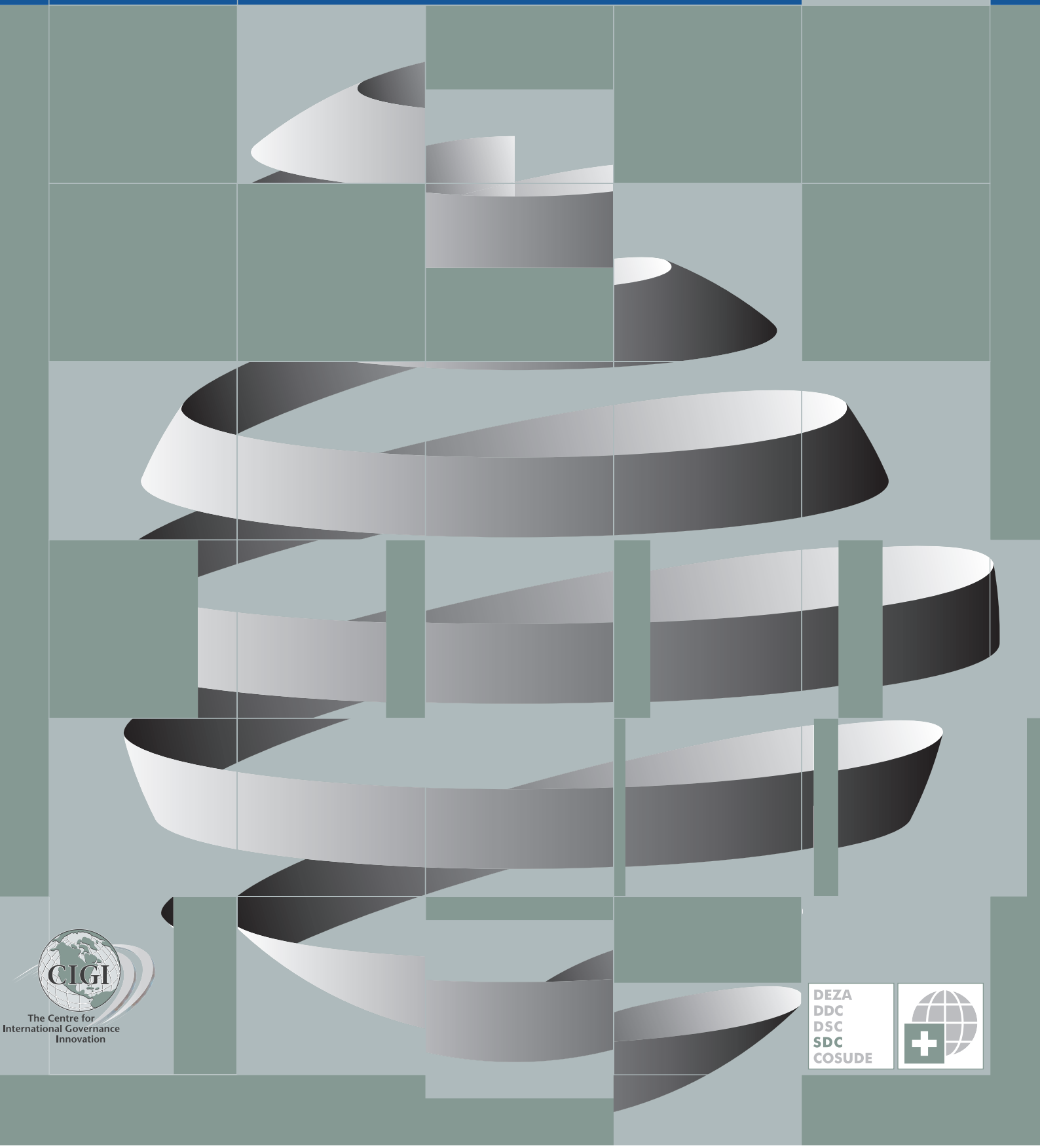
Global Governance Initiative

Executive Summary 2004

WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM

COMMITTED TO IMPROVING THE STATE OF THE WORLD



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The Centre for International Governance Innovation

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Global Governance Initiative

Developed in partnership with

Preface

The World Economic Forum is pleased to issue the first annual report of the Global Governance Initiative at our 2004 Annual Meeting.

Over the past year the Initiative brought together some of the world's leading experts on the most pertinent issues of global governance—security, human rights, environment, poverty, hunger, health and education—to assess the level of effort that humanity is putting into achievement of the goals of the United Nations Millennium Declaration and numerous international agreements. The chairs and members of the Expert Groups are to be commended for their original and thought-provoking analyses, and for their commitment to shedding light on new approaches to overcoming complex problems.

The Initiative is guided by a distinguished international Steering Committee. Not all Steering Committee members necessarily agree with all of the analysis and assertions in the report, but they broadly endorse its approach, conclusions and call to action.

The Initiative starts from the premise that the Millennium Declaration goals are too large and complex for governments alone to achieve. Governments may bear primary responsibility, but a broader response will be required for the international community to have any prospect of realizing the Declaration's ambitious expression of the global public interest. So the Initiative is also attempting to assess what role the private sector, civil society and international organizations can be expected to play in achieving common objectives. Even after accounting for the efforts of such diverse actors towards a common purpose, the warning is clear: the world community is devoting less than half of the effort necessary to meet any of the goals. Yet, the positive results of numerous innovative programmes from all sectors also give reason to be cautiously optimistic about our ability to overcome these "solvable problems".

This report represents only the first stage of the initiative, which continues to expand the reach of its expert networks. Further refinement in the methods and analysis in reports are likely. The Initiative complements other efforts to draw attention to and develop strategies for confronting poverty, illiteracy, hunger, environmental degradation and other challenges to building a safer, more prosperous world.

The Initiative is an example of the World Economic Forum's portfolio engaging business with other stakeholders in work on global, regional or industry issues. The many initiatives are being pulled together in a new Global Institute for Partnership and Governance to build upon the Forum's capacity to serve as an informal, independent platform for multistakeholder partnership in three dimensions: stimulating action, improving governance and expanding understanding through dialogue.

We gratefully acknowledge the support of the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation and the Centre for International Governance Innovation in Canada. We are also grateful to many in the United Nations system, particularly the United Nations Development Programme and its head, Mark Malloch Brown, for their willingness to provide information and share ideas.

The Initiative has benefited enormously from the leadership of Project Director Ann Florini, Senior Fellow in Governance Studies at the Brookings Institution, and Parag Khanna, on secondment from the Forum, as well as their staff, including Anil Bhargava, Maria Mallo and Hajra Zahid. We also appreciate the cooperation of the Brookings Institution.

The Forum would like to thank all Steering Committee and Expert Group members of the Global Governance Initiative for their dedication. We hope that their work will indeed generate faster movement from aspiration to action on the world's shared goals.

Klaus Schwab
Executive Chairman
World Economic Forum

Richard Samans
Managing Director
Global Institute for Partnership and Governance
World Economic Forum

Geneva, January 2004

Executive summary

From aspiration to action

In September 2000, at the Millennium Summit of the United Nations, the world's leaders gathered to commit themselves and their countries to a vital global agenda. In the Millennium Declaration adopted that month, and in a host of other widely accepted treaties and declarations, nearly every government pledged to devote serious efforts to ending the scourge of war, reducing the dire poverty and hunger that afflict hundreds of millions, stabilizing the global environment and ensuring the basic rights of all. Such steps are not mere pious aspirations. They are the fundamental building blocks of global stability in what has become a tightly interconnected world.

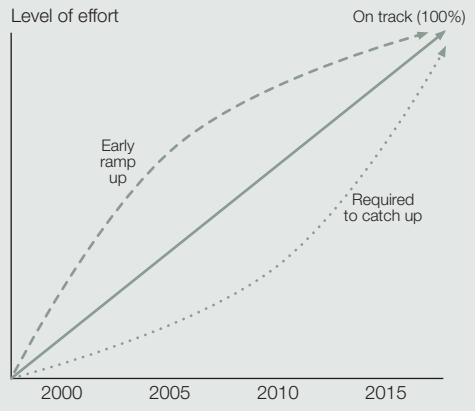
But too often the governments are scarcely trying. And the "non-state" actors on the international scene—businesses and civil society groups—are neither able nor willing to compensate for the inadequacies of government efforts. Across the board the world is failing to put forward even half the effort needed to meet the world's basic goals. The time has come to demand better. It is now time to hold all of us—governments, business, civil society and international institutions—more accountable for this egregious gap between aspiration and action.

The Global Governance Initiative promotes such accountability by monitoring humanity's attempts to deal with the problems on this global agenda. It looks broadly at a wide range of actors across the full range of security, human rights, development and environmental issues that are fundamental to global peace and prosperity. This comprehensive approach makes it possible to spotlight opportunities and shortcomings in today's patterns of global governance.

To carry out this project, seven groups of some of the world's leading experts gathered over the past year to assess how hard the world is trying to achieve its goals for peace and security, poverty, hunger, education, health, environmental protection and human rights. They evaluated how much progress the international community has been making and whether the individual and cooperative efforts of the key actors are commensurate with what is needed to achieve those goals. In most cases they consulted with a wide range of experts from around the world to gather a broad set of perspectives on the events of 2003. Their assessment has been reviewed by an international steering committee, in whose name this report is released.

The assessments, as summarized here, take the form of a numerical score on a zero to 10 scale, backed by an explanatory narrative that describes trends and initiatives and spotlights dramatic successes and failures. A score of 10 indicates that the world—that is, national governments, businesses, civil society and international organizations taken together—essentially did everything needed to be on track to reach the goals. A 5 indicates that the world is doing roughly half of what it should have done in 2003 if it were serious about achieving the goal. A 1 reveals little or no

Achieving the Millennium Goals



Source: Global Governance Initiative.

meaningful effort. A zero signals retrogression: that the activities of the international community during calendar 2003 actually made the problem worse.

This evaluation is not scientific truth, nor could it hope to be. There are no objective standards to measure exactly what types of efforts will bring about exactly what degree of progress towards the goals. So the assessment is subjective, based on widespread consultations with knowledgeable people, filtered through the judgments of some of the world's top experts. The process gives a good sense of whether today's level of effort corresponds to what is needed.

And the answer is clear: it doesn't. The dismaying finding is that in no case do global efforts merit even a 5. In other words, for all of its most important goals, the world is failing utterly to put forward the needed effort.

But a much more positive answer is within our grasp. The evidence that led the experts to award scores better than 1 shows what could be done on a larger scale, often at relatively little cost. Authorities in all parts of the world have widely and publicly accepted the goals, and in some cases are taking meaningful action. The private sector and civil society have already shown themselves capable of helping to devise and implement global rules that serve the broad public interest. In some cases, businesses that started improving their environmental and social practices under pressure from NGOs have come to see partnerships with those same groups as serving their enlightened self-interest. Corporations and civil society organizations are beginning to join governments in setting transnational agendas, negotiating and implementing agreements (formal or informal) and monitoring and enforcing compliance with the standards of behaviour set by those agreements. And these nongovernmental actors are joining with intergovernmental organizations in a variety of innovative efforts, such as the UN Global Compact involving business, unions and NGOs.

Most of these efforts are so recent that it is not yet possible to judge their long-term effectiveness. It is not clear whether they represent a permanent shift in how humanity will try to solve its problems, or whether they are merely stopgap measures taken in the desperation of inadequate governmental action.

Here is how the world scored in seven major issue areas for 2003:

- Peace and security—3.
- Poverty—4.
- Hunger—3.
- Education—3.
- Health—4.
- Environment—3.
- Human rights—3.

It is the hope of everyone involved in the Global Governance Initiative that the reasoning behind these scores will point the way towards doing better. Cynics may dismiss the goals as mere rhetoric, as hopeless ideals that governments espouse to placate activists who refuse to accept bitter realities. In reality, the goals point to achievable and necessary steps towards a more stable and prosperous world. World leaders publicly agreed to them because the problems are so real, the moral arguments for action so powerful.

History is likely to judge all of us more for our progress towards these goals than for marginal changes in GDP or the rise of stock indices. Given the record in 2003, history's judgment is unlikely to be flattering.

Score
3

Goals

- **Free all peoples from the scourge of war, both within and between states.**
- **Seek to eliminate the dangers posed by weapons of mass destruction.**
- **Take concerted action against international terrorism.**
- **End illicit traffic in small arms.**

Peace and security

On peace and security, the good news is that contrary to general perceptions, there has been a clear decline over time in the number of conflicts within and between states. There has also been a decline in the number of terrorist incidents. And there has been a decline in the number of people killed in battle. These trends, running since the Cold War years, appear to have continued in 2003.

No new internal wars broke out in 2003. Several devastating conflicts—including those in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Liberia and Sudan—seemed well on their way to resolution. And as bad as conflict and mass violence continue to be, they are significantly less bad than they were a decade ago. Governments and international organizations, with much help from civil society and some from business, are getting better at conflict prevention and resolution.

But the security problems remaining are very big ones indeed. The growth of international terrorist networks with deeply frightening agendas and capacity. The risk of nuclear proliferation and accompanying fears of weapons or fissile material being supplied to terrorists. The continuing existence, and emergence, of too many fragile, collapsed and internally warring states threatening their own people and—through the messes they export—people in many other countries.

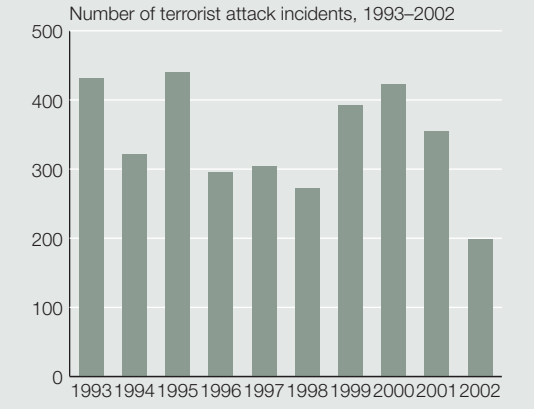
Compounding these problems is the reality that our capacity to deal with them doesn't seem to be improving. There is an evident weakening of support for the international rules to govern the use of force. There is little confidence in the institutions, starting with the United Nations, that are supposed to make and enforce those rules. Nor is there much consensus on the strategies for dealing with the great risks of terrorism, weapons proliferation and failed and failing states.

In 2003 the international community failed to prevent or sanction war in Iraq, a major setback for collective and cooperative security. Elsewhere, hostilities continue in Afghanistan, relations between Ethiopia and Eritrea and between India and Pakistan remain very fragile, and the Israel-Palestine conflict remains dangerously unresolved, despite the advent of nongovernmental initiatives. Much more remains to be done to consolidate the declining trend in interstate war, one of the most encouraging features of global security in recent decades.

In 2003 international efforts to eliminate international terrorism by nonstate actors were not very successful. Despite massive ongoing efforts by the United States since 11 September 2001 and much international cooperation, al Qaeda and associated groups have continued to cause much loss of life. The Israel-Palestine conflict continues to provoke Palestinian suicide bombers. And the invasion of Iraq has unleashed a whole new set of problems.

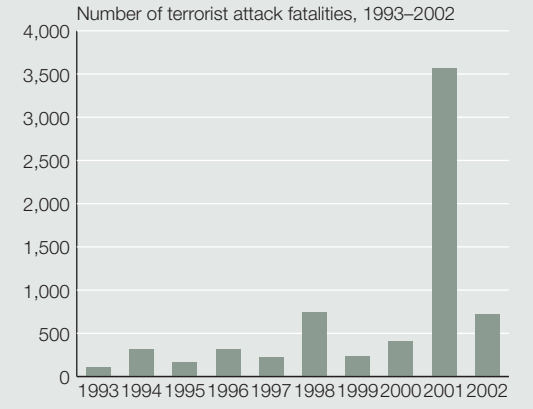
In 2003 there were potentially very serious challenges to nuclear nonproliferation in Iran and the People's Republic of Korea. With little support for multilateral initiatives from the United States, arms control and disarmament efforts remained, at best, in a holding pattern, generally suffering from too little attention and political support. At year's end, however, came news of a potential success story: the government of Libya announced its intention to permit UN inspectors into all of its unconventional weapons facilities—and its intention to dismantle them. The Libyan decision was the result of several months of secret diplomacy led by

Terrorist attacks trending down in recent years



Source: U.S. Department of State.

Terrorist attack fatalities way up in 2001



Source: U.S. Department of State.

the U.K., with U.S. participation. It appears linked to Libya's desire to end any remaining economic and political sanctions imposed after the Lockerbie terrorist act of 1988.

The task of reducing the availability of small arms and light weapons, both legally and illicitly traded and stockpiled, is dauntingly huge. And the gains—to the extent they can be calculated—have been extremely modest. The news is better on landmines, but again the stockpiles remain enormous. Although the overwhelming majority of countries have ratified the Mine Ban Treaty, the key players—including China, Russia and the United States—have refused to sign it.

The private sector is promoting or undermining peace and security, both directly and indirectly. International criminal networks—driven by profit and facilitated by private enterprises that operate through complex ownership structures and participate in diffuse and opaque global supply chains—contribute to such threats as the drug trade, money laundering, corruption and the trade in small arms.

Legal business operations can contribute to conflict as well. Governments or rebel groups may siphon off resource revenues to fund wars or sustain repressive regimes. Repressive regimes can use sales of arms, communications and other products against citizens or against neighbouring states. Some companies use ill-disciplined or abusive public and private security forces to protect their assets. Private military contractors, now a $100 billion business, are seldom well regulated or fully accountable.

But some businesses are participating in codes of conduct that aim to ensure that they do no harm, and indeed contribute to conflict prevention, management and resolution and to post-conflict reconstruction. Attracting private investment to countries after conflict remains a major challenge, but there is good news in the public-private cooperation in rebuilding Afghanistan and Mozambique.

Civil society—the web of NGOs, labour unions, churches, think tanks, professional associations and media—does much in research, public outreach, advocacy, programme implementation and monitoring intergovernmental commitments. A vast and bewildering variety of civil society actors in peace movements around the world are trying to prevent, reduce and end interstate wars, but assessing their impact is difficult. Such groups helped to mobilize global public protests against the Iraq war in 2003, failing to stop the war but contributing to the divide among the world's governments on how and whether to proceed in Iraq.

For war within states, civil society groups have had a more demonstrably positive impact, bringing specialized knowledge and long-standing contacts to ensure effective responses. Although civil society groups have raised pressures to limit weapons of mass destruction, in 2003 they were largely ineffective. For land mines and small arms, they were largely responsible for the successful negotiation of the Land Mines Treaty in 1997, and have since monitored the treaty's implementation.

Score
4

Goal
- **Halve the proportion of people whose income is less than one dollar a day (in purchasing power parity) between 1990 and 2015.**

Poverty

The world has set itself a strikingly modest goal for reducing poverty. Of the world's 6 billion people, 2.8 billion live on less than $2 a day, and 1.2 billion on less than $1 a day. If met, the goal would still leave an appalling 900 million people destitute. But the goal will not be met. Although the progress in some countries, notably China, has been astonishing, the number of people living in desperate poverty is actually rising in much of Africa, Latin America and South Asia.

The responsibility for the lacklustre performance now lies mainly with governments, rich and poor. But a global economic system designed by the wealthy is too often stacked against the poorest. The wealthy countries, despite much rhetoric, show little interest in reforming that system or in substantially increasing development assistance targeted to the poorest.

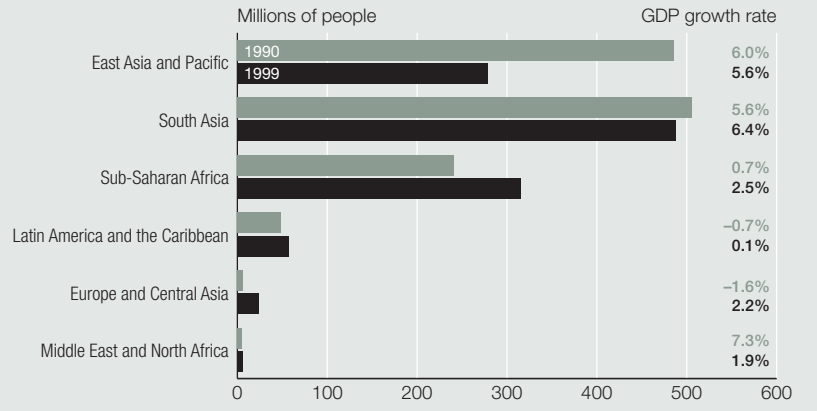
The picture in agriculture is particularly ugly, given that 75% of the poor depend on agriculture. The failure of global trade negotiations at Cancun in 2003 stalled the opening of rich country markets to agricultural products from the developing world. And the continuation of large subsidies to rich country farmers leaves the poorest unable to compete.

On aid, members of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development have pledged to increase their aid to 0.7% of GDP, but U.S. commitments at the Monterrey conference and through its Millennium Challenge Account and AIDS Initiative have not been matched with resources. Nor has there been much progress on the agenda for international migration or on the reform of the international financial architecture. The World Bank–International Monetary Fund Poverty Reduction Strategy Process for the least-developed countries helped increase government spending on poverty reduction in very poor countries. But too few of those strategies achieve the stated aim of involving governments and citizens in a far-reaching consensus on how to tackle poverty effectively.

The majority of the world's poor are in Asia, which has seen spectacular successes—and enormous failures. The Chinese government deserves great credit for ensuring that more than 20 years of fast economic growth have translated into widespread alleviation of poverty. In the late 1990s the government increased fiscal spending for poverty reduction and gave financial assistance to upgrade infrastructure in rural areas, particularly transportation and power. As a result, rural poverty fell from 31% to 11% between 1990 and 1998. Government-sponsored loan and grant funds, as well as food-for-work schemes, have contributed much to China's success. Intergovernmental organizations, NGOs and private companies have supported microcredit schemes throughout the country. Urban poverty has increased dramatically, however, which the government has partially countered with a major relief fund to create social safety nets. And there are serious concerns about the environmental consequences of China's rapid development.

South Asia, home to 44% of the world's poor, has been less successful. Since 1990 the incidence of extreme poverty has fallen only 4 points, to 40%. Even this progress is uneven. Poverty is down in India but up in Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and Nepal (hit hard by the effects of its Maoist insurgency). Both governments and civil society organizations have tried a variety of approaches, some of them quite innovative. The Indian government has

1.2 billion people still living on less than $1 a day—with numbers on the rise in four regions



Source: World Bank.

recently begun to support self-help foundations that provide microcredit and skills training to develop human resource potential. Numerous corporate foundations now promote community development. Over many years, civil society groups have made considerable contributions towards raising the living standards of the poorest. BRAC, a Bangladeshi NGO with 3.5 million members, has been training and monitoring recipients of microcredit loans with good results. SEWA (Self-Employed Women's Association) has had a great impact on self-employed Indian women, providing such services as banking, insurance, housing loans, training, health care (including childcare) and legal aid. But these myriad efforts by governments and nongovernmental actors do not add up to a programme of poverty reduction effective enough to reach the goal for poverty reduction.

Economic growth has slipped everywhere in Africa except the southern region. Only 5 of 53 African countries achieved the 7% growth necessary to reach the poverty reduction goal, in part because of the impact of HIV/AIDS, malaria and tuberculosis. Foreign assistance continues to be a big part of national budgets, sometimes well over 50%, compounding debt dependency, crowding out private investment and exacerbating the poverty trap.

But in some cases good economic policies have made a real difference. Well-managed countries, with solid reform agendas and a record of stability and good governance, performed well. Mozambique and Uganda have had steady growth rates of 6% since 1995. The New Partnership for Africa's Development is refocusing governments and the international community on poverty reduction. And its African Peer Review Mechanism will enhance African ownership of its development agenda through a system of self-assessment. In Ghana, Nigeria and Uganda civil society organizations have been consulting with government in policymaking and monitoring, especially at the community level. In Mauritius public-private partnerships have boosted private investment. The Africa Growth and Opportunity Act, which liberalizes trade between the United States and 38 Sub-Saharan African countries, is a step in the right direction.

Many Latin American governments have tackled poverty. They increased the social spending from 10% of GDP in 1990 to 14% in 2001. And they have increased the share of social spending allocated to health and education, investing more where the redistributive impact is higher. In 2003 the government of Argentina continued supporting the Heads of Households Program, a workfare programme that benefited around 2 million households, arguably poor and unemployed. In Brazil the government launched Bolsa Familia, a conditional cash transfer programme to address several dimensions of poverty: hunger, malnutrition, child labour and a lack of education. The government planned to invest about $2 billion and reach close to 3.6 million households (16 million people) by the end of 2003. In Mexico a new law on health insurance was passed to help poor families cover their medical expenses and protect income during severe illness of income-earners. The government also increased the federal budget allocated to Oportunidades. Making transfers to poor households conditional on school attendance and clinic visits, the programme will now incorporate urban families and add a new component to stimulate young men and women to continue their schooling. A new programme, Habitat, was

launched to reduce income poverty and improve living conditions of poor people in slums. In 2003 the programme is operating in 32 cities. In Latin America the lack of economic growth in some countries and outright economic crisis in others has meant that moderate and extreme poverty have remained practically unchanged since 1997. Overall, the region's GDP grew at a scant 0.3% in 2001 and fell by 0.7% in 2002, with serious consequences for the poor. In Argentina, as a result of the economic crisis, moderate poverty doubled between 1999 and 2002 and extreme poverty tripled.

If the world is to reach its goal for reducing global poverty, rich country governments will have to expand market access to agricultural products and other goods produced by the developing world. They will also have to adopt more favourable migration policies and fulfil their promises for international aid. Intergovernmental organizations have to go well beyond direct development assistance to prevent, manage and solve economic crises, natural disasters, the spread of epidemics and civil conflicts and wars. Developing country governments have to ensure macroeconomic stability, introduce policies that generate economic growth and implement targeted interventions that directly benefit the poor, such as workfare and conditional cash transfers. Civil society groups have to work together ever more effectively to ensure that the resources for poverty alleviation reach the poorest.

Score
3

Goal
- **Halve the number of people suffering from hunger by 2015.**

Hunger

Some 800 million people around the world do not get enough to eat—a devastating figure that includes one of every three preschool children in developing countries. The problem is not an absolute shortage of food in the world—there is enough to go around. The problem is that available food and adequate nutrition do not get to those who lack money, health care, clean water and adequate sanitation.

The consequences are dire: millions of deaths, and many more children who grow up to be stunted and intellectually impaired, perpetuating poverty and hunger into the next generation, reducing labour productivity and increasing health costs. And despite abundant rhetoric on the international conference circuit and the many strategy papers of national governments and international institutions, little serious effort has gone into cutting hunger by half.

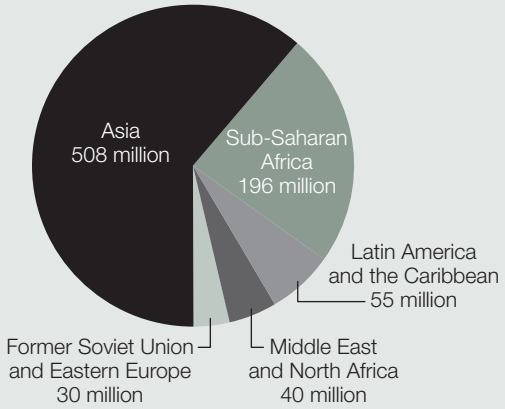
The hunger picture varies widely across countries and regions. Of 34 countries with more than 90% of the world's undernourished people, China and Nigeria have already cut the proportion of hungry people in half from 1990 levels. And East Asia and Latin America are likely to reach the goal by 2015. But 11 countries saw the proportion of hungry people increase in the 1990s, and 5 (Burundi, Congo, the People's Republic of Korea, Rwanda and Tanzania) have seen serious deterioration in recent years. If current trends continue, the Middle East, Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia will not reach even this modest goal.

The big disappointment of 2003: the failure to make progress on trade liberalization for agricultural commodities at the World Trade Organization's September meeting in Cancun. That failure means that the world's rich countries will for the time being continue agricultural and trade policies that blatantly discriminate against the poor and severely reduce investments in developing country agriculture and rural areas, where most of the hungry live. Development assistance continues to be inadequate as well, with far too little aimed at agricultural and rural development. And too many national governments in poor countries accord a high priority to the fight against hunger in rhetoric but a much lower priority in action and resources.

Even so, some good news points the way to what the world could accomplish. China's policy reforms since the early 1980s—particularly land reform, improved irrigation, agricultural research and development of rural markets and transportation infrastructure, along with a well-established disaster relief system—show conclusively that a determined national government can accomplish much. Brazil made substantial progress in recent years, but it still has abnormally high food insecurity for a well-off country with a per capita income of $7,000 a year. The new government, under the leadership of President Luis Inacio "Lula" da Silva, pledged to end hunger and malnutrition by 2007. To that end, the government created a Ministry of Food Security and launched a national Fome Zero (Zero Hunger) programme. Under the programme, the government is targeting 11 million extremely poor families for cash payments (tied to requirements for school attendance, vaccinations and adult literacy and job training classes), along with disaster prevention and emergency management activities.

Initiatives are also being launched by intergovernmental organizations to help eradicate hunger. The UN Food and Agriculture Organization's Anti-Hunger Program sets key

More than 800 million people hungry



Source: FAO.

priority areas of action—such as improving agricultural productivity in poor rural communities and developing and conserving natural resources—to bring hunger reduction back on track to achieve the World Food Summit target by 2015. The Secretary-General and the World Bank have taken encouraging steps to assess how agricultural research can promote poverty alleviation and development.

One of the most exciting international hunger-related research initiatives during the year came from civil society: the Harvest Plus Program under the leadership of two Future Harvest centres (International Food Policy Research Institute and the International Center for Tropical Agriculture). The programme is researching how to increase the content of iron, vitamin A and zinc in staple foods consumed by low-income people in developing countries. Reducing the deficiencies of these micronutrients (the hidden hunger) could have major impact.

Both the resources and the knowhow are available to reduce by half the number of people suffering from hunger by 2015. What is missing is the political will for developing country governments to promote agricultural and rural development and to guide globalization and science for the benefit of the poor. The failure of most rich countries to live up to the development assistance commitment of 0.7% of their national incomes adds to the problem. Less rhetoric and more action could help eliminate hunger for millions.

Score
3

Goals

- **Ensure that by 2015 children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling.**
- **Eliminate gender disparities in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and in all levels of education no later than 2015.**

Education

Nations around the world know that basic education matters enormously. It is instrumental in higher economic growth, human security, poverty alleviation and participation in political and community life. Gender parity matters because educated women improve the health and well-being of families, have fewer children and do more for the education of children.

Real progress is being made towards both goals. In 2000, the latest year with comparable data, 648 million children were enrolled in primary school—but 104 million school-age children were not. Of 151 countries with data, 96 have not yet achieved universal primary education, and 36 risk not reaching the goal by 2015.

The regional variations are great. Over the past decade, South and West Asia, the Arab States and North Africa and Latin America and the Caribbean saw rapid growth in primary enrolments. Latin America essentially achieved the goals, but educational quality in Latin America is so low that fundamental changes are still needed for the majority of children to have access to meaningful education. Progress remained slow in Central Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa, while enrolment rates actually fell in some Central and East European countries.

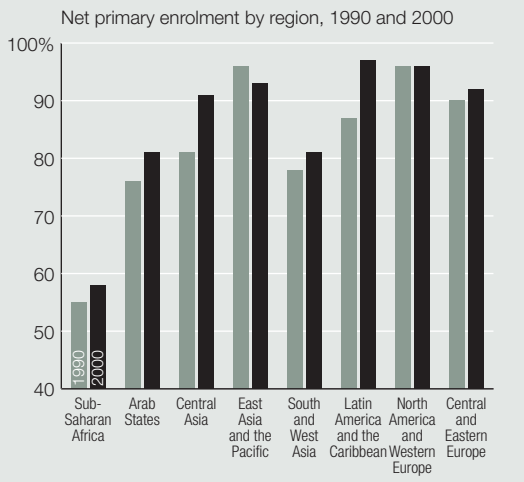
Most countries have already achieved gender parity at the primary level, another 20 are reasonably close and 47 are farther away, with 16 seriously problematic. But the story is much bleaker for secondary education, with 54 countries unlikely to attain gender parity by 2015. Among them are China and India, which on current trends will not meet either primary or secondary targets. Among the poorest performers in girls' access to school, with only 75 girls enrolled for every 100 boys, are Afghanistan, Benin, Burkina Faso, Chad, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mozambique and Pakistan.

In education, national governments are the most important actors. The biggest and most important policy trend here is eliminating school fees to make education more affordable (especially for girls). India, Kenya and Lesotho introduced free primary schooling in 2002/03, joining a growing number of governments. And many countries where primary education is far from universal have enacted legislation to make elementary education free and compulsory (even though fees are still charged in many of them).

With governments woefully short of the resources needed to maintain these efforts, many countries still face daunting challenges. In Africa HIV/AIDS is killing teachers faster than they can be replaced, and girls are being pulled out of school to care for ill parents or orphaned siblings. As the section on health indicates, that burden may soon spread to other regions. And despite the undeniable global progress in containing, resolving and preventing civil wars, too many conflicts still disrupt educational systems.

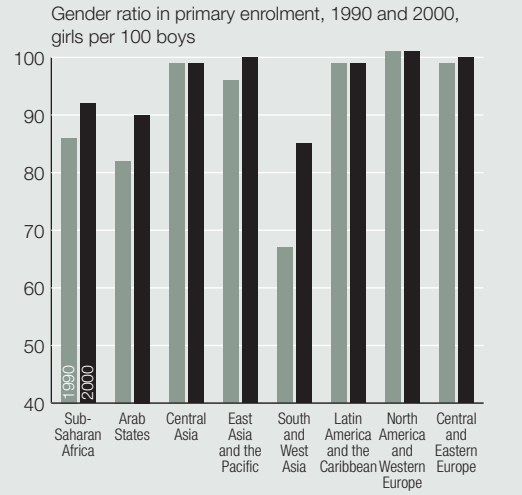
Nor are the world's poor countries getting the help they need from the rich. Total aid for education totals about $1.5 billion a year. The Education for All monitoring report, drawing on studies that assess the costs of reaching the education goals, estimates that an additional $5.6 billion in aid is needed annually. That sum takes into account the additional resource requirements for enhancing girls' enrolment, meeting the costs of HIV/AIDS and supporting education in countries experiencing conflicts and other emergencies.

Primary enrolment is still short of the goal—especially in Sub-Saharan Africa



Source: UNESCO.

Most regions are on track to achieve gender parity in primary education



Source: UNESCO.

The Fast Track Initiative, designed largely by the World Bank and launched in April 2002, was to spur quicker and more effective action by both donor and developing country governments. Poor countries that put forward good education policies and devote reasonable shares of their own budgets to primary education are to be rewarded with quick financial and technical assistance to help them enact those policies. Some of the 18 countries that met the criteria have seized the opportunity to make real progress. Honduras, for example, has laid out in impressive detail a three-year reform plan that locks in support from all donor agencies and from the ministries of finance, planning and education—exactly the governmentwide commitment to education that has too often been lacking.

But the donors have not responded in kind. The Fast Track Initiative is still short $100 million of the roughly $300 million to respond to the promising proposals from developing countries. If the rich world again fails to deliver on its side of this global compact for education, the cynicism is likely to prove corrosive for ministries of education and proponents of education around the world. Moreover, the 18 developing countries invited to participate have only a small part of the world's out-of-school children. Many other governments, including those of key high-population countries, have failed to meet the criteria, and bringing them on board will require technical and financial assistance.

Civil society groups are helping to compensate for government shortfalls. The Global Campaign for Education brings together a vast array of education advocates in a coalition lobbying effectively for education. National civil society coalitions have advocated for the removal of user fees in education, as in Tanzania, and ensured that primary education came high on the electoral agenda of all parties, as in Kenya. It is difficult to come up with standards to judge civil society's efforts, but much more aggressive advocacy and coordination are clearly needed for education to be accorded higher national and international priority.

The private sector, exercising little leadership in advocacy, has not contributed much to achieving the education goals. Most of its involvement has come in one-off projects, such as school construction or individual philanthropy, and some CEOs have expressed reluctance to work more closely with developing country governments. As a result, their contributions of financial and physical capital have not fed into larger reform processes. But discussions are starting about how businesses might contribute more. The World Bank is investigating whether it could create a window for private sector contributions as part of the Fast Track Initiative. And some CEOs have expressed interest in forming a coalition of companies that could lobby for funding to realize the Fast Track Initiative's funding commitments. National governments have the main responsibility for reaching the education goals. Having access to primary schooling, universally accepted as a human right for all children, brings enormous social and economic benefits. Providing such opportunities cannot be left to the market, if only because those excluded usually are too poor to purchase schooling for themselves.

Score
4

Goals

- **Stop and begin to reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS and malaria.**
- **Reduce by two-thirds the under-five mortality rate and by three-quarters the maternal mortality ratio, by 2015.**

Health

Every year, 11 million children under the age of five precede their parents to the grave. Every minute, a mother dies due to childbirth. Malaria strikes 300 million times a year, killing more than a million. HIV/AIDS is outstripping the bubonic plague of medieval Europe as the most deadly pandemic in history. Such is the state of global health.

It need not be so. Dramatic improvements in health are readily achievable by more extensive use of proven, cost-effective technologies and greater investment in deploying the basic health infrastructure for their delivery. Those improvements would in turn contribute mightily to the achievement of many other global goals. Disease reduces a population's capacity to work, farm and feed itself—or care for its children. The vicious cycle of poverty, hunger, instability and poor health should be attacked with many tools, including those directly improving health.

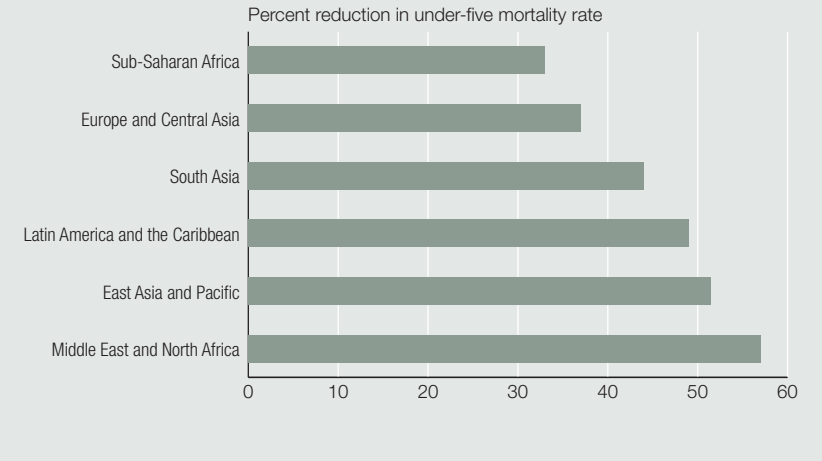
The world is doing less than half of what it should be doing to achieve the goals. For child mortality the world made substantial progress in the 1980s and early 1990s, but since then the momentum has flagged. Most countries, particularly the poorest, are not on track to reach the goal. For maternal health, it appears very unlikely that the goal will be achieved in Sub-Saharan Africa or Southeast Asia, possible in some parts of Asia and Latin America and likely only in Eastern Europe and parts of South America. Malaria continues to wreak havoc in large swaths of Africa despite progress in some parts of some countries on the continent. If the HIV/AIDS pandemic proceeds at its current rate, there will be 45 million new infections by 2010, with nearly 70 million deaths expected by 2020.

The news on HIV/AIDS is particularly dramatic. An estimated 5 million people were infected with HIV in 2003, bring the total to an estimated 40 million. The total number of persons living with HIV seems to have declined in recent years, but this is largely because more of its victims have died. The number of people who died from AIDS rose from just over 2 million in 1999 to 3 million in 2003.

But there is good news. Health has become central to the global agenda. The Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria, created in 2002, brings together national governments, nongovernmental organizations, communities, corporations, foundations and international organizations in a partnership to finance efforts to fight and mitigate the impacts of HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria worldwide. Relying on voluntary donations, it has awarded $2 billion to more than 100 countries. In 1998 the World Health Organization brought together many of the world's efforts to control malaria in a unified campaign, Roll Back Malaria, which aims to halve the world's malaria burden by 2010. According to the Africa Malaria Report for 2003, international spending for malaria has at least doubled since 1998, not including funds to finance such complementary primary health services as reproductive health care and integrated management of child illness. In 2002 about $200 million was earmarked for malaria control worldwide, up from an estimated $60 million in 1998.

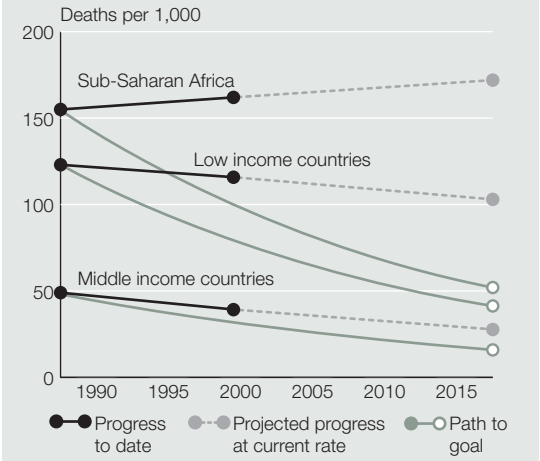
For HIV/AIDS 2003 brought reason for hope. More political leaders in Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa are speaking up. The government of South Africa, with 5 million people infected, launched a major treatment initiative in November. The Chinese

Under-five mortality would plunge if the rate for the poorest 80% of people in a country were the same as that for the richest 20%



Source: World Bank, using DHS data.

Still far to go to meet the goal of reducing child mortality



Source: UNICEF.

government launched a public information campaign to promote awareness and condom use. Dramatic television pictures of Prime Minister Wen Jiabao comforting AIDS patients and pledging government support signalled a remarkable breakthrough by a government that had previously downplayed the epidemic.

On 1 December 2003 (World AIDS Day) the World Health Organization launched its "3 by 5 program" to get 3 million people on anti-HIV drugs by 2005. The essence of the plan involves assisting countries in procuring drugs cheaply and in building systems so that 100,000 volunteers can be trained to deliver and monitor anti-HIV medication regimens. The scene is set for more people to have access to antiretroviral medications, whose annual cost has fallen from $10,000 a year to $300, thanks largely to the ability of generic drug manufacturers to produce the drugs cheaply. More money is available for HIV/AIDS than ever before. Low- and middle-income countries spent $4.7 billion on HIV/AIDS in 2003, nearly 24 times the $200 million in 1996. The U.S. Congress is set to approve $2.4 billion for HIV/AIDS in fiscal 2004.

But funds alone won't make the difference for HIV/AIDS or other health goals. Personnel have to be trained, retained and motivated to form effective delivery systems. New management and evaluation systems have to be put in place. Partnerships have to be formed or strengthened. People have to be engaged in ensuring that they make use of services and change behaviours essential to their health and their communities'. And speeches, alliances and declarations still far exceed the funds and other resources committed.

Moreover, the focus on some goals (perversely) diverts attention and support from other equally important health issues. Children and mothers benefit from reductions in HIV, tuberculosis and malaria. But other aspects of child and maternal health have lost much of the attention and support they once received. Brazil's focus on AIDS treatment has cut infant HIV infection rates in half, but depleted local clinics of antibiotics to treat childhood pneumonia.

The single greatest impediment to reaching the health goals is the lack of support and leadership from the governments of affected countries. HIV/AIDS continues to spread most aggressively in precisely the countries whose leaders refused to take the threat seriously (China, India and South Africa are looming disasters). Where leaders have put in place effective strategies, as in Thailand and Uganda, initially intensive epidemics have slowed dramatically.

The same can be said of child and maternal mortality. Child mortality could be greatly reduced by raising immunization rates to levels once reached in the 1980s and early 1990s. Governments have not made the continuing investments. Nor has the international community interceded in the political chaos to organize the temporary halts in hostilities and again mobilize resources from all sides to immunize children.

Score
3

Goals

- **Stabilize greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere at a level that would prevent dangerous anthropogenic interference with the climate system.**
- **Implement conventions related to the conservation of biodiversity.**
- **Halve the proportions of people without access to water and sanitation by 2015.**

Environment

The negotiation of more than 500 multilateral environmental agreements appears to have left Mother Nature singularly unimpressed. Many countries have done better in controlling local pollution, creating parks and protected areas and in a few cases bringing plants or animals back from the brink of extinction. But most key environmental trends are negative. Global frameworks exist to address climate change and the loss of biodiversity, but their promise remains empty. And the failure to pursue global environmental goals aggressively means we are missing important opportunities to alleviate hunger and poverty and to improve human health and well-being.

A decade ago the picture looked much brighter. At the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro more than 180 countries reached a consensus on the connection between environmental protection and human development. Their shared understanding was that wealthy nations would take the lead in adjusting their policies to respond to global environmental problems and increase their assistance to poorer countries to enable them to address urgent environmental problems without diminishing their commitment to development. But the wealthy did not keep their promises, and some poor countries have used that failure as an excuse for inaction. Since then, environmental deterioration has proceeded apace.

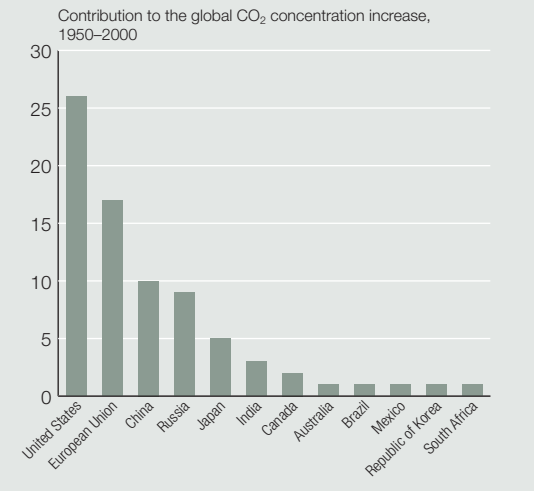
It was not possible for the Global Governance Initiative's expert group on environment to assess global efforts on all environmental issues, so the group chose climate change, biodiversity and access to water and sanitation, all vital issues for which goals are established.

For climate change the evidence is now compelling: human activity is raising the temperature of the planet. As we substantially increase the proportion of carbon and other greenhouse gases in the atmosphere (mostly by burning fossil fuels), a rising share of the energy from the sun that gets in as light is trapped, unable to bounce back out as heat. If current trends are not altered, global temperature—which has already risen about 0.6 degrees Celsius, or 1.0 degrees Fahrenheit—is projected to rise between 1.4 and 5.8 degrees Celsius, or 2.5 and 10.4 degrees Fahrenheit, by the end of this century.

The science is not precise enough to say exactly what the consequences will be for various parts of the world or even how much of the unusually hot weather we have experienced since the early 1980s is our fault. But regional climate changes due to temperature increases have already affected many physical and biological systems, and the evidence suggests adverse impacts on human settlements from the increasing frequency and intensity of floods, drought and other severe weather events. The longer term consequences of unabated greenhouse gas emissions are likely to include detrimental effects on agricultural production, water supply, forests, vector-borne diseases and overall human development.

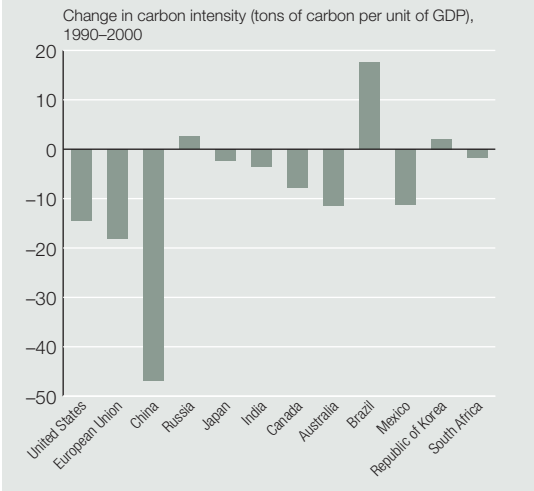
After agreeing on the Framework Convention on Climate Change, government efforts have failed to make significant progress towards stabilizing, much less reducing, emissions of greenhouse gases. After strenuous negotiation of the Kyoto Protocol to the Convention, signed in 1997 as a modest first step towards getting serious about climate change, the country that is the biggest part of the problem—the United States—withdrew. Hopes that the Protocol would nonetheless shortly come into effect were dashed when Russia announced in late 2003 that it would not ratify.

The United States and the European Union have added most to global CO_2



Source: Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change.

The carbon intensity of GDP is down almost everywhere, especially in China



Source: Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change.

Actions undertaken by other governments, and by some corporations, make clear what could be done with greater determination. The European Union stabilized its absolute emission levels in the 1990s while also enjoying substantial economic growth, thanks to the ambitious renewable energy programmes and national long-term emission reduction targets. The European Union has adopted legislation establishing an emissions trading system in greenhouse gases, to begin in 2005 with or without the Kyoto Protocol. And the European Council recently adopted a new directive on energy taxation to increase the incentives to use energy more efficiently. China cut coal and oil subsidies in the early 1990s and has since introduced tax incentives for constructing energy-efficient buildings, allowing it to massively reduce its carbon intensity during a period of extraordinary economic growth. But neither of these global leaders has yet been able reduce total emissions. Some corporations, notably BP and Shell, have adopted voluntary greenhouse gas emission reduction plans that have been widely publicized. Dupont has already hit its voluntary target of reducing its greenhouse gas emissions by 65 percent below 1990 levels, a target it had set itself for 2010.

But notwithstanding such efforts, global emissions continue to increase. Current voluntary efforts are inadequate to stem the tide, and the patchwork efforts to refine current energy systems, while steps in the right direction, are decidedly insufficient. And efforts to promote economic development and alleviate poverty have not yet been aligned with long-term interests in a stable climate system.

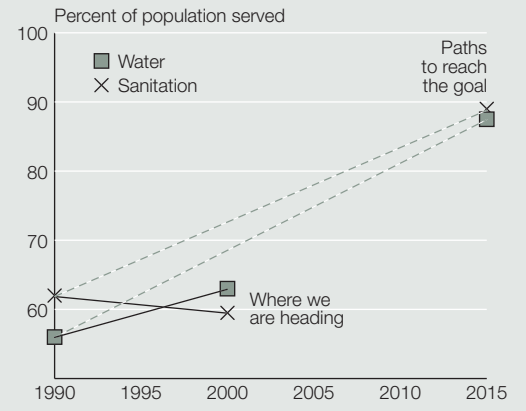
Addressing climate change will require a technological revolution, one that leads to a global society producing zero, or close to zero, net emissions of greenhouse gases. Governments have at best only begun to take steps to speed the transition to a carbon-neutral global economy.

For biodiversity—the variety of life on Earth that provides the framework into which all species must fit—the effort is also woefully inadequate. As people alter the climate, harvest too many species too quickly, convert natural habitats into agricultural land or pollute those habitats and carry species from the habitat they evolved in to ones that have no natural predators to control them, species are being lost at a rate 100 to 1,000 times faster than seen throughout geological history. The Convention on Biological Diversity—it came into force in 1993 and now has nearly 190 parties—has had little effect.

Forests, particularly tropical forests, continue to disappear at alarming rates. Indonesia has lost a quarter of the forest cover it had in 1985. Government policies are often reasonably sound but too often not implemented. Local governments and private groups are attempting to stem the tide with schemes certifying when wood has been sustainably harvested in hopes that consumers and wood-using businesses will buy only certified wood. But certified forest areas make up less than 1% of global forest cover.

Fisheries are also in bad shape, plundered by a heavily subsidized global fishing fleet twice as large as what the fish stock can sustain. Governments agreed at the 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development to create national networks of marine protected areas by 2012 and to rebuild overexploited fisheries by 2015. But there has been almost no progress in implementing agreed

Way off the path to water and sanitation in Africa



Source: WaterAid (U.K.).

measures to reduce overfishing. Less than 1% of the marine environment is protected.

For land, the protected areas are faring somewhat better, having become a cornerstone of conservation efforts in most countries. These legally demarcated areas, dedicated to conserving biological diversity, now cover about 12% of Earth's land surface in more than 100,000 sites. Unfortunately, these seemingly impressive figures leave completely unprotected the habitats of several hundred vertebrate species. And many of the areas are not well managed, often due to a lack of money. Current spending for terrestrial and marine protected areas is estimated at $4 billion to $7 billion a year, more than half in North America, far short of the estimated $30 billion to manage existing protected areas well.

The dark story of water and sanitation should be considerably brighter. If ever an investment could make a difference in food security, health, environment, governance, gender equity and poverty alleviation, it is one that provides access to safe water and sanitation to billions. A bit of organization, imagination and local resources—along with attuned leadership—can bring safe water and sanitation services to those in need and at an acceptable cost. But these investments are at rates that would reach not even half of those in need by 2015.

The goals are very modest: to cut in half (from 1990 levels) the proportion of the global population that lacks access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation. In 1990 roughly a fifth of humanity lacked access to safe drinking water, and close to half, access to basic sanitation. Given likely population growth, meeting the goals would still leave more than 1.5 billion people without one or both of these basic amenities. And without substantially increased efforts, not even these modest goals will be met.

The good news is that more governments and electorates have recognized the importance of the goals, especially at the international level, with new publications, events and campaigns. Public-private partnerships aimed at expanding such basic sanitary practices as hand-washing, already established in Ghana and India, are now being set up in China, Nepal, Peru and Senegal. In India local people, local government and businesses have helped pay for sanitation and provision of individual water taps in poor urban neighbourhoods, freeing people to spend less time in line for water and more time pursuing their livelihoods.

But major disagreements remain over how best to accelerate the provision of safe drinking water. Privatizing water, often suggested as a means of improving the efficiency of water service delivery, rarely leads to equitable universal provision in the absence of strong governmental institutions to demand equity. And many consumers are turning to private providers. In India spending on bottled drinking water will soon exceed the national budget for municipal drinking water. Few governments are dedicating the (relatively small) amounts of funding needed to reach the poor.

Score
3

Goals

- **Uphold international human rights standards, with particular attention to:**
  - **Prevention of torture and ill-treatment.**
  - **Protection of the rights of migrants.**
  - **Enforcement of international labour standards and implementation of voluntary corporate social responsibility initiatives.**
  - **Promotion of the effective rule of law and the right of the public to have access to information.**

Human rights

Almost all states have signed some or all of the international human rights treaties and conventions ratified since the United Nations issued the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. World leaders reaffirmed their commitment to human rights when almost all signed the Millennium Declaration.

Every issue addressed by the Global Governance Initiative deals with one or another of the fundamental political, civil, cultural and economic rights that, taken together, are essential ingredients of the ultimate goal—human dignity for all. But the global human rights story also includes topics not covered elsewhere in this report: torture and ill-treatment of prisoners, migration, labour rights and corporate responsibilities, effective public services and rule of law.

Much of the human rights story for 2003 is bleak. Many of the world's leading experts and activists fear that the human rights movement is under attack, facing a reversal that could force the whole enterprise into retreat. They fear the erosion of civil liberties and respect for international human rights values, especially since the international war against terrorism was declared. They are concerned about the loss of credibility of some human rights bodies, such as the Commission on Human Rights. And they find troubling the unprecedented diplomatic undermining of new human rights institutions, notably the International Criminal Court.

Torture, one of the gravest human rights violations, is prohibited under all circumstances by international human rights law. But the interpretation of what constitutes torture or ill treatment has been tested since September 2001. Some governments have suggested that exceptional measures may be necessary in the public interest to obtain information from alleged terrorists, raising fears that international prohibition may soften.

There has been a legal and humanitarian uproar over the status of those detained by the United States at Guantanamo Bay in Cuba, following the military intervention in Afghanistan in 2001–02. This situation may create a precedent for treatment of many other individuals in future "non-formal" conflicts, and in so doing weaken the protection of civilians and combatants under international humanitarian and human rights law. Human rights monitors are also concerned about governments in many countries taking advantage of the "war against terrorism" to constrain civil liberties, suppress political criticism or ill-treat those in detention.

On the positive side are two important initiatives: the creation in 2003 of the International Criminal Court, and the effort to create an additional Protocol to the Torture Convention, through the United Nations. The International Criminal Court is part of a wider move to reduce impunity for grave violations of human rights, including torture. The efforts by some countries (Argentina, Peru), sometimes with assistance from the international community, to bring to trial or make accountable military and civilian officials who have been responsible for torture and murder (Rwanda, Serbia, Sierra Leone) also deserve note. The new Protocol to the Torture Convention will create a panel of independent inspectors with authority to visit places of detention and strengthen the protection of detainees.

The number of migrants across the world continues to increase. Refugees, people internally displaced, unregistered or voluntary migrants and people

trafficked or smuggled across borders are often deprived of legal rights and entitlements and frequently subject to exploitation or abuse. In the past, human rights and humanitarian organizations focused most attention on refugees, clearly protected under international law, to the neglect of other migrants, whose rights in law are far less clear. In recent years the international community has generally failed to deal with migration. The European Union and its member countries have established draconian controls that criminalize human movement without controlling it. And political discussion in other countries that have large flows of migrants—including Australia, Japan and the United States—have scarcely been more creative. The Palermo Protocols on trafficking (especially of women and children) and smuggling people are likely to reinforce the trend towards criminalizing migrants.

An important civil society initiative, started in 1998, led to the 2002 Hague Declaration, bringing together a wide range of organizations with support from the Dutch government. The International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families, which finally entered into force on 1 July 2003 after a 12-year ratification process, protects many of the rights of migrants. Not a single industrial country has ratified it.

None of the Millennium Goals can be achieved if people cannot work or earn their living. This highlights the role of companies in creating the larger social and economic environments that people live in. Huge challenges lie ahead in creating jobs for the world's people, especially in developing countries.

In 2000 the International Labour Organization adopted an important Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work. Through a variety of initiatives, including the UN Global Compact and the Extractive Industries' Transparency Initiative (2003), more businesses have acknowledged their responsibility to address human rights issues in their operations. And a few leading multinational enterprises have begun to implement human rights policies across their operations.

But the vast majority of national and international enterprises have not begun to consider their human rights responsibilities systematically. In many countries decent working conditions have not been established, and severe abuses of workers' rights are common. Worldwide, more than 213 trade unionists were killed in 2002 for their activities in support of labour rights. Nearly 1,000 were attacked and beaten. And 30,000 were sacked. The rights of the vast numbers of the world's working poor who make their living in the informal economy are barely part of global discussions on labour rights.

In August 2003 the UN Sub-Commission on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights, a group of government-appointed experts, approved "Norms on the Responsibilities of Transnational Corporations and Other Business Enterprises with Regard to Human Rights". The norms consolidate social and environmental standards and propose periodic monitoring and verification of their application (without defining how). They will now be discussed within the UN system, though some governments and business associations have already expressed strong reservations.

Without effective courts and efficient institutions, people cannot protect themselves against crime, corruption, abusive administration and the

misfortunes of life. Programmes to decentralize government have been introduced in many countries, partly with the objective of improving the accountability of government and the quality of local services. Transparency International, international agencies and governments have taken important steps to curb corruption. The World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the United Nations Development Programme have invested more in improving administrative capacity, including the capacity of justice systems. Many NGOs and public sector unions have also begun to participate in programs to embed government-led reform policies. The progress is wildly uneven.

As a promising avenue to better governance, dozens of countries have adopted new access-to-information laws and more are planning to do so, even in countries long tightly closed. China began to warm to the idea of releasing more information as part of its anticorruption campaign, to fulfil World Trade Organization rules and in response to the SARS epidemic. India and Mexico are struggling with implementing their recent national access-to-information laws.

Overall, a much larger proportion of the world's people are benefiting from transparency norms. But some global leaders in transparency seem to be moving backwards. In the United States the greater secrecy in the wake of the terror attacks in September 2001 continued. Several European countries are finding that their laws guaranteeing citizen access to information conflict with membership in the European Union and North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The implementation of national laws continued to be flawed almost everywhere.

Sources for the statements of goals
Peace and security: United Nations Millennium Declaration. *Poverty:* United Nations Millennium Declaration. *Hunger:* World Food Summit. The Millennium Declaration is somewhat different: it calls for reducing the proportion of the population that suffers from hunger by half by the year 2015. Because populations are growing, reducing the proportion that suffers from hunger can be done even if the absolute number suffering from hunger remains the same (as it is projected to do). It is likely that neither goal will be met. *Education:* Millennium Development Goals. *Health:* United Nations Millennium Declaration. *Environment:* United Nations Framework on Climate Change, 1992, ratified by 186 countries, including all major greenhouse gas–emitting countries; Plan of Action adopted at the World Summit on Sustainable Development, Johannesburg, 2002; and United Nations Millennium Declaration, expanded in the Plan of Action of the World Summit on Sustainable Development to include the sanitation goal. *Human rights:* United Nations Millennium Declaration.

Please see the full report for all data sources.

Expert groups

Peace and security

Chair: Gareth Evans, President, International Crisis Group (Australia)

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Mohamed Sahnoun, Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General for the Sudan (Algeria)

Andrew Mack, Director, Human Security Centre, University of British Columbia (Australia)

Jane Nelson, Director, Business Leadership and Strategy, Prince of Wales International Business Leaders Forum, and Fellow, Center for Business and Government, Harvard University (UK)

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Gene Sperling, Senior Fellow and Director, Center for Universal Education, Council on Foreign Relations (USA)

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Joachim von Braun, Director General, International Food Policy Research Institute (Germany)

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