

Bucerius Summer School on Global Governance: The World in the 21st Century and the Tasks Ahead -- The Rise of China and India

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Abstract

Since 2001, the ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin and Gerd Bucerius, in cooperation with the Heinz Nixdorf Stiftung, has organized a two-week event for 55-60 young professionals from around the world. Their aim has been to foster leadership in “high potentials” by involving them in an international dialogue on current, political, economic and social questions. The original idea was based on the strong belief that what had worked for transatlantic relations in the 1960s with Henry Kissinger’s famous International Summer Seminar at Harvard University would be equally useful in the post-Cold War era during a time of shifting global power patterns and new worldwide challenges.

This Technical Note summarizes the Keynote Address given by former Chancellor Helmut Schmidt on ‘Challenges Associated with the 21st Century’; as well as, selected workshop discussions that were held in Germany from August 3-7, 2008. Participants were divided into a number of parallel working groups on a variety of topics including: 1) The future Role of the United Nations: Peacekeeping or Promoting Social Standards and Global Values?; 2) Scenarios for the Post-Bush Atlantic Community; 3) The Rise of China and India; 4) Europe after the Irish NO: Stagnation or Fresh Star?; 5) Eastern Europe, Russia and Germany: Friendship, Rivalry, Hostility – What’s in the Pipeline?; 6) Business Imperatives and Societal Needs; 7) How to Manage Global Risks: Regulating Financial Markets, Hedge Funds and Rating Agencies; 8) Non-Proliferation or Spread of Nuclear Weapons? – Scenarios and Strategies to Prevent the Worst; 9) Climate Change for Realists; and, 10) Immigration, Integration, and Identity: The Challenge for Western Societies.

The working group in which the author was selected to participate was *The Rise of China and India*. While our time was limited for discussion, the following synopsis attempts to glean the main points that emerged during the session.

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Introduction

Since 2001, the ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin and Gerd Bucerius, in cooperation with the Heinz Nixdorf Stiftung, has organized a two-week event for 55-60 young professionals from around the world. Their aim has been to foster leadership in “high potentials” by involving them in an international dialogue on current, political, economic and social questions. The original idea was based on the strong belief that what had worked for transatlantic relations in the 1960s with Henry Kissinger’s famous International Summer Seminar at Harvard University would be equally useful in the post-Cold War era during a time of shifting global power patterns and new worldwide challenges.

This Technical Note summarizes the Keynote Address given by former Chancellor Helmut Schmidt on ‘Challenges Associated with the 21st Century’; as well as, selected workshop discussions that were held in Germany from August 3-7, 2008. Participants of the 2008 Bucerius Program were divided in to a number of parallel working groups on a variety of topics including:

I. The Future Role of the United Nations: Peacekeeping or Promoting Social Standards and Global Values?

John G. Ruggie, UN Special Representative on Human Rights and Transnational Corporations, New York

II. Wither the United States? Scenarios for the Post-Bush Atlantic Community

Ivo H. Daalder, Senior Fellow in Foreign Policy Studies, The Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C.

Stephen Szabo, Executive Director, Transatlantic Academy, Washington, D.C.

III. The Rise of China and India

Shashi Tharoor, former UN Under-Secretary-General for Communications and Public Information, New York

IV. Europe after the Irish NO: Stagnation or Fresh Start?

Guy Verhofstadt, former Prime Minister of Belgium, Brussels

V. Eastern Europe, Russia and Germany: Friendship, Rivalry, Hostility – What's in the Pipeline?

Janusz Reiter, former Ambassador of Poland to the United States and Germany, Warsaw

Dmitri V. Trenin, Deputy Director, Carnegie Moscow Centre, Moscow

VI. *Business Imperatives and Societal Needs*

David Held, Co-Director, The Center for the Study of Global Governance, London School of Economics, London

VII. *How to Manage Global Risks: Regulating Financial Markets, Hedge Funds and Rating Agencies*

Uwe Jean Heuser, Chief-Business-Editor, DIE ZEIT, Hamburg

VIII. *Non-Proliferation or Spread of Nuclear Weapons? – Scenarios and Strategies to Prevent the Worst*

Tariq Rauf, Head of Verification and Security Policy Coordination, International Atomic Energy Agency, Vienna

IX. *Climate Change for Realists*

Harald Welzer, Head, Center for Interdisciplinary Memory Research, Essen

X. *Immigration, Integration, Identity: The Challenge for Western Societies*

Vural Öger, Member of the European Parliament, Brussels

The working group in which the author participated was *The Rise of India and China*; therefore, the main content of this Technical Note will focus on this topic.

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Keynote Address “The World Ahead: Forces Shaping the 21st Century”

Address by Helmut Schmidt – Former Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany

The Bucerius Foundation invited Former Chancellor Schmidt to share his views with the workshop participants and distinguished guests on the ‘Challenges Associated with the 21st Century’.

In his opening remarks, Chancellor Schmidt acknowledged that ‘the future is unpredictable’. Indeed, he argued, one can almost be assured that while disasters will not be predicted, the unpredicted will always happen! Nevertheless, despite this qualifier, he predicted that the globalization of technology will go on regardless of what we do and that a global currency and exchange crisis is also a distinct possibility.

Overall, he identified several global challenges:

1) Demographic challenges – the world’s population has grown more than ever before. Within the next four years there will be more than nine billion people on Earth. This is five times as many people as at the beginning of the 19th century. With this rise comes the danger of biological disasters as well as population manipulation.

2) Global Warming – there is no denying that it is occurring and we should be preparing for climate change. Alarmingly, agreements to curb greenhouse gases do not include India, China or the United States and Kyoto is insufficient. He suggested that governments should tackle these issues during G8 talks.

3) Clash of Cultures – A general clash of cultures between Islam and Western civilization may become a reality; but, it can be avoided. The superfluous war in Iraq has exacerbated Islamic fundamentalism. He argued that Islam must not be looked down on.

He called attention to the fact that the concept of the secular state emerged in Europe and that fifty Islamic states have not separated religion from the State. This is a fact that he said should not be ignored and instead, should be acknowledged.

Humanitarian Intervention:

With regard to this topic, he noted that since the end of the Cold War there have been an increasing number of military interventions predicated on human security justifications. He finds this trend problematic.

He cautioned that with regard to NATO expansion, the global defence shield is *perceived* to be a threat as is the expansion of NATO to the Russian border. He cautioned that the US should constrain itself in its push for these initiatives to move forward; especially, given that available military capability worldwide is a thousand times greater than at the end of World War II.

Chancellor Schmidt went on to say that the Non-Proliferation Treaty needs to be reworked. A non-first use of treaty should be negotiated amongst nuclear powers.

In his view, China will return as a preeminent world power and India is not far behind. He noted that India has one of the most technologically oriented and capable countries in the world. Moreover, both China and India are nuclear powers.

In the next twenty years he predicted that China and India will become the second and fourth largest economies in the world. Notably, China will soon replace Germany as the number one exporter in the world. He also emphasized that China's currency reserves could be used for geo-political purposes. Yet, at the same time, the two giants are facing serious challenges; for example, population.

In his view, the problems in Iraq are an example of frivolous military intervention. He predicted that similarly, the Afghan mission will be difficult to end. With regard to the Middle East, most of their borders have been determined by European interventions; therefore, current effectiveness of European intervention to resolve disputes is now in question. He suggested that organizations such as the Organization for African Unity (OAU) might be better suited to play a major role in the region since they do not carry the same historical baggage.

In closing, Chancellor Schmidt said that in order for us to face the challenges of the 21st Century, leaders will be required to differentiate between those things that cannot be changed from those that can. The ability to differentiate between the two and to take appropriate action will be the key to success or failure.

During the discussion that followed, Chancellor Schmidt argued, that in his opinion, state sovereignty should trump humanitarian intervention. While acknowledging that his view was controversial, he cautioned that if the Westphalian principle of sovereignty is compromised, the international system will decline into a state of disarray. Therefore, the principle of state sovereignty must remain intact.

Working Group: The Rise of China and India

The working group in which the author was selected to participate was *The Rise of China and India*. While our time was limited for discussion, the following synopsis attempts to glean the main points that emerged during the session.

Workshop Leads:

Shashi Tharoor (Chair)	Former United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Communications and Public Information, New York
Eva-Maria Nag	Research Fellow, London School of Economics, London
Alexandra Siddall	Analyst, Americas and European Branch of the Office of National Assessments, Australia

Workshop Participants:

Joan Apecu Karim Bakhit	Economics Affairs Officer, World Bank PhD Candidate London School of Economics, Former Desk Officer for Liberia, UN
Perez Henriquez Blas	Assistant Dean, Executive & International Programs, University of Berkeley
Jon Burgess Christina Decker Cintia Diaz-Herrera	Head of Corporate Finance NabCapital, London Desk Officer, WTO/Europe External Relations Officer, World Health Organization
Ulrike Ebeling	Policy Advisor, German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development
Hans-Jorg Hess Christopher Miller	Partner, Consulting Firm KrierHess, Berlin Regional Coordinator for South Asia Television Trust for the Environment, New Delhi
Evelyn Nava-Fischer	Former research Associate and Advisor of the German Development Agency (GTZ)
Ana Saiz	Special Assistant in the office of the President of the Inter-American Development Bank
Stephan Sakalian	Advisor for Multilateral Affairs in Asia of the International Committee of the Red Cross
Mirjam Schoning	Head of the Schwab Foundation for Social Entrepreneurship

Kameleshwar Singh

State Coordinator at the Society for Participatory
Research in Asia

Karen Smith

Lecturer at the Department of Political Science,
University of Stellenbosch, South Africa

Tony Tang

Sales Manager, BASF, China

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Defence

Prior to group discussions, the workshop leads gave brief presentations on the topic area in order to set the context and to allow participants to choose three or four topics around which to focus discussion. AS the discussions were carried out in accordance with Chatham House Rules, the synopsis below is a compilation of all three presentations and the ensuing discussion.

Working Group Leads' Presentation

The rise of China and India will likely have a gigantic impact on the rest of the world. In 2003, Goldman Sachs published a report entitled, *Dreaming With BRICs¹: The Path to 2050*. This report indicated that by the 2020s, the GDP of China is expected to overtake the US economy; however, the same is not the case for India. India will have to do much more than China to achieve the same levels of growth. In this regard, 2050 is considered to be a more realistic timeline for India to have achieved the same levels of GDP. By 2020, it is expected that China's level of income will be the same as the US. Given that the Bucerius discussions took place in Germany, in the context of Germany, China is expected to surpass Germany's purchase power parity (PPP) by the end of 2008. However, as one discussant cautioned, the future is not what it used to be -- an economic shift will require an economic and social shift as well.

It was argued that China will strip the US of being the only global superpower and India will also become a significant player. If one looks at military spending as an indication of this movement, in 2007 China increased military spending by 7.8 percent (depending on how one calculates their spending). Nevertheless, at this point in time, the US's defence budget is still more than the rest of the world combined. Financially, as of the end of June 2008, China held 1.8 trillion dollars in foreign reserves. Interestingly, however, one participant argued that the way the markets are structured, if the Chinese cashed in these reserves, then they would only be hurting themselves. Therefore, in some respects, the level of foreign reserves is not as much of a concern as some would make it out to be.

Despite China's seeming success, participants recognized that all is not positive in China. In attaining its financial achievements, "necks have been broken in the process". There has been excessive pollution and environmental degradation, an increasing disparity between the rich and the poor and a continuation of lack of political freedom. While some perceive the increased access to and use of the Internet in China to be indicative of increasing political freedom, it may be overestimated because its use is monitored closely by the government (although this has declined significantly).

¹ BRIC stands for Brazil, Russia, India and China.

When it comes to comparing China and India, although China is prospering, its standards of business regulation are poor and a large percentage of companies are state owned. By contrast, India is better regulated and private companies allow for more efficiency and productivity than those of China. Moreover, India is consciously increasing its capability to work with the West in financial markets. That said, when comparing the private sectors of both India and China, China's private sector is ahead.

Political tolerance is a very important difference between the two countries. Indian politics celebrates diversity whereas the Chinese try to do away with diversity and political freedom is still unknown. There are definitely structural issues that should be considered when discussing the future of India and China. Prosperity will necessarily be underpinned by stability in the region

It was noted that there are many geopolitical implications of the rise of China and India. What impact will their rise have given that the US is a fundamental player in the region?

As pointed out by one of the workshop leads, China is a permanent member of the UN Security Council. While India also wants permanent membership, China will not support this as it attempts to keep India's influence in the region limited. In support of this aim, China has recently, overtaken the US as India's largest trading partner. China also continues to see India as an instrument for the containment of Pakistan. China funds terrorism groups in both Pakistan and India and China is not pleased with the fact that India hosts the Dalai Lama and exiles/refugees from Tibet.

As a point of particular interest, one of the discussants argued that India will become a global player using soft power (rather than 'hard' military power) through the spread of its ideas, values and culture. An example that was given in support of this hypothesis was/is the impact/influence of Bollywood (reminiscent of the McDonald's phenomenon as it was perceived to be a symbol of the American culture).

As the second discussant addressed the group, it was pointed out that Japan tends to be forgotten in these types of discussions. This should not be the case as Japan is still the second largest economy in the world and neither the US nor Japan is 'going anywhere' soon in terms of their influence. Moreover, both China and Japan give priority to their relationship with the US over any others.

In terms of thinking about significant relationships in the region, four were suggested for consideration. The relationships were:

- 1) China-India
- 2) US – China
- 3) US – India
- 4) Japan -China

The US expects Japan to uphold its responsibilities in the region. Increasingly, Japan is talking about increasing its international role. This is evidenced by its increase in peacekeeping and monetary contributions.

The Bush administration's policy towards China has been one of both containment and isolationism. It will be a matter of great interest to see what the new Obama administration's policy towards China will be. Many expect that it will be one of engagement rather than isolation.

India has signed nuclear cooperation agreements and is unlikely to be drawn in to an anti-China coalition.

China is more important to Japan than vice-versa.

In the region, the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) is increasingly important. ASEAN members include: Brunei, Darussalam, Cambodia, Indonesia, LAO PDR, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam. A key question is to determine what the prospects are for multilateral cooperation will be in the future. Regionalism has increased but it has a limited role. ASEAN policy is based on the principles of coherence and non-interference.

One participant argued that research which deals with leadership is an area that is lacking. In this light, the question was posed: "Who are the agents who will determine a shift?" Traditionally States have been seen as the main actors but it was posited that one has to look internally at individual leaders (politicians, business leaders, etc) and identifiable trends.

One person argued that India has a dissident leadership culture -- there is tension between national objectives and domestic objectives (outwardly oriented policy focus versus locally and domestic policy making). The question then becomes, who should we tag when analyzing India, Government or companies? And what are the prospects of multi-polarity versus multilateralism?

There are four issues with which India is concerned: greater recognition internationally, increased growth, increased internal security and increased regional security. However, there is no convergence among Indian leaders. There are huge economic disparities amongst states within India. Domestically oriented issues, equality, division of land, gender and distribution of wealth are key issues. Rural leadership looks to the younger generations who are highly educated to fill their shoes. National decision makers are different than Members of Parliament who are focused on domestic, regional issues.

In India it is expected that multilateralism will be challenged by the following issues: 1) domestic concerns, 2) development, 3) devolution of power; and 4) democracy.

Discussion

After the opening presentations the workshop participants raised key areas for discussion which were grouped into three main themes:

- 1) International Dimensions;
- 2) Demography; and,
- 3) Environmentalism

International Dimensions:

What are Chinese motivations to become a superpower? In recent years China has recognized it can use its position internationally – it has become a ‘globally interested player’. While some would argue, many think that China’s rise will be peaceful as it is largely looking for resources to support its growth (economically motivated rather than geopolitically motivated). Because China is embroiled in a scramble for resources, as a side-effect, there are approximately 750,000 Chinese in Africa in part because China’s investment in Africa tends to be tied-investment. China provides infrastructure projects in various African states however, in most of its contracts there is an agreement that 70% of workers associated with the project must be Chinese. Moreover, many countries such as Zambia are complaining that their corner shops and other local businesses are being taken over by Chinese workers; thereby, denying the local population of jobs. China is also becoming more and more active in South America so it will be interesting to see what happens there.

Like the US in the 1890s, China is waking up to the fact that it needs global access to support its productivity. This is where geopolitics comes into play. How is China going to change its governance structure to deal with the new reality?

If one looks at the UN Security Council (UNSC) membership as an indicator of international influence, China is a permanent member. Other countries and regions feel left out – e.g. India, and South America (Brazil has argued that it should become a permanent member). It was pointed out that this issue has been on-going for sixteen years and will probably never be resolved because any change to the structure of the Security Council requires a 2/3 majority in the General Assembly and also 2/3 of Parliaments have to ratify the change.

Given the inflexibility of the UNSC to reform, there is the risk that other institutions such as the G8 might move in because these ‘looser’ organizations are not legally hamstrung. This could be problematic because decisions could result in actions being taken by coalitions of the willing.

2) Demography:

In China, one child is going to be supporting four seniors in the future. Therefore, the results of a one child policy will likely come back to haunt China in the end due to the economic and social strains on the system.

The poverty line in India is thirty cents per day. Indian progression is based on a system of meritocracy. Those who are young and intelligent can rise to the top. Interestingly, in India, three communist parties have been elected in three different states. (Kerala is one State). Whether or not this has significant meaning is as yet unclear.

One participant noted that China is consciously exporting its population and those who are ‘exported’ are marrying locals. Notably, the Chinese have been very protective of Chinese overseas (very forcefully coming to the aid of any Chinese nationals), so this may have some implications in the future related to state intervention, for example.

3) Environmentalism

It was pointed out that when it comes to carbon emissions the discussion turns frequently to the large, fast-growing economies such as China and India who are, and are likely to be, among the largest emitters of carbon dioxide (CO₂) and other greenhouse gases globally. But despite being the world's second most populous country and fourth largest economy, India's CO₂ emissions is still only one-fifth that of the US or China. Furthermore, India is one of the lowest-intensity producers of CO₂ amongst the large emitter countries. India's per-capita emissions of CO₂ are about one metric ton per person, compared with four as the world average, nine for the United Kingdom and twenty for the US. In a group of seventy of the world's largest emitters, India ranks in the bottom ten. Also, in terms of carbon emissions per unit of GDP (measured at Purchasing Power Parity), India is virtually the lowest among comparator countries. Finally, unlike in other countries, India's carbon intensity did not rise as economic growth accelerated in the last decade.

One participant from China expressed concern that they tend to buy and exploit existing technologies to get ahead but this will not be good in the long term. Instead, China needs to invest in research and development.

In relation to discussions on the environment, another topic raised was the increasing cost of solar panels as alternative sources of energy proposed in China and India. It was pointed out that the rise in cost is due to the rising cost of silicone. However, the development of the use of parabolic mirrors could help to overcome this problem. Another cause of the increase in cost is due to the large demand for solar panels in response to environmentalism. In other words, environmentalism has driven up demand, which has also driven up the price. Growth combined with concerns of environmentalism is a difficult problem that China and India both face. Despite perceptions that China is not concerned with the environment, one workshop participant noted that increasingly, Chinese corporate CEOs are coming to the United States to learn about environmentally conscious approaches to growth that can be implemented in Chinese development projects.

Finally, the last point raised in the discussion on environmentalism was a cautionary note that in the future, India cannot have 67% of its population living off the land like it has had. Therefore, expectations of the rural population will have to change, going forward, despite the agricultural emphasis encouraged in the past.

Observations and Conclusion

The workshop discussions at the Bucerius School on Global Governance highlighted the complex nature of future prospects and challenges associated with the Rise of China and India. One critical factor that came to the fore repeatedly (especially in the case of China) was the importance of determining motivation. Is their rise driven largely by economic factors? Or is there some other motivation that would imply a larger geopolitical impact than currently anticipated? In other words, determining motivation may be the key for deciding whether or not the rise of China and India is seen as a threat, or an opportunity.

By examining the debate from three perspectives: 1) the international dimension; 2) demography; and 3) environmental issues, it became evident that the multifaceted complexities of their rise will be fraught with many challenges. How their respective political systems adapt to meet these challenges will determine their success in the future. In addition to the rise of China and India individually, the dynamics between the two countries can also be expected to have significant implications for the region as a whole.

In terms of Canadian interests, the changing global distribution of power will have implications for Canada, international affairs and international organizations writ large. As Chancellor Schmidt emphasized during his address, there is still an ongoing tension between the “The Responsibility to Protect”² and the principle of State Sovereignty; therefore, understanding the tension between the two principles as well as the evolving relationships with India and China will be important elements used to determine how Canada's interest might best be served - not only bilaterally but also overall in the global system with regional groups, alliances and international organisations.

² The Responsibility to Protect: Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty This report is about the so-called "right of humanitarian intervention": the question of when, if ever, it is appropriate for states to take coercive - and in particular military - action, against another state for the purpose of protecting people at risk in that other state. The report's central theme is "The Responsibility to Protect", the idea that sovereign states have a responsibility to protect their own citizens from avoidable catastrophe, but that when they are unwilling or unable to do so, that responsibility must be borne by the broader community of states. The report can be found at: <http://www.iciss.ca/report-en.asp>

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List of symbols/abbreviations/acronyms/initialisms

ASEAN	Association of South East Asian Nations
BRIC	Brazil, Russia, India and China
DND	Department of National Defence
DRDC	Defence Research & Development Canada
LSE	London School of Economics
R&D	Research & Development
UN	United Nations
US	United States
WTO	World Trade Organization

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13. ABSTRACT :

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14. KEYWORDS, DESCRIPTORS or IDENTIFIERS

Bucerius Global Governance: Challenges for the 21st Century