Lecture

The Next Development Agenda: An Opportunity for Renewed Multilateralism

Zero Draft (5,300 words –about 50 minutes)

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Introduction: the development agenda at the dawn of the Millennium

- “People are the real wealth of a nation”. These were the simple yet visionary opening words of the first Human Development Report in 1990\(^1\). Following the work and leadership of Amartya Sen, Mabhub Ul-Haq, Richard Jolly and others, the UN was forging a new paradigm by putting people at the center of development.

- It was a significant paradigm shift from the way development policy was shaped in the previous two decades, when neoliberal economics introduced structural adjustment policies to set up the dominant orthodoxy in economic development policies: the ‘Washington Consensus’\(^2\).

- By putting people and their immediate needs as the core objective, the concept of Human Development begun to reshape the way in which the international institutions, governments, civil society and the academia conceived the policy objectives of the international agenda and national development strategies.

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• It was at the turn of the 21st century, when the Heads of State around the world made an unprecedented commitment to end poverty through the United Nations Millennium Declaration\(^3\). It set out a vision for a “more peaceful, prosperous and just world” based on the “principles of human dignity, equality and equity at the global level”.

• Subsequently, a set of 8 Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) with specific targets and indicators were elaborated by the UN System to reaffirm and monitor the operationalization of this vision\(^4\). This was the beginning of a new phase in multilateral efforts for development. For the first time, a shared set of values, vision, goals and targets and a global partnership became the lighthouse for global development efforts.

The MDGs: a success – yet unfinished - story

- As some of you may be aware of, the MDGs are very close to my heart and to the progress of my home country – Nigeria - in the last decade.

- Like every other country, Nigeria had for decades dedicated public resources for poverty reduction initiatives, that were never coordinated, outcomes were hardly tracked and progress- or lack thereof never communicated.

- In 2005, Nigeria was granted debt relief from the Paris club of creditors. This effectively freed up a $bn of savings annually. As part of the debt deal, the President had committed to investing the entirety of these debt relief gains on accelerating Nigeria’s progress to the MDGs.

- As an adviser to the President, we set up a Virtual Poverty Fund that would effectively deploy, coordinate and track a $bn debt relief gains annually towards the achievement of the MDGs. I held this position for 7 years, working with 3 Presidents. We faced huge challenges but changed the lives of millions.
• We were able to achieve impressive results, with an increase in water access for over 40m people, a decline in the rate of poverty, significant increase in primary school enrolment and a reduction in number of slum dwellers. We were also able to strengthen institutions of service delivery and provide for improved monitoring of development outcomes. We also achieved a 30% reduction in maternal mortality, more than doubled the number of girls in school, prioritized vulnerable bolstered community health insurance, a second chance initiative and invested in routine immunization.

• As to many other countries, the MDGs gave us an opportunity to change. They gave us the opportunity to go to scale with key structural, economic and social interventions to address imbalances and gaps. They helped to put people and their immediate needs at the center of national and global public policy.

• Globally, the MDGs have resulted in improving the lives of billions. Several MDG targets have already been met or are within close reach. This includes halving the number of people living in extreme poverty and the proportion of people without sustainable access to improved sources of water. The proportion of urban slum dwellers declined
significantly. Remarkable gains have been made in the fight against malaria and tuberculosis. There have also been visible improvements in all health areas as well as primary education.
A different world, new challenges

- As the international community looks forward to the post-2015 development agenda, it is crucial to recognize that the world has changed radically from what it was at the turn of the Millennium. Significant changes have taken place in the way economies work, societies are organized, and how these impact the planet we inhabit. Increasingly, such changes occurred not only simultaneously, but in an intertwined fashion so that changes in any one of these dimensions led to cascading effects in the others, in an integrated and interconnected system of increasing complexity.

- We have witnessed a decade of impressive performance by developing countries on economic growth and on their participation on the global economy. Developing countries’ real GDP have grown an average 6.1% between 2005 and 2012, compared to the 1.2% of developed countries. From 1998 to 2012, their share of world trade in goods and services rose from about 27 per cent to over 40 per cent, while developed countries’ share fell from over 71 per cent to about 55 per cent.\(^5\)

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• The center of economic power is shifting away from OECD countries while the globalization of problems and potential solutions require overcoming the North-South divide.

• The nature of global governance and development cooperation has shifted subsequently in the last decade, with a multiplicity of new and different flows from a larger group of actors. New partnerships have emerged offering welcome opportunities, as well as challenges in reaching a consensus on the underlying values, substantive content and desired outcomes of development policy and international cooperation.

• However, projections indicate that in 2015 more than a billion will still be living in extreme poverty, mothers will continue to die needlessly in childbirth, and children will suffer and die from preventable diseases. Hunger remains a global challenge, and ensuring that all children are able to complete primary education remains a fundamental, but unfulfilled, target that has an impact on all the other Goals. The first challenge we will face after 2015 is not new, and it is well known.
New challenges have emerged and some old ones have intensified. We now face critical problems that were not so apparent in 2000: inequality, unemployment, especially for the youth, conflicts and fragility, knowledge gap, demographic dynamics, digital connectivity and environmental challenges.

We are living in an increasingly unequal world and inequality is now a major global concern. Thomas Piketty’s “Capital In The 21st Century” has sparked much debate. In 2012, the number of articles published in scientific journals on economic inequality increased by 25% compared to 2011 (and by 237% compared to 2004).

The majority of the world’s poor now lives in middle income countries (MICs), and the question of inequity and (re) distribution are becoming important within all countries. Inequalities, in both developing and developed countries, are understood to extend beyond income to other characteristics including gender, age, origin, caste and labor-market status – these inequalities shape the extent of social inclusion in different countries.

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• Unemployment rates have reached as high as 27 per cent in Greece and Spain, and the youth unemployment rates surged to more than 50 per cent; in South Africa, unemployment remains at around 25 per cent.

• During the next 40 years the world's population is projected to reach more than nine billion people. Demand for food is expected to increase by 60 percent under business-as-usual assumptions. Competition for land, water, and food could lead to greater poverty and hunger if not properly addressed now, with potentially severe environmental impacts. We will need to face increased demands for energy.

• Environmental challenges are now imperatives to urgent action: loss of biodiversity, ocean acidification, land desertification… Above all, the rise in greenhouse gas emissions and related increase in the planet’s temperature. The new evidence provided by the IPCC Working Groups to the Fifth Assessment Report (AR5\(^7\)) is clear: Climate Change is already affecting the global water cycle, which leads to irregular rainfall, more floods and more droughts. Most

aspects of Climate Change will persist for many centuries even if emissions of CO2 are stopped. Carbon dioxide emissions are more than 46 per cent higher than in 1990.

- The experience of the Arab spring or the situation in Syria showed us the mismatch between progress towards the MDGS on the one hand and governance failures and grave inequalities in a number of countries on the other. Notably, Egypt and Tunisia, which were lauded as among the top eight countries in achieving progress towards the MDGs in 2010, were in the midst of the “Arab Spring” in 2011 which saw their previous regimes quickly toppled by citizens calling for justice, dignity, better jobs and more democratic governance.

- The inextricable nature of development, good governance, rule of law and the fight against corruption is now much more evident; there is a growing consensus on the links between development and peace.
Defining the coming development agenda, transforming multilateralism

- With less than 600 days for the expiration of the MDG timeframe, the international community is in the midst of the process of defining the new development agenda that will succeed the MDGs and, following the agreement achieved in Rio in 2012, agreeing on a set of new development goals. Will this post-2015 development agenda also represent a shift towards new forms of global governance and renewed multilateralism?

- If governance refers to the set of norms, rules, institutions, formal and informal processes and practices by means of which common interests and affaires are managed, global governance has been defined as governance in the absence of government. Under this perspective, transforming multilateralism and, therefore, global governance, requires not only a shift in the new normative framework but also in the way in which this new agenda is defined.

- Even though the Millennium Declaration and the MDGs is a success story, to some extent, it was at the outset more a prescriptive agenda.

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sitting on a North-South divide, at times serving as a mobilizing factor for official development assistance. Representing a shift towards a more comprehensive normative framework, the process leading to the MDGs was closer to the “old” multilateralism than to new forms of global governance.

- Nonetheless, this time it is different. In 2012, the world –led by the United Nations- embarked on a process of a major global mobilization for defining a common future. As Member States deliberate on the future development framework in New York, we are witnessing unprecedented efforts to include citizens’ voices – including those vulnerable or excluded-- in the debates. This one is an unprecedented effort of consultations at the country, regional and global levels, all over the world. It has mobilized the business, academic, scientific and the civil society communities through its vast networks. At the national level, close to one hundred countries have or are conducting consultations. Harnessing the power of social media, the UN and its partners have also reached out to over 2 million people in 194 countries who have expressed their priorities for the future development agenda through a global survey: “My World”.

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• This extensive process of consultations delivered its first results during 2013. Most prominent was that of the High-level Panel of Eminent Persons report to the Secretary General\textsuperscript{11}

• During this year 2014, Member States have entered into a “consensus building phase” unfolding in the context of the intergovernmental Open Working Group. Mandated in Rio+20 to propose a set of SDGs and targets for the consideration of the General Assembly, the Group has now entered a critical phase of consensus building after 12 months of a rich and fruitful stocktaking exercise.

• Countries all over the world, including developed countries, are deliberating at the national level involving their civil societies, companies, universities, and line ministries, on their own priorities and positions for building the new development agenda.

A new development agenda: A Life of Dignity for All

- The emergence of a shared vision for the future of development in this process is encouraging. While we transition to a new broader agenda, poverty eradication must remain the highest priority. A new development agenda must be underpinned by the principles already reflected in the Millennium Declaration, and including good governance.

- Building on the emerging results of this process, the UN Secretary-General proposed in September 2013 the contours of his vision for advancing the UN development agenda beyond 2015 on a Report to the General Assembly: A Life of Dignity for All\textsuperscript{12}.

- In his report, the Secretary-General identifies some key elements of the emerging vision for the post-2015 development agenda: universality; sustainable development; inclusive economic transformations ensuring decent jobs and to shift to sustainable patterns of consumption and production; peace and governance, based on the rule of law and sound institutions; a new global partnership;

and being “fit for purpose”, to ensure the international community is equipped with the right institutions and tools to address the challenges of implementing the sustainable development agenda at the national level.

- Universality, transformation, integration and accountability are amongst the most relevant pillars the post-2015 development agenda will be built upon. They are closely interrelated. A shift towards a new multilateralism in which the United Nations and the global governance arrangements are fit for purpose will strongly depend on this core pillars.
A universal agenda

- First, the new development agenda will need to be universal.

- Universality is applicable, first and foremost, to people. Universality is the core attribute of human rights. All goals should be inclusive of all people in all countries. It lies at the heart of “we the peoples”. Equity and human development for all; this is the first dimension of universality.

- The second dimension of universality applies to the global commons needed for the wellbeing of all people and of future generations: universality as shared responsibilities for a shared future. Sustainable development has at its heart a commitment to intergenerational justice. This will need a shift from short-termism to long-term actions. Universality implies moving towards sustainable consumption and production patterns. It demands curbing climate change.

- Universality applies also to a “new global deal” for sustainable development. All countries require mobilizing and contributing. All
countries will need to change, in different ways. Both developed and developing countries have to do their part at home. All the stakeholders -public and private- have responsibilities.

• Universality implies moving from an agenda in which developed countries prescribed what to achieve and what to do to poor countries, to an agenda where all countries have shared problems and where all need to change.

• However, universality does not mean uniformity; universality must address differentiation. The targets and indicators that will accompany the future development goals will be critical to make them relevant to every country.
A transformative agenda

- A universal agenda that aims at ending poverty everywhere and irreversibly will require massive transformations. Business as usual will not lead the world to a sustainable development path and will not allow responding the new challenges. As the UN Secretary-General put it\(^\text{13}\), “At the current rate, we will soon need two planet earths. But we have only one planet. There can be no Plan B because there is no planet B. Both science and economics tell us that we need to change course – and soon”. A paradigm shift must take place to bring about a radical change of course and action.

- “Transformation” means, first and foremost, that poverty is eradicated in all its forms, irreversibly and everywhere, leaving no one behind, achieved within the world’s planetary boundaries. It means decoupling economic growth from environmental degradation.

- Sustainable consumption and production remains at the core of transformation. In the absence of inclusive economic growth and environmental stewardship, poverty eradication and social justice will

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\(^{13}\)“The United Nations in a World in Transition” Lecture at Stanford University, January 17, 2013
be fragile if not impossible. It will require a shift from silos to integration.

- The post-2015 development agenda should promote policies geared towards empowerment and inclusion. It should reflect the fact that many countries need structural economic transformation and enhanced productive capacities.

- Achieving poverty eradication through sustainable development, transformations imply a shift on the outcomes (the “what”) and on the processes (the “how”). The post-2015 development agenda should inspire measures to make our institutions more effective and our systems of governance more transparent and accountable.
An integrated agenda: breaking silos through values and principles

- If it aims at being universal and transformative, the post-2015 development agenda needs to be one set of goals and targets that collectively integrate the multifaceted dimensions of poverty and sustainability. The new goals to be agreed by Member States in 2015 should be strongly human-development focused while addressing the planetary boundaries, economic growth and social inclusion in an integrated manner.

- Nevertheless, the new development agenda may be hitting the target but missing the point if it does not articulate universal values and norms with the goal-target framework. Integration is much more than integrating sectors: it also implies integration between the vision, the values, the principles and the goal-target framework, accountability and monitoring and a renewed global partnership for its implementation.

- The MDGs showed how the richness of the UN values and principles may be lost in translation from the Declaration to the goals. This is, universal aspirations such as human development and equality, peaceful societies and human security, respect for human rights,
preserve the planet for future generations curbing climate change or ensuring sustainable access to the basics – water, food, and energy – should be reflected in the new framework and linked to the agreed goals and targets.
The challenge of a new accountability framework

- It is important to underscore that the post-2015 is a non-legally binding agenda, whose power resides on its moral legitimacy, on the inclusion of all peoples and on its capacity to mobilize and persuade. In this regard, it is crucial to have a framework for mutual – horizontal- accountability among member states and all actors.

- Accountability needs good information. Transparency and accountability are powerful tools for ensuring citizens’ involvement in policymaking. Information empowers citizens, giving voice to the voiceless, and promotes social equality. We need data revolution to support the accountability framework.

- An agenda of this nature will require vertical and horizontal integration of multiple mutual accountabilities. Accountability will need to be multi-sector, multi-layered, multi-generational and multi-stakeholder. It will demand renewed accountability mechanisms that are inclusive and has broad-based owned, participatory, bottom-up, engaging peoples and citizens, at the community, local, national regional and global levels.
• “Multi-sector” includes accountability for the impact of all policies in poverty and in the global commons. “Multi-layered”, as it needs to be anchored at the global level, but exercised also at the regional, national, local and community levels. “Multi-generational”, as the agenda will need to ensure that our generation is accountable to the next generations. “Multi-stakeholder”, acknowledging the key role for development effectiveness and accountability of governments, parliaments, businesses, unions, local authorities, grassroots organizations, NGOs and media. In particular, Parliaments - at the national level- and local authorities - at the local and community level- have a key role to play. Scaling-up transparency and accountability for development impacts among businesses is critical for transformation.
**A new global partnership: a center piece of a new multilateralism**

- There is a strong consensus on the need for a strengthened Global Partnership for the implementation of the new development agenda; a partnership that should be equitable, inclusive, with mutual accountability and a fair sharing of responsibilities. A global partnership that include not only governments but also non-state actors.

- The Secretary General calls for this renewed global partnership to be grounded in the values of equity, solidarity and human rights. While acknowledging that progress towards a Global Partnership for development as was articulated in MDG 8 has fallen short of expectations, the renewed Global Partnership should finish the job started with Goal 8, as well as other existing and future intergovernmental agreements.

- However, articulating this renewed Global Partnership and its details will be one of the more contentious and politically sensitive issues – especially as it relates to means of implementation. It implies addressing issues such as ODA, trade, financing climate change and sustainable development, capacity building, technology, trade, and climate change. It is also very much interlinked with how universality is unpacked and with how the principle of Common but
Differentiated Responsibilities and equity is handled. Some of the core “red lines” of negotiators will be traced around issues involved in the Global Partnership.

- Adding to this complexity, the bulk of the credibility and transformational power of the new development agenda reside in how the Global Partnership is materialized.

- In the past year, and all over the post-2015 debates, some ideas have emerged about the nature of the Global Partnership. All the reports delivered to the SG also call for a new Global Partnership based on mutual accountability that goes beyond traditional development aid and that includes all stakeholders.

- The new Global Partnership is being described as encompassing two levels: a) a broader global partnership tackling global governance, means of implementation and global issues that must involve public and private actors; and b) a set of multi-stakeholder partnerships supporting each goal or thematic area.
• These specific partnerships for achieving some of the goals could be better described as global movements of diverse stakeholders that share a set of principles, vision and goals (the SDGs/targets) and are willing to join efforts to achieve the concrete SDG and targets jointly and also through specific multi-stakeholder alliances, networks, initiatives, funds, etc. Transparency and mutual accountability would be at the core of these specific partnerships.

• There is also a wide recognition of the essential role that the private sector and corporations will have in delivering the transformation being envisioned. Within the UN, the Global Compact is leading on mobilizing the business community, which is engaging in an unprecedented way. They are focusing on how businesses and investors can contribute going well beyond the traditional Corporate Social Responsibility, by aligning corporate strategies around the upcoming SDGs through corporate sustainability practice, reporting and accountability.

• While new global governance will need to be much more opened, horizontal, values-based and inclusive of all stakeholders, it will necessarily need to gravitate around legitimate intergovernmental
governance bodies. Ideally, these entities should be much more inclusive of non-governmental stakeholders; hence, existing mechanisms may also need a reform or update for making them genuinely multi-stakeholder.

- The renewed partnership for development must also include, foremost, people living in poverty, those with disabilities, women, grassroots organizations and indigenous and local communities, and traditionally marginalized groups. Participatory decision making, especially of the poor, most vulnerable and excluded must be an integral part of the future development agenda and of new forms of governance. Targets and indicators should be tailored to the needs at the subnational, local and community levels, through a participatory and multi-stakeholder process led by local authorities in cities and rural areas.

- The post-2015 development agenda may empower people and organizations at all these levels to define their own goals and targets inspired by the new global agenda, and build on their own spaces inclusive multi-stakeholder partnerships for implementation and accountability.
The need for being fit for purpose

- The future development agenda will have serious implications on our existing business models and will require rethinking how the UN and the international community can collectively deliver better value and remain a relevant and effective partner.

- The SG, on his report “A Life of Dignity for All”, refers to being “fit for purpose” as one of the key elements of the emerging vision for the development agenda beyond 2015. Indeed, it is essential to ensure that the international community is equipped with the right institutions and tools for addressing the challenges of setting global norms, policies, institutions, and compliance as well as implementing a sustainable development agenda at the national level.

- The emerging post-2015 development will have a serious impact on the UN system and in particular, on the way the UN System supports Member States to deliver on an agenda that will be universal and integrated, at the national and at the global levels.
The results of the 2014 Global Perception Survey carried out by the Future United Nations Development System Project\(^\text{14}\), were over 3,000 key informants participated evidence the strong demand for reform of the UN System, and a strong degree of confidence on the capability of the UN to change.

The UN System is often blamed for not being effective enough on delivering assistance\(^\text{15}\); and undoubtedly, the UN System will need to redouble efforts for improving its effectiveness. The comparative advantage of the UN resides on its legitimacy, based on its universal membership, and it is encapsulated on its values. The UN has been transformative by generating ideas that have ‘changed the world’\(^\text{16}\): human rights, gender equality, peace and security, and –especially relevant for the post-2015 development agenda- human development and environmental sustainability\(^\text{17}\). The UN’s uniqueness is precisely pursuing these ideas, promoting the values, principles, norms and standards of the UN Charter. By setting up global aspirations and


global goals, norms and accountability frameworks, the UN has been effective.

- Universality provides an opportunity to engage Member States on global norms and standards and therefore emphasize global accountability. In the post-2015 era the normative role of the UN should enable an enhanced dialogue and progress on key global and rights-based normative agendas, including at the national level in developed and developing countries alike.

- The United Nations in the context of renewed global governance will need to transcend fragmentation and competition among agencies and programs for funds and visibility, which frequently work in sectorial silos, in isolated technical assistance activities, in small and short-term projects. A renewed global governance will require from the UN to work as a real and ‘soft’ system, where its components are more interdependent, working in synergy and learning from evaluation.
• This also applies to the synergy between the UN and the Bretton Woods Institutions. In the last months, the UN and the World Bank are working closer than ever before in pursuing the MDGs and in the efforts for building the new development agenda. The leadership exercised by President Kim and Secretary-General Ban for making this happen is unprecedented. Renewed governance will need to deepen and consolidate this new era of collaboration, which is essential for supporting all groups of countries to address the needs and challenges of the post-2015 era.
**Conclusion and way forward**

- On 25 September 2013, the United Nations General Assembly convened a Special Event at the Heads of State level to take stock of the MDGs’ current status, to reaffirm commitment to accelerating efforts towards the achievement of the MDGs, and to chart the way forward for the next two years in elaborating a post-MDG agenda.

- During this Special Event, Member States agreed to initiate intergovernmental consultations at the beginning of the 69th session of the GA –this is, from September 2014 through 2015 and gave a mandate to the Secretary General to synthesize the full range of inputs available from the ongoing processes in the GA and report back before the end of 2014.

- They also agreed to hold a high-level Summit in September 2015 to launch “an ambitious and transformative development agenda that will balance the three elements of sustainable development.”

- The Open Working Group will be concluding its work soon. The Last April, Member States discussed an initial list of 19 Focus Areas reflecting possible goals and targets. This list has now been reduced to 16 proposed goals and should get even more concise as
prioritization continues during this week and in the final session of the OWG in July.

- On what regards to financing, the Intergovernmental Committee of Experts on Sustainable Development Financing Strategy is also expected to complete its work by September 2014. This committee has been tasked to propose options for an effective sustainable development financing strategy to facilitate the mobilization of resources and their effective use in achieving sustainable development objectives. This will also feed into the III Follow-up to Monterrey and Doha Conference on Financing for Development, which will be held in July 2015.

- Finally, the High Level Political Forum (HLPF) created in Rio is also expected to play a central role in the future review and follow-up of the post-2015 development agenda.

- On the other hand, these discussions will be happening in parallel with key multilateral processes for the future of sustainable human development. Also in 2015, states will seek a legally binding agreement on Climate Change, in the COP 21. They will be holding the Third Follow-up Conference to Monterrey and Doha, in July.
• 2015 will represent a key milestone for the humanity and our shared destiny. Let us be clear: this emerging agenda goes well beyond the scope of the MDGs. It is an agenda that would apply to all countries and that calls for a global transformation that eradicates poverty through sustainable development. An agenda that is people-centered and planet-sensitive. An agenda that should trigger substantive change in multilateralism.

• The future of the UN lies in its convening power and its legitimacy, which includes at the intersection of governments, businesses, academia and civil society organizations. Ultimately, and paraphrasing Sir Richard Jolly, the real test of existing international institutions is their political, economic, and social adequacy to command the support, exercise and leadership and take the initiatives required for a more humane, more peaceful world, and better functioning world economy\textsuperscript{18}.

• The post-2015 provides a formidable opportunity. Let’s make it happen.