

# SciencesPo

PARIS SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

# THE AGENDA OF THE FUTURE UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY-GENERAL

## YOUTH & LEADERS

SUMMIT REPORT 2016



Le Monde



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# YOUTH & LEADERS

## SUMMIT

*Launched in January 2016 by the **Paris School of International Affairs at Sciences Po (PSIA)**, to inaugurate the arrival of Dean Enrico Letta, the **Youth&Leaders Summit** brings together today's leading international affairs personalities with the next generation of world leaders and thinkers.*

### **Youth & Leaders: a unique concept**

Bringing a fresh perspective to university organised conferences, the **Youth&Leaders Summit** is an unparalleled event with an innovative underlying concept: fostering discussion and debate between leading global affairs actors and PSIA students on complex international issues. The impressive diversity and capacity of the PSIA student body provided the impetus for the Summit, and the idea was met with great enthusiasm by over 40 of the world's most prominent international actors. PSIA students are also at the heart of the organisation and execution of the Summit, working as a team of over 40 dedicated logistics and communications assistants, speaker escorts and on-the-day event assistants. Their engagement is testament to the #PSIASpirit so characteristic of the school, and fundamental to the success of the **2016 themes**. The inaugural edition took place on January 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> 2016 at Sciences Po's iconic Paris campus and is now set to become an annual hotbed for exchange and dialogue on some of the most pressing global issues. For 2016, two key themes were tackled through a series of keynote speeches, panel debates and discussions with students. Day One was dedicated to "The Agenda for the Next United Nations Secretary-General", and Day Two addressed "The Art of Diplomacy in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century". The current report covers Day One, and is designed to showcase the major outcomes and recommendations made during the debates.

### **Sciences Po and PSIA**

Sciences Po has been a pioneer of multidisciplinary education since 1872 and is constantly devising innovative approaches to tackling the most challenging global issues. Today, it is through PSIA that Sciences Po continues to play an active and important role in the international arena. PSIA is one of the most highly regarded International Affairs schools in the world (ranked #4 by the 2016 QS World Rankings), as well as the largest, with 1300 students from across 100 countries. Public debate is at the heart of PSIA life and, each year, the school hosts numerous high-level events and platforms for discussion.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Sciences Po and PSIA would like to extend their gratitude to the sponsors, partners, faculty and students who were involved in making the inaugural 2016 edition of the Youth & Leaders a resounding success.

For Day One of the Summit we would especially like to thank **AXA**, our main sponsor, for their very generous support and contribution and **Le Monde**, our media partner, for championing and featuring the Summit.

We are grateful to McAnn Paris Agency, whose staff were key actors in the event logistics and helped ensure smooth running on-the-day.

A special word of appreciation must go to Lakhdar Brahimi for his intellectual contribution to designing the agenda for the inaugural edition of the Summit.

Thanks go also to Sciences Po's Department of Communications and to its Direction de la Stratégie et du Développement for their indispensable support both in the lead-up to and during the event.

And, last but not least, a very warm thanks is reserved for the 40 student members of the PSIA Youth & Leaders Team, who were all instrumental in the Summit's success. Without them, the energy of the day simply would not have reflected the same **#PSIASpirit** that we hold dear and are so proud of.

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# THE AGENDA OF THE FUTURE UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY-GENERAL

LE PROGRAMME DU PROCHAIN SECRÉTAIRE GÉNÉRAL DES NATIONS UNIES

## MORNING SESSIONS

**08:00** WELCOME AND REGISTRATION

**08:30** OPENING REMARKS by President **Frédéric Mion** and Dean **Enrico Letta**

**08:45** KEYNOTE SPEECHES

**Emmanuel Macron** Minister of Economy, Industry and Digital Affairs, France

**Martti Ahtisaari** Elder • former President, Finland • UN Diplomat and Mediator • Nobel Peace Prize Laureate

**Irina Bokova** Director-General, UNESCO

**09:45** PANEL 1

**REVIVING MULTILATERALISM:  
A PRIORITY FOR THE INCOMING SECRETARY-GENERAL?**

*President and Moderator :* **Arnaud Leparmentier** Le Monde

*With*

**Pascal Lamy** Interministerial Delegate for ExpoFrance 2025 • former Director-General, World Trade Organization

**Kevin Rudd** President, Asia Society Policy Institute • former Prime Minister, Australia

**Hubert Védrine** former Minister of Foreign Affairs, France • PSIA Faculty

**Chen Zhimin** Dean, School of International Relations and Public Affairs, Fudan University, China

**11:15** BREAK

**11:45** PANEL 2

**THE UN'S ROLE IN THE GLOBAL REFUGEE CRISIS**

*President and Moderator :* **Marilyne Baumard** Le Monde

*With*

**Giuliano Amato** Judge, Italian Constitutional Court • former Prime Minister, Italy

**Elmar Brok** Chairman, European Parliament Committee on Foreign Affairs

**Bruno Le Maire** Member of Parliament, France • former Minister for European Affairs, France

**Nabil Fahmy** Dean, School of Global Affairs and Public Policy, American University of Cairo • former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Egypt

**Bruno Stagno Ugarte** Deputy Executive Director for Advocacy, Human Rights Watch • former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Costa Rica • former UN Ambassador • PSIA Faculty

**13:15** LUNCH BREAK

**14:45** PANEL 3

**WILL TERRORISM DOMINATE  
THE FUTURE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S AGENDA?**

*President and Moderator :*

**Miguel Ángel Moratinos** former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Spain • Professor, Sciences Po • PSIA Faculty

*With*

**Shaukat Aziz** former Prime Minister, Pakistan

**Lakhdar Brahimi** Elder • former Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General • former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Algeria • PSIA Faculty

**Jean-Marie Guéhenno** President, International Crisis Group • former UN Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations

**Élisabeth Guigou** Head, French Parliament Foreign Affairs Committee • former Minister of Justice, France • former Minister of European Affairs, France • PSIA Faculty

**Álvaro de Soto** former UN Under-Secretary-General • PSIA Faculty

**16:15** PANEL 4

**WHICH NEW PARADIGMS AFTER  
THE MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS ERA?**

*President and Moderator :*

**Daniel Gros** Director, Centre for European Policy Studies

*With*

**Henri de Castries** Chairman and CEO, AXA Group, France

**Paul Collier** Professor of Economics, Oxford University • PSIA Faculty

**Kemal Dervis** Vice-President for Global Economics, Brookings Institution • former Minister of Economy, Turkey • former Head, UNDP

**Aranca González** Executive Director, International Trade Center

**Romano Prodi** President, Foundation for World Wide Cooperation • former President, European Commission • former Prime Minister, Italy

**17:45** BREAK

**18:15** PANEL 5

**REFORMING THE UN SYSTEM:  
A MATTER OF URGENCY, OR IMPOSSIBILITY?**

*President and Moderator :* **Vanessa Scherrer** Vice Dean, PSIA

*With*

**Vuk Jeremić** President, Center for International Relations and Sustainable Development • former President, UN General Assembly • former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Serbia

**Bruno Latour** University Professor, Sciences Po • Holdberg Prize Laureate

**Amre Moussa** former Secretary-General, League of Arab States • former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Egypt

**Angela Kane** former UN Under-Secretary-General • PSIA Faculty

**Javier Solana** President, Center for Global Economy and Geopolitics of ESADE • former Secretary-General, NATO • former European Union High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy

**19:45** CONCLUDING SPEECH by **Valérie Giscard D'Estaing**, Former President, France

**20:00** CLOSING REMARKS by Dean **Enrico Letta**



“The world is not safe when extreme poverty remains prevalent. Futures are not secure when people lack access to education and health. Societies are not sustainable when women do not enjoy equal rights, when young people are desperate.”

“Critics say multilateralism is dying. [...] I believe this is misplaced. The United Nations remains the beating heart of the international order, the foundation for rules-based multilateralism.”

**Irina Bokova**  
Director-General, UNESCO.

# Irina Bokova

## Director-General, UNESCO

“ M. Emmanuel Macron, Ministre de l'Économie, de l'Industrie et du Numérique, His Excellency Martti Ahtisaari, Former President of Finland, M. Frederic Mion, President of Sciences Po', Mr Enrico Letta, Dean of the Paris School of International Affairs, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am honoured to speak at the Paris School of International Affairs, on the future agenda of the United Nations - I see this Young Leaders Summit as an extraordinary idea and the beginning of important global radiation. This is also very timely, as we just celebrated the 70th anniversary of the United Nations - 2015 saw also the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, the COP21 Paris Agreement, and many discussions on vital diplomatic issues, when the relevance of the United Nations has been on everyone's mind. From the outset, I wish to pay tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr Ban Ki-moon, for his true leadership on the big causes where it is so needed - the new Sustainable Development Agenda, responding to climate change and COP21.

The United Nations has changed, and it must constantly adapt to the new face of global geopolitics, to the rise of new conflicts - I believe expectations of the United Nations have never been so high in these turbulent times. I believe this highlights the need to renew our engagement with first principles, with promoting international peace and security, with advancing human rights and dignity, with end-

ing poverty. On one side, the world has never been so connected, with vast opportunities for exchange and dialogue. At the same time, we face a vast horizon of challenges in a fragmented world - different even from five years ago. All risk assessments for 2016 are blinking red. Climate change is accelerating across the globe. With Ebola, we have seen disease hold an entire region hostage. Inequalities are deepening among countries and within societies. Humanity is on the move like never before - often, unfortunately, at gunpoint. 2014 saw 20 million refugees, and 40 million persons displaced inside their own countries - this is an unprecedented crisis since the Second World War.

Across the world, we see conflicts tearing societies apart, and humanitarian tragedies on unprecedented scale. The world is not safe when extreme poverty remains prevalent. Futures are not secure when people lack access to education and health. Societies are not sustainable when women do not enjoy equal rights, when young people are desperate. I believe that gender equality should not be side-lined by other crises, as girls and women continue to shoulder the heaviest burden of violence, conflict and poverty. We see the rise of violent extremism, whose barbaric face was shown again in Paris last year, as well as across the world, in Tunisia, in the skies of Sinai, in Indonesia... In Syria and Iraq, a humanitarian crisis is exacerbated by the cultural cleansing of Daesh. Cultural cleansing is

a war crime, involving massive violations of human rights, persecution on ethnic and religious grounds, destroying the cultural diversity of humanity. This is fuelled by an Internet campaign targeting young people -- new forces of radicalization call us to lead for a new global battle for hearts and minds, to prevent extremism, to equip youth with resilience and tools to reject hatred and hate propaganda. Today, there are 30,000 foreign terrorist fighters in Syria and Iraq, in Afghanistan, Libya and Yemen.

In this context, I am convinced the United Nations has never been so vital. Critics say multilateralism is dying. Analysts speak of a 'G-zero world' without leadership. I believe this is misplaced. The United Nations remains the beating heart of the international order, the foundation for rules-based multilateralism. The United Nations remains the place where new ideas are crafted, new agendas framed, new action led. Complex global challenges demand smart global action, on the basis of shared values, for the benefit of all.

This is why the United Nations has never been so vital. This requires adaptation in a changing environment, where the exercise of power itself is mutating. As Moisés Naim put it, "power is easier to get, harder to use - and easier to lose." All this calls for new thinking, new partnerships, a new openness with civil society, with the private sector. In this light, I see three core areas on the future agenda of the United Nations. The first is written into the

DNA of the United Nations Charter - "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war." This calls, above all, for prevention and mediation. We need a strong culture of prevention across the UN system, strong early warning and monitoring capabilities. This means strengthening human rights, good governance. This means advancing dialogue, at a time when globalization is pushing identities to the frontline, when intercultural dialogue is the key to peace in ever-more diverse societies. This means empowering young people, with skills, jobs. We must also look again at the humanitarian system - this is the importance of the forthcoming World Humanitarian Summit. The world can no longer play 'catch-up.' Take the challenge of violent extremism. We must halt financing, stop foreign terrorists, push back violence. But countering violent extremism is not enough -- we must prevent it. We need peace support operations built into political and mediation strategies. This calls for ever-more effective peace support operations - I salute the 2000 Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations, led by H.E. Lakhdar Brahimi, and the 2015 Report of the High-level Independent Panel on Peace Operations, led by H.E. José Ramos Horta. All this calls precisely for the 'soft power' of the United Nations, promoting education, strengthening intercultural dialogue, advancing living together, on the basis of respect, tolerance and mutual understanding, to build resilience for peace.

Mesdames et Messieurs,

Une autre priorité absolue des Nations Unies concerne la mise en oeuvre du nouveau

programme mondial pour le développement durable d'ici 2030. Le Secrétaire général M. Ban Ki-moon a décrit ce programme comme un « changement de paradigme », et je suis parfaitement d'accord. Changement de paradigme d'abord, car il s'agit de dépasser la dichotomie Nord-Sud, et de réaliser un agenda réellement universel, qui s'appuie sur la diversité et l'expertise de chaque pays, pour éradiquer la pauvreté, protéger les droits humains, renforcer les fondements de la paix. Changement de paradigme aussi, car les 17 objectifs de développement durable sont conçus pour être connectés les uns aux autres, et sortir d'une approche en silos - ce qui suppose des politiques publiques capables de croiser les disciplines, de traiter ensemble l'égalité des genres et l'accès à l'eau, sécurité et inclusion sociale, qui se renforcent mutuellement. Changement de paradigme enfin, parce qu'il s'appuie sur l'éducation, la formation, les compétences pour renforcer l'autonomie des hommes et des femmes - et l'autonomie des femmes est un accélérateur de développement. C'est en ce sens qu'il s'agit bien d'« un Agenda du peuple, par le peuple et pour le peuple. »

Le troisième impératif est de répondre au changement climatique. La COP21 réunie à Paris l'année dernière a permis l'adoption d'un accord historique, et je veux saluer la vision du gouvernement Français dans sa conduite des travaux. Cet accord pour la protection de la Planète, pour la dignité humaine, pour l'égalité des chances, est inséparable de l'Agenda 2030 - et le vrai défi, aujourd'hui, c'est de réussir à traiter ces deux accords comme un seul et même agen-

da. C'est un seul et même programme mondial, pour la durabilité, pour la dignité. Il marque la pertinence du système des Nations Unies, sa capacité à conduire des négociations et à fixer un cap. Cette ambition nous fait renouer avec le pacte fondateur des Nations Unies, à un moment où ces valeurs n'ont jamais été aussi importantes.

Elle nous propose une vision forte de la paix. La paix n'est pas l'absence de guerre. Elle est une relation avec les autres, avec la planète, avec les générations futures. Elle plonge ses racines dans la dignité humaine, dans le respect, dans l'égalité. Elle permet le progrès, le développement, l'épanouissement. Les Nations Unies ne peuvent pas tout résoudre, l'action des Etats ne peut pas tout -- et l'une des clés de la réussite, c'est certainement de s'appuyer aussi davantage sur les partenariats, la société civile, des universités, et faire travailler ensemble cette grande diversité d'acteurs. Cela suppose de construire une Organisation des Nations Unies qui soient ouvertes, transparentes, démocratiques, encore plus proches de la société civile. La mondialisation ne peut pas se limiter à la « mise en contact » - elle doit permettre la « mise en commun » des objectifs et des forces, et renforcer l'humanité comme une seule communauté, qui partage des valeurs, des aspirations, un destin. Voilà, je crois, l'humanisme essentiel des Nations Unies. C'est à la fois notre but, et notre meilleur atout -- la conviction que nous détenons ensemble, les moyens de construire un monde meilleur, pour tous, et en paix.

Je vous remercie. ”

“ I believe it is high time the post should be held by a woman. ”

“ The first reform [...] concerns the need for the Security Council to act decisively and in unity whenever mass atrocities are threatened. In practice this means tackling abuse of the P5 countries' veto powers. ”

“ The second measure concerns the need [...] to find ways to strengthen the voice of civil society in crisis-affected countries [...]. The current Arria-formula meetings of the Council are useful but, in The Elders' opinion, do not go far enough. ”

“ The third proposal we have made as the Elders, is to open up the process of selecting the Secretary-General, currently controlled by the P5. [...] It is absolutely essential that the Secretary-General has the confidence of the permanent members; but, at the same time, he or she [...] should not be their poodle. ”

**Martti Ahtisaari**  
Elder.  
Former President, Finland.  
UN Diplomat and Mediator.  
Nobel Peace Prize Laureate .

# Martti Ahtisaari

Elder • former President, Finland • UN Diplomat and Mediator • Nobel Peace Prize Laureate

Please note that the text below is not the exact version of the speech delivered.

“ Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen. I thank the Paris School of International Affairs of Sciences Po for inviting me to deliver one of the key note speeches today. I warmly welcome the opportunity to discuss with you the agenda of the next UN Secretary-General - and in fact the future of the UN. I am encouraged to see that so many people, and students in particular, have gathered here around this topic. My years with the United Nations have given me great confidence in the capacity of the organization to be an important instrument in solving questions of peace and conflict. While acknowledging the fact that the UN is still much needed today, maybe even more than ever, we have to be frank and forward looking in our analysis. The UN will continue to be needed only if it will be able to renew itself. Old methods and approaches are not always enough when solving current complex and multidimensional crisis.

We find ourselves at a crossroads. The decisions and action we take, or fail to take today, in order to address the challenge of climate change and its already devastating consequences for the lives of millions of people, will have enormous impact on the fate of our entire planet tomorrow. The manner in which we deal with massive migration will

carry long-term political, economic and social consequences, both for the countries of origin and countries of arrival. We as countries, and as peoples, need to tackle such challenges together and through our multilateral organisations.

But we must also identify and encourage new innovative and farsighted solutions for resolving conflicts, for example by collaborating with different private diplomacy and civil society actors. The UN has proved its flexibility and willingness to adapt to the changing nature of conflicts, but it is clear that even more needs to be done. We must however, acknowledge the limitations of the UN, and of the future Secretary-General, and be sober in our assessment of what the organization and its SG are realistically able to achieve. As we all are painfully aware, the organization will only be as capable and relevant as its members want it to be.

In order to maintain UN's credibility and relevance in the future, some necessary reforms are overdue. As some in this audience may know, I am a member of The Elders, the organisation founded by Nelson Mandela and currently chaired by Kofi Annan. A year ago, at the Munich Security Conference, we launched a new initiative to strengthen the United Nations in its core

task of preserving peace and security around the world. At the risk of sounding modest, the response we have heard to our proposals - from governments, civil society and academic experts on the UN - has exceeded our expectations and encouraged us to persist. We have called for three steps to be taken that are relatively easily. (I stress relatively because UN reform is always complicated and difficult given the competing interests at work.) In addition, we have identified one addition step that will be very difficult to do - but is nevertheless essential, if the UN is to maintain its credibility and legitimacy.

The first reform is in an area where the French Government has shown real leadership. This concerns the need for the Security Council to act decisively and in unity whenever mass atrocities - ethnic cleansing, crimes against humanity or genocide - are threatened. In practice this means tackling abuse of the P5 countries' veto powers which, as we have seen in the case of Syria and elsewhere, have only prolonged conflict and human suffering. The Elders' proposal differs from that of France and the Code of Conduct proposed by the ACT group of states in that it puts the onus on the veto-casting country and other Council members to over-

come their differences and find alternative solutions.

The second measure concerns the need in today's interconnected world to find ways to strengthen the voice of civil society in crisis-affected countries in the deliberations of the Security Council. The current Arria-formula meetings of the Council are useful but, in The Elders' opinion, do not go far enough. More needs to be done to make sure those most directly affected can help shape the response from the international community. The challenge however is how to determine which civil society groups are representative and legitimate actors.

The third proposal we have made as the Elders, is to open up the process of selecting the Secretary-General, currently controlled by the P5. Speaking from experience, it is absolutely essential that the Secretary-General has the confidence of the permanent members; but, at the same time, he - or she, and I think it is high time the post should be held by a woman - should not be their poodle.

The Elders have argued for the system of regional rotation of the post to be put aside in favour of the candidate's merit. We have also suggested that the Council put forward more than one name to the General Assembly, to give it a real choice.

We also suggest that the term in office be changed to a single seven-year period. Added together, we believe these changes would strengthen the authority and independence

of the Secretary-General.

Our final proposal deals with the self-evident need to change the composition of the Security Council to make it more representative of today's world without losing its effectiveness. We have proposed the creation of a new category of semi-permanent members who would serve a term of, say, seven years and could be re-elected by the General Assembly indefinitely. They would not have veto powers. That is a bridge too far in our opinion. But in other respects their Council membership would be tantamount to that of the existing P5. The number of countries in this category could be between six and eight, thus enlarging the Council to up to 23 members. To our pleasant surprise, some of those who aspire to permanent membership have privately indicated their interest in exploring further The Elders' proposal. But what is clear, is that in this area in particular, no real change will happen unless the next Secretary-General takes the lead and makes Security Council reform her or his top priority. This is precisely why we need to find a courageous and independent-minded leader who can take the helm in New York next year.

Throughout its history, UN's successes have not only been related to solving conflicts and crisis. One of the organisation's greatest achievements has been improving social and economic development in the world. Every day, the UN and its specialized agencies work towards tackling poverty and inequality

worldwide. Through setting and implementing the Millennium Development Goals, and subsequently the Sustainable Development Goals, the UN and its present and former Secretaries-General have improved the chances of numerous people receiving more equal opportunities in life. These are important steps for sustainable development but also for addressing situations that can lead to new conflict.

In my view, inequality is the most serious challenge of our time. Injustices and inequalities erode the fabrics of our societies. Human rights and international law are easily disregarded by many states unless found to be politically useful. We, the United Nations and its Secretary-General, have to stand up and defend our universal values of peace, human rights and rule of law. I say universal rights because I truly believe these values are universal, and necessary for a just international order. It is the responsibility of states to ensure that their citizens can live in a fairer and more peaceful world, and to uphold agreements carefully crafted over the decades. It is the responsibility of the citizens to insist that they do. We as Elders would like to encourage the younger generations, and especially the students present here today, to be bold and outspoken in defending peace, equality and dignity of every human being. This is our common struggle and responsibility, but yours is the future.

Thank you for your attention. I wish you all an inspiring event. ”



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**Emmanuel Macron**  
Minister of Economy, Industry  
and Digital Affairs of France.



**Frédéric Mion**  
President of Sciences Po



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**Valérie Giscard d'Estaing**  
Former President, France



## REVIVING MULTILATERALISM: A PRIORITY FOR THE INCOMING SECRETARY GENERAL?

“ What I fear for the UN is not simply being abolished one day, but rather its death by a thousand cuts. ”

**Kevin Rudd**

“ Nous sommes en train de passer du multilatéralisme au polylatéralisme. ”

**Pascal Lamy**

“ Les Etats restent les acteurs principaux dans le système international, même si c'est une évidence qu'ils ne sont plus les seuls. ”

**Hubert Védrine**

SciencesPo

## PANEL 1

# REVIVING MULTILATERALISM: A PRIORITY FOR THE INCOMING SECRETARY-GENERAL ?

*Moderator:*

**Arnaud Leparmentier**, Le Monde

*Panelists:*

**Pascal Lamy**, Interministerial Delegate for ExpoFrance 2025,  
Former Director-General of the World Trade Organization;

**Kevin Rudd**, Head of the Asia Society Policy Institute,  
Former Prime Minister of Australia;

**Hubert Védrine**, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs,  
France, PSIA Faculty

**Chen Zhimin**, Dean of the School of International Relations  
and Public Affairs of Fudan University in China

### (Too) Great Expectations?

Does multilateralism represent the international community's hope in the UN system following the fall of the Berlin Wall? If so, for Arnaud Leparmentier, the results 25 years on are disappointing. All of the panelists observed an increasingly globalised world with a growing global governance deficit, in response to which UN institutions are, frankly, failing. They all agreed, however, that the UN has an extraordinarily powerful legitimacy to act, it just needs to act better; this would be the key challenge for the next Secretary-General. It wasn't all bad news, however. Glimmers of confidence that UN processes are not (yet) dead and buried were sparked by the success of the COP21 climate conference.

### A Tale of Two Worlds

In an attempt to identify "what has gone wrong" with the UN, Kevin Rudd referred to the deteriorating global peace and security landscape, the absence of effective mechanisms and sufficient financing to implement the SDGs, public health failures

in relation to Ebola and the international migratory crisis.

Urging more focus on "what has gone right", Zhimin Chen considered that the international community's response to the challenges of a globalised world needs to more effectively combine national self-governance with international collective governance in a mutually reinforcing manner. For collective governance, he said (referring to both COP21 and the Iranian nuclear negotiations), the world needs multilateralism. And for this to work, the institutional framework through which multilateralism is conducted must be adapted to better meet the realities and needs of today's world.

For Pascal Lamy on the other hand, COP21's success lies in a shift away from multilateralism to what he termed "polylateralism". He considered the increasing involvement of businesses and NGOs on the international stage to be a positive development, and the key factor driving consensus. However, Hubert Védrine still saw a crucial role for classical diplomacy and Zhimin Chen warned that increasing use of polylateralism, or trans-regionalism, should not harm multilateralism.

### Where next for the UN, what next for the SG?

To improve the efficiency and adequacy of the UN system, Kevin Rudd stressed the need for the P5 to work together, to prevent an implosion of the system, and for the Security Council as an institution to become more representative of modern security realities. He also advocated for a deep cultural shift in which crisis-prevention rather than crisis-response should be prioritised.

The panel discussed the extensive peace-keeping – as well as peace-establishing – challenges that the UN must step up to meet. There was divergence over terrorism, with Hubert Védrine suggesting "zero" role to

play for multilateral systems, whereas Kevin Rudd highlighted the UN's unique position for combating global terrorist financing. Developing an international burden-sharing mechanism to help source, transit and destination countries address the refugee crisis would also be an urgent priority for upcoming UN-led multilateralism. Finally, Pascal Lamy highlighted the "catalysing" and facilitating role that the next Secretary-General will need to take to navigate between a plurality of actors and to tackle these issues, which set the stage for the rest of the Summit.

Panel Summary by  
**David Seiler and Anjali Sualy**  
PSIA '2017



## THE UN'S ROLE IN THE GLOBAL REFUGEE CRISIS

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“ At the moment, only our issues are global, not governance. ”

**Giuliano Amato**

“ The current crisis is not a question of capacity, but a question of solidarity. And it is the result of a pure lack of political will. ”

**Elmar Brok**

“ It's not only about money. It's also about capacity building. ”

**Nabil Fahmy**

“ It is the job of the next Secretary-General to stand above the crowd. Otherwise it will be the smugglers, traffickers and terrorists that win the battle. ”

**Bruno Stagno Ugarte**

“ Nous avons des problèmes qui sont de plus en plus globaux, auxquels nous apportons des réponses de plus en plus nationales, et donc nous échouons. ”

**Bruno Le Maire**

# THE UN'S ROLE IN THE GLOBAL REFUGEE CRISIS

*President and Moderator:*  
**Marilyn Baumard**, Le Monde

*Panelists:*  
**Giuliano Amato**, Judge of the Italian Constitutional Court, Former Prime Minister of Italy  
**Elmar Brok**, Chairman of the European Parliament Committee on Foreign Affairs  
**Bruno Le Maire**, French MP, Former Minister for European Affairs of France  
**Nabil Fahmy**, Dean of the School of Global Affairs and Public Policy at the American University in Cairo, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Egypt  
**Bruno Stagno Ugarte**, Deputy Executive Director of Human Rights Watch, Former Minister

## International issue = (lack of) international response

Opening the panel, Marilyn Baumard recalled the alarming scale of the crisis. Across the globe, refugees are risking their lives crossing war-zones and rough seas. 60 million people are currently forcibly displaced, a new high post-WW2. Massive migrant inflows have sparked heated debates in host societies, many of which are witnessing growing populist movements and rising xenophobia.

What is the international community, and specifically the UN, doing in response? So far, it seems, not nearly enough. The panel discussed the failure of effective, co-ordinated governance at both the regional and international levels as well as obstacles posed by the principle of sovereignty.

## Sovereignty, what sovereignty?

While Giuliano Amato referred to national capacity-gaps and the inadequacy of existing international legal frameworks, Elmar Brok identified the root cause of today's migratory wave as being the EU's withdrawal of support from and trust in UN frameworks (such as the World Food Programme). At the European level, he explained, the individualisation of responses to refugee issues through Member

States' recourse to "sovereignty" had been a mistake that now risks EU implosion.

There was disagreement on the approach taken by German Chancellor Angela Merkel. Bruno Le Maire argued that she should have consulted her European counterparts prior to declaring her refugee policy, whereas Bruno Stagno Ugarte considered that it was her counterparts who have failed her. Providing a refreshing perspective on the "absolutely fake" sovereignty discourse, he explained that the main actors in this crisis are not States. On the beaches of Turkey and Lesbos, the most organised are the smugglers and traffickers, those that operate departures terminals and the volunteers welcoming arriving migrants. UN Member States' lack of visibility on the ground reinforces the fact that the international community has not kept its promise to protect people from fear.

## All eyes on the UN

If this undeniably global issue must be solved with an international solution, who, or what institution, can step in to act? The panel agreed that the UN is best placed in terms of operational reach and moral authority. Nabil Fahmy suggested that there cannot be a regional solution to this global issue, although regional actors (such as the Arab League)



could and should play a more effective role. Pleading for the return of politics and diplomacy, Bruno Le Maire shared his vision of the UN as the epicentre of international debate and joint action.

One potentially promising concrete measure - Ban Ki Moon's "Human Rights Upfront" initiative - was highlighted by Bruno Stagno Ugarte. If this initiative can be consolidated into a credible mechanism for early warning, horizon-scanning and co-ordinated planning to address challenges that are simply too big

for individual countries, there might be some hope for the UN doing better in future. But this will not be enough unless, as the panel emphasised, the next Secretary-General has the courage to stand above growing unwillingness and distrust in multilateralism and tell both the General Assembly and Security Council what it needs to know, and not what it wants to hear.

Panel Summary by  
**Jiaqi Liu**  
 PSIA '2017

# WILL TERRORISM DOMINATE THE FUTURE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S AGENDA ?

“ Terrorism should be part of the agenda. But if it's the only agenda, then it won't be solved. ”

**Shaukat Aziz**

“ We're paying the price today for failing to deal with problems in Syria earlier. ”

**Lakhdar Brahimi**

“ A key quality of the UNSG is to be prepared to take some risks. It's important to accept the risk of failure, as if you only take on the easy tasks then you don't achieve anything. ”

**Jean-Marie Guéhenno**

“ If the definition of terrorism had been resolved decades ago, we would not be in the position we are now. ”

**Álvaro de Soto**



## PANEL 3

# WILL TERRORISM DOMINATE THE FUTURE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S AGENDA?

*Moderator:*

**Miguel Ángel Moratinos**, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Spain, Professor, Sciences Po, PSIA Faculty

*Panelists:*

**Shaukat Aziz**, Former Prime Minister of Pakistan

**Lakhdar Brahimi**, Elder, Former Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Algeria, PSIA Faculty

**Jean Marie Guéhenno**, President and CEO of International Crisis Group, Former UN Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations

**Élisabeth Guigou**, Head of the French Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee, Former Minister of Justice, France, Former Minister of European Affairs of France, PSIA Faculty

**Álvaro de Soto**, Former UN Under-Secretary-General, PSIA Faculty

### No swift exorcism for terrorism

Terrorism as a global threat is clearly here to stay. Devising a comprehensive and co-ordinated international strategy to combat it represents an important challenge for the future Secretary-General. Yet, the panel expressed their hope that the topic would not dominate the entire agenda.

But, compiling a joint response requires adopting a common approach, both to what terrorism is and what should be done to address it. The panel put forward a series of different ideas in this respect. Jean Marie Guéhenno, for instance, considered that the definition of terrorism should be narrowed, as the term's overuse often overshadows the politics, disabling the UN from managing peace processes and negotiating compromises. He also warned against looking superficially at terrorism as a unifying agenda. Viewing it as a tactic rather than a strategy, he explained that policy cannot be built in response to terrorist tactics.

### Bringing everyone to the table?

Álvaro de Soto advocated for steering clear of the "no negotiation with terrorists" attitude,

suggesting that the UN should negotiate with anyone who wants to talk. This would allow perpetrators of terrorist acts to express their grievances and motivations, while ostracising those for whom violence is a means and an end in itself. Lakhdar Brahimi agreed that the UN should be allowed and indeed encouraged to talk to everyone, including Hamas, Hezbollah and the Taliban.

In articulating a strategy for terrorism mitigation, both Shaukat Aziz and Elisabeth Guigou referred to the emergence of Daesh in Syria and extremism in Mali as examples of terrorism fuelled by deteriorating socio-political and economic factors, which had been further exacerbated by failures to resolve the relevant conflicts. In such cases, the UN needs to intervene early in the game so as to prevent subsequent radicalisation and the consolidation of terrorist groups.

### Picking the right SG for the job

Willingness to take risks, managerial and leadership skills, impartiality and the ability to combine the often contradictory public communication and diplomatic savvy were all identified as important traits to look for in the new Secretary-General. Lakhdar Brahimi

suggested lengthening the SG's term to 6 or even 7 years to allow him or her to focus on complex international challenges, not least the task of tackling terrorism, instead of worrying about re-election.

Certain panellists also proposed a more open and transparent selection process, with a greater role for the General Assembly and increased public engagement through public debates. Álvaro de Soto offered an acerbic assessment of these ideas, explaining that debates would draw out qualities and flaws necessary to being a successful politician,

but not the much subtler – yet critical – characteristics necessary for a successful UNSG. He was also wary of the implications for independence a potential "SG campaign" could have.

Drawing on a key theme of the Summit, the panel concluded by reflecting on what the UN needs to do and how it can do better.

Panel Summary by  
**Dominik Hatiar**  
PSIA '2017



## WHICH NEW PARADIGMS AFTER THE MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS ERA?



“ Terrorism and migration are symptoms, not root causes. Climate change is one of the root causes of unstable societies. ”

**Henri de Castries**

“ There is a huge opportunity to merge the humanitarian agenda with the economic agenda. ”

**Paul Collier**

“ The challenge that the UN has to face today is finding the right balance between reacting and acting, between hearing and preventing, between fighting emergencies and building resilience. ”

**Arancha Gonzalez**

“ Priorities are clear and the instruments are growth, equality and governance. ”

**Romano Prodi**



# WHICH NEW PARADIGMS AFTER THE MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS ERA?

*President and Moderator:*

**Daniel Gros**, Director of the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS)

*Panelists:*

**Henri de Castries**, CEO of AXA Group, France

**Sir Paul Collier**, Professor of Economics at Oxford University, PSIA Faculty

**Kemal Dervis**, Vice-President for Global Economics, the Brookings Institution in Washington, Former Minister of Economy of Turkey, Former Head of the UNDP

**Arancha González**, Executive Director of the International Trade Center

**Romano Prodi**, President of the Foundation for World Wide Cooperation, Former President of the European Commission, Former Prime Minister, Italy

## Looking forward: the SDGs

The panel set the platform to address the future UN Secretary-General's economic agenda. Instead of looking back on the success (or not) of the Millennium Development Goals, the discussion looked ahead and focused on what the UN's priorities should be in the light of the Sustainable Development Goals adopted in 2015.

The increasing importance of private partnerships in promoting development action was a key issue for all the panellists. Henri de Castries brought the private sector's perspective to the discussion, while Kemal Dervis and Arancha González clarified the relationship between the UN and Bretton Woods institutions. Paul Collier emphasised the importance of strengthening fragile States while Romano Prodi looked at governance issues.

The topic generated lively interaction with the audience, with questions raised not just from the student body but also from Summit participants Martii Ahtisaari and Bruno Stagno Ugarte.

## Risk (and resource) management

Poor allocation of global savings hinders the process of financing infrastructure

and development. Accordingly, Henri de Castries emphasised the need to influence supply and demand market dynamics alongside a consistent and long-sighted regulatory framework so as to successfully transform savings into investment. Kemal Dervis highlighted the importance of risk management, both in terms of regulatory risk and political risk and also discussed the increasing risk-taking role of multilateral development banks. Romano Prodi emphasised the need to decentralise development work to regional authorities.

## Focus on Africa

The focus on Africa while discussing the post-MDG era is perhaps obvious, but the panel offered a fresh perspective. In the context of achieving development in the region, Romano Prodi stressed the need for African integration through regional links. Arancha González developed this idea, explaining the importance of soft infrastructure as well as hard ones in order to drive successful economic integration. Paul Collier made a convincing case for prioritising the reinforcement of fragile States, through economic partnerships (with private organisations) and a security agenda (collective securitisation), to prevent a descent into chaos with the risk of regional and global spillovers.



## Private partnerships

Emphasis on private partnerships in implementing the SDGs was a recurring theme. Henri de Castries underlined the extent of private sector capability in the development process, while Arancha González explained how such partnerships play out, whether through market mechanisms, sharing of technical expertise and as a source of financing development work. Paul Collier added that linking development aid to private

partnerships could boost the economies of developing countries and thus integrate them within the global economy. He also reiterated the need to incentivise private players to respond to market signals and invest in emerging markets where returns are much higher.

Panel Summary by  
**Anithasree Athiyaman**  
PSIA '2017

## REFORMING THE UN SYSTEM A MATTER OF URGENCY, OR IMPOSSIBILITY ?

“ If the future UNSG ends his term with the same composition of the UNSC, then it will be regarded as failure. ”

**Vuk Jeremić**

“ It’s a very difficult task: in the eyes of the people you are the Boss, but you are not the Boss, member states are. ”

**Javier Solana**

“ Let us trim the use of veto. ”

**Amre Moussa**

“ A key quality of the UNSG is the ability to say “I’m willing to leave tomorrow” if needed. ”

**Lakhdar Brahimi**

“ If you Google “UN Reform”, you will find 9 out of 10 hits on Security Council Reform, 1 on peacekeeping reform, but nothing on reforming the administration or management which I consider very important, because that’s where the meat lies. ”

**Angela Kane**

“ Il est vain de prétendre protéger les populations sans défendre leurs conditions d’existence. Seul un Sénat onusien pourrait représenter les territoires et les ressources. ”

**Bruno Latour**

## REFORMING THE UN SYSTEM: A MATTER OF URGENCY, OR IMPOSSIBILITY?

*Moderator:*

**Vanessa Scherrer**, Vice Dean of the Paris School of International Affairs

*With:*

**Vuk Jeremić**, Former President of the UN General Assembly, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Serbia;

**Bruno Latour**, University Professor at Sciences Po, Holdberg Prize laureate 2013

**Amre Moussa**, Former Secretary-General of the League of Arab States, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Egypt

**Angela Kane**, Former UN Under-Secretary-General, PSIA Faculty

**Javier Solana**, Former Secretary-General of NATO, former European Union's High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy, President of the Center for Global Economy and Geopolitics of ESADE

### A Pandora's Box?

Given the Summit's overarching theme and following critical examination by earlier panels of whether the UN is fit for purpose in response to the manifold challenges presented by reviving multilateralism, terrorism, migration and poverty, the day would not have been complete without a peek inside the Pandora's Box that is UN reform.

The panel, composed of senior officials from within the UN and other multilateral organisations, gave us more than we bargained for. Immediate reform of the UN secretariat, amending the operation of veto rights and engaging civil society were all on the table, and the Security Council was at the centre of discussion.

### Reform or perish

Amre Moussa advocated for more restrictive use of Security Council veto, particularly in cases of mass atrocities or where there is a 14-1 majority. Angela Kane agreed, and endorsed The Elders' proposal to allow veto only if accompanied by an alternative proposal designed to achieve the same objective. While the panel did not map out the precise details of Security Council reform,

Vuk Jeremić considered that it would be a failure if the Council and veto rights remain unchanged by the end of next SG's term. Amre Moussa also pointed out the potential benefits of broadening the Security Council's agenda to include emerging threats to international peace and security, such as climate change and poverty. Bruno Latour took this idea further, proposing a second chamber dedicated to the protection and political representation of those without a voice; forests, lands and oceans.

The critical need for re-organising the UN secretariat and administrative structures was stressed by both Angela Kane and Vuk Jeremić. The biggest opportunity, although it won't be easy, lies in streamlining the UN's 11,000 or so existing mandates and making the system of specialised agencies more simple, accessible and cost-effective. The panel also advised the next SG to focus on increasing private sector, civil society and NGO engagement within the UN system.

### The new SG is the key

The future SG will be crucial for leading the UN through what the panel agreed were essential reforms and also for rehabilitating the organisation in the eyes of the world.



We have to pick the right person for the job. In terms of necessary qualities, Javier Solana considered that the ability to assert clear direction over reforms and to lead without overly encroaching on Member State competence would both be fundamental. The panel also advocated for opening up the selection process as much as possible, both in terms of nationality and gender.

Drawing on conclusions from earlier in the day, the audience was encouraged to work together in changing the dynamics and culture which govern the UN and the atmosphere within which it operates, because whatever we don't achieve today will have to be addressed tomorrow.

Panel Summary by  
**Dominik Hatjar**  
PSIA '2017

## À LA TÊTE DES NATIONS UNIES, UN SECRÉTAIRE OU UN GÉNÉRAL?

*Dans un monde confronté au terrorisme et à la crise migratoire, le retour de l'Etat-nation affaiblit le multilatéralisme. Pour succéder à Ban Ki-moon, dont le mandat s'achève en décembre, un vrai leader est nécessaire.*

### Enrico Letta

Faut-il un secrétaire ou un général pour diriger l'ONU? Sur la réponse à cette question apparemment étrange tournent beaucoup des idées liées au futur des relations internationales dans cette année 2016 si troublée. Le choix du prochain secrétaire général de l'ONU est en effet l'un des tournants les plus intéressants de l'année qui s'ouvre.

Ce choix s'effectuera dans un monde transformé, un monde qui expérimente le retour en puissance, simultanément, de la géopolitique et de la nouvelle centralité de l'Etat-nation : deux phénomènes qui avaient été marginalisés dans la décennie de la grande crise économique et financière. La géopolitique est à nouveau centrale, aujourd'hui que le terrorisme, la sécurité et les migrations sont les priorités des opinions publiques, des gouvernements et des médias. Parallèlement, la nouvelle centralité de l'Etat-nation est le résultat actuel de phénomènes variés qui tous affaiblissent le multilatéralisme et ses

organisations politiques, à l'image du Conseil européen qui s'est paré, pendant la crise, du rôle de salle des machines de l'UE. L'Union européenne, qui est l'incarnation même de l'idée la plus avancée d'ouverture et d'intégration multilatérale, n'a en effet jamais vécu une crise de légitimité et de consensus pareille à celle des dernières années. L'ONU est, quant à elle, entrée dans une phase de changement plus silencieux mais peut être plus radical encore que l'Union européenne : son abdication à jouer un rôle sur les grands sujets de la paix et de la sécurité est adouée par le consensus désormais partagé entre les grandes puissances étatiques.

La direction que prendra l'ONU avec le choix du successeur de Ban Ki-moon sera donc déterminante dans ces évolutions à l'échelle globale. Ce choix va conditionner le futur des relations internationales et la vie de millions de personnes. Il peut confirmer la tendance vers l'étouffement

du multilatéralisme, mais gageons qu'il pourra aussi faire ouvrir les yeux et changer la donne. Car, lorsque ce qu'il reste des organisations supranationales sera définitivement détruit, nos sociétés seront-elles plus sûres, les économies plus performantes, et les inégalités auront-elles disparu ?

Il est impératif que ces questions entrent dans le débat public, mais il est surtout urgent que leur impact sur la vie concrète des citoyens soit enfin reconnu. Car elles conditionneront l'environnement meilleur dans lequel pourront grandir nos enfants. Car d'elles dépendra le développement de sortie de la crise. Car enfin elles seules permettront l'application efficace et généralisée des principes des droits de l'homme. Et parce que, sans elles, les grandes valeurs d'ouverture et de liberté propres au multilatéralisme resteront génériques et donc peu utiles. C'est pourquoi le choix que feront à New York les représentants des nations du monde doit sortir



des circuits diplomatiques et devenir un grand sujet de débat global.

C'est aussi pourquoi la personnalité du prochain secrétaire général sera décisive et importante. Ni simple secrétaire ni général seulement. Ce n'est pas un jeu de mots. Un simple exécutant du plus petit dénominateur commun de la volonté des grandes puissances ne serait pas à la hauteur de la tâche historique à laquelle le successeur de Ban Ki-moon sera confronté. Il faut donc un leader.

Un vrai leader capable de développer un agenda propre des Nations unies en tant que telles, et qui sache convaincre les grandes nations que le renforcement des Nations unies ne s'effectuera pas au détriment de leurs intérêts. Il lui faudra réparer cette faute de perspective commune. L'intérêt des Etats réside plus que jamais dans l'efficacité des institutions, nationales et multilatérales, qui les unissent.

## COMMENT REPRÉSENTER LES FORÊTS, LES PÔLES ET LES OCÉANS

*Il est vain de prétendre protéger les populations sans défendre leurs conditions d'existence. Seul un Sénat onusien pourrait représenter les territoires et les ressources.*

**Bruno Latour**

Les Nations unies rassemblent tous les pays, et, par conséquent, le territoire légal de ces nations. Toutefois, même si vous regardez une carte politique du monde, vous vous apercevrez aussitôt que toutes ces nations mises ensemble ne recouvrent pas le globe terrestre. Ni l'océan ni les pôles n'entrent dans ces frontières.

Si vous regardez plus attentivement et passez d'une carte administrative à une carte géologique ou météorologique, vous verrez clairement que de vastes pans de l'existence terrestre, dont pourtant les nations dépendent, ne sont représentés par personne : ni l'atmosphère, ni le pétrole, ni le charbon, ni les animaux, ni les forêts. Plus curieux encore, les sols, dont le soin et le maintien sont indispensables à la définition même d'un territoire, n'ont pas de représentants officiels, si bien qu'on peut les piller comme s'ils ne formaient pas le socle de l'Europe, de la Chine ou de l'Éthiopie.

Si l'on définit le territoire par

ce dont on dépend pour subsister, ce que l'on est prêt par conséquent à défendre, ce qui a des bords à peu près délimités et que l'on est capable de représenter par des sentiments, des cartes, des chiffres et des récits, on s'aperçoit que le système des Nations unies n'a rassemblé jusqu'ici que les États. Or les États, on l'a compris avec la lenteur des décisions sur le climat, poursuivent les intérêts des populations humaines, mais nullement des territoires dont ceux-ci dépendent.

Le système de sécurité mondiale est donc schizophrène : on prétend protéger des populations que l'on prive de leurs conditions d'existence. Les États sont pensés hors sol, à peu près comme on cultive des salades hydroponiques...

Le système traditionnel, dit « représentatif », distingue deux Chambres, l'une pour les populations, l'autre justement pour les territoires. Disons l'Assemblée et le Sénat. Même si, jusqu'ici, la deuxième Chambre, celle des

territoires, correspond à une vision administrative qui reste très abstraite, je me demande bien où se trouve la deuxième Chambre de l'ONU. Où est donc le Sénat terrestre chargé de représenter non pas les Nations unies, non pas les États hors sol, mais les territoires divers et rassemblés dont dépendent les nations comme les États pour leur subsistance durable ?

Le principe des deux Chambres évite, dit-on, des décisions trop absurdes en compensant les intérêts et les passions des populations par les intérêts contrastés des territoires. Mais, jusqu'ici, ce beau principe n'a fait que défendre une définition des humains contre une autre, en oubliant que, pour une autre partie, les humains dépendent d'être qui ne jouissent pour l'instant d'aucune reconnaissance institutionnelle.

A l'époque du nouveau régime climatique, cette situation est d'autant plus choquante que, au final, les humains restent sans défense puisque les territoires, les ha-



bitats dont ils dépendent, ne font pas l'objet d'une assemblée crédible. Le monde n'a toujours pas de Parlement.

On objectera qu'il est difficile de faire représenter les forêts, les océans, les animaux sauvages, le phosphore ou le pétrole, par un humain parlant, puisqu'ils sont muets et sans voix. L'objection est doublement fallacieuse : il existe d'innombrables moyens de les faire parler - c'est d'habitude ce qu'on appelle les sciences des forêts, des océans, des sols et de la terre; et, d'autre part, si l'on peut représenter la « France » ou le « Canada », qui sont des êtres de raison, on doit pouvoir représenter l'atmosphère, dont le découpage est sûrement moins arbitraire...

Représenter, on le sait depuis les Romains, et encore mieux depuis Hobbes, c'est toujours donner à un individu, à une personne physique, la tâche d'incarner le collectif, la personne morale. Tant que les territoires véritables dont nous dépendons ne sont pas représentés dans une deuxième Chambre par des individus en chair et en os, nous n'entendrons pas les protestations de l'océan, la révolte des sols, l'indignation des bêtes. Par conséquent, nous serons incapable de définir nos propres intérêts. Les populations resteront sans défense.

## RÉINVENTER L'ONU POUR LA SAUVER

*Ukraine, nucléaire iranien, terrorisme, Syrie : l'institution a été aux abonnés absents. Une réforme est indispensable.*

**Kevin Rudd**

Depuis un quart de siècle, la communauté internationale souffre d'une défaillance croissante de la gouvernance mondiale. A la fin de la guerre froide, la mondialisation de la politique, la sécurité, l'économie, l'environnement et l'immigration ont créé une demande sans précédent pour une gouvernance mondiale efficace. Pourtant, ce modèle semble être en voie de disparition.

Au sein des Etats et de leurs populations, cela nourrit la perception - et engendre peut-être la réalité - d'un monde en perte de contrôle, sans leader, sans Etat, ni aucune institution au gouvernail pour redresser le cap. Cette situation est aggravée par la crise de l'Etat-nation. Nous nous retrouvons ainsi dans un no man's land entre des institutions nationales et supranationales trop faibles pour résoudre les problèmes actuels. Tout cela finit par alimenter la polarisation et l'aliénation politiques qui sont de plus en plus évidentes dans de nombreux Etats à travers le monde.

Depuis soixante-dix ans, l'ordre international est ancré dans le système multilatéral onusien. Or l'ONU est dans

un état de crise structurelle à long terme. Il est peut-être impoli et certainement peu diplomatique de le dire ouvertement, surtout au vu du succès récent et relatif de la conférence COP21 sur le climat qui s'est tenue à Paris. Mais il faut se rendre à l'évidence : l'ONU a manqué à l'appel dans la gestion de la crise ukrainienne; l'ONU n'a articulé aucune stratégie pour contrer le terrorisme mondial; l'ONU a été complètement absente des négociations sur le nucléaire avec l'Iran; l'ONU n'a pu gérer le conflit syrien pendant près de cinq ans, laissant un Etat se désintégrer, sa population massacrée ou en exil; l'ONU a été incapable de maîtriser la crise des réfugiés qui a accablé l'Europe et abandonné des millions de personnes sans refuge; l'ONU a manifestement échoué dans sa tentative de gérer l'épidémie d'Ebola en Afrique.

Concernant l'avenir des Nations unies, nous ne pouvons faire comme si de rien n'était. Bien sûr, l'ONU ne risque pas de s'effondrer du jour au lendemain. Elle est plus susceptible de mourir à petit feu : dérivant doucement dans l'inconséquence politique, ne devenant plus qu'une ONG

parmi d'autres, une coquille dorée, un genre de nouvel Empire romain chrétien - déclenchant une fuite de la véritable prise de décision diplomatique vers d'autres capitales. Les exemples se multiplient des gouvernements contournant tout simplement l'ONU, non seulement pour les questions vitales de paix et de sécurité, mais également pour ce qui touche à la finance, aux infrastructures, au développement, à la santé et à l'éducation.

Nous devons ainsi reconnaître l'urgence de ramener l'ONU des marges qu'elle occupe actuellement au centre de la gouvernance mondiale. C'est une question essentielle qui nécessite une forte volonté politique de la part de ses leaders, un mandat du Conseil de sécurité et le soutien des Etats membres. Cela demande une ONU « activiste », avec une longueur d'avance, qui ne réagit pas seulement aux crises une fois qu'elles se transforment en guerres. Cela suppose, en conséquence, une nouvelle politique et une culture de prévention à travers tous les champs de compétences de l'ONU : la paix et la sécurité, le développement durable et l'intervention hu-



manitaire. Cela passe par une réforme fondamentale du régime migratoire qui fléchit sous le poids de la crise des réfugiés.

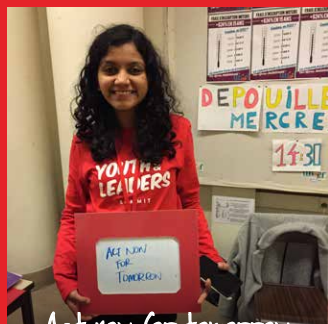
Pour cela, il faut également réaffirmer et réinventer le pouvoir de mobilisation unique de l'ONU, capable d'encadrer un nouveau modèle de prise de décision selon lequel les mécanismes et institutions internationales et régionales - tels que les institutions de Bretton Woods, les ONG et le secteur privé - agissent de concert avec l'ONU plutôt qu'en concurrence avec elle. Enfin, cela demande une nouvelle méthode de gestion financière de l'ONU, avec la participation de tous les Etats membres. Sinon, tout programme de réforme restera lettre morte.

L'ONU a beaucoup accompli dans sa courte histoire. Elle a contribué au développement du droit international et des règles et normes diplomatiques et promu la non-prolifération nucléaire par le biais du traité sur la non-prolifération des armes nucléaires (TNP) et de l'Agence internationale de l'énergie atomique (AIEA). Elle a établi la Convention sur l'interdiction des armes chimiques (CIAC), la Convention sur l'interdiction des armes biologiques (CABT), le traité d'interdiction complète des essais nucléaires ou (TICEN) et d'autres conventions contre les mines et armes à sous-munitions. Elle a mené des missions de maintien de la paix dans des zones de conflit dont beaucoup ignorent l'existence. L'ONU a développé un cadre international pour parfaire le développement durable et l'aide au développement

des pays sous-développés. Ses agences humanitaires ont sauvé des millions de victimes de catastrophes naturelles et d'origine humaine. Elle a également créé ONU Femmes pour réaliser l'équité des sexes à travers le monde. Et elle a instauré une Déclaration universelle des Droits de l'homme, avec son régime de rapports réguliers sur la conformité dans le Conseil des droits de l'homme, et, depuis 2002, une Cour pénale internationale. Si ces actions n'ont pas pu résoudre les problèmes du monde, elles en ont limité les conséquences les plus néfastes.

Pour ces raisons, je suis convaincu que l'ONU peut avoir un avenir prometteur. Mais cela n'est ni assuré ni garanti. Afin de combler les lacunes de la gouvernance mondiale, la première étape est de reconnaître l'ampleur de tous les défis auxquels l'ONU fait face plutôt que de les balayer sous le tapis. Les critiques de l'ONU espèrent peut-être qu'elle échouera; certains d'entre eux pensent que c'est déjà le cas. Ils ont tort. La Charte de l'ONU et les normes internationales - et l'espoir qu'elles incarnent - sont aussi vitales qu'elles l'étaient il y a soixante-dix ans. Notre devoir est d'adapter les institutions onusiennes aux réalités du XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Nous ne pouvons pas échouer. Un monde sans l'ONU serait infiniment plus dangereux.

*Kevin Rudd est ancien premier ministre de l'Australie. Il préside la commission indépendante sur le multilatéralisme de l'International Peace Institute, à New York.*



Act now for tomorrow



Effective international action needs a multiplicity of actors



Treat terrorism as a tactic not a strategy



From multilateralism to polyilateralism



High time for a woman Secretary-General



Next SG should tell it like it is, not what Security Council wants to hear



A changing world order calls for reevaluating diplomatic agendas

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Hope for peace in the new UN system



Defeating terrorism means winning hearts and minds (and not dropping bombs)



The fight is not against terrorism, but against terrorist acts!



Stronger culture of early warning and prevention



Our problems are global problems



2016 YEAR OF WOMAN UN SG!



Increased representation



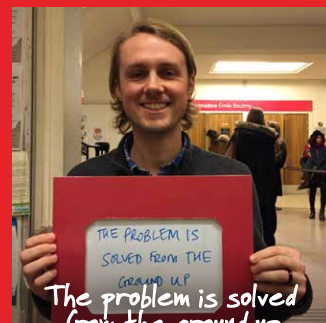
It's not about creating resources - it's about shifting them



New age of diplomacy = transparency



Everything has turned Digital #Diplomacy



The problem is solved from the ground up



Digital warfare comes along with conventional warfare

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S U M M I T



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