

Global Crises and the Crisis of Global Leadership

This groundbreaking collection on global leadership features innovative and critical perspectives by scholars from international relations, political economy, medicine, law and philosophy, from North and South. The book's novel theorization of global leadership is situated historically within the classics of modern political theory and sociology, relating it to the crisis of global capitalism today. Contributors reflect on the multiple political, economic, social, ecological and ethical crises that constitute our current global predicament. The book suggests that there is an overarching condition of global organic crisis, which shapes the political and organizational responses of the dominant global leadership and of various subaltern forces. Contributors argue that meaningfully addressing the challenges of the global crisis will require far more effective, inclusive and legitimate forms of global leadership and global governance than those that have characterized the neoliberal era.

STEPHEN GILL is Distinguished Research Professor of Political Science, York University, Toronto, and a former Distinguished Scholar in International Political Economy of the International Studies Association. His publications include *The Global Political Economy* (with David Law, 1988), *American Hegemony and the Trilateral Commission* (Cambridge University Press 1991), *Gramsci, Historical Materialism and International Relations* (editor, Cambridge University Press 1993), *Power, Production and Social Reproduction* (with Isabella Bakker, 2003) and *Power and Resistance in the New World Order* (2003; second edition 2008).

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To leaders of all parties and movements

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Acronyms

CEO	chief executive officer
CGI	Clinton Global Initiative
CDSs	credit default swaps
CDOs	collateralized debt obligations
EU	European Union
G8	Group of Eight (heads of state)
G20	Group of Twenty (finance ministers and central bankers)
GATS	General Agreement on Trade in Services
GDP	gross domestic product
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (United Nations)
ICJ	International Court of Justice
ICSID	International Center for the Settlement of Investment Disputes (World Bank)
ICWE	International Conference on Water and the Environment (1972)
ICZ	Islamic cultural zone
IFG	International Forum on Globalization
IFI	international financial institution
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
ISDA	International Swaps and Derivatives Association
MAD	mutual assured destruction
MAS	Movement Toward Socialism (Bolivia)
ppm	parts per million (e.g. greenhouse gas concentrations)
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement

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OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
R2P	Responsibility to Protect
REN21	Renewable Energy Policy Network for the 21st Century
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programs (supervised by the World Bank)
SEA	Single European Act
START	[Third US–Russian] Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty
TRIPS	Trade-Related aspects of International Property Rights (WTO agreement)
TUC	Trades Union Congress (UK)
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	United Nations
UNCED	UN Conference on Environment and Development (Rio de Janeiro, 1992)
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	United Nations Environmental Programme
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
UNHCHR	United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
UNICEF	United Nations Children’s Fund
UNWFP	United Nations World Food Programme
WHO	World Health Organization
WSF	World Social Forum
WTO	World Trade Organization
WWC	World Water Council

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This volume was created as part of a collective effort involving the reflections of the scholars of different generations who inaugurated the Helsinki Symposium at the Collegium for Advanced Studies of the University of Helsinki in early May 2010. The goal of the Symposium was to look beyond the necessary and important but nevertheless narrow focus on the global financial meltdown of 2007–10 that has preoccupied so many, to reflect on much deeper, more structural issues that affect our civilizations in the emerging world order. The contributors are drawn from the ranks of critical theorists from both the global North and the global South. The several disciplines that they reflect constitute some of the key fields of knowledge necessary for conceptualizing and understanding the intersecting global crises from the vantage point of both dominant and subaltern forces as they struggle over the making of our collective future. The contributors wrote their initial papers in the winter of 2009/10 and shared their ideas with each other and with members of the Collegium at the Helsinki Symposium. The volume is therefore global in its forms of knowledge, in its object of analysis and in regard to the geographical, cultural and intellectual backgrounds of its contributors. As noted, the discussions took place in Finland, a very globally oriented Nordic nation that also stands at the crossroads between East and West.

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JAKE GITTES: Why are you doing it? How much better can you eat? What could you buy that you can't already afford?

NOAH CROSS: The future, Mr Gittes! The future.

Stephen Gill