

CONFERENCE

IDDRI
20 YEARS 2001 - 2021

Planetary governance for a sustainable recovery: *Next Generation Multilateralism*

OCTOBER 12-13-14, 2021

Co-organised with the European Chair for Sustainable
Development and Climate Transition at Sciences Po (PSIA – EAP)

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The Covid-19 pandemic has underlined and exacerbated the long existing challenges to global governance and international cooperation. Whilst it has clearly demonstrated the need for supranational cooperation due to the interdependence between states, territories, and societies in a globalized world, it has also demonstrated the incapacity of the current international system to adequately deal with contemporary challenges. Given the interdependencies of all human societies with the planetary ecosystem and with one another, cooperation at the global scale is unavoidable to reduce inequalities, avoid crossing planetary boundaries, protect global environmental goods, prevent risks of pandemics, and ensure resilience.

To celebrate 20 years of its existence, IDDRI is organising a conference entitled 'Planetary Governance for a Sustainable Recovery: Next Generations Multilateralism'. This conference intends to provide an intellectual and pragmatic basis for analysing the strategies and opportunities for renewing multilateralism centred around sustainable development.

Multilateral institutions are undergoing a crisis due to justified criticisms of their inefficiencies and rising geopolitical tensions that confront the rules that had been considered as established. Even prior to the pandemic, multilateralism faced serious threats due to withdrawals of important actors from international treaties and forums, budget cuts and contempt of international law.

However, the importance of international cooperation is being recognized at different levels: national, regional, and international governmental actors, business and labour organisations and civil society have all been calling for a global post-Covid recovery plan that is comprised of renewed and inclusive multilateral collaboration, centred around achieving the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.

Each actor has its own distinct vision and proposals for reforming the multilateral institutions that were constructed at the end of the Second World War to improve their performance and effectiveness and adapt them to contemporary challenges that include climate change, biodiversity loss, pandemics and increasing social and economic inequalities.

For example, a widely recognized and key driver for the transformations towards sustainability is the regulation of global trade and finance systems. This has been explicitly recognized by the French President Emmanuel Macron, who mentioned the obligation to think and construct beyond the Washington Consensus and the liberal vision driving the IMF and World Bank policy for 40 years, to collectively construct the adapted values and principles to guide the post-pandemic recovery period.

Many ideas to renew and strengthen multilateral cooperation are being debated and deserve to be discussed. The mobilized voices of emerging powers and civil society that would like to see a more effective, accountable, representative, just and inclusive multilateral system have been proposing new values, interests, and institutions to realize this aim. These proposals must be analysed and discussed through certain criteria (including but not limited to):

1) Future proof and fit for sustainable development: to be ambitious in their integration of important social, economic, and ecological concerns.

2) Pragmatic and efficient: to ensure that international cooperation institutions manage to work efficiently, enable the development of realistic and strategic plans to reform economic policy, structurally transform economies and re-equilibrate power balance between blocks;

3) Fair, pluralistic, and transparent: to offer ground for co-construction between the different regions, country groups and even stakeholders beyond a pure interstate approach making space for renewed understandings of pluralism, justice, participation, and governance.

Planetary protection is one of the main areas of diplomatic dialogue in which cooperation is affirmed and necessary. There is historical precedent to demonstrate sustainability and governance of global common goods as an area of cooperation during tensed geopolitical conflicts. Considering the current economic and political conflicts that structure the relations between global players, strategic reforms to existing international systems and institutions must be envisioned to increase international cooperation and coordinated action to face these contemporary challenges, as sustainability is both a strategic entry point and an important objective for improving global cooperation in geopolitically tensed times. The different EU member States and the European Commission have published strategies for renewing multilateralism, with a strong emphasis on the protection of global environmental commons. For successful cooperation and to define the role of the European Union in the renewal of multilateralism, it is extremely important to identify and understand the points of convergence (and

divergence) with the visions and strategies, as well as the values, principles, and ambitions of other regions of the world.

IDDRI intends to mobilize its extensive network across the globe and specialization in sustainable development for its conference *Next Generations Multilateralism*, to respond to the call to revitalize multilateralism and support a sustainability-centred renewal. It will bring together experienced practitioners of global governance from various sectors, academics, diplomats, experts, philosophers, and other stakeholders to assess the state of the world and discuss concrete proposals to reform existing institutions and construct new ones if necessary. This conference intends to take stock of evolutions of power balances and geopolitics, between national governments and beyond, and to analyse which proposals are both ambitious in their reform outcome, and realistic in terms of political soundness in the current state of the world. This contribution will help delineate what role Europe could play to foster a process of improvement of global governance to make it appropriate for contemporary and future challenges and the transformation towards sustainability.

As the pandemic continues to prevent intercontinental travel, IDDRI proposes to make an opportunity out of this constraint by using our videoconferencing capacities to organise an intercontinental dialogue with a programme that enables exchanges between Africa, Europe, and Asia and the Pacific in the early day, and with the Americas in later hours.

TUESDAY, 12 OCTOBER 2021

13h30-14h10 CEST

Introduction

- Welcome by **Laurence Bertrand Dorléac**, President of Sciences Po (Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques)
- Introduction of the ambition of the conference: **Sébastien Treyer**, Executive director, IDDRI, and **Shivsharan Someshwar**, European Chair for Sustainable Development and Climate Transition, Sciences Po
- Keynote from **Jutta Urpilainen**, Commissioner for International Partnerships, European Commission

14h40-16h40 CEST

SESSION 1 : WHAT EXPECTATIONS TO REFORM MULTILATERALISM? MAKING SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT A REALITY

Multilateralism has been a significant feature of international relations in the 20th century. It is also a dynamic historical process which cannot be dissociated from the context in which it has taken shape. It is both considered necessary and criticized for not being sufficiently efficient: particularly in the face of increased geopolitical tensions between major powers, and not performing at the scale of the immense sustainability challenges of our century. It is also criticized for not being sufficiently fair, both in terms of decision-making among governments, and in terms of the representation of different social groups within or across countries.

As a mechanism for negotiation between numerous national states and as a political project tending to the achievement of shared objectives, multilateralism is largely confused with internationally organized collective action. However, collective action has gradually changed since 1945. New voices and new directions have emerged. Developing countries became the majority in the 1960s and, as a result, have also influenced the agenda, as well as the forms of decision-making. Global environmental governance, and the Rio principles for instance, have played a key role in the advancement of participation and

representation of different groups. However, expectations and demands on multilateralism to change or to be reformed are numerous and different across the globe.

As the world faces the impacts of climate change, unprecedented biodiversity degradation, and rising inequalities between and within countries that have been reinforced by the impacts of the Covid-19 pandemic, the 2015 agreements on climate and sustainable development (Paris, Addis Ababa, and Agenda 2030) seemed to represent the unique set of commonly accepted goals for humanity. What do the different regions of the world really expect from multilateralism to address sustainability challenges and make sustainable development come true?

Chair: **Melissa Leach, Director**, Institute for Development Studies, IDS

Keynote: **Passy Mubalama**, Founder and executive Director, AIDPROFEN, Kivu, Democratic Republic of Congo

Panel:

- **Mario Cimoli**, Deputy Executive Secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC)
- **Amrita Narlikar**, President of the German Institute for Global and Area Studies
- **Chukwumerije Okereke**, Director, Center for Climate Change and Development, Alex Ekwueme Federal University
- **Adelle Thomas**, Director of the Climate Change Adaptation and Resilience Research Centre, University of the Bahamas
- **Yixian Sun**, Assistant Professor in International Development, University of Bath

17H00-18H00 CEST

DEBATE 1: CAN WE AGREE ON COMMON ASPIRATIONS FOR GLOBAL COOPERATION?

Welcome by: **Elisabeth Hege**, Senior Research Fellow, Governance and Financing of Sustainable Development, IDDRI

With: **Dipesh Chakrabarty**, Lawrence A. Kimpton Distinguished Service Professor in history, University of Chicago, and **Izabella Teixeira**, Former Brazilian Minister of Environment

Moderated by: **Anna Katharina Hornidge**, Director, German Development Institute

18H30-20H30 CEST

SESSION 2: SUSTAINABILITY AS A MOTOR FOR RENEWAL: DIFFERENT PROPOSALS TO FIX MULTILATERALISM

Multiple proposals to fix multilateralism are currently on the table, proposed by a diversity of governmental players and independent experts. These deal with issues of legitimacy, accountability, and effectiveness, but also try to identify new forms of governance to emerging challenges of the transformation to sustainable development. Do these new challenges require new forms of multilateralism? What are the new levers, actions, concepts, values, solutions, and strategies proposed to advance multilateral cooperation?

Innovative or existing complements or supplements to multilateral institutions are being explored, such as 'minilateralism' (as the Group of 20 or the Group of 7), 'plurilateralism' through other forms of clubs, new international alliances of stakeholders, but also new forms of participation of civil society and citizens: many of them emerge from the field of sustainability. Other proposals or examples to make international commitments count more on the ground can be found in the field of global health or nuclear safety. Given the expression by citizens that they are looking for protection and sovereignty over their future in a globalised and transforming world, many other proposals insist on security as a key issue, linking the prevention of conflicts to ecological and human security.

This session will map out the contrasted visions and solutions currently on the table and discuss the role of environment protection and sustainability as a common goal but also as a lever for change, based on past contributions of global environmental governance to the advancement of multilateralism and on future prospects that climate and biodiversity remain a key entry point for cooperation despite current tensions between major powers.

Welcome by: Lola Vallejo, Climate Programme Director, IDDRI

Chair: Marie Laure Salles, Director, IHEID (Graduate Institute)

Keynote: Chibeze Ezekiel, Executive Coordinator, Strategic Youth Network for Development

Panel:

- **Bertrand Badie**, Political Scientist and Expert in International Relations, Sciences Po
- **Susanne Droege**, Senior Fellow, SWP (Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik)
- **Maria Ivanova**, Director of the Center for Governance and Sustainability, University of Massachusetts Boston
- **Emel Parlar Dal**, Professor, Marmara University's Department of International Relations

Day 2

WEDNESDAY, 13 OCTOBER 2021

10H-12H CEST

SESSION 3: MAKING MULTILATERAL ECONOMIC GOVERNANCE MORE EFFECTIVE FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT?

Since 1945, economic and trade interdependence has been expanding, accompanied by the Bretton Woods institutions and the more recent establishment of the World Trade Organisation (WTO), resulting in strong international economic and financial cooperation. Recent economic crises have shown the strong mobilization and impact of institutions such as the International Monetary Fund. Despite the important changes in dominance of economic power, international institutions and a consortium of industrialized and emerging states allowed the consolidation of an orientation of economic liberalism, that could be presented as the Washington consensus. This specific form of multilateralism was based on a principle of specialization and division of tasks: trade at the WTO, economic stability at the IMF, economic development at the World Bank, and labour at the International Labour Organisation.

Faced with the rise of global risks from financial instability to climate change and pandemics, the need for international economic cooperation is fundamental. Despite G20 driven advances like the Financial Stability Board and IMF progresses on post Covid-19 debt relief, the action of economic multilateralism still seems to be insufficient. If there is one particular area that illustrates the disaffection of states with regard to multilateral cooperation, it is the regulation of trade and investment.

Changing international economic and financial governance appears to be an essential condition for sustainable development and the implementation of the 2030 Agenda. Climate change, environment and sustainable development can no longer be considered as externalities as they were to the Washington Consensus.

How can economic, commercial, and financial governance progress to internalize the major changes in the world, such as climate change or the fight against inequality? What comes after the Washington Consensus? How to make sure that the new forms and principles of cooperation that can be invented ensure better economic and social inclusion? To what extent is environmental protection an integral part of this discussion?

Welcome by: **Léna Spinazzé**, Director of Development and Innovation, IDDRI

Chair: **Nicholas Stern**, Chair of the Grantham Research Institute on Climate Change and the Environment

Panel:

- **Sharan Burrow**, General Secretary of the International Trade Union Confederation
- **Carlos Lopes**, Professor, Nelson Mandela School of Public Governance of the University of Cape Town
- **Mahmoud Mohieldin**, Former World Bank Group Senior Vice President for the 2030 Development Agenda
- **Jean-Marie Paugam**, Deputy Director General, World Trade Organization
- **Remy Rioux**, General Director, AFD and President, International Development Funders Club
- **Karim Selouane**, Director, Resallience and Director of Altert
- **Yukari Takamura**, Professor, Institute for Future Initiatives, University of Tokyo

12h30-13h30 CEST

DEBATE 2: BEYOND THE WASHINGTON CONSENSUS: WHAT NEXT STAGE TOWARDS SUSTAINABLE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC GOVERNANCE?

Welcome by: **Damien Barchiche**, Director of Sustainable Development Governance programme, IDDRI

With: **Sharan Burrow**, General Secretary of the International Trade Union Confederation and **Jomo Sundaram**, Senior Advisor at the Khazanah Research Institute

Chair: **Camilla Bausch**, Scientific and Executive Director, Ecologic Institute

14h00-15h00 CEST

DEBATE 3: REFORM OR OVERHAUL? BETWEEN UTOPIA AND REALPOLITIK, WHAT STEP CHANGES IN GLOBAL GOVERNANCE?

Welcome by: **Carine Antunes**, Communications Officer, IDDRI

Sheila Jasanoff, Pforzheimer Professor of Science and Technology Studies, Harvard Kennedy School, and **Manuel Lafont Rapnouil**, Director of the Centre d'Analyse, de Prévision et de Stratégie, French Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Moderated by: **Asa Persson**, Research director and deputy director, Stockholm Environment Institute

15h30-17h30 CEST

SESSION 4: HOW TO MAKE INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENTS TRANSLATE INTO REAL TRANSFORMATION?

The traditional expression of multilateralism is based on the elaboration of treaties, adopted by all or part of the international community and recording the reciprocal commitment of States. In this respect, although agreements have multiplied considerably since the second half of the 20th century, compliance and enforcement mechanisms have remained limited. The new forms of multilateralism, particularly in the field of sustainability, are also based on flexible bottom-up processes, largely declaratory: the robustness of the procedures and mechanisms to link commitments to actual implementation is critical and heavily debated.

In this context, how can we ensure the effectiveness of multilateralism and make it count on the ground? Legal innovations are possible and the WTO dispute settlement mechanism or the IAEA capacity inspection show that the international community has been able, in very specific areas, to equip itself to ensure the implementation of international commitments. Recent litigation examples, where national civil society questions in court the coherence between international commitments and national governmental action, illustrate also new modalities of effectiveness of global governance. The challenge today is not only to make this type of mechanisms politically acceptable in the environmental field, but more broadly to strengthen the enabling conditions (e.g., transparency, mobilization of the civil society) for making States accountable.

Welcome by: **Michel Colombier**, Scientific Director, IDDRI

Chair: **Sunita Narain**, Director General of the Center for Science and Environment, India

Panel:

- **David Bradbury**, Head of the Tax Policy and Statistics Division of the Centre for Tax Policy and Administration, OECD
- **Reinhold Gallmetzer**, Chairperson, Center for Climate Crime Analysis
- **Carola Klöck**, Assistant professor, Sciences Po, CERI
- **Ghassan Salame**, Former UNSG Special envoy to Libya
- **Selcan Serdaroglu**, Galatasaray University
- **Shereen Zorba**, Head of Secretariat, UN Science-Policy-Business Forum on the Environment

THURSDAY, 14 OCTOBER 2021

10h-12h CEST

SESSION 5: MAKING MULTILATERALISM REALLY INCLUSIVE: LEARNING FROM RECENT CONCRETE ADVANCES

"Leave no one behind" is not only the motto of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, but also a key condition for the establishment of an expected planetwide new social contract. Social and political inclusiveness is central per se, to reduce vulnerability and inequality, but it is also instrumental for ambitious environmental transformation, that necessitates enough political space to question the status quo players and incumbents. Participation of civil society, vulnerable groups, and even citizens and the general public is thus both a necessary advance and an oxymoron in global governance. How can the voice of discriminated, vulnerable, unheard and marginalized people be heard, and what specific mechanisms could be established for this purpose? The rights based approach has been central since the initial establishment of multilateral institutions, but is often questioned for being too idealistic or too politically controversial and thus being blocked or manipulated in highly tensed

power relations. Nevertheless, as the right to food exemplifies in the cases where it has been constitutionalized, mechanisms exist that make inclusion and rights a reality. Such mechanisms are primarily the result of dedicated national policies, often obtained after a long struggle by civil society, to ensure not only the recognition but also the inclusion of these populations in the democratic life. However, history shows that this recognition can also be facilitated by international institutions, through dedicated agreements or specific strategies. The examples from environmental governance at regional scale (Aarhus convention for Europe, Escazu agreement for Latin America), on information, participation and access to justice, illustrate that the field of sustainable development can be the entry point to trigger useful and relevant political dynamics and experiment innovations for a more inclusive global governance.

Welcome by: Klaudija Cremers, Research Fellow, International Marine Policy, IDDRI

Chair: Elisa Morgera, Director of the UKRI GCRF One Ocean Hub

Panel:

- **Olivier De Schutter**, Special Rapporteur on Human Rights and Extreme Poverty
- **Chris Nshimbi**, Director, Centre for the Study of Governance Innovation (GovInn)
- **Achim Steiner (tbc)**, Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme
- **Julie Trottier**, Directrice de Recherche, CNRS
- **Mariama Williams**, Senior Programme Office, Global Governance for Development Programme at the South Centre
- **Marta Torre Schaub (tbc)**, Research Director, CNRS

12h30-13h30 CEST

DEBATE 4: WHAT ROLE FOR FICTION IN THE SUSTAINABILITY TRANSFORMATION?

Welcome by: Sébastien Treyer, Executive Director, IDDRI

With: Frederique Aït-Touati Researcher CNRS and **Kenneth Nsah (Nsah Mala)**, Poet and Writer

Moderated by: Pierre Charbonnier, Sciences Po

14h00-15h00 CEST

DEBATE 5: CAN EUROPE STILL PLAY A ROLE TO ADVANCE GLOBAL GOVERNANCE? CONTRASTED PERSPECTIVES ON ITS ROLE SEEN FROM OTHER CONTINENTS

Welcome by: Julien Rochette, Ocean Programme Director, IDDRI

With: Celso Amorim, Former Minister of Foreign relations of Brazil, and **Zou Ji**, CEO & President of Energy Foundation China

Moderated by: Thomas Gomart, Director IFRI (French Institute on International Relations)

15h30-18h50 CEST

SESSION 6: HOW TO ADVANCE PLANETARY GOVERNANCE FOR A SUSTAINABLE FUTURE? WHAT IS EXPECTED FROM EUROPE?

HIGH LEVEL POLITICAL SESSION

15h30-15h50

Keynote: Teresa Ribera, Vice President of the Spanish Government, Minister for Ecological Transition and the Demographic Challenge.

15h50-16h50

A new and green deal for our planet? What entry points are emerging in current negotiations for a sustainable and inclusive future?

Chair: Dan Esty, Yale Law School and Yale School of the Environment

- **Zou Ji**, CEO & President of Energy Foundation China
- **Tertius Zongo**, Former Prime Minister of Burkina Faso and Director of the Sahel Chair, FERDI
- **Céline Place**, Sous directrice des Affaires économiques et budgétaires, Direction des Nations Unies, Ministère de l'Europe et des Affaires étrangères

17h10-17h30

Visions, strategic options and the role of Europe – Main messages from the conference

Welcome by: Julia Marton-Lefèvre, President of the Advisory Council, IDDRI

European think tanks report from the conference:

- IDDRI (**Sébastien Treyer**)
- Think Sustainable Europe (**Céline Charveriat** – IEEP, and **Asa Persson** – SEI)
- European Think Tank Group on Development (**Anna-Katharina Hornidge** – DIE and **Nathalie Tocci** – IAI)

17h40-18h40

Reactions from key former negotiators or international diplomats

- **Ana Maria Hernandez**, chair of IPBES
- **Pascal Lamy**, President of the Paris Peace Forum, President of Europe Jacques Delors
- **Jancz Potocnik**, Former Environment Commissioner, Co-chair, International Resources Panel
- **Laurence Tubiana**, CEO European Climate Foundation, Founder, IDDRI, Special Representative for the COP 21 Climate Change Conference

18h20-18h30

Conclusion

- **Passy Mubalama**, Founder and executive Director, AIDPROFEN, Democratic Republic of Congo
- **Chibeze Ezekiel**, Executive Coordinator, Strategic Youth Network for Development





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Governance Project's Research Centre Paris

