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International Mechanisms

Towards a More Accountable G20? Accountability Mechanisms of the G20 and the New Challenges Posed to Them by the 2030 Agenda

S. Hilbrich, J. Schwab

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Abstract

The legitimacy of the Group of 20 (G20) is frequently challenged: the group has been criticised by non-member states, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and in both the scientific and broader public debate with regard to the content and effectiveness of its policy measures and its limited membership structure. Accountability mechanisms can attenuate these shortcomings in different ways: they can increase the capacity of the citizens of the member states to surveil the activities of the G20 and can form the basis of learning processes within the group so as to increase effectiveness. In addition, accountability mechanisms directed towards non-member states can make the G20 more receptive to the interests of people who do not live in its own countries but are nevertheless affected by the policies of the G20. In this paper we analyse the existing accountability mechanisms of the G20 and discuss the challenges that the adoption of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development as a guiding framework for G20 work poses to them. While the G20 also constitutes a platform for the reciprocal accountability of its individual member countries, our focus lies on the accountability mechanisms of the institution of the G20 as a whole. Based on the literature, we can identify three elements of accountability: transparency, justification, and enforcement. The institutionalised accountability mechanisms of the G20 are primarily directed at the first two elements of accountability, as the G20 — like all club governance institutions is not subject to any formal sanctioning mechanisms. However, besides being valuable in their own right, transparency and justification make weaker forms of sanctions such as criticism by independent agents as well as reputational effects possible. The most prominent accountability mechanisms of the G20 are its interaction with the media; the publication of accountability reports; and a dialogue process with the so-called Engagement Groups from civil society, business, and academia. In the end, these mechanisms are intended to render the G20 accountable to the citizens within and outside G20 countries (either directly, or mediated by other agents). At the same time, however, they sometimes also fulfil an additional function for the G20 itself, namely tracking its own work towards its commitment to learn from past experiences.

In 2015, the international community adopted the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development as a universal development agenda. The G20 assumed the principles of the 2030 Agenda and a special responsibility for its implementation through its 2016 G20 Action Plan on the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. Thereby, new challenges for accountability in the G20 have arisen.

When looking towards the future, several suggestions for the G20 can be raised in order to increase its accountability, particularly in light of the demands set by its role in the implementation of the 2030 Agenda.

To increase the credibility of its accountability processes, it is necessary to allow for more independent evaluation. For this to be possible, the work of the G20 must become first and foremost more transparent. Possible ways to achieve this range from the establishment of a permanent website, over allowing selected civil society members to attend its working group meetings, to publishing agendas, minutes and issue notes. Self-reports should best be concentrated on descriptions rather than self-evaluation. In order to allow for coherent reporting on the 2030 Agenda, one central report should overarchingly cover all relevant G20 actions in the so-called Sustainable Development Sectors (SDSs) of the G20 Action Plan on the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (and its 2017 Hamburg Update). Comprehensive reporting on joint actions taken by the G20 could complement the United Nations follow-up process for individual countries. If given sufficient access to the relevant information, Engagement Groups such as the T20 (Think 20) could play a vital role in providing credible and informed independent evaluation of G20 policies. This would be a particularly promising way forward in the context of the 2030 Agenda, as the agenda will require common efforts by both policymakers and society for its successful implementation. Improving on its existing system of accountability mechanisms cannot fully compensate for the lack of legitimacy that is associated with the exclusionary institutional set-up of the G20. Yet establishing “streamlined, coherent, and credible” accountability processes [G20, 2016, p. 15] could prove to be a key element in addressing its legitimacy problems.

Key words: G20; sustainable development; accountability mechanisms

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“Towards a More Accountable G20? Accountability Mechanisms of the G20 and the New Challenges Posed to Them by the 2030 Agenda” by S. Hilbrich, J. Schwab, English text.¹

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Introduction

The Group of 20 (G20) has become one of the most important institutions of global governance. For an institution of the type of the G20, many measures customarily employed within the realm of states to provide checks to and surveillance of the exercise of power, as for instance public elections, are currently not applicable. Accountability mechanisms are nonetheless crucial for the legitimacy of such an institution of global governance, both by improving on and communicating its output and in making the decision-makers more responsive to the voices of those affected and governed. According to Schedler [1999], accountability refers to the transparency of the working procedures of an institution, the provision of justification for the measures taken, and, ideally, the opportunity that the public has of imposing sanctions on the decision-makers. Although the G20 consists of only a limited number of countries, its decisions affect the living conditions

¹ Hilbrich S., Schwab J. (2018) Towards a More Accountable G20? Accountability Mechanisms of the G20 and the New Challenges Posed to Them by the 2030 Agenda. Discussion Paper no 13, German Development Institute. Available at: <https://www.die-gdi.de/en/discussion-paper/article/towards-a-more-accountable-g20-accountability-mechanisms-of-the-g20-and-the-new-challenges-posed-to-them-by-the-2030-agenda/> (accessed 11 October 2018).

of people all over the world. This complicates the task of designing appropriate accountability mechanisms as the G20 has to be accountable not only to the citizens of its member states but also to those living elsewhere. The strong criticism that the G20 is not only frequently subjected to in the public debate and at the protests often surrounding G20 summits but also in other international political fora is at least partly related to perceived shortcomings of the G20 with regard to accountability [Slaughter, 2013].

In this paper, we provide an overview and discuss the role of existing accountability mechanisms within the G20. We present their different forms and functions and describe which mechanisms can foster which element of accountability. In addition, we look at challenges to the accountability of the G20 that currently present themselves through the evolvement of the G20's agenda in response to the adoption of the G20 Action Plan on the 2030 Agenda, and discuss what an alignment of G20 policies and principles with the 2030 Agenda implies for G20 accountability processes.

The paper proceeds as follows: In the next section, we first discuss the general concept of accountability and describe transparency, justification and the possibility for sanctions as three elements of accountability. This theoretical framework will allow us in Section 3 to identify and analyse the current accountability mechanisms of the G20. In Section 4, we turn to the new challenges for the accountability processes of the G20 that the 2030 Agenda poses. Finally, in Section 5, we present some proposals for the advancement of the G20's accountability mechanisms. We come to the general conclusion that the G20 should focus more on increasing transparency and openness rather than on extending the existing system of self-evaluations.

The Concept of Accountability

Political institutions of global governance in general and club governance institutions such as the G20 in particular are often asked to establish (or improve) so-called accountability mechanisms that allow other agents to oversee and surveil the exercise of power and prevent its abuses (for example, [Buchanan, Keohane, 2006; Scholte, 2011]). However, a closer look at such recommendations reveals that accountability, as a concept, can be understood in considerably different ways. As Andreas Schedler puts it:

Without doubt, the term sounds appealing. Its field of application is as broad as its potential for consensus. [...] But do we know what it means? Are we clear about its semantic boundaries and do we comprehend its internal structure? Not surprisingly, my answer is no: due to its relative novelty, accountability represents an underexplored concept whose meaning remains evasive, whose boundaries are fuzzy, and whose internal structure is confusing [Schedler, 1999, p. 13].

It is not the purpose of this paper to provide a fully-fledged conceptual analysis of accountability in general.² Rather, we present a working concept of the term in order

² That this would not be an easy task is emphasised in Thomas Hale's statement that "Accountability, like art, is more easily recognized than defined" [Hale, 2008, p. 75].

to be able to identify certain institutionalised processes within the G20 as accountability mechanisms and to assess their potential. The identification and description of different accountability mechanisms in general will then allow us to pursue the main endeavour of this paper, namely to categorise and analyse in Sections 3 and 4 the accountability mechanisms employed by the G20.

Most scholars agree that accountability describes a relationship that involves at least two parties: one party (institution) that gives an account of its activities and one party that holds the other party to account (see, for instance, [Bovens, 2007; Keohane, 2006; Scholte, 2011]). If an appropriate relationship of this kind between these two parties holds, the institution itself can be termed accountable. Thus, the term accountability is used to describe, on the one hand, a relationship between an institution and other agents and, on the other, a property of an institution.

There are different approaches to the question of how an ideal accountability relationship should be characterised. In this paper, we use Schedler's [1999] approach, which is well-suited to capturing the different institutionalised processes that link a political institution of the kind of the G20 to the agents to whom it should be accountable. Schedler identifies three elements of accountability: the transparency of decision-making procedures and actions; the provision of justifications for decisions and actions; and the possibility of the addressees of accountability to impose sanctions in response to the decisions and actions taken by the institution [Schedler, 1999, p. 14f].³

The first element of accountability, transparency, is perhaps the most widely discussed element within the context of institutions of global governance. Thomas Hale stresses that transparency is often treated as a "buzzword solution" [Hale, 2008, p. 73] to the hotly debated democratic deficit of global governance. Transparency requires that past policy measures and decisions on future plans are knowable to the addressees of accountability. In addition, of similar importance is that the addressees have access to information about decision-making procedures. A prerequisite for transparency is that measures taken by the institutions and the behaviour of its decision-makers are documented [Take, 2009, p. 15]. A fully transparent institution will provide relevant information even when unsolicited, as well as being responsive to additional inquiries, for instance by journalists or researchers. [Hale, 2008, p. 75] Transparency allows the addressees of accountability to find out if the institution is achieving its objectives.

The second element of accountability requires policymakers to justify their decisions towards the addressees of accountability. The reasons why policymakers decide on certain measures should be disclosed, at least with regard to "the more controversial and consequential institutional policies" [Buchanan, Keohane, 2006, p. 428]. The provision of justification is a prerequisite for meaningful debates about the underlying rationale and normative goals of policy measures.

³ For an alternative approach, see for example Koppel [2005] who distinguishes transparency, liability (equivalent to the opportunities to impose sanctions in Schedler's account), controllability, responsibility, and responsiveness as five dimensions of accountability. However, as at least two of the three additional dimensions of Koppel's account – controllability and responsibility – seem to be better suited to conceptualising the accountability of bureaucracies than of political fora such as the G20, we in this paper apply Schedler's approach.

The third element of accountability is that the addressees of accountability have the opportunity to impose sanctions. This means that the addressees are able to inflict negative or positive consequences on the institution or its decision-makers in response to the decisions and actions taken. The form of sanctions available will depend on the nature of the institutions and the type of addressees of the accountability mechanisms.⁴

Transparency and justification are sometimes summarised as the “answerability” – component of accountability while the possibility of sanctions is described as the “enforcement” – component of accountability [Schedler, 1999, p. 14f]. Answerability and enforcement mark different directions of the accountability relationship. Answerability describes a flow of information from the decision-makers to the addressees while enforcement is directed the other way around. Answerability is a prerequisite for enforcement as it is only sensible that sanctions are imposed by agents who know about the actions they are sanctioning and understand the reasoning underlying the decisions of the institution in question.

Accountability Mechanisms

In our framework, all institutionalised processes which foster any of the three elements of accountability (transparency, justification, possibility of sanctions) are understood as accountability mechanisms. Note, that many of the institutional processes we therefore regard as accountability mechanisms fulfil an additional function besides the creation of accountability to outside actors. These mechanisms often additionally strengthen the ability of institutions to improve their performance based on previous experiences by monitoring and evaluating the success of past actions and addressing the question why certain actions yielded the intended results or not. This could also help to keep long-term projects on the agenda. Despite its different, namely self-directed, nature, we consider this internal learning function an additional function that many accountability mechanisms fulfil although internal learning is not directly related to the accountability relationship between an institution and certain outside actors.

An institution of the kind of the G20 can employ quite diverse institutional processes to foster the three elements of accountability. An obvious mechanism to create transparency and provide justification is the publication of accountability reports which monitor and often also evaluate the activities of an institution in written form in light of predetermined goals. Accountability reports can thereby document the achievements of an institution to outside actors. Reports can provide information on the policy outputs within a certain period in the past or they can even assess the policy outcomes, that is, the actual impact of these policy measures. They can be prepared by representatives of the institution or they can be commissioned to independent actors. In addition, they can provide comprehensive descriptions of the actions taken by the institution in

⁴ Types of sanctions could be categorised in many different ways. For instance, Robert Keohane suggests distinguishing electoral, supervisory, fiscal, legal, peer and reputational forms of sanctions [Keohane, 2006, p. 82ff]. However, many of these types of sanctions are not directly applicable to an institution of the type of the G20.

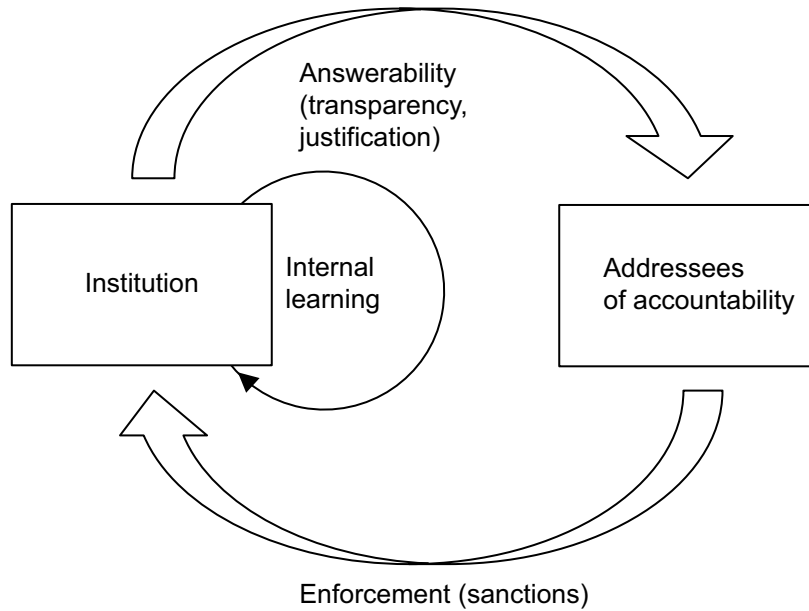


Fig. 1. Functions of accountability mechanisms

Source: Compiled by the authors.

question or they can report only exemplarily on certain important measures. Within the context of the G20, it is also an important feature of accountability reports if they report only on the collective level or if they also specify contributions of individual countries to the collective commitments.

Even though accountability reports can play a constructive role in creating transparency and providing justification, they are by no means the only, and maybe not even the most important, way in which institutions like the G20 can provide information about and justification for their decisions and actions. Press conferences and media interviews of decision-makers, the publication of agendas, minutes and issue notes of important meetings, the provision of information on websites, the presence of representatives of affected groups in the relevant meetings or outreach processes with civil society organisations are just a few other ways to foster the first two of the three elements of accountability.

Quite diverse mechanisms are also conceivable to allow the addressees of accountability to impose sanctions in response to the activities of the institution. The criticisms which independent agents can bring forward in institutionalised exchanges with the responsible policymakers (for example, in outreach processes with civil society organisations) can at least be seen as a weak form of sanctions. In this context, the enabling role of accountability mechanisms which foster transparency and justification for the possibility of the imposition of sanctions becomes visible. Monitoring and evaluation by independent agents is only feasible if these agents have the relevant information at their disposal. Another closely related form of weak sanctions are effects on the reputation of an institution and its decision-makers which can for instance be the consequence of

media coverage. In democratic political systems, reputational effects are closely related to “harder” sanctions, as policymakers fear being voted out of office if their reputation is harmed. Other sanctioning mechanisms might include the possibility of reducing the financial resources available to an institution or the opportunity of other agents to refuse to cooperate with the institution in question.

The internal learning function of accountability mechanisms is also served by accountability reports, as a systematic assessment of the past performance of an institution with regard to the achievement of its goals allows lessons to be drawn for future work. In addition, in the context of the G20, so-called peer-review processes are sometimes also considered as accountability mechanisms. Although these mechanisms do not directly serve to render the G20 accountable as a whole, a system of peer-review processes can foster learning between different member states based on past experiences.

In general, accountability mechanisms differ with regard to their addressees. Internal accountability to those who delegated power to the institution in question can be distinguished from external accountability to outside agents [Keohane, 2006, p. 79]. In the case of the G20, all accountability mechanisms that are directed at the citizens of the member states contribute to internal accountability, as the citizens have – at least in the democratic G20 member states – delegated power through national elections to the national governments that are part of the G20. Accountability mechanisms directed to citizens or governments of non-member states contribute to the external accountability of the G20.

Although political institutions should in the end be accountable to the citizens, accountability mechanisms can try to address them indirectly via other political institutions or civil society organisations. Thus, accountability mechanisms also differ with regard to the type of agent they target. We will lay these out for the case of the G20 in some more detail below.

The Relationship between Accountability and Legitimacy

The concept of accountability is often evoked in debates about the legitimacy of political institutions [Keohane 2011, p. 102f]. In discussing legitimacy issues, two concepts of legitimacy – a normative and an empirical – have to be distinguished. The normative concept of legitimacy refers to the justifiability of an institution. The empirical concept of legitimacy refers to the normative evaluations and attitudes of the population regarding the institution in question. Legitimacy in the empirical sense is thus about the beliefs of the population with regard to the legitimacy of an institution in the normative sense [Buchanan, 2002, p. 689].⁵ Both concepts of legitimacy are useful, albeit in different contexts. For instance, the empirical concept will be much more useful if one is interested in the stability of an institutional arrangement or the degree

⁵ von Haldenwang [2016, 2017] highlights a somewhat different distinction between a normative perspective on legitimacy and the facticity of legitimization.

of compliance with its directives which could be expected, while one can refer to the normative concept in overall evaluative statements about institutions.

To get a grip on the conceptual relationship between legitimacy and accountability, it is also useful to consider the widely used distinction between input and output legitimacy that was originally developed by Fritz Scharpf [1970]. Input-oriented legitimacy arguments refer to the institutional processes that ensure that the decisions of an institution reflect the expressed preferences of those governed. Thus, the input legitimacy of an institution depends on how its decisions come about, that is, who is consulted beforehand, who participates in the decision-making, what kind of voting procedures are employed, and so on. Output-oriented legitimacy arguments refer to the capacity of an institution to effectively solve pressing problems and thereby foster the interests of those governed. Thus, the output legitimacy of an institution depends on the quality of the policy outputs of the institution.

As they are part of the decision-making procedures of the institution, accountability mechanisms can above all help an institution to be “input legitimate”. They allow the governed to be informed about the activities of the institution and give them the opportunity to put pressure on decision-makers if the latter’s policy measures do not match their own preferences. However, accountability mechanisms can also help an institution to be “output legitimate”. As described above, accountability mechanisms can help decision-makers to review their own work for purposes of learning. In addition, accountability mechanisms can bring the perspectives and expertise of different groups that are affected into the decision-making processes and thereby improve policy outputs. Finally, in the empirical sense of legitimacy, accountability mechanisms can also foster output legitimacy in the way of providing information on, and advertising, the policy outputs of the institution. This could affect the beliefs of the population about the quality of the policy outputs and thereby have an impact on output legitimacy in the empirical sense, even aside from the impact of the accountability mechanisms on the actual policy outputs.

Existing Accountability Mechanisms within the G20

Accountability came under debate in the G20 only after 2008, when the group was elevated to leaders’ level, and even more so when the scope of its policy areas was extended soon after. The first formal accountability mechanisms were put in place to keep track of how policy measures that were agreed upon were implemented.

Accountability in the G20

The weakly formalised nature and fragmented structure of the G20 pose challenges for its accountability. Much of G20 work is still happening behind closed doors, which is one of the alleged virtues of the G20 because this is supposed to allow for more open discussions. But, at the same time, it also contributes to scepticism about the

aims and contents of the discussions. The final outcomes of the negotiations are communiqués and their appendices. They contain positions, but also commitments of the G20 on common goals or specific actions. All Action Plans of the G20 – self-produced reports, and so on – also fall under these and are endorsed in the communiqués.

As the three central accountability mechanisms of the G20, we can identify: i) its interaction with the respective media; ii) self-assessment of its performance through G20 Accountability Reports; and iii) its exchange with civil society and business organisations, formalised in its Engagement Groups. These mechanisms constitute the main ways in which the G20 as a whole tries to be accountable.

The three accountability mechanisms of the G20 potentially aim at different addressees, such as the public, governments or civil society organisations, both within the G20 countries (internal accountability) and in other parts of the world (external accountability). Table 1 gives an overview assessment of which agents are reached by each mechanism. The characterisation as a weak (light gray) or strong (dark gray) channel takes into account a quantitative and a qualitative dimension. The quantitative dimension refers to the share of the agents in the respective group of addressees that are probably reached by the respective accountability mechanism. The qualitative dimension describes the intensity of interaction taking place. For instance, it is very likely that a higher number of civil society organisations take note of media reports on G20 measures than are part of the Engagement Group process. However, Engagement Group processes will certainly contribute more to the accountability of the G20 towards those civil society organisations that are included in the Engagement Group processes than media reports, because the former allow them to be addressed more directly. All assessments in Table 1 are our estimation of the strength of a particular channel in establishing accountability towards the different addressees.

Accountability mechanisms of the G20 can also address the group itself, and the individual governments of the G20, also over time. This can help to improve coherence and effectiveness of G20 policies, and thus add to fulfilling the internal learning function of accountability mechanisms. Column 5 of Table 1 consequently lists G20 governments as one category of addressees, in which case G20 governments act both as authors as well as addressees of accountability.

We regard the interaction with the media as a strong channel for the accountability towards the wider public in the G20 member states; the publication of accountability reports as a strong channel for the accountability towards governments of G20 member states; and Engagement Group processes as a strong channel for the accountability towards civil society and business organisations of G20 member states. What is striking is that channels for external accountability that address agents outside G20 countries have only been weakly developed in the G20.

In the following, we describe and discuss each of the three central mechanisms in some detail.

Table 1. Addressees of accountability mechanisms

Accountability mechanisms	Wider public		Civil society and business organisations		Governments		International organisations
	Internal (G20)	External (NonG20)	Internal (G20)	External (Non-G20)	Internal (G20)	External (Non-G20)	
Interaction with media							
Accountability reports							
Engagement group processes							
 Strong channel  Weak channel							

Source: Compiled by the authors.

Interaction with Media

As regards ongoing negotiations and their results – the communiqués – the public is mostly informed via press conferences and the respective media coverage. The interested public can usually also access G20 outcome documents through the respective presidency's webpage. News coverage is mostly restricted to the time of the summits.⁶ While some prominent conflicts, such as the one in 2017 about the joint commitment to support the Paris Climate Agreement, are subject to coverage, the contents often fade behind the orchestration of the summits themselves. This includes the personal interaction of the heads of states,⁷ as well as the surrounding protests.

This focus implies that little attention is paid to the process itself, and particularly the working group meetings, in which most of the contents that are adopted at the summits are prepared. Also, while the media does have the greatest outreach, it often does not have sufficient access to the contents being discussed, which are frequently highly technical, such as international tax rules against base erosion and profit shifting (BEPS). Finally, regarding content, by its focus on summit outcomes, media coverage is restricted to the commitments pledged there rather than being concerned with the more piecemeal work of complying with them.

Accountability Reports

In order to track its work towards its own commitments, the G20 has established formal accountability processes. This mainly takes the form of self-produced reports, compiled by the respective working group in which the commitments originated. The

⁶ In lesser form, some of the ministerial meetings also receive some media attention.

⁷ See Gronau [2015] for an in-depth analysis of the visual self-presentation of G7 and G20 summits in the media [Gronau, 2015, Chapter 8].

main goal of the reports is to provide monitoring and evaluation, which is closely related to the self-understanding of the G20 to draw its legitimacy from the outputs that it produces. Table 2 gives an overview of the most important accountability reports of the G20 and their characteristics. What is detrimental to the potential function of the accountability reports to increase transparency is that there is no official overview of G20 accountability reports publicly available and that it is not even easy to get access to reports of past years. For the compilation of Table 2, we concentrate on those mechanisms that are employed by the G20, and only those that refer to the G20 as a whole. Accountability reports that are not compiled, or at least mandated, by the G20 are thus not included, and neither are those of individual countries.

Table 2. Accountability reports of the G20

Report	Author	Track	Years of publication	Policy outcomes assessed? ^a	Individual country measures reported?	Comprehensive/exemplary ^b	Page count ^c
Implementation and Effects of the G20 Financial Regulatory Reforms	Financial Stability Board	Finance	Annually since 2009 ^d	Yes		Comprehensive	56 pages
Report on G20 Trade and Investment Measures	World Trade Organization, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, United Nations Conference on Trade and Development	Sherpa	Biannually since 2009		Yes	Comprehensive	124 pages
ACWG: Accountability Report	AntiCorruption Working Group	Sherpa	Annually since 2011, except 2016		Yes	Exemplary	13 pages
GPFI: Annual Progress Report to the Leaders	Global Partnership for Financial Inclusion	Finance	Annually since 2011, except 2012 & 2014			Different priorities each year	15 pages
FGWG: Accountability Assessment Report	Framework Growth Working Group	Finance	Annually since 2013	Yes	Yes	Comprehensive	17 pages
DWG: Comprehensive Accountability Report	Development Working Group	Sherpa	Every three years since 2013			Comprehensive	148 pages
DWG: Annual Progress Report	Development Working Group	Sherpa	Annually since 2014			Comprehensive	56 pages

Report	Author	Track	Years of publication	Policy outcomes assessed? ^a	Individual country measures reported?	Comprehensive/exemplary ^b	Page count ^c
Financial Inclusion Action Plan (FIAP) Progress Report 2014–2017	Global Partnership for Financial Inclusion	Finance	Every three years since 2014			Comprehensive	43 pages
IFA: Final Report	International Financial Architecture Working Group	Finance	Annually since 2016			Comprehensive	15 pages

Notes:

^a Are only policy outputs reported or also outcomes of these policies?

^b Does the report cover the whole working agenda of the respective group?

^c Page count of last publication.

^d Reports before 2015 were titled “Overview of Progress in the Implementation of G20 Recommendation for Strengthening Financial Stability”.

Source: Compiled by the authors.

The overall scope of reports follows the topical focuses of the G20, with the first accountability reports being on the G20’s actions to stabilise the global financial system, and on its trade and investment measures (starting to be compiled in 2009). The array of such reports has since expanded rapidly, following the expansion of the fields in which the G20 is active. Often, the IOs that are central to the respective implementation contribute to, or sometimes even compile these reports, such as the Report on G20 Trade and Investment Measures, which is compiled jointly by the WTO, the OECD, and the UNCTAD. When reporting on G20 activities, the G20 or the IOs usually restrict themselves to what the G20 calls its “collective” actions, which is i) the sum of its coordinated individual G20 countries’ policies, or ii) the actions of international organisations mandated by the G20. Only when it wishes to account for the achievement of more general, commonly agreed goals of the G20 – to which many different measures can contribute – does it selectively also report on individual country actions that have not been specifically coordinated.⁸

All of the G20’s accountability measures track policies of the G20 towards its commitments (output-accountability). Sometimes, the G20 also provides information on the effects of these measures (outcome-accountability). It is, however, naturally difficult to clearly state a causal relationship between G20 policies and general outcomes. Many working groups publish accountability reports on a yearly basis which report on the work of the group as a whole, or, more precisely, on the work that the G20 has pursued within the remit of the group. The reports vary widely in terms of content, length,

⁸ Consequently, reporting on uncoordinated actions does not contribute to the accountability of the G20 as an institution, although it is carried out by the G20.

and the process of their compilation. Most reports comprehensively describe the activities of the respective working group. However, some groups only exemplarily report on some selected areas of action.

Public reports contribute to the “answerability”-component of accountability. Although they are primarily meant to inform the public within G20 countries, they are also potentially addressed to the public of non-member countries. Hence they contribute both to internal and external accountability.

Through its accountability reports, the G20 monitors and evaluates its own work. This is both a vice and a virtue. It is a virtue because member countries and the respective IOs involved have the best information on the activities conducted towards specific commitments or goals. It is a vice because self-assessment has a tendency to lead to reports that highlight successes and underemphasise shortcomings, that is, to overly positive evaluations. This effect is aggravated by the need for consensus of the G20 member countries also in terms of reporting, when individual countries seek to prevent putting too strong an emphasis on policy fields in which their own activities have not contributed to fulfilling common G20 commitments. The more independent the mandated IOs are in compiling the reports and the more clearly defined the indicators are, along which the reports are compiled, the more credible the reports. An example of what this could look like is the recent OECD Technical Report on Progress on Structural Reform Under the G20 Enhanced Structural Reform Agenda (see [OECD, 2017]), which evaluates outcomes along a pre-defined set of indicators of structural reform, both for G20 collective actions and individual country contributions, and along a set of outcomes. There is, however, no official commitment on whether this exercise will be repeated, which is why we do not list the report among the established accountability reports of the G20. Also, it still holds that, in the end, the close interlinkages between the OECD and the G20 raise questions about impartiality, whenever there is still room for interpretation in reporting.

Another mechanism which has gained some importance and that is closely related and often considered part of accountability is that of peer reviews. In these, G20 countries mutually review their individual efforts towards a certain commonly agreed goal. The most prominent of these processes are the Mutual Assessment Process (MAP), and the G20 Voluntary Peer Review on Inefficient Fossil Fuel Subsidies that Encourage Wasteful Consumption. The MAP was implemented in 2009 in the context of the G20 Framework for Strong, Sustainable and Balanced Growth.

The MAP functions such that countries present their national implementation efforts in their economic policies that they have agreed to in the Framework before the Framework Working Group (FWG). The FWG consists of representatives of the finance ministries and central banks of the G20 countries [Gnath, Schmucker, 2013]. The IMF provides technical assistance. While the initial focus of the MAP was on spillover effects of national economic policies, and in particular current account imbalances, it has shifted to the coordination of growth policies, following the establishment of the collective 2 per cent growth target that the G20 set in 2014 at its Brisbane summit [Callaghan, 2015]. The reports and discussions of the MAP themselves are not public.

However, the reports also feed into the Accountability Assessment Report as a comprehensive G20 accountability report, where they are reported as a collective output. Outcomes are only reported as far as the reaching of the growth target is concerned.

The peer review on fossil fuel subsidies on the other hand is intended to support the G20 commitment in phasing out inefficient fossil fuel subsidies in the medium term. Here, G20 countries volunteer to undergo a review by a small number of other G20 countries and the OECD.⁹ The reviews analyse the amount of active fossil fuel subsidies, whether they are considered inefficient, and how many are already being phased out. The first two countries that underwent the process were the United States and China in 2016. In 2017, Germany and Mexico followed. The country reports are public.

As described in Section 2, we do not consider these peer review mechanisms as core accountability mechanisms of the G20 here because their purpose is not to render the G20 as an institution accountable. Rather, these mechanisms constitute processes to improve accountability among the governments of the G20 countries. Thereby, they are first and foremost internal working mechanisms of the G20. However, they could also contribute to the accountability towards other addressees in that in sum they show progress, or the lack thereof, towards collective commitments. Although the success of both the MAP [Callaghan, 2015] as well as the peer review on fossil fuel subsidies [ODI, 2017] is subject to debate, the G20 has started to implement an additional voluntary peer-learning mechanism on the national implementation strategies of the 2030 Agenda, as will be discussed in some detail in Section 4 below. Table 3 summarizes the characteristics of the most prominent G20 peer review mechanisms.

Table 3. Peer review mechanisms of the G20

Name	G20 Track	Year of first execution	Number of countries that have participated so far	Procedure	Feeding into a G20 accountability report?	Policy outcomes assessed?	Reports publicly available?
Mutual Assessment Process (MAP)	Finance	2009	All G20 countries	Countries self-report, discussion in FWG	Accountability assessment report	(Yes)	
Fossil Fuel Subsidies Peer Review	Sherpa	2016	4	Countries self-report, review reports by small peer committee			Yes
Voluntary Peer Learning Mechanism 2030 Agenda	Sherpa	2017	5	Representatives of small group of countries meet (virtually) to exchange experiences with certain topics related to the 2030 Agenda			Publication of summaries intended

Source: Compiled by the authors

⁹ Additionally, the IMF was part of the peer review panel for one review, namely that of the United States in 2016.

Engagement Group Processes

Another process that potentially contributes to the accountability of the G20 – and one which has gained some importance particularly under the German Presidency – is the involvement of the so-called G20 Engagement Groups. Initiated in order to increase exchange with civil society, the Engagement Groups are intended to represent segments of society, such as the business community [B20, 2008], labour organisations [L20, 2008], civil society organisations [C20, 2010], youth [Y20, 2010], think tanks [T20, 2012] or women [W20, 2015]. Naturally, the interests of these groups differ potentially.

Although not completely independent of the G20 process, Engagement Groups can generally give a more objective perspective on the G20's success in keeping its commitments. When compiling policy recommendations for G20 leaders, Engagement Groups often take stock of what the G20 has or has not achieved. Furthermore, along some topical areas, other publications are more specifically aimed at monitoring and evaluating the implementation of the commitments of the G20. However, the possibility that Engagement Groups have of assessing which of its commitments the G20 has actively pursued is restricted by their access to information on workstreams and individual country contributions. Even under the greater inclusion during the German Presidency, Engagement Group members were still excluded from most parts of the Working Group meetings. While suffering from information deficits and limited outreach to the general public, the Engagement Group process in general nevertheless contributes to the “answerability” – component of accountability. Although Engagement Groups have no formal means of enforcement towards the G20, their evaluation of G20 actions in the interaction with policymakers can be seen as weak sanctioning, as described in Section 2. In addition, as a public evaluation by the Engagement Groups is more credible than G20 self-assessments, those evaluations can also facilitate indirect sanctioning mediated through the public reputation of the G20. This holds particularly true for the T20, which does not represent particular interests, but is aimed at accompanying the process from an academic perspective.

Table 4 summarises the three central channels of G20 accountability: interaction with media; accountability reports; and Engagement Group processes; with respect to the functions of accountability they fulfil (light gray) and fulfil in a particularly strong way (dark gray). The classification follows the discussion above.

As described above, none of the accountability mechanisms considered allows enforcement in the form of formal sanctions. As mentioned in Section 2, criticism by independent actors, such as by the Engagement Groups, can be seen as a weak form of sanctioning. In addition, reputational effects can have enforcement functions for democratic governments in G20 member states which have an interest in being perceived positively by their own citizens, also for their actions on the international stage. As credibility of individual country commitments is crucial for the solution of intra-G20 coordination problems, reputational aspects are also important for the effectiveness of

the G20. A similar point holds for the reputational effects towards non-member states and non-state actors who will only take G20 decisions seriously when they perceive commitments to be credible.

Table 4. Functions of G20 accountability mechanisms

	Answerability		Enforcement			Internal learning
	Transparency	Justification	Independent evaluation	Reputational effects	Formal sanctions	
Interaction with media						
Accountability reports						
Engagement group processes						
Strong role Weak role						

Source: Compiled by the authors.

Generally, though, accountability is greatly weakened in countries with authoritarian forms of government, which some of the G20 member states constitute. All accountability mechanisms described can hardly reach their goal in such countries. Engagement processes with civil society are impeded if critical actors in civil society are suppressed while transparency towards the media cannot yield success if the media is not allowed to report without censorship. Sanctioning effects through public reputation also run empty in these contexts.

Accountability and the Implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development by the G20

The requirements an institution has to meet to render itself accountable critically depend on the actual function that the institution fulfils. Its recognition of a responsibility with regard to the implementation of the 2030 Agenda by the adoption of the G20 Action Plan on the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development implies a shift in the function of the G20. While, through the adoption of the Action Plan, the G20 does not take over the role of the central actor in the implementation of the 2030 Agenda (something it could not do), as one important actor it commits itself in the Action Plan to contribute to the implementation of the 2030 Agenda by aligning the activities in all its work areas with the goals of the 2030 Agenda and by integrating the basic principles of the Agenda into its work. In its main part, the Action Plan specifies all collective actions which are directed at the implementation of the 2030 Agenda. In an annex (Annex B), G20 member countries also individually specify uncoordinated actions which they aim to conduct towards the implementation of the 2030 Agenda.

New Challenges for G20 Accountability Mechanisms Posed by the 2030 Agenda

The implementation of the 2030 Agenda does not only require domestic action by all governments but also international cooperation and policy coordination as well as a profound reform of global economic, environmental and social frameworks. The G20 could play a constructive role with regard to all three levels of implementation of the 2030 Agenda (domestic politics, international cooperation, global policies) as it is influential with respect to agenda-setting and policy coordination in international politics.

The assumed role of the G20 with regard to the implementation of the 2030 Agenda poses four specific demands for its accountability mechanisms. Firstly, special demands for accountability mechanisms arise from the fact that implementation efforts by the G20 have consequences for the citizens of non-member states. In this context, the question is salient how the G20 can be externally accountable to those who are not represented in the G20 via their governments but are still heavily affected by G20 actions (or even subjected to regulations agreed upon in the G20). However, that is not a challenge which is exclusive to the implementation of the 2030 Agenda, as many G20 collective actions have global consequences.

Secondly, the 2030 Agenda has already a follow-up and review process within the UN system with the High-level Political Forum (HLPF) as a focal point. G20 accountability mechanisms with regard to the 2030 Agenda should neither substitute nor duplicate UN processes.

Thirdly, because of the interrelated nature of the goals specified in the 2030 Agenda, its incorporation in G20 activities will require a coherent effort on the part of all G20 working groups [Lay et al., 2017]. Accountability mechanisms will most effectively foster the implementation of the 2030 Agenda by the G20 if they take into account the cross-cutting nature of the agenda. Such accountability mechanisms can inform G20 working groups on actions taken by other working groups and help them to improve their cooperation by fulfilling the internal learning function.

Lastly, the three levels of implementation of the 2030 Agenda demand for follow-up on each of the levels. Particularly, follow-up on the domestic implementation within G20 states and on the local scale sets a challenge for G20 accountability mechanisms. G20 declarations also specify uncoordinated, individual country measures in support of the 2030 Agenda. The current G20 accountability system, which is concentrated on collective actions, does not seem well-suited to follow-up on these activities of individual countries.

Existing G20 Accountability Mechanisms in the Context of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development

Traditionally, the G20 Development Working Group (DWG) has been responsible for accounting for the G20's development commitments. Although the 2030 Agen-

da was developed out of the Rio Process of environmental protection to merge with the process on the Millennium Development Goals, which were a classical development agenda, the SDGs are often understood as their direct successor. Following this logic, the G20 Sherpas also placed the 2030 Agenda in the competence of the DWG, and entrusted it to developing the G20 Action Plan on the 2030 Agenda.

The formal accountability products of the DWG are a Comprehensive Accountability Report on G20 Development Commitments, published every three years starting in 2010, and the DWG Annual Progress Report on G20 Development Commitments, published in years in between Comprehensive Accountability Reports. Both Comprehensive Accountability Reports and Annual Progress Report always include a snapshot of the current status of each development commitment. The Comprehensive Accountability Report additionally describes in text form the work done in each policy field in which the G20 has made development commitments, such as “Human Resource Development”, or “Food Security and Nutrition”. The classification of these policy fields builds on the “Pillars” of the “Seoul Multi-Year Action Plan on Development” (MYAP) of 2010, which was the first comprehensive development plan of the G20.

If the DWG aims at accounting for the implementation of the 2030 Agenda, it faces the challenges described above. Although the G20 Action Plan on the 2030 Agenda was developed in the DWG, it covers fields that go beyond its focus area and includes topics that are in the centre of the work of other working groups and workstreams.

The 2017 DWG Annual Progress Report was by no means a comprehensive report on the activities of the G20 towards the 2030 Agenda. It only made first steps towards coherent self-reporting on the implementation efforts of the G20 with regard to the 2030 Agenda. How far this can go is questionable, since a part of the engagement that the G20 has committed itself to consists of the individual country actions captured in Annex B of the G20 Action Plan on the 2030 Agenda. Self-reporting by individual countries, however, takes place via the UN High-level Political Forum and should not be duplicated. The G20 must thus in this case fully restrict itself to reporting on collective actions, which limits comprehensive G20 accountability in the form of self-reports.

As a way to support the national plans on the implementation of the 2030 Agenda, the G20 – as mentioned above – committed itself in 2017 to establishing a voluntary peer-learning mechanism among its member countries [G20, 2017b]. The fact that this was framed as a learning mechanism indicates that the foremost objective was to help G20 members share best practices and challenges in the individual implementation of the 2030 Agenda. In the first round that began in 2017, two groups of three countries participated in the peer-learning process: China, Germany, and Mexico constituted the first group, while Mexico, the Netherlands and Norway constituted the second group.¹⁰ The countries met – mainly virtually¹¹ – to learn from each other how certain, previously agreed topics that related to the implementation of the 2030 Agenda at

¹⁰ The Netherlands and Norway are not member countries of the G20 but have participated in their function as guest countries.

¹¹ China, Germany, and Mexico held the group’s first face-to-face meeting in Mexico in April 2018.

national level were handled in the respective countries. In the first group, these topics were the alignment of national sustainability strategies with the 2030 Agenda; horizontal and vertical policy coherence; and the monitoring of implementation efforts. The second group exchanged information on how the private sector, especially small and middle-sized enterprises, could be better involved in the implementation of the 2030 Agenda and about measurement issues. Thus, up to now, the process has not yet referred to the individual implementation of the quite diverse concrete national policy actions that G20 member countries have specified in Annex B of the G20 Action Plan on the 2030 Agenda, but rather to the general implementation of the 2030 Agenda in the national policies of the respective countries.¹² Despite the similar name, the process in its current form thus differs to a great degree from the existing peer-review mechanisms (as can also be seen in Table 3), such as that on fossil fuel subsidies, in that it has no public or external outreach and that it is not concerned with the implementation of specific G20 policy commitments. Currently, the option to expand the process to include IOs as observers is under discussion during the Argentinian Presidency, as is the option of making the most important outcomes publicly available in an annex of an Update of the G20 Action Plan on the 2030 Agenda as well as in an annex of future DWG accountability reports.

The SDGs are by intention only to be reached through the common activities of political institutions at supra-national, national, and sub-national level, and civil society. It therefore does not come as a surprise that an exchange of the DWG with civil society under the German Presidency took place through a workshop on the 2030 Agenda, including representatives of the B20, C20, and T20. However, due to the exclusion of Engagement Groups in the working group meetings themselves – even as observers – their possibilities to evaluate actual G20 policies towards the G20 Action Plan on the 2030 Agenda remains limited. They simply lack the knowledge that the different G20 workstreams and implementing IOs have. The recent inclusion of Engagement Groups during the early stages of 2030 Agenda implementation can only be seen as a first positive signal in this regard.

Hence we see that the structure of the G20's accountability mechanisms has not yet been set out so as to support coherent accountability with respect to the implementation of the 2030 Agenda. The G20's presence in the media is usually concentrated on other issues. Its "system" of accountability reports is too fragmented and by construction not fit to allow for coherent reporting on all three levels of implementation, also because of a partial overlap with the UN reporting system. The exchange with and more coherent evaluation by Engagement Groups is restricted through their limited access to the respective working group meetings of the G20, as a closed-door policy is deeply engrained in the character of the G20.

¹² The peer-learning process thus focuses on procedural rather than on substantial issues. This is partially due to the intention not to duplicate the follow-up process of the UN HLPF which focuses on substantial implementation measures.

On the other hand, we do observe some political will by the G20 to align its accountability processes more with the 2030 Agenda, which becomes visible in slow shifts towards coherent reporting in the accountability report of the DWG, the establishment of a peer-learning mechanism, and the more open exchange with the Engagement Groups under the German Presidency.

Possible Ways Forward for G20 Accountability Mechanisms

In general, we suggest focusing on measures to increase the transparency of the G20. As the G20 has no administrative body, it cannot establish an independent unit that could provide monitoring and evaluation, as other international organisations have done. This implies that any truly independent monitoring can only be provided from the outside. To facilitate the monitoring of G20 activities by independent actors, such as the media or Engagement Groups from both G20 and non-G20 countries on an informed basis, the G20 has to become more transparent. The holistic consideration of the activities of the various different G20 workstreams that would be necessary for a coherent implementation of the 2030 Agenda could more easily be accomplished from outside. Increased transparency and external evaluation would therefore also be beneficial to the efforts of the G20 to align its activities with the 2030 Agenda.

Below we propose how demands for accountability could be addressed within the current system of accountability mechanisms. Yet the suggestions we make differ considerably with respect to the degree of change they imply. Most can only be seen as small, incremental steps in the direction of a more accountable G20. However, in view of limitations with regard to the willingness of many powerful actors to be held accountable,¹³ such steps could already be seen as progress. In this sense, in fact, some of the suggestions discussed might already face strong resistance within the G20. The proposals mirror the fact that the G20 is indeed an influential institution of global governance, and call for a representation of that fact in its accountability mechanisms. But this would not come without costs, for instance with regard to its flexibility or financial requirements. On the other hand, these costs are partly already borne, in that the compilation of various accountability reports is resource-demanding. Thus, we generally suggest a shift in expenditures towards the establishment of transparency, without calling for excessive institutionalisation. Focusing on transparency issues is also the most cost-effective way to increase the G20's accountability and this would lay the basis for the other elements of accountability.

The discussion of specific proposals below is structured in accordance with the different kinds of accountability mechanisms of the G20 identified above.

¹³ Keohane describes this as follows: "To be held accountable is to have one's autonomy, and one's power over others, constrained. Since few of us like to be held accountable, we must expect leaders of organizations — whose drive for power is greater than that of the average person — to resist accountability, especially when they can do so without jeopardizing other goals" [Keohane, 2006, p. 79].

Website and Interaction with Media

To improve its transparency, the G20 should more systematically make use of the dissemination of information about its work by means of websites and the interaction with media. Currently, no permanent official G20 website exists. Every presidency establishes its own website which is discontinued sometime after the end of the presidency. Older G20 documents are often hard to find online. This makes it difficult for journalists, researchers and activists to inform themselves about the activities of the G20.

In addition, it would seem desirable that media do not only have the opportunity to report on G20 summits but also on G20 Working Groups. The G20 should provide journalists with information about the meetings and interview partners. For example, agendas and minutes of working group meetings could be published. More transparency of the G20 working groups themselves is crucial, as much of the actual substantive exchanges take place here.

Accountability Reports

With regard to the G20 accountability reports, we suggest limiting their function to what they are actually able to fulfil in the highly politicised context of the G20. This means that the G20 should restrict their own reports to a description and justification of the policy measures taken. It seems unrealistic to achieve credible evaluative statements with regard to the implementation of past commitments if the consensus of governments of all member states who care about their own reputation is required. Thus, instead, the accountability reports prepared by the G20 working groups should try to make their work as transparent as possible. This would imply that accountability reports simply list and describe past policy measures along with the rationale for their implementation. The evaluation would better be left to independent actors.

A way of enlarging the reach of the reports would be to give the G20 Engagement Groups the opportunity to comment on the reports prepared by the G20. The comments of the Engagement Groups could then be published together with the reports. A similar process exists with regard to relevant UN bodies, or non-member states to increase external accountability. In general, as our analysis of past accountability reports showed a great deal of variation between different presidencies, the preparation of accountability reports should be transferred to a more formalised process to achieve more continuity over time.

With regard to the efforts of the G20 to implement the 2030 Agenda and the related requirement of greater policy coherence, a formalised reporting structure including all working groups is indispensable. This could build on the first steps already taken, as described above in Section 4, to expand the accountability report of the Development Working Group to additionally cover G20 actions of relevance to the implementation of the 2030 Agenda of other working groups. The G20 Action Plan on the 2030 Agenda had already structured G20 commitments towards the 2030 Agenda along Sustainable

Development Sectors (SDSs), which build on and extend the list of the DWG pillars (see Table A1 in the Appendix). The SDSs are broader in the sense that they also capture topical areas that extend beyond the remit of the DWG. They are by no means comprehensive nor do they reflect the variety of the goals of the 2030 Agenda [Alexander, Caliri, 2016] but they do incorporate many of the key areas of work of the G20 that are of relevance for the implementation of the 2030 Agenda. While the traffic light table of the DWG Annual Progress Report currently still only includes the status of commitments which originate in the DWG and is structured in accordance with the pillars, it could well be structured in accordance with the SDSs. This would not amount to comprehensive reporting on all topics relevant for the 2030 Agenda but it might be a step in this direction, if all working groups reported their efforts towards its implementation in their respective working fields. In 2017, the G20 adopted the “Hamburg Update” of the Action Plan [G20, 2017b]. This document summarises all active, and particularly the newly made, commitments by the G20 that are of relevance to achieving the SDGs. Future accountability reports could then report on the policy measures taken for each of these commitments. By adopting such a more formalised process in which the commitments to be reported on are pre-determined, the G20 could more clearly structure its self-reporting towards the 2030 Agenda and increase the credibility of these self-reports.

Furthermore, the expanded DWG accountability report should be fed into the UN follow up process with regard to the 2030 Agenda. The G20 could comprehensively report to the UN HLPF on its collective actions and thus contribute to the process in a systematic manner. At the same time, individual, uncoordinated commitments, as captured in Annex B of the G20 Action Plan on the 2030 Agenda, could still be reported by individual countries, such that the process within the G20 would not interfere with the one within the HLPF. The general relationship between the G20 and the United Nations had long been unclear in itself.¹⁴ The joint participation of G20 countries in the reporting process of the High-level Political Forum with regard to collective commitments towards the Action Plan on the 2030 Agenda could be one way to contribute to generally establishing a constructive role of the G20 in the UN system.

The peer-learning mechanism on the 2030 Agenda that has been established within the DWG substantially fulfils an internal learning function with regard to overarching topics in the implementation of the 2030 Agenda. It has thus been carefully segregated from the UN reporting process. However, this also means that, in its current form, it does not contribute to the answerability or justification of the G20 as an institution. An inclusion of non-G20 countries as observers, which was discussed in the DWG but is not intended to be implemented in the near future, would help to strengthen external accountability. The publication of the most important outcomes of the group interactions that is envisioned could increase the role of the mechanism in the overall

¹⁴ For the relationship between the G20 and the United Nation, see Jones [2010]. The G20 was first mentioned in a UN resolution in 2013 [General Assembly of the United Nations, 2013, p. 4].

accountability of the G20 vis-à-vis the 2030 Agenda towards all addressees, depending on how honestly the summary reflects the discussions.

Even though there is still room for improvement with regard to the preparation of accountability reports by the G20 and the related mechanisms, the chance that these kinds of accountability mechanisms could achieve greater accountability for the G20 are clearly limited, given the credibility problems of self-reporting.

Outreach Processes towards the Civil Society

Generally, the G20 Engagement Group process seems predestined to be used more systematically in order to improve the accountability of the G20. Opening up working group meetings to selected representatives of Engagement Groups as observers would make it possible to retain an effective discussion culture, since it would only increase the nonparticipating audience by a small number of persons. At the same time, this would allow knowledgeable observers to contribute to increased transparency and the credible evaluation of outcomes. Particularly within the context of the 2030 Agenda, where common efforts by policymakers and the civil society are crucial, these meetings could be used more effectively to engage various different groups of society in the work of the G20.

Moreover, to improve external accountability, the Engagement Groups themselves could be opened up to civil society organisations from non-G20 states. This would further account for the universality of the 2030 Agenda in as far as it could help increase learning with respect to the effects of G20 actions on other countries. The Think 20 Africa Standing Group, which was established in 2017 and includes researchers from various different African countries, could be seen as a first step in this direction and should be further supported by the G20 itself [T20 Africa Standing Group, n.d.].

It must however be noted that strong involvement of civil society organisations in global governance is not an undisputed matter. For instance, it should be pointed out that business organisations which have the largest resources and networks at their disposal could become the primary beneficiaries of such engagement processes. In addition, as most NGOs that are influential in global governance come from industrialised countries, one could question their claim to effectively representing less-privileged groups of the world's population [Scholte, 2004, p. 222ff]. Although such caveats have to be taken seriously and dialogue processes with the civil society are clearly not a complete remedy to accountability deficits, in the case of the G20 a more systematic use of the Engagement Group process is nevertheless likely to create a more even playing field for different societal groups. To this extent, the Engagement Group processes have the potential to play a constructive role in fostering accountability through increasing transparency and facilitating more independent evaluations.

Inclusion of non-G20 Member States

An additional – and more far-reaching – point of high relevance to accountability concerns the selection process of G20 member states (and also of the guests). The initial and great shortcomings of the G20 in respect to external accountability arise precisely because of its restricted and contingent membership. The citizens of non-member states cannot hold their representatives accountable for the decisions taken within the G20 because they do not have any representatives participating in the G20 meetings. The membership structure of the G20 is often justified on account of the advantages of a small group with regard to efficiency while at the same time all powerful actors are included. However, this does not preclude any institutional reform that would render the G20 more inclusive [Bradford, Zhang, 2015]. For instance, at least a share of the member countries could be selected for a certain period in a transparent and inclusive process. In this case, everyone could hold his or her national government accountable at least for the election of some G20 members. This would imply only a small increase in the number of members with full voting rights, while generating broader accountability through chains of delegation, as we have laid out above. In addition, the participation of developing countries and a better regional balance could be ensured through such a process.

Obviously, the realisation of this proposal would constitute a more fundamental transformation in the nature of the G20 than the proposals described above. Although similar proposals have been brought forward repeatedly [Ocampo, Stiglitz, 2011], the development of the G20 in this direction in the near future is not very likely – partly because it seems difficult to agree on a procedure for the selection of additional G20 members. One option in this regard would be the selection of temporary members by regional organisations. Another option would be the election by the UN General Assembly. Although it is clear that it will be difficult to come to an agreement on such proposals, it is nevertheless important to discuss changes in the membership structure of the G20. It seems unrealistic that the G20 can become accountable in a meaningful sense to all individuals affected by its policies as long as there are no reforms in this respect.

Conclusions

From the analysis of accountability mechanisms in the G20, it becomes clear that accountability issues are not only a broad field but also touch on the very core of this powerful global institution. It becomes apparent that accountability, which is often cited as a “silver bullet” for the legitimacy problems of the G20, is not exhausted simply through the compilation of reports but also concerns the set-up of the G20 itself as an institution.

We have identified three elements of accountability – transparency, justification and enforcement. The G20 lacks formal enforcement mechanisms, and is attempting

to create transparency and provide justification via strongly controlled processes. These are in particular the interaction with media, the publication of self-produced accountability reports, and dialogue processes with civil society and business organisations.

The adoption in 2016 of the G20 Action Plan on the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development as a leitmotif of G20 work not only sets challenges but at the same time also provides opportunities to improve G20 accountability. The challenges include the need for external accountability vis-à-vis the population of non-member countries because of the universal scope of the agenda; the relationship to the UN follow-up system; and the crosscutting nature of the agenda. The two latter points strongly touch on technical issues on how to continue with existing accountability mechanisms, particularly regarding the self-reports. In 2017 the accountability report of the Development Working Group took some first small steps towards developing a reporting structure dealing with the collective implementation efforts of the G20. Structuring future G20 Development Working Group accountability reports along the 2030 Agenda would set an example within the current accountability system. This could then also contribute to the UN reporting system on implementation of the 2030 Agenda. The recently implemented peer-learning process could play an important role in accounting for the individual ways in which the principles of the 2030 Agenda in the G20 are integrated into member countries' policymaking. However, the contribution that the peer-learning process can make to overall accountability will crucially depend on the way it is further developed towards making outcomes accessible to the public.

Be that as it may, the ability of self-reporting to foster accountability is in general limited due to the lack of credibility of self-evaluation. This is all the more so within the context of reporting on the implementation of the 2030 Agenda when policy fields of several G20 working groups are involved. For this reason, increasing the transparency of processes within the G20 and at the same time allowing for independent evaluation of G20 policies are at least equally important ways of fostering the G20's accountability.

An even more prominent role could then also be taken on by the G20's Engagement Group process, which – particularly in the context of the 2030 Agenda – seems predestined to monitor the joint efforts of policymakers and civil society. Engagement groups combine interest, knowledge, and a relatively independent view that allows them to identify incoherencies. First steps in this direction within the context of the 2030 Agenda have already been taken by the G20, but there is still a lot of potential untapped: first of all, Engagement Groups simply need to be given greater access to information. While some proposals to increase accountability through transparency – such as establishing a permanent website could be implemented quickly and easily, others – such as giving non-G20 countries some ownership in G20 discussions themselves – are at this point more distant.

In this paper, we have attempted to structure the discussions surrounding the accountability of the G20 as an institution. It should be noted that, given the nature of the G20, this endeavour cannot achieve a comprehensive assessment of the accountability of the G20 with regard to all relevant addressees. For instance, the mechanisms employed in the member states to ensure accountability of G20 country governments participating

in G20 meetings to their respective national parliaments have not been discussed as this would require a separate examination for each member country. In light of the popular argument that intergovernmental rulemaking can be associated with a problematic shift of power from legislative to executive bodies [Beisheim, Brunnengräber, 2008, p. 77f], this would also appear to be as a worthwhile avenue for future research.

At this point, the pioneering spirit that the adoption of the 2030 Agenda has set free could be used to adapt G20 processes in the direction of greater accountability – not only regarding administrative issues of the G20 and its working groups, but also the political structure of G20 processes themselves. Improving coherence and mirroring the multiple layers in the implementation of the Agenda could contribute to increasing accountability and thus, ultimately, to the legitimacy of the G20 in general.

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«Группа двадцати»: на пути к большей подотчетности? Механизмы подотчетности «Группы двадцати» и новые вызовы в контексте Повестки дня в области устойчивого развития на период до 2030 г.

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Легитимность «Группы двадцати» часто подвергается сомнению: институт неоднократно становился объектом критики со стороны не входящих в него государств, негосударственных организаций, академического сообщества и широкой общественности из-за характера и эффективности принимаемых мер, а также ограниченного состава стран-членов. Механизмы подотчетности способны отчасти сгладить данные противоречия: они могут вовлечь больше граждан из государств — членов «Группы двадцати» в процесс наблюдения за ее деятельностью, чтобы создать основу для внутреннего обучения института с целью повышения его эффективности. Кроме того, механизмы подотчетности, работающие в интересах не входящих в «Группу двадцати» государств, могут сделать «Группу двадцати» более восприимчивой к интересам людей, не проживающих в странах-членах, но на которых решения «Группы двадцати» так или иначе оказывают влияние.

В представленной статье мы проанализировали существующие механизмы подотчетности «Группы двадцати» и изучили вызовы, возникающие в связи с принятием Повестки дня в области устойчивого развития на период до 2030 г. в качестве рабочей программы «Группы двадцати». Хотя в рамках «Группы двадцати» имеется платформа, обеспечивающая подотчетность отдельных стран-членов, фокус представленной работы направлен на механизмы подотчетности «Группы двадцати» в целом как института. Существующие по данной теме публикации позволяют нам выделить три базовых элемента понятия «подотчетность»: прозрачность, обоснованность и обеспечение выполнения обязательств. Внутренние механизмы подотчетности «Группы двадцати» в основном предназначены для поддержания первых двух элементов, так как «Группа двадцати», как и другие неформальные институты управления, не может стать объектом каких-либо формальных санкций. Тем не менее прозрачность и обоснованность, хотя они и являются ценными сами по себе, создают опасность для «Группы двадцати» стать объектом независимой критики, а также некоторые репутационные риски. Наиболее надежные механизмы подотчетности «Группы двадцати» включают каналы связи со СМИ, публикацию отчетов о деятельности в широком доступе, а также работу в формате аутрич с представителями гражданского, делового и академического сообществ. В конечном счете данные механизмы предназначены для того, чтобы сделать деятельность «Группы двадцати» более подотчетной для граждан стран — членов объединения и за его пределами (прямо или косвенно). Однако в то же время они ставят перед «Группой двадцати» дополнительную задачу по соотношению текущей работы с предыдущим опытом.

В 2015 г. международное сообщество приняло Повестку дня в области устойчивого развития на период до 2030 г. в качестве основной стратегии глобального развития. Приняв в 2016 г. План действий по осуществлению Повестки дня в области устойчивого развития на период до 2030 г., «Группа двадцати» приняла на себя обязательства по достижению заявленных целевых показателей, вследствие чего возникли новые требования к подотчетности института.

Что касается мер, которые могли бы в будущем повысить подотчетность «Группы двадцати» в свете новых требований, связанных с имплементацией Повестки-2030, то можно рассмотреть следующие варианты. Для повышения уровня доверия к механизмам подотчетности «Группы двадцати» необходимо дать дорогу независимой оценке. Для того чтобы это стало возможным, деятельность «Группы двадцати» должна стать более прозрачной. Достигнуть этого можно несколькими путями, например, создав постоянный веб-сайт, обеспечив доступ представителей гражданского общества на заседания рабочих групп, публикуя обсуждаемую повестку, протоколы заседаний и пояснительные записки. Также желательно, чтобы самоотчеты были больше сфоку-

сированы на описании деятельности, нежели на оценочных суждениях. Для обеспечения согласованности отчетов по действиям в соответствии с Повесткой-2030 необходимо, чтобы сводный отчет полностью охватывал соответствующие действия стран «Группы двадцати» в так называемых секторах устойчивого развития в рамках Плана действий «Группы двадцати» (а также с учетом Гамбургской актуализации 2017 г.). Всеобъемлющие отчеты о совместных действиях стран «Группы двадцати» могут дополнить отчеты, предоставляемые отдельными странами для Организации Объединенных Наций. Если предоставить аутрич-форматам, таким как Экспертная двадцатка (Т20), доступ к необходимой информации, то они могут сыграть важную роль в предоставлении надежной и обоснованной независимой оценки деятельности «Группы двадцати». Это станет значительным шагом на пути к успешной имплементации Повестки-2030, которая требует согласованности действий общества и лиц, принимающих решения. Дальнейшее совершенствование уже имеющихся внутренних механизмов подотчетности не сможет компенсировать недостаток легитимности, который связан с эксклюзивным характером членства в «Группе двадцати». С другой стороны, обеспечение «упорядоченного, согласованного и заслуживающего доверия» процесса подотчетности [G20, 2016, p. 15] может стать ключевым элементом в решении проблемы недостатка легитимности.

Ключевые слова: «Группа двадцати»; устойчивое развитие; механизмы подотчетности

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Latin America in the G20: Continuities and Ruptures of the Regional Agenda (2008–2018)¹

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Abstract

The Group of 20 (G20) broke onto the global scene shortly after the bankruptcy of the financial giant Lehman Brothers. The international financial system was crumbling from within and traditional policy tools were unable to stop the fall. The risks of global contagion were already being felt. Reflecting the emerging multipolar order, in particular the rise of China, President George W. Bush convened an urgent summit of the heads of state of the G20, a forum comprised by the main advanced and emerging economies, including the three largest Latin American countries (Argentina, Brazil and Mexico). Since 1999, the group had operated as a technical financial forum, but in November 2008 the first G20 leaders' summit took place in Washington, DC. In the decade that has passed since that first meeting, the leaders of the G20 have met a total of 12 times, and plan to do so again in November 2018 in Buenos Aires under the annual (rotating) G20 presidency of Argentina. This article explores the role and main contributions of the three Latin American economies in the G20 during the last decade, focusing in particular on the continuities and ruptures in the regional agenda and priorities towards the forum. With this goal in mind, the analysis begins with an overview of the metamorphosis of the G20 during the period 2008–2018. Then, the specific – and changing – Latin American path is explored. The article closes with a presentation of an alternative approach and agenda for the G20.

Key words: G20; agenda continuity; Latin America; Argentina; Mexico; Brazil

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Introduction

The Group of 20 (G20) broke onto the global scene shortly after the bankruptcy of the financial giant Lehman Brothers, which until then had been the fourth-largest investment bank in the United States with a 158-year long history. On 15 September 2008, the world witnessed the unthinkable. The international financial system was crumbling from within and traditional policy tools were unable to stop the fall. Since mid-2007, the collapse of housing prices and the implosion of the subprime mortgage market bubble had generated a wave of bankruptcies in the financial sector in the United States and

¹ The editorial board received the article in May 2018.

Europe. In October 2008, both the TED spread indicator, which accounts for the level of stress in the U.S. banking sector, and the Emerging Market Bond Index (EMBI) Global spread index, which reflects the combined risk of 61 emerging markets, reached their historic peaks [IMF, 2017]. The message was clear: the financial crisis was not easing and the risks of global contagion were already being felt.

It was then that President George W. Bush, in the final months of his second term, decided to convene a summit of the heads of state of the main global economies. Reflecting the emerging multipolar order, in particular the rise of China, Bush issued invitations to his peers among the G20. The exclusive Group of 7 (G7) at the table of global governance – comprised of the main advanced economies – was thus expanded to include the largest emerging economies as well.² The G20 is comprised of nineteen national economies, plus the European Union, that are considered “systemically important” and that together account for more than 80% of global product, 75% of international trade and 66% of world population. Since 1999, the group had operated as a technical forum for financial coordination between finance ministers,³ but in November 2008 the first G20 leaders’ summit took place in Washington DC. The presidents of the three largest Latin American economies – Argentina, Brazil and Mexico – participated in this inaugural summit.

In the decade that has passed since that first meeting, the leaders of the G20 have met a total of 12 times, and plan to do so again in November 2018 in Buenos Aires under the annual (rotating) G20 presidency of Argentina. Previously, Mexico had hosted the leaders’ summit in Los Cabos in 2012 and Brazil had served as the G20 coordinator in 2008 during the transition from a ministerial forum to forum for heads of state. This article explores the role and main contributions of the three Latin American economies in the G20 during the last decade, focusing in particular on the continuities and ruptures in the regional agenda towards the forum. With this goal in mind, the analysis begins with an overview of the metamorphosis of the G20 during its first decade. Then, the specific Latin American path is explored. The article closes with a brief presentation of an alternative approach and agenda for the G20.

² When the Emergency Economic Stabilization Act of 2008 was approved by the U.S. Senate, President Bush explained the rationale of the intervention to the American public: “By coming together on this legislation, we have acted boldly to help prevent the crisis on Wall Street from becoming a crisis in communities across our country. We have shown the world that the United States of America will stabilize our financial markets and maintain a leading role in the global economy [...] As a strong supporter of free enterprise, I believe government intervention should occur only when necessary. In this situation, action is clearly necessary” [The White House, 2008]. As soon as he took office in January 2009, President Obama doubled-down on the stimulus measures.

³ Among the leaders who called for a new Bretton Woods were then Prime Minister Gordon Brown and then French President Nicolas Sarkozy.

A Decade of G20: From the Crisis Committee to the Committee Crisis

Crisis Committee (2008–2009)

During the summits in Washington (2008), London (2009) and Pittsburgh (2009), the G20 functioned as a sort of “crisis committee;” leaders met to give the political signal that they would adopt exceptional measures to stabilize financial markets, contain the crisis and restore global growth. They promptly sealed a multilateral agreement to stimulate the large economies in a coordinated manner. The United States led this billion-dollar injection of resources through a combination of fiscal and monetary policies. Successive rescue and stimulus packages raised the fiscal deficit of the U.S. from 1.1% of gross domestic product (GDP) in 2007 to 9.8% in 2009, while the Federal Reserve cut its interest rate to historic levels and resorted to unconventional monetary policy (quantitative easing) to increase market liquidity. The European Central Bank also implemented expansive monetary policies and a majority of European Union members announced countercyclical fiscal policies.

Along with this Keynesian spirit, in their first joint statement G20 leaders reaffirmed their “shared belief” in “market principles” and “open trade and investment regimes,” and also committed themselves to “avoid protectionism” [G20 Leaders’ Declaration, 2008]. In addition, the leaders of the G20 recognized the need to introduce changes to the system: “we must lay the foundation for reform to help to ensure that a global crisis, such as this one, does not happen again.” The truth is that the crisis was not only a financial bankruptcy, but also an intellectual one: according to mainstream economic theory – neoclassical economics – a crisis in the supposedly most perfect financial market in the world was simply inconceivable. The Independent Evaluation Office of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) recognized that the institution itself “did not anticipate the crisis, its timing, or its magnitude, and, therefore, could not have warned the membership” [IMF, 2011, p. 5]. The disorientation was high: shortly before the collapse of Lehman Brothers, the IMF authorities declared that the U.S. economy had avoided a hard landing (June 2008) and that the risks of a financial tail event had eased (July 2008).

In light of the failure of the institutions responsible for ensuring international financial and monetary stability, calls for founding a “new Bretton Woods” proliferated in the G20. But the impetus for transformation did not last long, and finally a more conservative perspective prevailed: the core of the reforms promoted by the G20 focused on strengthening international financial regulation, supervision, monitoring and coordination. Paradoxically, the IMF emerged from the crisis significantly strengthened. First, because it was capitalized with \$750 billion to expand its financial programmes, which remained under the same orthodox conditionality framework. Second, thanks to the leadership of the emerging countries, especially the BRICS grouping of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa, the G20 agreed at the Seoul summit (2010) to

implement a reform of IMF governance (quota distribution and voting power) to reflect the larger weight of emerging countries in the global economy, which eventually led to a more representative institution.⁴

Main Forum for International Economic Cooperation (2010–2015)

In 2009, the global economy experienced the most widespread and deepest economic contraction in decades (−0.1%), dragged down by the collapse of the advanced economies (−3.4%) [IMF, 2017]. The crisis quickly became known as the “Great Recession.” But the demand stimulus programmes paid off, and in 2010 the developed economies recovered (3%) and the global economy returned to a path of positive growth (5.4%). The G20 leaders met again in Toronto in 2010 and celebrated the results achieved. At that summit they designated the G20 as the “premier forum for our international economic cooperation” and set the joint goal of achieving “strong, sustainable and balanced global growth.” Even though the most acute phase of the financial implosion seemed to have passed, the crisis continued to hit hard on the real economy and was reflected in the vertiginous rise of unemployment, especially in advanced (European) countries and among young people. While emerging countries, and at some point the United States, advocated for continuing with demand stimulus policies, European countries – arguing the “lack of fiscal space” and the high debt levels in certain economies – pushed for the retraction of Keynesian programmes in favour of so-called “fiscal consolidation” (i.e., austerity and adjustment policies).

The decision by the G20 in 2010–2011 to reverse course and advocate for “fiscal consolidation” (including a reduced social budget) and “structural reforms” (including labour market deregulation), rather than continued support for recovery was a historic, procyclical mistake that contributed to the prolonged recession in the European Union and weak recovery elsewhere [Nahón, Polaski, 2017]. A certain early and extemporary complacency characterized the G20 communiqués, which celebrated several times the end of the crisis only to find it again shortly after. Indeed, the epicentre of the crisis moved from the United States to the eurozone, which fell into recession again in 2012 and experienced recurrent debt crises in the economies of the South European periphery (at this time the derogatory acronym PIIGS was coined, in reference to the fragile situations of Portugal, Ireland, Italy, Greece and Spain). Financial instability and the employment crisis turned out to be very persistent in Europe as a consequence of the early retraction of the stimulus programmes. By mid-2014, the fall in global demand and the effects of the U.S. Federal Reserve’s quantitative easing program, together with the end of the upward cycle for commodities, were also having a negative impact on emerging countries, with lower Chinese growth rates and recessions in Brazil and Russia. However, even in this slowdown scenario, emerging countries – especially Asian

⁴ Although IMF governance reform was agreed by the G20 in 2010, its implementation was postponed more than five years due to the delay in its approval by the United States Congress, whose legislative branch was the last among the G20 countries to ratify it. Such confirmation from the United States was essential to achieve 85% of the required votes in the IMF.

economies – remained the driving force of the global economy, more than doubling the expansion rate of developed countries.⁵

As the crisis spread and its impact on labour and social issues deepened, the G20 also expanded its initial agenda to include issues such as employment, development, migration, climate change, energy and, forcibly, terrorism. On the one hand, the forum is weakened by the more general attacks on the multilateral system by the unilateral positions of President Donald J. Trump. In this phase, technical working groups and ministerial meetings proliferated. Meetings of G20 foreign ministers and ministers of agriculture, labour, energy and trade were organized in addition to the regular meetings (four to five a year) of the ministers of finance, central bank governors and sherpas.⁶ Increasingly, the margins of the summits became populated with bilateral and plurilateral meetings between the heads of state.

During the summits in Cannes (2011), St. Petersburg (2013) and, especially, Antalya (2015), the concern about persistent unemployment, wage stagnation and rising inequality gained momentum in the G20 agenda. The dynamic of the global economy had become one of unequal, fragile and moderate growth (below pre-crisis levels) which was clearly insufficient to revert labour market dynamics. The International Labour Organization (ILO) had estimated the job deficit in the world at 200 million. To make matters worse, the share of national income going to working people – the labour share – had been falling for decades in almost all G20 countries, especially in advanced countries, and the gap between workers' productivity and wages had widened [ILO, OECD, 2015]. The leaders then made calls for a more “inclusive” economy and the G20 developed a set of active policy recommendations to reverse these trends [G20, 2015]. However, these policies were ignored in practical terms by most G20 nations, wasting the opportunity to address the rising backlash against globalization [Polaski, 2017]. This lack of timely and appropriate action ended up paving the way, particularly in Europe and the United States, for the electoral triumphs of ultranationalist xenophobic candidates and proposals.

Backlash Against Globalization and Committee Crisis (2016–2018)

Just as the IMF did not anticipate the global crisis in 2008, the G20 did not foresee the 2016 anti-system electoral shockwaves on both sides of the North Atlantic. The Brexit and, successively, the U.S., British, French, German and Italian elections have revealed a massive rejection of the establishment.⁷ The liberal international order based on market principles and economic openness promoted by the G20 has been strongly

⁵ In the 2011–2016 period, the advanced economies averaged an expansion of 1.7% while the emerging economies grew by an average of 5% [IMF, 2017].

⁶ The sherpas are the direct representatives of the heads of state in the G20 and have the function of coordinating the negotiations prior to the summits, ensuring consistency in the national positions of each country and focusing in particular on the non-financial agenda of the forum.

⁷ The next paragraphs follow closely C. Nahón and S. Polaski [2017].

questioned. A decade after the outbreak of the crisis, the committee set up to deal with it itself went into crisis.

The G20 crisis is twofold. On the one hand, the forum is weakened by the more general pressure on the multilateral system which is undermined on a daily basis by the unilateral and threatening positions of President Donald J. Trump. In fact, at the last G20 summit in Hamburg, consensus was not reached on a key issue for the first time, and the final declaration ended up acknowledging the U.S. position on climate change separately from the other countries. Instead of G20 it was G1 + G19. Since then, American blows against the multilateral system have only escalated, as reflected in the failed G7 summit in June 2018, during which the U.S. president openly insulted the host, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, and withdrew his country's support for the summit's carefully negotiated official communiqué. The U.S. unilateral imposition of 25% and 10% tariffs on steel and aluminum imports respectively also discredited the G20, which had been addressing the global steel oversupply through multilateral negotiations. Most recently, the U.S. imposition of duties on Chinese good valued at \$34 billion – openly violating World Trade Organization (WTO) rules – officially triggered the “largest trade war in economic history to date” involving the two major world economies and several G20 members which are already taking retaliatory measures.

But while Trump's statements and decisions are the most visible aspect of the crisis, the root cause of the tension is deeper: the G20's own principles and policy recommendations are being challenged by the recent anti-system revolts in developed countries. Globalization and financialization have always had winners and losers, but the accumulation of losers has mounted over the last decades, in some cases dramatically. According to Oxfam [2018], 82% of the wealth generated in 2017 went to the richest 1% of the world's population, while the 3,700 million people who make up the poorest half of the world did not see an increase in their wealth. While the winners of globalization were promoting their recipes around the world, the losers were invisibilized and silenced. Over the last decade, the G20's agenda has been excessively influenced by the big financial institutions and multinational corporations. In the case of the United States, J. Stiglitz [2017] put it bluntly: “it was [a trade] agenda written by, and for, large multinational companies, at the expense of workers and ordinary citizens everywhere.”

In this context, as the 2017 host country, Germany proposed to address “the fears and challenges associated with globalization,” recognizing the need to offer a response to the ongoing backlash. However, the leaders' response at Hamburg was purely cosmetic, because the forum's policy orientation has not changed. It has been certainly positive that the group expressed with more emphasis the need for “inclusive” growth (this word appeared 15 times in the Hamburg declaration), that acknowledges rising inequality and that recognizes that “the benefits of globalization have not been shared enough.” But these very commendable statements have not translated into consistent policies that favour a better distribution of income and wealth. In fact, in many G20 countries, as in Latin America, the current economic policies are significantly aggravating poverty and inequality. Beyond rhetoric, and despite recent conflicts among

members, the heart of the G20 is still dominated by the old policies of liberalization, deregulation and fiscal consolidation that lie behind the globalization backlash.

The Trajectory of Latin America in the G20: Continuities and Ruptures

Throughout this decade, the role and agenda of the Latin American countries in the G20 has also been transformed. In a stylized manner, there are two distinct periods according to the political orientation of the governments of the region: a first phase, 2008–2015, marked by a majority of progressive and left-leaning governments, and a second phase, since 2016, corresponding to the return of conservative and right-leaning governments.⁸

From Regional Integration to Competitive Fragmentation

Both phases have in common the challenge to design and promote a common agenda at the G20 including the priorities of all three Latin American G20 members and, more generally, reflecting the interests of the entire region. However, there are striking differences in the dynamics of regional cooperation in the G20 between the two periods analyzed.

Between 2008 and 2015, Argentina and Brazil acted in the G20 as strategic allies, anticipating priorities, coordinating positions and amplifying their weight as Latin American voices. This was not by chance, but rather reflected the political decision of both countries to position regional integration as the pillar of their foreign policy. Indeed, during this period, key Latin American integration mechanisms were strengthened – like the MERCOSUR (South American Common Market) – and new bodies were founded – like the UNASUR (Union of South American Nations) created in 2004 and the CELAC (Community of Latin American and Caribbean States) founded in 2010 – and progress was being made at all levels of the G20. Argentina and Brazil formalized their G20 cooperation with the creation of a high-level bilateral committee that met and consulted regularly across the G20's agenda. However, this mechanism did not include Mexico. This was not due to lack of dialogue or camaraderie among the three countries, but rather a consequence of Mexico's strategic decision to align its positions in international economic and financial forums with the United States, its powerful northern neighbour and its main trading partner. Hence, the articulation with Mexico was more occasional and limited to specific issues of common interest. Notwithstanding this, the three Latin American countries participated actively in the informal coordination mechanism for emerging economies which met regularly after

⁸ The first phase includes the governments of Cristina Kirchner in Argentina, first Lula da Silva and then Dilma Rousseff in Brazil, and Felipe Calderón and then Enrique Peña Nieto in Mexico. The second phase corresponds to the governments of Mauricio Macri, Michel Temer (who came to the presidency through an institutional coup in August 2016) and Enrique Peña Nieto, respectively.

2010 to anticipate and articulate positions among the sherpas of certain emerging countries, including China, India, Indonesia, Russia and South Africa.

What is the situation today regarding Latin American coordination towards the G20? When inaugurating the Argentine G20 presidency on 1 December 2017, President Mauricio Macri stated: “We want to be the expression of an entire region, not only of our country” [2017]. This supposedly Latin American inclination was successively reiterated by high-level government officials, as well as by various analysts who advocate, rightfully, for the promotion of a Latin American agenda within the forum. However, it is not difficult to recognize that the president’s wishful expressions are dissociated from his foreign policy. Since coming to power, the host of the next G20 summit has actively contributed to emptying the UNASUR, did not participate in any CELAC leaders’ summit and has engaged with the MERCOSUR only as a platform to negotiate a free trade agreement with the European Union, the region that, together with the United States, is the beacon for Argentine foreign policy. Hence, the G20 presidency lands in Argentina at a moment of particularly weak regional integration and coordination, marked by fragmentation, competition and individual foreign policy strategies across the region. This dynamic is also reflected in integration schemes that are partial (Alliance of the Pacific, ALBA), ad-hoc (Group of Lima) or increasingly irrelevant (Summit of the Americas, Organization of American States).

Two decisions taken by Argentina during its G20 presidency also confirm its weak regional orientation. First, surprisingly, the date chosen for the Buenos Aires summit (30 November–1 December 2018) coincides with the presidential inauguration in Mexico, which has occurred every six years on 1 December since 1934. This conflict will significantly limit the participation of the Mexican president at the Buenos Aires summit. Second, Argentina decided to invite Chile and the Netherlands as guest countries, which contrasts with the Mexican invitation to two Latin American partners in 2012 (Chile and Colombia).⁹ Rightfully, Argentina has also invited the Caribbean Community to participate, which will be represented by Jamaica.

From “Rule-Changer” to “Rule-Taker”

Perhaps the most significant change between both phases is the turn, especially by Argentina and Brazil, away from a markedly critical and transformative position regarding the unfair rules of the international financial and trade system (“rule-changer”) toward the passive acceptance of, and subordination to, those rules (“rule-taker”).

Between 2008 and 2015, the countries of the Southern Cone promoted, through flexible coalitions with other blocs and/or G20 nations, a number of reforms of the global *status quo*.¹⁰ Since the Washington summit, and as a reflection of their own his-

⁹ The invitation to the Netherlands at the expense of another Latin American country is hard to justify, particularly considering that the G20 already has over-representation of European countries (five countries plus the European Union).

¹⁰ As L. Schweitzer [2016] points out, while Brazil adopted a more moderate position on this issue, Argentina opted for a stronger stance.

tories, Argentina and Brazil advocated for countercyclical policies to face the Great Recession, a position also shared by the BRICS, with whom Brazil developed a growing level of coordination. Brazil, supported by Argentina, was also active in pushing for IMF governance reform. Latin American leaders were pioneers in advocating for the G20 to address international tax evasion and avoidance, calling for international cooperation to combat tax havens.¹¹ The G20 committed to take action against tax havens for the first time at the London summit (2009), a push that eventually led to the adoption of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) BEPS (Base erosion and profit shifting) framework.

Another contribution from Argentina and Brazil questioning the *status quo* was their firm rejection in 2009 of “labour flexibilization” as a valid policy recommendation by the G20, calling instead for an early warning regarding the severe impact of the crisis on unemployment. This defensive position regarding labour issues was further enhanced by an offensive strategy to promote labour protection policies and social inclusion in the G20. Several results were achieved in this context, including the proposal to incorporate the ILO as a G20 partner on an equal footing with the IMF, the permanent quest to give voice to workers and labour unions – including the International Trade Union Confederation – in the G20, and the creation of a subgroup in 2015, co-chaired by Argentina and France, to analyze the role of inequality and income distribution as obstacles to sustainable growth.¹² Both Argentina and Brazil also called firmly, together with other emerging countries, for the successful conclusion of the WTO Doha round according to its original development mandate and under the principle of “single undertaking.” They also advocated for a truly balanced and fair multilateral trading system, guaranteeing developing countries their legitimate policy space for national development.

Finally, the issue of sovereign debt sustainability was raised early in the G20 by Argentina, with Brazilian support. Despite the persistent growth of debt-to-GDP ratios in the majority of G20 countries (especially the European ones), or perhaps precisely because of this, the issue faced notable resistance in the group, and it only entered the G20 at a relevant level at the St. Petersburg summit (2013) when leaders established that “events in recent years have shown the importance of debt sustainability for all.” A year later, at the Brisbane summit (2014), after Argentina lost its emblematic debt case in the U.S. judicial system – which ruled in favour of highly aggressive holdouts – the G20 recognized “the challenges litigation poses” to the orderliness and predictability of the sovereign debt restructuring process and welcomed international work on strengthened collective action and *pari passu* clauses. It was a great diplomatic accomplishment for Argentina, which faced significant opposition from some G20 members, but which had the invaluable initial support of Brazil, Mexico, France, Australia, Russia and China. One year later, at the Antalya summit (2015), the relevance of the topic to the interna-

¹¹ According to the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), total evasion implies a loss of public resources equivalent to 6.7% of GDP in Latin America [CEPAL, 2017].

¹² This work led to the document “G20 Policy Priorities on Labor Income Share and Inequalities” which was incorporated as an Annex to the 2015 Leaders’ Declaration.

tional financial agenda was reaffirmed with a call for the IMF to continue encouraging the inclusion of such “anti-vulture” clauses in international sovereign bonds.¹³

Towards the Buenos Aires Summit

In contrast to their earlier stance, since 2016 Latin American leaders have positioned themselves in the G20 as mere “rule-takers” within the international financial and trade system, taking the view that it is convenient to accept things as they are instead of questioning or seeking to transform those international rules that are unfair or unfavourable to their strategic interests. The conception that lies behind Argentina’s current foreign policy, crystallized in the relationship between Buenos Aires and Washington, is that “by making concessions to the powerful one’s own interests are safeguarded” [Tokatlian, 2018]. In fact, it is paradoxical that Argentina assumes the presidency of the G20, which supposedly offers an opportunity to make its own contributions to the forum, precisely at a moment of particular weakness of this autonomous, national and Latin American vision. Latin American G20 countries, extremely fragmented, do not have a common agenda of their own to advance in the forum.

Clearly, Mauricio Macri imagined a very different international scenario (before Brexit and Trump) within which his country would head the G20: he aspired to preside over a Buenos Aires summit that would unanimously celebrate the liberal international order. Instead, today the Argentine presidency is forced to maneuver in a complex scenario marked by the crisis of multilateralism and the escalating disputes among G20 members (China, Mexico, Canada, the EU and Russia have already taken retaliatory trade measures against the U.S. for its unilateral imposition of border tariffs).

Against this background, the Argentine government has opted for a two-sided strategy. In its discourse, the Argentine G20 presidency puts forth a narrative of noble intentions, ambitious promises and politically correct phrases regarding its agenda and goals for the G20, pledging to “lead the G20 with the needs of the people in the forefront,” “build consensus for an equitable and sustainable development,” and direct a “G20 that contributes to the world and humanity.” Conversely, on the substantive issues the Argentine presidency has proposed an agenda that is deliberately conservative, weak and with priorities that circumvent the most controversial – and most important – issues such as trade and climate change in order to satisfy the U.S. and ensure President Trump’s participation.

Along this line, the three priorities proposed by Argentina for the G20 in 2018 are: “the future of work,” “infrastructure for development” and “a sustainable food future.” Beyond the bold titles, it is key to examine the content of the policies that are promoted in these priority areas. It would be harmful, for example, if the discussion on the role of new technologies and the future of employment was a Trojan horse to deliver labour deregulation and reduced employment protection, in line with the reform recently approved in Brazil and which the Argentine government intends to emulate at home.

¹³ For a detailed review of the Argentine debt case and the G20, please see López and Nahón [2017].

Employment issues should not be addressed solely from a supply-side perspective (via training and education) at the risk of underestimating the role of demand-driven policies. In terms of infrastructure, the main topic seems to be the promotion and support of public-private partnerships (PPPs), a scheme cherished by the Macri government but which, under certain designs, could imply covert and dangerous mechanisms of indebtedness and/or privatization [Soler, 2018], as recently argued by 152 organizations from 45 countries in a public manifesto [Eurodad, 2017]. Finally, the theme of food security is well known in the G20 (it was one of Mexico's priorities in 2012) and the novelty this year relies on facilitating partnerships with the private sector within the general corporate approach of the Argentine presidency.

An Alternative Agenda for the G20

A decade after the first leaders' summit in Washington, the G20 arrives in South America weakened, questioned and fractured. Weakened, because the unilateral and threatening positions of U.S. President Donald Trump devalue daily the relevance and influence of the multilateral system built over the last seven decades. Questioned, because the anti-system electoral shockwaves on both sides of the North Atlantic have laid bare the strong rejection of the establishment and the principles of free markets and economic openness that have endured until now at the core of the G20. Fractured, because the escalating trade war openly antagonizes G20 members, eroding one of the main foundational commitments of the group (i.e., the standstill commitment to avoid protectionist measures).

In this critical moment, the role of leading the G20 far exceeds the capacity of the Argentine government, which remains trapped in its own downward economic spiral and whose inability to lead the group has already added uncertainty to a highly complex situation. Even Angela Merkel, chancellor of the fourth-largest economy in the world and the only leader of the G20 who has participated in all 12 summits of the forum, had a hard time leading the G20 to consensus during the German presidency.

Against this backdrop, prospects for the upcoming Buenos Aires summit are troubling. If most of the leaders insist on holding irreconcilable positions — some pushing against the previous status quo and Trump reaffirming his unilateral approach — the next G20 summit could end up in a new face-to-face confrontation, in tune with the failed G7 summit in Quebec. The Argentine host, faced with this prospect, has tried to minimize the controversial — but necessary — issues that confront members, to avoid in-depth discussions on the ongoing backlash against globalization and to promote progress on the (few) remaining areas of consensus. If it works, this conservative strategy could save the G20 facade, comply with the traditional family photo and even produce a leaders' declaration — as was the case in Hamburg last year — but it would be at the expense of the real weight and substance of the group, which will continue to lose significance.

To recover influence as the premier leaders' forum and serve ambitious goals regarding inclusive and sustainable growth, instead of insisting on the status quo the G20

urgently requires a change of direction, an alternative paradigm that places sustainable development at the centre of its agenda. What would an alternative agenda consist of? A G20 focused on sustainable development would require the crafting of a new approach to multilateralism that directly serves people and national interests, recognizing that this would involve greater policy autonomy to design and implement inclusive domestic policies [Judis, 2017]. Failed policies of liberalization and “fiscal consolidation” should be abandoned in favour of policies that prioritize income and wealth redistribution, investment in infrastructure, industrial policy and scientific-technological development. It would also be necessary to reverse the current trend toward labour deregulation in favour of sensible regulations that restore workers’ rights to organize and bargain, that guarantee decent employment and adequate minimum wages, and that reinforce social insurance systems. Recent research by the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), the ILO and the IMF show that a better distribution of income makes growth more sustainable, as well as more fair.

For this approach to succeed, it is essential to build an adequate international financial architecture, so that cross-border capital flows are less volatile and destabilizing and serve to strengthen financing for development. Multilateral mechanisms that allow states to deal with sovereign debt in an orderly and fair manner should also be included in global financial agreements. In turn, the mantra of free trade should be replaced by trade policies that allow for the productive integration and complementation of national spaces, in keeping with the view that open trade and finance are not ends in themselves but are rather means for larger economic and social goals [Judis, 2017]. Of course, a fundamental issue for development is to recover state capacity and resources, for which it is imperative to give maximum importance to the fight against tax havens and international tax evasion and avoidance at both the domestic and international levels.

In short, the current multilateral crisis also offers an unforeseen historic opportunity: the chance to rebuild international cooperation with a focus on sustainable development, on the values of solidarity, democracy and equality among peoples. The G20 could choose to live up to this challenge and lead the way ahead. Time’s up!

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Латинская Америка в «Группе двадцати»: преемственность и новые темы повестки (2008–2018 гг.)¹

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«Группа двадцати» появилась на глобальной арене вскоре после банкротства финансового гиганта — банка Lehman Brothers, до того момента четвертого по величине инвестиционного банка в США, банка со 158-летней историей. 15 сентября 2008 г. случилось невообразимое. Международная финансовая система пошатнулась, а традиционные инструменты политики оказались не в состоянии остановить это падение. Начавшийся с середины 2007 г. резкий спад цен на жилье и «схлопывание» рынка субстандартной ипотеки привели к волне банкротств в финансовом секторе в США и странах Европы. В октябре 2008 г. и индикатор спреда «ти-И-ди» (“TED spread” indicator)², показывающий уровень стресса в банковском секторе США, и «глобальный индекс облигаций развивающихся стран» (“EMBI Global spread” index), показывающий уровень риска для 61 страны с переходной экономикой, достигли своих исторических максимумов [IMF, 2017]. Это означало, что финансовый кризис не ослаб, а, напротив, стал распространяться по всему миру.

Именно в тот момент президент США Джордж Буш-младший, второй президентский срок которого подходил к концу, решил собрать саммит глав государств и правительств ключевых экономик мира. Выбор стран был обусловлен тенденциями формирования многостороннего миропорядка, в том числе возвышением Китая. Таким образом, «властители глобального управления» — клуб «Группы семи», объединяющий наиболее развитые экономики, был дополнен крупнейшими развивающимися странами³. «Двадцатка», объединившая 19 стран и Европейский союз, рассматривалась как «системно значимый институт», на долю которого приходится более 80% глобального производства, 75% — международной торговли и 66% — мирового населения. С 1999 г. группа действовала как технический форум для координации министров финансов стран-участниц⁴, однако в ноябре 2008 г. состоялся первый саммит лидеров G20 в Вашингтоне. В инаугурационном саммите приняли участие главы трех крупнейших латиноамериканских экономик — Аргентины, Бразилии и Мексики.

За десятилетие, прошедшее с саммита в Вашингтоне, лидеры стран — участниц «двадцатки» встретились в общей сложности 12 раз. Тринадцатый саммит состоится в ноябре 2018 г. в Буэнос-Айресе в ходе председательства Аргентины. До этого саммит лидеров G20 принимала Мексика (в Лос-Кабосе), а Бразилия выступала в качестве координатора «двадцатки» в 2008 г. в ходе перехода от формата встреч министров к формату встреч лидеров.

В данной статье исследуется роль и основной вклад трех латиноамериканских стран в деятельность «Группы двадцати» за последнее десятилетие. Автор, в частности, постарался проанализировать преемственность и новые темы в повестке G20, обусловленные региональными приоритетами. В начале статьи представлен обзор изменений, происходивших с G20 на протяжении первого десятилетия ее работы. Затем исследуется

¹ Статья поступила в редакцию в мае 2018 г.

² Разница между ставкой по казначейским векселям США и ставкой по евродолларам (Примеч. пер.).

³ «Группа двадцати» объединяет страны — члены «Группы семи» (Великобритания, Германия, Италия, Канада, США, Франция, Япония) + Европейский союз, Австралию и ряд стран с переходной экономикой: Аргентину, Бразилию, Индию, Индонезию, Китай, Мексику, Республику Корея, Россию, Саудовскую Аравию, Турцию и ЮАР. Испания является постоянной приглашенной страной. Также ежегодно страна-председатель выбирает другие приглашенные страны в соответствии со своими региональными приоритетами.

⁴ Первая встреча «Группы двадцати» состоялась в Берлине в 1999 г. по инициативе министра финансов США Ларри Саммерса и министра финансов Канады Пола Мартина, которые отобрали участников, исходя из их значимости для мировой экономики, а также стремления обеспечить определенный региональный баланс, что, безусловно, не могло исключить определенного самоволия [Kharas and Lombardi, 2012].

вклад латиноамериканских стран в работу данного института. Завершается статья кратким представлением альтернативного подхода и повестки для «двадцатки».

Ключевые слова: «Группа двадцати»; преемственность повестки

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BRICS as the Subject of Study of International Relations Theory¹

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Abstract

This article examines the phenomenon of the BRICS grouping of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa from the perspective of several theories of international relations; in particular, power transition theory, soft power and peaceful coexistence concepts, the theory of “global regionalism” and status theories are reviewed. Each explains both the BRICS phenomenon and the role of this integration association in the present-day international relations system. It is concluded that, depending on research objectives and the way it is applied, each theory — despite limitations — has explanatory power. Together they create an interdisciplinary basis for studying complex phenomena such as the BRICS.

A number of modern theories hold that, along with the pursuit of purely material and pragmatic interests, the BRICS countries actively use this integration association to strengthen their positions in the world arena and elevate their international status.

It is also concluded that the BRICS succeeded in creating an image of an alternative model of world order based on the principles of cooperation, mutual respect and balance of interests, rather than mandate, discrimination and hierarchy. It is premature to make a statement that a principally new type of interstate relations or an international institution has been created within the BRICS framework. At the same time, it is also certain that some positive experience has already been accumulated in the framework of this forum, and that this association offers good prospects for the future. For this reason it is of considerable interest for international relations theory.

Key words: BRICS; international relations theory

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Introduction

Since its inception, the BRICS grouping of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa has attracted the attention of the academic community. Despite its relatively young age, the BRICS already has quite a rich historiography in which several kinds of work can be distinguished. A number of contributions are devoted to the history of the emergence and formation of the BRICS [Korshunov, 2013; Toloraya, 2011 and 2014; Lukyanov, 2011; Nadkarni, Noonan, 2013; Simha, 2013; Wolfe, 2008]. In particular, researchers were interested in the motives of the parties when they joined the association. This type of research was characteristic of the early stage in the study of this phenomenon.

The most common type of research on the BRICS is by economists devoted to the study of the economic potential of individual BRICS countries, their impact on global economic and financial processes, and their cooperation with each other in the fields of economics, trade, finance, environmental protection and so on [Toloraya, Yurtaev, Ajdrus, 2016; Leksyutina, 2017; Glinkin, 2014; Toloraya, 2014; Toloraya, Chukov, 2016; Nadkarni, Noonan, 2013]. In particular, a wide range of studies covers the ability of the BRICS countries to attract foreign direct investment as one of the reasons for their dynamic development. Economists also focus on the comparison of the aggregate economic power of the Group of 7 (G7) and the BRICS group, and on the correlation of these two informal groups [Korshunov, 2013; Okuneva, 2012; Panova, 2013; Kuzmin, 2013].

A relatively small amount of research is devoted to the development and prospects of the BRICS as a special mechanism of interstate cooperation (including its ability to stimulate changes in the system of global economic governance) [Toloraya, Yurtaev, Ajdrus, 2016; Leksyutina, 2016; Leksyutina, 2017; Glinkin, 2014; Okuneva, 2012; Toloraya, 2011; Toloraya, 2014; Toloraya, Chukov, 2016; BRICS: New Configurations of Global Power, 2015; Fulquet, 2015].

Research that attempts to interpret the BRICS theoretically as the germ of an alternative economic and political world order is even less common [Konyshhev, Nocen, Sergunin, 2017; The BRICS and Coexistence, 2015; Fulquet, 2015; Stuenkel, 2014a; Stuenkel, 2014b].

Importantly, the BRICS phenomenon requires not only applied analysis, but also theoretical comprehension. Theoretical reflection helps to avoid the known limitation of a purely empirical explanation of the nature, mechanisms and perspectives of the evolution of the BRICS. Is what arises before our eyes another institution of interstate cooperation which fits into a number of already existing structures, or is it a fundamentally different model of relations that can seriously change the trends of world politics? What drives the policies of the BRICS countries? Can the BRICS group become an alternative to the domination of the western powers, which is formalized in the present system of international institutions and unions? Will this institution provide fundamentally new conditions which may lead to the development of international cooperation as opposed to continued power politics? Can the BRICS be considered a new mechanism of global governance, or is it nothing more than a temporary intergovernmental arrangement?

Without pretending to answer all of these questions, this article examines how the main international relations theories (IRTs) interpret the BRICS phenomenon. The task is not only to determine the advantages and disadvantages of these theories, but also to evaluate their heuristic potential for studying such a complex phenomenon as the BRICS.

This study starts with the assumption that the BRICS is a promising integration association which so far has no formalized institutional or organizational nature and which is therefore best understood as an interstate discussion forum rather than a full-fledged international organization. However, the BRICS has every chance of becoming an influential institution of global governance, operating according to rules different from those adopted in organizations controlled by the most developed countries of the world.

It is this dynamic and multidimensional nature of the BRICS that creates particular difficulties for various IRTs trying to explain and predict the further development of this association. Of the many theories involved in the study of international institutions, this article examines those that, on the one hand, are the most influential in the framework of their respective IRT paradigms and, on the other, represent the most interesting conceptual interpretations of the BRICS.

Power Transition Theory

Among western experts, the power transition theory (PTT) first proposed by A. Organski is the most popular approach [Organski, 1958]. PTT developed within the framework of the neorealist paradigm and is based on the assumption that changes in the balance of power in world politics happen all the time. This theory considers conflicts and wars to be the results of the growing influence of states competing with the dominant powers. In this regard, all states are divided into two groups: those which support the status quo and “revisionists.” Powerful and influential states, such as the United States, enjoy the advantages of the established world order and fall into the status quo category, while states dissatisfied with their place and role in international relations are considered revisionists. They favour radical changes in the existing international order. And here, Russia and China are the primary focus of attention.

According to PTT, present-day Russia is a typical revisionist state. Experts from the Heritage Foundation, a conservative American think tank, see in this regard several problems that Russia creates for the United States and its allies. In their opinion, the Putin regime is challenging democratic values, as manifested in a combination of disrespect for citizens’ political, civil and economic rights and a weak economy. The restoration of Russia’s military power and its political and diplomatic influence creates a strategic challenge to the West and its allies. In particular, the threat to U.S.-friendly countries – Ukraine, Georgia, Poland, the Baltic States, Finland and Sweden – is growing. The problem is amplified by Russia’s cooperation with “rogue states,” including Syria, Iran and North Korea [Carafano, 2015]. Similar evaluations are made of the policies of the People’s Republic of China (PRC) [Cheng, 2016].

If revisionists are considered to be a source of destabilization in the world order, and in this sense if their role is associated with negative consequences, then the actions of the dominant (status quo) states are considered positive because they perform protective system functions. Therefore, cases such as the military intervention by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in Kosovo and the actual division of Yugoslavia, U.S., European and global missile defense projects, NATO’s expansion to the east, sponsorship of the “colour revolutions” in the post-Soviet space, military assistance to Taiwan from the U.S.,

and Washington's demonstrative pursuance of the free navigation principle in the South China Sea are not considered to pose a threat to Russia or the PRC [Carafano, 2015, p. 3].

Among PTT proponents, the sources of revisionist behaviour are evaluated differently. More moderate experts believe that sources of such behaviour lie in Russia's and the PRC's failure to build democracy domestically, which prevents them from fully integrating into the international economy and institutions of global governance [Granhölm, Malmén, Persson, 2014, pp. 10, 26–9]. A more radical point of view is that, due to Russia's and China's historical peculiarities, they are fundamentally unable to integrate with the West [Carafano, 2015, p. 3].

It is not incidental that the policies of individual BRICS countries are assessed differently. One group of experts sees the BRICS as an instrument allowing some of its members to secure their great power status and counterbalance western institutions at the regional and global levels. However, the majority of the expert community sees the PRC's and Russia's roles differently: while China is viewed as a rising power, Russia is seen as being in crisis due to economic problems. To respond to these challenges different variants of containment policy are suggested.

However, not all power transition theorists see Russia and China as revisionist powers. Some take the view that even Putin's Ukraine policy can be seen as a status quo strategy that aims to secure Russia's influence in the post-Soviet space and counterbalance NATO's eastward expansion [Charap, Shapiro, 2014; Kuhn, 2015]. A similar evaluation can be made at the global level regarding the skepticism of the PRC and Russia regarding United Nations (UN) reform. However, other BRICS participants (Brazil and India), on the contrary, express their interest in reform in the hope that their status will be elevated in the UN security council.

"Status quo" proponents believe that the problem is that BRICS countries were not integrated on an equal footing into the international security system which has gradually emerged in the post-Cold War era. The West crossed some "red lines" which were established by Russia in the post-Soviet space. For example, the August 2008 Russian-Georgian armed conflict was a clear manifestation of such western policy. The Ukrainian crisis, which started in 2014 and continues to this date, is another example. When the Kiev authorities who came into power after the removal of the Yanukovich regime openly stated their intention to join the European Union (EU) and NATO, Moscow reintegrated Crimea into Russia and supported pro-Russian rebels in the Donbass.

In this expert group's opinion, Russia's policy is determined not only by its geopolitical but also by its geoeconomic interests related to the competition of Moscow's integration project in the post-Soviet space with Euro-integration plans such as the EU's Eastern Partnership programme [Collins, 2015, p. 3; Sergunin, 2013]. Proponents of this point of view believe that it is better to cooperate rather than confront Russia. The same approach is suggested with regard to China.

Despite a number of advantages, PTT also has many disadvantages. This theory was more applicable to the period of the Cold War, when two superpowers were interested in maintaining the status quo because of the threat of mutual destruction in the event of war. The present-day international relations system, including its structure, is still in its formative phase. In this context, PTT can explain little about the behaviours of the BRICS states.

PTT does not take into account the existence of a third type of state – the reformist state which does not fully agree with the world structure, but prefers not to radically change the “rules of the game.” Instead, it tries to adapt them to the changed conditions in order to make them more fair and comfortable for all participants of international relations. Quite often, these states do not act as revisionists, but rather as supporters of the status quo by demanding that the previously established rules of the game and international legal norms are observed. For example, the BRICS countries firmly oppose any attempts to revise the UN Charter regarding the use of military force and the principles of inviolability of state sovereignty and noninterference in the internal affairs of sovereign states (as opposed to the western doctrine of “humanitarian intervention”) [Konyshev, Kubyshev, Sergunin, 2015; Sergunin, 2010].

At the same time, the BRICS participants are unhappy with the current order of things, in which a small group of highly developed countries dominate and try to dictate rules to the rest of the world. The BRICS countries would like to change the existing world order, but in an evolutionary rather than radical (revolutionary) way, which justifies considering them reformist rather than revisionist powers [Hansen, Sergunin, 2015]. The BRICS countries are also striving to cultivate an image of themselves not as spoilers or revisionists, but as reformers of the existing unfair international relations system. They are trying to create alternative financial institutions that would help prevent a new global financial and economic crisis [Mikhailenko, 2016; The Moscow Times, 2014]. As recent BRICS documents show, this forum also assumes responsibility in other areas of world politics – the environment, the fight against the negative effects of climate change, international terrorism, cybercrime and the reform of leading international organizations, including the UN [BRICS, 2017]. In general, the BRICS countries show a desire to build more efficient models of world order, and they do it on a nonconfrontational basis [Mikhailenko, 2016].

Thus, if supporters of PTT want this theory to better respond to modern realities and retain its explanatory power in current conditions, they need to revise the typology of states they use and supplement it with a new (“reformist”) type of power.

“Soft Power”

The accumulation of “soft power” as understood by neoliberals is attractive to the BRICS countries for a number of reasons. First, it can help them overcome their negative image in the West which resulted from a series of international conflicts (between Russia and Georgia and Ukraine, between China and its neighbours in the South China Sea and between India and Pakistan). Second, it can help to make methods of geopolitical and geoeconomic expansion more effective.

In BRICS countries, soft power is interpreted in different ways, sometimes departing from the initial meaning advanced by Joseph Nye, who defined soft power as based on the power of attractiveness. In reality, however, Russia’s and China’s policies are dominated by pragmatic interests that not always take into account their partners’ preferences. In Nye’s view, this is unacceptable to their partners and may even provoke a hostile reaction to their soft power initiatives [Nye, 2013].

Russia and China view soft power only as an auxiliary tool to protect their national interests, while many experts rightly see in this concept a broader reading of security which

includes a nonmilitary component in the concept of security and relies more on cooperation with partners [Gronskaya, Makarychev, 2010; Tsygankov, 2013; Sergunin, Karabeshkin, 2015; Tsygankov, 2012].

Some specifics in the BRICS countries' interpretations of the soft power concept should be noted. First and foremost, this is an umbrella concept which covers other closely related concepts – public diplomacy, peoples' diplomacy, the humanitarian dimension of politics and NGO-diplomacy. Among soft power instruments, financial tools (especially in the case of China), cultural cooperation, ethnic diasporas, and educational and religious institutions are preferable. The BRICS countries established special bodies for soft power implementation (for example, the PRC's Confucius Institutes, Russia's Rossotrudnichestvo, "Russian World," and Gorchakov and Andrei Pervozvanny foundations among others).

In these countries, soft power policy is controlled and directed to a large extent by the government and this makes it less flexible. In Nye's opinion, Russia and the PRC have made a mistake by underestimating the importance of civil initiatives, while in the U.S. the main sources of soft power are universities, cinema and pop culture rather than the government [Nye, 2013]. The government should multiply the effect of the activities of civil society institutions rather than limit them.

At the same time, the use of soft power strategies by BRICS countries has some peculiarities and advantages. First, the BRICS demonstrates the inclusive nature of its cooperative format. BRICS countries are located on different continents and have different political systems, levels of economic development, histories and cultural traditions. However, the BRICS shows that different countries are able to cooperate and be successful. Second, in contrast with the West, over the last 20 years the BRICS has demonstrated its success in the field of socioeconomic development. In 1990–2015, the share of western countries in world gross domestic product (GDP) fell from 78.7% to 56.8%, while the share of emerging economies increased from 19.0% to 39.2% [UN, n.d.]. Third, India, China and Russia have long histories and unique cultures which have substantially enriched world culture.

Generally speaking, BRICS countries use soft power in their own way, trying to avoid copying the western experience and going beyond Nye's interpretation of the soft power concept. In practical terms, they stick to an instrumentalist and pragmatic approach oriented toward important state political aims. It should be noted, however, that these states' doctrinal documents and academic communities have not yet developed a clear terminology with regard to soft power and this negatively affects both the theoretical understanding and effectiveness of this political instrument. At the same time, BRICS countries have a tremendous soft power potential which can strengthen their positions in the traditional spheres of influence, especially if their policies are attractive in Nye's sense.

Peaceful Coexistence Theory

The peaceful coexistence concept was and is one of the distinctive characteristics of Russia's, India's and China's foreign policies. It was developed – in various forms – by representatives of neoliberalism, globalism and neorealism. In Russia, it emerged in the initial period of the Soviet state, during a time in which it had to operate in a hostile capitalist environment. Peaceful coexistence did not stop confrontation with world capitalism but, since the Soviet leadership led by Vladimir Lenin felt itself isolated, it preferred to transform its

confrontation with the West from the military to nonmilitary spheres. In Lenin's interpretation, avoiding armed conflict did not mean peace with capitalism, which was seen as hostile by definition. On the contrary, he considered peaceful coexistence to be the transformation of war into other forms of rivalry, first and foremost economic competition, that could demonstrate the advantages of the socialist development model [Lenin, 1970, p. 78].

In the USSR, this concept dominated the post-World War II period until Mikhail Gorbachev's "perestroika," after which it became configured. However, it turned out that with the end of the Cold War the concept was no longer interesting to Russian elites who had failed to join international institutions on equal footing. The concept itself thus disappeared from Russian doctrinal documents.

China, in contrast with Russia, never abandoned the peaceful coexistence concept and elevated it to the status of a fundamental international relations principle after the 1999 NATO military intervention in Kosovo. According to Beijing, this concept includes postulates such as respect for national sovereignty and territorial integrity, noninterference in domestic affairs, equality of states in international relations and the leading role of the UN in world politics because of its universal nature [Russian Gazette, 1999]. China suggested peaceful coexistence as an alternative concept to American "neo-interventionism."

In India, the peaceful coexistence concept was transformed from its initial version into the *Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam* concept ("the whole world as one family") which rejected the very idea of hegemony [Gupta, Chatterjee, 2015, pp. 115–24].

In formal terms, Brazil's foreign policy doctrinal documents stopped mentioning the peaceful coexistence concept in the 1960s; however, the state's real international policies were in line with this principle. This included the establishment of bilateral cooperative links with other countries regardless of their political and economic regimes, respect for national sovereignty, and the development of multilateral cooperation [Abdenur, 2015].

In South Africa, the peaceful coexistence principle in the form of the *Ubuntu* concept was formally acknowledged in the 2011 white book on foreign policy. This concept was defined as "respect for all states, nations and cultures," while the understanding of national security was based on the acknowledgement of the priority of human security [Mandrup, Smith, 2015, pp. 150–1].

The interest of BRICS countries in the peaceful coexistence concept can be explained by several objective factors. At certain points, these states started to express their discontent with the existing model of relations with the West which they considered to be unviable and unacceptable. For example, Russia faced the failure of several ideas and models, such as the "comprehensive security" concept (Mikhail Gorbachev), Russia as a "younger partner" of the West (Boris Yeltsin) and "strategic partnership" with the U.S. (two initial presidencies of Vladimir Putin and Dmitry Medvedev's administration). The West had no respect for BRICS countries' regional and global interests; it heavily criticized them for "authoritarianism," a democracy deficit and human rights violations. Such western policies forced not only BRICS countries but also other states – which did not want to accept the "golden billion's" dictate – to realize that different/alternative social development models are preferable. In their view, the peaceful coexistence concept could only be helpful in building relations between states of different types.

It should be noted that presently the peaceful coexistence concept has a different meaning as compared to the Cold War era because the antagonistic confrontation between

the two sociopolitical systems has ended. BRICS countries do not aim to defeat the world capitalist system as was the case in the socialist camp in the past. They just want integration into the world economy and global governance systems on an equal basis. In geopolitical terms, Russia has lost its superpower status and cannot compete with other poles of power as it could previously, while other BRICS countries avoid global confrontation with the United States altogether.

The updated interpretation of the peaceful coexistence concept by the BRICS countries can be summarized as follows:

- countries with different economic and sociopolitical systems can coexist peacefully;
- the dominance of one or several countries in world politics is unacceptable;
- preference should be given to tools of “soft power,” while military force should be only an extreme means, and;
- cooperation should occur with international political and economic structures created by the West, even despite the continuing contradictions with them.

The peaceful coexistence concept has not yet entered the permanent political lexicon of the BRICS countries (with the exception of the PRC). This is partly due to a kind of “allergy” to Marxist-Leninist terminology. But in one form or another, this concept is present in their foreign policy arsenals [The BRICS and Coexistence, 2015; Sergunin, 2016, pp. 37–45].

However, as noted by a number of researchers, the peaceful coexistence concept cannot embrace the entire complexity and diversity the BRICS and its international activities. It partly sheds light on the motivation and certain features of “the five” in the international arena. But it cannot give a full explanation as to why these countries have united in a group, and what long-term strategic goals they pursue. It also cannot explain where the limitations of the peaceful coexistence policy are, beyond which the BRICS countries are willing to resort to force, and what factors induce them to take such sometimes risky steps [The BRICS and Coexistence, 2015; Sergunin, 2016, pp. 37–45].

More generally, all of the theories and concepts discussed above suffer from one significant shortcoming: being based on the principles of rationalism, i.e., a perception of the BRICS countries as purely rational actors seeking to maximize their benefits and build their activities in a pragmatic way, they are unable to explain the emotional, unpredictable, illogical actions taken by these states which not only do not benefit them, but sometimes even harm their interests and cause significant damage.

Status Theories

Status theories are particularly useful for those cases in which the policies of the BRICS countries are evaluated by partners as being emotional, irrational and unpredictable. Such policies do not fit into the theories built on the principle of rationalism, including the PTT, as well as the concepts of peaceful coexistence and soft power. Status theories address policy motives related to self-esteem, reputation, honour and dignity, fame, sympathy, and other emotional and psychological categories that introduce an element of unpredictability into the political behaviour of leaders and social groups. The first works on the correlation of conflicts and state status underachievement were published in the late 1960s–early 1970s [Midlarsky, 1969; Wallace, 1973].

The return of status theories occurred in the 2000s, when representatives of various theoretical paradigms started to pay attention to them again. Schools such as neorealism and neoliberalism mainly focused on problems of survival and economic viability, considering the state's status to be a derivative of its military and economic power. For post-positivist schools, initially, status was also not an important analytical category, although it was scholars in these schools who paid serious attention to the psychological aspects of political behaviour. For example, theorists of social constructivism believe that identity and norms are the driving forces of politics rather than considerations of status or prestige [Onuf, 2013].

For the BRICS countries, the status-related issues were first raised in connection with the discussion of modern Russia's goal to strengthen its significance in world politics and return to its former position as a great power [Kanet, 2010; Kuhn, 2015; Larson, Shevchenko, 2010; Neumann, 2005; Neumann, 2007]. This turn in Russia's policies was related to President Vladimir Putin's decision to more decisively defend its interests. The Russian president perceived the collapse of the USSR as "the greatest geopolitical catastrophe of the 20th century." The status of Russia had lost certainty: while its nuclear potential and the permanent seat on the UN Security Council guaranteed it a place among the most influential countries, by other measures it had been reduced to the status of a peripheral state. In this regard, some western experts evaluated the state of Russian elites as "status panic" [Forsberg, Heller, Wolf, 2014; Hansen, Sergunin, 2015, p. 94; Smith, 2014].

Interest in status theories has been fueled by discussions about the nature of the conflicts between Russia and Georgia (2008) and Ukraine (2014). Some researchers, in the tradition of constructivism and poststructuralism, see these conflicts as manifestations of Russia's fear of finally losing its great power status. Moreover, this motivation may be even more important than concerns about security or economic well-being [Sergunin, 2014]. Some authors go even further, claiming that Russia's status-oriented foreign policy has deep historical roots, because for centuries Moscow has sought to prove its high status in Europe [Neumann, 2005].

With China, which previously did not have the status of a great power, the situation is somewhat different. Its rapid economic growth in the post-Cold War era has meant that the former character of China's political and economic relations with the West no longer holds. At first, China sought to achieve the status of a great power by adapting to capitalist norms, but it was never accepted as an equal in the western community. Then Beijing took a more competitive position, but not in a confrontational way. It managed to positively change its image in the eyes of the West. The new image is based on the premise that China is a state that does not seek hegemony, but expects a respectful attitude from its international partners which corresponds to its new status.

India and Brazil also strive for the status of great power, relying on their large territories and populations, economic and military potential, and international authority. Their behaviour is of a symbolic nature and is aimed at increasing respect from other states [Mikhailenko, 2016; Larson, Shevchenko, 2010, p. 70]. For instance, the Brazilian president's statement on hosting the 2016 Summer Olympic Games exemplifies such symbolism: the choice of Brazil as the host of the games elevated its status from second-class to first-class country. South Africa does not have the ambition to become a great power, but at the regional level it seeks to play a leading role.

Politically, states seeking to improve their international status may try to join the leading group of states (mobility strategy), enter into a competition with leaders (competition strategy) or try to achieve advantages in any field (creativity strategy). The choice of a specific or combined strategy depends on the degree of openness of the international hierarchy and the degree of closeness of the values of socioeconomic and cultural development.

For example, since the end of the Cold War, the BRICS states have embarked on liberal democratic reforms to enter the economic and political institutions of the West, such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Trade Organization, the Council of Europe and the G7. At the same time, the closed nature of organizations such as the EU or NATO prompts China and Russia to move to a strategy of competition [Larson, Shevchenko, 2010, pp. 72–3]. On the path of creative strategy, Russia is trying to rely on the neoconservative ideas of collectivism, spirituality and orthodoxy as opposed to the individualism, materialism and liberal morality of the West [Laruelle, 2008; Sergunin, 2014]. Creativity is also produced by charismatic leaders at the level of “grand” diplomacy. For example, due to these qualities, President Vladimir Putin has managed to achieve recognition of his plan to destroy Syrian chemical weapons. The “New Silk Road” concept of another charismatic leader, Xi Jinping, was perceived as a global project of mutually beneficial Eurasian economic integration.

Despite their attractiveness, status theories still leave unanswered a number of important questions. For example, status indicators should be clarified. It is also important to clarify the question of when status becomes more important than material interests. In terms of content, the question of which instruments the state uses to change its status is of great importance. As for the internal aspects of the status policy, it is necessary to examine the extent to which domestic political institutions can influence the growth or reduction of the feeling of disrespect in society. These questions status theories have yet to answer.

Theory of “Global Regionalism”

The BRICS’ uniqueness lies in the fact that it is not an ordinary international region representing a set of states that are close to each other and form a certain historical, economic, political and sociocultural community (or at least seek to create such a community). According to the theory of “new regionalism” [Lagutina, 2009; Lagutina, Vasilyeva, 2012; Acharya, 2014; Heininen, 2016; Hettne, Inotia, Sunkel, 1999; van Langenhove, 2011], the BRICS belongs to the category of so-called “global regions” which are based on functional, network, identity, multi-actor and multifactor principles rather than on geographic proximity. Such regions have a cross-cutting nature: they easily permeate various levels – local, regional and global – to create a completely different type of world politics [Avdokushin, Zharikov, 2013; Meena, 2015]. In addition to the BRICS, such global regions include, for example, the European Union, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, the Mercado Común del Sur, the Eurasian Economic Union and the Arctic.

Supporters of the theory of global regionalism believe that during its existence, the BRICS has managed to form a common transnational agenda. Among the most important areas of cooperation of the BRICS countries are the following:

- improvement of the global financial system;
- development of industrial and commercial relations;
- energy security;

- cooperation in the field of climate change and environmental protection;
- joint research projects;
- the fight against cyberterrorism, and;
- coordination of these countries' activities in international organizations, including the UN and its specialized agencies.

In support of this global agenda, the BRICS created a number of its own financial institutions – the New Development Bank with a capital of \$100 billion and a Contingent Reserve Arrangement (\$100 billion as well).

In recent years, the Chinese have launched the New Silk Road (or One Belt One Road) project [Lagutina, Batur, 2016; Leksyutina, 2017]. At first, it was aimed at the development of a land transport corridor through the territory of Eurasia. It was then supplemented by sea routes from East Asia to Europe, both southern (through the Suez Canal) and northern (Northern Sea Route). In the end, the project has acquired a truly global dimension, incorporating the Pacific region and South America, where one of the BRICS members is located (Brazil).

At the same time, critics of the theory of global regionalism note that in the framework of the BRICS, a truly unified agenda has not yet emerged. With rare exceptions, most of the cooperative ties within the BRICS are bilateral, not multilateral. In addition, there are numerous differences between the members of this international group. Particularly, there are serious disagreements between India and China, including territorial disputes between them that regularly lead to direct military-political confrontation. Opponents of this theory believe that it is too early to speak of the BRICS as a whole community comparable with other integration entities. For this reason, the BRICS is not yet able to play a truly influential role in world politics and the global economy.

Conclusion

So, various IRTs offer their explanations of the very phenomenon of the BRICS, the motives for the behaviour of the countries in this group and the role that this integration forum plays in modern world politics and the global economy. Speaking about the relative value or explanatory power of each of these theories, the principle of complementarity seems to be the most acceptable, according to which each theory turns out to be productive depending on the research goal. Together, on the basis of an interdisciplinary approach, they form the foundation for studying complex political phenomenon such as the BRICS.

The newest IRTs tend to hold that, along with the pursuit of purely material and pragmatic interests (hedging financial and economic risks of the globalized era generated by the domination of a group of highly developed states, coordination of joint activities in the face of the geopolitical “drive” of the West and solving a number of common problems), the BRICS countries are actively using this integration association to strengthen their positions on the world stage and elevate their international statuses.

At the same time, members of the group apply various methods, from the strategy of mobility and competition to various types of creativity. These foreign policy strategies have had some effect, with the exception of Russia whose international reputation has suffered because of the Ukrainian crisis. In general, most of the BRICS countries have managed to create an image of themselves as constructive and peaceful states preferring coopera-

tion to confrontation, respecting international rules and their international partners. Even for Russia, participation in BRICS has proved to be very useful from a reputational/status point of view. Since most of the countries in this group did not support western sanctions against Moscow, Russia managed not only to avoid complete international isolation, but also to actively influence international developments, both regionally and globally.

In general, the BRICS has managed to shape its image as an alternative model of world order based on principles and rules of interstate cooperation which exclude mandate, discrimination and hierarchy. It is too early to say that a fundamentally new type of international relations or international institution has been created within the framework of the BRICS, but, undoubtedly, some positive experience has emerged from this association. There is also no doubt that the activities of the BRICS will remain a subject of the closest attention from international relations theorists.

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БРИКС как предмет изучения теории международных отношений

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В статье анализируются различные интерпретации БРИКС современными теориями международных отношений. В частности, рассматриваются теория изменения соотношения сил, концепции «мягкой силы» и мирного сосуществования, теория «глобального регионализма», а также статусные теории. Каждая из них дает свое объяснение как самому феномену БРИКС, так и той роли, которую это интеграционное объединение играет в современной системе международных отношений. Делается вывод, что каждая из этих теорий, несмотря на известную ограниченность, может обладать эвристической ценностью — в зависимости от поставленных целей и задач исследования, а также способов применения. В совокупности они создают междисциплинарную основу для изучения такого сложного феномена, как БРИКС.

Многие современные исследователи склонны считать, что, наряду с преследованием сугубо материально-прагматических интересов, страны БРИКС активно используют это интеграционное объединение для укрепления своих позиций на мировой арене и повышения международного статуса.

Делается также вывод о том, что БРИКС преуспел в создании имиджа альтернативной модели мироустройства, основанной на принципах сотрудничества, взаимного уважения и баланса интересов, а не диктата, дискриминации и иерархии. Пока еще преждевременно утверждать, что в рамках БРИКС действительно был создан принципиально новый тип межгосударственных отношений или международного института. В то же время нет сомнений в том, что определенный позитивный опыт в рамках этого форума уже накоплен, а значит, БРИКС как институт имеет неплохие перспективы на будущее и представляет для теории международных отношений значительный интерес.

Ключевые слова: БРИКС; теория международных отношений

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BRICS' Sustainable Development Dialog: Framing Contours to a Common Agenda through the Intragroup Trade¹

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Abstract

This article explores the formation of multilateral dialogue among the BRICS grouping of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa to address the problems of development quality based on the most demonstrative sphere of the countries' economic cooperation – mutual trade.

The foreign policy contour of the BRICS dialogue is a shared responsibility and stems from national obligations within the United Nations (UN) system, the World Trade Organization (WTO) and other international fora. As it connects with development strategies in different environments and at different paces, the convergence of the positions taken by BRICS members both within and outside the forum is in line with their domestic economic priorities, and hence multilateral cooperation mechanisms are included in national development plans. The external economic contour poses similar restrictions on internal development – agricultural and manufacturing industries based on the exploitation of natural resources, the use of dirty fuels, ecologically intensive exports and the general need to preserve and restore the resource base.

Analytically, this study is based on the quantitative parameters of intra-BRICS trade from 2009–2017, the BRICS export resource-intensity indicators and non-tariff restrictions statistics. Maintaining relatively similar and generally low tariffs in raw materials sectors, BRICS countries regulate the turnover of “green” goods within the group through technical barriers, price control measures and quality standards, maintaining a consistently high share of environmentally intensive raw materials. At the same time, given the differentiation of BRICS countries in terms of quality of growth and sensitivity to external shocks, some of them seek to diversify their exports (oil and petroleum products from Russia and China), while others protect local producers (agricultural products from Brazil and Russia), and take “green economy” measures as a substitute for higher tariffs for environmentally friendly goods to help retain markets.

Key words: BRICS; Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs); Bilateral Trade; Trade Related Aspects of a Green Economy; Non-Tariff Measures (MTM); Carbon Dioxide Emissions Embodied in Export

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Introduction

The objective of sustainable and long-term development satisfying the needs of the present generation while not depriving future generations of the opportunity to meet their needs

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[UN General Assembly, 1987, p. 24] was announced for the first time in the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) report “Our Common Future.” This report was revolutionary for its time, and has of course differently affected the scope of resource exploitation, directions of technical development and structural changes in the BRICS grouping of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa. The pressing need for all BRICS members to improve the quality of their people’s lives and to overcome development gaps through economic growth has not always been coordinated with their environmental capabilities; hence, the burden on natural resources is one of the common points in the national development strategies of the BRICS states.

A common problem for the BRICS in terms of the quality of development is also that, in the words of the WCED report, “a world in which poverty is endemic will always be prone to ecological and other catastrophes” [UN General Assembly, 1987, pp. 24, 143]. According to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), despite significant progress in combating poverty in all BRICS countries, stratification of their societies remains high. The maximum Gini coefficient for OECD countries at 0.5 [OECD, 2015, p. 20] is average for the BRICS.² Despite the absolute importance of economic growth for the eradication of poverty in developing countries, given the current income distribution, growth in the BRICS may not affect most households’ incomes due to restrictions on the gross domestic product (GDP) redistribution channels and low elasticity of links between poverty and inequality, and also between poverty and income [Fosu, 2010, pp. 16–27]. While the expansion of BRICS economies has for a long time determined the increase in the population’s income mainly through budgetary channels [Lustig, 2015], the redistribution of incomes from foreign trade accompanied by the BRICS’ integration into global economic ties and structural shifts in the private sector often act as stressors for social stability [OECD, 2014, pp. 68–71].

The progress in trade and investment relations within the BRICS, initially embodied in expanding mutual exports (on average its aggregate volume multiplied throughout 2009–2014 relative to 2009),³ and then in the importance of their local markets as complementing (for China and India) or replenishing (for Brazil and Russia) the compression of external demand in 2013–2016, can serve the purposes of further growth in the BRICS. At the same time, the exponential fall in prices for energy resources and basic commodities in 2013–2016 affected the physical parameters of BRICS economies with kaleidoscopic speed, depending on export dependence and inclusion in global value chains, thereby determining the quality of the BRICS development models and giving impetus to redistribution of incomes from Brazilian, Russian and South African exporters to Indian and Chinese importers, as well as leading to instability of trade and investment within the BRICS.

This research focuses on the impact of multilateral cooperation mechanisms on national development strategies and their benchmarks, and the resulting BRICS dialogue aimed at sharing best practices and technologies for sustainable and balanced growth, taking into account the most demonstrative achievements of their economic engagement in the trade area.⁴

² Author’s estimations based on OECD data [2015, pp. 19–21].

³ Author’s estimations based on International Trade Centre data [n.d.].

⁴ Given the growing importance of environmental problems in the sphere of subsoil use and nature management, during its BRICS presidency in 2015, Russia proposed a number of initiatives. See BRICS [n.d.].

The Global Contours of the BRICS' Dialogue on Sustainable Development

The dynamic development of the BRICS economies, which has no analogues in terms of pace – even taking into account the negative growth of Brazil and Russia in 2013–2016, the average annual GDP growth rates in the BRICS were almost four times higher than in the Group of 7 (G7) in 2000–2017⁵ – and which has brought their share in the global economy closer to that of developed countries,⁶ has been inevitably accompanied by profound changes in all spheres of natural resources exploitation and human activity.

The adjustment of BRICS development models to environmentally friendly growth aimed at reducing poverty and facilitating the well-being of present and future generations (see Table 1) occurred in different environments and at different paces. In Brazil, India and South Africa with complex, multilayered and fragmented social structures, distinctive society polarization, and economic inequality, such an adjustment was impossible without broad political and economic transformations. The turn to inclusive growth in Brazil was gaining strength in President Lula da Silva's "human-oriented" modernization of 2003–2010, accompanied by the combination of economic liberalism with social reforms [Okuneva, 2008, pp. 753–68]. During that period, Brazil managed to halve extreme poverty (the poverty rate based on the purchasing power power (PPP) threshold of \$1.25 a day decreased from 4.2% to 2.1%)⁷ and the absolute numbers of chronically undernourished people have also declined [FAO, 2014b].

In India and South Africa, the enclave type of development has for a long time restrained the quality of economic growth: after 11 five-year national development plans aimed at eliminating poverty ("pro-poor growth"), by the end of 2012 the poverty rate in India was lowered by almost 20% while the gap between the layers of society continued to broaden (the Gini coefficient continued to grow until 2015) [UNDP, n.d.].⁸ As of today, one-third of India's population, as well as 41% of South Africans, continue to face greater restrictions and deprivations than people in other BRICS countries (see Multidimensional Poverty Index in Table 1). One in four urban and one in three rural inhabitants still live below the poverty line, and only 21% of those living in rural areas have access to basic sanitation [Anand et al., 2014, pp. 48–56]. According to Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) estimates, 31.4% of India's and 13.2% of South Africa's populations are chronically undernourished.⁹ At the same time, Russia and China were the first BRICS countries to eliminate hunger. Reorientation of the development models to domestic demand in Russia and China is largely explained by the fiasco of the market in the distribution of growth benefits (inequality) and global challenges.

The 1987 WCED report also highlighted sustainable development policies such as human resources, food security, ecosystems, energy, industry and urbanization [United Nations General Assembly, 1987, pp. 27–34], which became the guiding principles of the

⁵ Author's estimations based on IMF data [n.d.].

⁶ At the end of 2014, the total BRICS purchasing power parity (PPP)-based GDP equaled that of the G7, and taking into account the recession in 2013–2016 they together produced about 33% of the global GDP in 2016, while 39 countries from the IMF analytical group "Developed Economies" produced 40.6% (calculated by the author based on data from the IMF [n.d.]).

⁷ Based on the official UN [n.d.a] site for the MDG indicators.

⁸ Based on Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) data in the UNDP statistical database [n.d.].

⁹ Based on data from the Food Security Portal [n.d.].

Table 1. MDGs Achievement Indicators in BRICS Countries

Country	MDG 1	MDG 2	MDG 3	MDG 4	MDG 5	MDG 6	MDG 7
	Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI)*	Net primary education enrollment ratio, girls and boys	Gender Inequality Index (GII)**	Under-five mortality rate, per 1,000 children	Maternal death ratio, per 100,000 live births	HIV prevalence among population aged 15–49 years, %	CO2 emissions per capita, tons
Brazil	0.010	96***	0.441	16.4	44	0.6	2.5
Russia	n/a	97.2	0.314	9.6	25	n/a	12.5
India	0.282	98.9	0.563	47.7	174	0.3	1.6
China	0.23	86.9	0.202	10.7	27	n/a	7.6
South Africa	0.41	90.5	0.461	41.9	138	19.2	8.9

Notes:

* For the first time, used in the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) Human Development Report 2010, the MPI identifies and shows the average number of poor people capturing overlapping deprivations they face in three dimensions – living standards, health and education. Data on the MPI are from the UNDP statistical database [n.d.].

** Reflects the unfavourable situation for women in three areas: reproductive health, empowerment and economic activity. Data on the GII are from the UNDP statistical database [n.d.].

*** at end-2006

Source: Based on United Nations Statistics Division data (as of 1 January 2017) [n.d.].

final declaration of the first United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (The Earth Summit) in June 1992 in Rio de Janeiro [UN, 1992b]. In turn, the Earth Summit Rio Declaration for the first time outlined the anthropocentric nature of sustainable development (principles 1, 10, 11 [UN, 1992a]), pointing out that trade policy measures taken for environmental protection can serve as a means of discrimination and hidden protectionism, and therefore the approach that “the polluter should... bear the costs... without distorting international trade and investment” was agreed upon (principles 12, 16 [UN, 1992a]).

For developing BRICS countries, the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities for global environmental degradation [UN, 1992a] manifested in the Rio Declaration has become both unifying and divergent. Being the two largest greenhouse gas emitters of the world, China and India have repeatedly stressed that, despite their rapid industrial growth, their per capita emissions are lower than those in advanced countries and they need economic growth to address social and economic development problems [Government of India Ministry of Environment and Forests, 2011]. On 21 October 2009, at a joint symposium on national plans to counter climate change held in New Delhi, China and India signed the Agreement on Cooperation on Addressing Climate Change and established the bilateral Working Group on Climate Change, which holds annual meetings alternately in the two countries [Government of India Prime Minister’s Office, 2015].

At the next United Nations Summit on Sustainable Development “Rio+10” in 2002 in Johannesburg, special attention was paid to social aspects of sustainable development, with practical guidelines in this area formulated in the Rio de Janeiro Agenda 21 and the UN Millennium Declaration, and known as the millennium development goals (MDGs)

[World Summit on Sustainable Development, 2002]. The most acute MDGs for BRICS countries at the time were: to provide all people with an opportunity to earn on a sustainable basis and to halve by 2015 the proportion of people living on less than \$1.25 a day; to protect the vulnerable and halve the proportion of people without access to basic sanitation; to integrate the principles of environmental sustainability into national strategies; to minimize industrial harm to human health and the environment; and to preserve and rationally use exhaustible natural resources.

During that period, BRICS members and other developing countries established more than 300 public-private partnerships¹⁰ with large companies, producer associations and non-governmental organizations as part of the agenda for businesses inclusion into national strategies (see Table 2). At the same time, the first International Conference on Financing for Development was held in Monterrey (18–22 March 2002), where international trade became a key issue for discussion both as a driver of economic growth and employment, and as an important external source of financing for development [United Nations, 2002, p. 9–12].

For the first time, the issue of trade barriers and non-tariff measures that limit access for emerging economies (for example, to agricultural markets of developed countries) and lead to global trade imbalances was included in the resume of the declaration and linked to the World Trade Organization (WTO) negotiations agenda at a meeting in Doha. There, delegates proposed to expand access to agricultural markets through the principle of less-than-full reciprocity in the framework of the exemptions for Article XXVIII of the GATT [UN General Assembly, 2001, pp. 3–6]. Thus, the relationship between WTO rules and countries' obligations under multilateral environmental agreements has clearly been reflected in the impact of environmental measures on access to markets [UN General Assembly, 2001, p. 10].

The contours of the initially fragmented dialogue on sustainable development issues between the BRICS states were shaped at the multilateral cooperation platforms of the UN and WTO system. The rapprochement of political and diplomatic positions of the members clearly resulted from internal economic priorities, and therefore occurred primarily between China and Brazil, and between Brazil and India. The former pair united around increasing the effectiveness of official development assistance and partnership between donor countries (consistency, coherence, accountability [UN, 2002, pp. 37, 55]). The latter almost fully agreed on the priority of eradicating poverty, investing in social projects and infrastructure [UN, 2002, p. 73]. The Russian position¹¹ was to acknowledge national responsibility for the development process, and to consider external support not as a permanent factor, but as a means of assistance [UN, 2002, p. 45]. Access to developed countries' markets for goods, services and capital has become a unifying issue for all BRICS members.

The same reasons resulted in the multi-vector and multi-format BRICS dialogue on the particularly sensitive climate change agenda. The Bali Roadmap and Action Plan with a list of Nationally Appropriate Mitigation Actions (NAMA) was adopted at the United Nations Climate Change Conference on 15 December 2007. Similarly to the subsequent Copenhagen

¹⁰ Based on the data from the official UN portal. Available at: <http://www.un.org/ru/events/pastevents/wssd.shtml> (accessed at 20 October 2018).

¹¹ The round table where this provision was approved, was also attended by the Common Fund for Commodities (CFC), the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS), the Eurasian Economic Union (EEU), the International Chamber of Commerce (ICC), the World Confederation of Labour and the Brazilian Institute for Socioeconomic Studies.

(2009) and Cancun (2010) agreements, it attempted to record voluntary commitments and actions by countries aimed at reducing emissions. Having directly participated in the development of these documents, India and China announced that they do not associate themselves with the agreements, and thus can coordinate implementation of certain measures among themselves [UN, 2015, Article 7.2 para. (c)]. Russia made its participation conditional on the participation of the largest greenhouse gas emitters, China and the United States. Finally, BRICS representatives gathered for a separate preliminary meeting, where they nevertheless reached a consensus on the legally binding nature of the agreement.¹²

Since 2013, an informal BRICS advisory group has been working within the FAO, which is formalized by the BRICS leaders [BRICS Leaders, 2014, p. 36]. Following the UN conference in Copenhagen (2009), the BRICS has focused on the relationship between climate change and food security, the recognition of great importance of traditional knowledge and clean technologies, and the need to transfer best practices within the group [BRICS Leaders, 2015].

Within the framework of expanded responsibilities, the governments participating in the UN conferences on sustainable development were invited to develop national sustainable development strategies and a system of specialized agencies. Brazil was the first among the BRICS countries to establish the Commission on Environment and Sustainable Development (18 March 2004, Comissão de Meio Ambiente e Desenvolvimento Sustentável, CMADS). In 2007, the India Council for Sustainable Development began its work. In 2008, the South African national sustainable development network was launched which prepared the South African Sustainable Development Strategy (2009–2014) approved by the government in November 2011. In Russia and China, several specialized agencies are engaged in work on a sustainable development agenda: the National Development and Reform Commission, the Ministry of Science and Technology and the Ministry of Environmental Protection.

Additionally, BRICS countries have developed support programs and incentives for the transition to the “green economy” as integral parts of their national development strategies (see Table 2). Renewable energy sources have become the focus of special “green” programmes of state support in Brazil (PROINFA (Table 2)), India (National Mission for a Green India) and South Africa (Renewable Energy Independent Power Producer Procurement Programme). State support in China is aimed at controlling industrial pollution, promoting the rational use of water and land resources, energy and natural resources, and industrial waste management as part of the programme to combat climate change in Russia, India, China and South Africa (see Table 2).

The declaration of the 2012 Rio+20 conference entitled “The Future We Want” contained the greatest number of practical recommendations and guidelines for sustainable development in history [UN General Assembly, 2012] – from the proclamation of a “green economy” as one of the means to achieve sustainable development and eradicate poverty to the adoption of action programme with a set of financial support measures and summit decisions. It also established the UN System Task Team on the post-2015 UN development agenda which managed the transition from the MDGs to the sustainable development goals (SDGs). BRICS countries conduct active public consultations on all 17 SDG thematic areas¹³ in the framework of international initiatives and national dialogue platforms (see Table 2).

¹² Based on data from the Climate Action Network [n.d.].

¹³ See UN [n.d.b] for more detail.

Table 2. Current Strategies for Economic Growth and Major Programmes in the Area of Sustainable Development in the BRICS Countries

Country	SDG 1, 2	SDG 4	SDG 5, 10	SDG 3	SDG 6–7, 13–15
Brazil	<i>Programa de Aceleração do Crescimento (PAC 3) 2013–2018</i>				
	Fome Zero (2003) Brasil Sem Miséria Bolsa Família Bolsa Verde (2009–2013) Minha Casa Minha Vida Luz para Todos	National Education Plan (2013–2024)	National Plan of Policies for Women (Special Secretariat for Policies for Women Presidency of the Republic Brazil)	Saúde da Família Cartão Nacional de Saúde	Programa Conjunto das Nações Unidas sobre HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS)
Russia	<i>Concept for the Long-Term Socioeconomic Development of the Russian Federation to 2020</i>				
	Food Assistance for Work (UN WFP) Food Assistance for Education (UN WFP)	Federal state educational standards for primary general education (1–4 grades)		Subprogram “Maternal and Child Health” (2013–2020)	The national concept of counteraction to the HIV/AIDS epidemic in the Russian Federation
India	<i>Government of India's Twenty Point Programme 2006</i>				
	<i>Swarnajayanti Gram Samarojgar Yojana (1999)</i> Annapurna Scheme (2000–2001) Rashtriya Krishi Vikas Yojana (2007) Indira Gandhi National Old Age Pension Scheme Youth for India Fellowship (2011)	District Primary Education Programme (1994) Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (2001)	National Policy for Empowerment of Women Rajiv Gandhi Scheme for empowerment of adolescent Girls (2011) Dhanlaxmi Scheme Sukanya Samridhi Yojna (2015)	National Population Policy, National Rural Health Mission Indira Gandhi Matritva Sahyog Yojana (2010)	National AIDS Control Programme IV (2012–2017)
India	<i>Government of India's Twenty Point Programme 2006</i>				
India	<i>Government of India's Twenty Point Programme 2006</i>				
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India	<i>Government of India's Twenty Point Programme 2006</i>				

Country	SDG 1, 2	SDG 4	SDG 5, 10	SDG 3	SDG 6–7, 13–15
China	<i>13th Five-Year Plan for National Economic and Social Development (2016–2020)</i>				
	Seven-year Priority Poverty Reduction Program (1993–2000) Development-oriented Poverty Reduction for China's Rural Areas (2011–2020)	State Council Resolution on Basic Education Reform and Development (2001) Education Reinvigoration Action Plan (2003–2007)		New Rural Cooperative Medical Schemes (NRCMS) Healthy China 2020 Four Free and One Care Program China Compre-hensive AIDS Response (China CARES)	National Climate Change Programme China Water Conservation Technology Policy
South Africa	Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative – South Africa (ASGISA)				
	Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme Expanded Public Works Programme Free State Growth and Development Strategy National School Nutrition Programme Limpopo Growth and Development Strategy Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development Programme	Quality Improvement Development Support and Upliftment Programme (QIDS-UP)	Umsobomvu Youth Fund Initiative Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment Women's Flagship Programme	HIV and AIDS Counselling and Testing (HCT) Campaign National Policy on HIV/AIDS for Learners and Educators in Public Schools, and Students and Educators in Further Education and Training	National Development Plan 2030 Strategy for Sustainable Development (2009–2014) Renewable Energy Independent Power Producer Procurement Programme National Rhino Programme

^a The plan became an “umbrella” for such projects as National Watershed Development Project for Rainfed Areas (NWDPPRA); Soil Conservation in the Catchments of River Valley Project (RVP) and Flood Prone River (FPR); Reclamation and Development of Alkali and Acid Soil (RADAS), Watershed Development Project in Shifting Cultivation Areas (WDPSCA); Drought Prone Area Programme (DPAP); Integrated Wasteland Development Programme (IWDP); and National Afforestation and Eco-Development Project (NAEP) among others.

Note: The year of adoption (introduction) or the validity period of the programme is indicated in parentheses.

Source: Compiled by the author based on data from the relevant ministries of the BRICS countries, UNICEF, World Health Organization (WHO), FAO, UNDP and the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP).

Thus, aligning specific BRICS interests in the dialogue on sustainable development is based on socially oriented growth and environmentally friendly development goals, while the MDGs (now SDGs) and national commitments to mitigate and adapt to climate change shape its outer contour. Taking a shared responsibility within the framework of multilateral environmental agreements and trade rules, BRICS countries affect global consumption and production, and at the same time reflect a number of parameters of such obligations in the internal development programs.

BRICS' Intragroup Trade for Complementing National Interests in Sustainable Development Dialog

The deepening of trade and investment ties between BRICS countries, accompanied by the growing importance of their local export markets as complementing external demand (for China and India) and replenishing it (for Brazil and Russia), was initially based on their goods' complementarity under relatively weak intra-group competition [Khmelevskaya, 2015a]. This relates to Brazilian meat products in the Russian and South African markets, components for power equipment produced in China, and Russian electrical equipment and gas turbine engines in other BRICS countries.

It was in mutual trade (2009–2014) that the results of the initial stage of BRICS development became clear – in terms of overall export growth, Russia and Brazil were second after China, expanding both their trade ties (extensive growth) and export mix (intensive growth) [Khmelevskaya, 2015a, p. 46]. The divergence of external shock effects in 2013–2017 primarily emphasized the structural weaknesses of the BRICS states along with the differences in their foreign trade agendas – the retention of export positions or seeking import substitution, expansion or intensification of commodity flows. That is why more and more fine-tuning is needed now for the already established set of cooperation mechanisms and a “broad-based dialogue” within the BRICS, both through the involvement of interested people (and most importantly, representatives of professional associations) to address specific problems and through the implementation of “cross-cutting” development projects.

In line with the priorities of each presidency and using the multilateral negotiations format adopted in the WTO, the BRICS trade and economic cooperation agenda has been discussed since 2011 at the meetings of economic and trade ministers and the BRICS Contact Group on Economic and Trade Issues – since 2015, at the meetings of natural resources and ecology ministers, energy ministers, ministers of industry, and heads of BRICS competition authorities, and since 2016, at the meetings of labour and employment ministers and heads of customs authorities. In 2016, BRICS launched and tested a new public-private partnership tool – the BRICS Environmentally Sound Technology (BEST) Platform. At the same time, specialized working groups have appeared within the BRICS on competition issues research (2012), information and communications technology (2016), e-commerce (2017), environment (2018)¹⁴ and others.

Real demands of civil society and practical proposals on the BRICS trade and investment agenda have been articulated by the BRICS Business Forum since 2010 and the BRICS Business Council since 2013, by the Civil Forum, the Parliamentary Forum and

¹⁴ The memorandum on the establishment of the group was agreed upon during the meeting of the BRICS environment ministers on 13–16 September in Goa, and the first full-scale meeting of the group was held on 17 May 2018 in Durban.

the BRICS Youth Summit since 2015, and by the BRICS Universities League, the BRICS Network University and the Women Parliamentarians' Forum since 2016. In 2018, the Forum for the Exchange of Technologies and Innovations for Small and Medium-sized Enterprises and the Science, Technology and Innovation Women's Forum were established. Their activities are aligned with addressing the development of women's entrepreneurship and increasing productivity, and therefore, ultimately, with a need to reorient national development models toward inclusive and balanced innovational growth, which is now important for all BRICS members.

Trade policy measures are among the main barriers to intra-BRICS trade, business and investment [Khmelevskaya, 2015b, p. 106], and in the raw materials sector all members have relatively similar general levels of tariffs. In turn, impeding the sale of goods at prices that do not yield sufficient profits and increasing the burden on environmental systems, trade barriers encourage countries to increase exports of depletable resources, preserving low productivity and constraining the update of fixed assets. Almost twofold growth of Russian exports to the BRICS (by 80% in 2009–2014)¹⁵ explained by crude oil and petroleum products supplies (constituting about half of all exports to the BRICS in 2014). In the wake of the fall in energy prices in 2014–early 2015, China increased imports of crude oil from Russia and Brazil, becoming the second-largest buyer of petroleum products from the latter country. Despite the overall decline in intra-BRICS trade in 2013–2016, the Chinese share in India's foreign trade grew due to a multiple increase in Indian exports of oil distillation products, copper and chemical products [Khmelevskaya, 2015a].

The ability of countries to improve access to new and environmentally friendly goods, services and technologies through international trade and, as a result, to more effectively allocate limited natural resources, was recognized at the summits in Rio de Janeiro and Johannesburg. The fail-safe support for multiple complex links between sustainable development and international trade is the focus of many international institutions. For their part, they provide an international legal regime for about 200 multilateral environmental agreements, with more than 20 using trade-related measures to limit damage to the environment and human health while achieving their goals [UNEP, IISD, 2005, pp. 14–8].

The BRICS countries participate¹⁶ in the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES, 3 March 1973), the Vienna Convention for the Protection of the Ozone Layer (22 March 1985) and the Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer (16 September 1987), the Basel Convention on the Control of Transboundary Movements of Hazardous Wastes and Their Disposal (22 March 1989), the Convention on Biological Diversity (5 June 1992), the Stockholm Convention on Persistent Organic Pollutants (23 May 2001), the Rotterdam Convention on the Prior Informed Consent Procedure for Certain Hazardous Chemicals and Pesticides in International Trade (10 September 1998) and the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (12 December 2015), all of which directly define trade-related regulatory measures. Today, Russia is the only BRICS country that has not ratified the Framework Convention on Climate Change adopted in Paris on 12 December 2015 by 195 countries and containing commitments to reduce greenhouse gas emissions in order to keep the temperature rise within 2°C and limit temperature growth by 1.5°C [UN, 2015, p. 2].

Realizing that the impact of trade on the environment depends on the complementarity of their objectives and their orientation towards mutual support, international trade

¹⁵ Author's estimations based on data from International Trade Centre [n.d.].

¹⁶ As of 13 June 2018.

and commodity organizations (the WTO, the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), the World Customs Organization (WCO), International Sugar Organization (ISO), the International Cocoa Organization (ICCO), the International Organization of Vine and Wine (OIV), etc.) support the concept of sustainable development both in their fundamental multilateral agreements and in their arbitration practices and standards. For example, the longest and most complex trade disputes within the WTO were related to the environment: from protecting the sea turtle population from accidental catches by industrial fisheries to protecting human health from risks caused by the use of asbestos or the storage of used tires. The history of using the WTO as a platform for protecting the “green interests” of BRICS national economies (except Russia, which joined the pretrial WTO trade disputes settlement mechanism only in 2012) began almost from the moment of its establishment. The first case considered by this mechanism was the dispute over reformulated gasoline between Venezuela, Brazil and the United States. The decision on this case determined that the WTO General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) should not be interpreted in isolation from public international law [WTO, 1996], and thus it served as a precedent for including the provisions of multilateral environmental agreements when interpreting the provisions of the international trade organizations law.

In a dispute between the European Union and Brazil about retreaded tires in 2005, Brazil justified the imposition of restrictions on tire imports (not applicable to Mercosur and Venezuela) by arguing that because of the reduced period of using such tires, they are causing greater damage to the environment [WTO, 2009]. The proceedings resonated widely with the public because for the first time non-governmental environmental organizations of different levels (the Center for International Environmental Law, the Brazilian branch of the World Wildlife Fund and the Brazilian Forum for Environment and Development) joined and presented their independent expert opinions to the WTO. The reports of the then Brazilian Minister of the Environment Marina Silva (second by the number of votes in the first round of the presidential elections in Brazil in 2014) and the then “responsible officer” of the Brazilian ministry of foreign affairs and current WTO Director-General Roberto Azevedo, were often accompanied by vivid and emotionally colourful presentations. Additionally, for the first time the rules for promoting free and fair trade were applied from the standpoint of environmental protection and their correlation with it [Kadysheva, 2013] meanwhile Argentina, Mexico, Paraguay and China joined the WTO panel discussion on its side to show solidarity with Brazil in that point.

Given the absence of free trade agreements between the BRICS countries or their integration groupings, the WTO today is the only effective format for both bilateral and comprehensive dialogues on the trade aspects of sustainable development. In their joint summit declarations, BRICS leaders have also repeatedly reaffirmed the mandate of UNCTAD as an institution responsible for trade, investment, finance and technology issues in the context of development [BRICS Leaders, 2014, p. 12]. All BRICS countries are members and participants of key WCO agreements in the field of customs affairs. They are also members of many commodity organizations (the International Organization for Standardization and others).¹⁷ Russia and Brazil are members of the International Coffee Organization (ICO), Russia and India are members of the International Grain Council (IGC), and Brazil, Russia and India are members of the ICCO [Khmelevskaya, 2014].

¹⁷ For more information on the activities of international commodity organizations see Khmelevskaya [2014].

WTO rules and practice are primarily aimed at maintaining a critically important balance: on the one hand, the sovereign right of WTO members to use certain measures to protect their national interests is inviolable; on the other hand, it is necessary to ensure that WTO members do not abuse this right by using it to mask protectionist measures in the process of interpreting and applying exemptions provided for in Article XX, both general and those aimed at protecting people's lives, their health and the viability of animals and plants¹⁸ [Bernasconi-Osterwalder et al., 2012, pp. 319, 322–325]. In addition, the Agreement on Sanitary and Phytosanitary Measures and the Agreement on Technical Barriers to Trade of the WTO expand the list of such measures to precautionary ones. Their application is conditioned by international custom and practice, and therefore is often hidden and looks like the imposition of administrative barriers. The WTO Agreement on Subsidies and Countervailing Measures (SCM) and the Agreement on Agriculture contain a special safeguards for agricultural imports. The former also contains the category of non-actionable subsidies (Article 8),¹⁹ including the financing of “green” technologies and innovations.

“Green economy” measures promoting the development of a low-carbon economy and stimulating sustainable management in agriculture and forestry are becoming more complicated each year. This includes the transition from controversial countervailing duties and salvage fees to WTO-approved “green” public procurement [WTO, 2011] and voluntary quality standards. It also includes the formation of an “environmentally friendly goods” category attributable to a new market-oriented type of regulation [UNEP, IISD, 2014, pp. 13–4]. According to UNCTAD, over a third of global imports are subject to a variety of technical barriers – from inspection requirements to assessments of safety and quality parameters. Every sixth product must meet sanitary standards [UNCTAD, 2013, p. 3–5]. Moreover, these standards are increasingly confirming their protective assignment, while developed high-income countries hide selective protectionism behind technical barriers (they regulate access to 65% of imported goods, which is half as much as in Africa, and twice as high as in Asia and Latin America).²⁰

The problem of preserving and restoring the resource base is both the national priority of BRICS states and the focus of the BRICS multilateral dialogue since its launch: more than 40% of the world's forests and a third of the world's arable land are located in Brazil, Russia, India and China.²¹ In 2000–2008, more than half of the global increment of government expenditures on forest maintenance was provided by China and India [FAO, 2016, p. 39]. The BRICS forestry sector employs from 147,000 people in South Africa to 3.841 million in China, while the production of industrial wood, paper and pulp, and wood processing provides from 0.8% (Russia) to 1.7% (India) of GDP [FAO, 2014a, pp. 121–28]. At the same time, in agriculture and forestry, which are fully based on the exploitation of natural and climatic resources, such measures are considered for their potential economic and social consequences affecting almost one in four of the world's inhabitants (judging by the general BRICS population).

Agricultural production in the BRICS is a significant source of greenhouse gas emissions (it accounts for up to 10% of global emissions in carbon dioxide equivalent).²² Although the share of emissions from agriculture and forestry in the total amount of anthro-

¹⁸ See more details at WTO [n.d.a].

¹⁹ See more details at WTO [n.d.b].

²⁰ Author's estimations based on data in UNCTAD [2013].

²¹ Based on data in FAO [2014a].

²² Based on data from FAOSTAT database [FAO, n.d.].

pogenic emissions is decreasing, due to the emissions generated by the use of synthetic fertilizers in agriculture (with a share of 13%) and fossil fuels in other sectors, greenhouse gas emissions are growing.²³ Total exports of CO₂-equivalent from China to developed countries decreased from 827 million tons in 2002–2007 to 229 million tons in 2007–2012 [Pan et al., 2017, p. 935] both as a result of decreasing commodity exports growth and its lower resource intensity, but mainly in line with structural changes in the economy (in particular, reduced consumption of solid fuels and lower energy intensity of production). Further, seasonal factors and the consequences of global climate change (rising temperature, droughts, natural disasters) have a radical impact on this sector – deforestation occurs at the fastest pace in Brazil which is actively involving tropical forests in agricultural production [FAO, 2016, p. 18].

In turn, unilateral “green” trade measures are increasingly becoming a tool for segmenting markets or protecting local producers from international competition. The decrease in the ecological intensity of 109 countries’ exports in 1988–2013 was accompanied by an increase in the overall level of tariff load for finished goods [Kono, 2017], thus reducing the effects of tariff escalation. The reasons for the solidarity of India and China on “green” trade measures became obvious. They believe that such measures often contradict international trade rules and therefore require equal treatment for similar goods, that they can be used for hidden protectionism, and that they undermine the principle of common but differentiated responsibility of countries at different levels of development [Ares et al., 2009, pp. 13–8].

For BRICS countries, the likelihood that similar protection measures can be used to hide protectionism within the group is growing (see Fig. 1a). This includes consistent introduction of safety and quality standards (Brazil and Russia), technical barriers (Brazil), and price control measures (China) along with a sharp drop in the number of anti-dumping investigations and dominance of ecologically intensive raw materials and semi-finished products in foreign trade (see Fig. 1b). China’s emissions export volumes are estimated to reach 2,116.4 million tons per year, Russia’s – 540.7 million tons, India’s – 319 tons and Brazil’s – 66.6 tons [Makarov, Sokolova, 2014, p. 494].

On the one hand, the main items of Russian exports within the BRICS have the highest carbon intensity: oil and petroleum products provide 61% of Russia’s exports accounting for more than 58% of all BRICS fuel imports,²⁴ along with fertilizers and forestry products. Then come oil, mining and metallurgical products supplied by South Africa and organic chemistry exports from India. On the other hand, taking into account the weakness of BRICS export positions on the mutual markets [Khmelevskaya, 2015a], Russian emissions imports from China have substantially increased over the last decade (from 10% to 38%) [Makarov, Sokolova, 2014, p. 493]. Open BRICS economies have differently experienced the reversal of the global development cycle trajectory in 2013–2016. In Brazil and Russia, there was a recession, in South Africa there was stagnation; China experienced a slowdown, while India continued to grow [IMF, 2018, pp. 2–3].

Consequently, given the differentiation of the BRICS countries in terms of the quality of their growth and sensitivity to external shocks, market-oriented “green economy” regulation is increasingly becoming a way of segmenting markets (of oil and petroleum products in Russia and China) and protecting local producers from international competi-

²³ For example, according to FAO calculations, greenhouse gas emissions resulting from biological processes in paddy fields account for 10% of total emissions in agriculture.

²⁴ Calculated as of end-2014 based on data from International Trade Centre [n.d.].

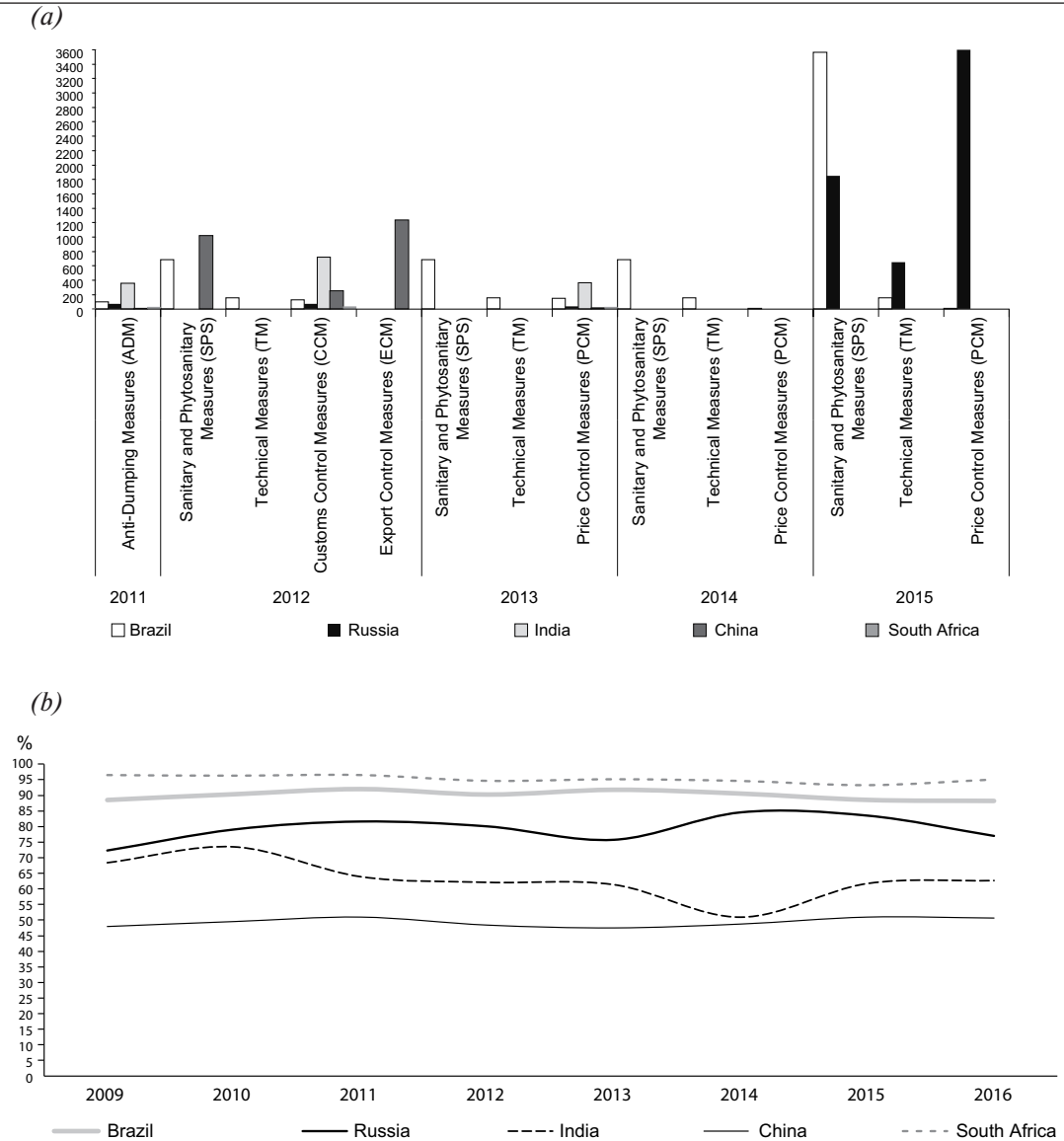


Fig. 1. Non-tariff Trade Measures* (a) and Environmentally Intensive Exports within the BRICS** (b) in 2009–2016

Notes:

* The number of regulated goods.

** Share of categories “Raw materials and intermediate products” (OECD classification) in intra-BRICS exports (%).

Source: Calculated and compiled by the author based on the World Integrated Trade Solution software²⁵ and the OECD statistical database [n.d.].

²⁵ The World Integrated Trade Solution (WITS) software provides multiple access to trade, tariff and non-tariff databases of UNCTAD, International Trade Center (ITC), United Nations Statistical Division (UNSD) and the World Trade Organization (WTO) [WITS, n.d.].

ition (for agricultural products from Brazil and Russia). For today's development models in China, India and South Africa, the relationship between economic expansion and carbon dioxide equivalent emissions is already weakly significant in terms of environmental risks and threats, even if their annual increment of 5% to 10% is taken into account [Azevedo et al., 2018, p. 114]. For Brazil and Russia, national development patterns still increase GHG emissions extensively.

The issue of dirty fuels used in transportation, industry and production of environmentally friendly goods purchased in the framework of social assistance and state population support programmes is also relevant. For example, India blocked the entry into force of the WTO Trade Facilitation Agreement in 2014 until it received a waiver (provisional exemption) related to the rules for creating food stocks, i.e., when food is purchased from small producers at inflated prices with its subsequent sale in the local market at a lower price. In turn, China and Russia participate in multilateral negotiations on the Environmental Goods Agreement based on a list of 54 products²⁶ compiled by the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation countries and approved at the 2012 Vladivostok summit (including wind turbines, air quality controllers, solar panels and other goods demandable in the local BRICS markets).

Conclusion

The foreign policy contour of the BRICS dialogue on sustainable development is set within the UN system, the WTO, and other international fora based on a shared responsibility and national obligations in the framework of international agreements and multilateral regulations. As its alignment with development strategies occurs in different environments and at different paces, the convergence of positions both within and outside the BRICS forum is in line with their intra-economic priorities, and hence multilateral cooperation mechanisms are included in national development plans: the transition of Russia and China to growth based on domestic demand is accompanied by increased participation in cross-cutting infrastructure projects and supranational institutions, while overcoming the same structural constraints in Brazil and South Africa is largely based on integration opportunities.

Broader involvement of intra-BRICS foreign trade relations in addressing the problems of quality development is partly hampered by the absence of free trade agreements, as evidenced by the practice of applying hidden trade measures in the BRICS in 2011–2016. Maintaining relatively similar low tariff loads in raw materials sectors, BRICS countries hinder the turnover of “green” goods within the association through non-tariff measures – technical barriers and price control measures along with a sharp drop in the number of anti-dumping investigations, and quality standards in conditions of sustainably high turnover of environmentally intensive raw materials. Crude oil and petroleum products account for 80% of the almost twofold growth of Russian supplies to other BRICS countries (by 80% in 2009–2014).²⁷

At the same time, given the differentiation of the BRICS countries in terms of quality of growth and sensitivity to external shocks, if they diversify exports (of oil and petroleum products from Russia and China) or protect local producers from international competition (for agricultural products from Brazil and Russia), using “green economy” measures instead of raising tariffs for environmentally friendly goods can help maintain the levels of trade and economic relations.

²⁶ See more details at: ANNEX C – APEC List of Environmental Goods [APEC, 2012].

²⁷ Author's estimations based on data from International Trade Centre [n.d.].

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Контуры диалога БРИКС по устойчивому развитию в реалиях внешнеторговых отношений¹

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Статья посвящена формированию контура многостороннего диалога БРИКС для целей решения проблем качества развития с опорой на наиболее демонстративную сферу их экономического сотрудничества — взаимную торговлю. Внешнеполитический контур диалога БРИКС — это разделенная ответственность и национальные обязательства в рамках системы ООН, ВТО и т.д. Поскольку его сопряжение со стратегиями развития происходит в разных средах и на различных скоростях, сближение позиций стран БРИКС — как вне, так и внутри объединения — идет в русле их внутриэкономических приоритетов, а значит, и включение механизмов многостороннего сотрудничества в национальные планы развития инклюзивно. Внешнеэкономический контур — это схожие ограничения внутреннего развития, основанные на эксплуатации природных ресурсов в сельскохозяйственных и обрабатывающих производствах, использование грязных видов топлива, экологически емкий экспорт и общая необходимость сохранения и восстановления ресурсной базы.

Аналитическую основу исследования составили количественные параметры взаимной торговли БРИКС за 2009–2017 гг., показатели ресурсоемкости экспорта БРИКС, статистика нетарифных ограничений. Сохраняя в сырьевых отраслях относительно схожую и по общему уровню низкую тарифную нагрузку, БРИКС регулируют оборот «зеленых» товаров внутри объединения с помощью технических барьеров, мер ценового контроля и стандартов качества при устойчиво высокой доле экологически емкого сырья. Вместе с тем в условиях дифференциации стран БРИКС по качеству роста и чувствительности к внешним шокам одни страны диверсифицируют свой экспорт (нефть и продукты ее переработки из России и Китая), другие защищают местных производителей (сельхозпродукция из Бразилии и России), а меры «зеленой экономики» взамен повышения тарифов на экологически чистые товары помогают удержать рынки.

Ключевые слова: БРИКС; Цели устойчивого развития (ЦУР); взаимная торговля; меры «зеленой экономики»; нетарифные ограничения; экологически емкий экспорт

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The First Five Decades of Cooperation for Development. Actors, Achievements and Challenges¹

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Abstract

The sustainable development goals (SDGs) adopted in 2015 by the United Nations (UN) in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development collectively serve as a universal guide for developed and developing countries in their national policies and international cooperation aimed at combating global challenges. The SDGs build on the outcomes of the Global Partnership for Development Co-operation (GPEDC), the foundations of which were laid in the 20th century. This article explores the system of international development cooperation as it evolved in the UN from 1946 until the adoption of the UN Millennium Declaration in 2000. It analyzes the resolutions and official records of the main UN bodies, with emphasis on the General Assembly (GA) and the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). Content analysis of the records reveals the delegations' positions, interests, contradictions and tensions which may have been concealed by the smooth text of the resolutions.

Four development decades culminated in adoption of the Millennium Declaration. Each stage had its achievements and problems. The main principles, mechanisms and areas of cooperation were molded in early sessions of the GA and ECOSOC. The creation of development support instruments began in mid-1940s, when the World Health Organization (WHO), the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance (EPTA) and later the UN Special Fund were established. The dollar monopoly was entrenched. The expansion of international trade and removal of barriers to trade issues gained prominence in UN resolutions in the 1950s. In 1960 the goal of increasing flows of assistance and capital to developing countries to 1% of the combined national incomes of economically developed countries was set for the first time.

The period from 1961–1970 was marked by the adoption of the Programme for International Development Co-operation – including the First United Nations Development Decade and the World Food Programme (WFP), the establishment of the UN Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) and the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), and by the elaboration of the international development strategy for the second development decade. The need for international monetary reform was debated in conjunction with the UN's pursuit of a solution to the problems of rising debt and international liquidity.

The key milestones of the second decade include the gradual integration of development and environment issues, efforts to resolve the international monetary crisis and alleviate the rising debt burden, an increase of pledged targets for the UN Development Programme (UNDP), the WFP and Special Fund, the decision on the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, efforts to implement the differential treatment principle with regard to developing countries within the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), adoption of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade, and a failed attempt to launch “global

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negotiations on restructuring of international economic relations on the basis of the principles of justice and equality in order to provide for steady economic development.”

In the third decade, progress was made toward strengthening the science and technology capacity as well as the industrial and resource development capacity of developing countries. The UN endorsed the *Global Strategy for Health for All by the Year 2000*, adopted the *Declaration on the Right to Development* and the *International Development Strategy for the Fourth United Nations Development Decade*. The transition to a sustainable development model was a major achievement. The economic recession, high rates of interest, inflation and mounting deficits, the problems of liquidity and balance of payments, protectionism and structural imbalances in the world economy required a comprehensive decision on the reform of the international monetary system. However, global negotiations were deadlocked due to the position taken by the Group of 7 (G7) that the independence of the specialized agencies such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank (WB) and the World Trade Organization (WTO) should be guaranteed. Despite efforts by the Group of 77 (G77) to deal comprehensively with the full range of economic issues, the G7's insistence on the 1982 Versailles summit formula blocked global negotiations, defining the system's rigidity for many years to come and contributing to its failure to prevent the 1998 and 2008 crises.

The *Agenda for Development* adopted in June 1997 and the *UN Millennium Declaration* adopted in September 2000 became the landmarks of the fourth decade and development cooperation history.

The international community came a long way in building and consolidating development cooperation in the second half of the 20th century. The UN became a cradle and a driver of this process and was a factor in its success. Indisputable achievements resulting from collective efforts over 55 years include a consistent consolidation of its foundational programme documents from the first development decade to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), continuous improvement of the review and appraisal process, integration of environmental issues into the development agenda, establishment of key development cooperation institutions and a significant increase in financing for development. However, efforts to create the conditions for sustained progress and development restructuring of the international economic system taking account of the interests of developing countries failed. The 21st century inherited the systemic problems of the international monetary and trade systems.

Key words: cooperation for development; United Nations; General Assembly; ECOSOC; UNDP; international financial institutions

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The United Nations (UN) sustainable development goals (SDGs) established in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development adopted in 2015 collectively serve as a universal guide for developed and developing countries in their national policies and international cooperation aimed at meeting global challenges. The SDGs build on the outcomes of the Global Partnership for Development Co-operation (GPEDC), the foundations of which were laid in the 20th century. This article explores the system of international development cooperation² as it evolved in the UN from 1946 until the adoption of the UN Millennium Declaration in 2000.

Methodology

This study analyzes the resolutions and official records of the UN's main bodies, and especially of the General Assembly (GA) and the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). Content analysis reveals the delegations' official positions, interests, contradictions and tensions which may have been concealed by the smooth text of the resolutions. In this quantitative analysis, all

² Development cooperation is understood as an activity that aims explicitly to support national or international development priorities which is not driven by profit, which discriminates in favour of developing countries and which is based on cooperative relationships that seek to enhance developing country ownership. See J. Alonso and J. Glennie [2015].

resolutions on cooperation for development have been integrated into a special database and sorted by session and area.³ In total, 9,713 GA resolutions and 3,774 ECOSOC resolutions were included in the database; of these 1,010 and 576 were on development, respectively.

Nine categories of documents have been identified:

1. Basic programme documents, including declarations, strategies and charters.
2. Trade policy and development issues. This includes four sets of resolutions. First, documents on trade expansion in developed and developing countries, the rejection of protectionism and the creation of preferential terms of trade for developing countries. Second, resolutions on multilateral trade negotiations. Third, resolutions condemning the use of sanctions and other restrictive measures against developing countries. Fourth, specific issues such as inflation effects on the prices of goods important to developing countries.
3. Development financing issues, including official development assistance, debt relief and the role of international financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank (WB) and regional development banks (RDBs).
4. Sectoral development. This category includes resolutions related to sectors such as agriculture and food, industry, science and technology, education and health care.
5. Special needs of individual countries, including least-developed countries, small island states and landlocked countries.
6. Organizational and operational issues, including reports on UN operations, the work of special UN programmes, decisions to strengthen coordination between specialized agencies and resolutions on the establishment of governing bodies.
7. Creation of UN instruments (special funds, regional commissions, etc.).
8. Disarmament and development.
9. Special development issues (the role of women in development, UN volunteers, etc.).

The parameters for the quantitative analysis include the number of resolutions, the share in the total number, the number and share of resolutions in individual categories and the dynamics over years and decades.

A Good Start is Half the Battle? 1946–1960s

Although the resolution on the first development decade was adopted only in 1961, the GA and the ECOSOC had been shaping the basic principles, mechanisms and areas of cooperation from their first sessions.

During this period, the World Health Organization (WHO), the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the International Finance Corporation, the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance (EPTA), regional economic commissions and the UN Special Fund were established.

In the resolutions and decisions of the first session, devoted mainly to the UN's institutional development, issues of direct relevance to economic and social development featured prominently. Thus, six out of 68 resolutions were devoted to the establishment (activities) of specialized organizations, including the WHO, the International Organization for Refugees and UNICEF. A resolution entitled "Agreements with Specialized Agencies" laid the foundation for cooperation with specialized organizations [UN, 1946]. The GA also discussed and unanimously adopted resolutions on the economic rehabilitation of devastated regions and on overcoming food shortages. Five out of 79 resolutions of the GA's second session approved the

³ Documents were considered as resolutions on development cooperation if, in one way or another, they contributed to the formation of a collective system: principles, goals, mechanisms or instruments. Resolutions on assistance to specific countries were not included in the database and were not counted in statistics.

activities of specialized organizations (WHO, UNICEF) and the principles of coordination and cooperation with them [UN, 1947a]. The GA also endorsed the work of the ECOSOC⁴ on the preparation of annual reports on global economic conditions and trends [UN, 1947b], calling for recommendations to improve living standards, ensure full employment and create conditions for economic and social progress and development [UN, 1947c]. However, development assistance and development cooperation issues were not discussed at either of the first two sessions.

Issues of economic assistance to underdeveloped countries were included in the GA's agenda for the first time at the third session, which adopted resolutions on economic development of underdeveloped countries [UN, 1948a] and technical assistance for economic development [UN, 1948b]. Having supported ECOSOC's Resolution 167 on facilitating the loan process of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), the GA created a time bomb: debt began to accumulate very quickly and even by the 1960s debt relief issues became critical, along with the search for sources of development financing. Issues of assistance to underdeveloped countries were discussed at almost all subsequent sessions up to 1960, including not only the expansion of technical assistance, but also practical aspects of mobilizing public and private capital to finance non-self-financing projects that were crucial for economic development [UN, 1950].

The amount of funding in the first years was not significant. Funds allocated to the organizations participating in the EPTA by the Technical Assistance Committee for 1956 amounted to \$29,734,085 [UN, 1955]. The majority of funding was provided to the FAO (\$8,057,000), the UN Technical Assistance Administration (\$6,434,852), the WHO (\$5,689,280) and the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) (\$4,940,933). This distribution trend persisted in subsequent years. Until the late 1950s, the financing of the EPTA grew insignificantly, reaching the equivalent of \$32,241,079 in 1960 [UN, 1959a]. The same year, \$150 million [UN, 1960a] was announced as a funding target of the Special Fund and EPTA, and for the first time an objective was set to increase the provision of international assistance and capital to 1% of the national income of advanced economies as soon as possible [UN, 1960b].

In the late 1940s, the process of creating development assistance instruments began. Decisions were often preceded by heated discussions. For example, 16 countries, including Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, the United States, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, Sweden, and Denmark [UN, 1952a], opposed the creation of a special fund for subsidies and long-term low-interest loans to underdeveloped countries, arguing that contributions from countries that voted against the resolution made up 78% of the UN budget and 90% of the budget of the EPTA, while remaining silent about their clear preference to channel aid flows through the IMF and the IBRD. Developing countries, the initiators of the resolution, insisted that the IBRD's lending policy did not allow underdeveloped low-income countries to get loans as they had limited resources to service the debts [UN, 1952b, pp. 331–338]. The preferences of major donors to mobilize private capital for investment in less-developed countries without using government guarantees were reflected in the resolutions of the eighth and ninth sessions of the GA (“On Creating an IFC for Economic Development” [UN, 1953] and “Question of the Establishment of an IFC” [UN, 1954a], respectively).

The path from the decision to create development assistance instruments to their implementation was long and not always successful, since the operational activities of the established structures ultimately depended on voluntary contributions. The decision to establish the UN

⁴ According to Article 62 of the charter, the ECOSOC should “initiate studies and reports with respect to international economic, social, cultural, educational, health, and related matters and may make recommendations with respect to any such matters to the General Assembly to the Members of the United Nations, and to the specialized agencies concerned.”

Special Fund for Economic Development [UN, 1954b] was made in 1954 at the ninth session. After a lengthy study, a resolution was adopted at the 12th session to create the fund no later than 1 January 1959 to help implement projects relevant to countries' economic development. The financial resources of the Special Fund amounted to \$100 million a year, to be received mainly from annual voluntary contributions which were to be specified several years in advance [UN, 1957a]. However, behind this smooth formulation were significant differences between the members of the preparatory committee⁵ regarding the objectives of the fund, its modalities and the amount of funding. The initial idea (of France) was that technical assistance should be provided to underdeveloped countries through an appropriate programme. National and international banking institutions would finance profitable operations, and the new fund would be designed to finance unprofitable projects necessary for further economic development. The USSR believed that "the Special Fund should provide credit facilities and should grant the underdeveloped countries low-interest or interest-free loans and subsidies, but it should not disburse all the contributions and funds it receives, as would a charitable organization. It is only in this way that the Special Fund can increase its capital and expand its operations, ultimately raising them to the levels required to meet the vast needs of the economic development of the underdeveloped countries" [UN, 1957b, p. 811]. The proposal made at the GA session on the use of the fund for capital development was forcefully rejected by the United States. The U.S. argued that the fund's resources were insufficient, since in order to support capital development, "financial support in the neighborhood of 400 or 500 million dollars in generally usable currencies should be available on an annual basis... in addition to the sums provided for United Nations programmes of technical assistance" [p. 813].

At the thirteenth session, the GA adopted a resolution establishing the Special Fund, but not the Fund for Economic Development. It was stated that contributions should be made in currencies readily usable by the Special Fund, consistent with the principles of efficiency and economy, or in currencies transferable to the greatest possible extent into a currency readily usable by the fund [UN, 1958a]. The USSR voted for the draft resolution, but considered it an "interim measure pending the establishment of a really universal fund for the economic development of underdeveloped countries, of transforming the Special Fund into SUNFED, i.e., into a fund for the financing of the economic and industrial development of under-developed countries and therefore a fund with much wider aims and terms of reference" [UN, 1958b, pp. 504–5]. This was the position shared by developing countries and socialist states. The GA endorsed the report and unanimously approved the start of the Special Fund's operations at the 14th session [UN, 1959b], and in 1965 the decision was made to consolidate the Special Fund and the EPTA into a UN Development Program (UNDP) [UN, 1965a]. The question of the UN Capital Development Fund, established by the GA's policy decision in 1960 [UN, 1960c], remained on the GA and ECOSOC agendas for a long time, but it has never become an effective instrument for development financing. In 1967, the fund was essentially integrated into the UNDP and the administrator of the UNDP was entrusted with administering the fund by performing the functions of the managing director, while the governing council of the Programme assumed the functions of the executive board of the fund. It was decided that the pledging conference on the fund would be convened simultaneously with the pledging conference on the UNDP [UN, 1967].

At the first stage of the establishment of development cooperation instruments, the dollar monopoly became entrenched. The wording on making contributions in convertible currencies has been included in most resolutions on budgeting. The debate at the 11th session [UN, 1956a] on a U.S.-initiated resolution on the use of currencies was illustrative [UN, 1956b]. The

⁵ Ghana, Denmark, Egypt, India, Canada, Mexico, the Netherlands, Pakistan, Peru, the United Kingdom, the United States, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, France, Chile, Yugoslavia and Japan.

document proposed the use of convertible currencies if states provided financing in excess of \$500,000. The USSR opposed a resolution “undermining the principle of voluntary contributions by the member states to the programme for financing technical assistance to underdeveloped countries.” The USSR’s representative declared: “In the opinion of the Soviet delegation, contributions to the United Nations programme of technical assistance should, at the discretion of each country, be made in national currencies, on a voluntary basis and without any limitations whatever. The Soviet delegation wishes to make it quite clear that it is opposed to any limit being placed on the amount that countries can contribute to the United Nations technical assistance programme in national currencies. It opposes any limitation or discrimination with regard to the individual currencies of other States Members of the United Nations. The United Nations should not give any preferential treatment to individual currencies, including the United States dollar. The Soviet Union has adequate means, considerable industrial and technical experience and duly qualified experts enabling it to provide under-developed countries with effective and beneficial technical assistance in the full amount of its contribution and in any form consistent with the principles of the United Nations. The Soviet rouble is one of the most stable and readily usable currencies in the world for purposes of providing technical assistance.” [UN, 1956a] However, with 64 votes in favour, 7 against and 2 abstentions, a draft resolution was adopted to refer the records of the debate to the ECOSOC and the Technical Assistance Committee to consider the issue at the 24th ECOSOC session, where the use of convertible currencies was approved.

An integrated approach and the principle of creating both internal and external conditions for development were established during the first decade of cooperation. For example, the resolution on the industrialization of underdeveloped countries included taxation issues (avoidance of double taxation) to attract private capital, as well as the question of an integrated and coordinated approach to industrialization and labour productivity [UN, 1957c]. The role of international economic and trade policy in development became the subject of debate for the first time at the fourth session of the GA, where it was recommended that the ECOSOC take into account the influence of policy measures on the economic development of underdeveloped countries when making recommendations to the GA [UN, 1949]. The resolution “Development of International Economic Cooperation and the Expansion of International Trade” emphasized the role of trade in economic development, the need to reduce barriers, expand trade and approve an agreement establishing the organization for trade cooperation [UN, 1957d].

At the end of the decade, issues related to the development of the world market and the improvement of trade conditions for development occupied an increasingly important place in development resolutions [UN, 1959c], including measures aimed at combating price fluctuations in commodity markets [UN, 1959d], expanding markets and facilitating access of commodities of underdeveloped countries to the markets of developed countries [UN, 1960d] and increasing the share of their products in international trade [UN, 1960e]. At the same time, decisions were taken that created the risk of market price fluctuations and barriers to the sale of agricultural products of developing countries [UN, 1960f]. This was the case, for example, with a resolution adopted at the suggestion of the U.S. and Canada on the provision of food surpluses to food-deficient peoples through the UN system [UN, 1960g]. The efforts of a number of developing countries to create an international trade organization were ignored or faced polite resistance from the members of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).⁶

In general, despite the difficulties of establishment, in the early years the foundation was laid for future cooperation: specialized institutions, funds, programmes and coordination

⁶ The USSR did not take part in the creation of the International Trade Organization (ITO) during the development of its charter, which was completed at the conference in Havana (November 1947–March 1948).

mechanisms were created, and priorities for creating internal and external conditions for development were identified, including the expansion of international trade and financing for industrial and agricultural development. For the first time, an objective was formulated to increase the volume of international assistance and capital provision to 1% of the national income of economically developed countries.

The First United Nations Development Decade, 1961–1970

The period from 1961–1970 was marked by the adoption of the programme for international economic cooperation – the United Nations Development Decade and the World Food Programme (WFP), the establishment of the UN Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO), the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and the UNDP, the adoption of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade, and efforts to reform the international monetary system. These are only some of the milestones in the evolution of development cooperation during this period.

The First United Nations Development Decade's key programme document [UN, 1961a] identified measures "required on the part of both developed and developing countries to accelerate progress toward self-sustaining growth and of the economy of the individual nations and their social advancement...with each country setting its own target, taking as the objective a minimum annual rate of growth of aggregate national income of 5% at the end of the Decade." These measures included assistance in industrialization, creation of a highly productive agricultural sector, mobilization of domestic resources, elimination of hunger and disease, development of education and vocational training, and research activities. The GA called on member states to provide market access for products from developing countries, to carry out activities aimed at providing developing countries with an equitable share of earnings from the extraction and marketing of their natural resources by foreign capital, and to take measures aimed at stimulating the inflow of private investment capital on terms satisfactory both to the capital-exporting and capital-importing countries. At the same time, the goal of accelerated capital inflows and technical assistance to developing countries was reiterated in order for these indicators to achieve 1% of the total national income of economically developed countries as soon as possible. Governments and specialized agencies were requested to provide information on the gross and net amount of capital inflows and international assistance to the Secretary-General [UN, 1961b]. The planned financing targets for the Special Fund and the EPTA were gradually increased. And in 1965, the UNDP was created through the merger of the Special Fund and the EPTA [UN, 1965b]. Though it was intended to preserve two funds, the characteristic features of the two programmes and the option to make contributions separately.

To support industrialization and expansion of UN activities in the field of industrial development, the decision was taken to establish a specialized body [UN, 1963a]. The resolution of the 20th session of the GA established the UNIDO as an autonomous organization. It was de-

The charter of the ITO was signed by more than 50 states and could enter into force after ratification by a majority of signatories. However, due to the changed position of the United States, the charter did not enter into force. During the preparation for the Havana conference, a group of 23 states held talks on tariff concessions and on 30 October 1947 signed the final act of the first tariff conference, which included the text of the GATT. The participating countries pledged to comply with the general principles of the first to fourth and ninth chapters of the Havana Charter. On 1 January 1948, the Protocol on the Temporary Application of GATT entered into force. In the future, the development of the international trading system was carried out mainly under the influence of the GATT [Shumilov, 2005]. However, in the 1950s, the USSR repeatedly raised the issue of the establishment of the ITO for the development of world trade and overcoming the closure of the GATT, which is "closed and limited...from the point of view both of its composition and its functions" [UN, 1959e, p. 963].

cided that its administrative and research activities would be financed from the regular budget of the UN while its operational activities would be financed by voluntary contributions [UN, 1965c] and by resources from the UN regular programme of technical assistance [UN, 1966a].

The WFP was established on an experimental basis with an expected volume of voluntary contributions of \$100 million per year. The programme aimed to supplement food aid with support for agricultural sector development [UN, 1961c]. The target for contributions to the programme grew steadily and already by 1969 voluntary contributions for 1971–72 were approved in the amount of \$300 million, of which at least one third should be in cash and services [UN, 1969a].

Issues of trade as a resource for economic development remained in the spotlight. Trying to correct the effects of the decision on food surpluses, the GA called for the avoidance of steps leading to discrimination and fluctuations in commodity price markets, prevention of adverse market consequences associated with the disposal of surpluses, and convening of a conference on international trade problems, especially relating to commodities [UN, 1961d]. The USSR, which put forward the idea of holding the conference, considered its main goal as being “to work out practical and effective recommendations and measures for the development of trade among all countries of the world without discrimination and artificially created restrictions or obstacles... removal of artificially created obstacles to trade between East and West and to trade among other countries of the world” [UN, 1963b, p. 212]. At the same time it regarded the conference as the first step toward the creation of an international trade organization. The memorandum of the Soviet delegation entitled “Preliminary Considerations Regarding the Main Provisions for an International Trade Organization” outlined the main provisions, principles and objectives of the ITO. The proposal did not find support from GATT members, and as a result, UNCTAD [UN, 1965d] became the key UN body on trade and development. Its functions included promoting international trade, formulating principles and policies regarding international trade and related problems of economic development, facilitating coordination of other UN agencies in the field of international trade, and harmonizing trade and related development policies of governments and regional economic groupings.

In order to improve the efficiency and coordination of the activities within the UN system in pursuit of the UN development decade goals, a general review of programmes and activities of the UN, the specialized agencies, the International Atomic Energy Agency, the UN Children’s Fund and other UN institutions and agencies in the economic, social, technical cooperation and related fields was carried out in the middle of the decade [UN, 1966b]. An analysis of the preliminary results from the decade was conducted. In 1966, following the report of the secretary-general on the interim results, a decision was taken on an international development strategy for the 1970s [UN, 1966c]. The same year, the GA instructed the ECOSOC to prepare a draft declaration on social development to define the objectives and the methods and means of achieving them [UN, 1966d] in order to complement economic development programmes with social development measures.

An assessment of the progress made toward the goal that the inflow of external resources to developing countries should reach 1% of the national income of each developed country showed that the debt-servicing burden in 1965 exceeded by more than half the loans received. Net inflow of aid to developing countries remained almost unchanged from 1961 to 1965 (\$6,600 million), and the rapid increase in the debt-servicing burden would completely absorb capital inflows in 15 years [UN, 1966e]. The GA urged developed countries to provide at least 80% of assistance in the form of grants and loans at interest rates of 3% or less with a repayment period of 25 years or more, increase the share of untied aid, fulfill the targets set for contribu-

tions to the UNDP and increase contributions to the International Development Association (IDA) by the end of 1968 [UN, 1966f].

The problems of growing debt and decreasing international liquidity determined the need for a reform of the international monetary system to make it more responsive to the requirements of economic growth of both developed and developing countries [UN, 1966g]. At the 23rd session (1968), the GA approved the decision of the IMF Board of Governors to establish the special drawing rights facility and called on member countries for the early ratification [UN, 1968a]. Welcoming the historic decision of the board of governors on the first allocation of \$9.5 billion in special drawing rights (SDRs) among the fund participants for a period of three years starting 1 January 1970, the GA invited members to consider the possibility of establishing a link between the allocation of the new reserve asset and the provision of additional financing to developing countries, as well as speeding up consideration of quota adjustments to meet the special needs of developing countries [UN, 1969b].

Most development issues were worked out within the Second Committee of the GA (economic and financial issues). However, development issues were integrated into the work of all committees. The use of resources released as a result of disarmament was discussed by the First Committee (issues of disarmament and international security). The right to development was the focus of the Third Committee (social, cultural and humanitarian issues). One of its achievements was the adoption of the Declaration of Social Progress and Development in 1969 [UN, 1969c]. The declaration emphasized the interdependence of economic and social development, calling for a change in international economic relations, in which equality of opportunity should be as much a prerogative of nations as of individuals within a nation.

In the first development decade, there the tendency to integrate development assistance and environmental issues emerged [UN, 1968b]. During the preparation of the UN Conference on the Human Environment, there was an acute discussion of the alignment of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade goals to improve and preserve the ecological balance with the financial responsibility in the form of additional assistance to developing countries [UN, 1970a, p. 3]. Canada, France, Japan, Luxembourg, New Zealand, South Africa, the United Kingdom, the United States, Australia and Belgium voted against this provision. It was decided that a second session of the preparatory committee would be held to consider the issue of providing additional funds to developing countries for the protection of the environment [UN, 1970b].

The International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade, adopted after a lengthy preparation and taking into account the evaluation of progress of the first decade, did not include environmental conservation in the goals, objectives or policy measures of development cooperation [UN, 1970c]. The declaration stated a sustained improvement in the well-being of everyone and bestowing benefits on all as an ultimate objective. It recorded the key principles: the entire international community bears a common and shared responsibility for economic and social progress while the primary responsibility for the development of developing countries rests upon themselves. The following objectives were set: to achieve by 1980 the growth rate of the developing countries' gross product of at least 6%, per capita product of at least 3.5%, a manufacturing output growth rate of 8%, agricultural output growth of 4% and annual growth in exports and imports of 7%. To achieve these goals, measures were envisaged to expand trade and economic cooperation and remove barriers to trade, as well as special measures taking into account the special needs of least-developed countries and landlocked countries. The priority source of financing was mobilization of developing countries' resources by strengthening tax administration systems, increasing the efficiency of public enterprises and creating conditions for private investment. Developed countries were expected to provide investments and assistance: By 1972, the target volume of financial resource transfers

to developing countries were meant to reach a minimum net amount of 1% of their gross national product at market prices annually. A major part was supposed to be provided in the form of official development assistance (ODA). Each economically developed country should exert its best efforts to reach a minimum net ODA amount of 0.7% of gross national product (GNP) at market prices by the middle of the decade. A system of measures was provided to ensure a systematic review and assessment of the implementation of goals and objectives at all levels. Thus, for the first time, a comprehensive document was adopted which became the foundation of international development cooperation for the next decades. Financial objectives for assistance in the amount of not less than 1% of the GNP of economically advanced countries were also recorded in the Declaration of Social Progress and Development, adopted a year earlier at the 24th session of the GA [UN, 1969d].

The Second United Nations Development Decade, 1971–1980: G77 versus G7?

The key milestones of the Second United Nations Development Decade include the gradual integration of development and environmental issues, efforts to overcome the international monetary crisis and to provide liquidity and financing for development, alleviation of the growing debt burden of developing countries, increased pledging targets for the UNDP, the WFP and special funds, decisions on the development and adoption of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, efforts to promote implementation of the differential treatment principle with regard to developing countries in the framework of the GATT, preparation and adoption of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade and the unsuccessful attempt to launch global negotiations on international economic cooperation for development.

At the beginning of the decade, the preparatory process for the UN Conference on the Human Environment (Stockholm Conference) was overshadowed by the struggle between the USSR and the socialist countries on the one hand, and the United States and NATO countries on the other, for the right of the German Democratic Republic to participate on equal terms [UN, 1971a].⁷ In 1971, on the eve of the conference a GA resolution for the first time laid the principle of common but differentiated responsibility for maintaining ecological balance, and also the sovereign right of each country to exploit its resources in accordance with the needs of development in such a way that its environmental policy does not have a negative impact on economic growth of developing countries. The resolution emphasized that the development of international cooperation to prevent, eliminate or reduce adverse environmental effects should not negatively affect the progress of developing countries, including the deterioration of the terms of trade as a result of creating additional obstacles such as non-tariff barriers, decreases in the inflow of international development assistance and deterioration of its terms and conditions [UN, 1971b]. In December 1972, noting the recommendations of the conference, the GA emphasized that resources for environmental development programmes should be additional in relation to the existing level and the projected growth in resources stipulated in the International Development Strategy [UN, 1972a]. These principles have become fundamental in the UN system for many decades of development cooperation.

In the course of the second decade, the issues of financing for development and servicing developing countries' debt remained acute. According to WB estimates, the growing burden

⁷ The German Democratic Republic (GDR) at that time was not a member of any UN agencies. In 1972, the Federal Republic of Germany and the GDR signed the Basic Treaty, and both countries were admitted to the UN in September 1973. At the 26th session, the socialist countries proposed to postpone the conference until 1973 so that the question of the GDR's participation could be raised again at the 27th session.

of external debt exceeded \$7,000 million in 1972 [UN, 1972]. The first biennial review of the implementation of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade showed that the net aggregate transfer of financial resources was lower than planned amounting to 0.69% of the GDP in 1972, while the ODA level stood at 0.33% in 1972, decreasing from 0.86 and 0.50 respectively in 1961 [UN, 1973a]. Inflation, the limited access of developing countries to the financial markets of developed countries and lack of progress in the reform of the international monetary system exacerbated the situation. Reform of the international monetary system [UN, 1973b], replenishment of the International Development Association [UN, 1975a], recapitalization of the IBRD [UN, 1976a, 1979e] and the impact of inflation on the development process [UN, 1977a] remained high on the GA's agenda. The issues of taking into account the interests of developing countries in revising IMF quotas, ensuring greater international liquidity, creating a link between SDRs and additional resources for financing development were discussed at each session of the GA [UN, 1971c]. Steps to reform the international monetary system were limited to measures within the IMF. This was the principled position of the United States, while the Soviet Union, not participating in the IMF, opposed such an approach. At the 34th session of the GA, the United States and its partners opposed [UN, 1976b, p. 450] and subsequently practically blocked the proposals of the Group of 77 to consider a programme of action for further development of the international monetary system so that "progress in this area could contribute to the establishment of the new international economic order" [UN, 1979f].

The United States has consistently opposed resolutions to accelerate the transfer of real resources to developing countries, including to meet the target of 0.7% of the gross national income, revise rules concerning access of developing countries to capital markets, and reorganize the entire system of debt renegotiation so that it ensures the achievement of development goals rather than commercial ones [UN, 1976c]. The United States also opposed reorganizing the entire debt repayment system and improving access to international capital markets [UN, 1977b].

In 1977, debts amounted to \$200 billion, which was the result not only of insufficient assistance, but also reduced export earnings and increased import costs. The GA and UNCTAD had consistently advocated for eliminating trade barriers, urging the participants of the Tokyo Round of multilateral trade negotiations to take into account the interests of developing countries, provide significant concessions on products from the least-developed countries, and preferences for goods from developing countries [UN, 1972c]. The United States objected to the principle of non-reciprocity and differential and special treatment in favour of developing countries, significant reduction in tariff and non-tariff restrictions on the trade of developing countries, and elimination of restrictions in, and improvement of, the generalized system of preferences [UN, 1978a, 1978b, 1979g]. It may be recalled that the results of the Tokyo Round were modest.

Efforts to create an external environment for development were accompanied by measures to strengthen UN mechanisms. UNDP resources were increasing. In the first half of the decade, an objective was set to increase contributions by 15% annually to promote the goal of doubling resources by 1975 [UN, 1972d]. It was decided that a UN special fund would be established under the auspices of the GA, as a part of the special programme to provide emergency relief and development assistance. The fund was empowered to make grants and loans on concessionary terms, and, as appropriate, to participate in investments to countries most seriously affected by economic crises and to enter into management contracts with the IBRD, the IMF and the regional development banks [UN, 1974]. The objective was set again to ensure the achievement of a funding target of \$1 billion [UN, 1975b].

In accordance with the objectives in the second development decade to increase growth rates in industrial and agricultural production, specialized development assistance bodies in these areas

were strengthened. The UN Industrial Development Fund [UN, 1976d] was created to supplement the UN Industrial Development Program. An objective was set to achieve the Industrial Development Fund funding level of \$70 million by 1979 [UN, 1978c]. Later the resources of the fund and the program were pooled. At the same time the transformation of the UN Industrial Development Organization into a specialized agency [UN, 1977c] and strengthening of operational activities in the field of industrial development began [UN, 1977d]. The target for contributions to the WFP was growing and amounted to \$950 million for the last biennium of the decade [UN, 1977e]. The International Fund for Agricultural Development with a target amount of funding of SDR 1 billion was established [UN, 1975c]. The growing role of science and technology in facilitating growth and development was reflected in the approval of the Vienna Programme of Action, the decision to establish the Intergovernmental Committee and the Centre for Science and Technology for Development within the UN Secretariat, and the creation of a financing system with expected Interim Fund resources of \$250 million [UN, 1979a].

In preparing an international development strategy for the third development decade, key programme measures were identified in the areas of improving conditions for agricultural production, developing infrastructure, promoting industrialization, improving the terms of trade, reforming the monetary system and promoting the transfer of technology [UN, 1978d]. It was proposed that the flow of resources to developing countries should significantly increase so that funding during the 1980–1990 decade would amount to \$300 billion with annual commitments of at least \$25 billion during the early years [UN, 1979b].⁸ The International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [UN, 1980a] set even more ambitious goals than its predecessors, envisioning an average annual rate of GDP growth of 7%, per capita gross domestic product growth of about 4.5% per year, accelerated growth of manufacturing output of about 9% per year, an increase in the share of developing countries in world manufacturing production to 25% by 2000, gross investment of 28% of GDP by 1990, and exports and imports growth of 6% and 8% respectively.

As the most important condition for the development of developing countries and the growth of the global economy, the objective of intensifying efforts to restructure the international monetary system was postulated: “The international monetary system should provide for the equitable and effective participation of developing countries in decision making, taking into account, *inter alia*, their growing role in the world economy, as well as a symmetrical and efficient adjustment process, stability of exchange rates of international currencies, and further strengthening and expansion of the special drawing rights as the central reserve asset in order to ensure better international control over the creation and equitable distribution of international liquidity” [UN, 1980a, para. 26].

The parameters of financing for development remained at the level established in the first and second development decades: an increase in ODA to 0.7% of developed countries’ gross national product by 1985 and further growth to 1%. To ensure food security and eradicate hunger, WFP resources must grow to at least \$1 billion a year. Members of the European Community, the U.S., Canada and Australia expressed their support for the Strategy. The European Community reaffirmed full readiness to make its best effort to achieve the target of 0.7% of gross national product by the end of the decade [UN, 1980b].

Developing countries, while generally supporting the Strategy, noted that the text did not meet their expectations. Speaking on behalf of the G77, the representative of Venezuela said: “Among the positive aspects of the new Strategy, special reference should be made to the preamble, which clearly recognizes the need for structural change in international relations as well as for the establishment of a new international economic order; the adoption of a scenario of

⁸ Belgium, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Japan, the United Kingdom and the United States voted against [UN, 1979c, p. 778].

higher general growth targets than in the past Decade, based on an annual growth rate of 7% of the gross national product of the developing countries, including a time-frame for the attainment of the 0.7% target for official development assistance, a target carried over laboriously from the previous Strategy; the drawing up of general frameworks for action on two far-reaching issues in the present international situation, namely monetary questions and energy; various important objectives in the area of trade; the particular and unprecedented attention to be devoted to the needs of the special categories of developing countries as an integral concept; and a section on the review and appraisal of the new Strategy, which is considerably stronger than the one agreed upon for the previous Decade.”

At the same time, the countries of the G77 stressed that the Strategy did respond to the developing countries aspirations: “In the paragraphs dealing with the economic part, such a large number of reservations and interpretative declarations are made. These indicate not just a lack of political will on the part of many developed countries, but their real opposition to measures for restructuring the international economic system in order to ensure equity, justice and stability in world economic relations, which are unquestionably the fundamental objectives of the new international economic order” [UN, 1980b, p. 93]. The German Democratic Republic, on behalf of the socialist states, supported the provisions of the Strategy, but the socialist states refrained from assuming the obligation to allocate a fixed share of their gross national product for assistance purposes. The socialist countries also noted the Strategy’s lack of ambition in comparison with the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order⁹ and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [UN, 1980b, p. 82].¹⁰

The development and adoption of the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States was an attempt to change the global balance of power and ensure full and equal participation of developing countries in the formulation and implementation of all decisions affecting the international community. The ambitious goals stated in the documents were not implemented, nor was the G77 initiative on global negotiations relating to international economic cooperation for development, approved at the 34th session of the GA [UN, 1979d]. This became one of the landmark failures of the third development decade.

The goal of the global negotiations was “the establishment of a new system of international economic relations based on the principles of equality and mutual benefit” [UN, 1979c, pp. 652–3] and a comprehensive solution to such problems as “generalized inflation; unemployment; protectionism; the inadequacy of the financial and monetary systems, the continuing deterioration in the balance of payments and the disorder in trade in raw materials and energy” [Ibid, p. 656].¹¹ The socialist states supported the process.

The text of the resolution stressed that the global round of negotiations “should not involve any interruption or have any adverse effects upon the negotiations in these forums, but should reinforce and draw upon them” [Ibid, p. 652].¹² This was the principled position of the United States and developed countries. The United States agreed “to launch a ship called global negotiations,” but stressed that “this ship cannot begin its voyage unless our work successfully constructed it.” Formally agreeing to the process, the United States opposed its essence: “Regarding paragraph 2, we appreciate the strong desire of many nations to ensure that the global negotiations take place in the United Nations system and that they cover many categories of

⁹ The Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order was adopted by Resolution 3201 (S-VI) of the UN General Assembly on 1 May 1974.

¹⁰ The Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States was adopted by Resolution 3281 (XXIX) of the UN General Assembly on 12 December 1974.

¹¹ From a presentation by the representative of Mexico.

¹² From a statement by the representative of Pakistan, who introduced the draft resolution.

subjects. We support this general concept. But we want to make unambiguously clear that there are certain subjects that can be, and in fact must be, negotiated in their appropriate forums. International monetary issues must be negotiated in IMF; matters related to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade must be negotiated in GATT. We can certainly conceive of a structure that would permit the work of these forums and other active specialized forums to be part of the entire process. In this connection, we emphasize that the final phrase of paragraph 2 (a) “without prejudice to the central role of the General Assembly,” does not alter the respective roles and powers of the various organizations of the United Nations system that are spelled out in their relationship agreements with the United Nations, nor does it change the recommendatory nature of United Nations General Assembly resolutions and decisions as established in the Charter. We are pleased that paragraph 3 states that global negotiations should neither interrupt nor adversely affect ongoing negotiations. It is our view, for example, that the duplication of active negotiations being held in other forms would represent such an adverse impact” [Ibid, p. 657].¹³ Thus, the three-decades-long struggle of the G77 to restructure international economic relations and establish a new world order was, in fact, initially doomed to failure. The second decade was marked by undoubted success in strengthening the UN mechanisms for promoting development and agreeing on ambitious goals for the third development decade. At the same time, developing countries’ efforts to reform the system of international economic relations faced firm opposition from developed countries.

The Third United Nations Development Decade, 1981–1990: Integrating Environmental Protection into Cooperation for Development

The third development decade was marked by efforts to strengthen scientific, technical [UN, 1981a]¹⁴ and industrial potential [UN, 1981b],¹⁵ develop the energy resources of developing countries [UN, 1982a],¹⁶ adopt the Global Strategy for Health for All by the year 2000 [UN, 1981c], find a long-term solution to debt problems [UN, 1986a], adopt the Declaration on the Right to Development [UN, 1986b]¹⁷ and prepare and adopt the International Development Strategy for the Fourth United Nations Development Decade. Negative trends in the global economy (economic slowdown, currency instability, increased protectionism, structural imbalances) jeopardized the implementation of the goals of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [UN, 1982b]. In this context, efforts of the

¹³ From the speech of the U.S. representative.

¹⁴ The guiding principles for the financing system were approved: the asymmetry of the technological capacity between developed and developing countries, a predictable, continuous and substantial flow of resources in addition to those existing within the UN system, untied resources, and core resources of \$200 million per year for the financing system for the period 1983–85.

¹⁵ Decisions were taken to ratify the new constitution of the UN Industrial Development Organization so that it could become a new specialized agency in 1982, to secure the budget of the Industrial Development Fund in the amount of \$50 million annually, to expand programmes and projects in the field of energy-related industrial technology, and to prepare a UN conference on industrial development in 1984.

¹⁶ For example, by increasing the resources of the World Bank and regional banks on favourable terms for the purposes of exploration and development of natural resources.

¹⁷ Development is a comprehensive economic, social, cultural and political process aimed at constant improvement of the well-being of the entire population and of all individuals on the basis of their active, free and meaningful participation in development and in the fair distribution of benefits resulting therefrom. States are responsible for creating national and international conditions favourable to the realization of the right to development. (146-1 (U.S.) -8)

international community were focused on three main areas: the restructuring of international economic relations, the implementation of the objectives of the Strategy, the principles of the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and the objectives of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, and overcoming the external debt crisis [UN, 1988a] while ensuring sufficient resources for development financing [UN, 1988b].

At its 37th session, evaluating the global crisis as a result of the disruption of the structural balance and the functioning of international relations, the GA called for concrete emergency measures in favour of all developing countries on the most pressing issues, including deficits in the balance of payments, deterioration in the terms of trade, adverse effects of high interest rates on the servicing of external debt, insufficient flows of foreign assistance, inequitable terms of technology transfer, impediments to access to the capital markets, and price fluctuations of raw materials [UN, 1982c]. At the same time, the GA recalled the need to conduct global negotiations on international cooperation. Despite the political will of the G77, four years after the decision to launch the preparatory process, constructive dialogue did not begin due to opposition from the United States and its G7 partners. At the 37th session [UN, 1982d] the discussion on the launch of global negotiations was actually blocked by the United States and other G7 members taking the position that the formula adopted in the G7 Versailles Declaration should be the basis for global negotiations: “The launching of global negotiations is a major political objective approved by all participants in the Summit. The latest draft resolution circulated by the Group of 77 is helpful, and the discussion at Versailles showed general acceptance of the view that it would serve as a basis for consultations with the countries concerned. We believe that there is now a good prospect for the early launching and success of the global negotiations, **provided that the independence of the specialized agencies is guaranteed**” [G7, 1982]. The G77’s objection that “the Versailles communique, instead of facilitating the negotiations which we would have believed to be a rational and logical response, has instead created a stalemate” [UN, 1982e, p. 918], faced a formal U.S. response: “Realism requires that we recognize remaining differences on global negotiations and that we candidly discuss and try to co-operate in reconciling them” [Ibid, p. 921]. At the 38th session, the G7 actually pushed the Versailles formula as the basis for negotiations, but even after their launch, the condition of guaranteeing the independence of the specialized agencies created an insurmountable obstacle to finding comprehensive solutions to the restructuring of international economic relations, taking into account the growing role and needs of developing countries.

Measures to resolve external debt problems were discussed at almost every session. Considering that developing countries’ debts became an obstacle to economic growth, increased the vulnerability of the international financial system, adversely affected the ability of debtor countries to import and creditors to export, and created risks for political and social stability, the GA called for strengthened work on the preparation of an international growth- and development-oriented strategy [UN, 1987a]. The strategy to find a durable solution to the debt problem proposed at the 44th session formulated as a priority the creation of conditions for growth and development, including the successful conclusion of the Uruguay Round of trade negotiations to improve market access for the export products of developing countries, active efforts to diversify exports of developing countries, an increase in external resources to complement domestic measures conducive to capital formation in developing countries, a strengthened role for multilateral financial institutions, and readiness of creditor countries to write off or reduce debts [UN, 1989a]. The United States voted against the resolution, believing that it did not pay enough attention to the needs of domestic reforms in developing countries, did not recognize the key role of the IMF and the World Bank, and raised issues that should be discussed in other specialized agencies. Nevertheless, at the next session, the resolution was adopted without a vote [UN, 1990b].

Development issues were often used as instruments in the political struggle by both developed and developing countries. In the 1980s, six resolutions were adopted calling on the

United States to abandon the threat or use of trade embargoes, restrictions and other measures as a form of political and economic coercion which violate the sovereign rights of developing states.¹⁸ In the fourth development decade, such resolutions were adopted every two years [UN, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986c, 1987b, 1989b].

Resolutions were usually initiated by the G77, supported by the socialist countries, but rejected by the United States and its partners.¹⁹ In fact, if development assistance measures were used by developed countries in relation to developing ones as “carrots,” then measures of economic coercion were applied as “sticks.” It is clear that such measures violated the spirit and the letter of the UN Charter and the programme documents of the organization, including the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States. Therefore, the United States consistently opposed resolutions to review the implementation of the charter [UN, 1982f].

Box

Despite geopolitical changes and obvious inefficiency, the practice of adopting resolutions condemning the use of sanctions continued in the 1990s. Seven such resolutions were adopted. In the mid-1990s, the extraterritorial use of sanctions by the U.S. against European companies operating in Iran and Libya changed the balance in voting. At the 51st session, the United States was supported only by Israel, Micronesia and Uzbekistan [UN, 1996b]; at the 52nd session, only the United States opposed the resolution [UN, 1997a]. At the 53rd session European Union members stated they were against sanctions but abstained from voting, and the U.S. was supported only by Israel [UN, 1998a]. Sanctions against Yugoslavia in December 1999 were supported by Germany and the Marshall Islands [UN, 1999a].

¹⁸ In 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1989. In the 1980s, U.S. sanctions were imposed against Brazil (1978–81), Argentina (1978–82), Bolivia (1979–82), India (1978–82) and Iran (1979–81). From the late 1970s to the 2000s U.S. sanctions were in force against Pakistan (1979–2001), Libya (1978–2004) and Iraq (1980–2003). In the 1980s, the United States imposed sanctions against Nicaragua (1981–90), Zimbabwe (1983–88), Iran (1984–), Lebanon (1984–97), South Africa (1985–91), Syria (1986–), Angola (1986–92), Sudan (1989–) and others. In the 1990s sanctions were imposed against China (1991–), Indonesia (1991–97), Peru (1991–95), Cameroon (1992–98), Cambodia (1992–), Guatemala (1993), Nigeria (1993–98) and others. From 1991 to 2001, EU and U.S. sanctions were effective against Yugoslavia. Sanctions against the USSR were imposed periodically. See Hufbauer et al. [2009, pp. 20–33].

¹⁹ For example, draft resolution 39/210 was adopted by 116 votes to 19, with 6 abstentions: For: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Belarusian Soviet Socialist Republic, Republic of Cape Verde, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic), Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos Democratic People's Republic, Lebanon, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Spins, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Vietnam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France; Germany, the Federal Republic of Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Turkey, the United Kingdom, the United States.

Abstained: Austria, Finland, Greece, Ivory Coast, Spain, Sweden.

Resolutions on the relationship between disarmament and development providing for the use of resources released through disarmament for development purposes also became stumbling blocks [UN, 1984, 1987c, 1988c, 1989d]. They built on the initiative put forward by the USSR in 1973 at the 28th session of the GA [UN, 1973c]. The United States refused to take part in the international conference on this issue, refrained from participating in the preparation of the draft resolution and did not “consider itself bound or committed in any way by either the declarations in the Final Document of the recent International Conference or the terms of any resolution” adopted there [UN, 1987d, p. 13].²⁰

The achievements of the third decade included decisions on sustainable development. The report of the World Commission on Environment and Development for the first time set the objective of reorienting national and international policies toward sustainable development models, which implied that “meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs, should become a central guiding principle.” [UN, 1987e] The GA called on the governing bodies, organizations and programmes of the United Nations system to review their activities and programmes through the lens of sustainable development and to link development plans, priorities and objectives with sustainable development commitments. The principle of an equitable sharing of the environmental costs was formulated [UN, 1987e]. At its 44th session the GA stressed that “poverty and environmental degradation are closely interrelated and that environmental protection in developing countries must, in this context, be viewed as an integral part of the development process and cannot be considered in isolation from it” agreed to convene the UN conference on environment and development. The Conference held in June 1992 confirmed the principle in the Rio Declaration [UN, 1992d]. Plans were made to elaborate measures to promote sustainable and environmentally sound development, to identify ways and means of providing new and additional resources, particularly to developing countries, for environmentally sound development programmes and projects, and to consider financing mechanisms and examine the possibility of creating a special fund [UN, 1989e]. These aspects were reflected in the International Development Strategy for the Fourth United Nations Development Decade.

The Strategy included six interrelated goals: a surge in the pace of economic growth in developing countries; ensuring a development process that is responsive to social needs and seeks a significant reduction in poverty, that promotes the development of human resources and is environmentally sound and sustainable; improving the international monetary, financial and trading systems to support development; ensuring the sustainability and stability of the world economy and sound macroeconomic management; strengthening international development cooperation; and mobilizing efforts to deal with the problems of the least-developed countries. Measures to protect and enhance the environment were included in priority aspects of development [UN, 1990a].

The Strategy has become an important milestone in the evolution of cooperation for sustainable development. However, it should be recognized that the decade was not a period of great achievements. Common tasks and problems have neither united countries with different ideologies, nor helped overcome national egoism.

²⁰ The history of this issue deserves separate consideration and will be presented in an article devoted to the participation of the USSR in the process of establishing a development assistance system under the auspices of the UN.

The Fourth United Nations Development Decade, 1991–2000: Toward a Global Partnership for Development

The beginning of the fourth development decade was marked by the end of the collapse of the USSR and the world socialist system. The Russian Federation became the successor of the USSR in international legal relations and in the UN system. The process of restructuring and integration of the socialist countries into the world economy and structures of international economic cooperation began. Developing countries whose economies were affected by changes in their economic relations with the countries of Eastern and Central Europe [UN, 1991a] were concerned about a possible reduction in development assistance as a result of support for countries with economies in transition. These concerns were discussed in the GA and reflected in relevant UN resolutions [UN, 1992a].

A resolution of the growing debt crisis was heatedly debated at all sessions, but this did not lead to fundamental changes and could not prevent the financial crisis. Measures to write off and restructure debts were clearly not sufficient [UN, 1991b, 1992b, 1994, 1995a]. The reform of the international financial system blocked by the U.S. determination to maintain independence of and control over the IMF and the World Bank, and therefore was limited to rhetorical calls by the GA to strengthen collaboration between the UN and the Bretton Woods institutions [UN, 1996a]. In 1997, on the eve of the financial crisis, the GA once again called for strengthening international cooperation to prevent future currency crises, including by coordinating and ensuring the stability of macroeconomic policies, increasing transparency of financial systems, and strengthening the IMF's surveillance mechanisms [UN, 1997b]. After the 1998 crisis, little had changed; key theses on the need for sound macroeconomic policies and a dialogue between developed and developing countries on reforming and strengthening the international financial system were complemented by the objectives of formulating a global approach to resolve the financial crisis; improving the work of financial organizations to prevent, manage and overcome crises; strengthening joint efforts of the UN, WB, IMF, RDBs and WTO [UN, 1998b]. The United States continued to oppose the consideration in the UN of issues such as governance of the IMF, the World Bank or regional development banks, or the problems related to the international financial architecture, emphasizing that it is the prerogative of the institutions themselves, the Financial Stability Forum and the Group of 20 [UN, 1999b, p. 6]. This approach is reflected in the UN resolution "Towards a Strengthened and Stable International Financial Architecture Responsive to the Priorities of Growth and Development, Especially in Developing Countries, and to the Promotion of Economic and Social Equity" [UN, 2000a]²¹

²¹ From the speech of the U.S. representative at the meeting: "After lengthy and frank negotiations, we believe that this year's draft resolution shows clear acceptance of the division of labour between the United Nations and the Bretton Woods institutions. The United Nations, as a political organization of the international community, represents the political views of its Members. The Bretton Woods institutions, as separate financial institutions with their own charters and mandates, enjoy organizational and decision-making independence in dealing with world financial matters. We believe it is essential that the full independence of the international financial institutions be completely respected and upheld, especially in a number of areas mentioned in the draft resolution. These include, but are not limited to, such areas of concern as the suggestion of regulatory frameworks for short-term capital flows and trade in currencies, as well as the consideration of the consolidation of a broader global agenda regarding the international financial system. In addition, we believe that it is critical that regional cooperation should support, not supplant, the global efforts of the international financial institutions. The international community recognizes the need to strengthen the international financial system. Experience has shown that international financial institutions are the most effective actors to help achieve that goal. Their independence, as well as their technical expertise and focus, are crucial to their credibility, and therefore to the success of their work. We fully expect that the international community will do everything it can to protect this credibility" [UN, 2000b, p. 6].

and, in fact, determined both the rigidity of the system for many years and its failure to prevent the 2008 crisis.

In the 1990s, new aspects emerged in the area of trade and development related to helping developing countries to implement the provisions of the Final Act Embodying the Results of the Uruguay Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations, including technical assistance for the wider use of the dispute settlement mechanism [UN, 1998c]. In the area of environmental preservation, measures to facilitate and finance access to environmentally sound technologies and the corresponding know-how, and their transfer to developing countries on concessional and preferential terms, were discussed [UN, 1995b].

Regular reviews of the implementation of the International Development Strategy for the Fourth United Nations Development Decade and the commitments and policies agreed upon in the Declaration on International Economic Cooperation have become important components of cooperation. Relevant reports served as a basis for assessing progress and formulating proposals for a future agenda.²²

The development of a new agenda and a global partnership for sustainable development was launched by a resolution adopted in March 1993 which set as an objective the preparation of a report on an agenda for development, including a comprehensive list of themes and areas, indicating their priority for the consideration of member states [UN, 1992c]. The long and extensive preparatory process culminated in the adoption of the Agenda for Development on 20 June 1997 [UN, 1997c]. The document defined development as “a multidimensional undertaking to achieve a higher quality of life for all people,” in which “economic development, social development and environmental protection are interdependent and mutually reinforcing components of sustainable development” [para. 1]. The Agenda for Development reflected the changed conditions of international cooperation, including the end of the Cold War, the globalization of the world economy and finance, increasing interdependence and mutual vulnerability, and the impact of these processes on developing countries and development. Accordingly, key objectives for strengthening international development cooperation and promoting development through an integrated approach were formulated.

The document incorporated all aspects and areas of cooperation. In economic policy, it provided for coordination of macroeconomic policies, liberalization of international trade, mobilization of domestic and external financial resources including the “peace dividend,” domestic capacity-building in science and technology, expansion of the potential for South-South cooperation and regional economic cooperation, and balanced development in agriculture, industry and the services sectors. Social development priorities included eradication of hunger and poverty, expansion of productive employment, social integration, human resources development and provision of adequate housing. The Agenda included issues such as the empowerment of women, the rights of the child, international migration, humanitarian issues, and measures relating to countries in special situations (Africa, least-developed countries, small island states, landlocked countries). In the field of the environment, the document set as an objective the full implementation of the Agenda for the 21 century. Special attention was paid to the role of the UN and its bodies, the role of specialized agencies and the UN’s interaction with other multilateral institutions, including the Bretton Woods institutions and the WTO.

The Agenda for Development has become an important milestone in shaping the future global partnership and a basis for elaborating the United Nations Millennium Declaration. The goals of the Declaration – eradicating poverty and hunger, achieving universal primary education, reducing child mortality, improving maternal health, empowering women, fighting HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases, protecting the environment, and building a global partner-

²² They were adopted at each session, the last in a decade [UN, 2000c].

ship for development – identified modalities and areas of development cooperation in the first 15 years of the 21st century [UN, 2000d].

Conclusion

The international community has come a long way toward building development cooperation in the second-half of the 20th century. The UN has become a cradle and a driver of this process and is the main factor for its success. The share of resolutions on development cooperation in the total number of resolutions comprised 10% (1010 out of 9713). The greatest number was adopted in the first two development decades, the period of elaborating instruments, developing first policy documents, identifying development priorities and harmonizing approaches to financing. The formation of the regulatory and organizational framework was reflected in the progressive growth in the share of programme resolutions and the consistently high proportion of resolutions on organizational and administrative issues. The share of resolutions on creating development assistance instruments, which was quite high in the early years, decreased with the completion of institutional development. The role of trade in development determines the permanent presence of trade facilitation issues and problems of ensuring access to international markets for developing countries on the GA's agenda. The special needs of the least-developed countries and other country categories that were most urgent in the early years retain their importance, but their share has significantly diminished. The problem of financing development was a cross-cutting issue in all decades. However, in the first decades priorities included accelerating the flow of international aid and long-term capital, whereas starting from the mid-1960s debt relief issues, problems of international liquidity and international financial system reform emerged.

There were achievements and challenges at each stage. Indisputable achievements resulting from collective efforts over 55 years include a consistent consolidation of its foundational programme documents from the first development decade to the sustainable development agenda, improvement of the review and evaluation instruments, integration of development and environmental issues, establishment of key institutions, including the Children's Fund, the Special Fund, UNDP, UNCTAD, the United Nations Industrial Cooperation Organization and the World Food Program, and increased financing for development. However, efforts to create external conditions for development based on a restructuring the international economic system with regard to developing countries' interests have failed. The 21st century inherited the systemic problems of the international monetary and trading systems. Obviously, if national egoism, political and ideological differences could have been overcome, the achievements of cooperation for development would have been much more significant.

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Annex 1. Number and shares of the resolutions on development (across categories)
in the total number of all UN GA sessions' resolutions in 1946–2000

Year	Session	Total number of resolutions	Number of resolutions on development	Share of resolutions on development	Category										Creation of UN tools and instruments	Disarmament and development	Special development issues
					Major program documents	Trade and development	Financial development	Sectoral development	Special needs of individual countries	Organizational and operational issues							
1946	1	68	6	8.8%	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	0	1			
1947	2	79	6	7.6%	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0			
1948	3	99	4	4.0%	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	2	0	0			
1949	4	93	8	8.6%	0	1	0	0	4	2	1	1	0	0			
1950	5	129	8	6.2%	0	1	1	0	4	2	0	0	0	0			
1951	6	117	8	6.8%	0	0	4	1	1	2	0	0	0	0			
1952	7	104	4	3.8%	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0			
1953	8	103	4	3.9%	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	1	0	0			
1954	9	101	6	5.9%	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	2	0	0			
1955	10	95	4	4.2%	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0			
1956	11	132	15	11.4%	0	1	4	0	6	2	2	2	0	0			
1957	12	103	9	8.7%	0	0	2	0	3	2	2	2	0	0			
1958	13	112	11	9.8%	0	1	1	0	3	3	1	2	1	0			
1959	14	134	21	15.7%	0	3	3	3	5	5	2	2	0	0			
1960	15	148	16	10.8%	0	3	3	2	2	4	1	1	0	1			
1961	16	134	17	12.7%	3	1	1	3	4	2	3	3	0	0			
1962	17	131	16	12.2%	5	0	2	1	2	4	1	1	0	1			
1963	18	116	22	19.0%	3	1	1	4	1	6	4	4	0	2			
1964	19	14	2	14.3%	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0			
1965	20	130	21	16.2%	3	1	2	7	1	3	3	3	0	1			
1966	21	115	17	14.8%	2	3	3	2	1	3	3	3	0	0			
1967	22	125	19	15.2%	2	0	5	2	1	7	2	2	0	0			
1968	23	117	21	17.9%	5	2	3	3	1	5	2	2	0	0			
1969	24	144	27	18.8%	4	2	1	1	3	14	1	1	0	1			
1970	25	152	12	7.9%	2	1	0	2	2	2	2	2	0	1			
1971	26	162	27	16.7%	4	1	3	2	2	12	0	0	0	3			
1972	27	149	25	16.8%	2	3	5	1	3	9	0	0	0	2			
1973	28	158	29	18.4%	8	2	2	4	3	4	3	3	1	2			

Year	Session	Total number of resolutions	Number of resolutions on development	Share of resolutions on development	Category								
					Major program documents	Trade and development	Financial development	Sectoral development	Special needs of individual countries	Organizational and operational issues	Creation of UN tools and instruments	Disarmament and development	Special development issues
1974	29	173	23	13.3%	5	2	1	0	4	5	4	1	1
1975	30	194	23	11.9%	6	0	3	0	2	4	4	0	4
1976	31	215	33	15.3%	8	1	2	2	4	11	2	0	3
1977	32	215	31	14.4%	6	0	4	6	5	8	2	0	0
1978	33	206	27	13.1%	3	2	5	5	3	6	1	0	2
1979	34	233	35	15.0%	9	1	3	5	6	8	1	1	1
1980	35	227	20	8.8%	5	0	0	6	4	4	1	0	0
1981	36	244	19	7.8%	1	1	1	4	3	7	0	0	2
1982	37	253	25	9.9%	7	0	0	6	5	4	1	0	2
1983	38	239	20	8.4%	4	1	2	4	3	4	1	0	1
1984	39	249	24	9.6%	5	1	1	6	6	3	1	1	0
1985	40	259	29	11.2%	9	1	0	5	2	8	0	0	4
1986	41	213	16	7.5%	3	2	1	2	2	5	0	0	1
1987	42	233	17	7.3%	4	1	2	3	2	3	0	1	1
1988	43	233	16	6.9%	5	0	2	4	3	1	0	1	0
1989	44	244	26	10.7%	11	1	2	3	1	5	0	1	2
1990	45	269	21	7.8%	7	1	2	5	2	3	0	0	1
1991	46	242	26	10.7%	9	1	2	4	2	4	0	1	3
1992	47	237	20	8.4%	9	0	1	4	2	3	0	1	0
1993	48	267	21	7.9%	6	1	2	3	2	4	0	1	2
1994	49	252	18	7.1%	6	1	1	3	2	4	0	1	0
1995	50	246	25	10.2%	7	2	2	5	3	3	0	1	2
1996	51	243	16	6.6%	5	2	1	4	1	3	0	0	0
1997	52	252	24	9.5%	5	2	4	3	3	3	0	1	3
1998	53	243	21	8.6%	6	2	2	3	2	6	0	0	0
1999	54	283	29	10.2%	5	2	3	5	1	9	0	1	3
2000	55	285	20	7.0%	8	1	3	2	2	3	0	1	0
Total		9713	1010	10.4%	209	56	109	140	133	228	66	16	53
Shares of categories in the total number of resolutions					20.7%	5.5%	10.8%	13.9%	13.2%	22.6%	6.5%	1.6%	5.2%

Первые десятилетия сотрудничества для развития. Участники, достижения и трудности¹

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Принятые в 2015 г. Цели устойчивого развития (ЦУР) до 2030 г. являются мировым ориентиром для развитых и развивающихся государств в выработке национальной политики и осуществлении международного сотрудничества с целью совместной борьбы с глобальными вызовами. ЦУР опираются на результаты работы всех участников глобального партнерства в целях развития, основы которого были заложены ООН еще в XX в. Статья посвящена эволюции системы международного сотрудничества в целях развития, складывавшейся в рамках ООН в период с 1946 по 2000 г. (год принятия Декларации тысячелетия). Исследование опирается на анализ текстов резолюций и официальных отчетов ключевых органов ООН, прежде всего Генеральной Ассамблеи и Экономического и Социального Совета ООН (ЭКОСОС). Контент-анализ записей прений позволяет выявить официальные позиции делегаций, интересы и противоречия, скрывающиеся за сухими формулировками резолюций.

Четыре десятилетия развития завершились принятием Декларации тысячелетия ООН. На каждом из этапов эволюции системы были достижения и проблемы. С первых сессий ГА и ЭКОСОС формировались основные принципы, механизмы и направления сотрудничества. Уже в конце 1940-х начался процесс создания инструментов содействия развитию. Созданы Всемирная организация здравоохранения, Детский фонд ООН, Продовольственная и сельскохозяйственная организация ООН, Расширенная программа технической помощи, региональные экономические комиссии, Специальный Фонд ООН. На первом этапе становления инструментов сотрудничества для развития утвердился монополия доллара. Значительное место в резолюциях о развитии занимали вопросы развития мирового рынка, улучшения условий торговли для развития. В 1960 г. впервые сформулирована задача увеличения предоставления международной помощи и капитала до 1% национального дохода экономически развитых стран.

Период 1961–1970 гг. ознаменовался принятием Программы международного экономического сотрудничества — первой «Декады развития» ООН и Мировой продовольственной программы, созданием ООН по промышленному развитию (ЮНИДО), Конференции ООН по торговле и развитию (ЮНКТАД) и ПРООН, разработкой Международной стратегии развития на второе десятилетие развития ООН. В связи с задачей решения проблемы роста задолженности и обеспечения международной ликвидности в повестку дня вошли вопросы реформы международной валютной системы.

Ключевые события второго десятилетия включают постепенную интеграцию проблем развития и окружающей среды; усилия по преодолению международного валютного кризиса, обеспечению ликвидности, облегчению нарастающего бремени задолженности развивающихся стран; рост целевых заданий по Программе развития ООН, Мировой продовольственной программе и специальным фондам; решения о разработке и принятии Хартии экономических прав и обязанностей государств; усилия по реализации принципа дифференцированного отношения к развивающимся странам в рамках ГАТТ; подготовку и принятие Международной стратегии

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на третье десятилетие развития ООН; неудачную попытку запуска глобальных переговоров по перестройке международной экономической системы.

Третье десятилетие знаменательно усилиями по укреплению научно-технического, промышленного потенциала, развитию энергетических ресурсов развивающихся стран, принятием Глобальной стратегии обеспечения здоровья для всех к 2000 г., принятием Декларации о праве на развитие, подготовкой и принятием Международной стратегии развития на четвертое десятилетие развития. Достижением стала переориентации сотрудничества в сторону моделей устойчивого развития. Замедление темпов экономического роста, неустойчивость валют, усиление протекционизма, структурные диспропорции в мировой экономике требовали системного решения по реформе международной валютной системы, однако глобальные переговоры зашли в тупик, поскольку позиция «семерки» о гарантии независимости специализированных учреждений создавала непреодолимое препятствие в поиске комплексных решений перестройки международных экономических отношений. Этот подход определил ригидность системы на долгие годы и ее неспособность предотвратить кризисы 1998 и 2008 гг.

В четвертом десятилетии важнейшими вехами в сотрудничестве для развития стало принятие 20 июня 1997 г. Повестки дня для развития и Декларации тысячелетия Организации Объединенных Наций.

Таким образом, во второй половине XX в. международное сообщество прошло длинный путь формирования сотрудничества для развития. ООН стала колыбелью и двигателем этого процесса, основным фактором его успеха. Безусловные достижения 55 лет коллективных усилий включают последовательную консолидацию программного фундамента сотрудничества от первой Декады развития к Целям развития тысячелетия; совершенствование инструментов обзора и оценки результатов программ; интеграцию вопросов развития и окружающей среды; а также создание ключевых инструментов и рост финансирования для развития. Задача формирования внешних условий развития на основе перестройки международной экономической системы с учетом интересов развивающихся стран не была реализована. Системные проблемы международной валютной и торговой системы остались в наследство XXI в.

Ключевые слова: сотрудничество для развития; ООН; Генеральная Ассамблея; ЭКОСОС; ПРООН; международные финансовые учреждения

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Monitoring Progress Toward Meeting the United Nations SDG on Pre-primary Education: An Important Step Towards More Equitable and Sustainable Economies¹

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Abstract

Despite widespread agreement among international organizations on the importance of healthy early childhood development, monitoring of national action on the provision of pre-primary education has been limited. This paper presents a quantitative approach to monitoring the world's progress on the United Nations (UN) sustainable development goal (SDG) target 4.2 to “ensure that all girls and boys have access to quality early childhood development, care and pre-primary education.” A rigorous approach was used to create a new quantitative globally comparable database of indicators for policies that mandate the provision of national pre-primary education for 86% of UN member states. This dataset was analyzed to examine global inequalities in the provision of universal pre-primary education and revealed that 45% of countries, and only 15% of low-income countries, provide tuition-free pre-primary education. Just under 27% of countries offer tuition-free pre-primary education for two or more years. This contrasts sharply with primary education, which is provided tuition-free in 96% of countries. To illustrate how this data can contribute to the examination of the relationship between policy and outcome, it is used in a regression analysis. Additional global data collection on the quality of pre-primary education would further enhance efforts to monitor policies that play key roles in the fulfillment of target 4.2, and support the achievement of the United Nations sustainable development goal on education.

Key words: sustainable development goals; quantitative policy data; global educational inequalities; education policy; comparative policy analysis

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Introduction

The adoption of the United Nations (UN) 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development marks an important shift in the UN's priorities in the area of education. While the millennium development goals (MDGs) focused exclusively on achieving universal primary education, the sustainable development goals (SDGs) emphasize the importance of education before and after primary school. This focus reflects the growing consensus that experiences from birth to age five critically influence long-term outcomes and inequalities. The SDGs highlight the importance of effectively monitoring national policies affecting early childhood development and education, an area that other international organizations, including the World Health Organization and the World Bank among others, have similarly prioritized. The United Nations 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development also reflects an understanding that in order to achieve the sustainable development goals, results of the monitoring process must be widely disseminated so that nations can improve the effectiveness of their efforts.

The monitoring of progress toward achieving the SDGs and the method for encouraging accountability is referred to in the Agenda as “systematic follow-up and review.” Annual monitoring of the indicators has the potential “to serve as a management tool, informing national planning and budgetary processes, as well as global follow-up” [UN, 2015]. The two main outputs of the follow-up and review process are an annual SDG progress report prepared by the secretary general with support of UN agencies, and a monitoring report produced by the UN's High-Level Political Forum on Sustainable Development (HLPF).

While the May 2015 Indicators and a Monitoring Framework for the Sustainable Development Goals Report notes that “input or process measures of implementation” sometimes play a critical role in driving the changes needed to achieve improvements in outcomes and may therefore be relevant [Sustainable Development Solutions Network, 2015], there are few direct policy indicators. To make progress on goals that are ambitious and in areas where movement may be incremental, it is important to measure the drivers of change as well as to collect the data needed to enable analysis of which policies lead to change. Tracking the status of laws and policies is valuable because they are directly actionable by policymakers and civil society [Heymann et al., 2013; Atabay et al., 2015; Cassola et al., 2016; Lesnikowski et al., 2016]. Moreover, as described elsewhere, this approach would also enable an assessment of the relationship between policies and outcomes which can range from cross-sectional analysis of national-level data [Earle, Heymann, 2006; Schliwen et al., 2011] to quasi-experimental longitudinal analyses, depending on the data that are available [Daku et al., 2012; Heymann et al., 2013; Hajizadeh et al., 2015; Conklin et al., 2016; Nandi et al., 2016].

Recognizing the role of pre-primary education in building the foundation for sustainable economic development, the UN included in goal 4 of its sustainable development goals target 4.2: “By 2030, ensure that all girls and boys have access to quality early childhood development, care and pre-primary education so that they are ready for pri-

mary education” [UN, 2015]. The UN’s current indicator for target 4.2 is “Percentage of children (36–59 months) receiving at least one year of a quality pre-primary education program.” In the case of pre-primary education, while it is important to measure attendance at pre-primary school using enrolment rates per the Global Monitoring Indicators framework, an indicator of national policy stipulating government provision of free and compulsory pre-primary education would be a useful immediate measure of steps taken to advance progress. An approach to monitoring that involves making comparable, quantitative, analyzable data on national policies readily available to policymakers, civil society organizations and citizens on the performance of their own and other countries would increase accountability and transparency, thereby strengthening and complementing the existing “follow up and review” monitoring plan.

Access to Pre-primary Education as a Contributor to Sustainable Development

A vast literature on early childhood development has established the connection between pre-primary education completion rates and subsequent levels of educational attainment, employment and economic development. A theoretical framework for the critical importance of investing in pre-primary education for a number of further life-long outcomes has been established through describing the mechanisms such as “skill begets skill” by J.J. Heckman [2000]. Many studies have established that early life experiences have a significant effect on children’s cognitive development and learning outcomes later in life [Shonkoff, Phillips, 2000; Heckman, 2006; Knudsen et al., 2006; Grantham-McGregor et al., 2007].

Moreover, research focusing specifically on attendance in pre-primary education in a wide range of countries has consistently found positive effects on subsequent primary school achievements and graduation rates. In a longitudinal study in Argentina, a year of public pre-primary school attendance increased Spanish and mathematics test scores by 23% of the standard deviation of the distribution of test scores [Berlinski et al., 2009]. Attendance in preschool for at least a year was associated with higher fourth grade test scores in mathematics, reading and social sciences in a cross-sectional study of 159,000 children in Chile [Cortazar, 2015]. Similar results were found in Nepal where at least 95% of the 935 children who attended various early child development programmes received dramatically better year-end examination scores than children who did not come from such programmes [Save the Children, 2003]. Likewise, studies in Ghana and Cape Verde documented the positive impact of preschool attendance on raw test scores at the end of the programme [Jaramillo, Tietjen, 2001]. Furthermore, a three-year study in rural Bangladesh revealed significantly higher first and second grade primary school achievements by 180 graduates of 30 pre-primary programmes compared to children who did not attend pre-primary school [Aboud, Hossain, 2011]. Strong positive association between preschool completion and decreased grade-repetition rates in primary school were observed in Brazil by a cross-sectional study based

on national surveys [World Bank, 2001]. In one of the largest studies to date, in 89% of 65 countries served by the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), attending pre-primary school for at least one year raised reading test scores at age 15 controlling for socio-economic background, and the effect was larger for two or more years of pre-primary education [OECD, 2011].

Much evidence is also available showing that pre-primary education especially benefits poor children in both high- and low- to middle-income countries (Havnes, Mogstad [2011] for Norway; Deming [2009] for the U.S.; Dumas, Lefranc [2010] for France; Mingat, Seurat [2011] for Madagascar; Martinez et al. [2012] for Mozambique).

Studies using extensive follow-up data show long-term positive effects. In randomized controlled studies of small-scale programmes in the U.S., researchers have followed children from preschool through adulthood and found higher academic achievement, increased high school graduation rates, lower grade repetition and decreased recommendations for remedial education services [Reynolds et al., 2002; Schweinhart et al., 2005; Barnett, Masse, 2007]. A longitudinal retrospective analysis over five years in Uruguay found a positive effect of pre-primary education attendance. Using a within household sibling comparison methodology, the study found that it reduces the likelihood of early grade repetition and raises overall educational attainment [Berlinski et al., 2008].

This paper assesses how many world economies have a policy in place to support the SDG target 4.2 of ensuring that all children receive at least one year of pre-primary education. Drawing on a newly created database of indicators of the provision of tuition-free pre-primary education, the feasibility and utility of this data to assess country action on one of the SDG targets is demonstrated. The status of pre-primary education provision in 163 countries is assessed based on the sources available as of 2015. The availability and duration of free, and free and compulsory pre-primary education globally, and the variation in availability by level of economic development and geographic region are investigated. Next, this article demonstrates how the quantitative data on national policies can be utilized to examine a relationship between policies and outcomes. Analysis of the relationship between pre-primary education provision and rates of enrolment in pre-primary education also provides information about how closely related pre-primary education policy provision is to the indicator for target 4.2, participation/enrolment rates.

The focus is on the provision of free and compulsory pre-primary education because children must enroll in pre-primary education in order to receive its benefits and studies have shown that one of the greatest barriers to enrolment especially among poor families is tuition [Alderman et al., 2001; Kadzamira, Rose, 2003; Hillman, Jenkner, 2004; Princeton University, 2006]. Introducing or increasing fees tends to reduce school enrolment [Burke, Beegle, 2004; Sayre et al., 2014]. For example, in one Nigerian state enrolment in primary school dropped from 90% to 60% between 1982 and 1984 after school fees were imposed. At the same time, research from a range of

countries has found that providing free education tends to raise the number of children enrolled in school [Nielsen, 2009]. Making free pre-primary education compulsory is one of the necessary steps toward its universality.

Methodology

Data

To identify which countries have made pre-primary education tuition-free and compulsory, a new global database was created that captures policies on the provision of pre-primary education at a national level. The quantitatively comparable data were primarily created from reviewing and coding national government reports to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) International Bureau of Education's World Data on Education database, 6th and 7th Editions, and the 48th International Conference on Education (2008). These reports were used as the main source because they provide comparable qualitative data on the largest number of nations. The reports contain a comprehensive discussion of national educational systems, including descriptions of educational principles, educational laws and basic regulations, administration and management, structure and organization, and educational process. When data were incomplete or unavailable through these sources, they were supplemented with information available through the following sources: World Bank Systems Approach for Better Education Results (SABER) country reports, International Council for Open and Distance Education country profiles, official documentation accessible through Planipolis, a portal of education plans from UNESCO member states, and the Eurypedia, a database of European Union (EU) country education policies. The information in the reports and documents was systematically coded into a set of quantitative variables. To assure comparability, a coding framework was established to capture provision details and allow meaningful comparisons across programmes instituted by different nations. At least two coders separately reviewed sources for each country and compared coding decisions to confirm standard interpretation and to reduce potential for human error or inconsistencies. This followed the rigorous methodology for creating quantitative indicators from detailed educational policy and legal texts used in previous studies [Heymann, 2013; Quamruzzaman et al., 2014; Heymann et al., 2014b].

To increase comparability of policies across countries, the fact that nations refer to pre-primary education using different terms, including early childhood education, nursery school, pre-primary programme, preschool, kindergarten or preparatory school, was taken into account. UNESCO's International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED) definition of pre-primary or level 0 education was used, which is "ISCED level 0 programmes target children below the age of entry into ISCED level 1. There are two categories of ISCED level 0 programmes: early childhood educational development and pre-primary education. The former has educational content designed

for younger children (in the age range of 0 to 2 years), whilst the latter is designed for children from age 3 years to the start of primary education” [UNESCO, 2012]. If the entrance age to primary school in a country is five, the educational programmes provided for children aged three and four were examined. If the first year of primary education is termed a “reception year” or something similar, it was considered a part of primary education and it was not captured as a pre-primary programme in the dataset. When reports contain pre-primary education policy information on subnational level, the data reflect provisions that apply to the majority of territorial units in the country.

The database includes information on pre-primary education for 86% UN member states for which recent data were available in the UNESCO reports or other sources (166 countries; see Table 1). Overall, the distribution of countries by income and region in the descriptive sample is comparable to the income and region distribution for all 192 UN member states (as of 2011). The sample of countries in the regression analysis of pre-primary enrolment are slightly more likely to fall in the high- and middle-income categories.

Table 1. Characteristics of countries used in the analyses by level of income and world region

	Sample in descriptive analysis (<i>n</i> = 166), %	Sample in regres- sion analysis (<i>n</i> = 124), %	UN member states (<i>n</i> = 192), %
<i>Level of income</i>			
Low	16	16	18
Lower-middle	29	22	29
Upper-middle	28	31	27
High	27	31	26
<i>Geographic region</i>			
Americas	19	22	18
East Asia and Pacific	16	11	16
Europe and Central Asia	30	32	28
Middle East and North Africa	10	10	10
South Asia	3	2	4
Sub-Saharan Africa	22	22	25

Note: All percentages are rounded to the nearest whole number. Some percentages may not always sum exactly to 100% as a result of rounding. National income and regional groupings used are based on 2011 World Bank classifications. Descriptive sample includes all countries with data on pre-primary education policy data from UNESCO or other sources between 2006 and 2015.

Source: compiled by the authors.

National gross domestic product and level of urbanization (as well as income and region) were obtained from the World Bank's World Development Indicators in the same year as the pre-primary enrolment data that was used.

The data on national enrolment and graduation rates were obtained from the UNESCO Institute of Statistics Data Centre.

Variables

Countries classified as having *free pre-primary education* were those countries with a policy in place providing at least one year of pre-primary education, using the UNESCO definition of pre-primary (level 0) education, and charging no tuition or educational fee (although other fees could be charged for such things as meals or field trips).

Countries classified as having *compulsory pre-primary education* were those countries with a policy mandating at least one year of attendance in pre-primary education, using the UNESCO definition of pre-primary (level 0) education. The number of years of compulsory pre-primary education is a categorical variable containing three categories: zero years, one year and two years or more. SDG target 4.2 is a single year of pre-primary education while at least two years of free pre-primary education “with developmentally appropriate curriculum and classrooms, and quality assurance mechanisms” is the standard in the World Bank SABER framework for early childhood development [Neuman, Devercelli, 2013].

Countries providing *free and compulsory pre-primary education* were countries where there was a national policy providing at least one year of both free and compulsory pre-primary education. This composite variable was coded as missing if there was missing data for either the indicator of “tuition-free” or “compulsory.” The “free and compulsory” variable measures the policy in place irrespective of the degree of implementation or the percentage of the relevant age-eligible population that is enrolled in a pre-school program. Comprehensive data on the degree of implementation are not available at the global level at present. Another variable indicates the number of years that free, compulsory pre-primary education is provided: zero, one year and two years or more.

The *net pre-primary enrolment rate* is defined as the number of children who are reported to have enrolled in pre-primary school (regardless of age) expressed as a percentage of the number of age-appropriate children in the population. Net enrolment rates were utilized as a commonly used measure of school enrolment: a high net enrolment rate indicates a high degree of coverage for the official school-age population of children. Compared to gross rates, net rates do not include enrolment of under- and over-aged children.

Research suggests that a country’s level of national economic development and level of urbanization both strongly influence educational enrolment. For analysis of the relationship between provision of pre-primary education and pre-primary net enrolment rates, countries’ per capita gross domestic product (GDP) and urbanization in the year in which enrolment was measured were controlled. *Per capita GDP* is measured in current U.S. dollars. To account for the difference in the impact of income at the lower and the higher ends of the national income spectrum, the natural logarithm of

per capita GDP was utilized. *Urbanization* is defined as the percentage of the population living in an urban area.

Geographic region is based on the World Bank's 2011 classification and includes East Asia and Pacific, Europe and Central Asia, Middle East and North Africa, the Americas, South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa.

Income/grouping is based on the World Bank's 2011 classification. Countries are classified in one of four income groups: low, lower-middle, upper-middle and high. Income is measured using World Bank estimates of per capita gross national income after converting local currency into U.S. dollars, using the World Bank Atlas method [World Bank, 2016].

Analytic Approach

Two sets of analyses were conducted. First, the status of pre-primary education provision was described globally, by region and by level of income. The percentage of countries with a national policy guaranteeing tuition-free pre-primary education was calculated, as was the percentage guaranteeing tuition-free and compulsory pre-primary education. In addition, the frequency distribution of the duration of tuition-free (and tuition-free and compulsory) pre-primary education policies was generated.

A linear regression analysis was conducted to examine whether the provision of at least one year of free pre-primary education is associated with pre-primary education enrolment rates. A linear regression model was fitted in which the dependent variable was the national net pre-primary enrolment rate for the most recent available year from 2011 to 2014, and the key predictor variable was an indicator of free pre-primary education provision in the most recent year between 2006 and 2011. The natural logarithm of per capita GDP and the rate of urban population in the year in which enrolment is measured were included as control variables in the model.

Results

Fewer than half of the countries studied provide at least one year of tuition-free pre-primary education, whether compulsory or not (see Table 2). Only 27% of all the countries studied (45 of 166) provide two or more years of free pre-primary education. Nineteen percent of countries provide tuition-free pre-primary education and also make it compulsory; among these, a minority (39%) provide it for two years or more. In contrast, among the 26% of countries that provide free but not compulsory pre-primary education, a majority (76%) provide it for two or more years.

The provision of pre-primary education varies substantially by region (see Table 3). Based on the available data, in Europe and Central Asia 70% of countries provide at least one year of tuition-free pre-primary education. In the Americas, the percentage is slightly higher at 75%. In comparison, a smaller fraction of countries in South Asia (17%), Sub-Saharan Africa (14%), Middle East and North Africa (25%) and East Asia and the Pacific (19%) offer at least one year of tuition-free pre-primary school.

Table 2. Global provision of pre-primary education

Total	No tuition-free pre-primary education	Tuition-free pre-primary education		Tuition-free and compulsory		Tuition-free but not compulsory	
166	92	74		31		42	
100%	55%	45%		19%		26%	
		1 year	2 years	1 year	2 years	1 year	2 years
		29	45	19	12	10	32
		39%	61%	61%	39%	24%	76%

Note: The number of “tuition-free and compulsory” and “tuition-free but not compulsory” countries does not sum to 74 due to lack of data on whether pre-primary education was compulsory for one country. All percentages are rounded to the nearest whole number.

Source: compiled by the authors.

Table 3. Provision of pre-primary education by region

	At least 1 year of tuition-free pre-primary education, %	Two years of tuition-free pre-primary education, %	At least one year of tuition-free, compulsory pre-primary education, %
Americas	75	38	47
East Asia and the Pacific	19	12	4
Europe and Central Asia	70	42	26
Middle East and North Africa	25	19	6
South Asia	17	17	0
Sub-Saharan Africa	14	14	3

Note: All percentages are rounded to the nearest whole number.

Source: compiled by the authors.

When it comes to providing two years or more of free pre-primary education, the highest prevalence is among countries in Europe and Central Asia (42%) and the Americas (38%). These regions also reflect a relatively high prevalence of at least one year of free and compulsory pre-primary education (47% of countries in the Americas and 26% in Europe and Central Asia). In all four other regions, the rate for provision of at least one year of tuition-free and the rate for at least one year of free and compulsory education are 25% or less. In South Asia, there are no countries with tuition-free compulsory pre-primary education.

In addition to regional differences, there are marked disparities in provision of free pre-primary education across income levels (see Figure 1). Provision of at least one year of free pre-primary education is much more common in high-income (62%) and upper-middle-income (63%) countries than in low-middle-income countries (27%) and low-income countries (15%).

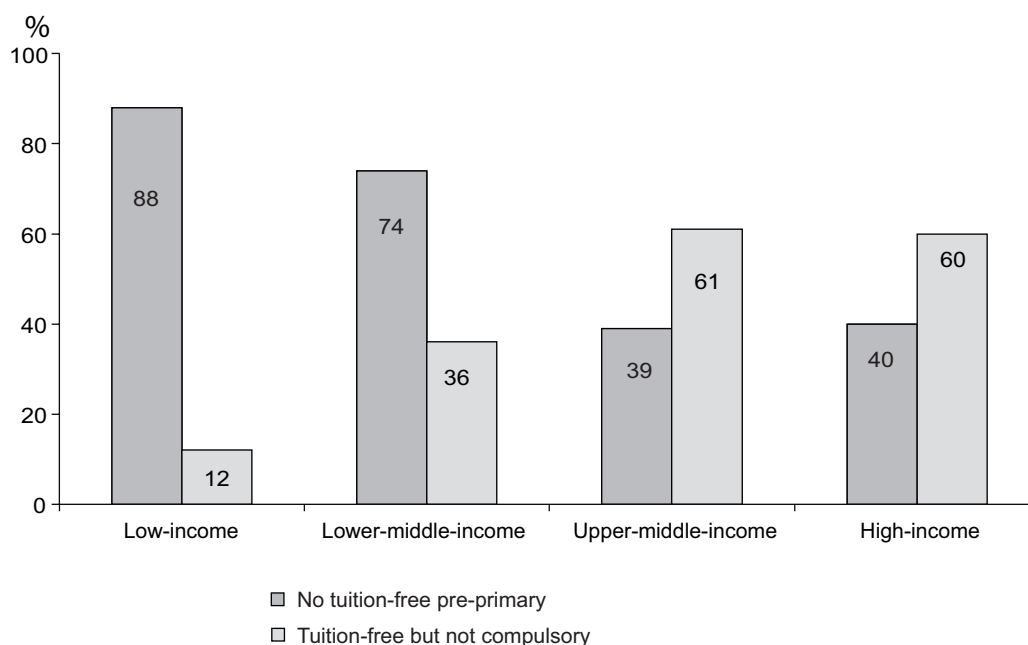


Fig. 1. Percent of countries with and without free pre-primary education, by income level

Source: Compiled by the authors.

There are also marked disparities in the provision of universal or free and compulsory pre-primary school across income levels. A third of the upper-middle-income countries (33%) but only 15% of low-middle-income countries provide at least one year of free and compulsory pre-primary education.

Table 4 shows the results of the ordinary least squares (OLS) regression analysis examining the relationship between free pre-primary education provision and pre-primary net enrolment rates. Provision of free pre-primary education, whether compulsory or not, was found to be associated with higher net enrolment rates at the pre-primary level and the relationship was statistically significant. Provision of at least one year of tuition-free pre-primary education was associated with an average increase in net enrolment rates at the pre-primary level of 16%, even after controlling for per capita GDP and urbanicity.

Table 4. OLS regression model predicting net enrolment rates at pre-primary level

	β
At least one year of pre-primary education is free	16.39*** (3.81)
Natural log of per-capita GDP	12.13*** (1.61)
Percent of population living in urban area	0.04 (0.11)
Constant	-61.69*** (10.74)
<i>N</i>	124
<i>R</i> ²	0.63

Note: Standard errors are reported in parentheses. For summary statistics see Supplementary Table. *, **, *** refer to $p \leq 0.05$, $p \leq 0.01$, and $p \leq 0.001$, respectively.

Source: Compiled by the authors.

Discussion

Despite the widespread agreement across international organizations on the importance of supporting healthy early childhood, monitoring of national action on the provision of pre-primary education has been limited. This paper employs an approach to monitoring national pre-primary education provision based on globally comparable measures of law and policy. The global provision of pre-primary education was evaluated based on the latest policy data available for 166 countries, members of the UN. In addition, regression analyses were employed to examine the association between provision of free pre-primary education and pre-primary net enrolment rates.

Globally, there are substantial gaps in the provision of pre-primary education. Around the world, fewer than half the countries with available data make at least one year of pre-primary education financially accessible by providing tuition-free programmes. Just 27% of countries examined offer free pre-primary education for two or more years. This study also highlighted substantial variation in the provision of free pre-primary education by national income, which often leaves children in the poorest countries deprived of the opportunity for early learning. Only a small minority of low-income countries provide free pre-primary education. Similar variation exists in the distribution of policies ensuring that pre-primary education is universal. One third of the upper-middle-income countries but only 15% of low-middle-income countries provide at least one year of free and compulsory pre-primary education.

The analysis also illustrates the global accessibility gap between primary education and pre-primary preparation. As of 2014, 159 countries had made primary education free and compulsory [de Guzman Chorny et al., 2014]. Yet fewer than half (44%) of the countries that provide free primary education also offer at least one year of free pre-primary education as of 2015.

The analysis also revealed that provision of free pre-primary education was associated with increased pre-primary enrolment rates: availability of at least one year of free pre-primary education was associated with an average increase in enrolment of 16%.

This study's findings should be interpreted with the following limitations in mind. The available and reliable sources described above were systematically analyzed to create the database of pre-primary education policy provision. A measure of the level of implementation could not be incorporated because this information was not provided for all countries (although some sources provided a comprehensive picture of the challenges to full implementation). Because available cross-sectional data was used for the multivariate analysis of pre-primary enrolment rates, the analysis can only establish an association and not a causal relationship between the type of provision and enrolment rates at the pre-primary level. Studies of changes in outcome measures before and after the introduction or removal of pre-primary tuition are needed to demonstrate causation. Data on other potential explanatory variables, such as the availability and role of non-state provided pre-primary programmes, the location and accessibility of pre-primary programmes, as well as the amount of other fees and costs, are also not available currently on a global basis and may contribute to pre-primary enrolment rates.

Also, a binary indicator of provision of public, free and compulsory pre-primary education and a simple measure of years of education provided are broad, high-level indicators of progress and do not address the full scope of SDG target 4 which specifies ensuring access to “quality” education. An important next step thus would be to increase efforts to gather quantitative, comparable data on indicators of policies affecting the quality of pre-primary education on a global basis, including teacher training requirements, age-appropriateness and inclusiveness of curriculum, availability of learning materials, and the quality of school's environment, among others. Evidence on the importance of these indicators – especially teacher training and preparation requirements – to the quality of the programmes and children's outcomes is growing [Sheridan et al., 2009; Mtahabwa, Rao, 2010] but further and more comprehensive, i.e., including all nations globally, assessment requires additional global data.

Also important to consider is the way in which pre-primary education fits within the overall approach to, and can be integrated with, other services for pre-school-age children such as health and nutrition services. There is evidence that multi-sector approaches can be effective at increasing enrolment, and potentially significant gains have been shown for marginalized groups such as disabled and low-income children [World Bank, 2013; Vargas-Baron, 2015; Yoshikawa, Kabay, 2015]. Individual country studies suggest that certain characteristics, e.g. coordination across agencies, staff continuity, extensive consultations with all stakeholders in policy development and strong commitment at the national level, increase the effectiveness of such programmes [Engle et al., 2013; Britto et al., 2014; DiGirolamo et al., 2014; Vargas-Baron, 2015] but without comparison data across the full range of programmes and contexts firm conclusions and recommendations cannot be made.

This article illustrates the potential for using policy data in monitoring progress towards the SDGs and in assessing the relationship of policy steps to outcomes using one target – universal access to pre-primary education – as an example. This builds on previous proposals to use policy indicators to monitor global human rights agreements [Heymann et al., 2014a, 2015; Raub et al., 2016]. Use of this approach – making quantitative, comparable, systematic national policy data available for analysis to complement outcomes data – would represent an important step toward better monitoring of progress toward the SDGs.

In addition to outcome data, details of policy design are critical to gather on a regular basis in order to go beyond monitoring and to provide national governments with the information needed to structure policies that will help move their countries closer to the targets.

The question of how best to meet the SDGs and their targets is not an easy one. Global reports, like the 2015 Education for All Monitoring Report [UNESCO, 2015], draw conclusions regarding effective strategies based on common findings from a handful of studies of a small number of countries, simultaneous trends or apparent associations, as compared to a rigorous statistical analysis of longitudinal policy and outcome data. National governments and many global intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations such as UNESCO already collect data on the guaranteed minimum income (GMI) outcome indicators. Merging these data with a global source of policy and law indicators would result in valuable additional information on what works while not increasing the burden or cost of monitoring significantly. Furthermore, once in place, this database could be updated regularly with a reasonable level of effort thereby providing countries with historical data with which global monitoring systems could assess the extent of progress over time. Also, with longitudinal, quantitative data more rigorous analysis of the causal impact of policies would be possible.

Conclusion

The approach to examining pre-primary education provision used in this article – gathering of quantitative, comparable, harmonized policy data to be updated over time – when combined with longitudinal outcome data would make it possible to more rigorously analyze the impact of these various aspects of pre-primary education policies on outcomes and provide policymakers with evidence-based recommendations/guidance on effective policy design. Tracking both policies and outcomes is essential in order to analyze and determine the relative effectiveness of different approaches, thereby providing policymakers with the tools to plan and allocate resources to make optimal choices with respect to achieving the SDGs.

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Appendix A: Summary Statistics of Variables Used in Regression Analyses (N=124)

Variable name	N	Mean	Standard deviation	Minimum	Maximum
<i>Dependent</i>					
Pre-primary education net enrolment rates, 2011 (in %)	124	55.33	30.40	1.04	99.63
<i>Independent</i>					
Is pre-primary education free? (yes=1)	124	0.49	0.50	0	1
<i>Control</i>					
Logarithm of per capita GDP (in \$1,000)	124	8.80	1.53	5.48	11.97
Percent of population living in urban area (in %)	124	58.17	23.20	10.91	98.81

Note: Sample size reduced from 166 to 124 due to data availability for independent and control variables.

Source: Compiled by the authors.

Мониторинг прогресса в достижении ЦУР ООН по дошкольному образованию: важный шаг для обеспечения справедливости и устойчивости национальных экономик¹

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Несмотря на широкий консенсус международных организаций в отношении важности здорового развития детей в раннем возрасте, мониторинг национальных действий по обеспечению дошкольного образования ограничен. В настоящей статье представлен количественный подход к мониторингу мирового прогресса по достижению задачи 4.2 Целей устойчивого развития (ЦУР) Организации Объединенных Наций (ООН): «...обеспечить, чтобы все девочки и мальчики имели доступ к качественным системам развития, ухода и дошкольного обучения детей младшего возраста». Мы использовали строгий подход для создания новой количественной глобальной базы данных сопоставимых показателей политики, которые характеризуют предоставление национального дошкольного образования для 86% государств — членов ООН. Этот набор данных был проанализирован для изучения глобального неравенства в обеспечении всеобщего дошкольного образования. Мы обнаружили, что 43% всех стран и всего 3% стран с низким уровнем дохода обеспечивают бесплатное дошкольное образование. Менее 25% стран предлагают бесплатное дошкольное образование в течение двух или более лет. Это резко контрастирует с начальным образованием, которое предоставляется бесплатно в 96% стран. Чтобы проиллюстрировать, как эти данные могут использоваться для изучения взаимосвязей между политикой и ее результатами, мы использовали регрессионный анализ. Дополнительный сбор глобальных данных о качестве дошкольного образования еще более активизирует усилия по мониторингу политики, которая играет ключевую роль в достижении задачи 4.2, и окажет поддержку достижению ЦУР ООН в области образования.

Ключевые слова: цели устойчивого развития; количественные данные о политике; глобальное неравенство в образовании; политика в области образования; сравнительный анализ политики

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The European Development Response to the Refugee and Migration Crisis¹

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Abstract

This paper is focused on the European development response to the refugee and migration crisis. European development aid was impacted by the refugee and migration crisis and appeared to be a tool to smooth the consequences of the crisis in Europe. The author conducted semi-structured interviews with scholars, policymakers and representatives of civil society and came to conclusion that the European Union (EU) and its members, instead of developing a strategic programme to resolve this structural issue, used a tactical solution to achieve the short-term goal of stopping migration. Short-term motivations prevailed over a long-term strategy and resulted in the politicization of development aid in policy papers: there was a significant change in the discourse regarding migration and development assistance. While EU members have indeed excessively used official development assistance (ODA) to host refugees in their countries, EU development programmes in African countries have been largely relabeled as “migration-related.” So far there is no evidence-based research that redistribution of aid beneficiaries has taken place as a result of the policy to tackle the “root causes” of migration.

This paper first outlines the European policy framework on development assistance which is aimed at migration management. Then it identifies the EU initiatives to mainstream migration into the development agenda, and considers members’ use of ODA to cover domestic expenses for refugees and asylum seekers. The paper concludes by outlining the key concerns regarding instrumentalization of aid.

Key words: ODA; migration; refugee; crisis; aid; root causes; development

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Introduction

Over the last three years the refugee and migration crisis has represented one of the most challenging policy issues for the European Union (EU) as thousands of people from the Middle East, Africa and Asia relocated to Europe in search of safety and dignity. This paper is focused on the response of donor countries as they tried to cope with the refugee and migration crisis. There has been a notable shift as the EU and its members’ development assistance has become reoriented towards resolution of the crisis. First, the EU established the Emergency Trust Fund for Africa (largely financed by the European Development Fund) to help African countries foster stability and improve migration management.

¹ The editorial board received the article in August 2017.

Second, “migration-related” projects have been advanced in the traditional development agenda of developing countries. Third, European donor countries have resorted to official development assistance (ODA) funds to tackle the domestic refugee and migration crisis.

The problem of using ODA resources to ease the migration crisis and increase the effectiveness of migration management has been widely discussed in the expert community. There are several concerns in this context, including the politicization of development assistance, the allocation of aid which is not aimed at development, and the presumably inaccurate calculation of aid in order to achieve a ratio of 0.7% between ODA and gross national income (GNI), in accordance with the United Nations’ (UN) long-standing goal. This article correlates the short-term and long-term imperatives of the development assistance policy of the EU and its members with regard to the refugee and migration crisis.

Over the past decade there had been increasing interest in the migration-development nexus. It is assumed that migration can be beneficial for both receiving and home countries by promoting economic growth and reducing poverty [Nyberg-Sørensen et al., 2002; Faist, 2008]. One aspect of this agenda is the enhancement migration-related concerns in the development priorities of donor countries. The issue of “migration management” through development funds appeared prior to the current crisis. P. Weil [2002] suggested that hidden behind development intentions there is a strong interest in the forcible return of illegal immigrants.

The approach of tackling the “root causes” of migration in order to reduce migration flows has been debated among scholars. H. de Haas [2007] argued that according to empirical and theoretical evidence, with the increase of economic and human development greater capabilities and aspirations for emigration emerge, at least in the short and medium term. This argument is supported by research on the notion of the “migration hump” [Martin, Taylor, 1996], which reflects the fact that development on the horizontal axis and migration on the vertical axis will form an inverted U-shaped curve. The poorest people are too poor to migrate, whereas those who are sufficiently well-off do not feel the need to migrate in order to improve their material well-being, although migration might be an option for them for other reasons [Black, 2009].

The role of European development assistance in the current refugee and migration crisis has been analyzed by a number of researchers. J. Carling and C. Talleraas [2016] suggested that a focus on “root causes” to reduce migration flows might harm the effectiveness of development policies. L. Den Hertog [2016a] claimed that EU policymakers aspired to flexibility in “migration management” in order to respond more swiftly to humanitarian and operational needs. The author voices his concern that “funding in this area is led by emergencies rather than policy” [Den Hertog, 2016b], with a number of overlapping and competing policy papers and objectives. Another concern is the redistribution of aid among beneficiaries with the least developed countries suffering the most [Hauck et al., 2015].

A. Knoll and A. Sherriff [2017] assessed the impact of irregular migration and the refugee situation on ODA in Europe and stipulated that even despite increased costs for refugee hosting, the EU managed to make additional finances available for ODA. However, the crisis made the EU countries increase cooperation for long-term development aid with countries that are relevant from a migration perspective, therefore there is a high risk of “forgotten crises” in the short to medium term.

The Independent Commission for Aid Impact evaluated progress in the United Kingdom’s aid response to irregular migration into the UK [ICAI, 2017]. According to the review, under ODA rules aid programmes may address root causes of migration as a main objective, but the goal of limiting the number of irregular migrants is only permissible as

a secondary objective. Additionally, at the time of the review (March 2017), the UK's responsible departments had not yet elaborated a shared definition of "migration-related" aid programming, nor an agreed list of such programmes.

The hypothesis of the present paper is that in order to achieve the short-term objective of an immediate decrease of migration and refugee inflows to Europe, European donor organizations have instrumentalized development assistance.

This research draws largely on semi-structured interviews with policymakers, academics and representatives of civil society organizations (CSOs). Skype interviews were conducted with six experts while two experts completed questionnaires. There are four representatives from civil society organizations, three scholars and one policymaker. The interviewees were asked to evaluate the policies of major development agencies regarding the restructuring of development funds towards the "root causes" of migration and refugee crisis. Only one response was received out of almost 20 requests sent to national development agencies, although stating they would not be able to participate.

Representatives of civil society and human rights organizations contributed to the present study to a greater extent. Prior to the interviews, these organizations were among those which had published a number of joint open letters to European donor organizations including on the matter of reorientation of development aid to migration management and in-donor refugee costs. This research has gathered their key concerns regarding European strategy and tactics to resolve the refugee crisis.

This paper proceeds first with a discussion of the European policy framework on development assistance which is aimed at migration management. The second part proposes an outline of EU initiatives to mainstream migration into the development agenda. The third part is devoted to members' decisions to use to ODA to support the domestic costs of receiving refugees. The fourth part presents key concerns regarding the instrumentalization of aid.

Politicized aid refers to "aid policies and programmes skewed with donors' foreign policy and national security interests and formally embedded in international development strategies and humanitarian practices" [Oxfam, 2011]. Based on interviews with experts, the paper demonstrates how the crisis affected discourse about migration at the doctrinal level, and how the prevalence of short-term motivations over long-term strategy resulted in a politicization of development aid in the era of a "post-truth politics."

EU Policy Framework on Migration and Development

Increasing numbers of refugees and irregular migrants in recent years have challenged European policies. Protracted crises, terrorism, repressive regimes, inequality and poverty caused mass migration in recent years with more than 65 million forcibly displaced people worldwide [UNHCR, 2017]. In 2015, European authorities detected more than 1.8 million illegal crossings – 511,000 in 2016 [European Parliament, 2017] and 205,000 in 2017 [European Parliament, 2018].

Experts would not say that it was an unexpected outbreak – a number of protracted crises and insufficient humanitarian assistance to refugees in already overpopulated camps in Turkey, Lebanon and Ethiopia inevitably would push forcibly displaced people to look for a safer life. By May 2016, Europe had received only 6% of the world's forcibly displaced people [Edwards, 2016], whereas over half of the world's refugees were hosted in developing countries of the Middle East and Africa, with nine of the top 10 refugee-hosting countries in developing regions [UNHCR, 2017].

In order to propose a solid response to the challenge, European policymakers included the notion of “principled pragmatism” in their Global Strategy on Foreign and Security Policy which allowed them to combine internal and external actions for the resolution of the crisis [Mackie et al., 2017]. This comprehensive approach demands the use of development assistance to manage migration within Europe to host in-donor refugees, and also to make external contributions to cope with “root” causes that spark migration flows in developing countries.

The EU and its members collectively are the largest providers of ODA in the world with €75.5 billion in 2016 [European Commission, 2017b]. The top beneficiaries of EU aid are Turkey, India, Afghanistan, Morocco and Syria [European Commission, 2016c]. The Global Approach to Migration and Mobility (GAMM), launched in 2005 and revised in 2011, was created to serve as an overarching framework for the EU’s external migration and asylum policy, complementary to its foreign policy and development cooperation [European Commission, 2011]. Maximizing the development impact of migration and mobility is presented as one of four GAMM pillars, acknowledging that good governance of migration brings vast development benefits. It is worth noting that addressing “root causes” of migration is not mentioned in the document.

With the escalation of the crisis, the GAMM was replaced by the European Agenda on Migration in 2015. In contrast with the GAMM, the discourse regarding migration has shifted such that the focus is now on providing a swift and immediate response to the crisis [European Commission, 2016b]. The pillars for EU migration policy were revised and the reduction of incentives for irregular migration by addressing its root causes came to the fore. These root causes include civil wars, persecution, poverty, unemployment and climate change, all of which should be prevented or mitigated in order to bring migration under control.

The EU delegations in key countries of origin and transit are charged with operational responsibilities to “report on migration related developments and mainstream migration issues into development cooperation” [European Commission, 2015, p. 8]. Not only should development cooperation be aimed at addressing long-term root causes of migration, but humanitarian assistance should also seek to maximize its ability also to assist refugees and serve as an instrument for addressing root causes of migration.

The European Agenda on Migration promotes the inclusion of migration issues in its foreign policy cooperation with third countries, placing the external dimension of the EU’s migration policy at the core of the dialogue with key countries of origin and transit. According to the European Commission, “positive and negative incentives will be integrated into the EU’s development and trade policies to reward those countries willing to cooperate effectively with the EU on migration management and ensure there are consequences for those who refuse” [European Commission, 2016b]. Though the migration-development nexus has lost much of its importance in comparison with GAMM, one of its pillars (“a new policy on legal migration”) recognizes the positive effects of migration on both the EU economy and the countries of origin.

Following the European Agenda on Migration, a new Partnership Framework on Migration was forged in June 2016. This Framework is aimed at establishing a coherent, credible and effective policy to reinforce the return, readmission and reintegration of migrants, elements that are deemed essential in the fight against illegal migration. The Partnership Framework pursues the short-term objectives of increasing the rate of returns and breaking the business model of smugglers while addressing the root causes of migration in the long term.

As many as 131 non-governmental organizations (NGOs) voiced their concerns regarding the new Partnership Framework with third countries, which, according to NGOs,

made deterrence strategies aimed at stopping migration the main objective of EU relations with developing countries [Oxfam, 2016]. NGOs claim that evidence-based approaches show the ineffectiveness of deterrence strategies which force asylum seekers to resort to more dangerous routes to seek refuge.

As a result, on the doctrinal level there appeared to be no relevant strategy that offered a long-term algorithm to guide reaction to the challenge. The GAMM appeared to be outdated, while the major focus in subsequent policy papers was on preventing illegal migration and enhancing cooperation on returns and readmission. For this reason, the longer-term objective of tackling root causes of migration seemed to become a politically correct euphemism for “curbing migration flows to Europe.”

Migration Management Through Development Assistance

In order to respond more swiftly to the refugee crisis the EU created special trust funds for Africa and Turkey. The idea was to consolidate a greater amount of aid from different sources in a short period of time in order to ensure a flexible and comprehensive response to any emergency situation.

The EU Emergency Trust Fund for Africa (EUTF for Africa) was established in 2015 “for stability and addressing root causes of irregular migration and displaced persons in Africa” [European Commission, 2016a]. The fund covers 26 major countries of origin or transit for migrants with a budget of more than \$2.5 billion (\$2.4 billion from the European Development Fund and \$150 million from the EU members).

Along with pure development objectives such as jobs creation and support for resilience in terms of food security, the focus is on migration management “in all its aspects” [European Commission, 2016a, p. 3], including the fight against illegal migration and smuggling, return and readmission, and issues related to good governance — human rights abuses, capacity building in support of security and development, and border management.

The EUTF for Africa is indeed a swift and flexible tool: according to its 2016 annual report, the process to approve an action takes only three to four months in comparison to the 12–18 months required in other development projects [European Commission, 2016d]. As a result, 106 projects had been approved by December 2016, with one-third of its funding devoted to strengthening the resilience of communities, almost a third to economic opportunities, and migration management and good governance each receiving 17% of the total budget for approved projects [p. 12]. In 2017, the allocation of funding was largely the same with community resilience projects as a priority and a slightly increased focus on migration management (23%) [European Commission, 2017a]. However, the countries of the North of Africa received funding only for improved migration management (€285 million).

Academics tend to agree that European trust funds facilitate the use of development aid in a more coherent way in rather fragile environments, in contrast to inflexible traditional development assistance [Interviewee no 5]. However, they are mostly seen as a short-term solution that implies fast and flexible decision-making and spending; they do not have procedures to implement projects in a more forward-looking way and thus cannot be used to address long-term priorities [Interviewee no 4]. V. Hauck et al. [2015] assume that the political pressure to react swiftly and show immediate results will lead to a greater possibility that “valuable lessons of international cooperation are forgotten.” In terms of the EUTF for Africa, there is a strong need for solid assessments of regional and country strategies to ensure ownership, complementarity and balance between long-term and short-term objectives.

During an interview, a European Commission official [Interviewee no 3] admitted that the EUTFs are temporary solutions, and that there is an understanding that migration flows will increase in the future rather than diminish. Therefore, although the EUTFs have made positive contributions, long-term and structural challenges will require more solid tools to resolve.

As far as the migration-development nexus is concerned, all of the representatives of NGOs and academia approached for this research claimed that greater development leads to more migration in the short term. There is a great deal of contradiction between the insights generated from research on the migration-development nexus and the kind of policies being implemented. The apparent logic behind the EUTF for Africa is to invest in better development opportunities in Africa in order to demotivate potential migrants to leave their countries [Interviewee no 5]. However, there is not much empirical evidence to support the view that more development programmes reduce the motivations of potential migrants to migrate. As noted by an NGO representative [Interviewee no 6], “there is no matter how much research you provide, it is purely a political issue.” Thus, even though policymakers are aware of what the evidence says about the correlation between development and migration, political impulses can lead them to implement an alternative policy.

However, according to an interview with a European Commission official [Interviewee no 3], what they are trying to do is not to stop migration, but rather to make it safer. The objective is to foster an environment in which migration is not the only option for people seeking to have a better life, and thus they can make a choice to stay. Therefore, instead of using the wording “root causes of migration,” it might also be appropriate to say “root causes of poverty.”

One of the major concerns is the reorientation of Europe’s development funds toward the curbing of migration. EU policy papers put forth development aid as a leverage for migration control, which might be perceived as violation of a number of European commitments, including the Treaty of Lisbon [2007] (which stipulates that development cooperation should be used to eradicate poverty), the Busan principles on effectiveness [OECD, 2011] and the Paris principles [OECD, 2005] of ownership by and alignment to partner countries’ strategies. Moreover, migration management agreements with countries in which human rights abuses take place might result in even greater inflows of migrants in the longer term. In an interview, an NGO representative [Interviewee no 6] said that donor countries resorted to development funds for short-term gains; by reducing the number of migrants coming to Europe they can show the public and the media that they are doing something about the problem.

According to an NGO representative [Interviewee no 1], most of the projects funded by the EUTF for Africa are not problematic. For example, 85% of the funding in Niger was indeed used for development programming, while the rest was dedicated to border management. This stems from the fact that many EU delegations, as well as the UN, NGOs and implementing partners, have no intention of stopping migration. But if the funding does not have the intended effect, this will give politicians the pretext to cut development funding in the future.

Some scholars interviewed for this research claim that a reorientation of development funds did not necessarily take place [Interviewee no 4, Interviewee no 5]. Instead, a great number of development projects were simply relabeled as being migration-related. This is echoed in a report by A. Knoll and A. Sheriff [2017] in which they claim that so far there have not been substantive thematic changes. However, mainstreaming migration issues

into European development cooperation may result in programming decisions in countries that are relevant from a migration perspective.

Though there has not been a considerable shift in priorities on the ground so far, CSOs have voiced concerns that there are already discussions underway about how to introduce indicators to measure how many potential migrants were stopped from migrating, and moreover that these indicators will influence decisions about what kind of projects to implement. However, a European Commission official said that “at the political level there is a lot of pressure on a number of development actors and donors to ensure that development projects also contribute to the resolution of the perceived migration crisis,” and also noted both the desire of some politicians to introduce such criteria, and the view within the development community that such demands are naïve and unrealistic to implement [Interviewee no 3].

An ICAI report [2017] points out that there are a number of problems associated with labeling traditional development projects as “migration-related.” It is very hard to demonstrate the impact of a project on irregular migration, making it difficult to determine if the objectives have been achieved or to identify what works. Second, there are complex causal chains between aid and irregular migration decisions. The authors of the report claim that innovative approaches to monitoring and evaluation are needed to ensure effective new programming.

According to an interview with a policy researcher [Interviewee no 4], the re-labeling of programmes as related to “migration management” allows for more substantial funding mobilization. Though it might be criticized by NGOs and academics, tackling “root causes” of migration has become a legitimate argument in the policy arena. Therefore, though some experts and policymakers are aware of the fact that investment in development cooperation will not necessarily lead to less migration, it remains a powerful argument to mobilize funding and thus has become part of the dominant discourse.

ODA for EU Members’ Needs: In-donor Refugee Costs

Apart from the joint EU response, each member of the EU has undertaken its own measures to generate funds to host refugees. One of the financial instruments to cope with the increasing number of refugees is the inclusion of costs for hosting refugees in ODA budgets. According to the reporting rules adopted in 1988 by the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), members are allowed to use development assistance budgets to host refugees during the first 12 months of their stay. This includes payments for transport to the host country or voluntary resettlement to a developing country and temporary sustenance such as food, shelter and training. Integration activities and forced deportation cannot be counted as ODA [OECD DAC, 2016a].

Until 2017, the DAC left the calculation of in-donor costs to the discretion of members, which hindered comparison among donors. In October 2017, the OECD DAC issued clarifications on those in-donor refugee costs that were non-eligible as ODA expenditures. It clearly stated that expenses for detention centres, border security and the costs of returning failed asylum applicants cannot be calculated as aid [2017a]. With a one-year limit being retained, the year should be calculated from the date of submission of an asylum application.

Due to the crisis, ODA funds spent on refugees more than tripled in 2016 from 2010 and accounted for 10.8% of all development aid [OECD DAC, 2017d]. As far as the EU and

its members are concerned, this number rose to 14.2% in 2016 (from 12.9% in 2015) [European Commission, 2017b] (Fig. 1). Even though in-donor refugee costs have increased significantly, collective EU ODA has also risen, to €75.5 billion. While refugee costs increased by €1.9 billion, the overall EU ODA surged by €7.6 billion, which means that greater ODA volumes owe not only to the rise in in-donor refugee costs, but also to some additional funding [European Commission, 2016e]. However, if we take into consideration the pledge to reach the 0.7% ODA/GNI target, EU collective aid constituted 0.51% of its GNI. However, as A. Knoll and A. Sheriff [2017] have remarked, without in-donor refugee costs this number will reach a modest 0.41%.

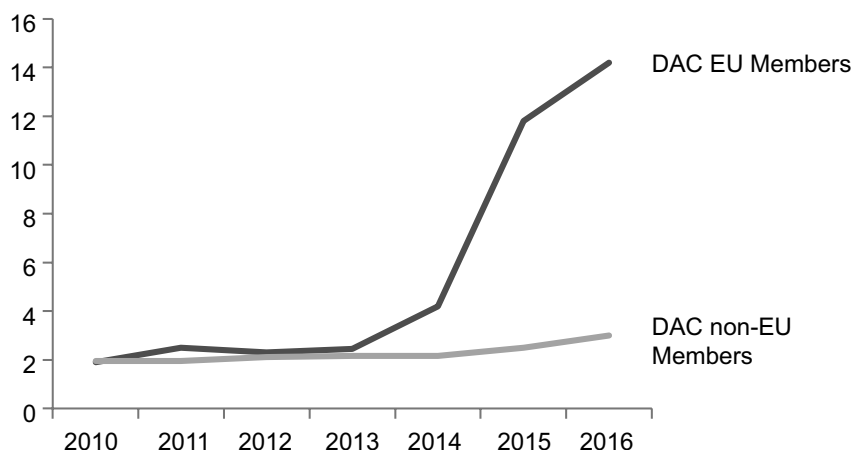


Fig. 1. Comparison of In-donor Refugee Costs as a Share of Total ODA Between DAC EU and Non-EU Members

Source: [OECD, n.d.].

Though about half of the OECD DAC members use other funds to cover hosting of refugees, some allocated more than 20% of their aid budget to refugee-related expenses in 2016: Austria allocated 37.7% of its aid as in-donor refugee costs, followed by Italy at 34.3%, Germany at 25.2%, Denmark at 17.7% and Sweden at 16.9% [OECD DAC, 2017d] (Fig. 2). In 2015, refugees in Sweden became the main beneficiaries of Swedish aid: funding for in-donor refugee costs prevailed over bilateral support to partner countries, contributions to multilateral organizations and ODA to specific regions.

After the acute phase of the crisis had passed, allocation of ODA for in-house refugee expenses shrank in 2017 for almost all EU members of the DAC, which is indeed a good trend. However, the volume of aid that does not cross borders is still quite significant. A striking illustration of this is that EU DAC members' expenditures on in-donor refugee costs (\$9.7 billion) were three-times more than the ODA given to the top five countries of migrants' origin – Syria, Afghanistan, Somalia, South Sudan and Sudan (\$3.2 billion) in 2016 [OECD DAC, 2017a] (Fig. 3).

CSO representatives argue that in-donor costs should not be counted as ODA since “they do not link to any development objectives of improving the welfare of poor people in developing countries” [CSO Joint Statement, 2017] They refer to the OECD DAC Secretariat's statement 15 years ago concerning the danger that including expenditures on refugees undermined the credibility of ODA.

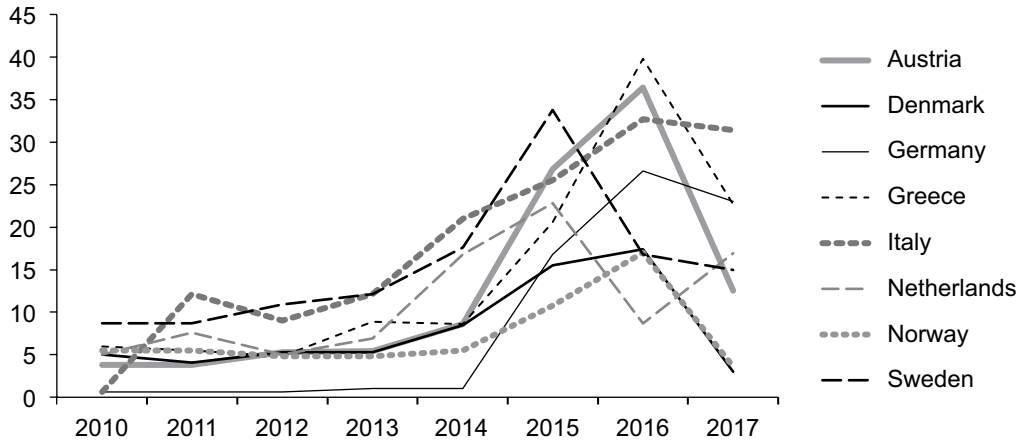


Fig. 2. In-donor Refugee Costs as a Share of Total ODA

Source: [OECD DAC, 2017d].

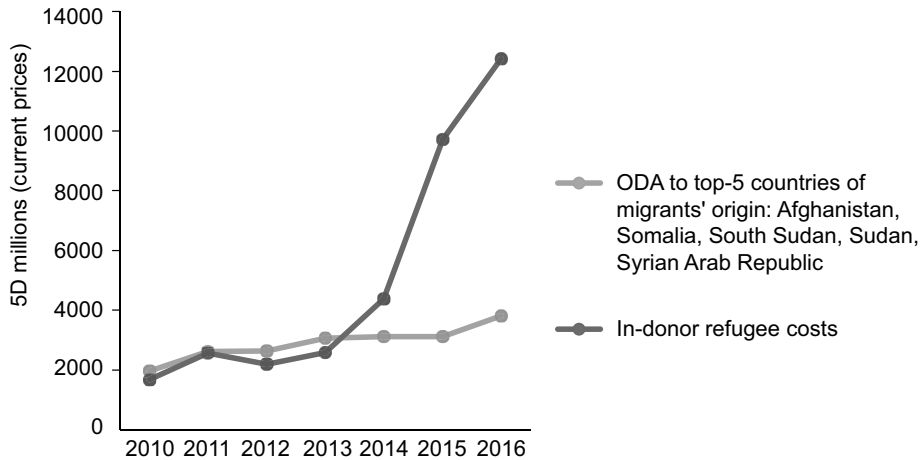


Fig. 3. Comparison of DAC EU Members' ODA Spent on In-donor Refugee Costs and Top-5 Countries of Migrants' Origin

Source: [OECD, n.d.].

There is no unanimous opinion among academics regarding ODA and in-donor refugee costs. Some claim that it is indeed not a good idea to reorient development funding to internal agencies in order to host refugees, since this is no longer development. Others tend to think that as long as a country reaches the 0.7% target for ODA/GNI, it might be acceptable to resort to this funding for the reception of refugees.

The position of the World Bank on this issue can be traced in a report where it is stated that “further increases in in-donor refugee costs could see funds diverted from development and humanitarian aid, which in turn could aggravate the forced displacement crisis” [World Bank, 2016]. Similarly, former UN Secretary-General Ban Ki Moon called this initiative “counter-productive” [Siegfried, 2015].

Politicization of Aid and Related Concerns

One of the main concerns among interviewees and migration and development experts is the instrumentalization of ODA. Under the Lisbon Treaty, EU development aid should be targeted toward poverty eradication. Meanwhile, trust funds allow the EU to “respond to certain emergencies and crises that are high in the political agenda at the expense of other potential crises that are less feasible, or at the expense of certain prevention measures” [Interviewee no XX]. J. Carling and C. Talleraas [2016] are also concerned with the problem, stating that “rather than targeting aid to where needs are greatest, its priorities are influenced by the EU migration agenda.”

The tendency is quite disturbing since there is no attempt on the part of countries to conceal the intention to promote their own interests through development assistance. The Global Strategy for the EU’s Foreign and Security Policy [European Union, 2016] is quite explicit in presenting development aid as a part of a broader foreign policy, referring to “principled pragmatism” [p. 8] as a guide to their external action, which indeed demonstrates using development aid for the broader purposes of migration management and the curbing of migration flows to Europe.

The European official [Interviewee no 3] noted that migration management should not be viewed only in negative terms. Every country has borders and a right to decide who can enter its territory, and faces the additional task of facilitating labour migration. For this reason, migration management is in the interests of developing countries, and they quite often ask the EU to foster their border management capacities. Moreover, they admit that there is pressure from some ministries to use ODA for inherent European interests, however this is not something that is taking place. In the interview, the European official was quite certain in saying that all EU development assistance fully corresponds with the ODA definition coined by the OECD DAC.

Politicization of development aid was possible also due to a significant change in the narrative about the migration crisis and development aid. Instead of talking about the opportunities that migration entails, there was a wholesale reorientation of the discourse presenting migration as a challenge, crisis and problem. The very wording used to talk about the current situation conveys certain meanings and feelings. Whereas interviewees from NGOs used the term “perceived refugee crisis,” some policymakers also tend to bracket the term “refugee crisis” to express their attitude towards the perception of the situation. As one interviewee said, “the pace at which people arrive in Europe is actually perfectly manageable, it is by no means a crisis. The only reason that there was a crisis is because member states were not prepared and today they are still not, because politically they are not prepared” [Interviewee no 1].

Within the development community, there are also many concerns about the way migration has been presented in public discourse. Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General for International Migration Louise Arbour says that “the erroneous perception of an increased influx of irregular migration, combined with a lack of trust in state capacities to deal with such influxes, has led to increased intolerance and rejection of migrants” [United Nations, 2017].

Another effort to recast the refugee narrative was made by the OECD DAC which deplored the portrayal of refugees as “burdens”, “dangerous infiltrators” or, at worst, as “potential terrorists.” The OECD DAC claims that “narratives, whether positive or negative, can have real and meaningful policy implications” [OECD DAC, 2017c].

The rhetoric has also changed with regard to ODA. For European policymakers there is no longer any need to present ODA as a tool aimed exclusively at promoting economic development and the welfare of developing countries. Instead, they claim directly that positive and negative incentives will be used when allocating ODA to countries that cooperate or refuse to cooperate on the issue of return and readmission of irregular migrants. The European need to regulate domestic migration management is set at the core of its global policy, which undermines ODA credibility.

While it is quite evident that on the doctrinal level aid was instrumentalized and presented as a form of leverage, it is very important to note the risk of a potential redistribution of ODA away from recipient countries which are not “migration-related” in the short-term perspective. According to NGOs, EU desk officers are asked to redefine their objectives in relation to migration, and funds will be allocated to those countries that are relevant to migration.

However, according to a European Commission official [Interviewee no 3], this criticism is unjustified. The EUTF for Africa is targeted at particular countries which indeed require additional funding to cope with the problems of border control and capacity building.

It had already been noted that experts tend to think that instead of a reorientation of funds there was considerable “relabeling” exercise to transform traditional development projects into “migration-related” projects. Furthermore, research conducted by M.A. Clemens and H.M. Postel shows that there is no clear evidence that aid disbursement follows the “root causes” rhetoric. Their assessment shows that statistics so far do not reflect a “worldwide wave of ‘root causes’ aid to the countries where migration is of most concerns to donors” [2018, p. 5].

In their study, M.A. Clemens and H.M. Postel referred to conceptualization of immigration policies made by H. de Haas [2013]. According to this conceptual framework, there are “policy gaps” among policy discourses, policies on paper, implementation and outcomes. In the given context we see that public discourse has indeed influenced policies on paper which put forth the identification of “root causes” as the cornerstone of ODA policy. However there is still an “implementation gap:” current research has not proved any massive reorientation of funds on the ground so far.

According to Czaika and de Haas, field studies confirm that such “implementation gaps can be sizable particularly when policies on paper are unrealistic or detached from concrete migration experiences” [2013, p. 496], which also might be the case in the current situation.

Meanwhile, instrumentalization of aid on the ground may have undesirable effects. First, implementation of migration-related projects might threaten the ownership of the third countries. The EU could spend resources on capacity building and training for border guards, but if those are not the priorities of recipient countries, such spending will neither be effective nor will it address the problem that the EU is seeking to resolve [Interviewee no 4].

From a long-term perspective, there is the possibility of exacerbating of human rights violations. According to the ICAI report [2017], migration-related programming could contribute to unintended harm to vulnerable migrants, especially in fragile environments where national law enforcement standards are poor. For example, support to coastguard or detention centers in Libya, where the right to asylum is not recognized, should be especially well-monitored.

The “principled pragmatism” of migration-related development projects and excessive use of ODA for domestic purposes can be seen partly as a response to the rising concerns of European citizens. As a result, the refugee and migration crisis has become a part of post-truth politics. “Post-truth” was chosen as the Oxford Dictionaries’ word of the year

in 2016, and it characterises the way European policymakers have approached the crisis. “Post-truth” describes circumstances when facts are less significant to the formation of public opinion than emotions and personal convictions [Oxford Dictionary, n.d.]. Indeed, the fact that Europe hosts only 6% of the world’s displaced persons and due to its size and prosperity is more than capable of hosting more refugees is of “secondary” importance. According to the 2016 Humanitarian Index, many European citizens assumed that their governments had hosted significantly more refugees than they really did. For example, in the UK people tend to think that their government has taken twice as many Syrian refugees as they have done in reality. The situation is much more concerning in France and Germany, where people assume that their countries hosted five times more refugees than they actually did [Aurora Prize for Awakening Humanity, 2016].

Assessing the European response to the crisis in general, most of the interviewees think that the EU and its members proposed a short-term solution: neither the trust funds nor the domestic use of ODA can provide a long-term perspective on a protracted crisis. There has also been a shift from the focus on state capacity building to crisis management cooperation and border management² In order to bring prosperity to the developing world, donor organizations have to operate in this post-truth environment. Development assistance did not avoid politicization, instead it was subordinated to migratory goals. With extensive use of ODA to cover in-donor refugee costs and the linkage of migration to aid, the fundamental principles of predictability of aid and aid effectiveness are undermined.

Conclusions

Having analyzed the evolution of the EU doctrinal framework on migration and development, as well as the major interventions of European development agencies, the following conclusions can be made. First, with the escalation of the crisis, on the level of policy formulation, there was no relevant strategy that could propose a long-term algorithm to guide the response to the challenge or deal with unexpectedly high flows of refugees and migrants in Europe. Moreover, no long-term strategy except for a controversial “root causes” approach has been proposed to cope with the refugee and migration crisis.

Second, in order to ease migration pressure on donor countries, donor organizations proposed a short-term solution to curb flows of migrants and refugees to Europe and cover hosting expenses for refugees in developed countries at the expense of development aid. Massive volumes of ODA were reoriented toward in-donor expenses to host refugees.

Third, the crisis affected the discourse of migration and development, with politicization of aid taking place at the doctrinal level: the “principled pragmatism” of using ODA for EU interests is formally embedded in EU policy papers. Meanwhile, due to an “implementation policy gap” there is discrepancy between the policy of addressing “root causes” of migration and its implementation on the ground. So far there has largely been only the relabeling of pure development projects into “migration-related” ones, and there is no evidence-based research that redistribution of aid beneficiaries has taken place on the ground.

Politicization of aid, even at the doctrinal level, undermines European political clout and the credibility of aid, and might have troublesome long-term consequences for the EU

² EU Common Security Defense Policy (CSDP) is implied here. CSDP is a framework for the EU to implement crisis management, crisis response operation (military or civilian) which is a very flexible and rather short-term tool.

and its members. Further use of aid as a political tool can undermine the effectiveness of aid and may fail to ensure security both for donors and recipient communities.

The refugee and migrant crisis might provide an opportunity to reconsider development policy, since development assistance and humanitarian aid play a vital role in dealing with large-scale challenges worldwide. The crucial thing is to stick to the principles ruling the use of ODA and humanitarian aid – ownership and alignment, predictability for development aid and impartiality for humanitarian aid. Otherwise, there will be greater risks of an increase in the number of “forgotten crises” [Knoll, Sheriff, 2017], more instability in countries that are not currently countries of transit or origin of migrants, or in those countries which refuse to cooperate in the return and readmission of illegal migrants. With a high probability of future massive migration and refugee inflows, there is an urgent need for long-term vision and programming.

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Annex A: List of interviewees

1. Anonymous, NGO (Questionnaire in March 2017);
2. Anonymous, think-tank (Interview in April 2017);
3. European Commission Official (Interview in March 2017).
4. Den Hertog, Leonhard. Centre for European Policy Studies (Interview in March 2017);
5. Deneckere, Matthias. European Centre for Development Policy Management (Interview in March 2017);
6. Jeune, Hilary. Oxfam International (Interview in March 2017);
7. Simons, Rupert. Publish What You Fund (Interview in March 2017);
8. Vanderstappen, Cecile. CNCD-11.11.11 (Questionnaire in April 2017).

Использование политики в целях развития для разрешения миграционного кризиса в Европе¹

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В фокусе статьи — использование европейскими странами политики по содействию развитию для разрешения миграционного кризиса. Европейская помощь в целях развития (ОПР) не избежала воздействия со стороны миграционного кризиса и стала инструментом для сглаживания его последствий в странах ЕС. Проведя полустандартизированные интервью с исследователями, должностными лицами и представителями гражданского общества, автор статьи делает вывод, что вместо стратегического планирования по разрешению проблемы, носящей структурный характер, ЕС и страны-члены приняли тактическое решение для достижения краткосрочной цели сдерживания миграции. В результате произошла политизация помощи в целях развития на доктринальном уровне и существенно изменился политический дискурс по вопросам миграции и ОПР. При этом, в то время как страны — члены ЕС действительно прибегли к чрезмерному использованию ОПР для приема беженцев в своих странах, многие программы развития ЕС в африканских странах были переименованы в программы, важные с миграционной точки зрения. В настоящий момент нет исследований, демонстрирующих, что произошло перераспределение помощи между странами-бенефициарами в результате политики борьбы с «коренными причинами» миграции.

Статья начинается с описания европейских политических рамок по использованию политики содействия развитию для управления миграцией. Далее описываются инициативы ЕС, направленные на продвижение вопросов миграции в повестку содействия развитию, и анализируется подход стран — членов ЕС к использованию ОПР для приема беженцев. В заключительном разделе перечисляются основные проблемы, связанные с инструментализацией ОПР.

Ключевые слова: ОПР; миграция; кризис беженцев; миграционный кризис; помощь; коренные причины; развитие

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Assessing the Potential for Global Economic Governance Reform¹

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Abstract

Every dynamic social system's adaptive capacity is finite. Eventually, the ability of the system's legal and institutional arrangements to adapt to the changing operational context is exhausted. At this point, unless the system is significantly reformed, it begins losing its legitimacy and efficacy.

This article contends that the structure, operation and scale of the global economy has changed so dramatically that the current arrangements for global economic governance are approaching this crisis moment. They are failing to deliver an inclusive, sustainable and efficient international economic system that can contribute to peace, prosperity and human welfare. Their governance arrangements and operating practices and procedures have not been adequately adapted to the new realities of the international political economy. Key institutions are only slowly adjusting their current decision-making practices to the fact that the balance of economic power among their members has shifted. They have also been slow in responding to the growing importance of such non-state actors as corporations, civil society organizations and subnational governments in the governance of the global economy.

The political will to make the necessary changes to the institutional arrangements for global economic governance is lacking. This means that in the short to medium term, absent a serious crisis, there is limited potential for reform. However, this does not mean that opportunities for meaningful partial reforms do not exist. Those actors that are interested in reform need to carefully seek out those opportunities and, once identified, use them to make the system more participatory, accountable and responsive to the concerns to all stakeholders in the system. This in turn should enhance the capacity of the system to respond productively to future opportunities for more profound changes in global economic governance.

In making this case, the article first briefly describes the key features of the order established after World War II. Second, it discusses some of the changes that these institutions have undergone over the past 70 years. Third, it discusses the adjustments that, in fact, have been made in global economic governance. It also indicates some ways in which opportunities for making the system more inclusive, responsive and accountable can be identified. Finally, it offers suggestions regarding possible changes within the current order and on the role entities like the Group of 20 and the BRICS grouping of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa can play in promoting these changes.

It should be noted that, due to space limitations, while this article discusses global economic governance in general, it concentrates primarily on the cases of the two most prominent institutions in global economic governance – the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank Group (the World Bank). The reason for focusing on the IMF is that it is the most significant multilateral institution active in the governance of international financial and monetary affairs. The World Bank is an important funder of development activity even if it is not the largest such lender. It is the model that was used in setting up all of the regional multilateral development banks (MDBs) and it has had an influence on the structure and function of other MDBs. It has also been a thought leader in the area of development finance.

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Kew words: global governance; International Monetary Fund (IMF); World Bank

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History and Evolution Over the Past 70 Years

The institutional arrangements for global economic governance that the allies agreed to as World War II was ending were designed to promote peace and human development, and to prevent the destructive military, trade and currency wars that had characterized the previous three decades [Haq et al., 1995; Helleiner, 2014]. The international organizations that they established had a number of specific characteristics that were intended to make them function effectively and sustainably. First, in addition to the United Nations (UN) itself, they established a set of specialized agencies that were linked to the UN. Each of these agencies would be responsible for a particular aspect of global economic governance. Thus, the mandate of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) was to oversee a rules-based international monetary order in which participants agreed to maintain relatively fixed exchange rates (“par values”) in return for having access to financial support when they faced balance of payments problems and were unable to maintain the agreed value of their currency [IMF, 1945]. The International Trade Organization (ITO) would develop the rules governing international trade and such issues as employment, trade in commodities and restrictive business practices [UN, 1948a]. The original task of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD or World Bank) was to help arrange the financing for the reconstruction of post-war Europe and the development of its colonies and the poorer independent countries [IBRD, 1945]. The scope of each institution’s specialized mission was defined so as to minimize the risk of overlap between the missions of the different specialized agencies. The UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) was expected to coordinate the work of these organizations [UN, 1945, Ch. X, Art. 71–72]. Thus, the ECOSOC would provide a forum in which the economic aspects of global governance could be coordinated with the peace and security and human rights work of the UN.

Second, the system was based on respect for state sovereignty. This meant that the new international organizations would avoid interfering in the domestic affairs of their member states.² In order to mitigate the risk of disrespecting state sovereignty, the organizations would only engage with their member states through designated government officials. For example, each IMF member state was expected to appoint either the finance ministry or the central bank as the IMF’s formal contact point with the member state [IMF, 1945, Art. XII, Sect. 2]. Any engagements with other actors in the member state would be coordinated through the formal contact point. In principle,

² See UN [1945, Ch. 1, Art. 2] on non-interference in domestic affairs; IBRD [1945, Art. IV, Sect. 10] provides that political activity is prohibited; the IMF [1945, Art. IV, Sect. 1(i)] requires its members to pay due regard to domestic social conditions.

this allowed each member state to exercise some control over the IMF's activities in the state.

This arrangement contributed to establishing the mechanism of accountability for these international organizations. Since they would only engage directly with state officials, the IMF and World Bank (international financial institutions (IFIs), collectively) could only directly impact the member state and its officials. Consequently, it was sufficient for the IFIs to be directly accountable only to their member states. These states could use their voice and vote in the organization's decision-making processes to hold it accountable. Since the organizations could not engage directly – that is without the consent of the state officials – with the citizens of the member states, they could not directly impact these non-state actors. As a result, there was no need for the IFIs to be directly accountable to the citizens. The citizens of the member state, it was implicitly assumed, could hold their government accountable if they were dissatisfied with the way in which it engaged with the organization.

Third, the arrangements were based on an acknowledgement of the realities of the geopolitical and economic power relations that existed at the end of the war. This meant that since the powerful states would make the biggest contributions to global economic governance and were the largest beneficiaries of the system, they had the largest stake in its governance. Consequently, they were granted a privileged position in the decision-making structures and procedures of global economic governance. This was achieved through such devices as the veto in the UN Security Council [UN, 1945, Ch. V, Art. 27] and weighted voting in both the IMF [1944, Art. XII, Sect. 5] and the IBRD [1944, Art V, Sect. 3].

These global governance arrangements were not implemented as intended. The ITO was never established. The more narrowly focused General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) functioned as the forum for establishing the rules for international trade [WTO, n.d.]. In addition, the Cold War meant that not all of the states that were expected to participate in global governance joined the IMF and the IBRD. For example, those states that belonged to the Warsaw Pact created a different set of governance institutions.³

Other post-war developments both undermined the original vision and shaped how these institutions functioned. The first was that the number of states participating in the system increased significantly. There were 44 states at the Bretton Woods conference that created the IMF and the World Bank, of which 35 ratified their articles of agreement [Horsefield, 1969]. Today, these institutions have 189 member states that are more diverse in terms of wealth, size, domestic governance arrangements and economic potential than were the founding states [UN, n.d.; IBRD, n.d.a]. The increased diversity of the membership has complicated the governance of the two institutions. One indicator of this is that while the number of their member states has increased more than four times, the size of the boards of directors of the IFIs has only doubled.⁴

³ Since these institutions no longer played a role in global governance after the Warsaw Pact collapsed, they are not discussed in this article.

⁴ Originally both institutions had 12 executive directors each. See original articles, [UN, 1944] and [World Bank (IBRD), 2012]. The IMF now has 24 Executive Directors, see IMF [n.d.a] and the World Bank has 25 Executive Directors, see IBRD [n.d.b].

As a result, the average size of the constituencies represented by each of the executive directors at these institutions has grown and the ability of some of them to represent all members of their constituencies has declined commensurably. For example, currently the two executive directors representing sub-Saharan Africa have over 20 countries in their respective constituencies [IMF, n.d.a]. This number is too large to ensure that the concerns and interests of many of these member states are effectively represented in their decision-making structures. This means that their ability to hold the institutions accountable exists more in theory than in practice.

One consequence of these post-war developments was that the IFIs and the UN did not remain the exclusive fora for global economic governance. The most influential states began to resort to alternate international fora for managing the global economy. For example, the United States and Western Europe created what became the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).⁵ In addition, although the founding states of the IMF originally anticipated that the IMF would make the Bank for International Settlements (BIS) redundant, the leading states and their central banks revived it as a forum in which they could discuss international monetary affairs in a more discrete – and less transparent – forum than the IMF [BIS, n.d.a].

Over time, they also began to create smaller and less formal fora in which select groups of states could meet to exchange views on key issues of economic governance and coordinate their positions on these issues. They could then work together to ensure that these positions were adopted and implemented by the IFIs and the other relevant actors in global economic governance. These informal entities include the Group of 7 (later the Group of 8), and the Group of 10 on monetary affairs [Federal Government of Germany, n.d.; BIS, n.d.b]. These more exclusive fora were in fact the source of many of the key governance decisions during the period before the financial crisis in 2008. The G20, which had been established at the ministerial level after the Asian financial crisis, became more prominent after the 2008 crisis when it was elevated to the summit level [Kirton, 1999]. It proclaimed itself to be “the premier forum for our international economic cooperation” in 2009 [G20, 2009, Para 50].

In addition, the dominant financial powers created new bodies to deal with specific common problems. For example, they created the Financial Stability Forum to coordinate the international standard setting bodies (SSBs) in response to the globalization of finance and the regulatory and stability problems that it generated [FSB, n.d.; Goodhart, 2011]. These bodies provided fora in which the financial regulatory authorities from these countries could meet and develop non-binding international financial regulatory standards that would ensure the effective functioning of the international financial system. In fact, these standards are used by the IMF and World Bank in their financial sector assessment programmes [IMF, n.d.b; IBRD, n.d.c]. As a result, these standards, over time, have become *de facto* more enforceable against states that are members of the IMF and World Bank but are not participants in the FSF and the SSBs than they are against the states that participated in developing the standards. The reason for this is that those states that think they might need IMF financial or technical

⁵ For more on the history of the OECD see OECD [1960] and K. Martens and A. Jakobi [2010].

assistance inevitably pay more attention to, and are more likely to implement, the suggestions of the IMF than those with no need for IMF assistance. This situation began to change somewhat when the FSF was formalized as the Financial Stability Board (FSB) and its membership expanded to include those G20 states that were not yet members of the FSF. In addition, the SSBs broadened participation in their decision-making so that the regulatory authorities from more countries were able to participate in their deliberations.

It should be noted that other states have attempted to enhance their voices in global economic governance by forming analogous informal groupings. These include the Group of 24 on financial and monetary affairs [G24, n.d.] and the Group of 77 plus China in the UN [G77, n.d.]. Another example is the BRICS, which began holding annual summits in the aftermath of the global financial crisis of 2008 [Lukov, 2012; Stuenkel, 2015].

It is also important to recognize that the relationship between the IFIs and the UN never functioned as intended. The IMF and IBRD, despite being specialized UN agencies, quickly established their functional independence from the UN.⁶ Moreover, the richest and most powerful states effectively limited the UN's role in global economic governance. For this reason, the ECOSOC was never able to effectively perform its task of coordinating the political and economic aspects of global affairs. As a result, the peace and security and the human rights agendas of the UN developed separately from the economic policies and operations of the IFIs. This deprived governments, corporations and the institutions themselves of the opportunity to learn about more integrated approaches to the governance of international financial and economic affairs and transactions that may have developed if the ECOSOC had been able to play its intended role.

One consequence of this was that the IFIs were able to treat the social and environmental impacts of economic activity as falling within the ambit of the domestic affairs of the member states. This meant that they viewed these issues as “political” and thus outside the scope of their responsibilities. It also meant that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights did not affect the operation of IFI policies, despite their links to the UN system and the Declaration's stipulation that “every organ of society...shall strive...by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance” [UN, 1948b]. This is noteworthy because today many contend that the Declaration's core provisions have the status of customary international law [Hannum, 1996, p. 317]. In addition, these provisions have become binding on the vast majority of IFI member states through the human rights treaties that they have signed and ratified [Aizawa, Bradlow, Wachenfeld, 2018].

The distinction that the IFIs have sought to maintain between political and economic issues has proven to be unsustainable. Over time, it has become undeniable that many of the projects that the World Bank funds have adverse social and environmental

⁶ The agreement between the UN and the IMF was approved by the board of governors of the fund on 17 September 1947 and by the UN General Assembly on 15 November 1947, and came into force on 15 November 1947. See IMF [2017a]. See IBRD [1947] for the agreement between the UN and the IBRD on 16 September 1947.

impacts. The Bank has responded to the failure of a number of the projects that it has funded and to the growing awareness of the multidimensional nature of development by broadening the scope of its operations and the conditions attached to its financing. Now, in addition to project financing, it offers its members policy-based loans and addresses a complex mix of social and environmental issues, including corruption, good governance, treatment of vulnerable population groups and environmental impacts on social groups and public health in its operations [IBRD, n.d.d].

The IMF has gone through an analogous transition. When the rules-based monetary system collapsed in 1973 and was replaced by a market-based system [De Vries, 1986; IMF, 2006; Bradlow, 2011], the IMF could no longer draw clear boundaries around the issues that fell within its international monetary mandate. In the absence of explicit exchange rate rules, it was not clear what the limits on IMF surveillance of its members' balance of payments situation should be. Without the focus of the IMF's original par value system, all financial and economic – and some non-economic – issues became plausibly relevant to the country's ability to maintain a sustainable balance of payments position. These were arguably legitimate issues for the IMF to raise in its surveillance missions and to address in the conditionalities attached to its financial support. In addition, since they were no longer bound to observe rules regarding exchange rates,⁷ the new system deprived the IMF of its influence in countries that did not need, and never expected to need, its financial support. The IMF, in response to these developments, created a new role for itself, focusing its operations on countries in distress. The complexity of their problems caused the IMF to attach wide-ranging, intrusive and detailed conditionalities to its financial support.

More recently, the institutions involved in global economic governance have come under increasing pressure to incorporate human rights concerns into their policies and operations. This pressure arises not only from the impact of their own operations but from the growing recognition both within the business community and broader civil society of the importance of human rights to business and economic activity more generally.⁸ In addition, they must respond to the growing impact of climate change and its complex implications for the social and environmental sustainability of economic development on their operations.⁹ Their failure to respond effectively to these pressures has adversely affected their legitimacy and their effectiveness. These developments serve to highlight the cost of failing to develop a more integrated approach to the governance of development and the global economy.

Another important change relates to the status of the institutions of global economic governance.

As indicated above, there was an initial concern about the ability of these new and untested international organizations to play their intended global governance role. This concern arose because of the risk that a member state could interfere with their operations. As a result, the member states agreed to grant the organizations broad immunity

⁷ It should be noted that the one remaining rule was that member states could not fix the value of their currency in terms of gold. See IMF [1945, Art IV, Sect. 2].

⁸ See, for example, Human Rights Watch [2017], Darrow [2006] and Bradlow [1996].

⁹ See, for example, IBRD [2016].

from the jurisdiction of those states. This would include immunity from suit, taxes and interference with their assets.¹⁰

Today, the status of international organizations in the international order is well established. In fact, instead of being operationally weak, they are able to exercise considerable influence in the economic affairs and projects of many but not all of their member states. Despite their growing influence and the contemporaneous reduction in the scope of sovereign immunity, there has been no change in the immunity of organizations like the IMF, the World Bank and the UN. The result is that today, international organizations are among the least accountable institutions in the world, despite their advocacy of the importance of accountability to good governance for their member states. They are also able to use their immunity – designed as a shield against state interference – as a sword to ward off efforts to hold them accountable for the adverse consequences of their actions [Bradlow, 2017, pp. 45–67].

The creators of the institutions of global economic governance did not anticipate how the range of actors would grow. Initially, states were the only actors on the international stage. Today, corporations, civil society organizations and even individuals play significant roles in the global economy. As a result, it is not feasible to deal effectively with some aspects of global economic governance without the participation of at least some of these categories of non-state actors. This can be seen, for example, in the cases of human rights and climate change discussed above. It is also particularly relevant because of the dramatic changes in international law and information and communications technology that have taken place over the past 70 years. At the time of the establishment of the IFIs, for example, governments were able to develop financial regulatory standards with the expectation that they could enforce their standards within their own jurisdiction. Today, information and communication technologies facilitate cross-border transactions taking place at a speed that government regulators cannot hope to match. The result is that many non-state actors can avoid individual national regulatory frameworks that they do not like, thereby undermining their efficacy. This, in turn, has increased the need for international coordination in financial and economic regulation and for participation by a broader range of state and non-state actors in this coordination [Goodhart, 2011; Helleiner, 2014]. The governance arrangements of the IFIs, like those of other international organizations, have not effectively adapted to this challenge.

The treaties that established these two institutions were shrewdly drafted. They were sufficiently flexible that, even in the absence of significant amendments or governance reforms, they could respond to the complex ways in which the global economic system has evolved over the past 70 years. Initially, the IFIs were able to make enough adjustments in their governance and operational practices to deal with the changes discussed above with reasonable effectiveness. However, over time, as the challenges became bigger and more complex, the limits of the original governance structures and operational practices of the IFIs have become more obvious.

¹⁰ See IMF [1945, Art. IX], IBRD [1945, Art. VII], UN [1946] and The Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations, 33 U.N.T.S. 262, 2 December 1948. XXX

One example is the IMF's response to its transformation into a specialized development monetary and financial institution. The IMF initially maintained that it was overseeing a global monetary system in which all its member states participated and that, therefore, it should treat all its member states uniformly and without regard to level of development. Today, it acknowledges that its membership is not uniform and that, at least for some purposes, their differences are more significant than their similarities. For example, the IMF has limited leverage and influence over its most powerful member states, even if they are following policies that adversely affect most of its membership. This in turn has resulted in it having to impose harsher adjustment burdens on those member states over which it can exert influence than may have been the case in a more balanced system. This imbalance for example is partially responsible for the controversies surrounding the IMF's operations in Latin America and Africa in the 1980s, in Eastern Europe and Asia in the 1990s and its unsuccessful efforts to encourage adjustment in the richest countries prior to the global financial crisis [Vreeland, 2003].

The World Bank has faced analogous challenges in adapting to the changing context of its operations, particularly in regard to its expansion into programmatic and policy-based lending and in regard to the environmental and social impacts of its operations. This has resulted in its operations becoming more complex and, as a result, more contentious and controversial. It has also resulted in an expansion of its mission so that it has become hard for the Bank to limit itself to funding only projects or programmes that constitute "economic" activities within the meaning of its articles. This in turn has called into question the meaning of the political prohibition in its articles and has intensified concerns about the accountability of the Bank [Darrow, 2006].

The other institutions that play a role in global economic governance also face challenges [O'Brien et al., 2000; Jessop, 1998]. For example, the Bank for International Settlements remains a secretive organization controlled by a select group of central banks. Its governance arrangements have not fully adapted to the changing structure of global finance and the important role that non-state actors play in the system. It has also not effectively adapted to the need for a vision of finance that incorporates a more holistic view of development. The FSB and the SSBs are becoming more inclusive but they too have failed to fully incorporate an holistic view of development into their operating policies and practices. The G20, despite its claim to be the premier forum for economic cooperation, has not functioned as an effective instrument of global economic governance except during the most intense phase of the global financial crisis.

Strategies for Change

It is clear from the above short history that in reality the current arrangements for global economic governance are not fit for their intended purpose. The IFIs are constrained by their structure and specialized mandate. Despite their best efforts, they are unable to effectively adopt and implement a holistic vision of the global economy. For example, while it has shown considerable creativity in implementing its mandate, the World Bank

cannot simply ignore the political prohibition in its articles. Similarly, the IMF cannot fully overcome its origins as a specialized international monetary organization, which limits its capacity to deal with non-economic issues and become a true development financing institution. In addition, the IFIs' efforts to expand their missions causes them to encroach to a significant extent into the mandates of other international organizations. This creates legitimacy problems for them and undermines the integrity of the global governance system. Finally, they are incapable of incorporating all the relevant actors into their decision-making procedures. Thus, even though non-state actors such as transnational corporations, international civil society, international organizations and networks of experts and subnational governments all now play critical roles in the functioning of the global economy, the IFIs and the other relevant international organizations have not formally involved them in their decision-making structures.

These developments all suggest that the system of global governance needs a radical overhaul. Unfortunately, there does not seem to be any appetite for making the substantial reforms needed to give these institutions the capacity to deal effectively with the challenges that the system is currently facing. However, the international community cannot afford to delay action until the requisite political will manifests itself. The challenges it faces are too great to allow such a luxury. This means that the international community must work to identify and creatively exploit whatever possibilities for governance reform exist within the current institutional arrangements. Failure to do so risks causing a breakdown in global governance with unpredictable consequences for the international community's ability to deal with the implications for the global economy of such issues as climate change, technological change and the promotion of sustainable and equitable development.

The challenge therefore is to identify meaningful current opportunities for reform. This can be done using the following four criteria. First, the potential reform must promote the incorporation of a more holistic vision of development into the governance and operation of the global economy. In other words, the changes must allow for a fuller consideration of the environmental, social and human rights impacts of the global economy and particular activities within it. Second, the opportunities must result in reforms that will both make meaningful improvements in the management of at least one of the four most important problems with the existing arrangements and will contribute to the generation of new possibilities for future change. These problems include: the lack of an effective coordination mechanism to implement the different aspects of a widely accepted holistic vision to guide the global economy; the lack of effective participation by all relevant stakeholders in the decision-making procedures of global governance; the failure to articulate a sustainable and feasible balance between the autonomy of the institutions of global economic governance and the sovereignty of member states; and the lack of accountability of the key institutions of global governance. Third, the reforms must make the institutions more inclusive. This means that they should make it easier for all states and non-state actors that are active stakeholders in global economic decision-making processes to participate. Fourth, the reforms should address the fact that the IFIs and the other institutions active in global economic gov-

ernance are operating without effective accountability. Thus, any meaningful reforms must help these institutions to become more accountable to those stakeholders that are affected by their decisions and actions.

Based on these criteria, there are three basic strategies that can lead to meaningful global economic governance reforms. The first is to change the existing international organizations without amending their founding agreements. The second is to use the existing informal bodies such as the G20 and BRICS to promote reforms in the arrangements of global economic governance. The third is to create new international organizations or fora that can play a role in global governance. In fact, the international community has tried all three strategies.

Reforms to the Institutions

Over the past 30 years there have been a number of reforms in the governance of the IFIs. Most significantly, both institutions have made small adjustments in their voting arrangements to better reflect the changes in the structure of the global economy. Thus key emerging countries like China, India and Brazil have seen their votes increase at the expense of some European countries, but also at the expense of some poorer developing countries [IMF, 2009a; IMF, 2009b]. It is important to note, however, that these changes have not been sufficient. As a result, the distribution of voting power today in these institutions is still biased in favour of the European countries. The second change is that both institutions have converted their boards into fully elected bodies [IMF, n.d.a; IBRD, n.d.e]. In addition, the World Bank has increased the number of seats on its board of executive directors to give greater voice to sub-Saharan African member states. They nevertheless remain the most under-represented group in the governance of the IMF.

The institutions have also become more transparent. Both institutions now have information disclosure policies that are based on the assumption that information should be disclosed unless specifically excluded from disclosure [IMF, 2018; IBRD, 2015]. In fact, most information now ultimately is disclosed, although it might be with some time lag. The World Bank has also become more participatory in the formulation of at least some of its key operational policies and procedures. This means that it invites comments and engages in consultation with interested stakeholders about the content of these policies.¹¹ The IMF has become more open to consultation with civil society but does not engage in the same extensive consultations as the Bank when developing its operating policies.

The institutions have also made efforts to become more accountable. The IMF has created an Independent Evaluation Office that reports directly to the board of directors [IEO, n.d.]. The office conducts studies of specific aspects of completed IMF operations and issues public reports [IEO, 2018]. It also publicizes its annual work programme and solicits comments on it. However, while the reports appear to contribute

¹¹ See IBRD [2016] for a detailed explanation of the process followed to develop the environmental and social framework, which became operational in early 2018.

to some learning in the IMF, their lessons do not appear to be effectively integrated into its operating policies and practices [IEO, 2018]. In addition, they do not offer non-state actors who may have been adversely affected by identified deficiencies in the IMF's operations any ability to hold the organization accountable.

The World Bank Group has created the Inspection Panel to investigate cases of non-compliance by IBRD and International Development Association staff with the Bank's operational policies and procedures [IBRD, n.d.f]. The International Finance Corporation and the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency established the Compliance Advisor Ombudsman to both review cases of non-compliance with their policies and to help resolve disputes arising from its operations [CAO, n.d.]. Both mechanisms are initiated by complaints brought by communities or groups of individuals that claim they have been harmed or are threatened with harm caused by Bank-funded projects. In both cases, however, the mechanisms can issue reports with findings but they cannot provide a remedy in the event that they find harm, and the relevant board of directors and management are not obliged to act on the reports.

Utilization of Other Fora

As indicated above, the international community has created new governance arrangements to fill gaps in the arrangements for global economic and financial governance. For example, the international community has, or sub-groups within it have, established new informal bodies that play a role in global economic governance. The most prominent recent example is the elevation of the G20 to the summit level. It is now recognized as a premier forum for global economic governance. Other examples, which also operate at the summit level, are the BRICS and the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation [APEC, n.d.]. These bodies have been supplemented by groupings of non-state actors that seek to enhance their voices in global economic governance fora. They include such bodies as the T20 [n.d.], B20 [n.d.], L20 [n.d.], and W20 [n.d.]. It is important to note that the channels of communication between these groups and other stakeholders in global governance can be so attenuated that the decision-making bodies may not know about the concerns of all the state and non-state actors that are being affected by their decisions, nor understand all the impacts of their decisions. This weakness may be further exacerbated because their informal structures and relatively opaque decision-making processes make them susceptible to influence by their more powerful stakeholders.

It is important to note that the IMF and the World Bank participate in the G20. Their participation in these bodies helps universalize their outputs even though many of their member states have had no voice in their formulation.

Creation of New Institutions

In addition to these informal mechanisms, there has been a proliferation of new international organizations and arrangements. These include the Asian Infrastructure

Investment Bank and the New Development Bank (“the BRICS bank”) [NDB, n.d.], and regional monetary arrangements such as the Chiang Mai Initiative Multilateralization [Sussangkarn, 2010], the Contingent Reserve Arrangement [BRICS, 2014], the Latin American Integration Association and the Latin American Reserve Fund [IMF, 2017b]. In addition, a number of states including France, the UK and Germany have been working to create a payments mechanism to allow companies from their countries to avoid U.S. dollar-based payments systems when doing business with Iranian companies [Financial Times, 2018]. Individual countries are also undertaking initiatives that are changing global economic governance. For example, the Chinese government has undertaken a massive Belt and Road Initiative that is designed to assist in the development of other countries and to link them in a “belt and road” to China, thereby recreating a modern version of the old silk road [Hurley, Morris, Portelance, 2018].

It is important to note however, that these alternate entities so far are too small or too new to constitute a significant challenge to the existing arrangements.

Short- and Medium-Term Reform Proposals

The scope for adequately reforming IFI governance so that these institutions can function effectively and with legitimacy is constrained by the historical inertia generated by the current voting arrangements in these institutions. The countries that had the largest voices in the original governance arrangements still effectively retain this control. As their actual role in the international economic order has declined, their incentive to protect their privileged position has increased with adverse effects on the governance of the IFIs. This can be seen, for example, in the failed attempts to meaningfully reform the process for selecting the heads of the IMF and World Bank or in the limited success in adjusting IMF and World Bank voting shares. However, if these institutions wish to remain effective and legitimate, they need to identify ways in which to adapt their decision-making procedures and operational practices to the challenges generated by the changing balance of geopolitical and economic power.

Another constraint on the potential for reform is the continuing resilience of sovereignty. This limits the ability of the institutions of global governance to engage freely with all the relevant non-state actors in their member states. In addition, this constraint inhibits the institutions’ ability to develop ways of accommodating all the state and non-state stakeholders whose participation is required to effectively deal with challenges like climate change, demographic imbalances, wealth inequalities and the complex dynamic between global integration and economic exclusion.

Despite these constraints and limitations, there are meaningful but limited reforms that the institutions can implement within their existing legal and institutional structures. These reforms are meaningful in the sense that they satisfy the four criteria listed above.

Currently, there are four opportunities for meaningfully reforming the institutions of global economic governance. The first relates to participation, particularly by non-state actors. This is an area in which some progress has already been made, but more progress is possible. The IMF and World Bank, within their existing articles, can create new avenues for participation. For example, as happens in some environmental negotiations, they can create channels that allow key stakeholders like the private sector, subnational governments and civil society to participate in policy making. These channels could include offering non-state actors opportunities to propose policy initiatives, comment on draft policies and to participate in the selection processes for senior management in these institutions, and to allow a limited number of representatives of civil society organizations to make either oral or written submissions to the boards of directors on key policy issues. The institutions could also commit to respecting the applicable soft law instruments that both state and non-state actors have helped develop and that are relevant to their operations. For example, they could commit to conform their own activities to the responsibilities for business specified in such international standards as the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights. In fact, many of the IFI member states and their companies have endorsed these standards in the UN and other international fora. This commitment, *inter alia*, would require the IFIs to do human rights impact assessments of their various operations. As some businesses have learned, complying with these standards can have positive effects on their reputation, the outcomes of their operations, the pricing of their debt and the willingness of young people to work for them [Global Compact Network Germany, 2015].

These institutions should pay heed to the principle of subsidiarity in promoting greater participation. It is not necessary that all state and non-state stakeholders participate directly in all global economic governance decisions. It may be adequate for there to be subsidiary bodies in which subsets of actors participate. These lower bodies could bring state and non-state actors together on a geographic, interest area or expertise basis, and could be permanent or *ad hoc*. Their decisions or views can then be submitted to higher level and more universal bodies for consideration in their decision-making procedures.

The second area deals with accountability. The failure of these institutions to become more accountable is problematic. Over the course of the past 70 years, the power of these institutions, relative at least to their smaller and weaker member states, has grown. However, because of their immunity, their accountability to those affected by their actions has not grown commensurably. The World Bank – and the other multilateral development banks – have responded to this need by creating independent accountability mechanisms. While these remain relatively weak, they mean that the World Bank is substantially more accountable than either the IMF or the UN. The failure of these institutions to become meaningfully accountable to all who are directly affected by their operations and to submit themselves to some form of binding accountability is surprising given their strong advocacy of accountability as a part of good gov-

ernance. As the examples of the independent accountability mechanisms at the MDBs show, this can be done within the scope of the existing articles of agreement.

In this regard, it is useful to note that the issue of the immunity from jurisdiction of international organizations has increasingly come under challenge. There is little doubt that these organizations need some degree of immunity so that they can operate effectively in implementing their mandates in their member countries. However, this immunity should not give them absolute protection when their own actions cause their operations to have direct and adverse effects on non-state actors. As the European courts have recognized, in these situations they should at least provide these actors with a meaningful remedy that can operate as an alternative to a court [European Commission of Human Rights, 1997, European Court of Human Rights, 1999]. The issue is also currently before the U.S. Supreme Court [United States Court of Appeals, 2017].

A third possible area of reform relates to the need for the institutions and fora of global economic governance to fully assess the potential impacts of their proposed projects, policies, norms and standards. This requires that they do comprehensive impact assessments of proposed activities. The World Bank and the MDBs already do social and environmental impact assessments. However, they do not yet do a full human rights impact assessment, even though this has been called for in a number of non-binding UN documents. The IMF, the FSB and the SSBs do assess the potential economic and financial impacts of their programmes and standards. However, they do not assess their social, environmental or human rights impacts. Given that all of these entities have recognized the importance of dealing with the challenges of inequality and exclusionary economic systems and the impact of climate change on the economy, it is hard to understand how they can be sure that their proposals for implementing their mandates are being fulfilled without these studies. Since ultimately the policies and procedures of these institutions and entities are member driven, they are unlikely to make this change in their practices without some indication that it is wanted by their member states. Consequently, one way in which the G20 and the BRICS can contribute to reforming global economic governance is to call on these institutions to do these impact studies.

A fourth area of reform is to more clearly define the role of these institutions in the G20 itself. Currently, the IMF, the World Bank, the OECD and the UN Development Programme participate in many of the meetings of the G20. They are often called upon to do the technical studies that inform the work of the G20 working groups. On the one hand, it is reasonable for these organizations to provide this support to a group of their member states. On the other hand, these groups have broader memberships than the G20. In this regard it should be noted that one concern about the G20 is that it is a self-selected group of countries and that it has no mandate to make policies for the whole world. Consequently, one contribution that these institutions can make to the G20 is to provide them with information on the concerns of their non-G20 member states about the possible impacts of its proposed decisions or declarations on these countries. For example, these entities could regularly include a section in their reports to the G20 on

the views of non-G20 member states. This would enhance the legitimacy and, potentially, the efficacy of the G20's statements and actions. It may also help promote better communications between these institutions and their member states. Thus the G20 and the BRICS could call on these entities to provide this information to the G20.

This change would be limited and may not even be observable to most stakeholders in the system of global economic governance. Nevertheless it would be a useful change because it would help facilitate the participation, albeit indirectly, of a greater range of interests and voices in the G20 forum. It would also help strengthen the voice of those G20 members that are developing countries.

Conclusion

The current arrangements for global economic and financial governance are at a critical juncture. They are not performing effectively and their credibility and legitimacy is being undermined. Unfortunately, despite the need for substantial change, significant reforms to these arrangements is not currently feasible. This means that the only realistic option is to aggressively and creatively exploit whatever limited but meaningful opportunities for reforms that can be identified. This article shows that such opportunities exist, and can relatively easily be exploited by entities like the BRICS and the G20.

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Оценка потенциала реформ системы глобального экономического управления¹

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Любая динамичная социальная система обладает ограниченным потенциалом для адаптации. Способность правовой и институциональной структуры какой-либо системы приспосабливаться к меняющимся условиям деятельности не безгранична. Следовательно, если система не подвергается существенной перестройке, она начинает терять свою легитимность и эффективность.

Автор статьи утверждает, что структура, модель функционирования и масштаб мировой экономики изменились настолько существенно, что современная модель глобального экономического управления приблизилась к пределу своей эффективности. Действующие механизмы уже неспособны обеспечить инклюзивность, устойчивость и эффективность международной экономической системы, которая могла бы поддерживать международный мир и процветание, а также производить социальные блага. Данные механизмы, управленческие практики и процедуры не были в полной мере адаптированы к новым реалиям мировой экономики. Ключевые международные экономические институты медленно приспосабливаются к изменившемуся соотношению сил среди их членов. Они с опозданием реагируют на растущую роль корпораций, институтов гражданского общества и наднациональных органов в глобальном экономическом управлении.

Как бы то ни было, наблюдается недостаток политической воли, необходимой для реформирования институциональной структуры глобального экономического управления. Из этого следует, что без серьезного кризиса потенциал для реформ представляется ограниченным в кратко- и среднесрочной перспективе. Однако это не означает, что не существует возможности для проведения продуманных узконаправленных реформ. Акторы, заинтересованные в осуществлении реформ, должны тщательно работать над выявлением подобных возможностей, а обнаружив их, — использовать шанс для того, чтобы сделать систему более открытой к участию, подотчетной и динамичной в интересах проведения более существенных реформ глобального экономического управления в будущем.

Данная статья вначале обращается к ключевым особенностям миропорядка, созданного после Второй мировой войны. Следом рассматриваются некоторые изменения, которым подверглись созданные институты в течение последних 70 лет. Наряду с этим в статье рассматриваются изменения в самой системе глобального экономического управления, а также возможные пути для выявления возможностей сделать систему более инклюзивной, динамичной и подотчетной. В заключительном разделе приводятся некоторые предположения относительно того, какие изменения возможны в текущих условиях и какую роль в претворении данных изменений в жизнь могут сыграть такие институты, как «Группа двадцати» и БРИКС.

В силу ограниченности объема данной статьи мы, рассматривая систему глобального экономического управления в целом, в основном фокусируемся на примерах двух наиболее важных институтов данной системы — Международном валютном фонде (МВФ) и Группе Всемирного банка (Всемирный банк). Причина, по которой МВФ необходимо уделить внимание, состоит в том, что в настоящий момент он является наиболее значимым среди действующих многосторонних институтов в сфере международных финансов и монетарной политики. Всемирный банк играет важнейшую роль в содействии международному развитию, даже если он не является крупнейшим кредитором. Всемирный банк стал моделью для формирования всех региональных многосторонних банков развития (МБР), а также оказал влияние на структуру и функционал остальных МБР, таких как Азиатский банк инфраструктурных инвестиций (АБИИ). Кроме того, Всемирный банк всегда играл весомую роль в финансировании международного развития.

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Ключевые слова: глобальное управление; Международный валютный фонд; Всемирный банк

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National Strategies

Dreaming Together: The Economic Dimension of China's "Smart Power" in South-East Asia¹

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Abstract

This article considers “soft” and “smart power” through the prism of current ideological concepts informing the foreign policy of the People’s Republic of China (PRC) – specifically, the “community of common destiny” and the “One Belt One Road.” The author argues that China is drawing on new theoretical approaches to strengthen its state power and its influence on strategic territories in Asia-Pacific and South East Asia. For the effective and efficient advancement of its national interests China has to overcome significant “path dependence” in the regional relations towards its policy.

Chinese authorities clearly understand that it is impossible to achieve China’s goals without a significant presence in the socio-economic dimension of target countries and regions. In pursuit of this goal, China uses existing economic mechanisms (international trade and investment) and has also established new ones, including the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) and the Economic Belt of the Silk Road/One Belt One Road/Belt and Road initiative. These mechanisms supplement the value dimension of Chinese policy.

China is working to create an institutional system in which it can secure its influence and establish the conditions that will allow it to become a world leader in the future. Chinese authorities appreciate that, without a proactive strategy aimed both at the alleviation or elimination of path dependence and the establishment of a positive perception of its policies, the PRC will not succeed in strengthening its leadership. At the same time, the growing interdependence and interconnectivity between China and its foreign partners will increase the scope of opportunities for China to advance its national interests and reduce the likelihood of negative conduct towards China.

Key words: the PRC; China; ASEAN; the U.S.; South-East Asia; Asia-Pacific region; smart power; the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank; AIIB; Economic Belt of the Silk Road; the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road; “One Belt One Road;” “Chinese dream;” economic instruments of foreign policy

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Introduction

The pursuit of national interests is the essence of foreign policy for every state. Refracted through the prism of different socio-economic activities, national interests are both objectives and challenges that guide states' strategies in world politics. As rightly pointed out by Maxim Bratersky, the "nature of the state has not changed over time. States pursue power and wealth. But since today military methods of policy are not considered to be legal and are not generally recognized, states tend to use other [non-military] instruments and remedies" [Bratersky, 2012, p. 7]. Such instruments should be integrated into well-developed strategies, taking into account characteristics of power and the objects of the policy.

The experience of cooperation and rivalry/hostility in state relationships results in path dependence. This is reflected in sustained patterns of perception by state elites of other actors in world politics and in the tendency to have broadly accepted and repeated institutional practices regarding distinct problem fields. Especially in cases in which state relationships have been difficult or frequently troubled, state elites must do their utmost to overcome existing path dependence so that they are able to achieve their goals within an improved framework. On the other hand, "friends" can afford to provide less favourable conditions for cooperation to each other than they provide to their "rivals" in order to gain their support, because "friends" initially are in a position of advantage.

One of the problems for emerging powers is serious path dependence in their relationships with neighbours. Historical experiences of interactions with strong regional leaders usually include cases of unfriendly acts and hostilities which are reflected in the historical memory, superstitions and prejudices of the societies and elites of neighbouring states. For this reason, the attempts of a new leading state to obtain the support of its closest neighbours frequently meet serious opposition from such countries which may not easily accept that a new power centre's intentions may have changed.

In this context, concerns about the ambiguous and assertive policy of the People's Republic of China (PRC) were one of the key reasons for the establishment of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). At the time, China was perceived as the main *enfant terrible* in the region. In 1967, when asked about the most serious and probable threat of intervention in the region, Philippine Minister of Foreign Affairs N. Ramos answered "there is no question. It is China" [Jorgensen-Dahl, 1978, p. 42]. A similar opinion was expressed in 1965 by Ghazali bin Shafie, the permanent secretary for external affairs of Malaysia, who noted that China was the most severe threat to peace and world order [Boyce, 1968, p. 150]. It is in fact more likely that geographically distant leading states will be able to earn the trust of regional states. Lee Kuan Yew, Singapore's former prime minister, gave among the major reasons for U.S. leadership

in Southeast Asia (SEA) the fact that America had been the least distrusted power [Economist, 2010].

New centres of power frequently face difficulties changing negative attitudes toward their policy and find that, to assure their neighbours of the constructiveness and credibility of their leadership, they have to offer more than their competitors. One of the most important ways to do so is by expanding and strengthening economic cooperation with targeted countries and regions as a crucial element of “smart power.”² Another effective instrument is increased engagement through multilateral mechanisms of international cooperation.

This article outlines China’s use of economic instruments of foreign policy in the Asia-Pacific region (APR) and Southeast Asia. It considers components of China’s “smart power” and analyzes the dynamics of increased Chinese influence in SEA. The core hypothesis is based on the assumption that without the implementation of a proactive strategy targeted both at the elimination of the effects of path dependence and at the establishment of a positive perception of its policy, the new centre of power is unlikely to reach success in the international arena.

The “Chinese Dream” as an Element of China’s International “Smart Power”

The PRC’s attempts to enhance and strengthen its international position and to become, at least, one of the global centres of power are actively resisted by the United States. To limit Beijing’s aspirations Washington vigorously “muddies the water” and creates barriers to the achievement of Chinese interests around the globe and particularly in SEA. American experts and authorities frequently draw international attention to the “assertive and expansionist” plans of the PRC regarding its neighbours, as well as to China’s extraordinary economic influence and difficult history of relationships in the region. Thus, U.S. policy towards China can be described as “uncertainty governance.” This reflects the goal of reducing uncertainty (or transforming it into “certain uncertainty”) for its own policy and at the same time increasing “uncertain uncertainty” in acceptable zones for its rivals.

The relationship between the PRC and the U.S. is similar to the American showdown with the Soviet Union (USSR) during the Cold War, although there is a significant difference. The rivalry between the U.S. and the USSR was started at the global level and was later transferred to different regions. In the case of the PRC and the U.S. the scenario is reversed. The parties are rivals at the regional level. There has not yet been a full-scale spillover of their rivalry to the global arena, and whether that will hap-

² According to Joseph Nye “smart power” is the combination of the hard power of coercion and payment with the soft power of persuasion and attraction [2011, p. 18]. Another essential attribute of “smart power” is a complex set of competencies which can be merged under the general notion of “power of governance” [Mikhnevich, 2015].

pen depends on the further course of events in the Asia-Pacific region, and SEA in particular.

The remedy to negative path dependence and the basis on which to establish an ideological framework for China's international leadership might be the concept of the "Chinese dream" [Mikhnevich, 2016, p. 103] which includes a vision for enhancing the complex potential of China and the wide use of appropriate opportunities for the development of both the homeland and China's foreign partners. In fact, the "Chinese dream" has become the primary concept of Chinese foreign policy aimed at proactively fostering an international agenda. This contrasts with earlier theoretical developments, which had prioritized effective adaptation to the existing international environment. Thus, the "Chinese dream" marks a new phase of China's foreign policy development. In this context, it is of great symbolic importance.

The "Chinese dream" draws on several interdependent political and economic concepts, intended to foster a positive perception of the "Chinese dream" in foreign societies. Among these concepts are the "community of common destiny" (CCD) and the "One Belt One Road"/"Belt and Road Initiative" (OBOR/BRI), both of which are meant to give real economic substance to the beautiful slogans of the "Chinese dream."

The idea of a CCD was first proposed by Xi Jinping in March 2013 during his lecture in Moscow University MGIMO. He said that "the world has become interconnected and interdependent to an unprecedented degree... The world community should jointly push for the building of a new type of international relations with win-win cooperation at the core, and people of all nations should combine their efforts to safeguard world peace and promote common development" [Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, 2013a]. Later, at a conference on diplomatic work with neighbouring countries held in Beijing in October 2013, he underlined that Chinese authorities "should well introduce China's domestic and foreign policies to the outside world, clearly tell China's story, spread China's voice, and integrate the Chinese dream with the desire of the people of the neighboring countries for a good life, and with the prospects for regional development, letting the awareness of community of common destiny take root in the neighboring countries" [Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, 2013b].

The CCD is an attempt by China at the official level to address the issue of complex interdependence in positive and negative ways and to demonstrate China's leadership in developing international cooperation in a situation in which "economic globalization is the main trend of international development" [Timofeev, 2015, p. 230]. A. Larin assumes that the core goal of the BRI is "to stop or, at least, slow down growth of anxiety and unease, convince other states that China notwithstanding its superior national power offers cooperation on the basis of principles of "win-win" and "common building and use" of opportunities for development for all parties involved, and that development of China benefits mankind [Larin, 2016, p. 142].

The concept of a CCD clearly demonstrates China's intention to "play on the field" where it concedes significantly to other actors, and to the U.S. in particular.

China seeks to create an ideological basis not only for justifying its rise and reducing the concerns of neighbours, but also for building a positive environment for its own regional and global leadership. In his keynote speech “Towards a Community of Common Destiny and A New Future for Asia” at the Boao Forum for Asia Annual Conference 2015, Xi Jinping pointed out that “over the past 70 years, Asian countries have gradually transcended their differences in ideology and social system. No longer cut off from each other, they are now open and inclusive, with suspicion and estrangement giving way to growing trust and appreciation. The interests of Asian countries have become intertwined, and a community of common destiny has increasingly taken shape” [Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People’s Republic of China, 2015].

Whereas the CCD manifests the value intentions of Chinese “smart power,” the BRI provides the economic environment to allow these to be perceived and entrenched in target countries and regions. The strategy of jointly building the OBOR was introduced by Xi Jinping during his state visits to Central and Southeast Asian states in September and October 2013. This concept complements and clarifies the ideas of the CCD.

“The main essence of this initiative will be close contacts and linkages between different peoples, connection of infrastructure, promotion of free trade and meeting the need for financing” [China, 2015, p.18]. Within the framework of the OBOR specific spheres and projects for cooperation are defined, and international economic corridors are created with a focus on major international routes to establish an environment for regional economic integration. For the purpose of BRI implementation, China founded the \$40 billion Silk Road Fund (SRF) [SRF, n.d.]. By the end of 2016, the fund had signed 15 projects, with an estimated investment value of \$6 billion. The projects cover such areas as infrastructure, energy utilization, production capacity and finance cooperation in Russia, Mongolia, Central Asia, South Asia and Southeast Asia [Office of the Leading Group for the Belt and Road Initiative, 2017].

The OBOR consists of two major elements, namely the Silk Road Economic Belt (SREB) and the 21st-century Maritime Silk Road (MSR). The former is focused on development of land routes while the latter is aimed at advancement of maritime routes. The SREB envisions three main directions of cooperation: China–Central Asia–Russia–Europe (Baltic Sea), China–Central Asia–West Asia–Persian Gulf–Mediterranean Sea and China–Southeast Asia–South Asia–the Indian Ocean basin states. The MSR is aimed at development in two main directions: China–South China Sea–the Indian Ocean–Europe and China–South China Sea–south part of the Pacific Ocean.

Experts highlight a number of interrelated PRC objectives which may be accomplished by the BRI [Mikhnevich, 2017]:

- 1) Development of routes and favourable conditions for the safe and smooth transit of natural sources and commodities to China and Chinese goods to the main export markets.

- 2) Establishment of “China-centred” global and regional value chains and outsourcing of the less effective productive facilities abroad.

3) Development of the less successful regions of the PRC located in the western and central parts of the country.

4) Strengthened national security as a result of improved relationships with partner-states and expansion of political-economic instruments of foreign policy.

5) Promotion of Chinese “soft power” and the formation of a platform for China’s international leadership of BRI institutions and projects.

According to Russian expert S. Uyanaev, “in terms of its goals the OBOR from the outset has been a great geostrategic project, which is aimed at securing interests of the country in the near and far abroad as well as at solving a number of systematic problems in the development of the national economy through external economic and political mechanisms” [Uyanaev, 2017, p. 10].

The BRI has been evolving rapidly and is becoming the main set of mechanisms and instruments of the PRC’s economic diplomacy, which for its part facilitates addressing the challenges of national development. Zhang Jun, director-general of the department of international economic affairs in the PRC’s ministry of foreign affairs, argues that the facilitation of development is carried out through the creation of a favourable external environment, promotion of Chinese businesses’ interests and by the growing influence of China in the global economic governance system [Zhang, 2017]. In general, “Silk Road diplomacy” is an example not only of “active thinking and new direction of the Chinese diplomacy,” but also of “proactive actions” replacing more passive reactions. Furthermore, if in the past “diplomacy served economic development,” now “economics and diplomacy go hand-in-hand” [Vinogradov, 2015, p. 80].

Economic Instruments of the PRC’s Foreign Policy in SEA

Traditionally, China actively applies economic features of “soft power” by providing significant amounts of foreign aid and investing in projects around the globe, from Africa to Latin America and Central Asia. Devex experts calculated that in 2013 foreign aid provided by China reached \$7.1 billion. [Devex, 2015]. The PRC constantly increases its foreign development assistance (FDA). According to information disclosed in February 2017 in a speech by Xi Jinping, the total amount of Chinese foreign aid in 1949–2016 exceeded 600 billion yuan (USD 96.75 billion) [Radio Free Asia, 2017].

The APR countries are privileged beneficiaries of Chinese aid. Cambodia alone from 1992 to 2015 has received \$2.1 billion in aid from China as well as investments worth \$8.2 billion from 2006 to 2012, making the PRC the biggest investor in the country.³ Cambodia pays China back by securing Chinese interests in own foreign policy. The PRC also strives to invest in Vietnam, China’s traditional rival in the region. China’s accumulated investments in Vietnam in 2012 reached \$4.8 billion [Vietnam Investment Review, 2013]. China seeks to increase its influence on Vietnam through control of the

³ In addition, in 2015 China financially supported 19 development projects in Cambodia totaling \$1.1 billion [Nguyen, 2015, p. 201].

Mekong's source, which is extremely important for the Vietnamese economy, and by fulfillment of joint development projects [Mikhnevich, 2014].

In general, the amount of Chinese outward foreign direct investment (FDI) in 2014 alone totaled \$116 billion which is 43 times as high as in 2002, even without taking into consideration the volume of Hong Kong's investment, an important channel for Chinese outward investment. According to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), Hong Kong's outward FDI in 2014 reached \$143 billion (+\$62 billion compared to 2013); the total cumulative investment flows from the PRC and Hong Kong in 2014 totaled \$259 billion, which is 19.1% of the global volume of FDI in 2014 (\$1,354 billion) [UNCTAD, 2015]. China is gradually becoming one of the top investors in the world.⁴

Chinese FDI growth rates (even without Hong Kong) saw their greatest increase in 2007–2008; in 2008 alone Chinese investment surged by 107% and before the world financial crisis of 2008–2009 China had jumped to “another league.” In 2009 Chinese FDI growth rates were about 1%. But given the slump in outward FDI around the globe, this growth nevertheless enabled China to increase its foreign economic influence.

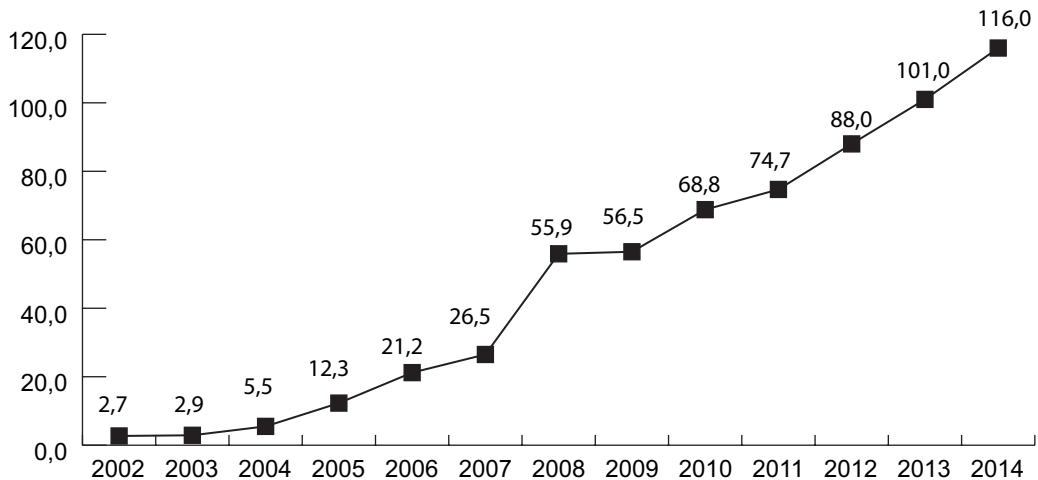


Fig. 1. China's Outward FDI (\$ Billions)

Source: [Nguyen, 2015; UNCTAD, 2015].

Considering the time period from the date of the appearance of the “Chinese dream,” it is clear that Chinese FDI has increased by 31.8% or \$28 billion (from \$88 billion to \$116 billion), which correlates with the jump of Hong Kong's FDI from \$88 billion in 2012 to \$143 billion in 2014 (+62.5%).

⁴ China's investments abroad are directed mainly to the extractive industries or infrastructure in the case of developing countries, and to the high-tech industries of developed countries.

But despite the great increase in Chinese outward FDI, the dynamic of the PRC's investment in ASEAN is not so auspicious. From 2006 to 2013 Chinese FDI to ASEAN grew from \$1.958 million to \$8.644 million [ASEAN, 2015], but this growth was not steady. During this period there were two serious drops in Chinese FDI: in 2008 (2.2 times lower than in 2007) and in 2012 (1.5 times lower than in 2011). The total cumulative investment flows from China to ASEAN from 2006 to 2013 totaled only \$32.9 billion, which is much lower than ASEAN-targeted FDI flows from Japan (\$94.7 billion), the U.S. (\$59.46 billion) or the EU (\$148.47 billion). Combined, China's and Hong Kong's FDI flows to ASEAN in 2006–2013 were more significant at \$59.13 billion. [ASEAN, 2015].

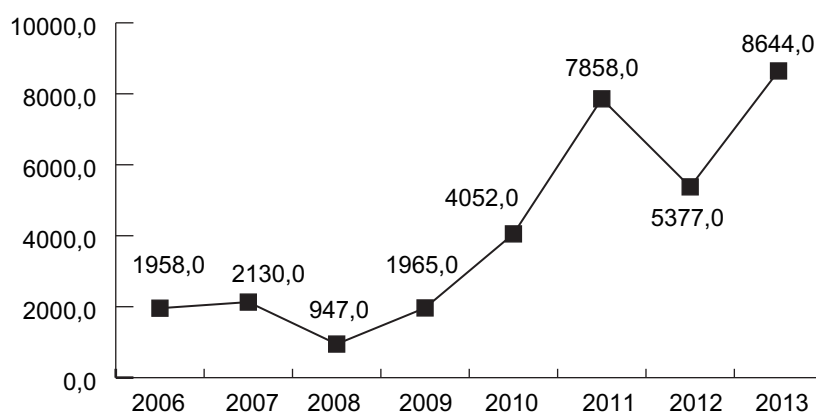


Fig. 2. China's Outward FDI to ASEAN (\$ Millions)

Source: [ASEAN, 2015].

Another major instrument facilitating the external investment potential of China is the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), founded in 2015 and headquartered in Beijing. The registered capital of the bank is \$100 billion. T. Renard believes that “the AIIB is perhaps China's largest “soft power” success so far” [Renard, 2015]. Fifty-eight states from Asia and other regions including Great Britain, one of the closest U.S. allies, have become founding members of the bank. Among the APR countries, only Japan refused to become a member.

The main goal of the AIIB is to facilitate sustainable development and strengthen the infrastructure connectivity of the region's economies. Priorities include financing of infrastructure projects in the energy, transport and telecommunications sectors. “The articles of agreement permit the bank to provide financing in a variety of ways, including, inter alia, making loans, investing in the equity capital of an enterprise and guaranteeing, whether as primary or secondary obligor, in whole or in part, loans for economic development. In addition, the bank may underwrite, or participate in the underwriting of, securities issued by any entity or enterprise for purposes consistent with its purpose” [AIIB, n.d.].

“Beijing has shown that it is willing to take more leadership and responsibility in the region, in co-operation with regional and global players. This is weakening, at least temporarily, the accusations that China is an ‘irresponsible stakeholder’. The controversies surrounding the launch of the AIIB strengthened China’s position on the need for a multilateral reform. China not only weakened the argument of those claiming that it disregards multilateralism, but it also shed light on the negative role played by established powers, and specifically the United States, in resisting China’s legitimate demands for a greater role in the multilateral system” [Renard, 2015]. For China it is extremely important to sustain and build upon the success of the AIIB as the first global mechanism proposed by China. China’s ability to become the moderator of global governance reform depends on it.

To finance OBOR projects and implement its external investment policy, China promotes involvement of the China Development Bank (CDB) and the Export-Import Bank of China (CEIB). From the date of launching the BRI, the CDB has signed off on more than 100 projects in the Belt and Road (B&R) countries, to a value surpassing \$40 billion, with \$30 billion issued in loans. The CEIB has authorized 1,100 projects valued at \$100 billion in the B&R countries, issuing \$80 billion in loans [Office of the Leading Group for the Belt and Road Initiative, 2017].

By the end of the first quarter of 2017 the CEIB’s outstanding loans for BRI projects had surpassed 620 billion yuan (over USD 90 billion). The funds were pumped into more than 1,200 projects along the ancient trade routes. Its lending to international cooperation on industrial capacity was at more than 700 billion yuan (USD 101.6 billion) [Belt and Road Portal, 2016].

China continues to create new financial institutions. In particular, to provide financing support to Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) the Industrial and Commercial Bank of China founded China-CEE Financial Holdings Ltd. which launched the China-CEE \$10 billion China-CEE Investment Cooperation Fund [Office of the Leading Group for the Belt and Road Initiative, 2017]. According to PwC experts, accumulated Chinese state OBOR financing, including AIIB and SRF, could reach \$1,000 billion in 2015–2025 [Strategy&, PWC, 2015, p. 3].

Another important direction of Chinese BRI investments is the establishment of economic and trade cooperation zones. By May of 2017, Chinese businesses had invested more than \$18.5 billion in 20 countries to build 56 zones. These zones have generated about \$1.1 billion in tax revenue and created approximately 180,000 jobs in the host countries. Among the most successful zones according to Chinese authorities are the China-Belarus Industrial Park (the Great Stone), the Suez Economic and Trade Cooperation Zone in Egypt, the Thai-Chinese Rayong Industrial Zone and Cambodia’s Sihanoukville Special Economic Zone [China.org, 2017].

By the end of 2016, China had set up in its border provinces and autonomous regions seven pilot zones for development and opening up, 17 border economic cooperation zones, and two bilateral border economic cooperation zones. China conducted in-depth consultations with Nepal, Myanmar, Mongolia, Vietnam and other neighbours

regarding bilateral border economic cooperation zones, leading to positive progress. Chinese enterprises invested \$18.5 billion in 56 economic and trade cooperation zones under construction in 20 B&R countries, which are important channels for investment cooperation and for transplanting and replicating China's development experience. The China-Belarus Industrial Park, the Thai-Chinese Rayong Industrial Zone and the Suez Economic and Trade Cooperation Zone in Egypt have become platforms of overseas cluster investment by Chinese enterprises and symbols of friendly cooperation. Drawing on their own strengths, some local authorities in China have built B&R parks for economic and trade cooperation to serve as modern international trade platforms for European and Asian businesses and neighbouring countries as well.

Regarding the absolute figures for OBOR projects and deals in 2016, PwC experts assume that in infrastructure only they generated a combined \$494 billion in value. One-third of the BRI project and deal value generated in 2016 was in China [PWC, 2017, p. 7]. To date, it is impossible to calculate the exact number of BRI projects: the complete list of such projects does not exist. Partly this is due to the absence of precise criteria for the classification and categorization of OBOR projects. Another reason might be the attempt of the PRC to use effects of "uncertainty" and "increasing returns to scale," which give China an opportunity to show more results than really exist. In fact, almost every project carried out by Chinese companies in OBOR countries can be considered as one under the BRI framework.⁵

According to information published in May 2017 before the Belt and Road forum the total number of projects affiliated with BRI reached 1700 [Wu, 2017]. Experts point out the following features of the Chinese approach to BRI implementation [Mikhnevich, 2017]:

1. Project activities include investment projects aimed at developing production and transport infrastructure as well as those targeting trade facilitation.
2. The Chinese authorities sometimes include projects which had been started and even completed before the launch of the OBOR initiative, for example the Toromocho mine project which had been implemented before 2012.
3. Not all projects within the BRI are carried out with Chinese funding even while Chinese companies actively participate in them (for example, building a hospital in Colombo). Official sources do not always contain information on financing sources: the projects are treated as ones fulfilled by China.
4. In the process of project implementation Chinese companies strive to introduce and apply their own developments and standards, linking financing to procurements of Chinese production.
5. China's interests in developing cooperation vary significantly from one OBOR country to another depending on their strategic geographic and economic importance to the PRC. So, Pakistan is a privileged partner. The pipeline in the China-Pakistan economic corridor includes projects valued at \$45 billion (20% gross domestic product

⁵ The author has attempted to compile a BRI project list. See Mikhnevich [2017].

of Pakistan). Projects worth \$28 billion will be implemented in the short term [Prime Minister's Office Government of Pakistan, n.d.].

On the margin of the Belt and Road forum the PRC authorities issued new plans on the development of the BRI. Noteworthy among them is increased financing for OBOR projects: additional financing is to exceed \$100 billion. According to Xi Jinping, China will scale up financing support for the BRI by contributing an additional 100 billion yuan (USD 14.5 billion) to the SRF and encouraging financial institutions to conduct overseas yuan fund business with an estimated amount of about 300 billion yuan (USD 70 billion). The CDB and the CEIB are to set up special lending schemes respectively worth 250 billion yuan (USD 36.3 billion) and 130 billion yuan (USD 18.9 billion) to support cooperation on infrastructure, industrial capacity and financing under the BRI [Xinhuanet, 2017].

According to official sources, "China has also undertaken to provide assistance in 2018–2020 worth 60 billion yuan (USD 8.7 billion) to developing countries and international organizations participating in the BRI to launch more projects to improve people's well-being. Emergency food aid worth 2 billion yuan (USD 300 million) will be provided to developing countries along the Belt and Road and an additional contribution of \$1 billion will be made to the Assistance Fund for South-South Cooperation. China will launch 100 "happy home" projects, 100 poverty alleviation projects and 100 health care and rehabilitation projects in countries along the Belt and Road. China will provide relevant international organizations with \$1 billion to implement cooperation projects that will benefit the countries along the Belt and Road" [Xinhuanet, 2017].

China complements the investment element of the external economic dimension of "soft power" by improving the environment for mutually beneficial trade. In recent years, China has strengthened its leadership in world trade. In ten years from 2005 to 2014 the PRC's trade grew from \$770,458 million to \$2,477,271 million (more than three times). The negative dynamics were in 2009 only (–15.6% as compared to 2008) due to the eruption of the global economic crisis. A significant amount of China's trade is connected with Hong Kong and Macao; the PRC's trade with Hong Kong in 2014 reached \$625,379 million and with Macao, \$55,074 million [UNCTAD, 2015].

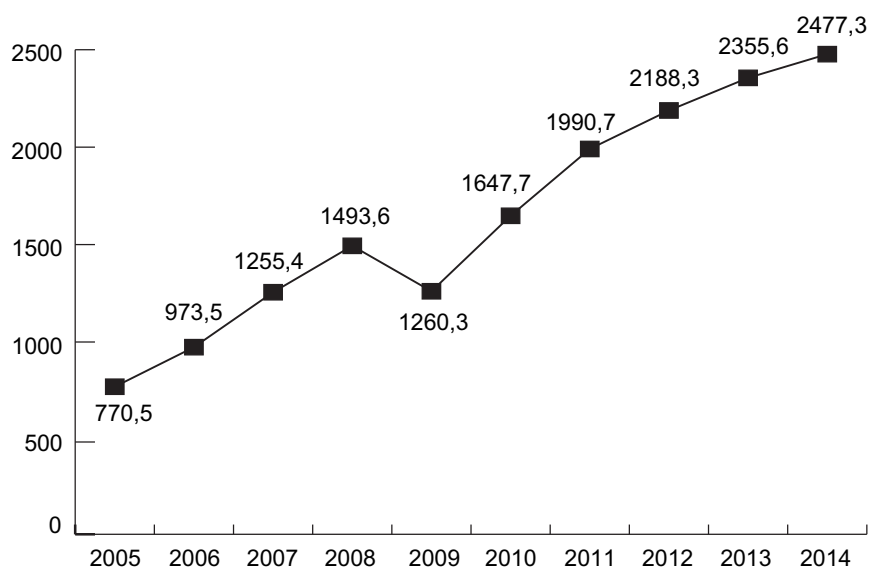


Fig. 3. External Trade of China (\$ billions)

Source: [UNCTAD, 2015].

If the situation with China's investments in ASEAN is ambiguous, regarding trade everything is clear and obvious. China is the biggest trading partner of SEA countries. In 2013 China-ASEAN trade was \$350.5 billion. In 2006–2013 the volume of trade grew 2.5 times. There was a slight drop in 2009 only (−9.5%).

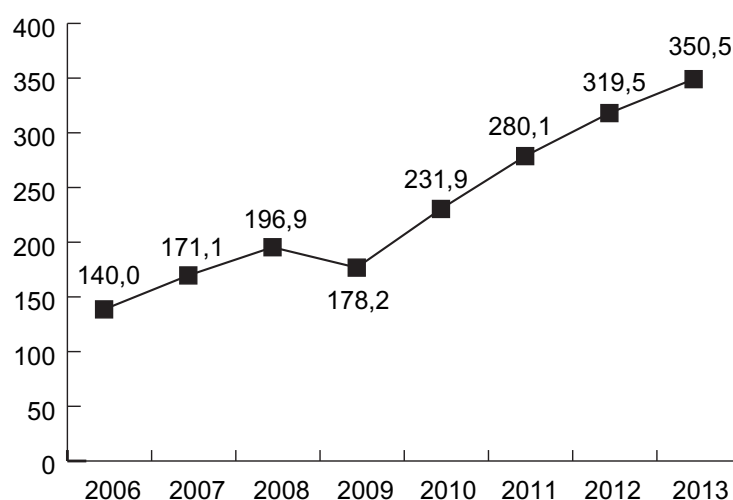


Fig. 4. China-ASEAN Trade (\$ billions)

Source: [ASEAN, 2015].

A significant positive impact on trade was caused by the establishment of the China-ASEAN free trade area (CAFTA) in 2010. Since then, China-ASEAN trade has

doubled. It was expected that in short term the CAFTA would have more positive effects for ASEAN than for China, and that in the mid and long term China's benefits would be more significant. But as the dynamics of China-ASEAN trade clearly show, in the second year after the establishment of the CAFTA there was material change in the trade flows in favour of China. In four years under the CAFTA, China's trade surplus with ASEAN tripled compared to 2009, from \$15 billion to \$45.4 billion [ASEAN, 2015].

Undoubtedly, SEA countries, irrespective of CAFTA benefits, cannot afford to be indifferent to the fact that China's gains from trade liberalization exceed their own. And, the prospects of the establishment of, as well as possible benefits from, the regional comprehensive economic partnership (RCEP) proposed by ASEAN in 2012 and promoted by China are unclear [National Coordination Center, n.d.].

The goal of the RCEP is to "achieve a modern, comprehensive, high-quality and mutually beneficial economic partnership agreement establishing an open trade and investment environment in the region to facilitate the expansion of regional trade and investment and contribute to global economic growth and development" [Joint Declaration, 2012]. ASEAN, the PRC, Japan, Korea, India, Australia and New Zealand are participating in the negotiations. The parties discuss not only elimination of trade barriers, but also investment regimes, economic and technical cooperation, intellectual property protection, competition development, establishment of the mechanisms of dispute resolutions and digital trade. "The RCEP is aimed at facilitation engagement of the regional states with global and regional value chains and promotion of regional integration" [National Coordination Center, n.d.]. But the RCEP will need to prove its efficiency and effectiveness after completion of the negotiations. In case cooperation under the RCEP framework provides benefits for China to the detriment of other members, further regional integration might face great challenges and the "soft power" and complex influence of China in SEA might decrease.

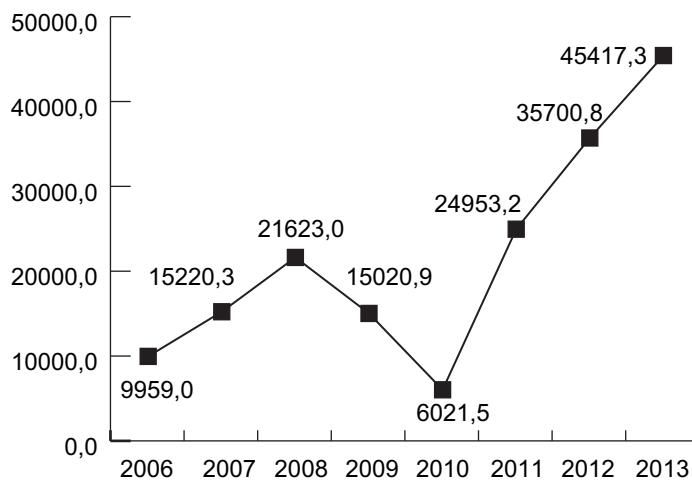


Fig. 5. China's Trade Surplus with ASEAN (\$ Millions)

Source: [ASEAN, 2015].

Conclusion

While many foreign experts write about China in glowing terms, others do so in a negative way calling into question the success of the country. Jakob Berger mentioned that “all foreign authors polarizing opinions on China, its policy and goals negatively affect its image” [Berger, 2015]. As a result international assertiveness and concerns might be growing. In spite of that, China has had positive results in strengthening its “soft power.” According to Gallop, “the positive attitude towards China was expressed by 50% of ASEAN’s population compared to 30% in 2002 [Safronova, 2013, p. 152].

But despite the great potential of strengthened economic linkages with the APR counties, the PRC frequently faces serious challenges eliminating the effects of path dependence and making its “smart power” effective and efficient. Chinese authorities, trying to reach tactical goals, from time to time endanger their strategic benefits and “soft power” by raising concerns among their partners, for example in Cambodia in 2012 or in Malaysia in 2015 [Economist, 2015]. The result of such “false starts” may be the growing influence of China’s competitors like the U.S. But growing trade and investment cooperation with the region’s countries will help China to further eliminate path dependence effects which is an important issue for China if it is to become the global leader of the future. If the welfare of the partners heavily depends on cooperation with China, it means that the PRC will have more opportunities to affect the policy of partner states and their elites. As the result, China’s influence will grow. The experience of China should be thoroughly examined and it is hoped that this article contributes to this analysis.

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«Мечтаем вместе»: экономическое измерение «умной силы» КНР в Юго-Восточной Азии¹

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В статье через призму «мягкой» и «умной силы» анализируются актуальные идеологические концепции внешней политики КНР: «Сообщество единой судьбы» (СЕС), «Один пояс, один путь» (ОПОП). Автор отмечает, что посредством новых теоретических подходов и расширения своего присутствия на многосторонних площадках Китай стремится сформировать условия для укрепления совокупной государственной мощи в целом и влияния на стратегических территориях в странах АТР и Юго-Восточной Азии в частности. При этом для максимально эффективной реализации национальных интересов Китая необходимо обеспечить преодоление серьезных «эффектов колеи».

Понимая, что обеспечение устойчивого долгосрочного влияния на политику целевых стран и регионов без значительного присутствия в социально-экономическом измерении целевых стран и регионов невозможно, Китай активно применяет экономические инструменты внешней политики, дополняющие ее ценностное измерение и способствующие формированию новых многосторонних институтов, в которых Китай играет ключевую роль. В этой связи особенно выделяются учреждение Фонда Шелкового пути и Азиатского банка инфраструктурных инвестиций, активное инвестирование в целевые экономики, создание возможностей для развития внешней торговли.

Китай старается сформировать систему институтов, которая позволит ему не только закрепить достигнутый уровень влияния, но и в перспективе сформировать условия для выдвигания на позиции мирового лидера. В КНР понимают, что без реализации проактивной стратегии, нацеленной на устранение негативных «эффектов колеи» и формирование положительного восприятия своей политики, новый Китай не сможет достичь успеха в укреплении собственного лидерства. Одновременно укрепление взаимозависимости и взаимосвязанности между Китаем и его зарубежными партнерами будет способствовать расширению спектра средств реализации национальных интересов КНР и снижению вероятности реализации ими негативной политики в отношении Китая.

Ключевые слова: КНР; Китай; АСЕАН; США; Юго-Восточная Азия; Азиатско-Тихоокеанский регион; АТР; «умная сила»; Азиатский банк инфраструктурных инвестиций; АБИИ; «Экономический пояс Шелкового пути»; «Морской шелковый путь XXI века»; «Один пояс, один путь»; «Пояс и путь»; «китайская мечта»; «сообщество единой судьбы»; экономические инструменты внешней политики

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Opportunities Lost

The Impact of the Russian Embargo on its Agri-Food Trade with the EU: Analysis by Selected Indicators¹

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Abstract

The export of agri-food products from the European Union (EU) to Russia has been negatively influenced by the Russian embargo. The objective of this paper is to analyze the impact of the Russian agri-food embargo on EU agri-food exports to Russia from 2010 to 2016 and to consider the possibility of avoiding the embargo using Belarus as a re-exporting country. The revealed comparative advantage (RCA) index was used to assess the impact of Russian sanctions on agricultural exports from the EU to Russia. The main consequence of the embargo was a significant decline in EU agri-food exports to Russia. European producers responded by trying to increase the territorial diversification of their customers. In the beginning, they tried to keep the Russian market through re-export operations, which is evident in the example of Belarus. Calculation of RCI points to the fact that mutual agri-food trade has changed significantly. Prior to the embargo, agri-food exports from the EU to Russia were competitive, but these advantages have been lost. In 2010, Russia was the second most important agri-food market for the EU. However, as a consequence of the embargo, it dropped to fifth place in 2016. The paper also assesses the future development of agri-food trade between the EU and Russia based on a linear model.

Keywords: agricultural export; embargo; EU; Russia; revealed comparative advantages

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Introduction

International economic relations are being affected by various factors resulting from long-term global changes which distort globalization tendencies and have a fundamental impact on national economies [Kittová et al., 2014]. International trade in agricultural products is currently undergoing significant changes resulting from the weakening of state support and emerging protectionism in many states, especially in the European Union (EU) [Krivorotko, 2017]. The conflict between Russia and Ukraine has caused the sanction war between the EU and Russia. The high degree of interdependence of economies means that every negative impulse is felt in the mutual trade performance of countries [Grinberg, Shmelev, 2014]. At the beginning of the conflict, the EU imposed diplomatic sanctions against Russia, but these were limited to persons and companies. However, after the Malaysian commercial airplane was shot down in July 2014, the EU extended sanctions to the economy as a whole. Russia answered quickly and imposed retaliative sanctions in the form of an embargo on selected agri-food products from the EU and other countries, including the U.S., Australia, Canada, Norway and Iceland. Agricultural products were chosen because of the easy reorientation of Russian imports from other countries [Zábojník, Hamara, 2015].

The EU is aware of the importance of its agri-food exports to the Russian market. Agriculture has been one of the EU's most important economic sectors since the beginning of modern integration tendencies on the European continent. This is confirmed by the concept of the EU Common Agricultural Policy, which was grounded in the 1962 Treaty of Rome and which, together with the EU's Common Commercial Policy, is one of the oldest EU policies [Kittova, 2014]. Exceptional attention to the agricultural sector results from several factors. A key factor is the strategic importance of agriculture as it ensures the EU's food self-sufficiency and is one of the means of fighting against poverty. In addition to its economic, development, landscape, environmental and social functions, the importance of agriculture in the EU also underlines its symbolic significance – it was the first area to which most of the competencies were transferred from the European states to the EU institutions [Ružeková, 2013]. The Russian ban on EU agri-foods meant that EU agri-food exporters faced a serious challenge. The EU Commission applied various supportive measures in the form of financial aid and new regulations but these measures were not effective in the short term. The exporters had to diversify their customer base and tried to sell their banned products to Russia through re-export operations. A key example of this was the effort to re-export through Belarus, due to its membership in the Eurasian Economic Union with Russia. This paper compares EU exports of banned products to Russia with those to Belarus.

Agricultural production is very important for every country's view of food safety. The priority of the Russian economy is the active development of the agricultural sector so as to be competitive with the agricultural sectors of other countries [Tsyngueva, 2016]. During the next few years, Russia expects further changes associated primarily

with its accession to the World Trade Organization (WTO). Reduction of budgetary support and restrictions (tariff and non-tariff) will affect the competitiveness of Russian agricultural and food products in both the domestic and international markets [Ishchukova, Smutka, 2013]. Given its ample natural and human resources, and with state intervention and agricultural reforms, Russia can increase the competitiveness of its agricultural sector [Sutyryn, Trofimenko, 2014].

This paper analyzes the impact of the Russian agri-food embargo on EU agri-food exports to Russia from 2010 to 2016, and examines the possibility of avoiding this embargo using Belarus as a re-exporting country. Based on this analysis, an estimation of future EU agri-food exports to Russia can be made.

Material and Methods

At present, there are many researchers in the field of international sanctions. Authors such as M. Marinov [2005] and S. Chesterman [2003] consider international sanctions to be a sort of middle ground between diplomatic protest, which is often considered to be a weak expression of disagreement, and military conflict, which on the contrary may be too aggressive. According to Marinov [2005], the expected result of the application of sanctions is one similar to that which would come from war but with significantly lower economic and human losses. According to D. Baldwin [1998], sanctioning instruments used in diplomatic practice can generally be applied to economic, diplomatic and military sanctions, each of which is characterized by particular features.

Despite the general expansion of the use of sanctions as a policy instrument, there is no consensus in the theory so far about the rationale behind their introduction or their success in achieving their goals. Authors such as K.R. Nossal [1989] and M. Daoudi and M. Dajani [1983] agree that the application of sanctions is an international policy tool that attempts to achieve required changes in the activities or policy of the sanctioned state through pressure techniques. Nossal is of the opinion that, in order to speak about international sanctions, it must be the case that they are implemented by legitimate actors in the international system and that they are being implemented in response to serious violations of generally applicable international standards. Economic sanctions are comprehensively characterized by J. Galtung [1967] as measures by one or more international actors (shippers) taken against one or more other actors (recipients) for one or both of these two purposes: to punish the recipients by depriving them of any value or to force recipients to follow certain standards that senders consider important. G. Hufbauer et al. [2017] define economic sanctions as “deliberate, government-induced appeal, or the threat of recourse to trade in goods or financial relations.” M. Golliard [2013] states that economic sanctions include non-tariff barriers to trade in the form of restrictions on the import or export of goods in order to compel another state to change its political decisions. Economic sanctions in the form of bans, quotas and licenses represent exogenous shocks that have negative consequences for trade. The main consequence of sanctions is trade diversion.

This paper assesses the impact of the Russian embargo on EU agri-food exports to Russia. Its scope is limited to the period from 2010 – one year after the crisis of 2009 during which the world economy was highly unstable and world trade declined an average of 30% – to 2016. This time period makes it possible to point out changes in agricultural trade between the EU and Russia. Mutual trade has been strongly affected by the sanctions imposed by Russia. To assess these changes a revealed comparative advantage (RCA) index was used. These indices compare the competitiveness of sectors of the domestic economy with economic sectors of another country.

There are several ways to measure RCA. A typical example is the Balassa index which is defined as the ratio of the difference between the export and import of commodity groups and the sum of exports and imports of these commodity groups [Balassa, 1965]. This analysis uses the formula in which the revealed comparative advantage is a logarithm of the share of exports and imports of goods categories of the countries in total exports and imports of the same country, which is evaluated in this paper. It is defined as:

$$RCA = \ln \frac{x_{ij}}{m_{ij}} / \frac{X_j}{M_j}, \quad (1)$$

where x_{ij} stands for the exports of country j in commodity group i ; m_{ij} stands for the imports of country j in commodity group i ; X_j stands for the value of total exports of country j , and M_j stands for the value of total imports into the country j . According J. Hinloopen and C. Marrewijk [2001], possible values of the index can be classified into four categories (a–d) determining its size and relative intensity:

- a) $0 < RCA \leq 1$ – no comparative advantage,
- b) $1 < RCA \leq 2$ – weak comparative advantage,
- c) $2 < RCA \leq 4$ – moderate comparative advantage,
- d) $4 < RCA$ – strong comparative advantage.

To estimate the future development of EU agri-food exports to Russia, a simple linear model was used. On the basis of existing values, the model calculates or estimates the future value of the dependent variable(s) for a given independent variable value. The pair of numbers x and y are known numbers. The model estimates the new value using linear regression. The formula for calculation is:

$$y = a + bx, \quad (2)$$

where:

$$a = \bar{y} - b\bar{x}$$

and

$$b = \frac{\sum (x - \bar{x})(y - \bar{y})}{\sum (x - \bar{x})^2},$$

where x and y are the mean values of the sample.

Data for this research are from EUROSTAT statistics.

First, the share for all agricultural commodities affected by the imposed embargo of agricultural exports of the EU to Russia was calculated and 10 groups of commodities with the highest share were selected for further consideration. Aggregated, the ten biggest commodity groups had a 62.2% share of all exported commodities affected by the embargo in 2010 and 31.67% of total agricultural exports in 2010. The RCA index was calculated for all groups, but the current analysis considers only the 10 selected groups of products.

Results and Discussion

The European Union is one of the most important players in international trade relations. In the context of world trade in goods, the EU was the second-largest exporter (€1,745.2 billion) and the second-largest importer (€1,708.3 billion) in 2016. International trade is an essential part of the EU's economy as it generates a considerable part of its gross domestic product (GDP), and supports employment and sustainable development. The EU mainly exports machinery, vehicles, chemicals and other manufactured goods, and mainly imports machinery, vehicles and energy. The EU trades goods with almost every country in the world, with the most important trading partners being the United States, China, Switzerland, Turkey, Russia, Japan and Norway. Until 2014, Russia was the fourth-largest export partner of the EU. However, it has sunk to fifth place in subsequent years. Its share of EU exports has fallen from 6.4% in 2010 to 4.1% in 2016. This negative development is mainly affected by the economic-political sanctions applied between the EU and Russia, and also by falling prices of oil and natural gas as they have a dominant position in mutual trade [Locatelli, 2013].

Agriculture has an important position in the foreign trade of the EU as well. The EU is a major world exporter of agri-food products. Export of agri-food products provides EU farmers additional income, but its potential dropouts can disrupt the fragile stability of this sector. The current Russian embargo potentially jeopardizes business relations valued at €5 billion and affects 9.5 million people working in the concerned sectors. The agri-food sector is an important, albeit not the most important, component of the EU's foreign trade. In 2016, foreign trade in agri-food products accounted for 7% of total EU foreign trade. Exports of agri-food products accounted for 7.5% of EU exports and 6.6% of all imported EU goods [European Commission, 2017].

The EU's agri-food trade turnover had recorded an average annual growth rate of 6.2% between 2010 and 2016. Exports by the EU were higher than imports during the entire period, as reflected in the long-term active balance of trade. In 2016, the EU's external trade indicators for agri-food products reached their highest value ever. Total turnover was €243.4 billion, exports reached €131.1 billion, imports reached €112.2 billion, and an active balance of trade reached €18.9 billion. In the context of this analysis, it is relevant to raise the question of the impact of the Russian embargo on EU agri-food exports. Figure 1 suggests that the growth of foreign trade indicators slowed in 2014, when Russia levied its embargo. EU exports recorded only 1.5% growth

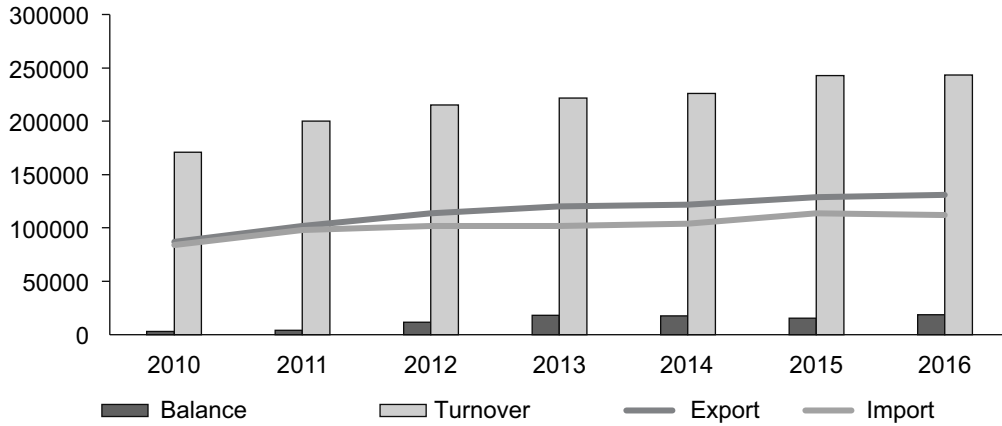


Fig. 1. Development of Agri-food Trade of the EU With Third Countries, 2010–2016 (€ Million)

Source: Calculated by the authors based on the Eurostat database.

in 2014, which represents a significant slowdown compared to previous years. In this case, however, the key point is that although there was a certain slowdown in the EU's external trade growth indicators in 2014, there was no decline. In 2015 and 2016, when the embargo became applicable for the whole year (in 2014 the embargo applied only from August), there was also no decline in foreign trade indicators.

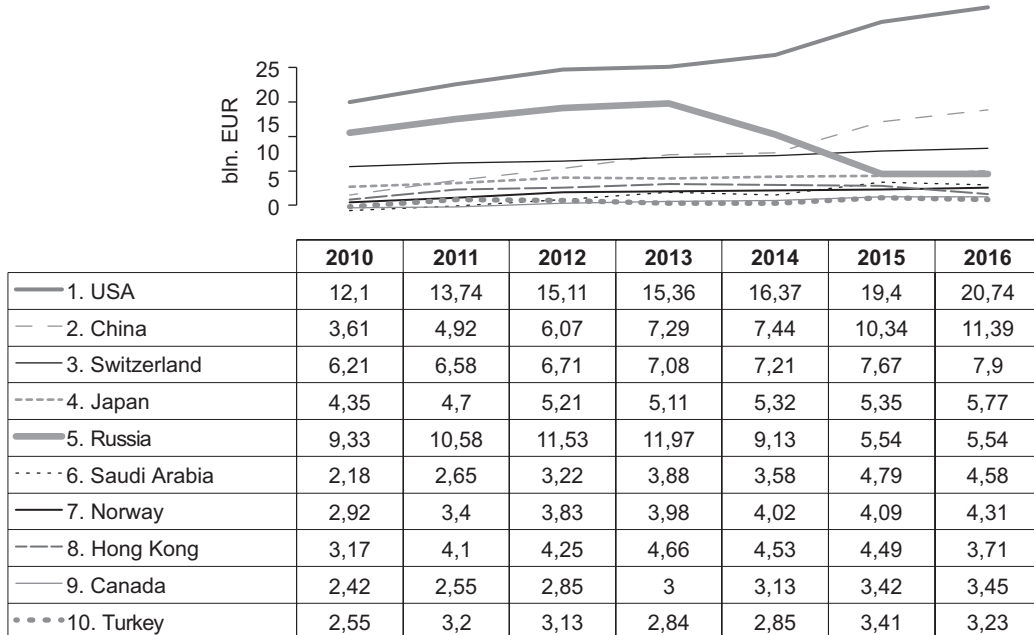


Fig. 2. EU's Top Agri-food Export Partners, 2010–2016 (€ Billion)

Source: [European Commision, 2017].

Figure 2 shows the territorial structure of EU agri-food exports. Recent developments show that the dominant position is held by the United States. In 2016, EU exports to the U.S. reached €20.74 billion, representing 15.8% of total EU exports. The second-most important export territory in 2016 was China, reaching €11.39 billion and share of 8.7%. Among the most important partners are Switzerland, Japan, Russia, Saudi Arabia and Norway. Belarus is not among the top agri-food trade partners of the EU in the long term. In 2016, it was the 35th most important export territory of the EU. Its position has, however, improved recently. In 2016, EU exports to Belarus reached more than €800 million, which accounted for a 0.5% share of EU agri-food exports.

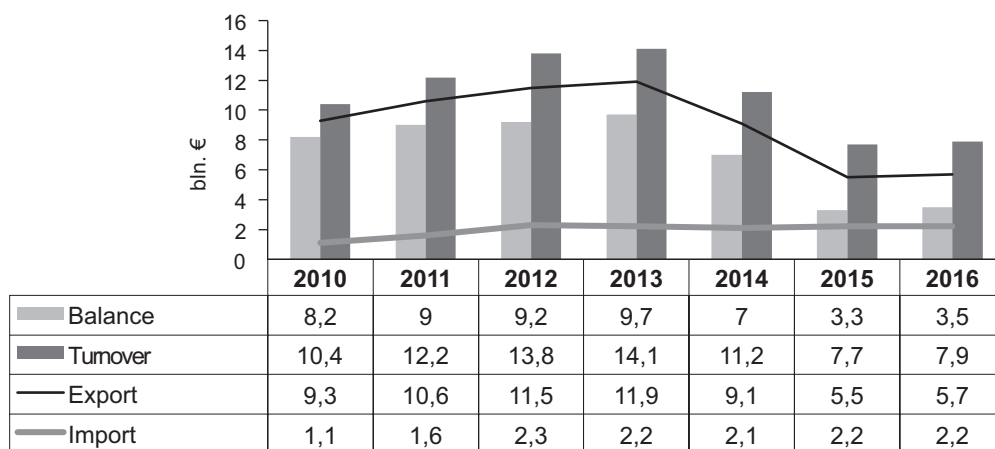


Fig. 3. Development of Agri-food Trade Between the EU and Russia, 2010–2016 (€ Billion)

Source: Calculated by the authors based on data from the EUROSTAT database.

Despite the limits placed by the embargo on EU exports of agri-food products and commodities, the position of Russia (€5.63 billion, or 4.3%) is still significant. However, there has been a significant drop compared to previous years. Russia had been the second-most important market for EU agri-food exports with value of more than €9.33 billion in 2010. The application of the Russian embargo was reflected in 2014 in the form of a decline in EU exports. In 2013, the total value of EU agricultural exports to Russia reached almost €12 billion and imports reached only €2.19 billion. The years 2014, 2015 and 2016 are characterized by a steep decline in the total exports of the EU. The cause of the decline is obvious – the agri-food embargo applied by Russia on selected products. In 2016, agri-food exports fell by 52.6% from 2013 levels.

In 2013, the share of products banned by the Russian embargo reached 47.8% of the EU's total agri-food exports to Russia. During the last three years (2013–2016), there has been a reduction in EU agri-food exports of more than €5 billion. The reason that exports of banned products have not fallen to an absolute minimum is because the embargo contains a number of exceptions – in 2016, exports of banned agri-food products to the EU reached a value exceeding €400 million. In 2016, EU agri-food exports

accounted for 7.9% of total EU exports to Russia, whereas in 2013 this share was 10%. The share of agri-food exports in total EU exports to Russia decreased by 2.1%. The group of products under the embargo accounted for 4.8% of total EU exports to Russia in 2013, while in 2016 it was only 0.6%.

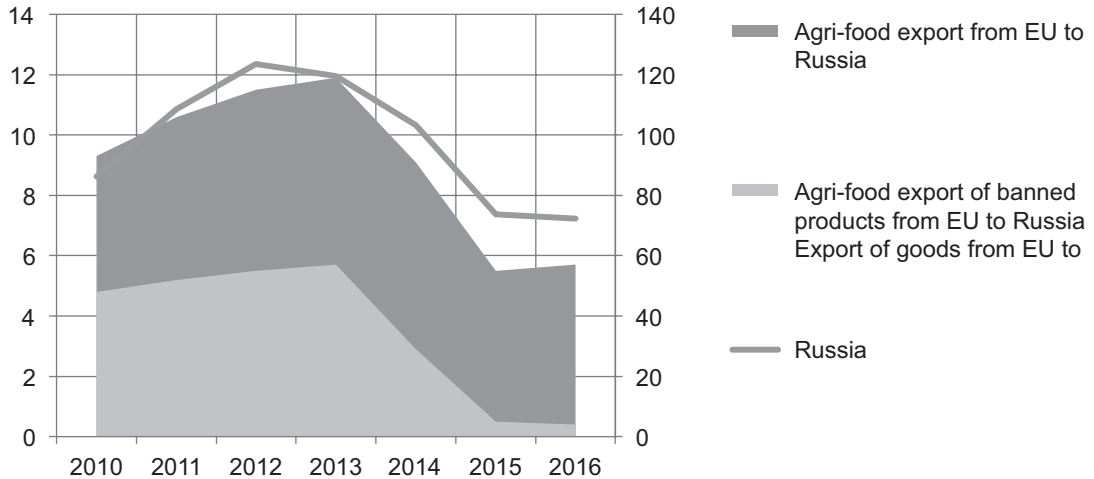


Fig. 4. Comparison of the Development of Total Exports From the EU to Russia With Total Agri-food Exports From the EU to Russia and Exports of Groups of Goods Whose Import Has Been Banned by the Russian Embargo (€ Billion)

Source: Calculated by the authors according to data from the EUROSTAT database.

The embargo has also caused problems in Russia. The process of substitution for imported products is still slow. The main reasons are that the demand for imported products has fallen in connection with the fall of the income of the Russian population, and domestic producers cannot replace large volumes of import production in only one or two years [Kuznetsov et al., 2016]. Another analysis has shown that markets for milk and beef experienced serious problems. The main reasons for market volatility include a relatively low share of large enterprises with better adaptability to the conditions of the embargo and sanctions, and underdeveloped market infrastructure [Borodin, 2016].

In order to mitigate the negative consequences of the Russian embargo, the EU Commission has applied various supportive measures to its agricultural sectors. EU producers, however, have also tried to find alternative ways to reach Russia through re-export operations. One of the most commonly used countries for agri-food re-exports from the EU to Russia has been Belarus. Against this background, it can be expected that EU exports of banned products to Belarus have increased significantly in recent years.

Figure 5 shows that despite the overall decrease in EU exports of goods to Belarus, exports of agri-food goods increased. Looking at the export development of products banned by the Russian embargo, the highest increase in exports to Belarus occurred

between years 2014 and 2015. When the Russian embargo was applied in 2014, EU producers tried to find alternative routes to Russian markets. In 2016, the export of banned products to Belarus decreased as producers had more time to adapt to the new situation and found new customers. Moreover, political steps were taken to prevent re-export, so this option became less viable. The recent development of EU agri-food exports to Belarus, however, clearly confirms the re-export tendencies that have been mentioned across political and economic spheres.

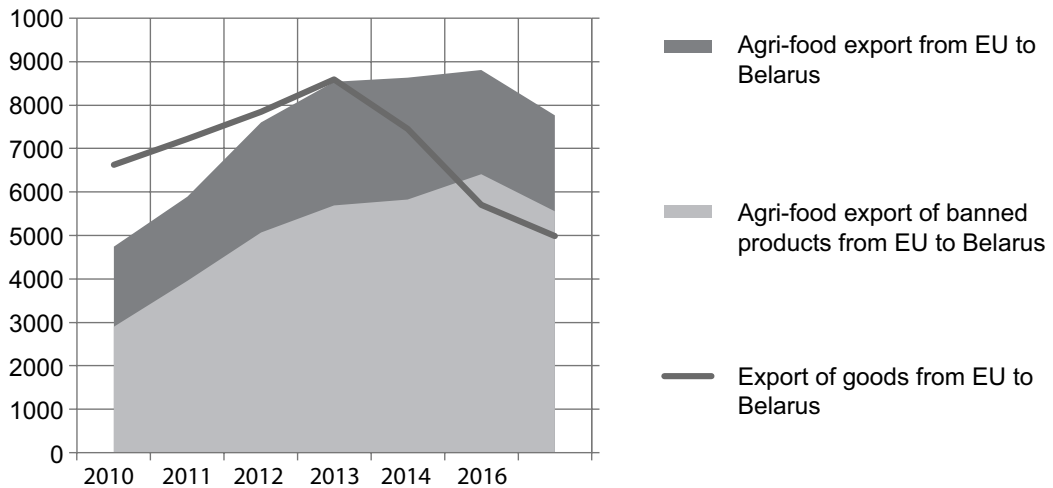


Fig. 5. Comparison of the Development of Total Exports From the EU to Belarus With Total Agri-food Exports From the EU to Belarus and Exports of Groups of Goods Whose Import Has Been Banned by the Russian Embargo (€ Billion)

Source: Calculated by the authors based on data from the EUROSTAT database.

The Impact of the Russian Agri-food Embargo Based on the Indicator of Revealed Comparative Advantage

As mentioned in the section on methodology, this research considered the 10 most important agri-food commodities exported from the EU to Russia in 2010 which have been banned by the embargo since 2014. The referential year is 2010 as trade in this year was not influenced by any sanction regime.

The biggest share of EU agri-food exports was group 0406 (cheese and cream) with 8.09% and group 0203 (meat of swine, fresh, chilled or frozen) with a 6.54% share. A significant share was also recorded by groups 0808 (apples, pears and quinces) at 4.46% and 0209 (pig fat) with 2.13%. Table 1 points to the recent downward trend of shares of exports in all of the selected product groups. Within these groups, EU exports fell to minimum – mainly due to the Russian embargo on their imports. As the embargo contains some exceptions, EU exports of certain products have not fallen to zero.

It is also important to take into account the deteriorating purchasing power of Russian consumers; otherwise, EU exports of these agri-food products may have been higher. As a consequence of the embargo, the Russian government aimed its activity at regulation and the support of its agricultural sector [Maitah et al., 2016].

Imposed sanctions have not only affected agri-food trade between the EU and Russia but have also had a negative effect on the revealed comparative advantages of EU exports. The RCA is calculated in order to assess the impact of the Russian embargo on the strength of the revealed comparative advantages of the top 10 agri-food product groups listed in Table 1.

Table 1. Share of Top 10 Agri-food Harmonized System Groups Affected by the Embargo on the EU's Exports to Russia, 2010–2016 (in %)

HS		2010, %	2011, %	2012, %	2013, %	2014, %	2015, %	2016, %
0203	Meat of swine, fresh, chilled or frozen	6.54	7.32	6.72	8.01	0.49	0.00	0.00
0206	Edible offal of bovine animal etc.	1.74	1.90	1.80	1.39	0.76	0.13	0.16
0207	Meat and edible offal, of the poultry of heading 0105, fresh, chilled or frozen	2.08	0.61	0.75	0.65	0.50	0.00	0.00
0209	Pig fat, free of lean meat, and poultry fat etc.	2.13	2.65	2.74	2.21	0.27	0.05	0.00
0303	Fish, frozen, excluding fish fillets and etc.	1.49	1.06	0.81	0.76	0.71	0.15	0.31
0402	Milk and cream	1.48	0.47	0.29	0.68	0.38	0.00	0.01
0406	Cheese and curd	8.09	7.42	7.89	8.21	5.84	0.38	0.04
0709	Other vegetables, fresh or chilled	1.57	1.39	1.79	1.67	1.36	0.06	0.05
0808	Apples, pears and quinces, fresh	4.46	4.29	4.58	4.37	3.58	0.54	0.07
0809	Apricots, cherries, peaches (including nectarines), plums and sloes, fresh	2.08	2.27	2.38	2.08	1.97	0.08	0.06

Source: Calculated by the authors.

Table 2. RCA Value of the EU Agri-food Exports to Russia by Groups Most Affected by Sanctions, 2010–2016

HS		2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
0203	Meat of swine, fresh, chilled or frozen	6.42	5.90	7.68	5.98	3.13	—	0.70
0206	Edible offal of bovine animal etc.	5.87	4.61	5.36	5.66	4.37	4.95	4.27
0207	Meat and edible offal, of the poultry of heading 0105, fresh, chilled or frozen	—	13.62	3.88	7.90	3.12	−1.95	−3.49
0209	Pig fat, free of lean meat, and poultry fat etc.	5.25	6.25	6.52	5.69	2.61	2.98	1.86
0303	Fish, frozen, excluding fish fillets and etc.	−1.54	−1.69	−1.58	−1.73	−2.07	−3.94	−3.33
0402	Milk and cream	5.32	4.93	7.57	5.35	3.02	−2.13	0.47

HS		2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
0406	Cheese and curd	6.72	7.92	8.47	4.56	4.66	2.24	1.51
0709	Other vegetables, fresh or chilled	1.22	0.46	1.11	0.36	0.81	−3.24	−3.31
0808	Apples, pears and quinces, fresh	6.61	6.44	6.81	6.88	5.89	3.02	2.93
	Apricots, cherries, peaches (including nectarines), plums and sloes, fresh	5.59	4.78	5.11	5.01	3.84	—	5.46

Source: Calculated by the authors.

The results show that the EU had strong comparative advantages in almost all verifying groups of commodities except group 0303 (fish, frozen, excluding fish fillets) and group 0709 (other vegetables, fresh or chilled). After the imposition of the embargo, the situation has rapidly changed. All analyzed commodity groups of the EU's agri-food exports to Russia have declined. Russia has moderate comparative advantage in three product groups (0207 —meat and edible offal, 0303 — fish, frozen, excluding fish fillets, and 0709 — other vegetables, fresh or chilled). At present, the EU has strong comparative advantages only in groups 0206 (edible offal of bovine animal) and 0809 (apricots cherries, peaches, plums and sloes). However, it has to be mentioned that exports in group 0206 (edible offal of bovine animal) fell from €162 million in 2010 to €8.5 million in 2016.

Perspectives on the Future Development of EU Agri-food Exports to Russia

Previous analyses have clearly highlighted the fact that the Russian embargo has caused a significant drop in EU agri-food exports to Russia. The key question is how long the embargo will be in force. It is probable that as long as the conflict in Ukraine remains unresolved, both the EU sanctions and the Russian agri-food embargo will remain in force. Based on the trend of past EU agri-food exports to Russia, using a linear model, it is possible to predict EU export trends in the upcoming years.

Calculations point to the fact that while the sanctions are kept in place there will be a continuous decline in agri-food exports to Russia. Given that sanctions have the effect of trade diversion, it is reasonable to expect a gradual decline in trade of those agri-food products not covered by sanctions. EU exports may drop to €4 billion by 2019. And in the long run they might decline further. If the EU-Russia sanctions are lifted in the future, a regrowth of EU exports can be expected. However, the return to the export values for 2010–2013 will be difficult, as it will be difficult for the products that have lost their market share as a result of sanctions to win it back. In the meantime, the Russian government has decided to support domestic agricultural production and, to some extent, it has been successful in its efforts. This will pose a problem for EU production. Moreover, EU producers have made considerable effort to push their production into alternative markets, which might reflect a decreasing interest in exporting to Russia.

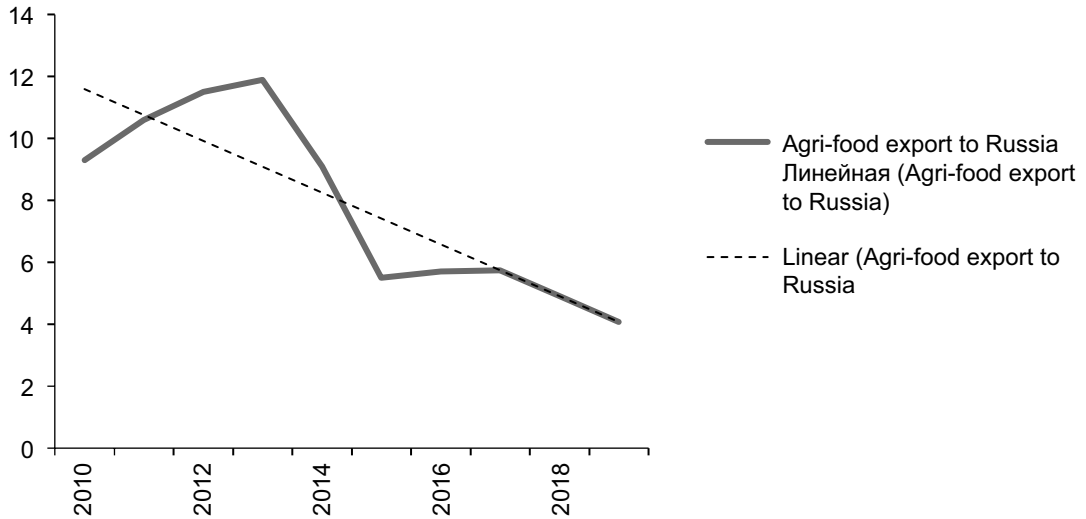


Fig. 6. Forecast of the Evolution of Exports of Agri-food Products From the EU to Russia by 2019 (€ Billion)

Source: Calculated by the authors based on data in the EUROSTAT database.

Conclusions

Based on analysis of the impact of the Russian agri-food embargo on EU agri-food exports to Russia from 2010 to 2016, and noting that Belarus acts as a re-exporting country, the following estimation of future EU agri-food exports to Russia are offered along with final conclusions.

Russia is among the most important export markets for the EU, but its ranking is decreasing. In 2010, Russia was the fourth-most important market for the total export of goods from the EU, and for agricultural exports it was the second-most important market. Looking at the development of EU agri-food exports to Russia, volume has decreased since 2014. The main reason was the imposition of the Russian embargo on agri-food imports from the EU. At the same time, EU exports of agri-food products to Belarus have increased significantly as a consequence of the re-export operations of EU producers – in the two years after the embargo, the export of banned products to Belarus increased significantly.

This analysis shows that the EU had strong comparative advantages in almost all of the verifying groups of commodities except for group 0303 (fish, frozen, excluding fish fillets) and group 0709 (other vegetables, fresh or chilled). The embargo has changed this drastically. The comparative advantages have declined for all selected groups of products, whereas Russia gained moderate comparative advantage in three groups of products (0207 – meat and edible offal, 0303 – fish, frozen, excluding fish fillets and etc., and 0709 – other vegetables, fresh or chilled) in 2016. The EU had strong comparative advantages only in groups 0206 (edible offal of bovine animal) and 0809 (agri-

cots cherries, peaches, plums and sloes) in 2016. On the other hand, Russian producers now have a chance to increase their production for domestic markets. The production of some agri-food products affected by the embargo has increased notably. Production of swine (frozen) is two times larger and the production of fresh and chilled poultry rose by 70%. Calculations point to the fact that while sanctions remain in place there will be a continuous decline in agri-food exports to Russia. The longer the imposed sanctions are in force, the harder it will be for EU producers to come back to the Russian market and regain their previous market share.

Despite the difficult situation, Russia remains among the most important trading partners for the EU. Over the coming decades, the EU will depend on imports of Russian energy commodities. To ensure the energy security of the EU and to avoid losing access to such a significant agricultural market, the EU has to consider how to solve disparities with Russia. The future development of the EU's geopolitical strategy toward Russia will determine if mutual relations will improve and return to their pre-2010 terms or if instead they will stagnate. If there is no resolution of the current problems between the EU and Russia it will only help competitors from other countries, especially from Asia.

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Влияние российского эмбарго на торговлю агропродовольственной продукцией между Россией и ЕС: анализ отдельных показателей¹

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Российское эмбарго негативно повлияло на экспорт агропродовольственной продукции из Европейского союза (ЕС) в Россию. Целью данной работы являются анализ воздействия российского агропродовольственного эмбарго на экспорт агропродовольственной продукции из ЕС в Россию в 2010–2016 гг. и изучение возможности обхода данного эмбарго через использование Белоруссии в качестве страны-реэкспортера. Для оценки влияния российских санкций в отношении поставок сельскохозяйственной продукции из ЕС в Россию использовался индекс выявленных сравнительных преимуществ. Ключевым последствием введения эмбарго стало значительное снижение экспорта агропродовольственного экспорта из ЕС в Россию. Европейские производители в ответ постарались расширить диверсификацию рынков сбыта своей продукции. Вначале они пытались удержаться на российском рынке посредством реэкспортных операций, что наиболее очевидно проявилось в случае с Белоруссией. Расчет индекса выявленных сравнительных преимуществ показывает, что взаимная торговля агропродовольственной продукцией существенно изменилась. До введения эмбарго поставки агропродовольственной продукции из ЕС в Россию были конкурентоспособными, однако впоследствии эти преимущества были утрачены. В 2010 г. Россия была вторым по значимости рынком сбыта агропродовольственной продукции из ЕС. В 2016 г. в результате введения эмбарго Россия заняла лишь пятое место среди импортеров данных товаров. Авторы статьи, используя линейную модель прогнозирования, также оценивают перспективы развития торговли агропродовольственной продукцией между ЕС и Россией.

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Ключевые слова: сельскохозяйственный экспорт; эмбарго; ЕС; Россия; выявленные сравнительные преимущества

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