

COUNCIL OF COUNCILS

An Initiative of the Council on Foreign Relations



2015 Report Card on International Cooperation

2014 Grades on Global Issues

2015 Ranking of the Top Issues

2015 Opportunities for Breakthrough



Front Cover: Displaced people from the minority Yazidi sect, fleeing violence from forces loyal to the Islamic State in Sinjar town, ride a truck as they make their way towards the Syrian border, on the outskirts of Sinjar mountain, near the Syrian border town of Elerbeh of Al-Hasakah Governorate, August 11, 2014. Rodi Said/Courtesy Reuters

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A fighter jet flies above as Ukrainian soldiers sit on an armored personnel carrier in Kramatorsk, in eastern Ukraine, April 16, 2014. Marko Djurica/Courtesy Reuters

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About This Report

The Council of Councils (CoC) Report Card on International Cooperation evaluates multilateral efforts to address ten of the world's most pressing global challenges, from countering transnational terrorism to advancing global health. No country can confront these issues better on its own. Combating the threats, managing the risks, and exploiting the opportunities presented by globalization require international cooperation. To help policymakers around the world prioritize among these challenges, the CoC Report Card on International Cooperation surveyed the Council of Councils, a network of

twenty-four foreign policy institutes around the world.

Respondents were asked to assess the state of international cooperation on three dimensions:

- How did the world do, in terms of performance, over the past year in addressing each specific challenge?
- How should these challenges be ranked, in terms of their relative importance?
- Which of these problems offers the greatest opportunity for breakthrough in the coming year?



Displaced people from the minority Yazidi sect, fleeing violence from forces loyal to the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria, walk toward the Syrian border near Sinjar, Iraq, August 11, 2014. Rodi Said/Courtesy Reuters



A Yazidi girl rests at the Iraq-Syria border crossing in Fishkhabour, August 13, 2014. Youssef Boudla/Courtesy Reuters

Ranking of Performance Grades

How global think tank leaders evaluated international cooperation in 2014

B- Preventing
Nuclear Nonproliferation

C+ Managing the
Global Economy

C+ Mitigating & Adapting to
Climate Change

C+ Advancing
Development

C+ Promoting
Global Health

C+ Expanding
Global Trade

C- Managing
Cyber Governance

C- Combating
Transnational Terrorism

C- Preventing & Responding to
Violent Conflict Between States

D Preventing & Responding to
Internal Violent Conflict



A man walks through the dried-up bed of a reservoir in Sanyuan county, Shaanxi province July 30, 2014.
Stringer Network/Courtesy Reuters

Ranking of Top Global Challenges

How world leaders should prioritize global challenges in 2015

1

Preventing & Responding to
Violent Conflict Between States

2

Preventing & Responding to
Internal Violent Conflict

3

Combating
Transnational Terrorism

4

Managing the
Global Economic System

5

Mitigating & Adapting to
Climate Change

6

Preventing
Nuclear Proliferation

7

Managing
Cyber Governance

8

Expanding
Global Trade

9

Promoting
Global Health

10

Advancing
Development

Select Comments From CoC Members

■ We are at the period of returning to traditional interstate rivalry that causes upheaval in the international system. No other phenomenon in international relations is more likely to result in a large-scale war than the current interstate rivalry. It has already resulted in the Russian invasion of parts of Ukraine and a smaller-scale war in the territory directly adjacent to the European Union. The rise of international terrorism and the growing capacity of terrorist groups to destabilize the Middle East is another overwhelming challenge for the global order.

Marcin Zaborowski, Polish Institute of International Affairs

■ 2015 has witnessed some emerging new challenges from cyber governance to global health problems, from transnational terrorism to civil wars in the Middle East, and others. However, these are only symptoms of the challenges rather than the root causes. In order to address the challenges, more international efforts should be focused on promoting international economic governance, facilitating global trade, and advancing the development agenda.

Chen Dongxiao, Shanghai Institutes for International Studies

■ Managing the global economic system is critical to long-term growth and sustainability across all nations, which is critical to global peace. Therefore, sustainable growth and development with poverty alleviation logically flows as the second priority. The threat of transnational terrorism comes next because many conflicts are a consequence of deprivation—although that deprivation or marginalization may be real or perceived. Other serious conflicts that are sectarian in nature gain adherents because of such deprivation. Hence the ranking priority.

Sunjoy Joshi, Observer Research Foundation

■ Twenty-five years after the end of the Cold War's bipolar system, the world is far from being a unipolar one, but it is also not truly multipolar. The centers of power are multiple, of different natures, and overlapping. Complexity, conflictuality, and interdependence are possibly the only elements by which we define our times. The rise of new powers, the growing number of fragile states, and the risks that come from climate change, resource scarcity, and insufficient attention to human and social development all demonstrate the urgency of forging strong partnerships. All subjects of international relations need to define a

new level of ambition on how they engage with the most important players around the globe—in Africa as much as in Asia, in the Arab world, and the Americas.

Steven Blockmans, Center for European Policy Studies

■ The most critical threat to global peace and security is Islamic fundamentalism—induced terrorism. Its objective goes beyond the argument of clash of civilizations, but also cautiously encompasses the imposition of Sharia law. Second, nuclear issues have a Western character. Ill-defined assistance to Africa is a major source of nondevelopment and particularly the inability to engage in hard thinking and self-reliance.

Bola Akinterinwa, Nigerian Institute of International Affairs

■ First, the Internet has become the nervous system of the international system. Having a disruptive nervous system would dramatically impact the stability of the international system. In my opinion, it is the highest challenge in terms of global governance. Second, the crisis in Ukraine is a limited war with global consequences, given the fact it could destroy the European security order and destabilize Russia, a major nuclear power. The strategic priority—either Russia/Ukraine or the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS)—should be discussed further.

Thomas Gomart, French Institute of International Relations

■ Anyone who studies twentieth-century history understands the cataclysmic power of interstate violence. The past year has been a grim reminder that the challenges of both interstate and intrastate conflict remain very real and extremely costly. From Russia's unilateral intervention in Ukraine and annexation of Crimea to the atrocities in Syria and the rise of the black-flagged armies of ISIS, global conflict is on the rise.

Michael Fullilove, Lowy Institute for International Policy

■ The breakdown of governance structures as a consequence of large-scale internal violence has not only a direct negative impact on the lives of many people, but also significant negative consequences for dealing with many of the other challenges. However, the other challenges are important, too. I am not sure if such a simple ranking lives up to the interconnections between the challenges.

Volker Perthes, German Institute for International and Security Affairs

Ranking of Opportunities for Breakthrough

What issues offer hope for progress in 2015

1

Expanding
Global Trade

2

Promoting
Global Health

3

Mitigating & Adapting to
Climate Change

4

Preventing
Nuclear Proliferation

5

Advancing
Development

6

Managing the
Global Economic System

7

Preventing & Responding to
Violent Conflict Between States

8

Managing
Cyber Governance

9

Combating
Transnational Terrorism

10

Preventing & Responding to
Internal Violent Conflict

Select Comments From CoC Members

- Nuclear proliferation and the threat of interstate violence remain the most significant threats to global security both in the Middle East and in other parts of the world. They are also the two criteria on which the international community is mobilized and capable of reaching significant breakthroughs in 2015.

Amos Yadlin, Institute for National Security Studies

- The weakening of today's world order leaves me very skeptical that any of these goals can be improved much this year. Except for promoting health, I don't believe that we will have the chance to see the others advance globally, with the fragmentation of world power, Chinese-U.S. competition, and the continuation of the European crisis.

Carlos Ivan Simonsen Leal, Getulio Vargas Foundation

- Two major opportunities present themselves to make breakthroughs. These are the twenty-first meeting of the Conference of Parties (COP 21) in Paris and the post-2015 development goals. In the case of COP 21, the recent agreement between China and the United States might hopefully galvanize other parties to break seeming deadlocks. The Ebola outbreak in 2014 also helped to identify the fault lines in global response mechanisms . . . this is apart from the very real resource problems that characterize poor states like Guinea, Liberia, and Sierra Leone. There is again an opportunity related to the negotiations with Iran. The sanctions have had their effect, while the decline in the price of oil provides additional leverage to the West.

Elizabeth Sidiropoulos, South African Institute of International Affairs

- Possible progress in Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) negotiations, some opportunities for expanding contacts between the European Union and the Eurasian Economic Commission (Eurasian Economic Union). More opportunities to set joint compromises in decreasing the heat of the Ukrainian conflict. Good chances to have joint positions at the Paris conference, though of limited scale.

Igor Yurgens, Institute of Contemporary Development

- Progress is usually shaped by unforeseen developments during the year that may suddenly align interests or trigger deadlocks. So it is very difficult to predict breakthroughs. I roughly ordered the issues probabilistically.

My top three items were a reflection of the current momentum around three ongoing processes. The UN Paris climate change meeting, the post-2015 UN Development Goals, and the P5+1 nuclear negotiations with Iran at least present the prospect of a breakthrough. Many countries, leaders, and negotiators are invested in these processes.

Memduh Karakullukçu, Global Relations Forum

- The year 2015 will be critical to try to achieve progress on some of the key challenges to the future world order, where a growing international awareness is emerging and willingness to compromise is worth testing, including (one) mitigating the potentially devastating effects of climate change, via the Paris conference; (two) achieving new "sustainable development goals"; and (three) expanding world trade through the Transpacific Partnership (TPP) and the TTIP completion. In contrast, there are some issues where a lack of international consensus, fractious domestic politics, and intractable facts on the ground will make achieving progress very difficult . . . These include combating international terrorism (ten), preventing and responding to violent intrastate conflict (nine), and managing the global economic system (eight). Sadly, achieving a real breakthrough on Iran's nuclear program is likely also to be very difficult for 2015 (six). However, it will be important to ensure that the negotiations are sustained.

Robin Niblett, Chatham House

- In light of the changing power structures in international politics and the increased need for multilateral engagement to solve global problems, in 2015, issues that can be addressed through established mechanisms have a stronger likelihood of reaching a breakthrough than those that are dealt with on an ad hoc basis. The UN Framework Convention on Climate Change Paris conference promises a new direction for post-Kyoto climate agreement, with high hopes of a reinvigorated international treaty on climate change being implemented. The arrival of the UN's Millennium Development Goals 2015 target should hasten efforts to reduce poverty and attempts to enhance the lives of the world's most at-risk people. Following the Ebola crisis of 2014, it is probable that governments and health organizations will increase cooperation to combat future outbreaks.

Sook-Jong Lee, East Asia Institute

Preventing Nuclear Proliferation

B-

Performance
in 2014

6

Top Priority
in 2015

4

Opportunity
in 2015

Jo Yong-Hak/Courtesy Reuters

Models of a North Korean Scud-B missile and South Korean Hawk surface-to-air missiles pictured in 2009.

BY THE NUMBERS

16,300

**nuclear weapons
worldwide**

There are approximately 16,300 nuclear weapons worldwide.

7

**countries eliminated
nuclear material**

Between 2012 and 2014, seven countries removed all or most of their weapons-usable nuclear material.

85%

**of nuclear material
is outside civilian
programs**

Eighty-five percent of global stocks of weapons-usable nuclear materials is outside civilian programs.

9

**nuclear-armed
states**

Nine states possess nuclear weapons.

The Council of Councils gave global efforts to combat nuclear proliferation in 2014 a B-, the highest grade awarded in any category.

Most promisingly, the negotiations between Iran and the P5+1 (the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council—the United States, Russia, China, United Kingdom, and France—plus Germany) temporarily limited Iran's nuclear program in exchange for sanctions relief. Though the progress could be reversed, the negotiations have the potential to contain Iran's nuclear program, addressing one of today's most serious proliferation challenges. Still, talks fell short of expectations, as the deadline for a final agreement was extended from July to November 2014, and then again until July 2015. The extensions reinforced skepticism about the prospects for a deal. Meanwhile, there was no progress in limiting North Korea's nuclear program and the Six Party Talks appeared unlikely to resume, given North Korea's continued efforts to develop its nuclear and missile programs. Additionally, Russia's development of new cruise missiles violates the 1987 Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) treaty, which, along with the lack of international response, undermined the nuclear nonproliferation regime.

At the same time, countries achieved some progress through alternative fora. The third Nuclear Security Summit (in March 2014) furthered the progress made at the first two biannual summits in 2010 and 2012. The 2014 summit, which convened leaders from fifty-three states possessing nuclear weapons and/or fissile material, as well as the heads of four multilateral organizations, ensured that nuclear security

remained a high-level international priority and created a normative framework for holding participants accountable for sustained progress after the summit series ends in 2016. In addition, thirty-five countries committed to conform to the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)'s nuclear security standards. However, there was little or no progress toward other longstanding nonproliferation goals, including the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and a Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty. Finally, Pakistan's nuclear arsenal remains inadequately secured, a dangerous state of affairs given the deteriorating security situation in the country.

Many nonnuclear weapon states are increasingly critical of the nonproliferation regime and its institutions. The 2015 Review Conference of the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) will thus be a major test for the credibility of the global regime. The NPT, the cornerstone of the nonproliferation regime, rests on the multipronged bargain whereby nuclear-weapon states agree to disarm, nonnuclear weapon states agree not to acquire nuclear weapons, and both groups pledge to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons. The treaty also promises that nothing shall interfere with states' rights to peaceful nuclear energy, so long as they comply with the other treaty obligations. Disagreements over the pace of disarmament pose the greatest obstacle for the 2015 NPT Review Conference. Civil society and many nonnuclear weapon states increasingly protest that nuclear-weapon states' progress toward disarmament has been unacceptably slow. It will be difficult to reconcile these points of contention at the 2015 NPT Review Conference. In addition, the negotiations between the P5+1 and Iran could achieve a significant breakthrough



International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) Director-General Yukiya Amano addresses a news conference after a board of governors meeting at the IAEA headquarters in Vienna, Austria, on March 2, 2015. Heinz-Peter Bader/Courtesy Reuters

in 2015, though the repeated extensions have intensified domestic opposition—in both the United States and Iran—increasing the difficulty of forging an agreement.

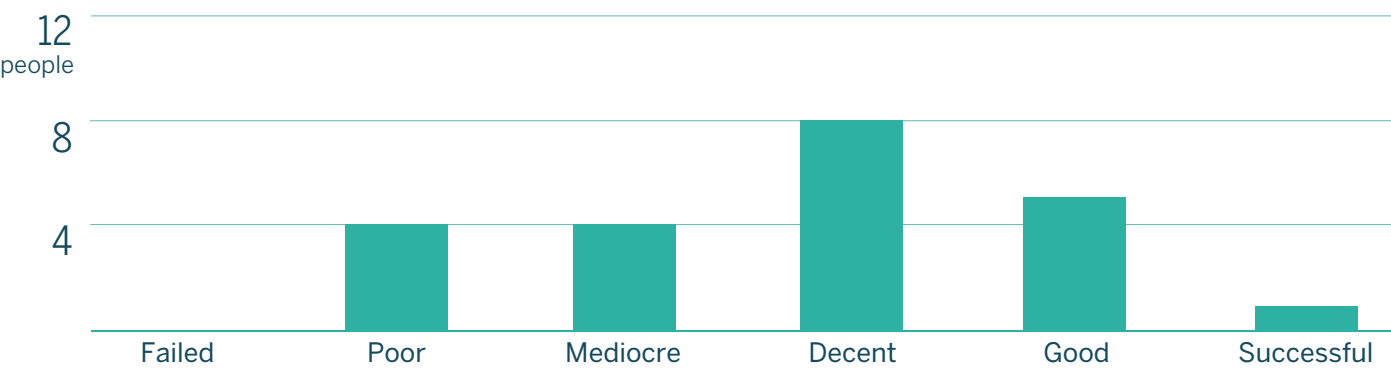
DISAGREEMENTS
over the pace of
disarmament pose
the greatest obstacle
for the 2015 NPT
Review Conference.

Select Comments From CoC Members

- There was no progress on the North Korean front. The only reason I did not assign a “one” here is because of the ongoing Iran talks, which have been serious and have increased our understanding of the Iranian program.
Richard N. Haass, Council on Foreign Relations
- Those seeking prevention also are the sources of the proliferation.
Bola Akinterinwa, Nigerian Institute of International Affairs
- It seems to me that the sanctions on Iran have had some success, but I am not sure that they would be able to prevent Iran from developing nuclear weapons.
Jaime Zabudovsky, Mexican Council on Foreign Relations
- There has been some progress in negotiations with Iran, though it is not irreversible.
Marcin Zaborowski, Polish Institute of International Affairs
- While ultimately inconclusive, the nuclear talks with Iran have frozen Iran’s nuclear program and injected a degree of stability in Iran-U.S. relations. The talks have also proven doomsayers wrong and demonstrated that the negotiation in itself has had a calming effect.
Ferdinando Nelli Feroci, Institute of International Affairs
- Negotiations between the United States and Iran over nuclear issues occurred in 2014, and yet failed to produce any major breakthroughs. North Korea continued to threaten to launch its fourth nuclear test and had been posing security threats beyond the Korean peninsula with its increasing missile capabilities. However, international pressure on North Korea to abandon its nuclear program has failed and the Six Party Talks have not been resumed. Despite some positive performances in the case of Iran, the North Korean case still challenges the effectiveness of the nonproliferation governance.
Sook-Jong Lee, East Asia Institute
- The continuing talks with Iran and the fact that implosion in Ukraine did not lead to any known proliferation is encouraging.
Rohinton Medhora, Center for International Governance Innovation
- The NPT regime is essentially seen as iniquitous, which creates a strong resistance to its implementation and acceptance.
Sunjoy Joshi, Observer Research Foundation
- While North Korea continues to hog the limelight, the readiness of Iran to negotiate—not without difficulty, to be sure—and the relative success of the Proliferation Security Initiative shouldn’t be discounted.
Tan See Seng, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies
- The unprecedented sanctions regime against Iran demonstrated that resolved, unified international action on the economic front can bring about significant diplomatic achievements. In the toolbox of statecraft, alongside military power and various diplomatic mechanisms, 2014 gave a good demonstration that nuclear proliferation can be effectively prevented.
Amos Yadlin, Institute for National Security Studies

Grade Distribution

Number of respondents who assigned each grade



Managing the Global Economic System

C+

Performance
in 2014

4

Top Priority
in 2015

6

Opportunity
in 2015

Brendan McDermid/Courtesy Reuters

Traders work on the floor of the New York Stock Exchange on February 5, 2015.

BY THE NUMBERS

3.3%

**2014 economic
growth**

The world economy
grew at a rate of
3.3 percent in 2014.

3.8%

**projected 2015
growth**

The International
Monetary Fund projects
that the world economy
will grow by 3.8
percent in 2015.

30

“too big to fail” banks

As of November 2014,
thirty banks were desig-
nated as global system-
ically important banks,
or “too big to fail.”

2%

G20 growth target

The G20 has pledged
to lift global GDP by
2 percent above the
business-as-usual
projection by 2020.

The Council of Councils gave management of the global economic system a C+ in 2014.

The world economy grew at an overall rate of 3.3 percent—a marginal improvement over the 3 percent seen in 2013, though 0.4 percentage points lower than the International Monetary Fund (IMF)’s April 2014 prediction. However, growth was uneven across regions. Whereas the United States fared well, Japan’s economy continued to falter, Europe slid toward recession, growth in China and other emerging economies decelerated, and Russia’s economy operated under increasing stress as it confronted sanctions and a sharp decline in oil prices.

At the multilateral level, political momentum for macroeconomic coordination appeared to be waning. The Group of Twenty (G20) agreed in the Brisbane Action Plan to measures that aim to spur job creation and lift G20 countries’ gross domestic product (GDP) by at least an additional 2 percent over the next five years, but this arbitrary target lacked a robust mechanism to ensure implementation of these pledges. Still, small successes included agreements to tackle international tax evasion, facilitate greater investment in infrastructure, and adopt stronger international standards for global “systemically important banks” to avoid future taxpayer bailouts of these “too-big-to-fail” institutions. Meanwhile, under the supervision of the Basel Committee on Banking Supervision, implementation of the Basel III banking regulations continued to progress in 2014.

The uneven global recovery led to a divergence in global monetary policy by the end of the year, with unclear consequences. Throughout the

year, the U.S. Federal Reserve issued clear forward guidance about its plans to end by October its asset-purchase program, known as quantitative easing (QE). This signaling reflected a welcome commitment by the Fed to reduce international volatility after the 2013 “taper tantrum,” when the mere mention of tapering off QE roiled emerging markets. Still, the Fed’s tightening of monetary policy remained controversial, posing risks to emerging markets, especially to countries with weak economic fundamentals. In January 2015, the European Central Bank launched its own QE program, which was widely considered necessary—though not necessarily sufficient—to stave off deflation and jump-start economic recovery. Meanwhile, quantitative easing has remained a pillar of Japanese policy, with ambiguous effects on global markets.

At the institutional level, the continued failure of the IMF board of governors to ratify a painstakingly negotiated governance-reform package—for which continued U.S. congressional opposition is largely to blame—undermined the legitimacy of the post–World War II international economic system, reinforcing the determination of emerging economies to establish alternative forums where they wield greater influence. In a direct challenge to the World Bank and the IMF, the BRICS group—Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa—announced the creation of a New Development Bank and Contingency Reserve Arrangement. China also launched the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) as a rival to the Japanese-dominated Asian Development Bank.

In 2015, sustaining economic growth in the United States and emerging markets, stabilizing



Coins from various countries rest atop dollar and kuna banknotes. Nikola Solic/Courtesy Reuters

the eurozone, and shepherding regulatory reform will take priority. The November G20 leaders' summit will offer the greatest opportunity to reinvigorate growth. Turkey, chair of the G20 in 2015, is expected to place a particular emphasis on inclusive growth. At the same time, Ankara has also indicated its intention to expand the G20's purview to include energy sustainability, development, and climate change finance, which could divert attention from macroeconomic coordination. The Fed will likely

THE UNEVEN GLOBAL recovery led to a divergence in global monetary policy by the end of the year, with unclear consequences.

raise interest rates in mid-2015. This will be a critical test for emerging economies that will need to adjust to the new environment. In Europe, QE may spur investment, but eurozone countries should also marshal political capital to strengthen an incomplete banking union and reform

labor and services markets. Finally, China's historic slowdown will likely force the country to adopt a new, more sustainable development strategy based less on debt-fueled investment and more on consumer-driven growth.

Select Comments From CoC Members

- Management of the global economic system will witness tactical changes within the continuity of capitalist objectives.

Bola Akinterinwa, Nigerian Institute of International Affairs

- Important progress has been made in the process of information exchange and the elimination of fiscal havens, but international macroeconomic coordination still has a long way to go.

Jaime Zabłudovsky, Mexican Council on Foreign Relations

- There were no major crises and the G20 and the Financial Stability Board made progress. However, there are still many outstanding issues on regulatory coordination. And with the U.S. interest rate increases ahead of us, we don't know how the world economy will react.

Memduh Karakullukçu, Global Relations Forum

- The G20 in Brisbane was the global economic management success story of 2014. The agreed Brisbane Action Plan is a more substantive product than similar documents from past summits.

Michael Fullilove, Lowy Institute for International Policy

- Europe teeters on yet another precipice. The Doha Round came to a merciful and underwhelming end. IMF reform is stalled by the U.S. Congress. High-growth countries like China are slowing down. There is

optimism for India and Japan, and perhaps the United States. But this does not amount to “managing” the global economic system, only taking it as it goes.

Rohinton Medhora, Center for International Governance Innovation

- The G20 focused almost exclusively on the global economy, signaling that world leaders are aware that the decrease in world output needs some more structured and sustained effort at coordinating economic objectives and practices.

Ferdinando Nelli Feroci, Institute of International Affairs

- An area where governments have slacked off—could be dangerous.

Robin Niblett, Chatham House

- The United States again failed to support needed IMF reform. The EU failed to deal meaningfully with its challenges, and global growth slowed.

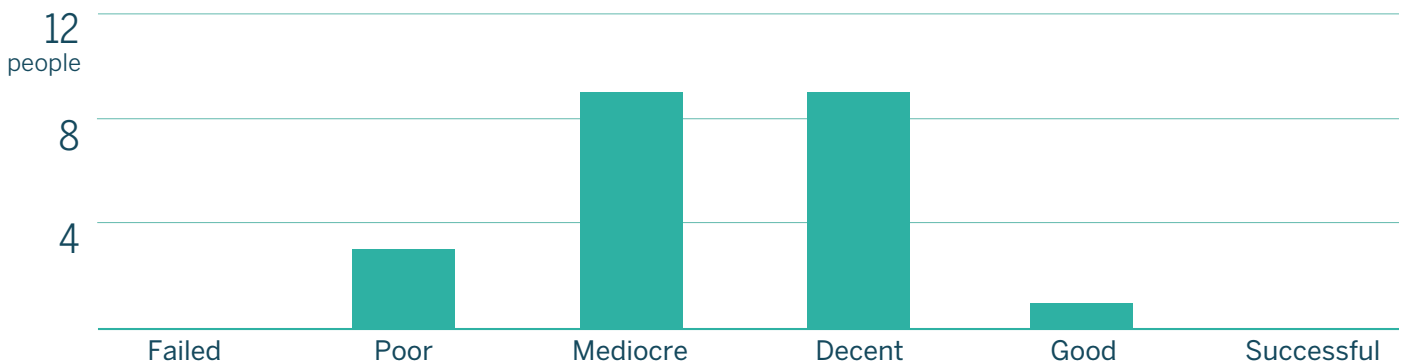
Richard N. Haass, Council on Foreign Relations

- The Bretton Woods consensus and the institutions crafted thereunder no longer inspire universal confidence. Emerging economies are looking to be given a stronger voice and are experimenting with setting up alternative institutions.

Sunjoy Joshi, Observer Research Foundation

Grade Distribution

Number of respondents who assigned each grade



Mitigating & Adapting to Climate Change

C+

Performance
in 2014

5

Top Priority
in 2015

3

Opportunity
in 2015

A woman stands on top of a rock holding a fish her husband just caught off Bikeman Island, Kiribati, a chain of thirty-three atolls and islands in the Pacific that rises just a few feet above sea level.

David Gray/Courtesy Reuters

BY THE NUMBERS

2.5%

increase in CO₂
emissions

Global CO₂ emissions rose by 2.5 percent from 2013 to 2014.

\$548B

fossil-fuel subsidies

According to the International Energy Agency, global fossil-fuel subsidies totaled \$548 billion in 2013.

Zero

net emissions
by 2100

Global temperatures will rise more than two degrees Celsius, unless emissions shrink to net zero before 2100.

#1

hottest year

2014 was the hottest year on record.

The Council of Councils gave global efforts to combat climate change a C+ in 2014.

Though countries took unprecedented steps, global efforts remained inadequate given the potentially catastrophic consequences of global warming. Without further reductions in carbon emissions, a rise in global temperatures threatens to upset food, water, and energy security. As a result of past inaction, 2014 was the warmest year on record, and the World Bank warned that temperatures will almost certainly rise by 1.5 degrees Celsius (2.7 degrees Fahrenheit) by midcentury. Still, countries struck important agreements on issues that have stymied international collaboration in recent years, including two bilateral accords that ameliorated a pernicious debate over the relative responsibilities of developing and developed countries. Most importantly, the world's two largest emitters announced the U.S.-China Climate Agreement in November 2014. The United States pledged to reduce greenhouse gas emissions to a target 26 to 28 percent below 2005 levels by 2025, while China vowed to guarantee that its carbon emission levels would not increase after 2030. A month earlier, the United States and India had announced that they would partner on several initiatives to develop alternative energy sources. India's commitment represents a shift away from its previous insistence that developed, not developing, countries should bear sole responsibility for mitigating climate change.

These agreements generated helpful momentum for the December 2014 meeting of the Conference of Parties to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) in Lima, Peru. In the outcome document, countries

pledged to develop national implementation plans to mitigate and adapt to climate change, which could include quantifiable information on the scope of these commitments and the time frame for implementing them. Still, significant disagreements over the appropriate content of national implementation plans essentially left countries to their own devices rather than create binding requirements. Countries also reached the goal of raising \$10 billion for the Green Climate Fund (GCF), an important initiative to help developing countries invest in renewable energy and implement adaptation programs. To accomplish its mission, however, the GCF will need to surmount disagreements over the allocation of its resources, a fragmented system for delivering funds, and capacity shortfalls in many developing countries. Another 2014 gathering, the UN Climate Summit, which met in September, elicited new, specific pledges to fight climate change. The EU committed to pursue a 40 percent greenhouse-gas reduction from 1990 levels by 2030, while India announced that it will double wind and solar power production by 2020. Additionally, thirty large companies endorsed carbon pricing standards, including an internal carbon price to reduce incentives for investment in carbon-intensive projects. Finally, the World Bank announced a new Carbon Pricing Leadership Coalition to encourage countries to adopt carbon taxes or cap-and-trade systems. The widespread support for carbon pricing is a significant step forward, as such programs are a cost-effective way to reduce carbon emissions. Nevertheless, Australia's decision in July 2014 to repeal its carbon tax was a major setback and reflected continuing challenges.

The UNFCCC meeting in Paris this November-December represents the greatest opportunity in



Wind turbines produce electricity near Altengrabow, Germany, in May 2014. Fabrizio Bensch/Courtesy Reuters

2015 to address climate change issues. States will present the national implementation plans they agreed to develop at Lima, and, more importantly, will negotiate a successor to the Kyoto Protocol, which expires in 2020. However, given the inability to forge legally binding accords—

or exert enough pressure to guarantee implementation of nonbinding commitments—many countries are skeptical of prospects for a major multilateral breakthrough in Paris. Instead, they are pursuing a plethora of national, regional,

MANY COUNTRIES
are skeptical of
prospects for a
major multilateral
breakthrough
in Paris.

and local initiatives. This year is likely to see an increase in efforts outside the UNFCCC framework to mitigate and adapt to climate change, including national and bilateral initiatives. Thus, the Paris conference represents not only a test of international political will to tackle

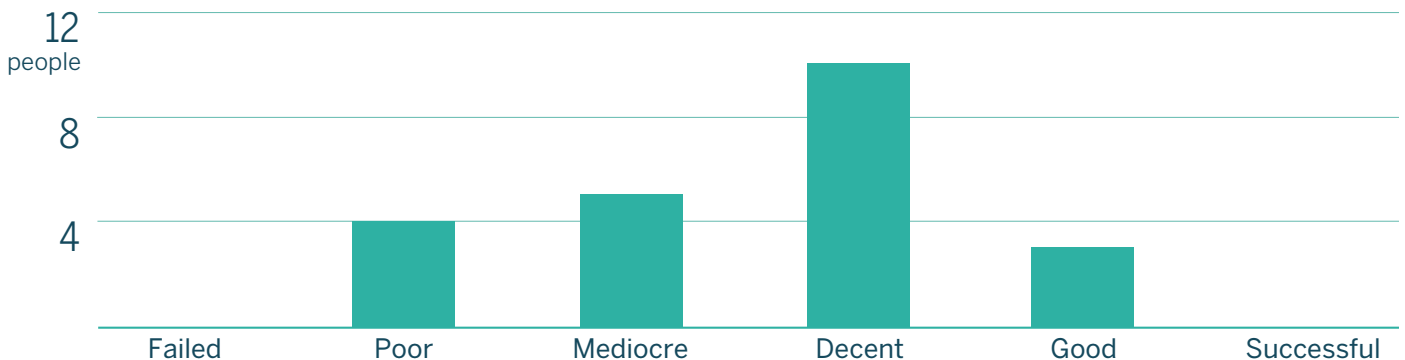
climate change, but also a test for the continued relevance of the UNFCCC as a format to do so. Still, even the most ambitious plans for Paris will almost certainly be insufficient to address this monumental challenge.

Select Comments From CoC Members

- Since the Copenhagen Summit, there has not been much enthusiasm to address climate change.
Bola Akinterinwa, Nigerian Institute of International Affairs
- Though a global agreement remained on the cards in Lima, what is lacking is boldness on both sides—developing and developed—to make appropriate compromises in the interests of the greater good—and a degree of “self-denying” vision of members, including on common but differentiated responsibilities.
Elizabeth Sidiropoulos, South African Institute of International Affairs
- The gulf between developed and developing countries is too wide and neither is willing to move even halfway. Domestic priorities will continue to trump global calls for action.
Sunjoy Joshi, Observer Research Foundation
- Prospects for the global climate change regime don’t look promising but bilateral efforts like the recent China-U.S. agreement are important even if they don’t necessarily satisfy proposed global standards.
Tan See Seng, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies
- The last climate summit had some success, but the challenge is to build on it and maintain that momentum.
Jaime Zabudovsky, Mexican Council on Foreign Relations
- Global performance on mitigating climate change has been uneven and lackluster. Hopefully the Paris conference this year will be the catalyst for improvement.
Michael Fullilove, Lowy Institute for International Policy
- The most significant gains in the climate arena were a result of U.S. fuel-shifting to natural gas, greater fuel efficiency in U.S. vehicles, and slower economic growth in many countries, which reduced demand for fossil fuels. I do not share the enthusiasm for the U.S.-China agreement as it had no specifics on China’s emissions output other than to say it would peak in 2030.
Richard N. Haass, Council on Foreign Relations
- The Lima Call for Climate Action has put the world on track toward a new global warming agreement at Paris in late 2015.
Steven Blockmans, Center for European Policy Studies

Grade Distribution

Number of respondents who assigned each grade



Advancing Development

C+

Performance
in 2014

10

Top Priority
in 2015

5

Opportunity
in 2015

Reinhard Krause/Courtesy Reuters

Workers drive horse-drawn carts through Beijing, China.

BY THE NUMBERS

1B

people in extreme poverty

Worldwide, 1.1 billion people subsist on less than \$1.25 a day.

50%

fewer people in poverty since 1990

From 1990 to 2010, the percentage of impoverished people fell by half as a share of total population.

785M

illiterate adults

785 million people, or one in five people around the world, have basic or no reading skills.

842M

undernourished people

Globally, the United Nations estimates that 842 million people do not have enough food.

The Council of Councils awarded a C+ for global efforts to advance development, reflecting continuing challenges but also notable achievements.

First, under the auspices of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), both wealthy and poor countries have dedicated significant resources to advancing development. By 2012, three of eighteen of the MDG's specific targets had already been achieved—halving extreme global poverty, increasing access to clean water, and reducing the proportion of people that live in slums. By the end of 2014, some countries, including China and India, looked set to achieve all of the goals by the 2015 deadline, though countries in sub-Saharan Africa remained further from reaching them. In 2014, high-profile development goals continued to progress, prompting optimism that the targets for malaria and tuberculosis could be achieved by the 2015 deadline. Child hunger and malnutrition continued to decline, though nearly 850 million people remained undernourished. Overall, preliminary estimates indicate that official development assistance (ODA) increased in 2014 after reaching a previous all-time high in 2013, despite a tepid recovery from the 2008 financial crisis. Still, most donor countries fell far short of meeting the MDG 8 target of disbursing 0.7 percent of gross national income as ODA. To maintain commitment to development and build on past progress, countries also worked to formulate Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) to replace the MDGs, which expire in 2015. In May, a UN working group released a proposal of seventeen overarching goals comprising 168 targets. The UN secretary-general subsequently endorsed these goals in a synthesis

report that also identified six essential elements to frame the negotiations. The report generated some global controversy for underemphasizing private sector funding, making relatively weak proposals to tackle economic inequality, and limiting plans for monitoring and review processes. Nevertheless, these goals will provide an essential guide for the 2015 negotiations.

Efforts to improve aid effectiveness and integrate rising powers into aid coordination had mixed results. The launch of the Global Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation (GPEDC) gathered 1,500 development leaders to assess progress on making aid more transparent and results oriented. The GPEDC also released a seminal report assessing implementation of the 2011 Busan Partnership, which endorsed the inclusion of aid recipients in the design of development programs and projects. Still, tensions persisted between Western donors and “South to South” aid providers—especially after China and India canceled their participation in the GPEDC summit. For its part, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), comprising the world's advanced economies, followed through on 2012 commitments to modernize development statistics. The revisions—the first in forty years—included updated criteria for concessional loans and modernized reporting standards. The OECD also established a new measure to capture more diverse aid flows from emerging powers. These innovations will allow the OECD to provide more accurate aid measurements in time for the July 2015 development financing summit in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Nevertheless, the failure of World Bank governance reform motivated the BRICS bloc of nations (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa) to estab-



A residential area sits below skyscrapers in Jakarta, Indonesia. Crack Palinggi/Courtesy Reuters

lish their own development bank. The new institution promises additional funding for infrastructure but could also undercut existing frameworks for development cooperation.

The Council of Councils ranked development tenth in terms of importance for 2015, behind management of other pressing challenges—ranging from violent conflict to public health—that are often prerequisites for strengthening development. However, the year will provide pivotal opportunities to reinforce the global commitment to development. First, states will make a final push to achieve the remaining MDGs by December. Some goals, including

THE YEAR WILL
provide pivotal
opportunities to
reinforce the global
commitment to
development.

targets for reducing malaria and hunger, are within reach. Second, at the UN Conference on Financing for Development in July, countries will face the task not only of mobilizing financial commitments but will also need to generate concrete reforms of trade and investment practices that favor long-term investment.

Finally, in September, the seventieth session of the UN General Assembly will adopt the SDGs, which are intended to provide a road map for sustainable efforts to reduce poverty through 2030. In the run-up to this event, countries will need to prioritize and set realistic targets for multiple development goals.

Select Comments From CoC Members

- While international development does not appear to be at the top of global priorities, the steady progress away from poverty continues, and it is a very impressive process on a macro-historic scale.

Amos Yadlin, Institute for National Security Studies

- Less hunger in certain regions, improvements in the Program for International Student Assessment.

Carlos Ivan Simonsen Leal, Getulio Vargas Foundation

- Advancement in development can only take place through self-reliant policies of self-help and sacrifice, perseverance, and few free gifts.

Bola Akinterinwa, Nigerian Institute of International Affairs

- China and India continue to reduce poverty, but external actors do not seem to bring results to impoverished areas.

Marcin Zaborowski, Polish Institute of International Affairs

- Progress with regard to the Millennium Development Goals is mixed.

Volker Perthes, German Institute for International and Security Affairs

- Despite slowdowns in key developing countries, human development levels continue to advance in most parts of the world. Development is an area where many interventions, small and large over a long period of time, pay off. I do hope the regime to follow the end of the MDG era in 2015 creates a global compact around prosperity, freedom, and sustainability, the essential ingredients of development.

Rohinton Medhora, Center for International Governance Innovation

- Developed and developing countries are still far apart on some issues both in terms of the “how” of development (GPEDC) as well as the “what” of development. The year 2015 will hopefully see bridges being formed to move the debate forward.

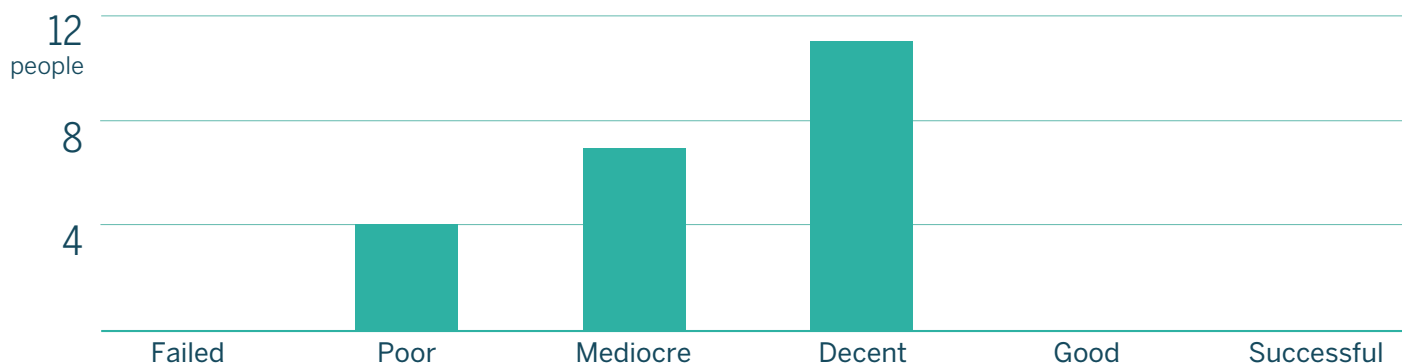
Elizabeth Sidiropoulos, South African Institute of International Affairs

- Preparations for the post-2015 development agenda sped up.

Chen Dongxiao, Shanghai Institutes for International Studies

Grade Distribution

Number of respondents who assigned each grade



Promoting Global Health

C+

Performance
in 2014

9

Top Priority
in 2015

2

Opportunity
in 2015

A child receives a polio vaccination near Jalalabad, Afghanistan, on January 26, 2014.

Parwiz/Courtesy Reuters

BY THE NUMBERS

20,206

Ebola cases

In 2014, 20,206 people contracted Ebola and 7,905 died.

80%

of the world is polio-free

As of March 2014, 80 percent of the world's population lives in polio-free regions.

\$47T

losses from noncommunicable diseases (NCDs)

By 2030, losses from NCDs are projected to reach \$47 trillion.

38%

decline in new HIV infections

Since 2001, new HIV infections have declined by 38 percent.

The Council of Councils awarded a C+ to international efforts to address global health challenges in 2014.

Above all, the Ebola outbreak in West Africa underscored the vulnerabilities of weak states and the deficiencies of the World Health Organization (WHO). In Guinea, Liberia, and Sierra Leone, inadequate health care infrastructure, poor sanitation, and distrust of public officials undermined transmission prevention and care. The WHO failed to respond in a timely and effective manner, only designating the outbreak as a public health emergency of international concern (PHEIC) on August 8, by which time the virus had already claimed nearly one thousand lives and spread to Nigeria, Africa's most populous country. The WHO's capacity to address the outbreak was also undermined by budget cuts affecting its surveillance, outbreak, and emergency response units, bureaucratic inefficiencies, and a weak chain of command. A total of 20,206 cases of infection were reported by the end of 2014, of which 7,905—nearly 40 percent—resulted in death.

The Ebola epidemic underlined the WHO's failure to marshal adequate support for the 2005 International Health Regulations (IHRs), which obligate countries to establish core public health capacities, including for infectious disease outbreak detection. By November 2014, more than two years after the original deadline of June 2012, only sixty-three of 195 countries had implemented the IHRs. In light of these shortfalls, the launch of the U.S.-led Global Health Security Agenda was a positive development, intended to accelerate global progress toward full IHR compliance. By the end of 2014, forty-four

countries, the WHO, and other UN agencies had developed action packages with measurable five-year goals to strengthen participating countries' prevention, detection, and response capacities.

Global efforts to combat other public health risks had mixed results in 2014. In March, the WHO certified India polio-free—a major triumph, as India accounted for more than half of polio cases worldwide as recently as 2009. And in contrast to its belated reaction to Ebola, the WHO responded decisively to polio outbreaks in the Middle East, Africa, and Afghanistan, declaring polio a PHEIC in May. Partnering with UNICEF, the WHO launched ambitious vaccination programs that contained outbreaks in Syria, Iraq, Somalia, and Nigeria. Still, the virus continued to surge in Pakistan, as violence against health workers and political turmoil impeded vaccination campaigns. Meanwhile, the fight against HIV/AIDS made steady gains. New infections dropped by 38 percent since 2001, though progress was uneven across regions. To close these gaps, UNAIDS announced new treatment targets to end the AIDS epidemic by 2030. Modest efforts also sought to tackle noncommunicable diseases (NCDs). The WHO established a coordinating mechanism to accelerate implementation of a 2013 roadmap to reduce NCD deaths and the UN General Assembly held a conference to review states' implementation of the 2011 Political Declaration on NCDs. Despite gains in the developed world, the incidence of NCDs in low- and middle-income countries continued to grow.

The Ebola outbreak has brought new political attention to the need to strengthen global health governance, raising the prospect for pivotal breakthroughs in 2015. Although the Ebola



A burial team removes the body of a person suspected of having died of Ebola in Freetown, Sierra Leone, on September 28, 2014. Christopher Black/WHO/Courtesy Reuters

crisis will remain a priority, states will also need to address the longer-term challenge of strengthening health systems in weak states, boosting outbreak management, and shoring up funding for the WHO. These issues will feature prominently at the May World Health Assembly, which will provide a critical opportunity to identify reforms needed to address short-term threats like Ebola as well as long-term health risks, such as NCDs.

THE EBOLA OUTBREAK in West Africa underscored the vulnerabilities of weak states and the deficiencies of the World Health Organization.

Additionally, the WHO and partners will scale up polio eradication efforts in Pakistan and attempt to consolidate last year's successes in Africa and the Middle East, where ongoing violent conflicts could hinder immunizations.

In 2015, under the aegis of new UN Sustainable Development Goals, countries will attempt to set new targets and mobilize resources for global public health issues including NCDs and AIDS.

Select Comments From CoC Members

- The Ebola outbreak was contained largely to the West African states but it revealed the weaknesses in the global institutions mandated to deal with them.

What is the role for nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) such as Médecins Sans Frontières/Doctors Without Borders in global outbreaks and in creating a more effective and non-security health framework?

Elizabeth Sidiropoulos, South African Institute of International Affairs

- The Ebola crisis has laid bare more the limits of a global response to health risks than it has produced some efforts at containing them.

Ferdinando Nelli Feroci, Institute of International Affairs

- This is an area where performance is distinctly mixed. The WHO and the global response to the Ebola epidemic merit a zero. The system was tested by a well-known but infrequently occurring scary disease, and the response verged on hopeless. But globally, health indicators are improving everywhere, across all population segments, except in war-torn areas. This is surely a sign of the effectiveness of national and international interventions to address health.

Rohinton Medhora, Center for International Governance Innovation

- The response to Ebola began slowly—the WHO in particular was a major disappointment—but the international response picked up, in no small part

because of NGOs and a number of countries, including but not limited to the United States. Nothing much was done regarding NCDs at the international level although there was some progress at the national and municipal levels.

Richard N. Haass, Council on Foreign Relations

- While there has been a united international response to disease outbreaks, most notably Ebola, the resources necessary to contain them have not been provided.

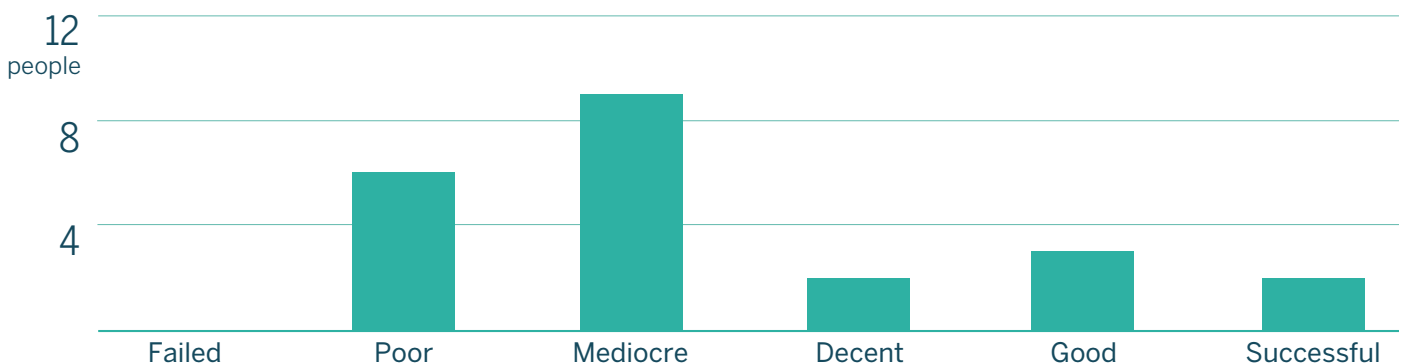
Samuel Charap, International Institute for Strategic Studies

- The Ebola epidemic spread to many parts of West Africa in 2014. It took almost eight months for the WHO to become aware of the disease and start taking specific actions (though they received late notices from the countries). In 2014, we were reminded that infectious diseases remain a major challenge facing mankind. We came to understand the importance of a country's governance. We also had to thoroughly consider how the WHO and its regional offices can properly function against such a killer virus when governance is weak in countries affected. This problem was discussed among UN member countries, and the UN Mission for Ebola Emergency Response (UNMEER) was inaugurated. But, as the epidemic stabilized, discussion on how the WHO should deal with an emergency situation should be carried into 2015.

Yasushi Kudo, Genron NPO

Grade Distribution

Number of respondents who assigned each grade



Expanding Global Trade

C+

Performance
in 2014

8

Top Priority
in 2015

1

Opportunity
in 2015

The MV *Maersk Mc-Kinney Møller*, then the world's largest container ship, arrives at the port of Rotterdam in the Netherlands on August 16, 2013.

Michael Kooren/Courtesy Reuters

BY THE NUMBERS

112

**new trade
restrictions**

G20 members introduced 112 new trade-restrictive measures in the first half of 2014 alone.

3.1%

global trade growth

Global trade grew by 3.1 percent in 2014, below the WTO's prediction of 4.7 percent.

\$18.8T

goods traded

\$18.8 trillion worth of goods was traded in 2013.

70%

**of trade falls under
TTIP and TPP**

TTIP and TPP involve countries that are responsible for 70 percent of global trade.

The Council of Councils gave international efforts to expand global trade a C+ in 2014.

After rebounding from the 2008 financial crisis, global trade remained sluggish in 2014, as negotiations on major free-trade agreements stalled. The IMF reported that for the first time in four decades, trade was growing more slowly than the global economy. In 2014, trade growth also fell short of the World Trade Organization (WTO)'s initial estimate of 4.7 percent, expanding by only 3.1 percent. Prospects for major multilateral progress at the WTO remained dim, though WTO members did manage to prevent a surprise Indian announcement from scuttling the 2013 Trade Facilitation Agreement (TFA), which represented the first global agreement since the WTO was established in 1995. After India rejected the agreement in response to dissension over a separate food security issue, the United States and India successfully negotiated a resolution to the dispute in November 2014, paving the way for the WTO to adopt the TFA protocol. However, the protocol must still be ratified domestically by two-thirds of WTO members before it enters into effect. In order to facilitate ratification, the World Bank Group launched a program in July 2014 with a budget of \$30 million to help developing countries meet the TFA requirements. WTO Director-General Roberto Azevêdo was widely praised for his effective leadership in 2014.

In 2014, negotiations for the Transpacific Partnership (TPP) and the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) made halting progress, but appeared to lose momentum. While proponents of both initiatives argued that these prospective agreements—

involving countries responsible for some 70 percent of global trade—would encourage a new wave of trade harmonization and increase overall trade flows, critics attacked the secretive nature of the negotiations and their potential to harmonize global trade standards at the lowest common denominator, including those that regulate medicines and labor. The talks also prompted countries excluded from these negotiations to explore bilateral and regional free trade arrangements of their own—threatening, in the view of some experts, to produce a global system of competing trade blocs and undermine the multilateral system of internationally negotiated rules for trade set up through the WTO. Meanwhile, G20 members introduced 112 new trade-restrictive measures in the first half of 2014 alone, despite the group's promise to refrain from protectionism until the end of 2014.

As a result of slow global economic growth, the WTO decreased its predictions for global trade growth in 2015 from 5.3 percent to 4 percent, well below the average growth rate (5.2 percent) for 1993–2013. The most pressing question in global trade in 2015 is whether the TPP and TTIP negotiations will be completed or remain stalled. Additionally, the continued relevance of the WTO depends on successful implementation of the TFA. Countries should ratify it as soon as possible to avoid squandering momentum generated by the agreement and undercutting faith in both the TPP/TTIP negotiations and the WTO's legitimacy. The WTO has set a July 2015 deadline to finalize a work program to address remaining issues in the entire Doha Round of negotiations; missing it could undermine confidence in the WTO as a useful forum for coordinating and negotiating trade rules.



A container ship is loaded at a port in Tokyo, Japan, on December 17, 2014. Thomas Peter/Courtesy Reuters

Nonetheless, given the sclerotic pace of trade liberalization in the past two decades, proposed free trade agreements—particularly TTP and TTIP—represent a long-awaited opportunity to expand global trade. As a result, the Council of

THE MOST PRESSING
question in global
trade in 2015 is
whether the TPP and
TTIP negotiations
will be completed.

Councils considered this area the most likely to see a breakthrough in 2015.

Select Comments From CoC Members

▪ Despite the shaky recovery from the global financial crisis, countries have largely refrained from protectionism and pursued a trade agenda that has boosted trade between countries. Bilateral trade agreements, like the South Korea-China Free Trade Agreement (FTA), as well as mega-FTAs such as TPP, TTIP, and the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), defined the trends in international trade in 2014. The institutionalization of international trade is being pursued on multiple fronts and has resulted in the successful expansion of trade in 2014.

Sook-Jong Lee, East Asia Institute

▪ Too much protectionism.

Carlos Ivan Simonsen Leal, Getulio Vargas Foundation

▪ New push from China's initiative on the Silk Road.

Chen Dongxiao, Shanghai Institutes for International Studies

▪ The multilateral trade system is in a crisis that nobody wants to recognize. There is a need to address the rules under which the WTO makes decisions.

Jaime Zabudovsky, Mexican Council on Foreign Relations

▪ The WTO Trade Facilitation Agreement process demonstrated the fundamental difficulty of the WTO processes once again, even though a consensus was reached toward the end of the year.

Memduh Karakullukçu, Global Relations Forum

▪ Not as much progress as hoped on the TPP and TTIP, but negotiations kept in progress. The Bali accord bodes well, even if India blocked the deal.

Robin Niblett, Chatham House

▪ The course of forthcoming trade negotiations depends on moves for the proposed broader-based free trade agreements, such as the TPP, TTIP, and the RCEP. Target years for concluding these agreements have been set for 2015. Thus the success of talks on these agreements will be the key to revitalize the World Trade Organization in the future.

Yasushi Kudo, Genron NPO

▪ The good news is that despite the continuing global economic crisis in many parts of the world, protectionism has not spiked. Global trade is growing modestly. The side shows that are TPP and TTIP, and the one called the Doha Round, will excite a small number of people but are not germane to the wider trends, which are that countries are trading more with each other than they ever have, out of self-interest.

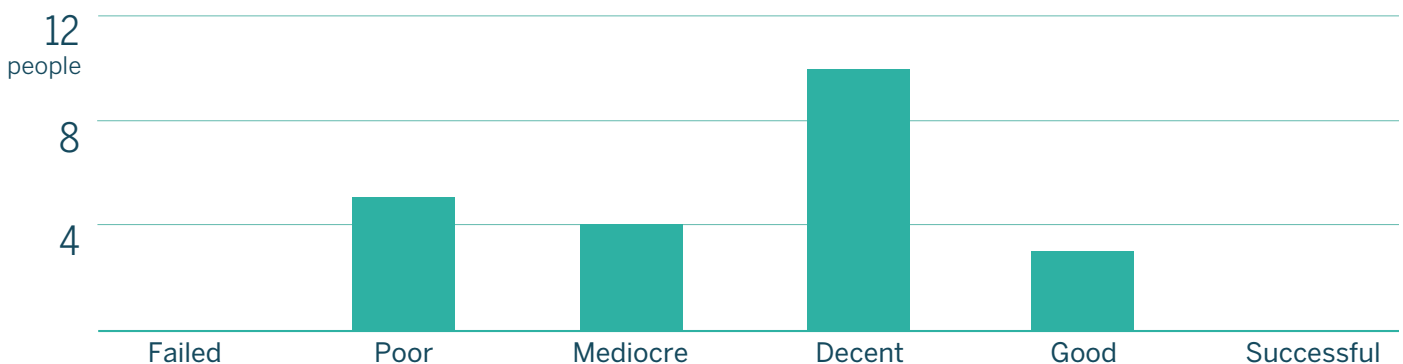
Rohinton Medhora, Center for International Governance Innovation

▪ Countries have taken to alternative strategies to overcome the failure of the global trade regime.

Tan See Seng, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies

Grade Distribution

Number of respondents who assigned each grade



Managing Cyber Governance

C-

Performance
in 2014

7

Top Priority
in 2015

8

Opportunity
in 2015

Analysts at BAE Systems' cybersecurity center in Columbia, MD, attempt to identify and attribute potential cyberattacks.

Jim Young/Courtesy Reuters

BY THE NUMBERS

40%

of the world has
Internet access

Forty percent of the world—almost three billion people—had an Internet connection by 2014.

4.1B

people without
Internet

More than four billion people, including 3.2 billion living in only twenty countries, do not have an Internet connection.

550K

miles of undersea
Internet cable

There are 550,000 miles of undersea fiberoptic cable that deliver Internet traffic.

\$445B

lost annually
to cybercrime

Every year, cyber-crime and economic espionage cost the global economy an estimated \$445 billion.

In 2014, the Council of Councils awarded a C- to global cooperation on cyber governance, reflecting the lack of progress in establishing definitions, rules, and norms.

Two competing visions of cyber governance have traditionally pitted a group of countries led by the United States—which supports a multistakeholder model including governments, businesses, civil society, and technical experts—against countries (including China and Russia) that champion sovereign control (though a number of countries remain in the middle). Negotiations heated up in 2014 as world leaders devoted unprecedented attention to cyber governance in the wake of the revelations of spying by the U.S. National Security Agency (NSA).

Despite concern that tensions would lead to the balkanization of the Internet, however, a slew of international meetings fostered productive discussions. The most consequential was the Plenipotentiary Conference of the UN International Telecommunications Union (ITU), the body that sets global telecommunications standards. The meeting in Busan, South Korea, occurred in the shadow of the acrimonious 2012 ITU meeting, where the United States and other Western countries clashed with China, Russia, and others over proposals to transfer some Internet governance functions to the ITU. Despite expectations of a bitter showdown in 2014, the meeting produced the Busan Consensus, which affirmed the multistakeholder governance model. Earlier in the year, in response to the fallout from revelations about NSA surveillance, Brazil hosted the Global Multistakeholder Meeting on Internet Governance (NETmundial). Parties at the April event

discussed Internet principles, a proposed “Internet bill of rights,” and a roadmap for Internet governance. Some contended that the meeting demonstrated the feasibility of a multistakeholder forum. However, Russia and India did not agree to the meeting’s outcome statement, and many civil society groups objected to the absence of citizens’ access rights and accountability rules. In the aftermath of the meeting, the World Economic Forum spearheaded the creation of a NETmundial Initiative in partnership with the Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers (ICANN) to facilitate global cooperation and underscore the effectiveness of multistakeholder governance. However, the forum received objections about its departure from the openness and inclusivity enshrined in the NETmundial Multistakeholder Statement.

In March, the United States acknowledged international objections to its dominance in Internet governance, agreeing in principle to “transition” control over Internet domain-name functions, which it had contracted out to the Internet Assigned Numbers Authority (IANA), to the “global multistakeholder community.” A transition plan was proposed in December by a multistakeholder group led by ICANN. But this sparked a debate over whether a new multistakeholder body should be created to delegate the functions, or if ICANN should take over the functions permanently.

Other events during the year highlighted the global debate over the balance between individual freedom and state control of the Internet. The annual UN Internet Governance Forum in Turkey and the World Internet Conference hosted by China generated controversy given



Workers assemble commercial data servers destined for cloud computing at a Hewlett-Packard manufacturing facility in Houston, Texas, on November 19, 2013. Donna Carson/Courtesy Reuters

Internet censorship in those two countries. In June, at the World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS), leaders debated how to expand Internet access. Finally, the UN General Assembly in December adopted a resolution outlining

online rights, building on the landmark 2013 resolution that enshrines the rights of individuals in the digital sphere. However, Internet freedom declined in at least thirty-six countries. High-profile cyberattacks also underscored the need for clearer rules to govern state responses to hostile actions in cyberspace. In December, the United States responded to alleged North Korean cyberattacks on Sony Pictures with additional sanctions—the first time the United States has punished a country for cyberattacks on a company. The Council of Councils saw little

WORLD LEADERS DEVOTED unprecedented attention to cyber governance in the wake of the revelations of spying by the U.S. National Security Agency.

opportunity for a breakthrough in cyber governance in 2015, although three events will serve as critical tests for international cooperation. Before the United States surrenders control of domain-name functions, countries and their

multistakeholder partners will need to agree on whether to award the contract to ICANN—on an impermanent or permanent basis—or to build a shell company to manage them. Second, the guiding body of the NETmundial Initiative will hold its first official meeting in March 2015 to discuss building global support for distributed Internet governance, among other topics. Finally, WSIS will hold another forum in May 2015 to negotiate a long-term framework to bridge the digital divide between people with Internet access and those who lack it.

Select Comments From CoC Members

- Very little work done here in 2014. The cyber sphere remains about as governed as the wild frontiers of the old American West.

Amos Yadlin, Institute for National Security Studies

- Focusing on Africa, there has been a growing awareness of the need to tackle this at the regional level, but this needs to be balanced against democratic freedoms, which are the first to tumble.

Elizabeth Sidiropoulos, South African Institute of International Affairs

- Core fault lines remain unresolved and cybersecurity concerns are on the rise.

Memduh Karakullukçu, Global Relations Forum

- The holding of the global multistakeholder meeting in Brazil has contributed to establishing the topic of Internet governance as a major global challenge, creating a “global conversation” in which Western and non-Western countries engage on an equal basis, and producing some initial consensus. It’s a start, I guess.

Ferdinando Nelli Feroci, Institute of International Affairs

- The Internet is becoming more balkanized, not less. How the transition of the functions of the IANA from U.S. control will play out remains to be seen. If there is

one area that the global policy community needs to take more seriously, it is this one.

Rohinton Medhora, Center for International Governance Innovation

- 2014 witnessed a slew of cyber-related controversies and potential conflicts, demonstrating the need to establish a globally accepted set of norms.

Samuel Charap, International Institute for Strategic Studies

- The digital divide runs deep. Cyber reality has simultaneously empowered and made vulnerable the weakest and the strongest alike. Vulnerability breeds distrust.

Sunjoy Joshi, Observer Research Foundation

- After Snowden’s disclosures, perceptions have changed. Many formats and new initiatives do exist now, but the multiplication of attacks is problematic for the Internet stability.

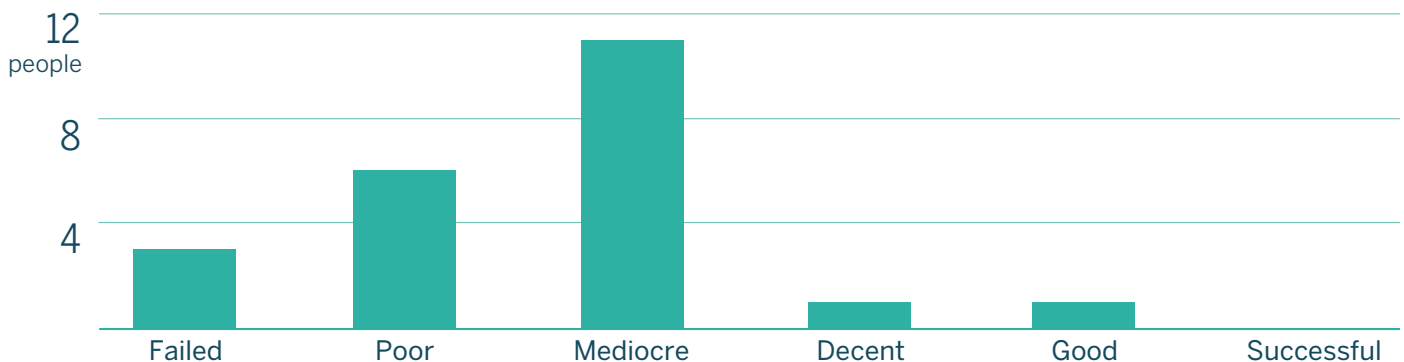
Thomas Gomart, French Institute of International Relations

- Some results in Brazil and South Korea, but negative impacts on Russia-U.S. dialogue and Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe plans for confidence building measures (CBMs).

Igor Yurgens, Institute of Contemporary Development

Grade Distribution

Number of respondents who assigned each grade



Combating Transnational Terrorism

C-

Performance
in 2014

3

Top Priority
in 2015

9

Opportunity
in 2015

Members of the al-Qaeda-affiliated Jabhat al-Nusra move toward their positions near al-Zahra village, north of Aleppo, Syria, on November 25, 2014.

Hosam Katan/Courtesy Reuters

BY THE NUMBERS

30%

**increase in deaths
from terrorism**

Between July 2013 and July 2014, deaths from terrorism increased by 30 percent after a 61 percent jump in 2013.

8,213

**killed in Boko
Haram violence**

Between May 2011 and December 2014, 8,213 people died in Nigeria in violence related to Boko Haram.

132

**children killed by
Pakistani Taliban**

In a single attack on a school in December 2014, 132 children were killed by the Pakistani Taliban.

20,000

**foreign fighters
have joined the
conflict in Syria**

According to the U.S. Department of State, twenty thousand foreigners had traveled to Syria by February 2015.

The Council of Councils gave global efforts to combat terrorism a C- in 2014, reflecting a sharp surge in extremist violence.

Deaths from terrorist attacks soared, increasing by 30 percent in the twelve months before July 2014, after a 61 percent jump in 2013. Most concerning, the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS), a militant Sunni extremist group, captured swathes of land in Iraq and Syria—in part because the weak multilateral response to Syria’s civil war allowed ISIS to consolidate power. Although a U.S.-led coalition prevented ISIS from seizing more territory, it struggled to roll back the group’s gains. In Nigeria, the Boko Haram Islamist fundamentalist organization pledged allegiance to ISIS and adopted its strategy of territorial consolidation. The group murdered over 4,500 civilians in 2014 as the weak Nigerian military struggled to contain the group’s expansion in northeast Nigeria. To assist, a few countries provided intelligence assistance, but allegations of corruption and rights abuses by the Nigerian military undermined broader support for countering Boko Haram. A Pakistani militant network, Tehrek-e-Taliban, also aligned itself with ISIS, and dozens of other extremist groups continued to destabilize both Pakistan and Afghanistan. Even after the Pakistani government launched a major operation against militants based in the Waziristan region, the government’s commitment to eliminating terrorist groups remained unclear. The controversial U.S. drone strike program continued to target high-value militants with tacit support from the Pakistani government while receiving bitter criticism from scholars and governments around the world.

Meanwhile, Yemen and Libya slid toward civil

war, and al-Qaeda affiliates consolidated their position in both countries. The international response in Yemen, consisting largely of covert U.S. military operations and UN peacebuilding efforts, failed to combat terrorism there. In Libya, new UN sanctions, airstrikes by Egypt and the United Arab Emirates on Islamist militias, and a covert U.S. operation to capture a militant leader, appeared futile. International efforts enjoyed more success against another al-Qaeda affiliate, the Somalia-based al-Shabab. After the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) reclaimed significant territory from the group, a September U.S. drone strike killed the leader of al-Shabab. Still, AMISOM struggled to consolidate gains against the group, which became entrenched in Kenya. Finally, fatal “lone wolf” terrorist attacks in Ottawa and Sydney demonstrated the growing struggle to prevent strikes by individuals inspired by jihadist ideology and rhetoric.

Despite these setbacks, some progress was made in 2014. In September, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 2178 to address a concerning trend of foreign terrorist fighters (FTFs) who travel to conflict zones in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East—reinforcing terrorist groups there and increasing the risk that battle-hardened extremists could subsequently return to stage attacks on their home soil. Resolution 2178 requires states to take measures to prevent the recruitment, organization, transport, or equipment of FTFs, though the effectiveness of the resolution will depend largely on domestic capacity to implement legislation, which is uneven at best. In addition, the Global Counterterrorism Forum (GCTF) launched an initiative to develop best practices to effectively address the FTF problem and the



Militants of the self-declared Islamic State parade in Raqqa province, Syria, on June 30, 2014. Stringer/Courtesy Reuters

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) pledged to improve intelligence sharing in coordination with the UN Counter-Terrorism Committee to strengthen the fight against FTFs. The GCTF and the UN Office on Drugs and Crime continued to invest in building counter-terrorism capacity. The GCTF also launched two promising initiatives: the International Institute for Justice and the Rule of Law (IIJ), which provides counterterrorism-related law enforcement training; and the Global Community Engagement and Resilience Fund, a public-private partnership to finance community-based counter-extremism programs worldwide. Finally, the Financial Action Task Force continued to set international regulatory and legal standards for combating money laundering and terrorist financing, including monitoring compliance with Resolution 2178 to thwart the funding of FTFs and ISIS. However, terrorist groups increasingly

amassed vast sums of money from transnational crime and kidnappings throughout the year.

Terrorism was ranked the third most important global challenge in 2015, a year that has already seen the deadliest terrorist attack in France in half a century, as well as a Boko Haram massacre that left an estimated two thousand people dead. Unless significant action is taken to coordinate the fragmented and inadequate international responses to terrorist groups in places like Syria, Iraq, and Nigeria, terrorist groups will continue to act with impunity, increasing in size and prominence. Countries face a formidable challenge in stepping up efforts to counter violent extremism, especially as concerns over these ideologies grow in the Middle East and North Africa. Overall, CoC analysts remained pessimistic that international initiatives could achieve any breakthroughs in 2015.

Select Comments From CoC Members

- Although there were many horrendous national and regional terrorism incidents in Africa, the Middle East, and parts of Asia, transnationally there weren't many terrorism incidents in the developed world. However, success in combating terrorism cannot be only measured in current incidents, but needs to take into account developments that are likely to feed terrorism in the coming years. On that account, developments in places like Syria, Iraq, Libya, and Yemen are a cause for concern for the coming years.

Memduh Karakullukçu, Global Relations Forum

- The world's swift reaction to the capture by ISIS of large swaths of territory in Iraq shows that the international community is alert to this danger—but I'm not convinced we have the plan in place to defeat ISIS.

Michael Fullilove, Lowy Institute for International Policy

- As long as countries resort to proxy wars fought through unidentifiable intermediaries, terrorism will continue to flourish.

Sunjoy Joshi, Observer Research Foundation

- Violence and chaos in Syria and Iraq are likely to breed new terrorists.

Volker Perthes, German Institute for International and Security Affairs

- The U.S. administration has managed to forge a formally large coalition against ISIS, but the coalition is fractured—with the United States focusing on ISIS, and

Turkey and the Gulf states on Assad—and terrorism is increasing everywhere.

Ferdinando Nelli Feroci, Institute of International Affairs

- The rise of the "lone wolf" terrorist—more a problem in Western countries than an actual impactful development globally—and the continued grey area between terrorist incidents in many Middle Eastern countries and their connection with each other shows a signal failure of the global community to address this challenge.

Rohinton Medhora, Center for International Governance Innovation

- There was some progress in Iraq against ISIS, but little or none in Syria. 2014 was also a disappointing year on the terrorism front in Nigeria (where Boko Haram roamed all too freely) and Pakistan.

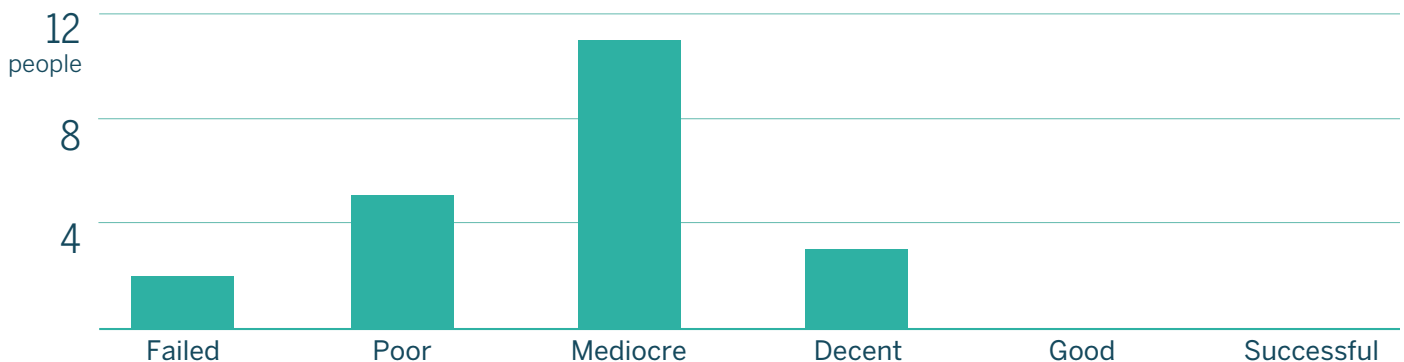
Richard N. Haass, Council on Foreign Relations

- The unexpected emergence of ISIS and continued attacks by Boko Haram in Nigeria have exposed the inability of the international community to deal effectively with the spread of transnational terrorism. The perpetual state of war in Syria, resulting in great devastation and loss of life, has proven to be a breeding ground for extremists. In Pakistan, Taliban attacks have continued, including a shocking attack on a school in December that left 132 children dead.

Sook-Jong Lee, East Asia Institute

Grade Distribution

Number of respondents who assigned each grade



Preventing & Responding to Violent Conflict Between States



Performance
in 2014



Top Priority
in 2015



Opportunity
in 2015

Ukrainian soldiers march along Khreshchatyk Street during a rehearsal for the Independence Day parade in Kiev, Ukraine, on August 20, 2014.

Gleb Garanich/Courtesy Reuters

BY THE NUMBERS

5,000

deaths in Ukraine

Since April 2014, the conflict in Ukraine has resulted in more than five thousand deaths.

1M

people displaced by
Ukraine conflict

The number of people driven from their homes by the Ukraine conflict now exceeds one million.

12,500

troops remaining in
Afghanistan

After the NATO combat mission in Afghanistan ended in December 2014, 12,500 troops remain.

8

disputed East
China Sea islands

Eight uninhabited islands in the East China Sea are disputed between China and Japan.

The Council of Councils awarded a C- to international efforts to prevent and respond to violent conflict between states.

Despite the declining incidence of major interstate war, a historic conflict between Russia and Ukraine constituted the first instance in which a great power altered a European national border by force since 1945. Russia justified its support for Crimean separatists and the subsequent annexation of Crimea as reflecting the will of the inhabitants. However, Western governments argued that these steps threatened the postwar international order, which is predicated on the principle of sovereignty, the sanctity of borders, and the inadmissibility of seizing territory by force. Russia's veto power in the UN Security Council prevented that body from addressing the conflict, exposing the limitations of collective security when major power interests are at stake. Seeking to punish Russia, the other members of the Group of Eight (G8) in March suspended Russian membership in that body. The United States and the European Union also imposed economic sanctions on Russian officials and businesses in the financial, energy, and defense sectors. These measures did not compel Russia to relinquish Crimea or withdraw support for Ukrainian separatists. Nonetheless, the sanctions—coupled with the unexpected plunge in the price of oil—drove the Russian ruble to an all-time low by late 2014.

Beyond Ukraine, efforts to prevent and respond to war between states achieved varied success in 2014. No interstate war erupted in the Asia-Pacific region, despite heightened tensions after China's November 2013 declaration of an air defense identification zone above the East China Sea. Chinese and Japanese diplomatic negotia-

tions culminated in the first-ever bilateral talks between Chinese President Xi Jinping and Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, signaling a potential thaw in relations. On the Korean peninsula, North and South Korean troops exchanged fire in October. Though the clashes did not derail bilateral military talks, those negotiations ended in deadlock. Also in October, the disputed Kashmir region experienced some of the worst violence since India and Pakistan enacted a ceasefire in 2003, killing at least eighteen civilians and prompting tens of thousands to flee their homes. Although the ceasefire officially remained intact, the skirmish provided a stark reminder of the volatility of this dispute between nuclear-armed neighbors. Finally, in December, the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), the U.S.-led coalition in Afghanistan, formally ended its combat mission in Afghanistan after a thirteen-year occupation. However, more than twelve thousand NATO troops will remain in Afghanistan under the auspices of a new mission, underscoring the fragility of stability gains in the country.

The past year also witnessed the outbreak of conflicts that blurred the line between civil war and conflict between states. In Syria, the United States launched a bombing campaign without that country's permission to contain ISIS. In addition, the July-August clashes between the Israel Defense Forces and Hamas militants in Gaza killed more than seventy Israelis and two thousand Palestinians. Although Israel and Hamas reached a fragile ceasefire, tensions remained high, leaving open the prospect of renewed violence. Meanwhile, no progress was made toward ending the broader Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Major interstate conflict holds the potential to upset the international order and exact



Ukrainian servicemen train at a firing range outside Zhytomyr, Ukraine, on January 5, 2015.
Valentyn Ogirenko/Courtesy Reuters

astronomical human and economic costs. From Europe to the Asia-Pacific, the events of 2014 suggested a reemergence of great power rivalries. Consequently, CoC members judged defusing the risk of interstate conflict to be the greatest priority in 2015. However, opportunities for breakthroughs will be limited. Western sanctions may discourage Russia from attempting to seize additional territory by force, but Moscow's annexation of Crimea is widely considered a fait accompli. Moving forward, countries should focus on pressuring Ukraine and Russia to reach a permanent settlement to prevent further incursions into Ukrainian territory and to uphold the international sanctity of state borders. In a more promising sign, Beijing and Tokyo will resume talks to establish a maritime crisis-management mechanism, which aims to mitigate the likelihood of accidents and unintended escalation of conflict in the East China Sea—considered by many the

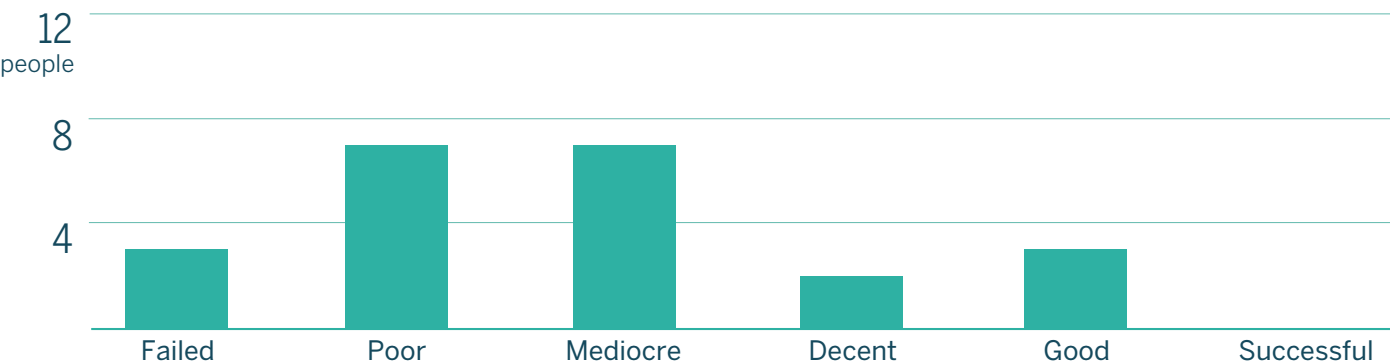
greatest cause for security concern in the region. Given the U.S. naval presence in the Pacific and treaty alliance with Japan, it is imperative that Washington also maintain direct communications with Beijing. Although China, the Philippines, Vietnam, and other claimants are unlikely to resolve their territorial disputes in the South China Sea anytime soon, this year may provide opportunities for incremental progress there, too. For example, China and the Association of South-east Asian Nations (ASEAN) conveyed interest in concluding a binding Code of Conduct for the South China Sea at the ASEAN Regional Forum in November 2014, suggesting a willingness to negotiate in good faith in 2015. Moreover, the Permanent Court of Arbitration in The Hague could reach a verdict by the end of the year on the legality of China's "nine-dash line" under the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea, in response to a complaint filed by the Philippines in 2013.

Select Comments From CoC Members

- The stalemate between Russia and the West continues.
Chen Dongxiao, Shanghai Institutes for International Studies
- There are remaining disagreements among major players in preventing interstate violent conflict.
Igor Yurgens, Institute of Contemporary Development
- Again, sanctions on Russia appear to have had some impact, but I really do not know how success would be measured, since I think that the annexation of Crimea is a fait accompli.
Jaime Zabłudovsky, Mexican Council on Foreign Relations
- Absolute failure in preventing the Russian invasion of Crimea and eastern Ukraine.
Marcin Zaborowski, Polish Institute of International Affairs
- Vladimir Putin is ignoring established laws and norms applying to interstate relations, including by annexing territory of his near neighbor Ukraine.
Michael Fullilove, Lowy Institute for International Policy
- Following the annexation of Crimea by Russia, the West imposed a number of economic sanctions and boycotted the Sochi G8 summit. Despite their recent financial difficulties, Russian President Vladimir Putin has shown no signs of retracting from intervention in Ukraine. The 2014 conflict between Israel and Palestine cost thousands of lives. The dispute in the South China Sea between China and Vietnam involving a Chinese oil rig in waters claimed by Vietnam resulted in violent confrontations, both on land and at sea. Efforts to manage relations and build confidence between China and Japan regarding the disputed Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands failed to reduce tensions. Finally, Kim Jong-un's North Korea refused to engage with South Korea and demonstrated its hostility by sending its patrol ships to the West Sea and intelligence drones. There remains no bilateral mechanism for effectively dealing with North Korea's conventional military threats, nor with its nuclear and ballistic missile program.
Sook-Jong Lee, East Asia Institute
- Obviously, Russian aggression against Ukraine was the greatest disappointment, but on the other side of the ledger would be signs of greater Chinese-Japanese willingness to manage their differences, helping to keep Asia relatively stable. In much of the rest of the world, interstate conflict was much less of a problem than civil violence and state weakness.
Richard N. Haass, Council on Foreign Relations
- Sanctions adopted against Russia for its role in the ongoing war in Ukraine have been a game changer. There can be no "business as usual" with Russia if it continues to violate the canons of international law.
Steven Blockmans, Center for European Policy Studies
- Russia's annexation of Crimea destabilized European security order.
Thomas Gomart, French Institute of International Relations

Grade Distribution

Number of respondents who assigned each grade



Preventing & Responding to Internal Violent Conflict

D

Performance
in 2014

2

Top Priority
in 2015

10

Opportunity
in 2015

Joe Penney/Courtesy Reuters

A Malian soldier holds an AK-47 in his lap at a military checkpoint in Diabaly, Mali, on January 26, 2013.

BY THE NUMBERS

76,000

dead in Syria in 2014

The year 2014 was the deadliest yet for the Syrian civil war; the conflict killed 76,000 people.

13.6M

people displaced
from Iraq and Syria

Roughly 13.6 million people were displaced by conflicts in Iraq and Syria in 2014.

50M

refugees

In 2014, the number of refugees worldwide exceeded fifty million for the first time since World War II.

16

UN peacekeeping
operations

The UN led sixteen ongoing peacekeeping operations in 2014.

The Council of Councils gave global efforts to prevent and respond to internal violent conflict in 2014 a D, the lowest grade for any issue.

In Syria, an estimated 76,000 people died in the deadliest year since the conflict began. ISIS, a brutal Sunni extremist group, seized territory in both Syria and Iraq and destabilized both countries, while perpetrating horrific violence against civilians. The United States launched a campaign of air strikes with an alliance of sixty countries. Although the strikes succeeded in pushing ISIS back from some gains in Iraq, the effort is unlikely, by itself, to improve the security situation in Syria. With approximately 13.6 million people displaced, humanitarian conditions in Syria and Iraq deteriorated in 2014. UN Security Council (UNSC) Resolution 2165 authorized humanitarian agencies to enter Syria without approval from the Syrian government, but the dangers of entering ISIS-controlled territory obstructed operations. Meanwhile, a divided UN Security Council took no significant action to end the fighting, and states that opposed the Syrian regime found few moderates to support in the Syrian opposition. Elsewhere, Nigeria proved unable to contain its own vicious Islamist fundamentalist group, Boko Haram, which killed thousands in the northeast of the country. Libya, too, slid toward civil war in 2014, thanks in part to international failure to support the state's fledgling institutions in the aftermath of the 2011 NATO-led intervention. Overall, the multilateral response to these conflicts was slow and ineffective.

Meanwhile, peacekeeping missions in African countries achieved some successes, despite remaining under-resourced. In March 2014, the United Nations closed the UN Integrated Peace-

building Office in Sierra Leone, essentially declaring victory after sixteen years of involvement in that country. In Somalia, the African Union (AU) peacekeeping force weakened al-Shabab, a Somalia-based militant Islamist group aligned with al-Qaeda, although war continues to plague the country. Other peacekeeping missions struggled to protect civilians in the wake of surging violence. In May 2014, the UNSC transitioned the UN Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) from nation-building to protecting civilians from gross human rights abuses, as civil war escalated. In the Central African Republic, a UN peacekeeping operation took over from an AU mission after the AU force proved unable to protect civilians and AU peacekeepers from neighboring Chad were accused of supporting the Seleka rebels. Still, concerns remained about whether the mission could achieve its broad mandate with limited resources and logistical challenges. Elsewhere, peacekeeping missions in Mali and the Democratic Republic of the Congo largely prevented human rights abuses, though state-building progress was extremely limited in both cases. In light of these challenges, the United Nations attempted to reform peacekeeping at a structural level. UNSC Resolution 2171, for example, calls for enhanced capacity building and cooperation between the United Nations and regional and subregional organizations. However, the effectiveness of these reforms remains to be seen.

The world's most serious internal conflicts are likely to continue in 2015, as none show signs of resolution. In particular, security situations in Iraq, Syria, and Nigeria will probably deteriorate as ISIS and Boko Haram continue to sow death, devastation, and fear. However, varied national responses to these threats could lead to different conflict trajectories in 2015: although the Iraqi



Chadian soldiers ride atop a pickup truck during Flintlock 2015, a U.S.-led military exercise, in Mao, Chad, on February 23, 2015. Emmanuel Braun/Courtesy Reuters

government has prioritized the fight against ISIS, in Nigeria the government has devoted insufficient attention to countering Boko Haram, and the government of Syria itself is party to the conflict and responsible for atrocities. The Security Council will undoubtedly attempt to bolster existing peacekeeping missions in the Central African Republic and South Sudan, but structural reforms and sufficient funding will be necessary if these missions are to succeed.

THE WORLD'S MOST serious internal conflicts are likely to continue in 2015, as none show signs of resolution.

In Afghanistan, the Taliban has gained in strength and will attempt to take advantage of the departure of international combat forces to regain control over much of the country. By the Security Council's own admission, the multilateral capacity to prevent internal conflicts is lacking. Given these tremendous challenges, the Council of Councils is pessimistic regarding the possibility of progress in preventing and responding to internal violent conflict in 2015.

Select Comments From CoC Members

- The failure of the West to intervene effectively in Syria in time, leaving the stage to its worst adversaries, despite the mass slaughter of Syrian civilians, makes 2014 a grim year for those who believe in the global community's responsibility to protect (R2P), and in its ability to prevent intrastate conflicts.

Amos Yadlin, Institute for National Security Studies

- Issues of sovereignty conflict with R2P and the past experience of interventions has done little to demonstrate that such interventions will not make the situation worse.

Sunjoy Joshi, Observer Research Foundation

- Civil wars are rampant in the Middle East, especially in Syria and Iraq.

Chen Dongxiao, Shanghai Institutes for International Studies

- South Sudan, the Central African Republic, and Syria—although this is now cross-border too—have not been addressed effectively, notwithstanding international/African engagement. Part of the problem has been the underlying domestic problems rather than the type of international response. However, there are also some positive engagements holding promise such as in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the ongoing engagement of AMISOM.

Elizabeth Sidiropoulos, South African Institute of International Affairs

- The international community and the UN have failed in our responsibility to protect citizens from intrastate violent conflict. The worst example is, of course, Syria.
Michael Fullilove, Lowy Institute for International Policy

- Civil wars in Ukraine and Syria continued in 2014 with only limited involvement from nonstate actors and the UN. In Egypt, turmoil has continued following the military coup d'état of 2013, and in Thailand, after weeks of political instability, a military coup was staged in May. Terrorist attacks by the Uighur minority have resulted in harsher suppression of the ethnic group in the Xinjiang autonomous region in western China. In these cases of serious intrastate violent conflict, the international community failed to respond effectively.

Sook-Jong Lee, East Asia Institute

- Syria's civil war seems to be very far from any form of settlement.

Ferdinando Nelli Feroci, Institute of International Affairs

- The use of the R2P principle by Western powers to justify actions against Libya and Syria have, in the latter case, generated less than desirable consequences.

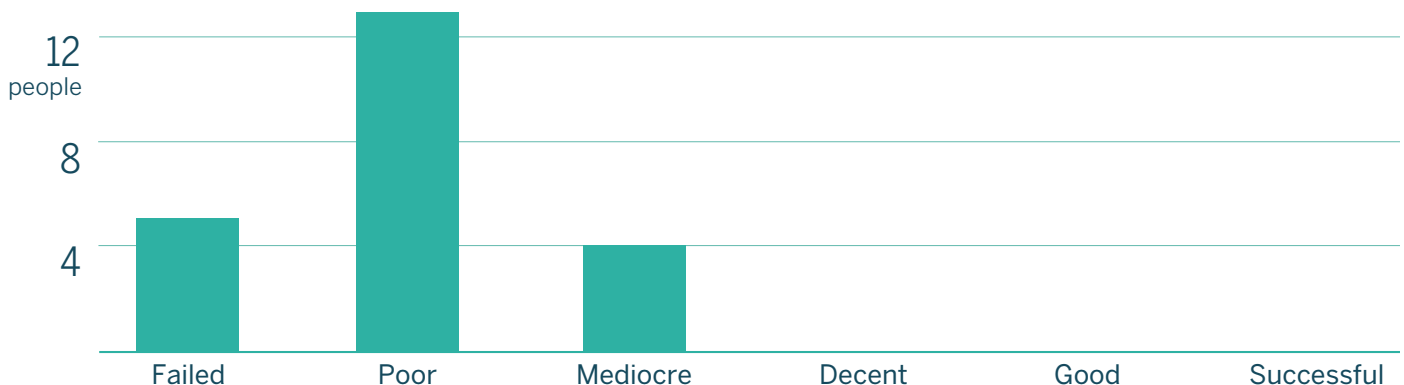
Tan See Seng, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies

- Failure in Syria; tiny progress in the Sahel, where mass atrocities were prevented by the French intervention.

Marcin Zaborowski, Polish Institute of International Affairs

Grade Distribution

Number of respondents who assigned each grade



Methodology

Heads of the CoC member institutes or their designees completed this survey between December 4, 2014, and January 2, 2015.

The survey asked participants to:

- Grade international cooperation in 2014 on each challenge by assigning a grade of 0–5 to global efforts, with zero indicating failure and five indicating success;
- Assign values of 1–10 to each of the ten issues, in order of importance in 2015, with one being the most important and ten being the least important; and
- Assign values of 1–10 in order of opportunity for breakthrough in 2015, with one being the most likely and ten being the least likely to see significant progress.

For the grades on international cooperation, CFR translated the means from the zero through

five scale to the A–F scale by dividing five by the thirteen grade options (A+, A, A-, B+, B, B-, C+, C, C-, D+, D, D-, F). Each grade corresponded to the range between zero and five; for example, F corresponded to 0–0.385. For the two rankings, CFR used the raw means to produce an ordered list from one through ten.

To place these results in broader context, CFR staff wrote brief issue descriptions for each of the ten challenges, providing relevant data and explaining background events. Naturally, as is evident from the frequency tables displayed on each issue description, average scores and grades mask variation in views of particular contributors. In an effort to capture these diverse opinions, the Report Card also includes comments from the survey participants. These were edited for style and spelling only.



From left: Israel's Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, Mali's President Ibrahim Boubacar Keita, French President Francois Hollande, Germany's Chancellor Angela Merke, European Council President Donald Tusk, and Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas attend the solidarity march (*marche républicaine*) in the streets of Paris, January 11, 2015. Philippe Wojazer/Courtesy Reuters



Ugandan peacekeeping troops stand during a ceremony at Mogadishu airport in Somalia, May 18, 2014.
Feisal Omar/Courtesy Reuters



Members of the Council of Councils

AUSTRALIA	Lowy Institute for International Policy
BELGIUM	Center for European Policy Studies
BRAZIL	Getulio Vargas Foundation
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CHINA	Shanghai Institutes for International Studies
FRANCE	French Institute of International Relations
GERMANY	German Institute for International and Security Affairs
INDIA	Observer Research Foundation
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MEXICO	Mexican Council on Foreign Relations
NIGERIA	Nigerian Institute of International Affairs
POLAND	Polish Institute of International Affairs
RUSSIA	Institute of Contemporary Development
SINGAPORE	S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies
SOUTH AFRICA	South African Institute of International Affairs
SOUTH KOREA	East Asia Institute
TURKEY	Global Relations Forum
UNITED KINGDOM	Chatham House (The Royal Institute of International Affairs) International Institute for Strategic Studies
UNITED STATES	Council on Foreign Relations

About the Council of Councils

The Council of Councils is a CFR initiative connecting leading foreign policy institutes from around the world in a common conversation on issues of global governance and multilateral cooperation. The Council of Councils draws on the best thinking from around the world to find common ground on shared threats, build support for innovative ideas, and introduce remedies into the public debate and policy-making processes of member countries.

The membership of the Council of Councils includes leading institutions from twenty-three countries, roughly tracking the composition of the Group of Twenty (G20). The network facilitates candid, not-for-attribution dialogue and consensus building among influential opinion leaders from established and emerging nations.

A list of member organizations is available on the Council of Councils roster page.

In addition to an annual conference, the Council of Councils provides an ongoing exchange for research and policy collaboration among its members, including during regional conferences hosted by members. The group also considers long-term structural reforms that would enhance the global governance capacity of leading international institutions.

The Council of Councils initiative is funded by a generous grant from the Robina Foundation, as part of its ongoing support for CFR's International Institutions and Global Governance program.



U.S. President Barack Obama chairs the United Nations Security Council summit on foreign terrorist fighters in New York, September 24, 2014. Kevin Lamarque/Courtesy Reuters



Health officers in full protective gear wait to cross a road near a wholesale poultry market in Hong Kong, January 28, 2014.
Tyrone Siu/Courtesy Reuters

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Prospectors work at the open-pit Djoubissi gold mine, about 50 km (31 miles) north of Bambari, April 24, 2014.
Emmanuel Braun/Courtesy Reuters

Back cover: A boy who was wounded by flying debris due to Super Typhoon Haiyan stays at the ruins of his family's house in Tacloban city, November 10, 2013. Erik De Castro/Courtesy Reuters



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