GLOBAL PROGRESS: A DECISIVE STEP IN BUILDING AN INTERNATIONAL PROGRESSIVE AGENDA FOR THE XXI CENTURY

Matt Browne, Carmen de Paz, Carlos Mulas-Granados

The opinions contained in this document apply only to the author and are not necessarily those of Ideas Foundation.
Matt Browne. Fellow at the Center for American Progress.

Carmen de Paz Nieves. Head of International Network of the Ideas Foundation for Progress.

Carlos Mulas-Granados. Director of the Ideas Foundation for Progress.

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The Global Progress Conference, hosted by Fundación Ideas in Madrid on the 1 and 2 of October 2009, and organised in collaboration with the Center for American Progress and the Heinrich Boell Foundation, brought together over 200 high-level representatives of progressive organisations from more than thirty countries, including:

- Think tanks and research institutions: Center for American Progress (USA), Heinrich Boell Foundation (Germany), Fundación Ideas (Spain), FEPS (Belgium), IRPP (Canada), IPPR (UK), Wiardi Beckman Stichting Foundation (Netherlands), London School of Economics (UK), Renner Institute (Austria), Bertelsmann Foundation (Germany), America’s Future Now (USA), German Marshall Fund (USA), Italianieuropei (Italy), Italia Futura (Italy), Brueguel (Belgium), Canada 2020 (Canada), National Security Network (USA), Third World Institute (Uruguay), Social Watch (Uruguay), Institute for Security Studies (South Africa), Demos (Hungary), Policy Network (UK), Guerra Associates (USA), Humboldt University (Germany), Global Progressive Forum (Belgium), Left Foot Forward (UK), Moscow University of Social Sciences (Russia), Fundación Alternativas (Spain), FIIAPP (Spain), Instituto Ortega y Gasset (Spain), Fundación Juan March (Spain), Universidad Complutense (Spain), FRIDE (Spain), Real Instituto Elcano (Spain), Club de Madrid (Spain), Glocus (Italy).


• Governments: South Africa, United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Spain.

The overarching objective of the meeting was to forge a progressive transatlantic New Deal that provides an adequate response to the major challenges the world faces today. All participants gathered in Madrid shared the view that the global economic crisis, the widening social and economic imbalances, the advance of climate change and the emergence of new security threats demand urgent, coordinated, bold and innovative action that is aligned with progressive values.

The Global Progress Conference represented a significant step forward in this direction. We stand at a crucial juncture, one where progressives have a real opportunity to effect real and longstanding change. As the recovery takes hold, the need for fundamental reforms should not lose momentum. Specific outcomes of the meeting include:

• The Global Progress opens a new era in European-USA progressive relationships, where cooperation and dialogue have replaced unilateralism and confrontation.

• Spain, for the first time in its history, has become a central actor in the process of building global progressive partnerships. The meeting has placed the Spanish progressive movement at the centre of the global policy discussions and international political debate.

• The foundations of a new transatlantic progressive agenda have been set, and the dialogue on how to develop and implement it has been initiated at the global level. Participants have agreed to work together in the coming
months in order to complete this process, in which Spanish and American progressives will continue to act as driving forces. A general agreement has been reached on:

- The most pressing problems progressives must tackle;
- The policy agenda capable of responding to these problems;
- The politics required to turn this policy agenda into reality;
- The values that must underlie these responses;
- The progressive objectives and visions that will guide our actions.

Overall, the following objectives emerged as shared goals during the discussions:

- The need to move from an “economy of speculation” to a productive economy;
- The transformation of energy models and the creation of “green jobs” as key elements of the new economic framework;
- The strategic and “dynamizing” role of the State in this transformation;
- The importance of some conception of global citizenship when building an international architecture that responds to new global challenges;
- The need for a wider paradigm of security, which encompasses failed States and development and cooperation;
- The importance of pursuing more inclusive, multilateral and efficient development and cooperation policies.

A more detailed account of the conclusions of the meeting is presented below, structured according to the Conference program (the agenda is attached - Annex). The opening panel and first plenary session, summarised in the section Where now for Progressive Politics, reflected on the trends among the progressive electorates on either side of the Atlantic, the so-called European paradox, and the political challenges facing American and European progressives today. The parallel thematic sessions focused on specific policy dilemmas: the new economic paradigm, climate change, security, poverty and diversity. For the purpose of this summary the round-
Table discussions that dealt with economic and sustainability issues\(^1\) have been summarised under a single section, *Economy, sustainability and energy efficiency*, whereas the sessions on international issues\(^2\) have been presented separately in the section *The New International Agenda*. The last two plenary sessions, *Common challenges, shared values?* and *Forging a new progressive alliance*, which served as wrap-up and concluding discussions, are summarised together in the final section. The paper concludes with some closing remarks and an outline of potential next steps to help further redefine the global progressive agenda and the movement’s narrative for the future.

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Where now for progressive politics?

The renewal of progressive thinking, policies and alliances becomes particularly important at a time when many of the paradigms that have governed our thinking and politics for the last decade are no longer valid. The global economic crisis should be viewed as a unique opportunity to realize a society founded on genuinely progressive values. This will require the establishment of a new more sustainable economic model where investing in people not stock-markets is the norm, and where cooperation, multilateralism and social responsibility recover the central role they once held. It is the time for progressives around the world to act decisively, and as one.

The fight against climate change, the creation of green jobs, new technology development, the role of education and training, the elimination of existing economic imbalances and the effective promotion of equality and social cohesion, all are key aspects of the future that progressives foresee and favour. It is only by cooperating that we will be able to overcome the enormous global problems that we face today. And only by ensuring that recovery and the benefits of growth are more equally shared will social and economic welfare be possible and sustainable in the long term.

Contrary to what could be expected in the face of the global economic crisis, the collapse of the old neo-liberal values and the European demographic trends, progressives in Europe are gradually losing ground to conservative political forces.
This “European paradox” is a consequence of four different parallel processes:

- First, the adoption by conservative forces of traditional, quasi-progressive policies and discourses;
- Second, the break-up of and increasing competition among progressive political forces in some European countries;
- Third, the inability of progressive parties to build and convey a unified, innovative and convincing progressive narrative and agenda that goes beyond the “third way”;
- Finally, a clear disconnection between our messages and what progressive voters and the electorate yearn to hear.

Progressives need to face up to these failings by:

- Combining values with effective policy capable of rebuilding confidence among the public at a time of great uncertainty;
- Uniting progressive civil and political forces under a shared global discourse and agenda;
- Developing new ways to connect with the electorate, so as to better understand and respond to their hopes and fears, and so as to engage in political discussions that have real meaning to them.
The parallel sessions on the Twenty-first Century Economy, Climate Change Negotiations and the Low Carbon Future aimed to address very timely and challenging questions concerning the economic and energy paradigms of the future: **How do we build XXI century economies? Can progressives rely on a “green” stimulus alone to provide the jobs of the future? Can traditional industries be transformed into sustainable and low carbon industries? What are the central tenets of a comprehensive approach to building a low-carbon economy? How can progressives build on the progress made at the UN and G20?**

Concerning the question of how to build the XXI Century Economy, participants agreed that a transition from the “economy of speculation”, where the overriding norm has been the highest return to capital with no restrictions, to a “productive economy”, needs to be at the centre of the progressive response to the crisis. Correcting the widening gap between the returns to labour and capital that has been the trend over the last decades, re-establishing the balance between them and “reasserting the role of the government in a mixed economy”3, not only to guarantee the proper functioning of markets but to act as a “dynamic” force that triggers and directs economic and social progress4, should all be key aspects of the new economic framework. Overall,

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3 Browne, Halpin, Teixeira, 2009; *The European Paradox.*
4 Mulas-Granados, C., 2009; *The Dynamic State Before and After the Crisis.*
“the economy itself” needs to be “viewed as a means of enhancing the well-being of our citizens”\textsuperscript{5}.

There was wide consensus among all participants about the progressive features of the economy of the future: a knowledge-based low carbon economy that ensures economic, social and environmental sustainability in the long run. However, agreement remains yet to be built on the best common approach and policies to attain this objective given the obstacles we face. The discussion focused specifically on five main issues: social policies and fiscal constraints, the financial system, the sectors on which future economic growth and employment generation will be based, and the adequate regulatory and incentives framework towards a sustainable energy and production model. As highlighted during the debate, decisions in all these areas should be based on adequate policy analysis and evaluation.

As remarked by some panellists, in the aftermath of the crisis we are confronted with a serious problem of public finances: how to maintain the levels of spending in areas that promote social and economic returns given limited economic growth and the demographic transition. One of the key questions is thus “how to build the foundations of a new society within a clearly ageing society”\textsuperscript{6}. Social solidarity models in Europe already had sustainability problems before the crisis started, and the situation has worsened with it. In addition, there is a general perception problem among the public, many of whom believe that today’s large deficits are a consequence of the progressive politics pursued over the last decade. While this view is factually wrong, it remains politically debilitating.

There was agreement among all specialists that the focus of the progressive response should be on “investing in people”, combined with appropriate communication to an increasingly sceptical public. Particularly, a progressive response should emphasize the promotion of inter-generational redistribution and addressing persisting global imbalances and injustices. In other words, “the crisis should be an occasion for reflection, for re-establishing the social contract among the members of society today

\textsuperscript{5} Stiglitz, J., 2009; \textit{Global Economic Crisis: Some Ideas for the G20 Agenda}.  
\textsuperscript{6} André Sapir.
between the developed and developing countries, and between this generation and future generations”.

In addition, it was concluded in the discussions that an agreement needs to be reached on how to put the financial system at the service of economic growth, in the context of the emerging relationship between banks and the real economy and the lower availability of credit. It was argued that progressives need to adopt a strong stance regarding financial sector reform. There is political and economic imperative for progressive action, given the risk of returning to “business as usual” with the first signs of recovery, combined with a growing feeling that tax-payers are assuming the costs of the reckless behaviour of the financial sector. The burden cannot be simply transferred to the State, and the financial sector should bear a good part of the costs of this crisis. In addition, financial markets must recuperate their original role, “as means to an end, and not an end in themselves”\textsuperscript{8}. In this sense, it was pointed out that it is necessary to ensure that the remuneration of the economic actors better relates to the creation of real value\textsuperscript{9}. Here networks of progressive civil organisations, such as think tanks, could play a crucial role in ensuring that the appropriate reforms are put into place, and to oversee and assess the actions adopted to improve the financial sector regulation and supervision mechanisms.

Concerning the jobs of the future, identifying the sectors that will generate the future economic demand and employment remains a key challenge. There is wide consensus on the importance role that education and R+D activities should play in the new economic model. Moreover, it is also essential to develop a new policy that effectively acts as a bridge for people moving out of non-competitive jobs into the new and more productive ones. Such a policy should address the need for re-skilling and adaptation of workers before they go into unemployment. Despite the key role that the green and clean recovery and economy will play in job creation and adaptation, traditional sectors will continue to offer new areas for development. In addition, the growing needs of ageing population in advanced societies, the new

\textsuperscript{7} Stiglitz, J., 2009; Global Economic Crisis: Some Ideas for the G20 Agenda.  
\textsuperscript{8} Stiglitz, J., 2009; Global Economic Crisis: Some Ideas for the G20 Agenda.  
\textsuperscript{9} Mulas-Granados, C., and Nombela, G., 2009; Why is it necessary to limit the salaries of executives? Recommendations for Spain.
demands of the growing middle-class in emerging economies and immigration offer new markets and opportunities that can create new jobs in health, social services, cultural industries and the entertainment sector (the so-called new “white jobs”).

Finally, with regards to the construction of a low carbon economy and the necessary consensus to reach it, it was concluded that although there is wide agreement on the importance of the green recovery and the shift towards an energy model fully based on renewable energies as one of the pillars of the new economy, the regulatory and economic (incentives) framework to stimulate it are not yet in place.

The Copenhagen process is to be regarded as a fundamental tool for exerting political pressure in the transition to the new economic model, although there is no consensus on how to proceed in case it fails to achieve its objectives. While some considered an interim result desirable in a worst-case scenario, others believed that a wide multilateral agreement is a must. In any case, there was consensus among participants on the fact that the regulatory framework should be complemented by local incentives and objectives that stimulate the required changes, as the successful Spanish case shows. As pointed out during the discussions, an internal European market for “green power” and a “smart European super-grid” are initiatives that should be considered at the European level, although that would require a specific European competency for energy.

Additional specific actions that governments can adopt on their own to prompt the transition towards a low carbon economy, as outlined by one of the speakers, include:

- Showing a true commitment for energy efficiency;
- Educating the public;
- Providing incentives and support to R+D activities;
- Launching pilot projects;
- Creating a stable regulatory framework, adapted to the pace of technological development.
The new international agenda

4.1 Forging a new global progressive citizenship

The parallel session on global citizenship attempted to provide answers to questions that are becoming increasingly relevant in the context of growing global integration. Are current multiethnic societies an advance towards a wider concept of citizenship, which goes beyond national borders? Does a new system of global governance require a new concept of universal citizenship? How did the different historical legacies of minority’s and immigrants’ integration shape the different challenges faced in the USA and Europe?

There was agreement among participants that increasing pressure on the national concept of citizenship from new global phenomena such as climate change, growing migration flows and multiethnic societies, or the economic crisis renders it insufficient. Notably, globalization increasingly requires supra-governmental multi-level structures that can govern global problems and create both the passive and active components of a new, “global” citizenship. According to one of the speakers, progressives can and should contribute to this process with specific attitudes and values, such as laicism before the public space, the commitment to end domination and discrimination, and the rule of law and education, also in the international sphere.

In addition, the linkages between the concept of citizenship and the phenomenon of diversity were acknowledged by all participants. As argued by one of the speakers,
diversity has traditionally given rise to three types of cleavages, of interest, of ideology and of identity, and modernity has made this third category increasingly relevant. All participants recognised the need to identify a progressive common approach to the issue of diversity and identity cleavages within the options outlined by the speaker, one that is coherent with the core values of equality and respect for diversity while preserving social cohesion. In this sense, as long as legal equality “does not automatically lead to a fair distribution of primary cultural goods which will be accepted by large minority groups of the society, the legal equality will need to be complemented by special rights which allow the structurally or culturally disadvantaged to be treated as equals”.

As accepted by most specialists in the discussion, migration poses particularly important challenges, which in turn present significant differences in Europe and the USA. In this sense, it was pointed out that progressives in Europe have special problems in defining clear and honest immigration and integration policies, mostly as a consequence of the historical legacy of colonialism and the holocaust. Some European countries face difficulties in recognising and responding to problems related to the direct conflict between progressive occidental values and some Muslim principles, the failings of as well as the abuse of social security systems, and direct competition between immigrant and local low-skilled workers. This is particularly the case for progressive civil and political movements.

In this sense, participants concluded that social democrats should continue to prioritise redistribution, but with care, so as to ensure that all rights are linked to responsibilities or obligations. Although there was agreement on the need to approach diversity as a positive value, it was also acknowledged that this needs to be accompanied by adequate policies that rule out potential abuse or social conflict. Finally, it was noted that integration issues are not only associated with immigration but with the way we live as societies and national identity issues.

### 4.2 Building a common approach regarding sustainable security

The debate on international security, which traditionally has been marginalised within progressive fora, has grown in importance with the emergence of new security

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10 Cultural and linguistic assimilation, total and equal extension of rights to all citizens, special rights for minorities, and asymmetrical federalism.

11 Merkel, W., 2009; *Inclusion and Diversity: Rethinking democracy?*
threats and the recent and significant shift in the American approach to this issue. In this context, the session on sustainable security primarily aimed to address the following questions: Could a paradigm for sustainable security serve as the basis for a new transatlantic agreement on security that is more fruitful and equitable? What should be the role for the governments, societies and regional organizations from developing countries?

The concept of sustainable security, originally developed by Gayle Smith in her publication “In search of sustainable security” (2008), includes new elements and objectives: the importance of re-strengthening international institutions, the ability of the transnational threat to destabilize states and regions, the role of weak and failed states, and the significance of international aid assistance. This new approach to security issues combines three different levels of security: collective and national security, but also human security, which represents the recognition that failure to address pressing humanitarian issues can translate into new security threats to the US and its allies. US progressives now acknowledge that today security is less threatened by strong states than by fragile and failed ones, and that our enemies around the world are often conditions, such as poverty, infectious disease, corruption, or global warming. International development assistance is central in this context, since most threats to stability are related to poverty. This does not necessarily mean that development assistance is only justifiable when there are security threats. It is always needed for solidarity reasons and to fight poverty and inequality, but it is also a very important tool when security issues are at stake.

There was consensus among participants that the election of President Obama in the United States has created a new window of opportunity to build a common transatlantic security agenda, based around the concept of sustainable security. The new US administration appears more respectful of the United Nations, which corresponds to European preferences for multilateralism. A new program has been launched at the highest level of the UN to combat nuclear proliferation; there is a new approach to the Iran, based on negotiations and sanctions; and a clear implication of the US administration in Middle East peace process. President Obama, in a recent speech before the UN General Assembly referred to a number of international challenges, including climate change, nuclear proliferation, and the Middle East peace process, and called for the coordinated effort of all countries to help address them. As highlighted by one of the American participants, the response of Europeans to the President’s request will be decisive in the process of building a common agenda on security.
Participants pointed out that there is a need to understand the dimensions and nature of the challenge that President Obama is posing to his European partners. It is difficult to build a rational for military interventions or presence in conflict countries that is acceptable to a large majority of the general public in Europe. Conditioning development assistance on security concerns remains equally problematic. As highlighted by one of the European participants, previous efforts in this direction in Germany were associated with an attempt by the military to gain further legitimacy, and the view that this approach corrupts the development aid logic prevails in European countries.

The conclusions reached in this session included the need to:

- Address conflicts from a more comprehensive approach, incorporating human rights and human security issues, poverty, and the peaceful management of global diversity through initiatives such as the “Alianza de Civilizaciones” promoted by Prime Minister Rodríguez Zapatero;

- Evaluate different responses and agreements on a case-by-case basis, since general formulas are not possible;

- Integrate others’ position into how conflicts are prevented and resolved;

- Build local and regional capacity and thereby help overcome differences in approaches and difficulties in the field;

- Concentrate in areas where previous experience illustrates a comparative advantage, such as training the security forces of conflict ridden countries;

- Work with and through regional and local authorities, whose legitimacy and understanding of the context make them the most suitable partners.

4.3 Fighting poverty and rebalancing the international economy

The global economic crisis is having a disproportionate impact on developing countries, as a result of which the progress made over the last decades in many developing countries is at risk. In this context, the questions discussed during this parallel session bear special importance. How can the global economic governance architecture be
reformed to structurally rebalance the world economy, and to provide sustainable and more equitable growth? How can progressives work together to meet their UN Millennium Development Goal commitments? How can the United States and Europe work together to institute greater coherence and coordination in their reform agendas and aid programs?

Participants highlighted that from a progressive perspective, development aid and efforts need to be at the centre of the recovery agenda of developed countries, not only because it is fair but also because it is the only means to ensure global economic and social stability. In addition, it was pointed out that progressives have a role to play in focusing the development agenda on the international or global dimension, promoting multilateralism and inclusiveness of all parts in the process, and ensuring that recovery, when it takes hold, is shared by all.

One of the panellists argued that a shift to a new balance between export-led and domestic-led growth, particularly in major emerging economies, is necessary. Investment climate, social insurance systems, environmental, anti-corruption and labour market institutions are key in order to facilitate this shift and broaden the benefits of growth. According to the speaker, existing opportunities to push this agenda forward include the ILO decent work agenda, which aims to “promote opportunities for women and men to obtain decent and productive work, in conditions of freedom, equity, security and human dignity.” It was also noted that there is a need to build an international mechanism that helps deal with the debt crisis that over forty developing countries are set to face in the coming months.

There was consensus among participants on the importance that improving aid effectiveness should have in the progressive agenda. In this regard, it was highlighted that despite the large amount of thought that has gone into how the development community can better act together, and despite the general agreement on the Millennium Development Goals, country-driven plans, and on the fact that donors should coordinate, there is no architecture that links with those principles. In this sense, one of the speakers highlighted that there is a clear need to restructure the specialised international development agencies, to turn the OECD Development Assistance Committee into a real tool to make the Paris and Accra agenda meaningful.

Juan Somavia, ILO Director-General.

The Paris Declaration, endorsed on 2 March 2005, is an international agreement to increase efforts in harmonisation, alignment and managing aid for results with a set of monitorable actions and indicators. The Accra Agenda for Action builds on the commitments agreed in the Paris Declaration.
and to encourage and support innovative financing formulas given growing financial restrictions. As mentioned by one of the panellists, Spain and the Netherlands are to be considered as champions in supporting aid effectiveness improvement through their development programs.
Common challenges, shared values? Forging a new progressive alliance

There was wide agreement among all progressives taking part in the Global Progress Conference about the main policy areas or challenges that require immediate action: climate change and energy, the transformation of the world’s productive model, immigration, and the new paradigm of international relationships, including security and development. Moreover, and despite the different approaches to some of these issues, it can be concluded that the values that underlie them were shared among all progressives. Sustainability, in its three dimensions - economic, social and environmental - which in turn relates to equality, freedom, solidarity, peace and respect for diversity and the environment, underpin each of the progressive responses to the major challenges we face.

For example, climate change requires a concerted response that binds developed and developing countries alike. That response should include and promote the transition towards energy production and consumption models based on renewable energies and efficiency. Spain is a world leader in this sector, and is fully committed to cooperating with the United States and other progressive partners in the expansion of the renewable energies sector across the globe. We know today that old justifications to avoid addressing the challenge of climate change are no longer acceptable. An adequate response requires political will, courage, decisiveness and cooperation. Although a successful outcome of the Copenha-
gen summit is an important step in this direction, we need to continue adopting measures outside that framework in the fight against climate change.

Similarly, the global economic crisis has made the need to transform the economic model that has prevailed in the last decades more obvious and urgent than ever before. Economic, social and environmental sustainability are to be the three main pillars on which the new growth model must be founded. In this sense, the agenda for progress in the coming years needs to prompt a change in the rules that govern markets. The new economy must focus on a new ethical standard, according to which productive activities are adequately remunerated. Progressives favour a shift from the “economy of speculation” to a “productive green and sustainable economy”, in which a key factor of success is a businesses contribution to enhancing economic and social development, increasing the welfare of our societies, and caring for the environment.

There was agreement that the same level of effort exerted to prevent the collapse of banks and the financial system needs to be put at the service of restoring employment and growth, while protection to the most vulnerable people is extended. Additionally, regulation and investments in science and technology will play a key role in the second phase of recovery and the future economic model. Finally, for progressives, people need to be regarded as the most profitable asset. “Investing in people” needs to be front and centre of our economic and social agenda for the future.

Growing migration flows pose a major challenge to all our counties. Models that approach this issue from a pragmatic perspective, free from prejudices and passion, are currently the most successful. The Spanish model is among them. Spain has experienced a fast and significant transformation of its social landscape as a consequence of the unprecedented increase in immigration flows. Despite this phenomenon, a positive dynamic has developed in the country. Extracting lessons from the Spanish experience and assessing how they may be applied in other social contexts could thus be helpful.

With progressive governments on either side of the Atlantic now in office, and with Spain’s forthcoming Presidency of the European Union in 2010, an opportunity exists to re-shape the transatlantic agenda and international relations. Two ideas will be at the centre of this shift: the concept of sustainable security, and a renewed and more effective development assistance agenda. The creation of a new framework for
international relations, in which countries act in a coordinated manner in the face of human security threats, will be crucial to this shift, and is achievable through the development of an effective and inclusive multilateralism. The overarching objective, which is within grasp, is maintaining peace and closing the growing economic and social gap between the “haves” and “have-nots” across the globe.
Conclusions and the way forward

After the collapse of the neo-liberal paradigm, and faced with a global economic crisis of unprecedented dimensions, the world stands today at a cross-road. The Global Progress Conference held in Madrid has started to build a new progressive road map: the major risk we face now is not to act in time. The conversations and discussion in Madrid must, therefore, mark the beginning of an ongoing and growing commitment by progressives to leave the past behind and build a better future together.

As a result of the discussions and exchanges during the Global Progress Conference, participants have agreed on a set of specific objectives moving forward. These include:

- Pushing forward on the policy and political arguments necessary to make a shift to a low-carbon economy;
- Strengthening a common agenda on sustainable security;
- Working together to identify how to build new, more inclusive and respectful political movements;
- Agreeing to invest in the dialogues like that we have just initiated.
In this sense, and in the context of the Spanish Presidency of the EU, Ideas, in collaboration with its partners, the Center for American Progress, the Heinrich Boell Foundation, FEPS, Policy Network and the Friedrick Ebert Foundation, will continue offering spaces for progressive dialogue, agreement and decision over the next year. As part of this effort, an African Progress Conference will be organised in July 2010, and a second edition of a Global Progress Conference will be held in the second semester of 2010. Additionally, separate and more focused meetings will take place to analyse in detail and follow up on the specific progressive agenda regarding some of the aspects discussed during the meeting in Madrid, in particular the future of social democracy and the progressive agenda and discourse in Europe “beyond the third way”.
Annex

Agenda of the Global Progress Conference
2009 is a year in which global alliances have once again returned to centre stage. As we struggle to manage the economic and political fallout of the global financial crisis, forge a new sustainable consensus on international security and reach a deal on climate change, the importance of renewed international cooperation is undeniable. The current crisis also presents progressives with a unique and unprecedented opportunity to shape the international agenda. In the months ahead, a renewed transatlantic understanding will be pivotal to the success of this endeavour.

*American Progress* and the *IDEAS Foundation* with our partners in the *Global Progress* initiative are committed to playing a leadership role, taking this opportunity to advance a pragmatic and progressive global agenda. In October 2009, we will jointly convene a meeting in Madrid, Spain, to discuss how progressives can:

- Restore global prosperity by reforming the international economic architecture and pursuing policies that promote sustainable broad-based increases in living standards;
- Address climate change by fostering an urgent agreement on energy sources and use;
• Prevent terrorism, failed states and new security threats by adopting a broader approach to human and national security;

• Alleviate poverty by promoting sustainable economic growth across the developing world.

Held over two days, the conference will bring together some 200 high level politicians, policy makers, academics, experts and political strategists. The objective of these discussions is to forge a strategic partnership around common progressive agenda that is robust enough to respond to the current global challenges.

**Program Thursday, October 1, Casa de América**

16h00 – 18:15: Registration and coffee

18h15 – 19h30: Plenary: Welcome (Casa de América)

Sarah Rosen Wartell, Executive Vice-President, American Progress
Ralf Fuecks, President, Heinrich Boll Foundation
Jesús Caldera, Executive Vice-President, IDEAS Foundation

20h00: Opening Reception and Dinner

**Friday, October 2**

8h30 – 9h00: Registration. Coffee and Buffet Breakfast

9h00 – 9h15: Plenary: Introductory address

Jen Palmieri, Vice-President, American Progress
Carlos Mulas-Granados, Director, IDEAS Foundation
9h15 – 10h45: Plenary: “Where now for Progressive Politics?”

John Halpin, American progress (Chair)

Simon Hix, Professor, London School of Economics
Ruy Teixeira, Senior Fellow, American Progress
Joel Benenson, President, Benenson Strategy Group
Leire Pajín, Secretary of Organization, Spanish Socialist Party
Philippe Lamberts, Co-Spokesperson, European Green Party

10h45 – 11h00: Transit to parallel breakout session rooms and coffee

11h00 – 12h45: Building prosperous, sustainable and integrated societies (parallel working sessions)

Creating 21st Century Economies

How can we build the economies of the future? What should a new industrial policy entail? Can progressives rely on a “green” stimulus alone to provide the jobs of the 21st century? Can traditional industries be transformed into sustainable and low-carbon industries? How can the need for renewed investment in technology, infrastructure and skills be reconciled with fiscal policy?

Roger Liddle, Policy Network (Chair)

Michael Ettlinger, Vice-President, American Progress
Par Nuder, Former Finance Minister, Sweden
André Sapir, Senior Fellow, Bruegel and IDEAS
Carlos Mulas-Granados, IDEAS Foundation
Christian Deubner, Independent Consultant, Foundation for European Progressive Studies, Research Group
Towards a low carbon future

What are the central tenets of a comprehensive approach to building a low-carbon economy? How can we create an environment in which lead markets are created and investment triggered in renewable energy sources thrive? Is there a role for nuclear or carbon capture and storage (CCS) in a carbon free economy? How viable are today’s low carbon and renewable energy projects (ERENE, DeserTec, or the Smart Grid)?

Ralf Fuecks, President, Heinrich Boll Foundation (chair)
Bracken Hendricks, Senior Fellow, American Progress
Heikki Willstedt, Expert in Climate Change, ADENA
Michaele Schreyer, Former European Commissioner for Budgetary Affairs
Iván Martén, Leader Energy & Environment, Boston Consulting Group

Progressive Citizenship in a Global Context

How do the different historical legacies of the integration of immigrant and minority groups shape the divergent challenges faced in the US and Europe? What do the different demographic shifts in minority and immigrant groups tell us about the future of politics in Europe and the US? Are multiethnic societies a step forward towards an enlarged concept of citizenship that overcomes national boundaries? Does the new system of global governance require a global citizenship?

Diego López Garrido, Spanish State Secretary for Europe
Juan Fernando López Aguilar, President of the Civil Rights, Justice and Home Affairs, European Parliament
Rene Cuperus, Senior Fellow, WardiBeckman Foundation
Patrick Diamond, Head of Long Term Policy Planning, 10 Downing Street
Wolfgang Merkel, Professor, Humboldt University and IDEAS

12h40 – 14h15: Plenary: Modernity and Progressive Politics

José Blanco, Spanish Minister for Public Works and Vice-secretary General of the Spanish Socialist Party

Buffet lunch, Spanish Tapas
14h15 – 15h45: Towards a Global New Deal (parallel working sessions)

Bridging the gap on climate change negotiations

How can progressives build on the progress made at the UN and G20? Can “Carbon Cap Equivalents” or “Per Capita Emission Rights” help break the deadlock in international negotiations and reconcile the right to development with the scientifically required reduction of emissions? What role for technology transfer and climate finance in bridging the GAP between developed and developing nations in climate change negotiations? What policy response is needed to address the challenges of adaptation to climate change in the developing world?

Andrew Light, Senior Fellow, American Progress (Chair)

Teresa Ribera, Spanish State Secretary for Climate Change
John Podesta, President, American Progress
Andrew Pendleton, Senior Fellow, Institute for Public Policy and Research
Reinhard Buetikofer, Co-Chairman of European Green Party

Towards a Paradigm for Sustainable Security

In the current climate, how can the transatlantic alliances role in Afghanistan be maintained and strengthened? Can the sustainable security paradigm provide the basis for a more successful / equitable transatlantic security partnership? How could a sustainable security paradigm be applied to Afghanistan and Pakistan? What active role do governments and societies or regional security organizations in the developing world play in this framework?

Rudy deLeon, Senior Vice-President, American Progress (chair)

Ángel Lossada, Spanish Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs
Reuben Brigerty, Director of Sustainable Security, American progress
Des Browne, Former Secretary of State for Defence, UK
Mojanku Gumbi, Sherpa to Former South African President, Thabo Mbeki
Combating Poverty and rebalancing the International Economy:

How can the global economic governance architecture be reformed to structurally rebalance the world economy, and to provide sustainable and more equitable growth? How can progressives work together to meet their UN Millennium Development Goal commitments? How can the United States and Europe work together to institute greater coherence and coordination in their reform agendas and aid programs?

Soraya Rodríguez, Secretary of State for Cooperation (chair)

Rick Samans, Senior Fellow, American Progress
Alicia Bárcena, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean
Barbara Shaioler, International Director, AFL-CIO
Helen Clark, Administrator, United Nations Development Program
Sabina Dewan, Associate Director, American Progress

15h45 – 16h00: Transit to plenary room and coffee

16h15 – 17h30: Plenary - Common Challenges, Shared Values?

Jesús Caldera, Executive Vice-President, IDEAS Foundation

Juan Somavia, Director General, International Labour Organization
Helen Clark, Administrator, United Nations Development Program
Trevor Manuel, Minister in Presidency, South Africa
Cristina Garmendia, Spanish Minister for Science and Innovation
Mel Cappe, President, Institute for Research on Public Policy
Bert Koenders, Dutch Minister for Development Cooperation
17h30 – 18h30: Plenary: Forging a New Progressive APolitics

John Podesta, President, American Progress (chair)

Trinidad Jiménez, Spanish Minister for Health and Social Policy
Par Nuder, Former Finance Minister, Sweden
Giovanna Melandri, Former Italian Minister of Culture
Tom McMahon, Former Executive Director, US Democratic National Committee
Stan Greenberg, President, Greenberg, Quinlan and Rosner

18h30 – 19h00: Closure

Manuel Chaves, Spanish Vice-President, President of Spanish Socialist Party

21h00: Reception: Real Fábrica de Tapices

Victor Philip Dahdaleh, Chairman, Dadco Group

21h30: Dinner

Jesús Caldera, Vice-President, IDEAS Foundations
John Podesta, President, American Progress
Alice Germond, Secretary of the US Democratic National Committee

Saturday, October 3

11h00 – 13h00: Visit to the Centre for Control of Renewable Energies, Madrid

With Elena Espinosa, Spanish Minister for Environment
GLOBAL PROGRESS: A DECISIVE STEP IN BUILDING AN INTERNATIONAL PROGRESSIVE AGENDA FOR THE XXI CENTURY

Matt Browne, Carmen de Paz, Carlos Mulas-Granados