CONFERENCE REPORT

XXVII HIGH-LEVEL MEETING

The Future of Multilateralism: The Summit of the Future and the Need for a New Global Pact for International Cooperation

11-12 January, 2024
Geneva, Switzerland
With the world in the throes of remarkable turbulence, the UN Secretary General has called for a “Summit for the Future” to be held in NY in September 2024. To make a contribution to this important enterprise, concerned individuals are trying to elucidate the various issues that this Summit should address. In that context, the Nizami Ganjavi International Center in partnership with the United Nations Office at Geneva is convening a two-day high-level discussion in Geneva on 11-12 January 2024. Preliminary discussions between the parties have identified six specific discussions that should be addressed through below copied six panel discussions that would be held during the two-day meeting:

- The Need for a New Financing Pact to implement the SDGs. What Needs to Happen?
- Global Governance Reform
- Disarmament and New Agenda for Peace
- Recommitting to Health for All
- Leaving No One Behind – Rights of Future Generations
- The Digital Compact, New Technologies & AI
Opening Session

Vaira Vike-Freiberga, Co-Chair, NGIC; President of Latvia 1999-2007, chaired the opening session and invited Tatiana Valovaya, Director-General UN Office at Geneva, to address the participants who welcomed NGIC to UNOG at a time when the world is witnessing cascading challenges without solutions and with new conflicts reappearing such as in the Middle East: solutions can be sought only within a multilateral system in dire need of transformation – inclusiveness and effectiveness included – in order to be fit for purpose in the 21st century as heralded over many years by the UNSG. States are no longer the only actors in the international arena with civil society, NGOs, academia, and others raising their voices. The Summit for the Future will be the key event in 2024 as the world witnesses the tensest geopolitical conflicts since WWII. Global governance is not the only key to reshape the multilateral system and must also include transformation of the financial system for the SDGs, a New Agenda for Peace presented by UNSG, climate change and the impact of modern technologies among many other challenges.

Tarja Halonen, President of Finland 2000-2012, stressed that 2024 is a year to show great ambition for the UN with the coming Summit for the Future and the future of multilateral cooperation. Its three pillars are sustainable development, human rights and humanitarian issues, and peace and security. The world is at a halfway point in the implementation of the SDGs which is severely lagging behind. Important key points to address the current challenges are, firstly, to reaffirm shared objectives and principles. Secondly, the current system is not providing holistic responses to address the multidimensional and interconnectedness experienced today including between states and non-state actors as shown by the pandemic and climate change. Thirdly, world order is shifting with the highest number of violent conflicts since WWII: a quarter of humanity is living in conflict areas with war returning to Europe. The UN remains at the centre of the multilateral system which is needed evermore in a fragmenting geopolitical system. Finally, gender equality must remain central when preparing the Summit of the Future to the benefit of humanity as a whole.
Ismail Serageldin, Co-Chair, NGIC; Vice-President of the World Bank 1992-2000, opened by stressing that the big powers brazenly ignore today the overwhelming positions of the international community as expressed in landslide votes in the UNGA, whether Russia in Ukraine or the United States in Gaza which are not the biggest challenges when compared to hunger, poverty and gender inequality worsening over the last few years. Climate change is an existential challenge in need of massive investment in the next decades and requiring an effective system of global governance with the UN and Bretton Woods at the centre although designed eighty years ago. A new peace agenda is also urgently required. Recommitting to Health for All is essential. The next generations are entitled to clean air, clean water and fertile soils. Scientific breakthroughs are coming fast such as AI.

Boris Tadic, President of Serbia 2004-2012, underlined the urgency of reforming the multilateral system which is no longer functioning, but the question remains: who will reform this system? The global powers are not talking to each other! The philosophy of multilateralism must be rethought with new economic and military powers in the global arena such as China and India. Serious discussion on a reform of the multilateral system cannot be envisaged without solving firstly current conflicts in Ukraine and the Middle East. Ukraine and Russia are deadlocked where peaceful solutions are difficult to imagine. In this divided and conflictual situation, is it even possible to envisage a new pandemic outbreak? Optimism hardly prevails these days, but the multilateral system must be strengthened for the lack of any other better system.
Vaira Vike-Freiberga concluded the opening session by wondering why is it that in its 75 years of existence international bodies only reach so much before hitting a brick wall? The depth of the problem is greater than realised. The principle of the “winner takes all” was central after WWII when devising the UN system who were given a privileged position with their veto rights in the Security Council. The multilateral system must recognise that lip service paid to the equality of every nation in the UN is the implicit postulate for any international debate. “big” and “small” countries should be added to the prejudices that govern our debates.
The pursuit of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) has been significantly hindered by the COVID-19 pandemic and resulting economic policies. The pandemic has disrupted progress, particularly affecting health, poverty, and hunger goals. Funds meant for SDGs were redirected to pandemic responses, limiting resources for education, gender equality, and environmental conservation.

Economic policies focused on immediate recovery, often overlooking sustainability and potentially worsening climate change, inequality, and biodiversity loss. Addressing climate change, a key aspect of SDGs, requires massive resource allocation. Governments should reallocate budgets towards climate action, phase out fossil fuel subsidies, and implement financial mechanisms like carbon pricing and green bonds. Private sector engagement through investments in clean energy and sustainable technologies is crucial, along with international cooperation for resource sharing and technology transfer. This multi-faceted approach is vital for a sustainable, resilient future.
• How can we mobilize the political will for countries to reinforce their support to the principles and goals of sustainable development, and thereby give the SDGs the priority that they deserve?

• What are the main challenges and barriers in financing sustainable development initiatives, both at the global and local levels?

• How can governments and international organizations promote innovative financing mechanisms to support sustainable development projects?

• What roles do private sector investments and corporate social responsibility play in financing sustainable development goals, and how can businesses be incentivized to contribute more effectively?

• How can developing countries ensure access to adequate financing for sustainable development while also managing debt sustainability and fiscal responsibility?

• What are the potential consequences of insufficient financing for sustainable development, and how can we address the growing gap between the funding required and the resources available to achieve these goals?
health expenditures. Out of the 37 countries eligible for debt relief in the G20 framework, only 4 are eligible for debt forgiveness, representing $195 billion. Regarding debt, half of the poorest countries are either in debt distress or at a high risk of default.

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The moderator, Walter Fust, Director-General, Swiss Agency for Development Cooperation 1993-2008, Member of the UN-ICT Task force, Chair UNESCO Intergovernmental council for the Development of Communication 2008-2010, invited Csaba Korösi, President of the 77th Session of the United Nations General Assembly, for his opening address of the panel who noted at the outset a major credibility problem: halfway through implementing the SDG goals, its success rate is only at 12-15% of the designated targets! Goals and roadmaps were set but these are not being met. SDG 2030 was a global vision bereft of any implementation plans designed for each and every country. Furthermore, there is no agreed methodology on how to measure transformative progress on human capital, natural capital, infrastructure and financial capital. The methodology will not be ready by September 2024 Summit. It is essential to understand what is measured and how to finance the SDG expectations. Transformation must be instilled in core budgets to change the conditions of life. An additional issue is the interlinkage between a deepening geopolitical divide in the world and cascading problems stemming from non sustainable ways in

operations such as the war in Ukraine impacting on food crisis in Africa.

Hence, would it be possible to state by September that one has to separate crisis management related to global common goods from geopolitical rivalries? The former requires global cooperation whereas the latter is driven by zero sum games logic. Were this logic to prevail, then a negative sum game would appear which is happening today. Finally, in climate-related issues, CBDR (Common but differentiated responsibilities) is the now game in town but without any agreement at the international level.

Hafez Ghanem, Regional Vice President of the World Bank for Eastern and Southern Africa 2020-2022, Vice President for the Middle East and North Africa 2015-2020, highlighted at the outset the amount of investment needed for developing countries excluding China to meet the climate goals which is $ 2.4 trillion per year in comparison to ODA in OECD DAC figures at $200 billion/year which has furthermore been declining as they include $30 billion for IDPs and $15 billion for the defence of Ukraine. So, ODA to the Global South is now at a low of $150
health expenditures. Out of the 37 countries eligible for debt relief in the G20 framework, only 4 are

resources from health and education needs not to mention that indebted countries must borrow to finance a global public good. Financing climate mitigation must therefore be found elsewhere such as by creating a separate institution -- a PPP “Green Bank” -- incorporating countries, private sector, and civil society. Carbon markets must be developed such as envisioned by the Kyoto Protocol creating a true global market. Today the EU regional market and national carbon markets abound so a “Club of carbon markets” could be interlinked bringing an innovative source of funding for the Global South. Developing countries need also to contribute more to domestic resource mobilisation with their wealthy and capable entrepreneurs. Finally, beyond quantity, quality of the used resources and aid effectiveness are important.

In the UNSG report on Our Common Agenda to prepare the Summit, many recommendations are mentioned but six suggestions need to be highlighted. On dealing with the debt service of developing countries, a serious problem is that half of this debt is held by private bond holders requiring a special deal such as in the 1980s under the Brady Plan. Debt for climate swaps should also be engineered such as through the past mechanism of the High Indebted Poor Countries Initiative (HIPIC) monitored by IMF and World Bank but used this time for climate investment. On climate financing, out of the $2.4 trillion required, $1.8 trillion is in energy investments, $300 billion in natural capital and the rest in adaptation and loss and damage. Asking IFIs is insufficient due to their small capital and furthermore divert their meagre

Igor Luksic, Prime Minister of Montenegro 2010-2012, noted the interlinkage of issues discussed at the conference and on a bulging of multilateralism, not the lack thereof: what counts is the effectiveness of multilateralism. COP is a multilateral effort as are BRICS, G7 or G20. Climate change discussions have become a substitute for SDG reforms. COP Abu Dhabi signalled 2050 as the goal year for a net zero world which will require integrating public and private sectors
in their investments models in order to reach this goal. IMF and World Bank alone will not be able to master this change but would play a vital coordinating role such as declared in the Marrakesh Agreement through signing up with other MDBs. A “Hamiltonian Moment“ is required for the world such as within the EU in the post-Covid moment through the issuance of global bonds, but not via “green washing“, which could become an example for other countries and regions worldwide.

confirmed that the world is behind on SDGs goals because of their financing shortfalls although present but going in the wrong direction. What is important is financing the transition, not necessarily mobilising new funding. The current global financial institutions are not suit for purpose to tackle today’s challenges. The richest 10% of the global population takes 52% of global income leading to climate inequalities with the poor carrying the costs of investments: climate cannot be addressed without looking at social issues. Financing needs to be aligned on national SDG goals, quality of investment must change and LDCs need capacity to implement these changes. There is no need for additional financing on climate but better management of public finances and private investment such as in UNDP with the integrated national financial frameworks in 86 countries. Innovative types of financial instruments need to be mobilised such as the issuance of sustainability bonds or insurance risk financing including for humanitarian responses. How can one bring in the private sector of investors in the developed countries to bridge the gap with the investees in developing countries via SDG investor maps. On the lack of data and standards,

Zlatko Lagumdzija, Prime Minister of Bosnia and Herzegovina 2001-2002, Permanent Representative to the UN, noted the permanent problem on how to pay for the SDGs and referred to the progress report on SDG goals whereby 15% are on track, 48% are moderately or severely off track and 37% in stagnation or regression. The gap is widening between the developing and developed worlds. The future working population in the world will be in Africa. For the second year in a row, the world is no longer progressing in its SDG goals. OECD countries are supposed to give 0,7% GNI but only gave 0,3 in 2023 which represented $195 billion.

Agi Veres, Director, UNDP Office in Geneva,
UNDP is working on global SDG impact standards. To conclude on three numbers 3-2-1: $3 trillion investment needs in SDGs and climate goals in developing countries (outside China); $2 trillion coming from domestic resource mobilisation and $1 trillion coming from additional financing from ODA and capital markets.

Werner Faymann, Chancellor of Austria 2008-2016, noted, with the heightened geopolitical conflicts, the increasing military expenditures which are detrimental to the SDG goals. What is therefore possible on a national or regional level? Taxation is one way ahead although tax fraud is bountiful: a new and fair financial architecture is required.

Walter Fust concluded on the shameful OECD DAC figures which are reduced although highlighted over the last three decades starting in 1988 with the United States introducing military expenses in ODA. Solidarity must be given a new value, and reflection should come about on the architecture of accountability to convince taxpayers and parliaments. What concrete deals for investors is an additional question requiring responses from the recipients. At the national level, risk governance needs to be installed as well as validation of investment outcomes with proper standards without omitting common auditing standards.
Global institutions like the United Nations and the Bretton Woods System require significant reforms to adapt to today’s interconnected world and future challenges. Key areas for reform include more equitable representation in decision-making, particularly in the UN Security Council and international financial bodies like the IMF and World Bank, to reflect the changing global economic landscape and give more influence to emerging economies. Promoting inclusivity and diversity in leadership, enhancing transparency and accountability, and combating corruption are also critical. Institutions need to reorient their focus to contemporary issues like climate change, cybersecurity, global health, income inequality, and emerging technologies.

Strengthening multilateralism, encouraging international cooperation while respecting sovereignty, and involving civil society and NGOs in decision-making processes are essential steps. These reforms are complex but vital for these institutions to remain effective in promoting global peace, stability, and sustainable development in the 21st century.
• How has the global landscape evolved since the establishment of institutions like the UN and the Bretton Woods System, and what are the key challenges and inadequacies that necessitate reform today?

• What specific changes or reforms can be made to global institutions to ensure they are more inclusive, representative, and responsive to the diverse needs and voices of countries and populations worldwide?

• How can global governance institutions adapt to address pressing global issues such as climate change, pandemics, cybersecurity, and economic inequality in a more effective and coordinated manner?

• What role should emerging powers and non-state actors play in shaping the reform of global governance, and how can their interests be balanced with those of established powers?

• What are the potential obstacles and resistance to reforming global governance institutions, and how can these obstacles be overcome to achieve meaningful change?

• In what ways can technology and digital platforms be leveraged to enhance transparency, accountability, and public participation in global governance reform efforts?
The Moderator, David Chikvaidze, Vice President of the Swiss Forum for International Affairs; former Chef de Cabinet to the Director-General of the United Nations Office at Geneva, opened the session by underlining that when the UN wants to undertake governance reform of its global institutions it should do so in a holistic manner.

The moderator thereupon invited Kjell Magne Bondevik, Prime Minister of Norway 1997-2000, 2001-2005, for his opening remarks who stressed his doubts on whether the principal actors wished to engage in UN reform. Russia and its President do not care, a possible new U.S. President likewise who will reduce engagement in multilateral organisations: the world is increasingly dominated by unilaterism. What is missing are leaders such as Nelson Mandela who after 27 years of imprisonment talked only about reconciliation, not revenge, ushering his country into an inclusive democracy. Also needed is a stronger UN but its Security Council is completely outdated weakening its authority: permanent members from Africa, Latin America and the Middle East need to be included. Calling for a general conference of UNGA for a change of the Charter should be the order of the day. If impossible, then why not create a new over ranking Board of Directors, fairer and just?

Eka Tkeshelashvili, Deputy Prime Minister of Georgia 2010-2012, Minister of Foreign Affairs 2008, underlined the root causes of global governance which worked at the outset of UN but no longer today when actors are entrenched in their mindsets bereft of a commonality of strategic goals broad enough for change to happen. Hence, how can the global gap be filled in the meantime such as through regional approaches. The world will remain fragmented, and asymmetries loom large between different parts of the world on potential global agreements. Why did the Bretton Woods process stall including normative developments? Basic trust is lacking between the protagonists impeding global sustainable governance.
Amre Moussa, Secretary-General Arab League 2001-2011, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Egypt 1991-2001, recalled the urgent need of global governance reform in preparation of the Summit for the Future but of greater importance is its content, not reform per se. The multilateral system is a success since 1945. The failure lies within the Security Council as a result of the veto system which paralyses its proceedings and destroys its credibility is in need of dire reform. The Summit for the Future must call for a General Conference to consider the future of the UN system to include new issues such as climate change and pandemics as additional “threats to international security and peace”, and recognise the role of civil society, and overcoming poverty notably in the Global South to be annexed to the Charter. NGIC should prepare a contribution for the Summit for the Future.

Vuk Jeremic, President of the 67th Session of the UN General Assembly; Minister of Foreign Affairs of Serbia 2007-2012, is not optimistic on a resetting of rules called for by the UNSG at the coming Summit for the Future in the light of current significant wars bereft of guardrails. 2024 will be the year of exacerbation of those wars in Ukraine and Gaza as well as within the United States.

Those questioning global governance should be brought into the discussion in the pursuit of “suing” for peace. Werner Faymann, Chancellor of Austria 2008-2016, acknowledged and the goal must be to avoid a third world war. To foster multilateralism and international cooperation, compromise must prevail in order to overcome conflicts and manage challenges faced by the world in all fields of activities: negotiation should not be equated to weakness. Borut Pahor, President of Slovenia 2012-2022, invited NGIC to publicly support a General Conference on the future of UN with in view a new global order with effective institutions. Is this ambition of reaching a higher level of international cooperation possible without a new global conflict such as after World Wars I and II? Most certainly tackling the world challenges can be
envisioned with confidence and rebuilding trust within the international community must be the task ahead.

The moderator then opened the floor with President Micheline Calmy-Rey from Switzerland referring to Geneva as the European seat of the UN and home to many specialised agencies, but this hub of multilateralism is greatly suffering absent of common standards. Better to start on global reforms with the technical organisations. Ismail Serageldin recalled the arbitration tool to overcome differences such as the WTO Dispute Settlement Mechanism or the ICJ fitting under the

statement “go forth and fashion wise restraints that make people free”. President Valdis Zatlers from Latvia underlined the necessity of methodology in order to table a plan and proposed UNSC reform as follows: increase of permanent members chosen within added regions thus building trust; retain non-permanent members; abolish the veto but find a mechanism to transfer majority vote into consensus; maintain the principle of “one-country, one-vote” but compromise is here required. The proposal from the moderator is to make the G20 permanent UNSC members adding the African Union, no veto and 14 rotating members with a manageable
total of 35 members. Amre Moussa noted the dangerous declarations on the threat of use of nuclear force such as by Israel on Gaza. Regarding genocide, the ICJ is convened to discuss this issue at the behest of South Africa in Gaza. On UNSC reform, what counts are enforcement mechanisms lest it devolves into a talk shop. Vaira Vike-Freiberga nuanced that not all compromises are justified distinguishing between questions that are debateable where compromise is desirable, and existential questions not open to debate and to compromise. For Kjell Magne Bondevik, there can be no compromise on Ukraine’s sovereignty and territorial integrity. For Eka Tkishelashvili, alliances of the willing adhering to the fundamental principles and values of the Charter should see the day when addressing global governance reform within a rules-based order.

The moderator concluded on the absence of true leadership and statesmanship as opposed to politicians, the presence of pervasive financial and political corruption and the need to increasingly factor in AI.
The ongoing conflicts in regions like Ukraine and Gaza, along with numerous lesser-known conflicts worldwide highlight the need for a new agenda for peace. The UN Secretary General’s vision emphasizes diplomacy and dialogue for conflict resolution, addressing conflicts’ root causes through reducing inequality, promoting good governance, and economic development. Upholding international law and human rights, with accountability mechanisms for violations, is essential. Special attention to humanitarian needs in conflict areas, including establishing safe corridors for aid delivery, is critical. Early warning systems and diplomatic efforts for conflict prevention, along with post-conflict reconstruction and sustainable development, are key components. This holistic approach should combine conflict prevention, humanitarianism, sustainable development, and global governance, adapting to emerging challenges and requiring collaboration among nations, international organizations, civil society, and the private sector.
What are the key lessons learned from past peacekeeping and conflict resolution efforts, and how can they inform the development of a new agenda for peace that prioritizes conflict prevention?

In the context of the evolving global security landscape, what are the emerging threats and challenges that should be addressed in a new agenda for peace, and how can they be effectively mitigated?

How can the international community strengthen its commitment to early warning systems and mediation processes to proactively prevent conflicts before they escalate into crises?

How can we ensure that parties to a conflict are held accountable for their breaches of international law concerning civilians and non-combatants?

How can we better protect civilians and ensure humanitarian assistance to those at risk in conflict areas?

What role should regional organizations, such as the African Union or the European Union, play in shaping and implementing a new agenda for peace, and how can their efforts complement those of the United Nations?

How can sustainable development, economic growth, and social inclusion be integrated into a new agenda for peace to address root causes of conflict and promote long-term stability and security?

In an era of rising nationalism and strained multilateralism, how can countries collaborate effectively to support a new agenda for peace, and what diplomatic and institutional reforms may be necessary to achieve this vision?
The moderator, Valdis Zatlers, President of Latvia 2007-2011, opened the panel discussion by defining “true” multilateralism which would assume a presence of “false” multilateralism, and noted its different characteristics from a Chinese, American to European multilateralism reaching super scale nationalism.

Rosen Plevneliev, President of Bulgaria 2012-2017, stressed that multilateralism is about rules and institutions that uphold them and ensure that peace is maintained especially in a transition period from one global order to the other as witnessed today. If weak rules and institutions prevail with revisionist powers on the uptake, then one could “sleepwalk” into another war. When powers play great power games, then peace recedes. The EU project, quite to the contrary, refuses this game in order to build sustainable peace on the continent: vote for wise men, not the strong is the European message to the world.

Chiril Gaburici, Prime Minister of Moldova 2015, recalled the frozen conflict of Transnistria in his country where the solution resides between Chisinau and Tiraspol but in need of proper communication channels with the support of outside partners. Smaller developing countries with immature and highly politized systems suffer in today’s geopolitical world. Democracy is fragile easily slipping into radicalism. Increased military expenditures – more than $3 trillion in 2023 worldwide – impedes development: correct priorities need to be set up moving from global competition to global cooperation to address the SDGs. Funds and skills are available.

Paul Révay, Former European Director, Trilateral Commission; Member of the Board of Trustees, Friends of Europe, recalled that all mechanisms devoted to conflict prevention and peacebuilding existed during the Cold War era such as in arms control which have now disappeared including Treaties and hot lines in today’s fractured world. The European experience is here interesting having put at the forefront, since its Founding Fathers, a
true multilateral approach – the pooling of sovereignty -- to addressing challenges and solving problems. How can global issues be addressed simultaneously and in unison: the UN can still be creative in marginal measures working on the reform of technical organisations within the system leaving aside for now peace and security with UNSC reform. Building up the role of the UNSG under Art. 99 of the Charter is a way ahead. Europe also plays a role in “effective multilateralism”, a concept it invented, as well as the launching by France and Germany in 2019 of the Alliance for Multilateralism. Finally, the concepts of “decoupling” and “de-risking” require attention: decoupling of economies in an interdependent world is unrealistic but is it being replaced by “de-risking” as currently with China and thereby creating new hopeful models of multilateralism such as “minilateralism” as exemplified in the Levant.

David Chikvaidze, Vice President of the Swiss Forum for International Affairs; former Chef de Cabinet to the Director-General of the United Nations Office at Geneva, addressed arms control and disarmament which were the determining policy factor between the two superpowers -- including the MAD theory -- during the Cold War. The Cuban missile crisis was in October 1962 and already by 1963 the Partial Test Ban Treaty was signed creating a body of law with disarmament central in national security policies and a strengthened the role for diplomacy of the larger powers. “Disarmament” is no longer the game in town with such treaties as
ABM in SALT I and the INF treaties shelved: Hubris had gripped the West after the demise of the USSR. No thought was given to creating a universal security arrangement leading to Russia’s reaction in 2007. Today, the international system is broken and fractured with difficulties to talk when mutual respect, will and trust are lacking.

The moderator recalled the catchword of those days of “parity” and reminded of President Obama’s 2009 speech on nuclear disarmament to which none responded, and invited Agi Veres, Director, UNDP Office in Geneva, who addressed the root causes of the conflicts. A quarter of the world lives in fragile or conflict areas. How can global governance be reformed when national governance failures are so overwhelming and widespread as witnessed by the Human Development Report and the Human Development Index which for the first time are falling behind? Wars and conflicts are the result of development failures linked to governance failures and socio-economic situations. Good governance development models are no longer trusted nor followed which leads to migrations, violent extremism organisations – joined now for economic and no longer ideological reasons -- and ensuing refugee crises. UNDP ambitions to address the root causes of these multiple crises exemplified by $2 trillion in military expenditures in 2022 when compared to $200 billion in ODA! The world is disinvesting in development, but the root causes of conflict are socio-economic including the development, humanitarian and the peacebuilding and prevention systems with their solutions remaining siloed and thus compounding the problem. Effective multilateralism must bring the systems together. Youth is also vital in prevention and peacebuilding where the average age of the African population is 19 years old and 65 of their leaders. Turning to the social contract which is thus maintained leads to hope being lost in changing the system which requires greater involvement
of civil society and the fight against corruption such as through digitalization of government services and the introduction of technological innovation and AI bridging the gap between the public and private sectors. Governments must anticipate and build early warning mechanisms to mitigate risks responding to today’s problems.

**Micheline Calmy-Rey**, President of Switzerland 2007, 2011; Vice-President of Switzerland 2006, 2010; Minister of Foreign Affairs 2003–2011, focussed her intervention on International Humanitarian Law (IHL) much needed in these times with at the forefront the prohibition of the use of force as laid down in the UN Charter. IHL applies to all protagonists whether the conflict is deemed legal or not dating back to 1864 and to the creation of the Red Cross.

The discussion then opened to the floor with **Tarja Halonen**, President of Finland 2000–2012, who noted the broad challenges faced by the world which require a comprehensive approach such as through combination of proposals at the Summit for the Future and COP in Baku thereby strengthening processes between different goals. **Zlatko Lagumdžija** stressed the important connection between development and peacebuilding in concrete terms with lesser advocacy for “European perspectives” such as given to the West Balkans as early as in 2005. **Csaba Korösi** noted 55 wars and conflicts raging in the world today as compared to 21 twenty years ago. Between 2001–2010, five countries suffered armed insurgencies and today fifteen: wars became more complex with a plethora of warring parties such as in Syria. Civil wars internationalised with 4% of foreign forces engaged in 1991 while reaching today 48% related mostly to the depletion of resources. Regarding the arms control regime, it was built before 1990 on the notion of two camps remaining in equilibrium which brought safety to the world. Today is a multipolar world bereft of any arrangements to include countries and poles into an arms control regime where regional agreements are now of far greater importance likewise absent of any agreements.

The moderator concluded by “peace means development” and disarmament is a method to keep your country safe.
The COVID-19 pandemic has brought to light several key lessons, emphasizing the need for global interconnectedness, collaboration, and information sharing in addressing health crises. It revealed the necessity of international cooperation, particularly in strengthening the World Health Organization for effective response to global health threats. Ensuring equitable access to vaccines, tests, and treatments is crucial, highlighting the importance of avoiding vaccine nationalism and supporting initiatives like COVAX. The pandemic exposed weaknesses in healthcare systems, underscoring the need for resilience, adaptability, and investment in healthcare infrastructure and workforce.

It also demonstrated the value of scientific collaboration in vaccine development and the need for research funding. COVID-19 exacerbated existing inequalities, affecting vulnerable populations disproportionately and showing the importance of addressing these disparities. The pandemic also highlighted the significance of adaptability, preparedness for crises, and the accelerated digital transformation across various sectors. These insights are critical for building a more resilient, equitable, and well-prepared world in the post pandemic era.
What are the key lessons that the COVID-19 pandemic has taught us about the importance of equitable access to healthcare, and how can these lessons be translated into concrete actions to ensure health for all?

How can global cooperation and coordination be strengthened to enhance pandemic preparedness and response, ensuring that no one is left behind in accessing vaccines, treatments, and healthcare services?

What role should governments, international organizations, and the private sector play in building resilient and equitable healthcare systems that can withstand future pandemics and health crises?

How can we address the underlying social and economic determinants of health that were exacerbated by the pandemic, such as income inequality, food insecurity, and mental health challenges?

In what ways can digital health technologies and telemedicine be leveraged to improve healthcare accessibility and delivery, especially in underserved or remote regions?

What strategies can be implemented to rebuild and strengthen public trust in healthcare systems and public health measures following the pandemic, and how can this trust be harnessed to promote long term health for all?
Moderator Zlatko Lagumdzija, Permanent Representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the UN; Prime Minister of Bosnia and Herzegovina 2001-2002; deputy Prime Minister of Bosnia and Herzegovina 1993-1996, 2012-2015, recalled the “5Ps in Health for All” when signing the MOU between WHO and NGIC: “Promoting, Providing, Protecting, Powering, Performing” health, and invited Csaba Korösi for his comments. The “5Ps” extend beyond health with the world facing the most complex challenges since WWII.

The pandemic crisis was the prototype of the Anthropocene era witnessing the health decline of the biosphere affecting directly human health at large. A tipping point was crossed in public health. The WHO watchlist had among the six most dangerous pathogens the coronavirus and recognised an overload of healthcare systems but without reserve capacities. Supply chains were disrupted ensuing economic downturn and labour market lockdowns lead to massive sovereign debt crises in more than 70 countries. During the pandemic an unruly “rules of the jungle” competition was ignited on critical supplies contributing to decline of trust within and between countries. Vaccine geopolitics came about weakening confidence building measure and crisis management mechanisms worldwide including doubts raised on the quality of data.

Technological innovation did help shrink time necessary to find new vaccines, but the lessons learned from the pandemic are still required with a return to previous ways of life which had created the very conditions of the pandemic at the outset. Investment must be boosted in DaMA research; emergency procedures in key trading and cooperating organisations; group procurements and orders were useful but new business models are needed for less affluent regions; market-based solutions will be insufficient; scientific data is crucial, but its quality must be verified; data sharing should be upgraded and better validated; WHO’s early warning notice must be taken far more seriously; social media must educate the public on the importance of health security going beyond preparedness of pandemics; aid programmes must focus on pandemic prevention to be separated from political zero-sum games.

Maria Fernanda Espinosa, President of the 73rd Session of the UN General Assembly; Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ecuador
2017-2018; Minister of Defence of Ecuador 2012-2014, recalled how the Covid-19 tested humanity’s resilience and adaptability whilst fortifying the idea that health is a central component of human security and remains a human right. Globally 4.5 billion have no access to essential health services and 2 billion are facing financial hardship due to health costs such as declining childhood vaccinations. When serving as UNGA President, the first universal health coverage political declaration was launched but the last four years are marked by regression and weakness. Lessons learned are the very basics i.e. the need of strong national health systems which cannot be submitted to market dynamics and are to be led by the public sector. Health requires a whole of society approach requiring efficient global governance arrangements. The international multilateral architecture must respond more effectively to the challenge: solidarity and quick response capacity and delivery to pandemics are of the essence included dealing with inequalities which were magnified by the covid pandemic. Women were at the forefront of the response representing 70% of healthcare providers although only 20% in decision making organs. Health access is primarily a political choice; adequate financing is urgently required as well as to “build back better” with the ongoing negotiations on creating in 2024 a Pandemic Treaty and on the Review Process on International Health Regulations. These treaties must be included in the coming Summit for the Future in 2024 and at the Social Summit in 2025.

**Vuk Jeremic** underlined how the covid crisis had dramatically hit multilateral cooperation and exacerbated geopolitical recession notably on trust toward national governments, international organisations, pharmaceutical industries. One area of absent trust resides in the origin of the covid-19 outbreak -- as shown by Jeffrey Sachs in the Lancet medical journal – which it purported was linked to advanced scientific research of Chinese and the U.S. collaboration: without transparency, there can be no return to trust. National health systems remain crucial. Living in a crisis of multilateralism, minilateralism is a way to alleviate its lack of efficiency.

For **Mahesh Mahalingam**, Chief of Staff, UNAIDS, combatting HIV represents paradoxically the only hope that the SDGs have in terms of achieving their targets but is also at risk of failing by 2030. When the world faced
HIV in the early 1990s, none of those lessons were learned when Covid-19 broke out in 2019. The success of fighting HIV started with multilateralism when for the first time a health issue was debated in 2000 at the UNSC and followed in a first General Assembly session in 2001. Today, 30 million patients are on treatment worldwide but 9 million are still without access: HIV has become the forgotten pandemic rising in Eastern Europe and Central Asia in the shadows of war, in the Middle East, Latin America and Asia. Lessons learned are that the right to health is not optional: due to community and political pressure, the cost of anti-retroviral declined from $8 000 in 2000 to $54 in 2024 per person per year. Equitable access to vaccines and benefit sharing are essential. HIV responses thrived because communities were and remain at the forefront, and inclusive governance must remain central intricately linked, beyond health, to social, economic and development issues. The majority of investments are international with a large portion from the U.S. where bipartisanship prevailed on the U.S. President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) but now in jeopardy in Congress. Health for All is a moral duty and investment in health are economic investments in the national self-interest.

The moderator thereupon opened the discussion by recalling the importance of digital transformation in the health sector and the stark figure of 300 million Covid-19 vaccines destroyed in the EU due to their expiration date! Ismail Serageldin referred to the Lancet Commission Report and the fundamental requirement of a robust primary healthcare system and the monitoring by WHO at the inception of the pandemic with dissemination of early warnings. New pandemics will break out because of the transformative character of climate change. Maria Fernanda Espinosa called for the establishment of an emergency platform within the UN at the behest of its SG. WHO is leading the “One Health” holistic initiative bridging nature and human society. For Csaba Korösi, data standardisation is also vital. The Wuhan Laboratory was not a bioweapons laboratory: research laboratories are needed to test
viruses and their mutation as within ten years there remains a 28% chance that a new pandemic will break out worst than Covid-19, and over 25 years rising to 52%. The epicentre of the pandemic stemmed from countries with strong primary health care systems which requires additional thought. Mahesh Mahalingam stressed the role of local communities in primary health care beyond medical staff, a lesson learned from HIV. Climate change is also disrupting health systems. Investments in health and local production must become public goods. Vuk Jeremic highlighted that “Build Back Better” starts by addressing the key geopolitical frictions of the day without which all ideas going into the Summit for the Future will be infeasible.

Zlatko Lagumdzija concluded on the concept of “sustainable health” encompassing human health, biology, and the environment anchoring SDG 3 with the other SDGs.
The fundamental challenge of bridging global health and education disparities lies in addressing poverty and inequality through equitable resource distribution, universal policy implementation, targeted support for vulnerable groups, empowering marginalized communities, and a focus on data monitoring. This process calls for global cooperation, innovative research, and long-term dedication.

Concurrently, the growing emphasis on environmental rights in light of climate change and ecological degradation necessitates integrating these rights across all Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). This integration would involve revising SDG targets and indicators to reflect environmental rights principles and respect the environment’s intrinsic value. Moreover, considering the rights of future generations is vital, underscoring our duty to ensure a sustainable and equitable planet. This includes addressing current issues such as climate change, environmental degradation, and resource depletion, with a commitment to intergenerational equity, fairness, and justice.
At a time of rising inequalities within and between countries, how can we reverse these trends to ensure greater access to health and education for all?

How can we ensure that our actions today prioritize the rights and well-being of future generations, including their right to a sustainable environment, access to resources, and a peaceful world?

What legal and ethical frameworks can be established to protect and uphold the rights of future generations, particularly in the face of global challenges like climate change and environmental degradation?

How can education and awareness campaigns among current populations be leveraged to instil a sense of responsibility and stewardship towards safeguarding the environment and protecting the rights of future generations?

In the context of intergenerational equity, what measures can be taken to address issues such as the depletion of natural resources, environmental pollution, and the impacts of industrialization on the rights of future generations?

What role should international organizations, governments, and civil society play in advocating for and implementing policies that safeguard the rights of future generations, and how can they collaborate effectively?

How can we balance the needs and aspirations of current generations with the imperative to leave a habitable and sustainable planet for those who will inherit it in the future, and what strategies can help bridge this intergenerational gap?
The Moderator, Rosen Plevneliev, stressed the importance of values that must override interests and the primordial value of Human Rights “leaving no one behind”. Mladen Ivanic, President of Bosnia and Herzegovina 2014-2018, opened his remarks by asking whether, beyond a high moral value, it is possible to leave no one behind? How can the SDGs be implemented? A precondition would be a global multilateral approach, but optimism hardly prevails today characterised by a lack of cooperation worldwide challenging the multilateral institutions set up after WWII.

On the one hand, where are global leaders with a vision for the future who indulge in short-term issues such as their re-elections? On the other hand, individual citizens and civil societies are concerned by and engaged in climate change issues. Hope and pressure must therefore be put into the coming Summit of the Future if only for the sake of future generations.

Jan Fisher, Prime Minister of the Czech Republic 2009-2010, referred to the series of questions to the panel and noted that the trend of income and environmental inequalities is widening both at home and worldwide which provokes the debate on the role of the state in the economy and its fiscal policies: the value of solidarity must return to the current political behaviour. Inequality in various accesses such as education or healthcare is also rising leading to the loss of social cohesion and the rise of radicalism and populisms fuelled by demagogic discourse. What is required is inclusive democracy beyond a formal democracy with its basic governance institutions. What is missing in the list of questions is the treatment of minorities. In sum, “think globally and act locally”.

Laura Thompson, Assistant Director-General for the External and Corporate Relations Cluster, International Labour Organization, highlighted three key elements and, to start, the current social crisis. Populism is the perfect consequence of “having been left behind”. During the covid pandemic, 165 million fell back into poverty with 4 billion lacking access to social protection. The environmental crisis with 1,2 billion jobs depending on the ecosystem affect the most vulnerable which requires a “just transition” to environmentally sustainable economies to include working opportunities bringing together social and environmental goals with integrated policy choices. Multi-
lateralism is central to ensuring success building on the ILO Global Coalition for Social Justice.

Marie-Louise Coleiro Preca, President of Malta 2014-2019, focussed on investing in children and the young often absent from the equation with booms and bust in the inception of the UN which will impact future generations. How to implement the SDGs with so many wars and conflicts raging worldwide? Gjorge Ivanov, President of the Republic of North Macedonia 2009-2019, noted that only 2,6% of young people participate in political decision-making process in the world. Their absence in collective decision creates perceptions about democracy which is on the decline whereas autocracies are on a steep rise with civil laws and the rule of law being undermined; only 8% of the world lives in full democracies. 20% have access to political freedom while trust is being eroded in all institutions, including in the EU and its member states, labelled a “democratic recession” since fifteen years.

The discussion then opened with Amre Moussa who stressed the element of dignity when addressing the multifaceted challenges faced by the world with entire continents being left behind and to start Africa and the Global South at large, an issue to be put on the agenda of the Summit for the Future. Csaba Korösi recalled, when the SDGs were set up, that two social contacts were the prerequisite for their implementation: among stakeholders and between generations. The question remains whether these two social contracts exist in any given society, but most countries do not respect them. A declaration is in preparation on the rights of future generations to be tabled at the Summit for the Future, but the time has come to spell out also the responsibilities towards future generations within societies.
Artificial Intelligence (AI) holds transformative potential across various sectors, yet it also poses significant risks, such as generating convincing fake media and potential military applications. Addressing these concerns calls for ethical and practical measures including regulatory frameworks, technological strategies to detect manipulated media, improved media literacy, and ethical AI development. Public awareness about AI’s capabilities and dangers is crucial, alongside international collaboration and legal updates to mitigate its global impact. However, AI’s role in exacerbating or reducing the digital divide is a critical issue. If AI is predominantly utilized by affluent groups, it could deepen inequalities. In contrast, equitable development, and deployment of AI, especially in creating accessible healthcare and educational tools for underprivileged communities, can help bridge this divide. The future of AI’s societal impact hinges on a collective commitment to equitable development and use, empowering marginalized groups with AI skills and opportunities for a balanced digital landscape.
• How can society strike a balance between harnessing the potential benefits of AI in various fields and addressing the significant risks associated with the creation of deepfake content that can manipulate public perception and subvert democratic processes?

• What regulatory and legal frameworks can be developed to govern the use of AI-generated deepfake videos and audio, and how can these frameworks ensure responsible and ethical AI practices while safeguarding freedom of expression?

• What role should tech companies and AI developers play in mitigating the risks associated with deepfake technology, and how can they be held accountable for the misuse of their innovations?

• How can AI be leveraged to detect and combat deepfake content effectively, and what investments in AI research and development are needed to stay ahead of malicious actors?

• What strategies can be employed to educate the public about the existence of deepfake technology and the importance of critical thinking and media literacy in an age of AI-generated misinformation?

• In the context of international cooperation, how can countries collaborate to establish norms and standards or the responsible development and use of AI, particularly in addressing the global challenge of deepfake manipulation and disinformation campaigns?

• How can the world develop collaborative approaches between the technologically advanced and the technologically lagging societies to ensure that AI can help level the playing field rather than exacerbating the Digital Divide?
Moderator Ismail Serageldin introduced the discussion by highlighting that autonomous machines can now kill; ChatGPT is under the domination of unregulated big tech companies and wondered whether AI will bridge the Digital Divide. Milica Pejanovic-Durisic, Minister of Defence of Montenegro 2012-2016, noted a shift in the balance of the geopolitics to a techno-polar world with Generative AI now worsening short term problems: AI has become a black box creating instability which led the G7 to launch the Hiroshima Process. NGIC should contribute to the UNSG initiative on “Governing AI for Humanity”. Turning to the defence and security sector, AI could magnify risks which will require greater responsibility moving forward in this area. Ana Birchall, Deputy Prime Minister of Romania 2018-2019; Minister of Justice of Romania 2019; Member of the Parliament of Romania 2012-2020, stressed that serious laws and government regulations will have to be devised to reign in AI development such as its dual use activity ensuring that human beings keep the upper hand in decision-making: AI is a black box with no transparency. For Ivo Josipovic, President of Croatia 2010-2015, AI is quicker than human intelligence and wondered who will be legally responsible for its actions such as the employment of lethal autonomous weapons. Boris Tadic noted that AI can help democracies in better decision-making and deliver added value but can also be used for collecting personal data, manipulating elections such as in the United States or reinforcing autocracies like in Russia which uses AI for its drone attacks in Ukraine. Peggy Hicks from the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) underlined that the global nature of conversation on AI is centred in the developed world such as exemplified by the AI Act in the EU. AI development is of multistakeholder nature with the engagement of the private sector which remains essential with the role of business increasing its role in this area. Finally, Human Rights must remain central in AI where states are in the obligation to uphold them.

In conclusion, we are witness to a blurring of reality with non-reality as manifested from 2D to 3D development and the arrival of the metaverse and brain machine interface.
The world will remain fragmented, and asymmetry age age of the African population is 19 years...

The right to health is not a luxury, but a basic human right. Globally 4.5 billion have no access to primary health care beyond medical staff, a healthcare provider although only 20% in rich countries do and 10% in poor countries...
Geneva, opened the session by underlining that the challenge ahead is to bridge the gap between aspirations of peace and security with UNSC reform. Build broad enough for change to happen. Hence, NGIC should contribute to the UNSG initiatives such as through digitalization of governance systems with their solutions remaining. Good governance development is of multistakeholder nature with the engagement of the private sector which remains essential with the move to digitalization.

The moderator thereupon invited Paul Révay, Chancellor of Austria 2008-2016, to address arms control and disarmament. He noted the broad challenges of development failures linked to governance and the consequence of win or lose scenarios. Why did the Bretton Woods process stall? Metries loom large between different parts of the world. The world will remain fragmented, and asymmetricReadOnly: conflicts will continue. What is missing are leaders of the UN General Assembly; Minister of Foreign Affairs of Serbia 2007-2012, is not optimistic on a resetting of rules called for by Prime Minister of the Czech Republic.

NGIC should prepare a contribution to the Summit for the Future but of greater importance is the need for good governance development. The ICRC. OCHA has calculated the need for 45 billion are facing financial hardship due to loss access to essential health services and 2 human right. Globally 4.5 billion have no access to sanitation. 130 countries caring for forced displacement. Conflict remains the main driver of forced displacement. Economic migrants.

Moderator : turning to funding requirements, in 2023 the needs of Ukraine. Lagumdzija, President of the Republic of Slovenia 2007-2011; Vice-President of Switzerland 2012-2020, stressed that serious laws and regulations will have to be implemented to ensure that the multistakeholder solutions are harmonized and that the needs are met. Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia 2012-2022, invited NGIC to publish a report on “Governing AI for Humanity.”

NGIC should prepare a contribution to the Summit for the Future but of greater importance is the need for good governance development. The ICRC. OCHA has calculated the need for 4.5 billion are facing financial hardship due to loss access to essential health services and 2 human right. Globally 4.5 billion have no access to sanitation. 130 countries caring for forced displacement. Conflict remains the main driver of forced displacement. Economic migrants.

Politicized systems suffer in today’s geopolitical landscape. The pandemic crisis was the prototype of the future. AI development is of multistakeholder character with the involvement of the private sector which remains essential with the move to digitalization. AI has also been used for collecting personal data, including from the Office of the Prime Minister of the UK. AI development is of multistakeholder character with the involvement of the private sector which remains essential with the move to digitalization. AI has also been used for collecting personal data, including from the Office of the Prime Minister of the UK.
The High Commissioner presented his Refugee Agency composed of 20,000 agents in 130 countries caring for forced displacement of 114 million refugees and IDPs, the highest figure ever since the inception of UNHCR. Conflict remains the main driver of forced displacement with increased complexity for their reasons to include today climate change. Responses to population movement are fragmented inhibiting unity of response. The EU did respond positively to the Ukraine refugee crisis by granting generous temporary protection measures. The war in Gaza is raged with a complete disregard of IHL and UNRWA is under constant threat.

Turning to funding requirements, in 2023 UNHCR received $1 billion less than in 2022 totalling $6 billion, a worrisome trend shared by other Agencies the UN included, WFP and the ICRC. OCHA has calculated the need for humanitarian assistance in 2024 at $46 billion. The current global humanitarian appeal is an affordable request for the international community and can be met if political will is at hand.

Finally, the Global Compact for Refugees was a useful tool as well as the Global Compact on Migration which allowed for a better definition of forced displacement including on economic migrants.

Zlatko Lagumdzija proposed that an MOU be signed between NGIC and UNHCR as had been the case with WHO.
LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position/Title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vaira Vike-Freiberga</td>
<td>Co-Chair, NGIC; President of Latvia 1999-2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ismail Serageldin</td>
<td>Co-Chair, NGIC; Vice-President of the World Bank 1992-2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ana Birchall</td>
<td>Deputy Prime Minister of Romania 2018-2019; Minister of Justice of Romania 2019; Member of the Parliament of Romania 2012-2020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kjell Magne Bondevik</td>
<td>Prime Minister of Norway 1997-2000, 2001-2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Micheline Calmy-Rey</td>
<td>President of Switzerland 2007, 2011; Vice-President of Switzerland 2006, 2010; Minister of Foreign Affairs 2003-2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Chikvaidze</td>
<td>Vice President of the Swiss Forum for International Affairs; former Chef de Cabinet to the Director-General of the United Nations Office at Geneva</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marie-Louise Coleiro Preca</td>
<td>President of Malta 2014-2019</td>
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<tr>
<td>Werner Faymann</td>
<td>Chancellor of Austria 2008-2016</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maria Fernanda Espinosa</td>
<td>President of the 73rd Session of the UN General Assembly; Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ecuador 2017-2018; Minister of Defense of Ecuador 2012-2014</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jan Fischer</td>
<td>Prime Minister of the Czech Republic 2009-2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walter Fust</td>
<td>Director-General, Swiss Agency for Development Cooperation 1993-2008, Member of the UN-ICT Task force, Chair UNESCO Intergovernmental council for the Development of Communication 2008-2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiril Gaburici</td>
<td>Prime Minister of Moldova 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hafez Ghanem</td>
<td>Regional Vice President of the World Bank for Eastern and Southern Africa 2020-2022, Vice President for the Middle East and North Africa 2015-2020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus</td>
<td>Director-General, World Health Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tarja Halonen</td>
<td>President of Finland 2000-2012</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mladen Ivanic</td>
<td>President of Bosnia and Herzegovina 2014-2018</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gjorge Ivanov</td>
<td>President of the Republic of North Macedonia 2009-2019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vuk Jeremic</td>
<td>President of the 67th Session of the UN General Assembly; Minister of Foreign Affairs of Serbia 2007-2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ivo Josipovic</td>
<td>President of Croatia 2010-2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Csaba Korosi</td>
<td>President of the 77th Session of the United Nations General Assembly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zlatko Lagumdzija</td>
<td>Permanent Representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the UN; Prime Minister of Bosnia and Herzegovina 2001-2002; deputy Prime Minister of Bosnia and Herzegovina 2012-2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomas Lamanauskas</td>
<td>Deputy Secretary-General of the International Telecommunication Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>Igor Luksic</td>
<td>Prime Minister of Montenegro 2010-2012</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mahesh Mahalingam</td>
<td>Chief of Staff, UNAIDS</td>
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<tr>
<td>Amre Moussa</td>
<td>Secretary General, Arab League 2001-2011; Minister of Foreign Affairs of Egypt 1991-2001</td>
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Hubris had gripped the West after the demise of a universal security arrangement leading to Russia's reaction in 2007. Today, the international community is bereft of guardrails. 2024 will be the year of promotion of a vision of a new and more mindful future in the light of current significant wars and pandemics. The SDGs must therefore be put into the coming decades of decision making organs.

Responses to population movement are enforcement mechanisms lest it devolves into a talk shop. The question is whether, beyond a high moral value, it is possible to find new means to anchor SDG 3 with the other SDGs. The WHO watchlist has not disappeared including Treaties and hot spots of the moment. Funds and skills are available.

The epicentre of the SDGs is the political will to consider the future of the UN system to its proceedings and destroys its credibility. The root causes of conflict are models are no longer trusted nor followed by the international community and can be met if political will is envisaged with confidence and rebuilding of multilateralism is possible. The SDGs are not the origin of the covid-19 outbreak -- as for the SDG 16, the multilateral institutions set up after WWII.

The Paris Agreement on Climate Change is the result of development failures linked to governments' complacency and failure to recognize the need for action. The Paris Agreement is a commitment to limit global warming to below 2 degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels, with a goal of limiting the increase to 1.5 degrees Celsius. The agreement entered into force in 2016 and has been ratified by over 190 countries.

The Paris Agreement's success is crucial to meeting the goals of the SDGs. It requires a transformation of how the world produces and consumes energy, and a significant increase in the share of renewable energy in the global energy mix. The agreement includes a series of pledges made by countries to limit their greenhouse gas emissions and to adapt to the impacts of climate change. These pledges are intended to be reviewed and strengthened every five years, with the ultimate goal of keeping global warming below 2 degrees Celsius and reaching net-zero emissions by mid-century.

The Paris Agreement is a crucial step in the right direction, but more needs to be done to fully realize its potential. The agreement is not yet fully implemented, and there are significant challenges to be overcome in terms of financing, technology transfer, and implementation. However, the agreement provides a framework for countries to work together to address the challenges of climate change and to build a more sustainable and equitable world.

The Paris Agreement is a testament to the power of multilateralism and the enduring commitment of many countries to work together to address one of the most pressing challenges of our time. It is a crucial step towards a more sustainable and equitable world, and it is up to all of us to ensure that it is fully implemented and strengthened over time.