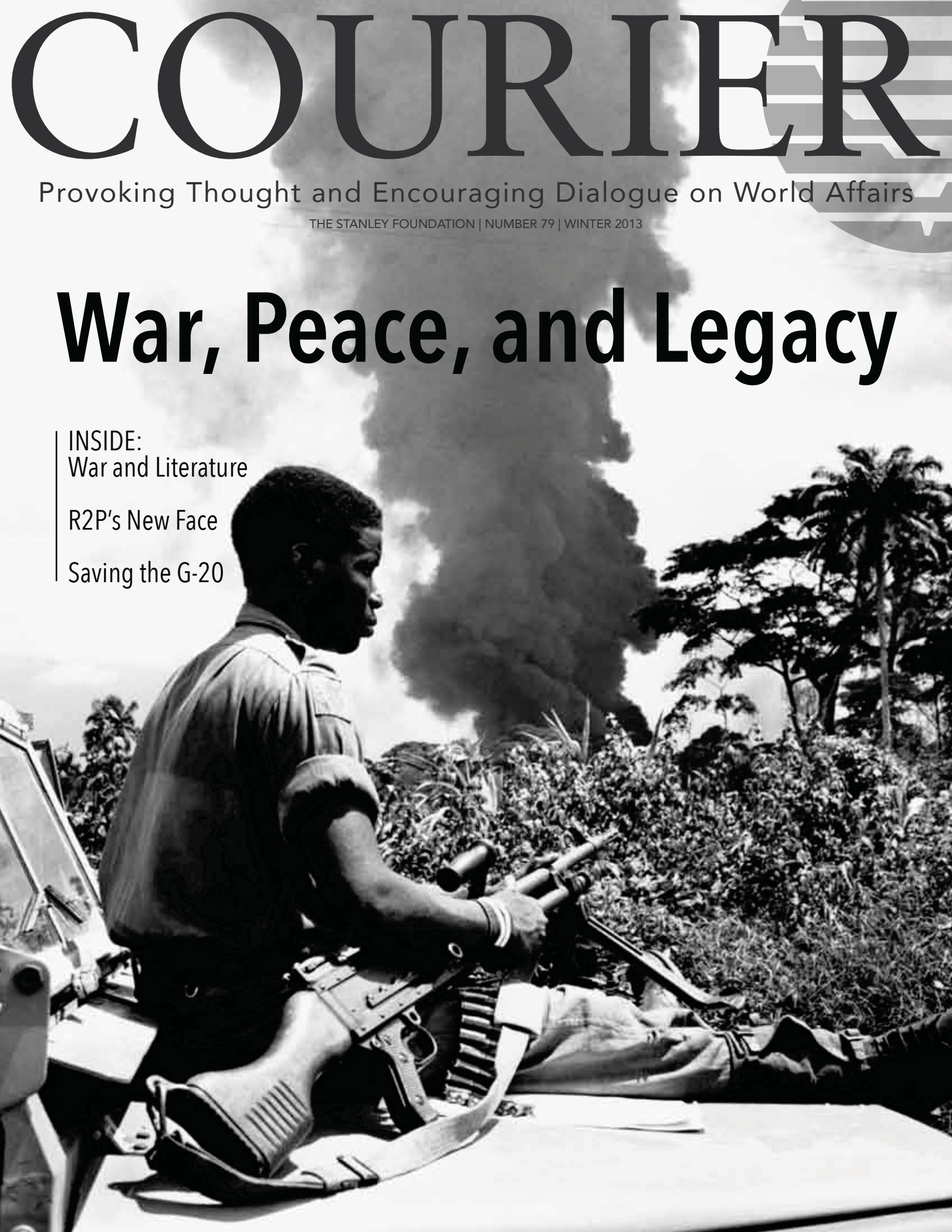

Chipping Away at the Iceberg

By Jennifer Smyser, Editor

In late September, I was with a group of journalists visiting two villages in South Ossetia. We were there to see how new fences being constructed are effectively moving the boundary line several hundred feet into what was previously considered Georgian territory. The land grab came just after the fifth anniversary of the conflict between Russia and Georgia that resulted in the breakaway regions of South Ossetia and Abkhazia, recognized as official states by Russia and a handful of other countries. Standing in the village of Dvani with the sound of gunfire nearby, I was reminded yet again of how many people in our world live in a state of conflict every day.

While the new tensions in Georgia have largely flown under the radar, we've all seen the terrible images from Syria of the innocent civilians who were killed by chemical weapons in August. Over dinner recently, I heard firsthand from a Syria human rights lawyer about the thousands who have lost their lives and the millions who have been forced to flee their homes due to the conflict. She and countless others are working to keep their fellow Syrians safe and raise awareness outside of the country. The continuing violence has made for a heart-wrenching situation to say the least.

A friend—who knows that our work at the Stanley Foundation is in pursuit of a secure peace and freedom—said jokingly to me recently, "I'm counting on you to fix this mess in Syria." If you're like me, you only wish you had the power as an individual to solve the world's greatest problems. But none of us do. The same is true for countries; no single nation can bring a resolution to our toughest issues without the cooperation of others.

That idea is central to the mission and vision of the foundation. Our programming and day-to-day activities are in pursuit of multilateral action toward fair, just, and lasting solutions to critical peace and security issues. It's not always easy to see progress, but if we keep looking for ways to push policy in a direction that leads to improved global governance, then we might all have a chance of living in a peaceful world with freedom and justice.

A few, small chips away at the iceberg of the world's problems are reflected in the stories in this edition of *Courier*. We see China through the eyes of Muscatine elementary school teacher Jan Fear, who was one of our Catherine Miller Explorer Awards winners in 2013. Two experts offer their perspectives on the effectiveness of the G-20 as a multilateral venue. We learn more about Jennifer Welsh, the newly appointed UN special adviser on the Responsibility to Protect (R2P).

Also, award-winning author Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, who will serve as the speaker at our 7th Annual International Women Authors event, answers our questions about the connection between literature and war.

While we have no illusions that any one aspect of our programming will in and of itself bring peace and security to the world, we do hope that they add water to a bucket of solutions that might someday brim over.

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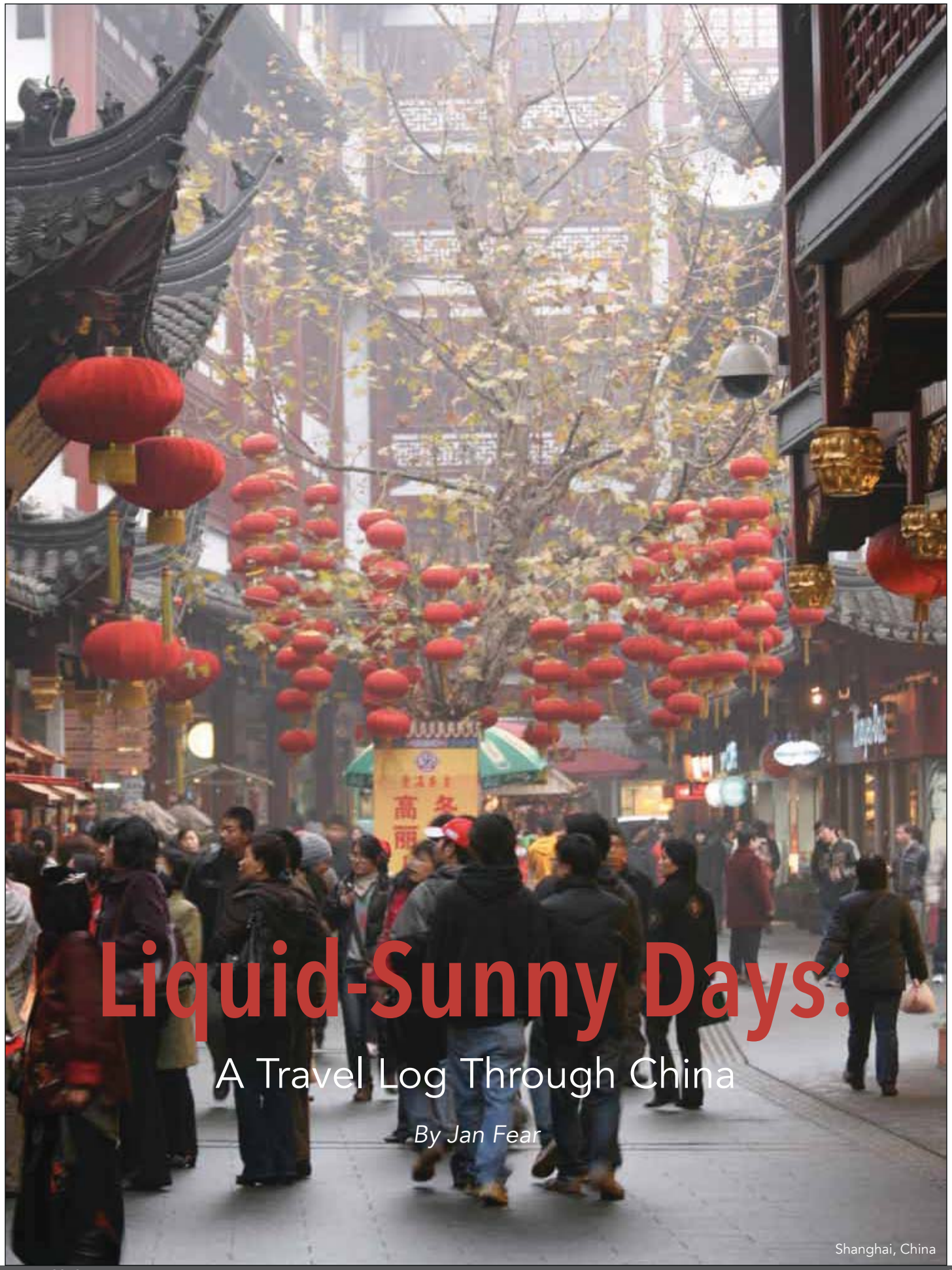
In this 1968 photo, a soldier takes part in the Biafran War. This war is the setting for Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's novel *Half of a Yellow Sun*. (© Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)



Liquid-Sunny Days:

A Travel Log Through China

By Jan Fear

Shanghai, China

Jan Fear, a fourth-grade teacher at Washington Elementary School in Muscatine, Iowa, journeyed to China as part of the Stanley Foundation's Catherine Miller Explorer Awards, which give local educators the chance to study and travel internationally. The program aims to create globally-minded teachers who have a greater ability to teach diverse students because of a deeper understanding and appreciation of another culture.

For years, I've heard about other people's trips with a sense of envy. Every time I listened to tales of overseas travel, it whetted my appetite for my own. I wanted to connect with a culture that was completely unlike mine, so when I saw an available tour in China, I was sold. Not only would I experience multiple cities and the typical tourist sites, I would also have home visits, interactions with students, and a cruise on the Yangtze River. It sounded perfect, and the Stanley Foundation provided the way.

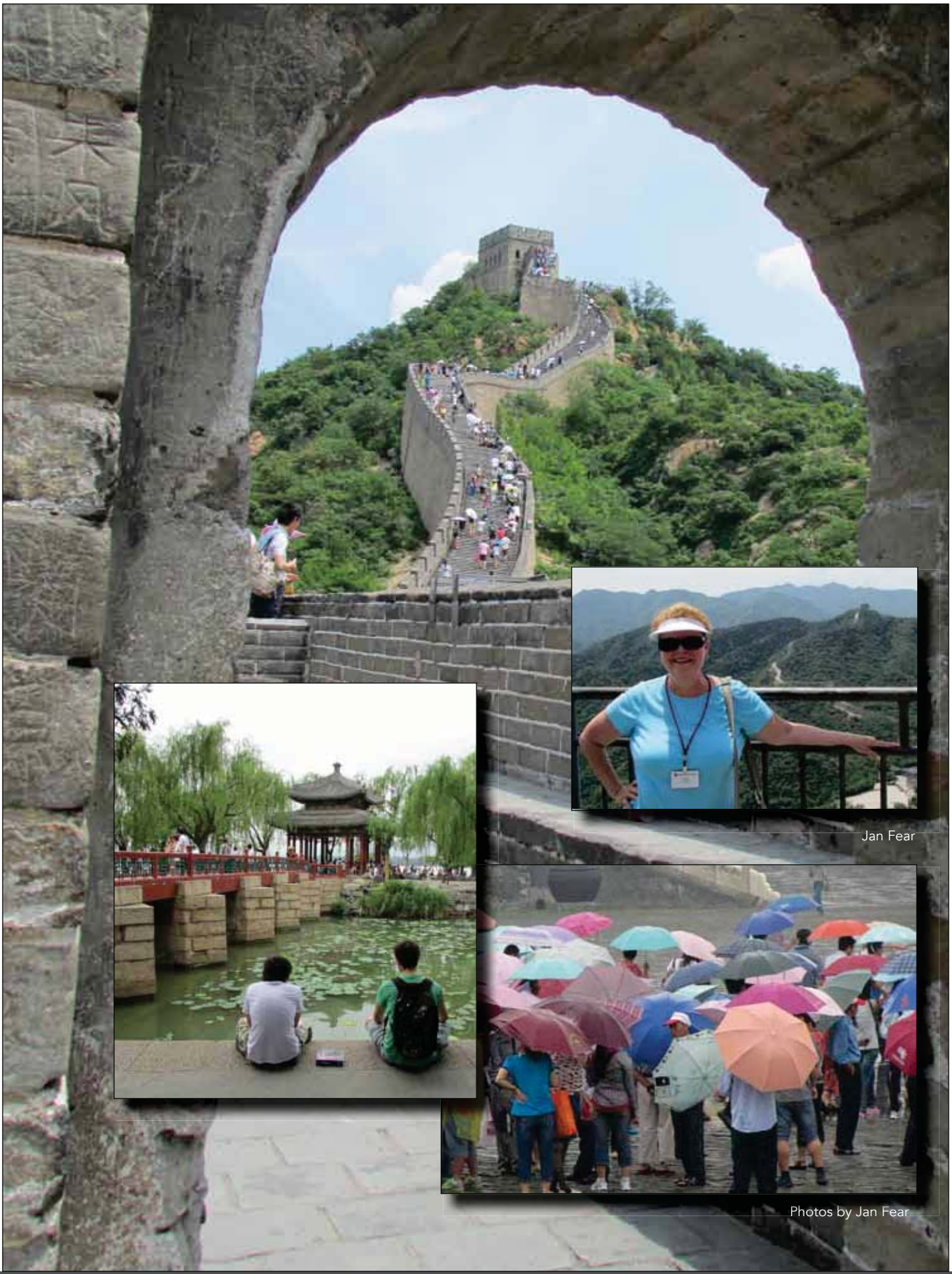
DAYS 1-2: Suitcases packed. Check. Passport. Check. Camera. Check. Dramamine for motion sickness. Check. Temporary panic mode. Check. And I was off to China. It was my first overseas trip, ever.

The flights were smooth and easy. What bothered me the most was the 45-minute bus ride to our hotel in Beijing. The traffic was horrific; starting, stopping, and swerving. By the time we arrived, I was deathly sick.

DAY 3: After a good night's sleep and no longer queasy, this tired traveler was ready to go. After breakfast, Mark, our program director, met with the entire tour group for the first time. I could tell by his welcoming speech that he was going to be great. Handsome Mark, as he calls himself, is very witty, good with one-liners, and could almost be a stand-up comic. Bathrooms are "happy rooms," we are Mark's "family," and street vendors are his "cousins." Stay away from his cousins, he says. We are "travelers" not "tourists." Travelers go to a different country or place to learn, be educated, and to discover. I never thought about that before, but he's right. I know I'm definitely a traveler.

The tours for the day were to the Temple of Heaven and the Summer Palace—such ancient places. Even the trees were about 600 to 800 years old. Both are common locations for locals to congregate in order to exercise, socialize, or relax. Many men played games of mah-jongg—similar to the Western card game rummy—or poker while women worked on knitting and other crafts. Others played unusual instruments that sounded melodic and primordial. I wanted to stay and hear more, but time was not on our side. Of course, some of Mark's "cousins" were there to sell their wares.

DAY 4: I can now say I have walked on the Great Wall of China, and I have pictures to prove it. What a wonderful day, knowing that I accomplished something many people have on their "bucket list." My ultimate goal was to get to a stone tower that had a viewing platform. Little did I know it would take me an entire hour to get there. The steps were very steep and narrow, as well as crowded. I was also stopped numerous times by Chinese to get my picture taken with them. Who knew I had been elevated to celebrity status? When I returned to the bottom, I had a moment



Jan Fear

Photos by Jan Fear

when I became disoriented and lost my bearings. I was teetering. I can't say my sense of direction took over, but my instincts did, and I decided to turn around and go the other way. Good thing, because I ran into Mark. He wasn't really looking for me, but what a relief. He asked if I had been trying to get to Mongolia. Very funny, Mark. After a buffet lunch, we went to Ming's Tomb and the Sacred Way, a blessedly straight and flat path lined with larger-than-life statues.

DAY 5: The weatherman—that is, Mark—said it would be a "liquid-sunny" day. The morning was definitely liquid. We walked around Tiananmen Square in a downpour, and I found out my raincoat is only water resistant, not waterproof. Oops. Good thing I had an umbrella, but even that didn't help much.

One place I really wanted to see was the Forbidden City. As I viewed a constant stream of umbrellas flowing up to the doors of the Hall of Supreme Harmony, I decided to join the throngs of pushing and shoving tourists. It was very claustrophobic and almost terrifying. I survived, barely, but never did see the inside of the building.

By afternoon, the rain had stopped just in time for a bicycle-powered rickshaw ride through small alleyways built around the Forbidden City. We had our first home visit for tea with a local resident. Later in the evening, we saw the Peking Opera.

DAY 6: Mark has been telling us about Chinese culture. We're learning about the one-child policy, the ethnic groups, schools, language, religion, income, taxes, and the government. It's all so interesting. A friend and I saw a police car that had the words "to punish and enslave" written across its side in English. Hopefully this was meant to say something more positive but was just lost in translation.

Our last two stops in Beijing were to a kung fu school and a jade factory. Over 700 students from ages 3 to 25 years old attended this martial arts boarding school. I can't imagine letting your toddler be away from home, but many do. The older students entertained us with a performance. These guys are not just good, they are outstanding. This is the school that performed during the 2008 Olympics.

ON TO SHANGHAI

DAYS 7-10: Anywhere you go in China, you see remnants and reminders of its ancient culture. However, where Beijing seemed to be deluged by history, Shanghai appears to be

Shanghai, China

only soaking in it. Beijing is considered the political capital, whereas Shanghai is the economic capital. The buildings seem more modern and the streets cleaner, and the elevated highways create a smoother flow of traffic. Our guide says that "Beijing is the Bill Clinton, and Shanghai is the Bill Gates." It's hard to fathom the size and population of the city. It's as large as Delaware and has 24 million people.

Each place is a new cultural awakening for me. I've learned about Buddhist beliefs by seeing the practices firsthand. After a bullet-train ride to Suzhou, we viewed how people live along the Grand Canal who travel, fish, and even do laundry in the gray water. At a silk factory, I was able to have an up-close and personal experience with a silk worm. A home-hosted lunch of 17 different dishes was delicious, then a trip to an activity center for seniors was entertaining. We walked through a local market, which was sometimes slightly sordid when looking at some of the foods available. The people rely on every type of food, even chicken feet, fish heads, and so-called 1,000-year eggs. Nothing is wasted. The beauty of the city cannot be outdone: the museums, small parks, the lovely landscaping, the river walkway, and the amazing lights along the Huangpu River at night.

The most invaluable lesson I received while in Shanghai was from a lecture given by Qi-Yuan Liu, a Chinese history professor at a local college. He shared his first-hand experiences of what it was like to live during the Cultural Revolution. Words cannot describe the atrocities and hardships these people lived through, or how they have risen above—because of, or despite—these adversities.

Our last experience in the city was taking the "magnetic levitation" train to the airport, which travels up to 268 miles per hour. It only took us seven minutes to go 20 miles. After our plane landed in Wuhan, we took a five-hour bus ride to get to our cruise ship on the Yangtze River. There were views of rice paddies, lotus, fish, and eel ponds, and other layered fields. Farmhouses looked rather large, and many farmers still wear the traditional pointed straw hats.

ON THE YANGTZE RIVER

DAYS 11-14: We embarked on a voyage up the Yangtze River, the third largest in the world. First stop was the huge Three Gorges Dam. A series of escalators took us to the top of a mountain. A massive hydroelectric project in the area had uprooted 1.25 million people. That is mind-boggling.

The Yangtze is very wide, with much more traffic than the Mississippi back home in Iowa. Fishermen use large nets along the banks, and small fishing boats stay close to shore, while large barges and tugs travel the main channel.

The hazy gorges are beautiful in a surreal way, with the massive narrow cliffs standing guard over the river like sentinels. I do long for a little more blue sky and sunshine. It's the beginning of the rainy season, and I have discovered that China, like Iowa, is very hot and humid. Rain or no rain. Sun or no sun. It's like home.

After breakfast on the last day of the cruise, we arrived in Chongqing. We disembarked in a downpour. Porters hauled numerous bags that were attached to poles placed over their shoulders. I honestly don't know how they did it.

Before our flight to Xian, we took a tour of the Stilwell Museum, home of Joseph "Vinegar Joe" Stilwell, commander of American forces in China, Burma, and India during World War II. He and the "Flying Tigers"—the American volunteer air group that were based here—are highly respected for their fight to protect China from the Japanese invasion.

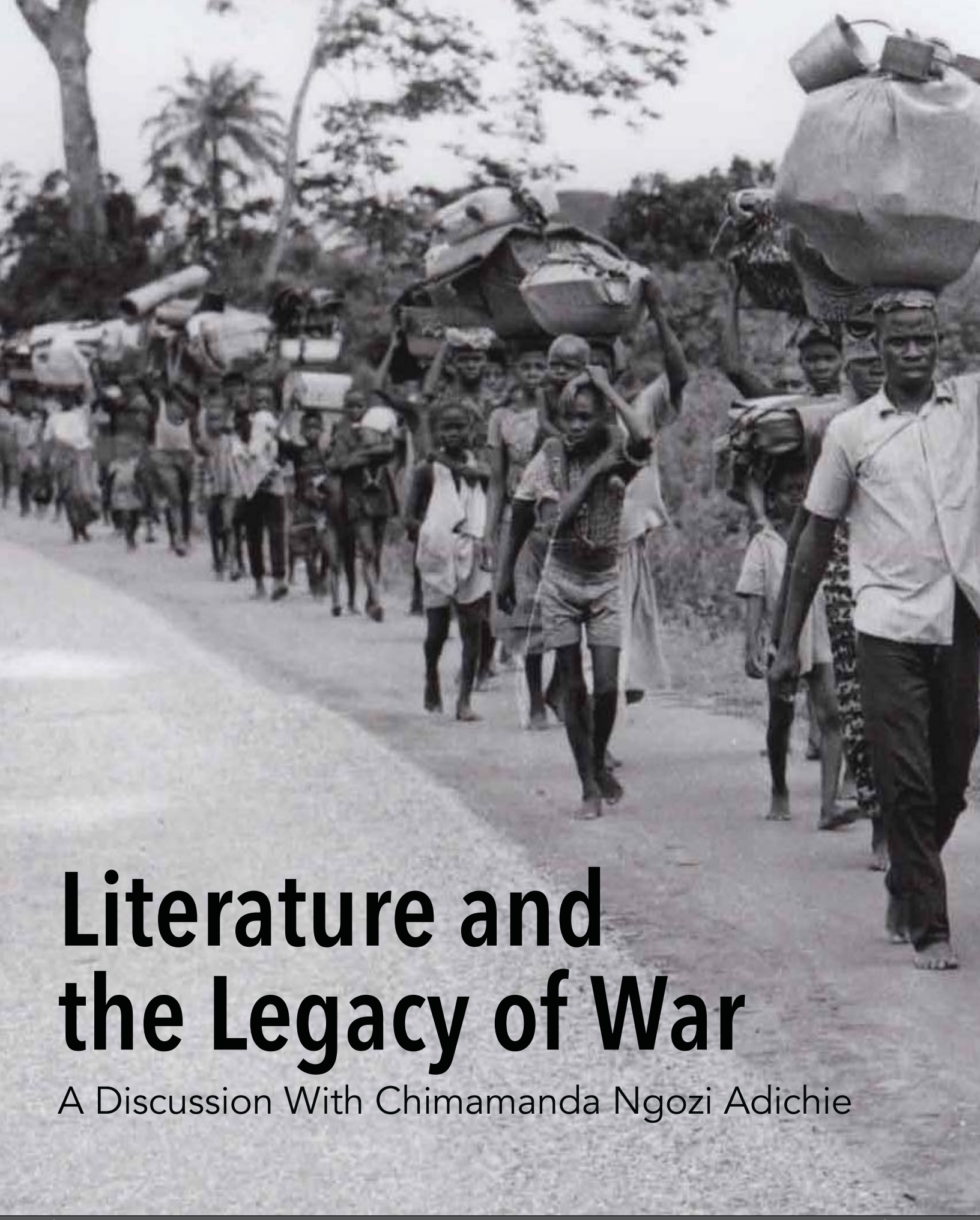
MADE IT TO XIAN

DAYS 14-16: The highlight of Xian was the terra-cotta soldiers, made more than 2,000 years ago. There are so many that it's almost overwhelming. I don't think any two are alike, as they each have their own facial features. What was really exciting was actually seeing one of the five original farmers who discovered the ruins in 1974 and watching him autograph a book that I bought.

DAYS 16-18: Guilin at last! This is one major reason I came to China. Guilin and the surrounding area are home to some of the most picturesque mountains and scenery in the world. Only when we were flying out of Guilin did I see just how vast the mountain range really was.

DAYS 19-21: Hong Kong. Shopping and sightseeing. Flower and bird markets. Parks and fishing villages. I loved it all, but at last, I think I am ready to be home.

IOWA: I am happy, I am home, and I am a better person. On a surface level, I picked up how to use chopsticks and play mah-jongg. On a deeper level, I learned how another culture lives, works, and plays; how the Chinese got to where they are today and where they are going. More importantly, I learned about what I am capable of doing to challenge and better myself, and to enrich my own life as well as the lives of others. This was, after all, a life-changing adventure.



Literature and the Legacy of War

A Discussion With Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie

The Nigerian people's loss of innocence during the Biafran War, described in *Half of a Yellow Sun,* fed Adichie's interest in storytelling. In this image, Igbo refugees flee the violence and privation of the 1967–1970 conflict. Experts estimate more than one milllion people were killed and five million displaced in this war. (Kurt Strumpf/AP Photo)

Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie vaulted onto the international literary scene in 2006 with her novel *Half of a Yellow Sun*, an epic tale set during the 1967–1970 Biafra conflict. She was born seven years after that civil war ended, and she seemed almost destined to become a writer, having grown up in a house in which Nigeria's iconic writer, Chinua Achebe, once lived.

In a recent e-mail interview, Nigeria-born Adichie—who is the author of two other novels, Purple Hibiscus *(2003) and* Americanah *(2013), as well as a collection of short stories,* The Thing Around Your Neck *(2009)—discussed the legacy of the Biafra conflict, the role of the writer, and her newest book.*

THE STANLEY FOUNDATION (TSF): Wars reverberate across generations. People living during the conflict are, obviously, directly impacted, but children born after the war live with it too. In *Half of a Yellow Sun*, you use the Biafra war as the setting for the book. What role does that conflict play now for people like you who were born after it ended?

CHIMAMANDA NGOZI ADICHIE: I grew up in the shadow of Biafra. My generation of Nigerians grew up knowing something had happened to our families, something deeply poignant and profound, but without really having a concrete understanding of it. I wanted to try and know what had happened, to tell the story for myself and my generation, because I think it is very important that we always remember.

TSF: What effect did the war have on your family?

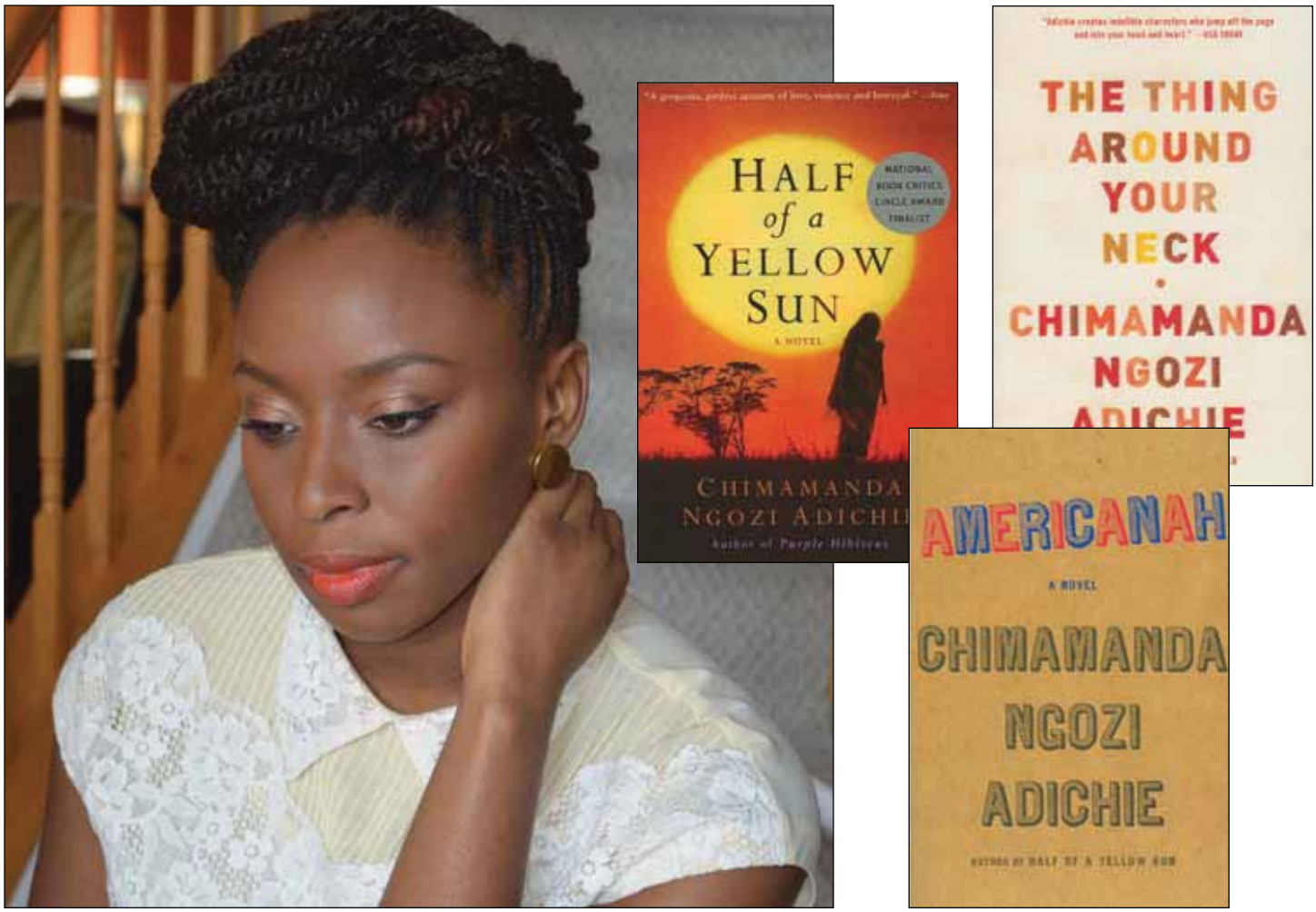
ADICHIE: Both my grandfathers died in refugee camps. My parents lost everything they owned. Relatives died. Most of all, I think my family, and an entire generation of Nigerians, lost its innocence.

TSF: In some ways, if one hasn't experienced war, one can't really understand what it's like. How did you go about trying to figure out the war of your generation's mothers and fathers?

ADICHIE: I asked questions. I listened to stories. I watched facial expressions. I read everything I could find. I looked at photographs. There is something about the power of empathy, of emotional imagination, that makes it possible to come close to what one has not felt. I also think not having experienced it perhaps made it possible for me to write it. Many who directly experience trauma are often unable to tell the stories. I finished writing my novel with a much greater sense of admiration, respect, and awe for those who survived the war.

TSF: In your newest book, *Americanah,* it seems that a main theme is the idea of privilege. Some people have it, some people don't, and it can be based on money, race, or many other things. How important do you think privilege is in how the world works?

ADICHIE: Very important. I wish more people would acknowledge their privileges. I wish the world worked



Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie

differently. As an educated woman in Nigeria, I do not have gender privilege but I have class privilege; I realize there are things that happen to me that I certainly don't deserve, a small respect shown to me, a door opened, which would not happen to an uneducated person. There are [metaphorical] doors that open to people who are white in many parts of the world that would not open to non-white people. There are also those that open to men that do not open to women. If we start off acknowledging this, then maybe we can find a way to make sure that opportunities are not limited to the privileged.

TSF: Everyone has multiple identities—for example, someone can be a mother, a daughter, a cousin, a writer, a member of a religion, all at once. There is, however, the darker side to identity, one of "us versus them," and this is perhaps the aspect that gets the most attention. If you think about yourself as a global citizen for a second, how do you think people should go about managing identities in a way that doesn't lead to conflict?

ADICHIE: I don't think of myself as a global citizen. I travel on a Nigerian passport and have encountered enough unpleasantness and distrust at the borders of various countries to know that I am certainly not a "global citizen," whatever that may be. But more generally, I think the "us versus them" side of identity comes when there is inequality or scarcity, when a group feels excluded, and perhaps one way to think of it is to delink identity and opportunity.

TSF: Do you think, as a writer, you have a political role to play? If so, what kind?

ADICHIE: I don't think all writers have political roles. I happen to be interested in politics. I believe that to write realistic fiction is to be compelled to engage with the social and political backdrop of the characters' lives. Our lives are lived always in context.

TSF: It's a little premature for this question, but if you think about yourself in the future at the end of your life, what message or idea or theme do you think your work will leave the world?

ADICHIE: I don't think about that.

Resilient societies can bounce back after mass atrocities by disarming groups, disbanding combatants, and reintegrating victims and perpetrators into society. Reintegration is especially difficult because victims often feel that perpetrators are rewarded after the conflict. In the photo, a woman who is handicapped because of the Darfur conflict participates in the reintegration program at the National Service Camp in Nyala, South Darfur. (Albert González Farran/UN Photo)

R2P Is Dead, Long Live R2P

The Future of the Responsibility to Protect

The brutal legacy of mass murder in the 20th century gave birth to the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) principle in the hope that an ounce of prevention could stop the need for a pound of cure. Countries around the world vowed there was a shared obligation to protect the defenseless. Despite misperceptions over its nature, R2P is about preventing harm to people, not using force.

The recently appointed UN special adviser on the Responsibility to Protect, Jennifer Welsh, answered our questions about the future of R2P, what the crisis in Syria is doing to the doctrine, and how to better institutionalize the principle.

The Stanley Foundation (TSF): What are your main priorities for the R2P doctrine going forward?


Jennifer Welsh

Jennifer Welsh: My two main priorities over the coming year are to first, advance Pillar Two of the principle in terms of both clarifying how states' capacities to protect can be enhanced through international assistance and identifying particular mechanisms that need to be created or reformed to better provide that assistance, and second, work to embed the principle more firmly within the processes and structures of the United Nations, particularly in terms of human rights, conflict prevention, and protection of civilians. On a more general level, my goal is to work collaboratively with the UN special adviser on the prevention of genocide to continue to build the capacity of our joint office to raise awareness about potential or actual atrocity situations and to catalyze action in response.

TSF: Ever since the military intervention in Libya in 2011, many in the international community have sounded the death of R2P. What are your thoughts?

Welsh: The criticisms leveled about the military operation in Libya did lead to constructive discussion about the principle of R2P—especially the need for those who act militarily on behalf of the United Nations Security Council to remain accountable. But it is important to remember that R2P is about much more than military intervention, even under Pillar Three. There are tools the international community can employ that do not involve the use of force. I think the Libya case was also an important reminder of the role of regional organizations in operationalizing the principle of R2P. Post-Libya, we have not necessarily seen a retreat from states' commitments to the protection of their populations, or from the Security Council's willingness to acknowledge the principle—as it has done in subsequent resolutions.

TSF: How has violence in the Arab Spring, including what's happening in Syria, affected the R2P principle?

Welsh: The crisis in Syria and its staggering human cost reveal yet again how important it is for regional and international actors to take preventive measures more seriously, so as to avoid continuing deterioration of conditions for populations. It also reminds us that the Responsibility to Protect

is borne by a wide variety of actors, not just the Security Council. There are many actors who have indeed attempted to fulfill their protection responsibilities—including the UN Human Rights Council, whose Commission of Inquiry has endeavored to provide a fact base for decision making and accountability; neighboring countries which have accepted refugees; and states and organizations that have applied sanctions. Moreover, the UN secretary-general has continually and consistently called upon actors, especially states in the Security Council, to fulfill their responsibilities by reaching a consensus on ways to bring an end to the violence.

More broadly, it is crucial to point out that whether military intervention occurs or not is not an appropriate "test" for the effectiveness of the Responsibility to Protect. The principle involves a host of noncoercive and coercive tools. Moreover, as per the Outcome Document of the UN World Summit in 2005, states have declared and accepted that decisions on the use of force, which involve a myriad of considerations, not just the Responsibility to Protect, will occur on a case-by-case basis.

TSF: There has been a call by some states for the five permanent members of the UN Security Council to give up their veto vote in cases of mass atrocities. Is there a way to make that happen? Do you think it is a realistic call?

Welsh: The Security Council is an important actor in authorizing some of the more coercive measures of the third pillar of R2P. In this respect, striving to ensure that action is both timely and effective is the responsibility of all members of the council. History has shown us that when the council can act in a concerted and prompt fashion, positive outcomes can be achieved. A willingness to forego the use of the veto in mass atrocity situations could therefore be a positive step, but we should not necessarily see this, in itself, as being the "magic" solution to bringing about council unity. There will often be, appropriately, different views on the legitimacy of various courses of action, especially those involving the use of force. Those views must be heard and digested by the council in its efforts to find a common path. Those states suggesting changes to the use of the veto are important players, and their leadership could make a difference. But the modalities of this change still need to be fleshed out and debated further. Reform of council working procedures has occurred before, so there is precedent.

TSF: Given the informal nature of the current UN dialogue on R2P, do you think it is time to consider R2P as a formal agenda item, and what would be the benefits of doing this?

As societies rebuild, well-trained professional police are needed to foster trust and restore confidence in national institutions. The international community can help states build this capacity. (Martine Perret/UN Photo)

Welsh: Our office will be led by states' views on this matter, and we are able and willing to respond to their preferences for how to take R2P forward within the UN. Placing the annual discussion of R2P on the formal agenda of the General Assembly [GA] does have positive benefits, in terms of indicating commitment to the principle and integrating it with other important goals of the GA, such as development and human rights. That said, the informal dialogues which have been held have been instrumental in advancing the concept and refining the implementation plan developed by the secretary-general in 2009. Formalizing the informal dialogue would require some changes to what has been done in the past, and might require adding more time to the discussion and treatment of R2P, but we are now at a moment in the principle's evolution where this could be justified.

Pillar Two addresses the commitment of the international community to provide assistance to states in building capacity to protect their populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing, and crimes against humanity, and to assist those that are under stress before crises and conflicts break out.

Pillar Three focuses on the responsibility of the international community to take timely and decisive action to prevent and halt genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing, and crimes against humanity when a state is manifestly failing to protect its population.

The G-20 Must Be Revitalized

By Mike Callaghan

Unless steps are taken soon to rejuvenate the G-20, the group's best days will be behind it, even in its role as a "crisis responder." This does not mean the G-20 will be totally ineffective, but it will not fulfill its potential and provide the economic leadership the world needs.

Action in past summits in Washington, London, and Pittsburgh helped stabilize financial markets and contained a likely economic free-fall. More recently, however, there has been growing criticism that the G-20 has failed to live up to the initial high hopes of a new age of global economic cooperation.

The anticipated transition from a crisis responder to a global economic steering committee appears to be running into the sand. For example, Tom Bernes, a fellow at the Canada-based Centre for International Governance Innovation, said the summit in St. Petersburg, Russia, in September was the most forgettable to date.

Much of the criticism is harsh and reflects unrealistic expectations of what can be achieved in an international forum. The G-20 may be a victim of its own early success in responding to the global financial crisis of 2008-2009, and a considerable amount of the blame actually reflects the failure of governments to implement domestic economic policies.

There can be no denying that the G-20 has achieved much, including providing a forum at the highest political level for deeper economic dialogue between countries that are not used to such a level of engagement. Notwithstanding the criticism of this year's summit, notable agreements were reached on tax, trade, and the phaseout of hydrofluorocarbons.

But the G-20 does have problems, and if these are not addressed, its relevance will decline. The group has failed to grapple with some of the thorniest issues confronting the global economy. It has not delivered strong, balanced, and sustainable global economic growth. The addition of new items to the agenda without the resolution of existing ones has given the impression of "mission creep." The G-20's credibility has been damaged by its failure to deliver on key promises, such as commitments to complete the Doha Round of trade talks and reforms to governance of the International Monetary Fund.

The G-20's processes are becoming increasingly bureaucratic. The communiques are getting longer and mainly endorse reports prepared by international organizations and officials. It is hard to see what leaders have actually decided. Of particular concern is that leaders are not engaged in the lead-up to a summit. It has become but one more meeting on a busy international schedule of events. If the G-20 is to provide global economic leadership, it needs to be refocused and reenergized.

WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE?

First, leaders must be (re)engaged. They can get things done, overcome political roadblocks. But as British Prime Minister David Cameron has noted, leaders' time and political capital are limited. The agenda for summits has to focus on a few key international issues where progress will make a difference to the global economy. This does not mean abandoning all the current work. The G-20 should formally adopt a twin-track process, with the leaders' agenda limited to a few critical issues while the rest of the work is advanced by ministers and other officials.

Second, there needs to be greater coherence in the agenda, with all the items clearly contributing to the overarching objective of achieving stronger economic and jobs growth.

Critics posit that in the wake of the global financial crisis of 2008-2009, the G-20 has lost its relevance and effectiveness. These arguments are countered by G-20 supporters, who propose focusing the agenda, delivering on existing commitments, and building momentum to rejuvenate multilateral cooperation. In this image, artwork depicting G-20 summit leaders is at the center of a tug-of-war between peaceful protesters and police in St. Petersburg, Russia. (Elena Ignatyeva/AP Photo)

Third, the chair should ensure that leaders are engaged throughout the year, working toward achieving substantial, collective outcomes.

Finally, the G-20 has to deliver on its commitments. The existing self-prepared reports on members' progress in implementing commitments are perfunctory. The G-20 must strengthen its accountability. Its leaders have to take the promises they make seriously and need to commit to specific action, not general endeavors. Leaders will take their commitments seriously if there is a domestic political backlash for not implementing a promise or achieving a targeted result. Toward this end, greater transparency over the G-20's processes and improved communication as to what leaders have actually agreed on will help strengthen accountability.

WHAT SHOULD BE THE PRIORITIES FOR THE LEADERS' SUMMIT IN 2014?

First, develop a G-20 coordinated growth strategy. The group no longer has a consistent growth narrative, and countries are not on the same page.

Second, aim to breathe life back into the multilateral trading system and start the process of revitalizing the World Trade Organization in the face of the moribund Doha Round and the move toward megaregional trading blocs.

Third, maintain the momentum on combatting tax evasion and avoidance, which was a significant outcome from St. Petersburg even though it largely involved simply endorsing high-level principles. In 2014, the G-20 has to demonstrate progress in tackling a complex and contentious issue. The focus should be on greater transparency by corporations. In addition, a bigger effort needs to be made to involve developing countries, because strengthening their revenue-raising capacity is vital to their development prospects.

Finally, get serious on climate change. If the G-20 really is the premier forum on international economic issues, it should build momentum on climate change in 2014, prior to the critical conference in 2015 of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change.

If the G-20 can make progress on some limited but vital international economic issues in 2014, it will demonstrate again what can be achieved when leaders from the advanced and emerging markets come together, and prove the G-20 can provide global economic leadership.

Mike Callaghan is the director of the G-20 Studies Centre, Lowy Institute for International Policy, in Australia. He was executive director, international, in the Australian Treasury from 2008 until 2012. Callaghan was also Australia's G-20 finance deputy and a member of the Financial Stability Board. He also served as the prime minister's special envoy, international economy.

Why the G-20 Still Matters

By Zhu Jiejin

The G-20 is facing more and more criticism. Detractors say it is losing the spirit fostered during the financial crisis of 2008-2009, leading to a decline in its relevance. However, from a comparative perspective, the G-20 is still the best forum balancing effectiveness and legitimacy in global economic governance.

The G-20 has achieved a lot in the past five years. The establishment of the summit process itself was a great achievement in improving global governance, which historically brings together the major developed countries and developing countries on an equal footing to discuss systemically important economic and financial issues. The successful response to the crisis of 2008–2009 was driven by the simultaneous implementation of stimulus packages by G-20 members, which pulled the world economy away from another Great Depression. The G-20 also built a new framework for the world economy—one of strong, sustainable, and balanced growth—within which all members submit their macroeconomic policies for mutual assessment.That means that each country should not only be responsible for its own economy but also to the world.

The G-20 has strengthened the Bretton Woods system, equipping the International Monetary Fund with more resources to safeguard global financial stability, establishing a new international organization—the Financial Stability Board—setting higher liquidity standards, and tightening the global financial safety net. The G-20 has also made progress in the governance of tax evasion, corruption, climate change, and development. All the issues are interlinked. It is the grand-bargain thinking among the G-20 leaders that the issues can only be dealt with at the same time and in an integrated framework.

So, why do so many people think the relevance of the G-20 is declining? The main reason is that the G-20 is in transition from a crisis committee to a postcrisis one. Economic policy coordination does not just mean fiscal stimulus and monetary policy, but also touches on more structural and social policies within individual countries, which need more compromise.

Shared ideas are still lacking in postcrisis economic governance. During the crisis, Keynesianism dominated G-20 policymaking, while afterward, the ideas shared by developed countries have been losing their attractiveness to emerging countries. For example, should government intervention in the economy be as limited as possible? Are capital controls a bad thing? More and more countries are exploring new economic governance models according to their own situations, which increase the difficulty of international policy coordination.

The G-20 is far from perfect. Its status as the premier forum for international economic cooperation is not so stable. The developed countries turned their attention to the G-8 summit once again, and the emerging countries began to emphasize the importance of the BRICS nations: Brazil, Russia,

As it transitions from its role as a crisis committee for global economic governance to a new postcrisis forum for multilateral cooperation, the G-20 should seek to establish new principles and rules for engagement between developed and developing countries. Here, participants in the 2013 G-20 summit gather at the Konstantin Palace in St. Petersburg, Russia. (Dimitar Dilkoff/AP Photo)

India, China, and South Africa. It is inevitable that the G-20, G-8, and BRICS will coexist and compete to some extent in the postcrisis era.

The G-20 should share more power and responsibilities among the advanced and emerging countries. Developing countries are a different development stage compared with advanced countries, and it is natural for them to hold distinctive priorities and interests on global economic governance. The G-20 should do its best to develop dynamic, common-but-differentiated global governance principles and rules that lay the foundation for cooperation between developed and developing countries, without duplication of the traditional North-South structural conflict. In practice, the G-20 troika system and working group system should comprise developed and developing countries and foster a spirit of sharing power and responsibilities.

The core competence of the G-20 in the future lies in its informality and political leadership. The G-20 should stick to its business of making grand bargains. As former World Bank President Robert Zoellick suggested, the G-20's agenda should be "responsible globalization," providing political leadership for stumbling economic globalization. It should link economic growth, financial stability, full employment, trade liberalization, International Monetary Fund reform, fair taxes, climate change, and development aid together, and then try to find a compromise among the developed and developing countries in a grand bargain. Only in the G-20 leaders' summit can scarce political consensus be made. And then it can be injected into the World Trade Organization's Doha or post–Doha trade negotiations, the UN development agenda after 2015, climate change talks, and so on. If the G-20 can be more successful in this way, its status as the premier forum for international economic cooperation will be solidified.

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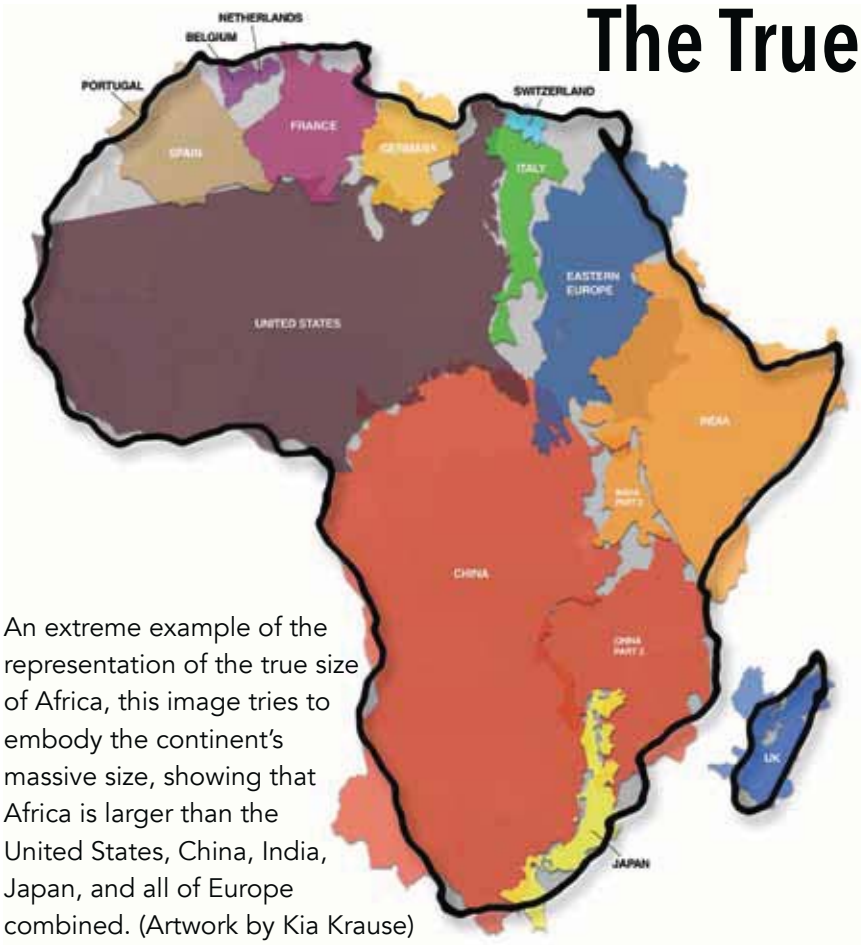
The True Size of Africa



An extreme example of the representation of the true size of Africa, this image tries to embody the continent's massive size, showing that Africa is larger than the United States, China, India, Japan, and all of Europe combined. (Artwork by Kia Krause)

COUNTRY	AREA x 1000 km^2
China	9,597
United States	9,629
India	3,287
Mexico	1,964
Peru	1,285
France	633
Spain	506
Papua New Guinea	462
Sweden	441
Japan	378
Germany	357
Norway	324
Italy	301
New Zealand	270
United Kingdom	243
Nepal	147
Bangladesh	144
Greece	132
TOTAL	**30,102**
AFRICA	**30,221**