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A Sustainable, United and Democratic World: A Socialist Foreign Policy for the 21st Century.

Thematic contribution to the Villeurbanne congress of the Socialist Party, December 2020

The crisis that the world is experiencing in the year 2020 has left its mark on people's minds from one end of the planet to the other. All of humanity is affected and we cannot help but notice the fragility of our societies. What will the "next world" be like for France, Europe and the world? It is urgent for us Socialists to affirm our vision of a radical change in French foreign policy, in the external relations of the European Union (EU), and in global governance for a sustainable humanity.

France, a power of global influence

The French diplomatic network is old: one of the most extensive in the world, it not only actively defends the nation's higher interests, but also the vision of the democratic order that our country has defended since the Enlightenment. The left must allow French diplomacy to retain its rightful place: that of an influential network at the service of the Republic. The public relations diplomacy put in place by President Macron is ineffective. France must cultivate a faithful commitment to its partners, without seeking to impose its method, by building consensus on long-term solutions rather than through media coups. Development aid must be improved, in a transparent manner, to focus on the human and environmental impact, while respecting the aspirations of the populations that benefit from it.

France's power of linguistic, cultural and even legal influence is weakened by a lack of ambition, means and strategic vision. Francophone and Francophile countries, among the most dynamic on the planet in economic and demographic terms, are turning elsewhere. The strength of the cultural Francophonie must be able to rely on a solid and coherent cultural and educational network, which has been undermined by successive budget cuts and massive job cuts since 2017. A policy of welcoming Francophone and Francophile students, the implementation of a right to Francophone mobility, and the development of Francophone cultural industries (especially film) must participate in a renewal of the political and economic Francophonie, in parallel with a broader action for international research and student exchanges through the Erasmus and Erasmus Mundus programs.

As a major military power, France remains one of the only nations in the world capable of conducting large-scale external operations, with more than 10,000 troops abroad, including Operations Barkhane (Sahel) and Chammal (Iraq). The cost of this presence (more than €1 billion/year) is included in the defense budget (€37.5 billion in 2020) which, according to the NATO agreements of 2014, will rise to 2% of GDP by 2025. France, along with its European partners, must invest in the development of

technologies that can compete with the most modern armaments, in order to build the independence needed to guarantee the sovereignty required to meet today's security challenges. As Josep Borell reminds us, this requires the affirmation of a European military power, but also the strengthening of a common position. France must be the driving force and coordinator of a future European defense, in the interest of peace and the easing of tensions that threaten in its neighborhood and beyond, in accordance with international law and in coordination with European diplomacy.

An economic diplomacy focused on sustainable development: the French economy has extraordinary potential internationally. But the absence of effective customs and anti-dumping locks at Europe's borders and the lack of European social harmonization are major factors in the French foreign trade deficit. The strategy to reduce this deficit, which France is pursuing in particular with its two main partners, China and Germany, must henceforth be combined with respect for the Paris Agreements and social and human rights.

The universal values of human rights, dear to France, must serve as a guide in the face of radical nationalism and democratic backsliding. Resistance to the extreme right in French civil society, and the strength of its national public space, but also of its international communication networks (France 24, Radio France, TV5 monde, films and documentaries, arts and letters), allow France to hold these values high. In the face of political or religious extremism, we must support the fight for human dignity and women's rights, alongside international civil society.

For an assumed European foreign policy

The EU's foreign policy has changed a lot in 10 years. The position of High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy has become more assertive. The health crisis has highlighted the vulnerability of European societies to China's industrial power, while the security guarantee traditionally provided by the United States is becoming uncertain. Several conflicts have mobilized the EU's security reflex in its immediate neighbourhood, at a time when the world's demographic and climatic evolution makes the challenge of migration a pressing one. The European left must militate for the application of the right to asylum, but also for a right to mobility that allows legal emigration to Europe. France, together with the EU, must weigh in international institutions, notably for the preservation of multilateral disarmament and non-proliferation agreements (INF, Open Skies, New Start, NPT), and for a multilateral, negotiated approach to conflicts. Foreign and security policy must remain subject to the scrutiny of national and European parliaments, and not to the sole control of governments.

Cybersecurity and Big Data: Despite lagging behind China and the United States in terms of artificial intelligence, and the difficulty of creating European giants that can compete on a global scale, the EU has a considerable asset: democratic institutions capable of ensuring the control of markets through the rule of law, and of resisting the omnipotence of platforms, including the GAFAMs. To do this, the Union must be provided with an independent digital infrastructure, in the service of its strategic autonomy. This is the purpose of the recent Franco-German Gaia-X initiative. Training must be promoted, within the European reference framework DigComp. Responding to interference from competing states through the propagation of fake news or the hacking of sensitive data must be a priority for the digital union. It is also before international organizations (ICANN, IFG, ITU) that a coordinated diplomacy of EU Member States can promote the importance of a digital humanity based on democratic ethics: through net neutrality, access to transferable skills, data transparency, and regulation of economic activity on the web.

A monetary policy at the service of democracy: the EU's monetary policy must be fully committed to the social-ecological transition. The initiative validated in the spring, which gave rise to the Next Generation EU package, is a first step in this direction, which releases a significant investment capacity, but insufficient because it is limited in time and scope, based primarily on loans and not investment. The EU must implement a policy of direct investment in the continent's social and ecological transition: towards short circuits, neo-rurality, lifelong training in digital jobs and skills, energy efficiency and self-consumption, soft mobility and public transport infrastructure, especially railways on a continental scale, as well as an energy infrastructure that will enable Europe to achieve its carbon neutrality objective for 2050. It is through this "normative power" that the EU can and must influence the construction of a sustainable world.

Sustainable development: Europe's "Smart Power". The ecological transition requires compliance with the Paris Agreements, but also with the conditionality of the bilateral agreements signed by the EU. The EU is powerful enough to impose its terms on environmental protection on a global scale. The social and environmental obligations (health standards, bio, recycling, preservation of ecosystems) to which companies on European soil are subject must apply in the same way to those who import. The same applies to the carbon tax at the entry of the European Union, which is essential to ensure the EU's carbon neutrality. To the objection of the social cost of these restrictions, a response must be made to convert the economies and sectors concerned by training and public investment in an economy of know-how, short circuits, especially food, and the reduction of our energy bill. The European Green Deal remains too timid in this respect, including the objective of carbon neutrality (set for 2050). The means continue to be lacking, despite the considerable financing capacity of the European Central Bank and the incentive framework of the European green investment taxonomy.

The EU's external relations are the business of all its citizens, and must be the subject of special attention in France. The impact of the EU in the world, through its power of influence and its united presence within multilateral institutions, must be nourished by the collaboration between the free democracies of the Union: parliaments, community institutions, diplomacy and competent ministries.

For multilateral, social, ecological and solidarity-based global governance

The promises of universalism and multilateralism (one state, one vote) have come up against the power of liberalism: the law of the strongest, modestly renamed "law of the market". The failure of global coordination in the face of the SARS-CoV-2 scourge bears witness to the impotence of global governance. Creditor countries, private investors, the IMF and the World Bank maintain a spiral of poverty in the countries of the South. The strategies for pursuing the UN's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) are even entrusted to private investors. The result is a global system that is depleting the planet and its inhabitants: biodiversity is disappearing, human rights are experiencing an unprecedented decline, global inequalities are increasing, women's rights are regressing, and climate change is disproportionately affecting the most vulnerable. The richest 1% own 45% of the world's wealth, the

remaining 50% less than 1%. Socialists, we want a world order that has survival and human dignity as its goals, and the preservation of the planet and global solidarity as its conditions.

Global solidarity must include the fight against tax evasion, particularly by companies, to enable all states to raise the taxes necessary for redistribution, and for more effective development aid. Given the mixed results of the OECD, representing the countries of the North, it is at the UN that a multilateral international tax organization must be created to eradicate tax evasion. For over a decade, an additional 0.5% tax on the wealth of the richest 1% would be enough to create 117 million jobs in education, health, support for the elderly and childcare, thus reducing gender inequalities.

Development aid, which is vulnerable to the interests of private investors (through public-private projects or tied aid, paid on condition of purchase by the recipient country from the donor country) and to the inclusion of debt forgiveness in international aid, must be directed towards human and sustainable development. A global Financial Transaction Tax of 0.05% could generate up to \$650 billion per year for achieving SDOs. In order to implement these mechanisms of solidarity and redistribution at the global level, global governance must be fundamentally rethought.

The democratic reappropriation of common goods is the sine qua non condition for the establishment of true global governance. These include intangible goods (knowledge, laws, circulation of digital data, public services such as education, health, mobility) and environmental commons (water, soil, air, earth's orbit, lunar soil, etc.), polluted by their undue exploitation for mercantile purposes.

Our planet is our common good. By setting ambitious but achievable common goals for the planet, the Paris Agreements marked a decisive step in the preservation of our habitat. To achieve them, we are supporting a global Green New Deal and its implementation through concrete proposals such as carbon accounts, relocation and enhancement of short circuits, and carbon footprint taxation.

Governance of the international debt: The reconstruction of the international debt architecture, and African debt in particular, must involve the establishment at the UN of a debt restructuring mechanism that would include all lenders, public and private, and decide on common rules, with respect for democracies, human dignity and the global ecosystem.

We commit ourselves, alongside civil society and trade unions, to support this new multilateral governance for the protection of the common goods of humanity and not their commodification, which focuses on the respect of democratic rights, including education, the right to a healthy environment, and health.

These demands are not idealistic: they are existential for the survival and peace of our communities around the world. It is up to us to join in this convergence of feminist, democratic, ecological, and socialist struggles, to rethink global governance today, and to give ourselves the means to germinate a new social contract on a global scale.