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Chapeau

The future is the result of past history and the decisions of today. The past cannot be changed, but what we decide today will change the future. We live in a moment in history where peace is under threat, poverty and inequalities are increasing, biodiversity is being eroded, and

women's rights in many of those that participated and with no awareness of planetary boundaries anywhere, are inadequate to manage the current challenges.

The UN was instrumental in promoting decolonization and echoed the demands of the newly independent countries for changes in the international order to also end economic dependency and make the Right to Development a reality.

Yet, since the end of the Cold War the normative and supportive role of the UN in key areas like industrial development, environmental protection and even health, education and gender policies have been encroached on by the WTO and the Bretton Woods institutions.

International cooperation is indispensable to face the current "polycrisis". To make it possible, it is imperative to end the selective application of rules, as well as their establishment by a small group of countries and to kick off a process of reform in global institutions to make them more democratic, accountable and able to deliver the objectives of Agenda 2030.

Chapter I. Sustainable development and financing for development

The 2023 SDG summit evidenced that the goals agreed in 2015 will not be met, and indicators in some key areas like poverty and hunger, inequalities and CO

² emissions are getting worse.

Neither business as usual nor accelerating in the wrong path will help when a change of direction is required. A new course is needed, based on the Right to Development and the principle of Common but Differentiated Responsibilities, with developed countries, directly

responsible for creating many of the problems, meeting their promises, changing the unsustainable consumption patterns of their rich minorities, and transitioning away from carbon-based economies with fair burden-sharing.

Further, taking into account the COVID-19 experience, the principles of the [Buenos Aires Commitment](#) endorsed by the LAC region could open the path towards a *care society* that recognizes care as a right to provide and receive care and to exercise self-care. The sexual division of labour, where women do most of the care work, frequently unpaid or badly paid, should be transformed into a fair social organization of care, in the intersection of the agreed SDGs on gender, health, education and poverty eradication.

New measures of progress are needed, not based on GDP but in human welfare and rights, vulnerability, biodiversity protection and responsible consumption within planetary boundaries, including in the dashboard a measure of externalities created by overstepping those natural limits.

More ODA is needed, and its indicators should show actual efforts, meet the promised targets and be reported by an independent agency to avoid the creative accounting of the OECD, who can't be a player and referee at the same time.

But ODA is not enough. Financing such a transition requires

- contributions to the loss and damages fund commensurate with the problems created by historic emissions,
- low cost funding and technological support for the shift to non-carbon energy,
- debt cancellation and renegotiation, in the framework of a deep reform of the IFIs,
- an international convention on taxes, in the framework of the UN, to avoid illicit financial outflows from capital-starved countries

Chapter II. International peace and security

In his farewell speech as US president in 1961, General Eisenhower warned the world about “the acquisition of unwarranted influence” by what he called the military-industrial complex, that could “

Chapter III. Science, technology and innovation and digital cooperation

The World Summit on the Information Society (Geneva 2003 and Tunis 2005) adopted the consensus that Internet governance encompasses both technical and public policy issues (paras 59 and 60, Tunis Agenda for the Information Society), and should involve “governments, private sector, civil society and international organizations, in their respective roles”, with states having “rights and responsibilities” for addressing such issues in the global arena. Any new mechanism on digital cooperation should be explicitly bound by the WSIS Consensus.

Digital issues inevitably appear in global discussions on issues as varied as digital trade, biodiversity, health, food, and oceans. Checks and balances necessary to prevent scope-creep in the participation of non-governmental stakeholders and the predictable capture of the discourse by dominant countries and their big tech corporations. Forty per cent of the world population (some 3 billion people) have no access to the Internet, and 96% of them live in developing countries. To appropriately reflect their concerns, those countries and groups should be adequately represented in the deliberations on digital cooperation.

In the design of both short and long term institutional arrangements, the right to development of people in the digital society and economy is of paramount importance. But a consensus for better access and connectivity for all cannot translate into extractive and adverse inclusion of the majority nations and peoples. A bargain for digital justice has to be an empowering deal that realigns global digital power to democratize the socio-

Chapter IV. Youth and future generations

Multilateral development banks and global funds cannot be an unbiased source for relevant expertise, due to their one-dollar-one-vote governance. Normative and advisory work should be UN key functions, from which the UN's more downstream operational activities should follow. A robust core funding base – assessed or voluntary – is needed for the UN to provide and strengthen its normative and advisory functions, and to do so in the most impartial way possible.

The future of multilateralism cannot ignore the pre-eminence of digital policies for our shared global coexistence. Networked multilateralism with less hierarchical decision-making and many different actors is desirable in the design of a more equal world. But without a clear separation of roles, responsibilities, and powers of state and non-state actors in such distributed decision-making, such a move is likely to reinforce the corporate domination of digital policy debates in global digital cooperation arrangements.