We will go on with this issue. Pascal Lamy, could you give us your diagnosis on the strengths and weaknesses of global governance and collective leadership, as Il Sakong said.

Pascal Lamy, Honorary President of Notre Europe

Let me try and follow up on what Dr Sakong just said and also on what Thierry de Montbrial said during the introduction. I will take a slightly different stance. Dr Sakong was talking about the G20, how great it is and how much leadership it should provide. Thierry was talking of global governance in terms of powers, including major powers and medium powers. I do not think that is the right intellectual framework for the future.

I am saying this after a year's work with a number of world luminaries. These were gathered under the auspices of the Oxford Martin School. They were major figures, including a few who are attending this conference, such as Mo Ibrahim and Jean-Claude Trichet. A nice connection with the World Policy Conference. I had the privilege of chairing this group. We tried to look at future generations. More precisely, we looked at how to bridge this gap between what we know of the challenges for the future, and we know a lot about that, and the very limited action capacity that we all deploy on these challenges.

We adopted a scientific method. We looked at 10 global initiatives that worked reasonably well in recent decades. Then there were other initiatives which failed miserably. Instead of taking this from a theoretical or philosophical point of view, we looked at why some worked and why some did not work. Why did the HIV/AIDS programme work reasonably well? Why did the Y2K initiatives work well? Why did the programmes regarding ocean depletion not work? Why did financial regulation before 2008 not work?

I am not going to expand on all of the conclusions of the report, which you will find on the Web site of the Oxford Martin School. One of the main conclusions is that when these initiatives worked, they were tackled beyond sovereign states, which Henri de Castries called the Westphalian system a few minutes ago. That is something which is important for the future. We tried to envisage looking at future challenges and the new ways of addressing this gap between knowledge and example. One of the main conclusions is that you need coalitions that go far beyond normal sovereign nation-state action.

In a way we need to de-monopolise international governance from the Westphalian system, from sovereign nation states. We need to look at greater diversity of public institutions. For instance, with regard to the solutions for the problems of this planet, mega-cities have much more power than many of the 200 nation states which you find around the UN table. A growing number of multi-nationals are engaging in different corporate social responsibility endeavours. These include environmental and social issues. There is also quite a large number of global Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO), whose effective power is much bigger than many of the nation states on the planet.

That is one of the ways. I am not assuming it is the only one, but that is one of the ways forward. This is in order to try and be better at moving these long-term issues nearer to our action capacity I am not going to expand on all of the proposals. Some are reasonably innovative or provocative. For instance, on climate change, let us work with a C20, C30 and C40. This means 20 countries, 30 major multi-nationals and 40 mega-cities.

These clubs exist. There is a G20 and there is a C30 created by a number of important multi-nationals. There is a group of mega-cities which share a lot of experience and network on environmental issues. Our suggestion is that if you put the three clubs around the table, then this huge problem of global warming and carbon-emission disciplines will be solved within this group. If it is solved within this group, then the rest of the system will adjust to that.
Let me leave it there and we will suggest to Thierry and the organisers that we share a bit of that in the future. Let's relook these global-governance issues with new lens. I know myself and I have been trying to identify for a long time how this machinery can work like classical Westphalian systems or like post-Westphalian systems. I would suggest for our future reflections that we look at a-Westphalian systems.