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# T20 BRASIL SUMMIT





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## Synthesis Report T20 Brasil Summit

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## Introduction

On November 11 and 12, 2024, researchers, academics, policymakers, and members of the G20 community gathered at Rio de Janeiro's Itamaraty Palace to participate in the T20 Brasil Summit, held just one week before the G20 Leaders' Summit. The event, which marked the conclusion of this year's edition of one of the G20's most relevant civil society engagement groups, celebrated the work conducted by the six thematic Task Forces and Advisory Councils since December 2023 and addressed their efforts to positively influence and subsidize the G20 process during the Brazilian Presidency.

T20 Brasil structured its work around six topics, mostly aligned with the Brazilian Presidency's key priorities, putting forward recommendations and implementation strategies that reflect the collective work of 179 international institutions. Building on the legacies of T20 Indonesia and T20 India, T20 Brasil delivered 40 policy recommendations and 14 implementation roadmaps to the G20 process, demonstrating the robustness of civil society engagement and capacity to subsidize the G20 process in Brazil, South Africa, and beyond.

The early delivery of the Communiqué in July allowed the T20 Brasil community to propose an innovative focus on the development of implementation strategies during the second semester of 2024. This approach seeks to move beyond the consensus about what policy measures should be advanced by the G20 and begin to detail how these measures should be taken, by whom, in which fora, with which associated costs and trade-offs, etc. These discussions were also at the center of the T20 Brasil Summit, which brought together think tanks, multilateral organizations and decision makers, seeking to bridge the gaps between policy formulation and implementation. The encounter was organized in a roundtable format with the open participation of all invitees and each T20 Task Force had its own dedicated breakout session to discuss the main recommendations related to its focus theme.

The T20 Brasil Summit was attended by more than 175 guests representing 115 different institutions from 27 countries on 4 continents. This report seeks to synthesize and highlight the main outcomes of the discussions held in each of the task force's breakout sessions and the closing panels that sought to reflect on the successive Global South presidencies and introduce South Africa's leadership of the forum, culminating in the official handover ceremony that marked the end of T20 Brasil. This report also hopes to subsidize the continued work of T20 in South Africa.

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## Task Force 01: Fighting inequalities, poverty and hunger

by *Florencia Lorenzo, Tax Justice Network*

**Moderator:** Gala Diaz Langou, Center for the Implementation of Public Policies Promoting Equity and Growth (CIPPEC), Task Force 01 Lead Co-chair

**Keynote Speaker Policy Recommendations (KSPR):** Margo Thomas, Women's Economic Imperative (WEI)

**Keynote Speaker Policy Implementation (KSPI):** Jurema Werneck, Amnesty International

**Breakout Session Objective:** The session focused on revisiting taskforce objectives and addressing the challenges tied to their implementation, especially within the context of a global polycrisis. Participants examined initial recommendations and discussed how they could confront intersecting crises in hunger, poverty, and inequality. Core recommendations included:

1. Strengthening multilateral cooperation via the Global Alliance Against Hunger and Poverty.
2. Bolstering social protection systems to tackle poverty, inequality, and climate change.
3. Using progressive fiscal policy to fight poverty, inequality, and social exclusion.
4. Ensuring universal health coverage in developing regions to address unequal healthcare access and prevent future pandemics.
5. Supporting a global initiative on data to quantify systemic inequalities.

**Margo Thomas (Women's Economic Imperative):** It's essential to focus on these issues given the current context. The U.S. election has significant implications for existing global challenges. In our wrap-up sections, we need to recognize the excellent contributions made throughout this process. We must shift from "thinking" to "doing," holding firm in our goals amid the geopolitical tensions between the West, East, and other regions. Rather than merely making recommendations, we should frame the discussion on inequality, hunger, and poverty within the broader context of human security.

Human security, according to the Tavanti framework, includes four key components:

- Freedom from Want: Ensuring basic needs are met.
- Freedom from Vulnerability: Addressing insecurity, especially amid multiple crises like COVID-19 and climate change.
- Freedom from Fear: Protecting personal, community, and national security, with an awareness of new risks, including digital threats.

- Freedom from Shame: Encouraging public engagement and active participation in diverse communities.

Our argument should emphasize that security is mutual—"my security depends on your security." This issue is personal, not just intellectual. The solutions and actions we take impact us on a personal level.

Drawing from experience at the World Bank, the international development sector often divides the world into those who "need help" and those who "do not." Meanwhile, 200 individuals control 70% of the world's wealth, an unsustainable situation that could lead to significant social unrest. We need to reposition our message so that political leaders see alignment between our objectives and their own strategic interests. Leaders operate on political calculus, and they may act to build political capital if they recognize it serves their objectives.

This moment of multiple crises calls for reaffirming the Declaration of Human Rights on all fronts, reminding everyone of its significance for humanity

Voters have become increasingly individualistic. However, the T20 has clarity on the necessary actions to address this. We must recognize that, while political groups may pursue self-interest, mutual vulnerability is an inescapable reality. We need to map out the infrastructure of inequality to identify precise solutions and improve measurement tools to ensure accountability at all levels. Recognizing that we can't absolve ourselves from responsibility, the question becomes: what actions will we take personally? Will we mobilize our personal and professional networks? There is a significant role each of us can play, and this is a real challenge. Finally, we must reaffirm our commitment to core values in the face of these challenges.

**Jurema Werneck (Amnesty International):** Acknowledge and thank the task force for raising this issue at a crucial moment on the global agenda. Amnesty International's representative, a key voice for speaking truth to power, emphasizes Amnesty's ongoing commitment to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. World leaders and the G20 have repeatedly failed to uphold human rights for all due to a persistent lack of political will. Effective implementation requires understanding today's polycrisis, which disproportionately affects minorities. Our challenge is to find strategies that place accountability directly on the shoulders of leaders.

The task force's findings are strong, but meaningful action requires more power behind them. Our primary objective is to amplify the voices of the people in this process. Over the past decade, Amnesty has sought to evolve into a platform for diverse voices and movements, especially those that are often unheard. With its seat at the table, Amnesty strives to ensure that marginalized voices are part of global conversations. The recent U.S. election sends a powerful message: traditional politicians are losing ground to individualistic actors who seek to maintain wealth and reinforce the status quo without a vision for the future.

Implementation challenges aren't about generating new ideas or proposals but about obtaining and sharing power broadly. The way forward is to bring people into key forums and ensure their sustained presence, especially women, children, Afro-descendants, LGBTQ+ communities, and other marginalized groups. How do we convince leaders to

listen? By amplifying their voices ourselves, opening our platforms, and rethinking our strategies for creating change.

Although we may be right about the solutions, the challenge lies in “passing the microphone”. The growing anger signals that no other path is viable. While we have the knowledge and tools, we lack the people's voices in these spaces. Leaders may agree on diagnostics and solutions, but real pressure builds only when these voices are present. After more than 70 years since the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, global leadership has yet to deliver on its promise.

### Other discussion points:

#### 1. Human Rights and Informal Labor:

- Several participants highlighted the need for the G20 to emphasize human rights, including cultural and economic rights, particularly for informal workers. With 62% of the global population working informally, these workers often lack social protections, making them especially vulnerable during crises like COVID-19. This issue affects both developing and developed countries, where corporate lobbying often weakens workers' rights (e.g., the California Uber case). Informal work environments also contribute to the rise of right-wing politics, creating a challenging socio-political context, and may indeed weaken solidarity.

#### 2. Debates about strategies and methodology:

- There was an important discussion on the strategy and the methodology. While some participants argued there is a need to frame agenda as “smart” or responding to self-interest, several others were suspicious on whether this is a self-defeating strategy. Luiza Nassif argued for adopting more radical stances in global discussions, moving away from rhetoric that dilutes core values. She argued for instance for a “care economy” that focuses on societal well-being and emancipation rather than simply integrating more women into the workforce.
- In this regard, some participants need to create an “aspirational” movement that resonates with marginalized groups was raised, noting that if most people are engaged in the informal sector, it shouldn't be viewed as “informal.” Shifting societal values from individual wealth (e.g., Elon Musk's influence) toward collective well-being was recommended as a strategic engagement approach.

#### 3. Methodology and Political Will:

- There is a strong call for more effective methodologies to enact change. Some participants pointed out the lack of resources and power dedicated to ensuring a secure future for all, even as crises deepen. They underscored the need for better coordination across global forums (e.g., COP, World Development Summit) and a renewed commitment to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

#### 4. Next Frontiers in Social Policy:

- One participant asked what the next frontiers in social policy would be, that is, a pressing policy which addressed the pressing needs of our times. Pressing issues raised included care for aging population, mental health, protection of health against pandemics, among others. Some emphasized

the need to keep healthcare a priority, especially considering the evolving landscape of health threats and policies, and that public health systems are crucial for this. Several participants highlighted the crucial role of progressive taxation both to tackle inequalities but also to fund other resources. Important discussions on the role of reparations, and its intersection with both in-and cross-country inequalities. Participant also noted the need to connect the right of extremism of the global north with poverty and inequality in the global south. The importance of tackling illicit financial flows out of Africa was also noted.

#### **5. Addressing Inequality and Racial Justice:**

- Several speakers emphasized structural racial and economic inequalities and the need to protect progressive policies from political changes. They also discussed the territorial nature of poverty and inequality, and the importance of addressing inequalities within the tax system to combat neo-imperial and neo-extractive practices.

#### **6. Fiscal Reform and Progressive Taxation:**

- Calls for progressive taxation were linked to addressing inequality rather than simply generating revenue. There was debate over whether countries need clarity on how to allocate resources in alignment with human rights, and whether a global wealth tax and progressive fiscal policies should be introduced.

#### **7. Solidarity and Intergenerational Responsibility:**

- Speakers spoke about the importance of discussing and promoting intergenerational solidarity, as people often resist sharing resources across generations. Discussions on pension reforms have faced increasingly individualistic voters. In addition, speakers also tied this to historical contexts, such as colonial legacies, and emphasized that policies addressing debt distress and job creation should be framed in terms of reparations.

#### **8. Call for Action and Accountability:**

- Participants agreed on the need to move beyond discussions and issue actionable, enforceable policies. Margo Genario emphasized the necessity of grassroots outreach, and Jurema concluded by noting that no single policy will resolve all issues. She called for a deeper understanding of inequality's structural causes and for a multidimensional response, prioritizing individual empowerment.



## Task Force 02: Sustainable climate action and inclusive just energy transitions

by *Beatriz Mattos, Plataforma CIPÓ*  
*Vitória González, Plataforma CIPÓ*

**Moderator:** Damien Barchiche, Institute for Sustainable Development and International Relations (IDDRI), Task Force 02 Lead Co-chair

**Keynote Speaker Policy Recommendations (KSPR):** Clarissa Lins, Catavento and CEBRI

**Keynote Speaker Policy Implementation (KSPI):** Claudia Prates, Brazilian Development Bank (BNDES)

**Damien Barchiche (IDDRI):** Damien introduced the session and provided an overview of the task force's main recommendations, which focused on supporting global mobilization against climate change and informing the G20 working groups related to sustainable finance, energy transition, infrastructure, and climate resilience.

**Clarissa Lins (Catavento):** Clarissa recalls the data provided by the UN's Emissions Gap Report that reveals that global greenhouse gas emissions hit a record 57.1 GtCO<sub>2</sub>e in 2023, driven primarily by energy production, which accounts for 70% of emissions. She stressed that while global energy investments are growing, they remain concentrated in specific regions and technologies, necessitating a broader and more diversified financial approach to accelerate the energy transition. CEBRI, in collaboration with Catavento, provided recommendations to the G20 Energy Transition Working Group, focusing on accelerating financing and developing sustainable fuel solutions for hard-to-abate industries. Recommendations on Accelerating financing for energy transition include: 1. *Amplify and de-risk energy transition investments in emerging Economies to foster the mobilization of private capital;* 2. *Improve the domestic business environment to mitigate risk perception through strengthened institutions, enhanced predictability, and comprehensive long-term energy planning;* 3. *Promote multi-stakeholder platform that could foster dialogue and collaboration.* Recommendations on exploring innovative solutions for sustainable fuels, mainly to decarbonize hard to abate industries include: 1. *Acknowledge the importance of sustainable fuels as a key component of a decarbonized energy system;* 2. *Foster consensus to overcome the challenges hindering the scale-up of the sustainable fuel markets;* 3. *Support regulatory and market-based mechanisms to efficiently promote sustainable fuels.*

**Claudia Prates (BNDES):** Claudia emphasized BNDES's commitment to supporting Brazil's climate transition by employing de-risking strategies to attract capital. She highlighted the Climate Fund, which allocates \$100 million annually for green projects, and underscored the need to leverage additional capital to address the scale of investment required. In collaboration with the Brazilian government, BNDES developed a platform to connect Brazilian climate transition projects with international financing. The platform focuses on three main areas: 1) Nature-Based Solutions for reforestation and biodiversity projects; 2) Industry; and 3) Energy transition. She also emphasized that BNDES provides concessional funding through blended finance mechanisms to support technologies requiring such capital. Given Brazil's emissions profile, which is significantly different



from the global average, she stressed that BNDES's primary focus is combating deforestation and advancing Nature-Based Solutions.

**Letícia Andrade (Equinor):** Letícia's remarks focused on three main aspects encompassed by TF2's work: energy transition, the importance of a people-centric approach, and transparency. She advocated for a holistic approach to energy transition and decarbonization to prevent energy disruptions that could negatively impact the economy and society. Letícia highlighted the risks of transitioning too fast without ensuring energy stability, as seen in Germany, while also cautioning about transitioning too slowly. She emphasized that the energy transition involves significant tradeoffs, requiring new technologies, value chains, and strong policy leadership, and highlighted human rights, sustainable supply chains and strong community partnerships for long-term success. Finally, she argued that transparency is essential for building trust and good governance by promoting accountability and enabling decision-making to be scrutinized. Letícia concluded that a successful energy transition must consider its impact on people and nature, ensuring that operations are carried out with respect for human rights and biodiversity.

**Nicholas Buchoud (Asian Development Bank Institute):** Nicholas highlighted the successful efforts to connect T20 with other engagement groups to foster dialogue. He pointed out significant funding gaps for climate adaptation and mitigation, with estimates suggesting that Asia-Pacific alone will require \$104–\$130 billion annually by 2030, and globally, developing countries may need nearly \$2 trillion by the same year. Nicholas warned against the shift from multilateral to bilateral approaches, urging think tanks to focus on building bridges rather than reinforcing divides. He emphasized their responsibility to identify and strengthen areas of collaboration, inform decision-making, and integrate science and policymaking to find effective solutions for interconnected global challenges. Finally, he stressed that while the T20's legitimacy and impact have grown, it must continue to evolve and foster collaboration to tackle unresolved challenges.

**Francesco Grillo (Vision Think Tank):** Francesco highlighted the challenges in addressing energy transition and climate finance, stressing the need for streamlined multilateral financial instruments. He highlighted the challenges in accurately assessing costs and argued that climate finance is impeded by the existence of 35 multilateral instruments, which collectively mobilize only \$13 billion annually – falling significantly short of the trillions required. A key recommendation was to consolidate these instruments to improve visibility and effectiveness in mobilizing funds. He also suggested reopening discussions to develop more actionable solutions to loss and damage, proposing a mechanism where all countries contribute to the fund proportionate to their emissions and GDP, creating a more equitable system that includes all countries and regions. Finally, he cautioned against dividing countries into “good” and “bad” actors, emphasizing the complexity of global dynamics and advocating for cooperative, inclusive solutions.

**Yaroslav Malek (University College London):** Yaroslav highlighted significant disparities in the allocation of private climate finance, not only between OECD and non-OECD countries but also within middle-income countries, with most private climate finance concentrated in a few major emerging economies. This creates a path dependency

and leaves other developing countries underfunded and overlooked. He also warned that while blended finance has not lived up to its promise, often subsidizing projects that would have proceeded regardless, resulting in privatized benefits at public expense, international public finance has low leverage and an over-reliance on lending, which exacerbates debt crises in developing countries. To avoid debt traps, he defended that concessional finance (e.g., grants or interest-free loans) should target early-stage market formation, focusing on high-impact sectors. Once markets mature, concessional finance should shift to more efficient instruments like partial guarantees, ensuring better risk-sharing. He stressed that partial guarantees, effective in other development finance areas, have been underutilized in climate finance due to the dominance of lending instruments. Guarantees enable risk-sharing and can mobilize significant private capital with minimal public expenditure. However, their use is limited by institutional inertia and a lack of financial expertise among grant-focused agencies. So he proposed creating a global guarantee institution, funded through broad participation, including non-OECD countries, to enhance the efficiency of international public finance. It could operate independently or alongside existing development agencies, offering capital top-ups or direct guarantees to support renewable energy deployment. He also suggested that gas and energy companies, particularly publicly owned ones, adopt development agency models to establish funding mechanisms for renewable energy projects, leveraging low default rates and high credit ratings.

**Ignacio Lara (Asuntos del Sur):** Ignacio highlighted a gap in TF2's policy briefs on human rights – leading Asuntos del Sur, E + Energy Institution, and IDRC to organize a side event focused on integrating human rights into climate and energy transitions discussions. With contributions from over 20 organizations, the event's outcome document called for the inclusion of human rights in the climate agenda and invited South African organizations to join the initiative in the upcoming T20 South Africa process.

**Vitória Gonzalez (Plataforma CIPÓ):** Vitória highlighted TF2's collaboration with civil society organizations to develop policy recommendations aimed at strengthening the G20's climate ambition ahead of COP30, resulting in the T20-C20 Joint Declaration. The recommendations focus on urgent structural reforms in global governance to ensure the means of implementation for climate action in line with the Paris Agreement. She emphasized the critical importance of addressing this issue, highlighting that the stakes are a matter of life or death in the face of the current climate emergency. Key proposals include advancing sovereign debt relief for developing countries, defining climate finance as concessional and grant-based, reallocating fossil fuel subsidies for community-driven energy projects, establishing a G20 Permanent Climate Action Body, enhancing synergies between IFIs and the UNFCCC, and supporting balanced approaches to climate mitigation and adaptation.

**Fatih Yilmaz (King Abdullah Petroleum Studies and Research Center):** Fatih highlighted that KAPSARC developed a Net Zero Focus Index to track 125 countries across 40 indicators, aiming to evaluate performance and improve climate actions through the presentation of implementation roadmaps. Preliminary results reveal challenges such as limited renewable energy in developing countries and insufficient investment in hard-to-abate sector technologies, with only 18-20 countries making significant progress. Gaps in finance, technology, and policy remain, particularly between the Global North and South. He and the co-authors propose a tiered strategy for financial flows, with emerging

markets with relatively developed financial institutions mobilizing private financing and low-income countries receiving concessional financing, grants, and blended finance from mechanisms like the Green Climate Fund to accelerate progress and address urgent needs.

**Milena Megre (E+ Energy Transition Institute):** Milena emphasized the importance of a people-centered approach in energy policy, advocating for the integration of economic value with climate goals to overcome resistance to decarbonization. She highlighted the need to align decarbonization with economic incentives to gain stakeholder support and argued that think tanks play a key role in identifying opportunities for industries to decarbonize while maintaining economic value. Using the Brazil-Germany case study, she illustrated how North-South collaborations can offer specific solutions for hard-to-abate industries like iron and steel. She stressed that transforming the entire industrial ecosystem, rather than just investing in renewables, is essential for decarbonization, and concluded calling for comprehensive strategies to achieve environmental sustainability and economic growth.

**Friederike K. Strub (Recourse):** Friederike raised concerns about the lack of integration between the TF recommendations and existing global policy processes. She noted that the recommendations fail to reference key frameworks and initiatives, such as the UNFCCC discussions, the Network for Greening the Financial System, and the UN Tax Framework. Additionally, the recommendations on MDBs reform overlook existing projects like the Roadmap initiative, which already includes actionable specifics. To enhance T20 impact, she suggested making explicit connections to ongoing discussions and previous G20/T20 commitments, analyzing what is working, identifying gaps, and proposing improvements. She argued that the T20 should avoid reiterating past recommendations without holding stakeholders accountable and instead focus on realistic, one-year objectives aligned with current policy processes.

**Beatriz Nofal (Argentina G20 Sherpa):** Beatriz raised three key points and corresponding recommendations: she emphasized that G20 leaders should reaffirm the commitment of developed countries to contribute \$100 billion annually for climate action in emerging and developing countries by 2025, a pledge at risk of being overlooked. She also highlighted that protectionism, particularly in industrial policies and WTO agricultural trade agreements, remains a barrier to sustainable fuel development and equitable global trade, and urged G20 leaders to combat it. Finally, she pointed out that current energy transition roadmaps overlook the spatial dimension and recommended that the G20 incorporate upstream spatial planning into energy transition strategies to ensure infrastructure projects, such as wind and solar farms, are developed in alignment with biodiversity conservation and natural capital protection.

**Igor Makarov (High School of Economics in Moscow):** Igor proposed adjusting the current climate change regime by calculating and disclosing emissions based on consumption alongside traditional production-based emissions accounts. He warned that achieving carbon neutrality is meaningless if a country continues to consume carbon-intensive goods produced elsewhere and emphasized that the aim is not just to assign responsibility for emissions, but to create a more comprehensive regulatory framework that reflects the global interconnectedness of production and consumption. He argued that transitioning to consumption-based emissions accounting could foster dialogue between exporters and importers of carbon-intensive goods, bridge gaps in climate finance and

provide the right incentives to reduce emissions. By integrating this approach, the G20 could drive more meaningful climate action, addressing consumption as a key driver of rising emissions and contributing to a more inclusive and fair global climate change regime.

## Key Takeaways

1. Amplify and de-risk energy transition investments in emerging economies by improving the domestic business environment, strengthening institutions, and implementing comprehensive long-term energy planning;
2. Foster consensus to overcome the challenges hindering the scale-up of sustainable fuel markets, and support regulatory and market-based mechanisms to effectively promote sustainable fuels;
3. Consolidate and streamline multilateral climate finance instruments to enhance effectiveness in mobilizing funds;
4. Develop a mechanism to facilitate contributions to the Loss and Damage Fund, based on criteria such as emissions and GDP;
5. Establish a global guarantee institution, with broad participation including non-OECD countries, to improve international public finance efficiency;
6. Enhance the integration of human rights into climate and energy transition discussions and policy initiatives;
7. Establish a G20 Permanent Climate Action Body to lead a global effort to phase out fossil fuels and support the implementation of national climate strategies aligned with a 1.5°C scenario;
8. Advance the definition of climate finance as concessional and grant-based, excluding market-rate loans, while promoting balanced resources for both mitigation and adaptation efforts;
9. Ensure a people-centered energy policy that integrates economic value with climate goals to overcome resistance to decarbonization and build broad stakeholder support;
10. Adopt a tiered financial strategy, with emerging markets mobilizing private capital and low-income countries receiving concessional financing and grants to address urgent climate needs;
11. Better integrate T20 recommendations with existing global policy processes, avoid reiterating past commitments without holding stakeholders accountable, and focus on realistic, one-year objectives to effectively shape the G20 agenda;
12. G20 leaders should reaffirm the developed countries' commitment to contributing \$100 billion annually for climate action in emerging and developing countries by 2025;
13. The G20 leaders should pledge to combat all forms of protectionism, including long standing practices like agricultural trade barriers under WTO Article 20 and export subsidies, as well as new forms tied to industrial policies;
14. The G20 should incorporate upstream spatial planning into energy transition strategies to ensure infrastructure projects are developed in harmony with biodiversity conservation and natural capital protection;
15. Adopt a dual emissions methodology, combining consumption-based and production-based accounting, to create a more inclusive and effective regulatory framework that reflects global interconnectedness and encourages emission reductions for a fair and effective climate change regime.

## Task Force 03: Reforming the international financial architecture

by Lucas Carames, BRICS Policy Center

**Moderator:** Ana Saggiaro Garcia, Federal Rural University of Rio de Janeiro, BRICS Policy Center, Task-Force 03 Lead Co-chair

**Keynote Speaker Policy Recommendations (KSPR):** Ulrich Volz, SOAS University of London

**Keynote Speaker Policy Implementation (KSPI):** Pablo Moreno, Independent Evaluation Office of the International Monetary Fund (IEO IMF)

### Moderator main points

Ana Garcia presented and highlighted the collective work done by Task Force 03 throughout the T20 Brasil, presenting the five sub-themes on reforming the international financial architecture and the key recommendations developed in each of them. Ana also highlighted the Convergence Dialogue initiative, which produced a joint statement between the T20 and C20 Task Forces on the IFA, digitalisation and the climate agenda.

The third TF03 recommendation, “Improve the G20 Common Framework”, was highlighted as the main topic for discussion in the breakout session, given the urgent debt crisis facing developing countries and the fact that the next T20 presidency will be held by South Africa.

### Keynote Speaker Policy Recommendation main points

Ulrich Volz began by recognising the debt crisis facing developing countries and the cycle of debt, climate change and underinvestment in which these economies find themselves. He noted that many developing countries are in a fiscally constrained position where they spend more on debt servicing than on social development and climate action, thus fuelling a vicious cycle of underinvestment and missed development goals. The situation has been further complicated by shocks from the COVID-19 pandemic, the Russian invasion of Ukraine and the higher interest rate environment. He also emphasised that we are facing a debt crisis, not just a liquidity crisis.

He then expressed the inadequacy of the Common Framework (CF) in dealing with the crisis. Although the CF has brought many creditors to the table, it has not delivered real debt relief, with only four countries having entered the programme so far, and the programme being characterised by a very slow process, which is putting off countries that are worried about entering an IMF programme without the expectation of significant debt relief. So there is a need for a more ambitious reform of the debt sustainability analysis (DSA) that really takes into account climate risk, critical spending needs in areas such as climate resilience, but also critical social spending. It is also important to have stakeholders at the table, such as MDBs and bondholders. The G20 should push the IMF to be more ambitious in its reform, moving away from a case-by-case approach to a holistic approach to effectively provide debt relief where it is needed.



## Keynote Speaker Policy on Implementation main points

To address the implementation challenges, Pablo Moreno began by identifying three challenges, three key needs and three solutions:

### Challenges:

1. Cooperation for global public goods;
2. Geopolitical fragmentation;
3. Polarisation within countries with pendulum shifts.

### Needs:

1. Cooperative solutions;
2. Significant amount of resources to be mobilised;
3. Urgent challenges;

### Solutions:

1. It needs to be political;
2. We need to reduce the value debate and focus on the issues that really affect global sustainability;
3. Multilateralism may be the first best option, but we may have to settle for second best solutions such as pluralism or 'coalitions of the willing'.

Regarding the CF limits raised by Ulrich Volz, he recalled that the IMF is making progress in the CF and in the GSDT (Global Sovereign Debt Roundtable). It may not be enough, but at least it is bringing the right policymakers to the table and has started to reform the DSA. Surcharges have also been raised.

As for SDRs, there is more of an accounting issue to allow them to be recycled through development banks, which would be an easier solution than changing the Fund's Articles of Agreement, as proposed in the recommendations. However, the issue of governance is key and needs to be reformed in order for the IMF to become a more legitimate institution.

His main points were to highlight the catalytic role that the IMF can play and the initiatives to improve the existing mechanisms, focusing on solutions rather than principle-based discussions and recommendations.

## Open Discussion

Artem Levenkov highlighted two challenges for the Global Financial Safety Net: uneven geographical coverage and insufficient coordination between different elements of the GFSN. The absence of the Financial Stability Mechanism for Africa leaves indebted African countries with less capacity than other regions to deal with debt, distress and other challenges. Regarding the MDBs' local currency lending, Artem expressed the importance of this policy in reducing exchange rate risks, financial distress and debt burden in the event of currency depreciation. He also mentioned the recent policy of the New Development Bank to increase the share of local currency lending to 30% of the total funding of borrowing members, and mentioned that the increase in local currency lending should be accompanied by an adaptation of the MDBs' business models and risk management. Increased local currency lending could deepen the liquidity of domestic markets. Central bank liquidity could also be another resource for this implementation by providing access to MDBs and carrying additional loans on their balance sheets.





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Ana raised questions about the point of debt for health swaps and their limitations in achieving a solution to the debt problem, as well as what should be the most pressing debt issues for the South African T20 presidency.

Cristian Sabatini stressed the importance of dealing with sanctions as they prolong suffering and hinder the ability of sanctioned countries to transition to semi-market economies.

Rodolfo Bejarano raised the question of how to finance our countries without going into more debt. The issuance of SDRs in 2021 was important to face the pandemic and its consequences. He stressed the possibility of new SDR issues by the IMF, at least for 650 hundred billion dollars, and called on the IMF to reform the SDR to address the liability-equity issue.

Florencia Lorenzo welcomed the great advance in transparency by the creation of the UNFCITC and called actors that are engaged in the process to keep their governments accountable to what are they doing in that forum.

Ananya Kumar raised the question of how do you address the sort of serious liquidity and network effect loss and high cost of transacting in local currencies.

Pablo Nemiña welcomed the IMF's Resilience and Sustainability Trust (RST), which has created a new financing line for green measures, but with a limited funding ceiling. He then made three proposals: 1. Increase the funding available to the Resilience and Sustainability Trust; 2. Remove the requirement for the RST to have a regular upper tranche arrangement and consider an updated Article Four as a sufficient condition for the RST lending facility. 3. Convene the UNFCCC and regional partners to help design the reform measures in the programme.

Haihong Gao raised a question about the IMF's mandate and emphasised the importance of local currency measures to make indebted countries less sensitive to the policy cycle of major central banks.

Jan Yves Remy, SRC-UWI - Shridath Ramphal Centre for International Trade Law, Policy and Services, University of West Indies, and WTO Chair (Barbados), raised the issue of the link between international finance and international trade. How do we get reform in these institutions and how do we get the G20 to be successful in these reforms towards good governance?

Gülbin Sahinbeyoglu, Director of TEPAC, stressed the importance of DSA reform and the role that the private sector must play, in particular credit rating agencies (CRAs), whose frameworks and assessments must be revised and made more transparent.

Milena Megrè emphasised that there is room for smart and strategic investments between Global North and Global South countries, such as the Brazil-Germany partnership, which uses Brazilian infrastructure to decarbonise Germany.

Beatriz Nofal, from the Argentine Council for International Relations, took up the issue of debt for climate or health swaps. She defended these instruments as another tool to offer debt solutions, not the only or main tool. High-level G20 principles should be developed around these instruments, and it might also be interesting for the South African presidency to discuss their inclusion in the CF and debt restructuring process.

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Venkatachalam Anbumozhi, from the Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia, raised the point that SDG financing cannot rely solely on public institutions, and that it is very important to discuss how we can mobilise private finance for the SDGs, which requires knowing their position and offering de-risking mechanisms. A point he felt was missing from the discussions.

Friederike Strub highlighted the gap between ambition and reality in terms of policy proposals, and the importance not only of the technical content of the proposal, but of the political process that it entails and the recommitment to multilateralism that it proposes.

Iyabo Masha raised the issue of how the interest rate of the SDR is determined. Because it is based on a basket of five IRs of major economies, it creates macroeconomic instability for developing countries whose external environment is moving against them through no fault of their own domestic policies. This is an issue that T20 South Africa could address. On international tax reform, she recognised that the challenges were political rather than technical, and that the recommendation on the taxation of high-net-worth individuals was the one on which she saw the most resistance. The other corporate tax reforms could improve on the OECD framework and therefore be more acceptable than the one on HNWI taxation.

## Key Takeaways

As for debt-for-health swaps, Ulrich Volz mentioned that they can be useful instruments, but they are not useful for countries with significant debt problems. They lack transparency, often involve high transaction costs, high fees for financial providers and are more useful for countries with liquidity problems, not for those in need of comprehensive debt relief.

As for the CF reform, Volz defended a systemic way of dealing with the debt crisis, a holistic approach rather than country-by-country measures. He also mentioned that the main problem is not a technical one, but a political one. The big shareholders don't want to see these results, so we may continue to talk about bridging proposals to improve liquidity, as has been suggested, but without addressing the real problem.

Pablo Moreno argued that the South African presidency should focus on implementing the commitments that had been discussed but not taken forward. Regarding SDRs, he mentioned that we should find ways to use SDRs that are not used in central banks by changing their legal nature. On tax issues, he recognised the need for the major tax jurisdictions to agree, so that the G20 or the OECD could prove more effective in pushing for real reform than the UN.

Ana Garcia also emphasised that we must not lose the opportunity to take the debt issue to the South African T20 and G20 presidencies.

## Task Force 04: Trade and investment for sustainable and inclusive growth

by *Fernando Ribeiro, Institute for Applied Economic Research (Ipea)*

**Moderator:** Vera Thorstensen, Getulio Vargas Foundation (FGV), Task Force 04 Lead Co-chair

**Keynote Speaker - Policy Recommendations (KSPR):** Otaviano Canuto, Policy Center for the New South (PCNS)

**Keynote Speaker Policy Implementation (KSPI):** Jan Yves Remy, Shridath Ramphal Centre (SRC)

Task Force 04 of T20 2024 was dedicated to formulating policy recommendations that can mitigate these impacts and leverage trade and investment mechanisms to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) outlined in the 2030 Agenda. TF04 intends to put forward innovative ideas not only for the Trade and Investment Working Group, but also for the Working Groups on Agriculture, on Climate and Environmental Sustainability, on Women's Empowerment, on Digital Economy, and on Employment in the Sherpa Track, as well as for the Global Alliance against Hunger and Poverty.

Professor Vera Thorstensen introduced the session providing a brief context of the current situation of international trade and investment, remembering that we're now living in a world that's very different from that we were used to a few years ago. She highlighted that economics and geopolitics are much more intertwined, with the prevalence of what's been named "geoeconomics". An example is the weaponization of instruments of trade and investment, especially by developed countries, so that discussions and policies related to these issues are more and more being driven by geopolitical considerations, rather than simply by economic interests. One consequence is the current reconfiguration of global value chains.

In such a context, the more powerful countries are more prone to press the others to simply accept and adapt to new instruments and new requirements so as to continue to conduct trade flows and to receive investments. Many of these instruments and requirements are not in accordance with multilateral rules and are commonly justified by environmental concerns or by national security reasons. The multilateral trade system, with the WTO at its center, is being increasingly eroded, which is a big problem for developing and least developed countries.

She also highlighted the increasing division of the world in three big blocs: the developed countries of the west (United States and European Union); the east, orbiting around China; and the rest, that's a majority of countries not aligned with these two major poles and that are the main potential losers of this new order.

She finally called for the G20 to take a firm stance on supporting the multilateral system and work concretely to reinvigorate the World Trade Organization, so that the countries respect the accorded rules, increase the negotiating efforts on crucial issues – like the role of international trade on tackling climate change or the challenges and opportunities opened by digitalization – and reform the WTO in a way that it can be more suitable to face the new realities.

Mr. Otaviano Canuto argued that the globalization process has been suffering a backlash in recent years, with a number of negative shocks that brought a heightened fragmentation of trade flows, with movements that suggests the rise of overlapping or parallel globalizations, differently from we've seen in the last decades. He highlighted that we're living in a "permacrisis" and, in such a context, industrial policies came back as solutions for economic and non-economic challenges that show up.

However, he's optimistic about the future of world trade and investment, seeing the recent developments as a natural movement of reducing the risks related to the traditional globalization process, especially for the operation of global value chains - risks that became clear with the Covid-19 pandemics and the irruption of conflicts like the war in Ukraine.

For this new process to function more smoothly and avoid rising trade frictions, though, some rules and limits must be applied to industrial policies, especially the ones that involve the granting of subsidies and the imposition of protectionist measures. He suggests that subsidies to industrial products should be classified by the WTO according to their distortive effect on trade, like the mechanism currently used to agricultural products that classifies subsidies on three boxes: green (permitted), amber (need to be reduced) and red (forbidden). He also called for the importance for having better data on subsidies and protectionist measures by the WTO, reducing the underreporting levels that we see today.

He also suggests that G20 countries should create a common platform where countries can develop simpler and faster negotiating processes related to subsidies and possible protectionist measures.

Ms. Jan Yves Remy called for the issue of sustainability and trade to take central stage on G20 initiatives and reinforced the role of WTO as the singular primary venue to negotiate this and other issues related to trade and investment. She sees the WTO as a place to share best practices and experiences on sustainability, not only to conduct negotiations, and also the best venue to discuss and establish sustainability principles that must be applied to new agreements. She recognizes, though, that balancing the necessity of growing agriculture production to feed populations with rules and measures to tackle climate change is a huge challenge.

She called attention to the effort currently being made by the Trade and Environmental Sustainability Structured Discussions (TESSD), whose discussions are a good example of what can be achieved in future negotiations in the scope of the WTO. She also stressed that the new wave of subsidies being granted by the countries needs to be disciplined so that they do not create distortions to international trade and also promote sustainable practices in an effective way – for instance, promoting activities related to the bioeconomy.

Other topics that showed up during the discussions conducted on the session are as follows:

- WTO can be a platform on discussions and knowledge on women in trade;
- The need to also fight old and traditional forms of protectionism, especially on agriculture, and to rule the incentives granted for foreign investment;

- G20 must advance discussions to really implement inclusiveness on trade; discuss inclusive trade to combat barriers to disadvantaged groups and enhance the capacities of least developed countries on negotiating inclusiveness;
- The importance of measuring and ruling subsidies, in a way that effectively promote the movement of money from the North to the South;
- The importance of other engagement groups to join the T20 on proposals of implementation, maybe creating a platform for collaboration between these groups;
- The importance of taking advantage of digitalization to promote and diversify the flows of trade and investments, as well as using digital tools to reduce trading costs and enlarge the access of people to traded goods and services;
- The importance of reforming the WTO, including the decision-making process (e.g., enabling plurilateral agreements, incentivizing Joint Statement Initiatives) and reinforcing its role as a community for sharing best practices, not only negotiating treaties.

## Key Takeaways

The key issues discussed in the sessions can be organized in five groups.

**1. New industrial policies and geoeconomics:** We live in a very different context where trade and investment instruments are weaponized for the sake of national interests that go far beyond economic ones. And recent trends show diminished interest for cooperation between countries to avoid the risk that such measures harm the current international trade system. G20 should discuss and establish a basic set of rules to limit the application of measures that restrict or disguise trade and investment flows.

**2. Sustainability and trade:** Climate change is one of the main challenges faced by humankind. Trade and investment flows must adapt to the necessity of tackling this issue in such a way that does not imply protectionism or the reduction of flows. In fact, trade must be seen as an efficient way to help face the environmental challenges. But countries must avoid unilateral measures and try to cooperate to develop sustainable producing practices all around the world, deploying financial, technological and human resources. The G20 have a crucial role to discuss and establish these cooperation mechanisms to leverage sustainable trade, working through multilateral institutions such as the WTO.

**3. Reviving and reforming WTO:** there was a consensus that the WTO is being weakened for many years, part because of increasing unilateralism by the main countries, partly because of problems related to the governance of the institution. WTO is seen as having a crucial role not only to guarantee the smooth functioning of the international trade system but also to discuss and negotiate new issues that impact the trade and investment environment, such as climate change, digitalization, new industrial policies etc. There's no institution more able to confront these challenges.

**4. Inclusiveness and trade:** trade can be a powerful instrument to promote the inclusion of historically disadvantaged groups, such as women, black people, indigenous communities and so on. The G20 should discuss and establish some initiatives devoted to incentivizing the participation of them on international trade activities, what's good not only for combating inequalities but also to take advantage of their knowledge and experience. Also, the interests of these groups must be taken in consideration during the negotiations of new trade agreements.



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**5. Digitalization and trade:** the digital economy offers great business opportunities, including the ones that involve cross-border flows of goods and services. G20 countries should establish more organized discussions related to these opportunities, but also take due account of the problems that digital technologies bring, such as the digital divide.

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## Task Force 05: Inclusive digital transformation

by *Jaqueline Pigatto, Data Privacy Brasil (DPBR)*

**Moderator:** Bruno Bioni, DPBR, Task Force 05 Lead Co-chair

**Keynote Speaker - Policy Recommendations (KSPR):** Bonnita Nyamwire, Pollicy

**Keynote Speaker Policy Implementation (KSPI):** Elaine Ford, Democracia Digital

**Notetaker:** Jaqueline Pigatto, Data Privacy Brasil (DPBR), Deputy Lead Co-chair da TF05

The moderator, Bruno Bioni, opened the session by providing attendees context about Task Force 05 and the data justice approach that has been emphasized since the concept note, underpinning all the work carried out. Following this, Bioni presented the Task Force's five recommendations and highlighted the elements introduced as new contributions to the topics addressed by the Digital Economy Working Group, such as decent work.

Keynote speaker for Policy Recommendations Bonnita Nyamwire presented considerations for the G20 focused on prioritizing infrastructure and standardization, addressing basic needs such as electricity, connectivity, and digital literacy. She emphasized the importance of subsidies for digital devices and drew attention to the working conditions of platform workers.

Nyamwire also addressed one of the Task Force's recommendations on data governance, stressing the need for transparency and public participation, alongside security and privacy measures. In this regard, she prioritized both the inclusion of minorities in these processes and the importance of content localization (as English is not the primary language in many countries and regions). She highlighted the value of collaborating with civil society to create a data resources repository.

As a practical implementation, she suggested mapping civil organizations capable of contributing to data governance hubs and supporting digital inclusion monitoring through assessments and progress reports.

The Keynote Speaker for Policy Implementation, Elaine Ford, presented the work of her organization, Democracia Digital, in Peru, where she highlighted the need for connectivity and public-private partnerships. Ford emphasized that inclusion is essential for sustainable digital transformation and that greater participation of women in the digital field should be encouraged. She also addressed the importance of digital literacy and fostering "digital citizens", underscoring the need to protect privacy and identity.

Furthermore, Ford discussed the impacts of misinformation in areas such as healthcare and elections and addressed the challenges posed by artificial intelligence, particularly with deep fakes. According to her, this requires transparency, accountability, and multistakeholder coordination. Lastly, Ford emphasized the need for diversity in AI, especially in the Latin American context, to ensure the development of unbiased AI training systems.



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The session then opened the floor for comments from the audience. The first comment addressed the UN's Global Digital Compact and the issue of reclaiming control over our data. The same participant discussed the role of platforms (which, according to him, function as governance bodies) and how digital transformation remains largely in the hands of major platforms. They also highlighted the importance of Digital Public Infrastructures being designed based on people's needs to make them truly impactful. Next, former President of Chile and member of the Club de Madrid, Michelle Bachelet, took the microphone, raising issues of intersectionality and the need for different strategies to reach various groups of people. According to Bachelet, the Communiqué does not adequately focus on the most affected minorities, and greater diversity must be included to prevent biases. She also emphasized the importance of digital tools in lifting people out of poverty.

Moderator Bruno Bioni responded to her comments by recalling the São Luís Declaration on Artificial Intelligence, issued by the T20, C20, L20, and W20 engagement groups, which highlights the importance of intersectionality.

Another participant raised the issue of the gender digital divide, highlighting the lack of access for women to devices and the Internet, as well as gender-based violence and the fact that many women lack time to engage with digital services and platforms. The need to develop digital skills and invest in STEM education for women was emphasized, along with addressing the stereotypes that discourage women from pursuing studies in this field.

The next comment addressed geopolitical issues, such as the European Union being sidelined in the competition between China and the United States, which could exacerbate the digital divide. The discussion touched on AI diversity gaps and copyright concerns, highlighting the need to include big tech companies in the conversation and invest in digital literacy and cybersecurity.

Another comment raised points about inclusion and accessibility for people with disabilities. It was noted that there are currently few alternatives to digital platforms, making it urgently necessary to provide accessible digital services, thereby enhancing digital inclusion itself.

Another participant, who was a member of Task Force 05, shared their perspective on data as a public good, emphasizing the need for meaningful digital inclusion. They highlighted the necessity of granular data on groups and usage, such as gender-based divisions. The participant also stressed the importance of global solidarity beyond AI, focusing on fundamental inclusion issues. Additionally, they addressed data governance, pointing to human rights frameworks and economic justice. Finally, they highlighted the challenges for AI and informational integrity.

Digital sovereignty was also a topic addressed by one of the session participants, linking the need for the development of local technologies and regulations that align with the context of the Global South to ensure sovereignty, especially concerning AI. The same speaker pointed out the concentration of data in a few platforms, highlighting the need for open data policies as well as education for AI.

Another comment raised important points about the Sustainable Development Goals and climate change, drawing attention to the environmental harms of digitization. The high

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energy demand for AI was highlighted as a limiting factor for the development of this technology.

A participant offered implementation suggestions for the Task Force's recommendations, particularly the creation of an advisory committee for AI alongside Data20, emphasizing the need for ethical AI governance. They also mentioned the necessity of ongoing dialogue with big tech companies, where the G20 could appoint a tech ambassador. Among other suggestions, they proposed mandatory audits for AI algorithms, transparency and explainability, representative data, cybersecurity for all groups (including women and people with disabilities), as well as concerns about auditing social media algorithms and the climate impact of AI.

Another comment highlighted the need for agendas at different government levels, emphasizing the importance of local governments. In the view of this participant, governments need to change how big tech companies participate in the dialogue. Finally, the discussion also touched on strategic data, such as from national health systems, and the concern with the governance of such personal data.

In the final remarks, Bonnita Nyamwire emphasized the discussions about having big tech companies at the table for the conversation, as well as the points regarding the inclusion of women and people with disabilities in digital transformation. Nyamwire also commented on the disaggregation of data for identities.

## Key Takeaways

As key takeaways, moderator Bruno Bioni highlighted the point raised about intersectionality and the need for policies to address the most affected groups, as well as the ecological perspective that was also brought into the debate. He stressed the importance of considering policies that focus on the power of data, how they enable different services, and how they can help reduce asymmetries and contribute to the reduction of inequalities.

## Task Force 06: Strengthening multilateralism and global governance

by *Guísela Pereira, Southern Voice*

**Moderator:** Philani Mthembu, Institute for Global Dialogue (IGD), Task Force 06  
Lead Co-chair

**Keynote Speaker - Policy Recommendations (KSPR):** Trita Parsi, Quincy Institute  
for Responsible Statecraft

**Keynote Speaker - Policy Implementation (KSPI):** Ambassador Antonio Patriota,  
Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MRE)

The session on “Strengthening multilateralism and global governance”, led by Taskforce 6, discussed the concrete implementation of the taskforce’s recommendations to the G20, as well as the future of the multilateral system in light of deteriorating climatic, economic, and security conditions globally.

The Moderator **Philani Mthembu**, from the Institute for Global Dialogue, opened the session by underlining the changes impacting the effectiveness and efficiency of global governance and the multilateral system. Digitalisation, climate change, and others have accelerated these changes and increasingly hinder decisionmaking. Mindful of this context, Taskforce 6 focused on the role of the G20 in: strengthening multilateralism and UN reform, reforming the WTO, global health, new norms and metrics for international development, and on the role of non-state actors, NGOs and subnational units in multilateral governance. The taskforce also addressed G20 pledges and actions, and the role of Global South voices in global governance and strengthening multilateralism. Mthembu also provided an overview of the taskforce’s five recommendations published in the T20 Communiqué.

The Keynote Speaker for Policy Recommendations **Trita Parsi**, from the Quincy Institute, questioned the popularisation of the “rules-based international order”, arguing it should not be understood as a synonym of international law. Parsi warned that current trends could lead to a more arbitrary, multiorder rather than multipolar world, where countries would not only argue about their interpretation of law but about different sets of law altogether. He also highlighted the need for key reforms to the UN system and for regulations on the use of economic sanctions.

The Keynote Speaker for Policy Implementation, **Ambassador Antonio Patriota**, from the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, pointed to the contradiction between skyrocketing military budgets and nuclear arsenals and insufficient resources to secure a just climate transition, as mentioned previously by Brazilian President Lula da Silva. The Ambassador stressed the role of groups like G20 and T20 in overcoming difficulties of the multilateral system and producing change. He also highlighted the need for shifts in perspectives and discussed the multiple possibilities for the future of multilateralism.

## Key takeaways from keynote speeches

- Parsi noted that investing in a “rules-based international order” will move the governing structure of the world away from law and toward more diffuse, arbitrary rules, fueling great power competition and further threatening multilateralism.
- Reinvestment in a law-centred, UN-centred system is key to a stable transition away from unipolarity, a study by the Quincy Institute that brought together thinkers from 40 countries concluded. The study proposed a UN Security Council reform in line with the Pact of the Future, including:
  1. Expand membership to 23 countries;
  2. Three new permanent seats, representing Asia, Africa, and Latin America.
  3. Possibility of voting NO without invoking a veto.
  4. A veto should be accompanied by at least one other negative vote, not necessarily from a permanent member, in order to block a resolution.
  5. The assembly can overrule a veto with a  $\frac{2}{3}$  majority vote.
  6. Automatic charter reviews every four years.
- Parsi also pointed out that the use of sanctions grows exponentially and unregulated. Norms and standards borrowed from principles of international humanitarian law must be adopted to prevent sanctions from causing suffering to civilian populations. The Quincy Institute proposes the request of an International Court of Justice opinion on the legality of the use of extraterritorial sanctions, particularly those which cut off countries from financial systems. Increased use of this type of sanction will fuel economic instability and insecurity.
- Ambassador Patriota stressed the need for increased awareness and discussion around a systemic tipping point, linked to the continuing violations of vital international law precepts, such as those that deal with coercion regarding the use of force, proportionality and self defence, and international humanitarian law.
- A transition towards a non-unipolar world should not be considered upfront as bringing instability, he said. There are possibilities for increased cooperation, should nations become more responsible and aware of the systemic threat. Unilateralism and disrespect for international law, however, will be a threat to any international order.
- Brazil’s call to action and proposal of a review conference to address anachronisms and strengthen the UN Charter should be heeded. The conference can be convened through a two thirds majority of the General Assembly and is not subject to veto.
- There must be collective responsibility with respect to the environment, including the creation of a body that will deal with environmental issues on a continuing basis, similarly to the Human Rights Council.

Three commentators followed the keynote speakers’ remarks. Donia Kaouach, of Leaders pour la Paix, associated conflicts in Africa to weak governance, corruption and lack of efficient public policies, highlighting that colonial systems weakened the continent’s political leaders and institutions. Kaouach stressed that injecting development resources will not work without political infrastructure and that the world must move away from charity-based ideas of development aid. She expressed that Africa is reaching the end of a political cycle without any serious alternative – a dangerous and explosive situation. Leaders for Peace is working on education and training initiatives to break these cycles,



namely the creation of a university. Without restoring governance, one cannot reach peace.

Francesco Grillo, from Vision Think Tank, underlined that multilateralism's challenge today is to get things done and proposed the reforming of the COP, as climate change can be a topic around which people cooperate. He articulated that grouping countries in macro-regions can streamline global governance, balancing participation with the need to reduce the number of parties at COP so it is more manageable and efficient.

Hussein Kalout, from CEBRI's International Advisory Board, spoke of the need for global governance to effectively address collective challenges in order to have a more secure, stable, and peaceful world order. The UN's functioning depends on the balance of the superpowers, who are the current source of dysfunction, he argued. Thus, expanding Security Council seats changes nothing if the veto power remains. The system's endurance depends on the distribution of power.

Several participants then contributed to the discussion, commenting on the need to strengthen the World Trade Organisation, reform the international financial architecture, commit to the biannual summit proposed by the UN, and streamline discussion and concretely implement policy on climate change. Regarding climate change and finance, a participant highlighted the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities, as well as the need for the integration of sustainability, affordability and accessibility for small and medium sized economies. There was also a call for regional cooperation as a path to fulfill aspirations, as well as foster innovation and experimentation.

There were calls for greater transparency, intergenerational fairness, green innovation, capacity building for a green transition, and improved governance over digital platforms. One participant pointed toward a lack of input from Chinese institutions within the spaces of the T20, calling for more open dialogue.

## Key takeaways

- A number of comments touched upon the need for greater inclusivity within the UN Security Council and beyond. For example, fostering inclusion by expanding membership of the Security Council could increase its legitimacy and, in turn, compliance. This is a key consideration taking into account the lack of compliance mentioned several times throughout the session. Nonetheless, several participants also pointed that a balance must be struck between inclusion and ensuring the effectiveness and manageability of multilateral bodies. Thinking around how to concretely implement greater inclusion is something the T20 could contribute to further in the future.
- Keynote speaker Trita Parsi acknowledged that Security Council reform, while a difficult endeavour, will become increasingly feasible as the multilateral system deteriorates. The looming crisis will provide a more politically conducive environment for change, so it is worthwhile to start laying the groundwork for reform, as the process will take at least five years to complete.
- Ambassador Patriota questioned the consensus rule in decisions regarding topics such as trade, climate, and disarmament. Effectively giving every participant veto power over progress is not justifiable, he argued, given the tremendous challenges





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the world faces today. The Ambassador objected to the idea that expansion makes multilateral bodies unwieldy, arguing democratic rule should be defended at the international level. He mentioned how the expansion of the G7 to G20 generated greater world interest in the debate. He also highlighted the importance of regional representation at the UN Security Council and of including permanent members that are committed to nuclear nonproliferation.

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## Extended Global South troika: lessons learned and priority agendas

### Introduction

This panel explored lessons learned and priorities from the last three G20 and T20 presidencies led by Global South countries – Indonesia, India, and Brazil, and sought to begin exploring South Africa's priorities and agenda for 2025. The discussions highlighted the evolution of the global agenda, interactions among engagement groups, and the building of consensus amidst diverging priorities.

### Key Topics Discussed

#### G20 Presidency Priorities:

- **Indonesia (2022):**

Indonesia's presidency focused on global health infrastructure as an emerging priority following the pandemic. The creation of the Pandemic Fund aimed to bolster prevention and response to health emergencies. Food security also took center stage against the backdrop of geopolitical crises, such as the war in Ukraine, underscoring the need for international collaboration to address inequalities in food supply and agricultural resources.

Taking into account these thematic priorities, T20 Indonesia also sought to:

1. Enhance its cooperation with other engagement groups and with the G20 itself;
2. Highlight and develop the collaboration between T20 and T7, which was being presided by Germany;
3. Conduct discussions around implementation following the delivery of the Communiqué.

- **India (2023):**

India's leadership emphasized the inclusion of the Global South and Global South agendas in the G and T20, culminating in the African Union's entry into the G20. The presidency also promoted the Lifestyle for Environment (LiFE) initiative, advocating practical, accessible solutions for a green transition. Additionally, India advanced discussions on clean energy financing and strategies to reduce economic disparities among nations.

T20 India, while taking on the LiFE perspective to sustainability, gave continuity to agendas inherited from previous T20s. For example, the health agenda inherited from T20 Indonesia was continued inside its SDG Task Force – an example of the intersectionality of themes discussed in the engagement group.

- **Brazil (2024):**

Brazil's agenda positioned inequality as the central and cross-cutting theme within the G20 discussions, reflecting on its relationship with both climate and digital transitions. By presenting the official Communiqué earlier, Brazil aligned the T20's objectives more closely with G20 negotiations. Efforts were also made to diversify the participation of international think tanks and strengthen collaboration among engagement groups.

The T20's work was greatly bolstered by the sharing of the G20 working groups' issue notes early in the process, so the same discussions occurring in the G20 could be held in the task forces. T20 Brasil also innovated by bringing forward the delivery of the Communiqué – to July – almost 4 months before the traditional handover date, looking back at previous T20s. T20 Brasil cultivated an important space for capacity building, especially to think about multilateralism – despite the difficulty in gathering and contemplating all task force and council members, as well as policy brief authors, in initiatives (both virtual and in-person). T20 Brasil made recommendations to the Global Alliance Against Hunger and Poverty, the international financial architecture reform, and the digital transformation were also elaborated and discussed, reflecting the creative capacity of think tanks to advocate on multilateralism agendas and the possibility of supporting governments in their efforts to promote dialogue and consensus.

- **South Africa (2025):**

T20 South Africa aims to acknowledge the importance of the engagement group as an opportunity to build a community on which to build consensus, especially considering the polarized international landscape of today. T20 South Africa will seek to continue incentivizing the engagement of African think tanks in T20, specifically in light of the African Union's membership in the forum. T20 South Africa also wishes to revisit the policy briefs published by the T20 since Germany presidency in 2017 to assess better ways to revisit and build upon the recommendations of already-published works. T20 South Africa will also seek to reach out to other engagement groups in the efforts of identifying common interests and values. Finally, it will be important to engage with US think tanks and universities, given that they will take over the presidency of the forum in the G and T20.

### Cross-cutting and ongoing themes

- **Digital transformation:** Discussions on digital transformation addressed various aspects, including technological infrastructure, regulatory frameworks, and the inclusion of marginalized communities. The theme underscored the importance of ensuring digitalization benefits all social segments equally.
- **Climate and energy:** A just climate transition emerged as a central focus, emphasizing the need to harmonize ambitious environmental goals with sustainable economic development. The urgency of mobilizing consistent financing for clean energy projects and technological innovations to drive decarbonization was a key point.
- **Reforming multilateralism:** Reforming global governance structures was discussed as a means to make the G20 more inclusive and reflective of developing countries' needs. Strengthening the African Union's role within the G20 was regarded as a significant milestone in this inclusion process.

- **Innovations in process:** The process innovations included the introduction of task force statements and the earlier submission of the T20 communiqué during Brazil's presidency. Task force statements, which evolved from Indonesia and India's experiences, allowed co-chairs to synthesize key ideas and recommendations as a group, the document being product of the discussions among task force members. Brazil's decision to submit the Communiqué in July enhanced alignment with the G20's official Sherpa and finance tracks, providing timely input into governmental processes and facilitating a more integrated and timely manner.

## Challenges and Reflections

- **Discontinuity of themes:**

Several critical topics, such as food security and health, lack continuity across presidencies, hindering the advancement of long-term, structural proposals. The panel reflected on ways to maintain these discussions in future agendas.

- **Capacity building:**

The growing inclusion of Global South think tanks has fostered greater diversity of perspectives and strengthened the capacity to analyze and propose solutions to multilateral challenges. However, logistical and financial challenges to sustaining and expanding participation were highlighted.

- **Collaboration among engagement groups:**

Building consensus among groups such as the T20, W20, and C20 was recognized as essential to amplifying the influence of recommendations to the G20. This collaborative model was emphasized as a strategy to enhance the relevance of proposed initiatives.

## Conclusions and Future Perspectives

The experience of the last three presidencies underscored the importance of consolidating North-South dialogue and strengthening the T20's autonomy as a forum for strategic and innovative thinking. Integrating the Global South's demands with Northern perspectives was deemed crucial for building consensus and influencing G20 decisions.

The South African presidency inherits the task of further expanding the inclusion of diverse voices, ensuring greater representation of African and developing country think tanks. This effort will be vital for consolidating a multilateral agenda that addresses both local and global challenges, promoting actionable solutions for issues such as climate financing, digital governance, and inequality reduction.

Additionally, South Africa is expected to continue promoting innovations within the T20 process, such as strengthening mechanisms for evaluating and tracking previously proposed recommendations. Developing a more robust monitoring system could ensure



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that the ideas generated not only influence G20 communiqués but also translate into tangible policy outcomes.

Balancing ambition with focus remains a challenge, highlighting the need to prioritize strategic themes without neglecting the cross-cutting nature of the T20's work. The ability to build consensus within the T20 but also with other engagement groups and integrate multiple perspectives will be essential to enhancing civil society relevance and impact on the G20 and consequently, the future of global governance.

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## Handover ceremony: T20 Brasil to T20 South Africa

### Introduction

The closing remarks of the T20 Brasil presidency focused on reflections, achievements, and the transition to South Africa's leadership. The discussions emphasized collaboration, continuity, and the importance of building a strong foundation for future presidencies, especially in the context of the Global South.

### Key Topics Discussed

#### Reflections on the T20 Brasil Presidency

- The Brazilian presidency highlighted the successful cooperation between government institutions, think tanks, and the private sector. Julia Dias Leite emphasized how partnerships with institutions like FUNAG, CEBRI and IÊA, alongside municipal and international collaborators, ensured a cohesive and impactful presidency.
- The July Midterm Conference emerged as a pivotal moment in the T20 Brasil process. Its participatory format of the first day, and open conference format of the second and third day, allowed for dynamic discussions during the program as well as informal interactions, enhancing the inclusiveness and richness of the meeting and conference as a whole. This was proposed as a model for future T20 activities.
- Strong partnerships with local governments, such as the City Hall of Rio de Janeiro, and international sponsors (e.g., CAF, Microsoft, Suzano) played a vital role in hosting successful events. The involvement of such stakeholders underscored the collaborative nature of the presidency.

### Achievements and Legacy

- Ambassador Raphael Azeredo highlighted the importance of delivering the T20 Communiqué during the Midterm Conference. This strategic timing facilitated alignment with the G20's Sherpa and finance tracks, ensuring that recommendations were integrated into decision-making processes effectively.
- A defining feature of the T20 Brasil presidency was its emphasis on thinking about implementation strategies for the proposed recommendations delivered in the Communiqué. Roadmaps and implementation roadmaps were developed to translate policy briefs into tangible actions, leaving a legacy of practicality for subsequent presidencies.
- Luciana Servo reflected on how the process strengthened Brazil's institutional and intellectual capacity in multilateral dialogues. Engagement with think tanks from diverse countries fostered knowledge sharing and collaboration, enhancing Brazil's ability to contribute to global policy discussions.



## Transition to South Africa

- The continuity of Global South presidencies was emphasized as a key factor in advancing shared priorities. The transition from Brazil to South Africa symbolizes a commitment to fostering inclusive multilateralism, leveraging the unique perspectives of the region.
- Brazilian leaders expressed their readiness to support South Africa's presidency while respecting its autonomy. This approach ensures continuity without imposing past methodologies, allowing South Africa to shape the T20 according to its vision and priorities.
- The invitation to engage in upcoming initiatives, such as the T30 for Brazil's COP30, organized by CEBRI, was extended to all participants. This continuity between the T20 and T30 reflects the evolving role of think tanks in addressing global challenges like climate change.

## Conclusions and Future Perspectives

The T20 Brasil presidency showcased the power and capacity that the T20 provides for collaboration, innovation, and strategic planning in shaping global dialogues. The emphasis on timely communication and actionable recommendations provided a strong foundation for South Africa to build upon.

Looking ahead, the South African presidency faces the opportunity to integrate Global South priorities with broader multilateral goals. The challenge of balancing ambition with focus remains critical, as does the need to foster inclusive participation and ensure the implementation of recommendations.

The transition highlighted the importance of collective processes, with Brazil's leaders stressing the value of dialog, capacity building, and shared ownership. As South Africa takes the lead, it inherits not only the responsibility of continuity but also the potential to innovate and further the impact of the T20 on global governance.

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