



# COOPERATING FOR PEACE AND SECURITY

Evolving Institutions and Arrangements  
in a Context of Changing U.S. Security Policy

Edited by Bruce D. Jones, Shepard Forman and Richard Gowan

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## COOPERATING FOR PEACE AND SECURITY

*Cooperating for Peace and Security* attempts to understand – more than fifteen years after the end of the Cold War, seven years after 9/11, and in the aftermath of the failure of the United Nations (UN) reform initiative – the relationship between U.S. security interests and the factors that drove the evolution of multilateral security arrangements from 1989 to the present. The editors take as a starting point the argument that this evolution has occurred along two major lines and within three phases. Either existing mechanisms have been adapted to address emerging threats, or entirely new instruments have been created – and these changes have largely taken place within the timeframes of 1989 to 9/11, 9/11 to the invasion of Iraq in 2003, and 2003 to the time of this writing. Chapters cover a range of topics – including the UN, U.S. multilateral cooperation, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), nuclear nonproliferation, European and African security institutions, conflict mediation, counterterrorism initiatives, international justice, and humanitarian cooperation – examining why certain changes have taken place and the factors that have driven them and evaluating whether they have led to a more effective international system and what this means for facing future challenges.

Bruce D. Jones is the Director of the Center on International Cooperation at New York University and Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution. Dr. Jones's work focuses on the role of the UN in conflict management and international security, global peacekeeping operations, postconflict peacebuilding and statebuilding, conflict prevention, the role of the emerging powers in the contemporary security environment, and the regional aspects of the Middle East crisis. He is the author of *Peacemaking in Rwanda: The Dynamics of Failures* (2001) and coauthor, with Carlos Pascual and Stephen Stedman, of *Power and Responsibility: Building International Order in an Era of Transnational Threat* (2009).

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# Cooperating for Peace and Security

EVOLVING INSTITUTIONS AND ARRANGEMENTS  
IN A CONTEXT OF CHANGING U.S. SECURITY POLICY

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*In memory of Thomas Franck (1931–2009), an exceptional scholar of international law and inspiring believer in international institutions, who played an essential part in the establishment of the Center on International Cooperation at New York University*



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## Foreword

When I started the Center on International Cooperation (CIC) at New York University in 1996, I was seized by the problem of institutional, financial, and political impediments that precluded more effective multilateral cooperation in the post–Cold War world. From my perch as Director of International Affairs at the Ford Foundation, I had witnessed the failure of many donor governments to meet their international obligations, whether to international aid or to global peace and security. Time and again, the UN, the international humanitarian organizations, the International Court of Justice, and even the U.S. Department of State turned to private philanthropy (and increasingly, to the corporate sector) to seek funding for programs that were not only in the international public realm but basic to it. These programs ranged from humanitarian relief and resettlement efforts in the proliferating civil wars in Africa to clerkships, fact finding and translation at the World Court, and stabilization programs in the former Soviet bloc.

In those promising years between the end of the Cold War and the emergence of the preemptive “take the fight anywhere” Bush doctrine, the possibilities seemed ripe for improved multilateral cooperation to address the issues of poverty reduction, global health, cooperative security, environmental management, the expansion of human rights, and a comprehensive system of international justice. The premise was never a simple “all multilateralism is good,” but an effort to examine deeply the political, financial, institutional, and legal underpinnings of multilateral cooperation to address critical transnational and global problems that no single nation or small grouping of nations could address on their own.

In an effort to deal with the overriding national interest question, we initiated several projects that reflected diverse national motivations: international justice, a matter of signatory obligation; pledges of aid to countries emerging from conflict, an urgent matter of regional and global security; the UN conference on development and reproductive health, a matter of moral commitment; and mobilizing resources for humanitarian relief, state altruism of the highest order. Of course, none of these

motivations stood alone, and in none of these subject areas did a sense of common good prevail over national interests.

Each of our projects paired researchers from the United States and other countries to ensure multi-angled analysis of multifaceted issues and resulted in an edited volume of case studies and a set of policy recommendations. These ranged from the structure and staffing of the International Criminal Court and better distribution of international justice through ad hoc courts and tribunals to an improved architecture for postconflict reconstruction aid and peacebuilding. Given the overriding importance of the United States in a moment of unipolarity, we undertook a major study of multilateralism and U.S. foreign policy, with a set of recommendations on how the United States could better engage in the multilateral arena.<sup>1</sup>

Times have changed dramatically in the course of the Center's ten-year history, in terms of both the international environment for global policymaking and implementation and the proliferation of think tanks now devoted to the question of multilateralism. This book reflects both of these changes in its basic premise regarding the shifting dynamics of power and the two worlds of multilateralism, as described in the Introduction, and by including authors beyond the growing CIC family of researchers. Because of the overriding concern with global security and the changing nature of real and perceived threats, the Center's focus, apparent in this volume, has shifted away from a general concern with multilateralism per se to a tighter consideration of the link between broad areas of global concern and more traditional notions of political and military security.

I am extremely grateful to my initial partners in this effort – Rita Parhad, Stewart Patrick, Cesare Romano, and Abby Stoddard – and to our original supporters at the Ford and MacArthur foundations, who caught the vision and helped set in motion what has become an important inquiry into the workings (and failings) of multilateral cooperation. I am especially pleased to have passed on the Center's directorship to Bruce Jones, an accomplished scholar, a public policy expert and realist, and a person whose political antennae are constantly downloading the right signals. He and his team of able researchers and staff supporters are moving CIC ever closer to the practice of multilateralism while maintaining a high standard of policy analysis and increased cooperation with leading policy institutes and state parties around the world.

Shepard Forman, New York, 11 June 2009

<sup>1</sup> Stewart Patrick and Shepard Forman, *Multilateralism and U.S. Foreign Policy: Ambivalent Engagement* (Rienner, 2002).

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Our authors have tolerated a prolonged editorial process with humor and forbearance. John Berger at Cambridge University Press has been a gracious and tolerant overseer.

Finally, when three people get together to edit a volume of this type, they will almost certainly require a fourth person to keep everything in order. Sara Batmanglich has played this role superbly. Thank you, Sara.



# I

## Framework

