

country and are fostering greater regional cooperation and interdependence. But fissiparous domestic political forces in Northeast Asia are ignored only at one's analytic peril, whether in the form of xenophobic nationalists, economically motivated protectionists, or geopolitical strategists anxious to hedge against future threats. Domestic politics in China, Japan, and Korea suggest that 'The Making of Northeast Asia' will not be a bump-free road toward regional nirvana.

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Rising States, Rising Institutions: Challenges for Global Governance

Alan S. Alexandroff and Andrew F. Cooper (eds.)

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Governance Innovation, 2010.

The global financial crisis of 2008 has strengthened the general impression that the decline of the United States and the rise of new powers such as China and India are simultaneously in progress. A shift in the balance of power must significantly affect the way of global governance. This is a subject of great importance in world politics. In the words of Robert Gilpin, 'the fundamental problem of international relations in the contemporary world is the problem of peaceful adjustment to the consequences of the uneven growth of power among states'. Since around 2010, scholarly attention has been paid to the impact of emerging new powers on global governance. One of the very first books is the volume under this review, *Rising States, Rising Institutions: Challenges for Global Governance*. This edited volume is the second book that was produced by the collaborative work between the Center for International Governance Innovation (CIGI) – a Canadian think tank based in Waterloo, Ontario – and the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University. (The first book from this

partnership is *Can the World Be Governed? Possibilities for Effective Multilateralism.*)

The main purpose of *Rising States, Rising Institutions* is 'to examine and evaluate the leadership and the institutional settings of global governance' (p. vii). Between the introduction and conclusion written by the editors Alan S. Alexandroff and Andrew F. Cooper, there are three sections regarding governance, rising states, and rising institutions, respectively. The first section, 'Great Powers and International Structures', has three chapters by G. John Ikenberry on liberal internationalism, by Anne-Marie Slaughter, and Thomas Hale on transgovernmental networks, and by Cooper on three groupings of rising states: IBSA, the BRICs, and BRICSAM. The second section about rising states has four chapters by Gregory Chin on China, by Amrita Narlikar on India, by Andrew Hurrell on Brazil, and by Andrew Moravcsik on Europe. The final section deals with various rising institutions in its chapters by Alexandroff and John Kirton on the G-20 Leaders' Summit, by Kirton on the G-20 Finance Ministers, by Daniel W. Drezner on sovereign wealth funds, by Flynt Leverett on the International Energy Agency, and by Steven E. Miller on counterterrorism committees.

Given the limited space of one volume, this book provides a balanced coverage of rising states and rising institutions. The second section covers all 'the big three of China, India, and Brazil' (p. 3) as well as Europe and analyzes their relations with international institutions. The third section deals with not only economic institutions produced by the so-called 'G-x process' but also energy and security institutions arising from the traditional UN and Bretton Woods systems. In addition, the book introduces important concepts related to global governance such as liberal internationalism and transgovernmental network, although two contributors Ikenberry and Slaughter had explained these ideas elsewhere. The reader can learn diverse aspects of contemporary global governance by just reading one volume.

It is a small disappointment, however, that the book does not present an overall thesis, although I fully acknowledge the difficulty of producing a coherent edited volume. The book has no comprehensive framework, theoretical or otherwise, to analyze rising states and institutions. It can be considered a collection of independent papers. In their introduction and conclusion, the editors summarize each chapter but focus on the G-x process, particularly G-20, which is also treated in Chapters 8 and 9.

Thus, it may safely be said that the G20 is the most interesting topic in this book. The Asian financial crisis of 1997–98 led to the creation of the G-20 finance ministers' meetings. The 2008 global financial crisis triggered the upgrading of the G-20 to a summit at the national leaders' level. In this book, the G-20 Leaders' Summit is described as 'the premier institution of global economic governance' (p. 178) and 'the most dramatic illustration of a "rising institution"' (p. 2). Rising institutions are characterized by informal and unstructured leadership and transgovernmental networks, and they are also contrasted with the traditional Bretton Woods and UN institutions, which are more formal and treaty-based ones with binding mechanisms. The G-20 Leaders' Summit is evaluated highly in terms of legitimacy and equality because it has integrated rising states as equals into the exclusive economic crisis committee. At the same time, it is also suggested that the G20 might not be the best form of leadership organization in terms of the other dimensions of ideal global governance institutions: effectiveness, likemindedness, and informality. Alexandroff and Kirton, the authors of Chapter 8, hold their judgment in suspense, by saying that 'the architecture of the G-20 process itself is still taking place' (p. 194). The conclusion written by Alexandroff and Cooper includes an intriguing cursory evaluation of various G-x process platforms, which is summarized in Table 1 (p. 303).

Overall, the book under review is a valuable pioneer work on rising states and rising institutions in the context of global governance, although it can be regarded as an interim report about the ongoing evolution of world politics. For an initial attempt, this study achieves its purpose 'to examine and evaluate the leadership and the institutional settings of global governance'. This academic-jargon-free book is recommendable for both academic scholars and practitioners who are interested in the institutional adaptation of rising states. All the chapters are well worth reading. Considering the lack of coherence, however, partial reading is also possible and even desirable in some cases where one need to know only particular rising states and/or institutions.

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