



Warsaw
15-16 December 2011

European Development Days Proceedings



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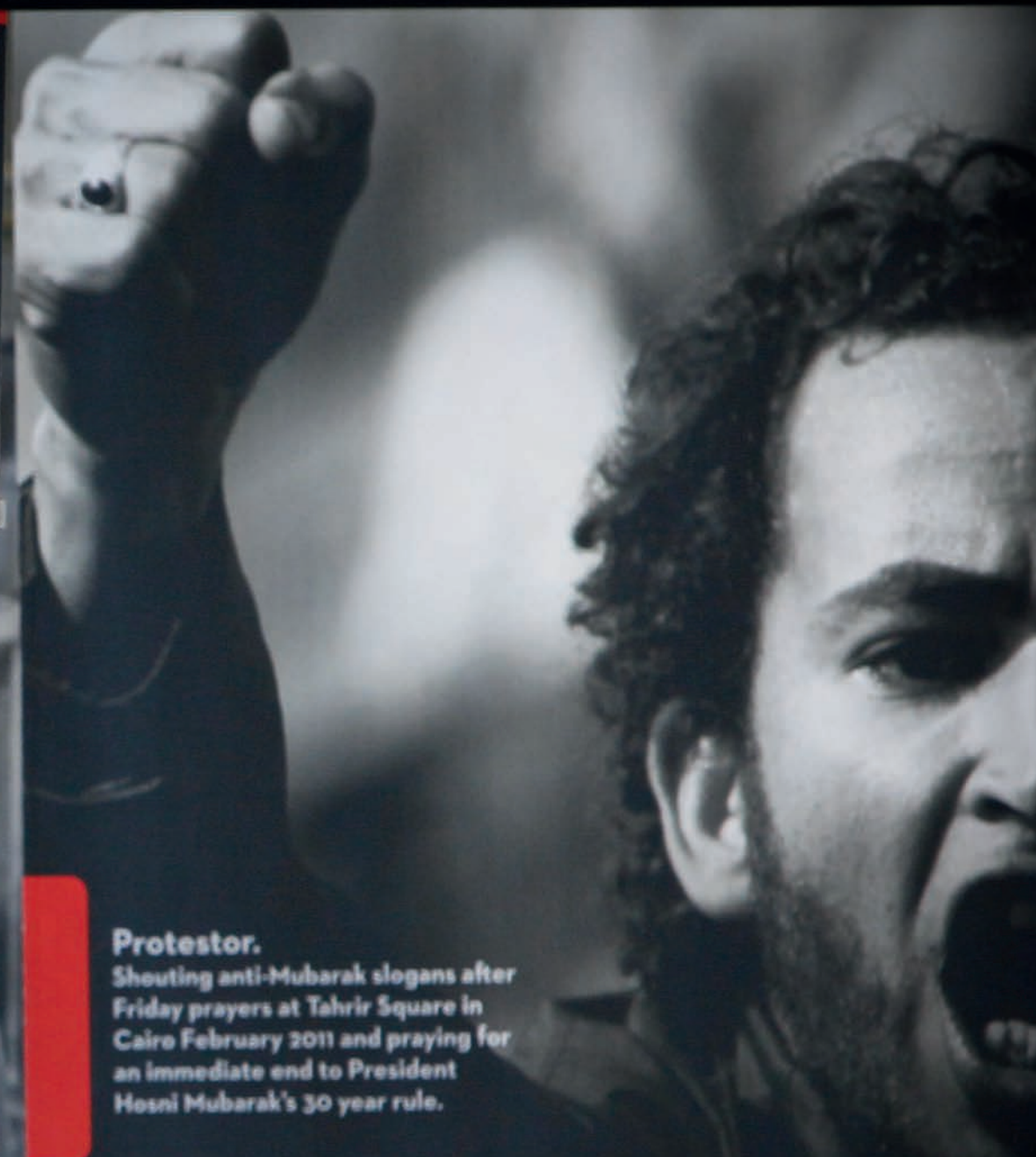
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journalist and active
protests in Yemen's cap
during the Arab Spring



.eu
spotlight



Protestor.

Shouting anti-Mubarak slogans after Friday prayers at Tahrir Square in Cairo February 2011 and praying for an immediate end to President Hosni Mubarak's 30 year rule.



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Democracy & Development in the



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Peace
A monk demands peace and democracy
at the Sule Pagoda in the city center
during an anti-government protest
in Yangon (Myanmar), September 2007

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in the spotlight

FOREWORD

The sixth European Development Days (EDD) took place in Warsaw on 15-16 December 2011. I can honestly say that they were the best yet. We were treated to a fantastic venue hosting a well-organised event. We heard some brilliant speeches and participated in some fascinating panel debates on a wide range of topical issues. These were just some of the reasons why we were able to leave Warsaw with renewed energy.

We came away from Warsaw with much to ponder – and with many people to thank for that.

For example, we heard from a number of eminent speakers, including former President of the Kyrgyz Republic Roza Otunbaeva, about how tyranny cannot withstand the aspirations for democracy and a life of opportunity, especially among the young – some of whom have paid the ultimate price in campaigning for freedom and a better life for all.

Her speech gave us a timely reminder that the road to democracy can often be a lengthy and bumpy one. It also reminded us, however, that the desire for freedom is not cultural, but human, and that revolutions like those which began in Georgia, Kyrgyzstan and elsewhere 20 years ago are now springing up in other parts of the world. This was brought home to us by the moving testimonies of our friends from Tunisia, Libya, Egypt and Syria.

Tunisia's interim Prime Minister Mohammed Beji Caid Essebsi spoke of his country's ongoing transition to democracy, which he has so ably helped steer. It is clear that Tunisia is charting its own course. That course began in tragedy on 17 December 2010, when 26-year-old Mohammed Bouazizi, stripped of the most basic human desire to provide for his family, set himself on fire. Mohammed's desperate act set off a historic chain of events. Through his sacrifice, millions of his fellow Tunisians – and people throughout the wider region – can now aspire to the better future he once sought for himself.

Today, Tunisia is seeking our support as it embraces a democratic future. Not support that dictates terms – Tunisians have had quite enough of being told what to do. But support in the form of a constructive partnership that sees the country put down firm democratic roots and offers its people the kind of opportunities that Mohammed Bouazizi was so cruelly denied.

Abdul Jalil, Chairman of the National Transition Council of Libya, eloquently described Libya's path departing from dictatorship. I would like to pay special tribute to Libya's efforts to reintegrate into society the young Libyans who fought for freedom in their country through grants to study abroad, business start-up grants and military careers. Mr Jalil was absolutely right to highlight security, stability and the rule of law as vital precursors to growth and development.



We wish the peoples of all these countries well in their efforts to establish a democratic and inclusive society.

But we can do even better than that. We can be friends and partners, offering assistance wherever we can. My colleague, European Commissioner for International Cooperation, Humanitarian Aid and Crisis Response, **Kristalina Georgieva**, spoke for us all in saying that we are right behind Libya. The same is true with respect to all countries on the road to democracy, good governance, human development and respect for human rights.

One message spelled out clearly for us here is that democratisation processes should begin at home. Ownership in building democracy and pursuing development goals is vital. But ownership is not an end in itself. As United Nations Under-Secretary-General and UN Development Programme Associate Administrator **Rebeca Grynspan** said, it is about opening up policy options.

In a similar vein, European Commission President **José Manuel Barroso** reaffirmed that democratic systems are a choice, and that they take time to emerge and flourish. We will stand by our partner countries as they establish democratic systems, because democracy is not just the best means of securing sustainable and inclusive economic growth – it is the only means of doing so. President Barroso further underlined the EU's commitment to deliver on its aid targets, even in these difficult economic times. While there are people in our 21st-century world who do not even have enough to eat or drink, we will not abandon what he termed 'the great cause' – development cooperation.

The days of interference and rule-setting are over. We are now in an era of partnership. As **Hans Rosling** put it in his entertaining and educational presentation, 'We are one world'. No one has a monopoly on development – we can all learn from each other. Our partner countries are exactly that – partners in an enterprise in which we all have a stake.

We are all in this together.

Solidarity will be our watchword. Even 30 years on, I am sure that for many of us the word 'solidarity' brings to mind the movement to which we in the former Soviet bloc owe so much – *Solidarność*. It is fitting that its courageous leader and former Polish President, Lech Walesa, was here to share with us his thoughts on the how we must adapt to the future.

We heard here of Poland's watertight commitment to assist democratisation processes wherever possible, and this goes for our entire European Union.



We also heard a lot about empowering local communities – from Poland’s Under-Secretary of State for Development **Krzysztof Stanowski** and other speakers and panellists. In this respect let me simply say that our work with civil society, parliaments and local groups will not wane. It will remain key to our partner countries’ democratic growth and future development.

We have all taken much away from this year’s EDD. Now it is time to tackle the challenges ahead with renewed vigour. I am confident that in the European Commission’s proposed Agenda for Change we have the toolbox that will enable us to do just that. Our discussions here have convinced me that we are going in the right direction. With our route planned out, it is time to start our journey.

In her 1996 Nobel lecture, the winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature, Wisława Szymborska, said: ‘Any knowledge that doesn’t lead to new questions quickly dies out.’

There is no question of us letting that knowledge die. Instead, let us apply the knowledge we gained here in Warsaw so that we ask the right questions – and, more importantly, find the right answers.

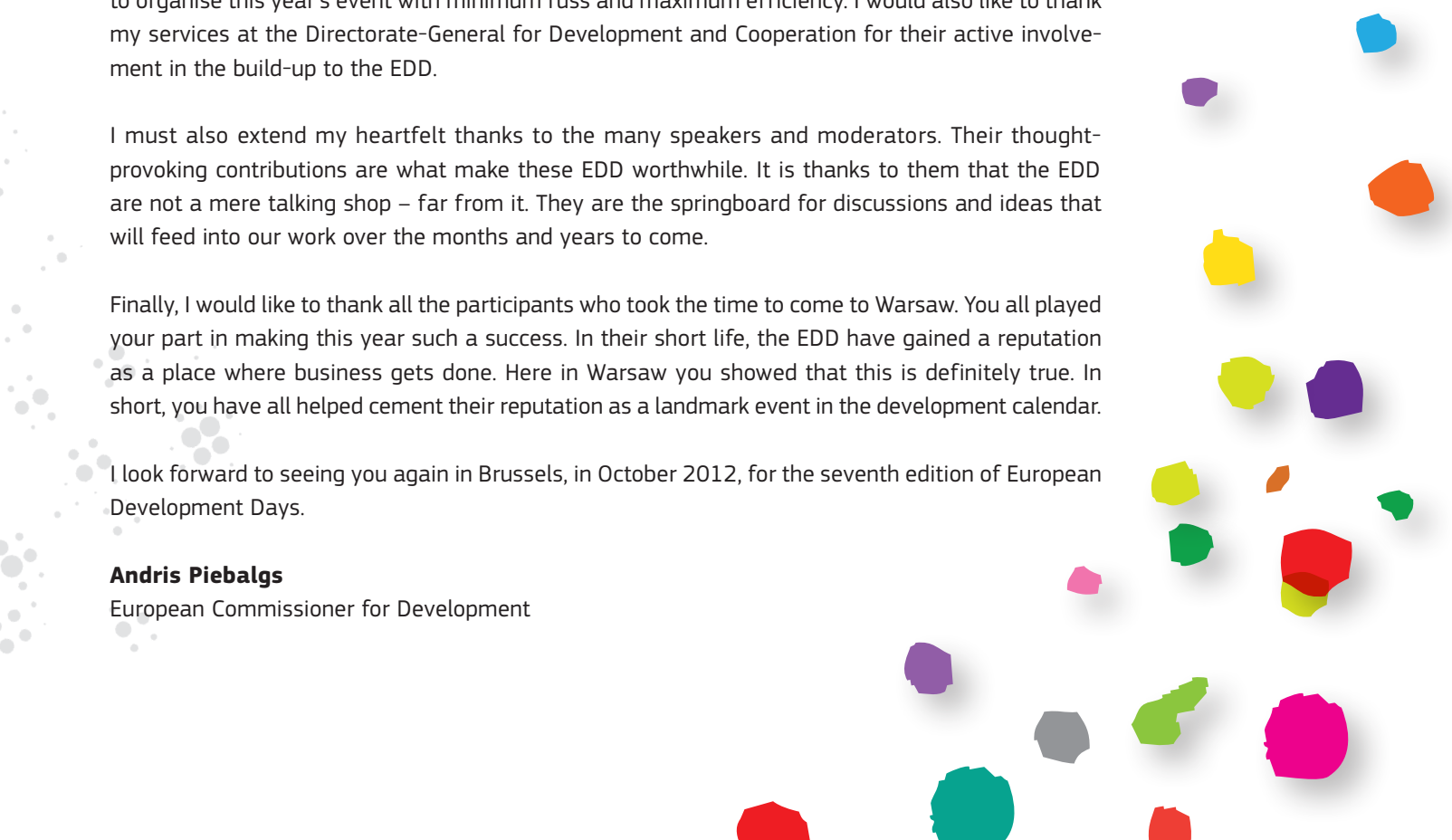
I would like to thank the Polish Presidency of the European Council, especially Minister Stanowski, and all our Polish colleagues for being the most considerate and professional hosts. They managed to organise this year’s event with minimum fuss and maximum efficiency. I would also like to thank my services at the Directorate-General for Development and Cooperation for their active involvement in the build-up to the EDD.

I must also extend my heartfelt thanks to the many speakers and moderators. Their thought-provoking contributions are what make these EDD worthwhile. It is thanks to them that the EDD are not a mere talking shop – far from it. They are the springboard for discussions and ideas that will feed into our work over the months and years to come.

Finally, I would like to thank all the participants who took the time to come to Warsaw. You all played your part in making this year such a success. In their short life, the EDD have gained a reputation as a place where business gets done. Here in Warsaw you showed that this is definitely true. In short, you have all helped cement their reputation as a landmark event in the development calendar.

I look forward to seeing you again in Brussels, in October 2012, for the seventh edition of European Development Days.

Andris Piebalgs
European Commissioner for Development





BRONISLAW_KOMOROWSKI

MIKHEIL_SAAKASHVILI

JOSÉ_MANUEL_BARROSO

SECTION I

DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT

A commitment to democracy, human rights and the rule of law is the foundation stone of cooperation between the European Union and its partner countries. The momentous events in the Middle East and North Africa during 2011, echoing those in Eastern Europe in the 1980s, underscore the links between democracy and development.

Poland hosted this year's European Development Days in its role as the Member State holding the Presidency of the European Council of the European Union. Speaking at the Opening Ceremony, **Bronisław Komorowski**, President of the Republic of Poland, told participants: 'Poland is a country which in the course of transformation has become tremendously successful... Poland has been a beneficiary of aid... We are an active donor and becoming more and more active yearly. Polish aid is expanding in financial terms. We are always ready to share our experience and counsel.'

The transformation process began in the shipyards of Gdansk, Poland just over 30 years ago. Cracks started appearing in the Iron Curtain, with unrest spreading to Hungary, East Germany, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Romania. When the Iron Curtain finally fell in 1989, the countries of Soviet-dominated Eastern Europe began their transitions to democracies and eventual membership of the European Union. Their momentous journey shows that countries can successfully move from autocracy to democracy. The experiences of countries that have made the transformation successfully are there to be shared with countries now in transition.

In praising Poland as one of the strongest countries in Europe, despite a painful transformation, **Mikheil Saakashvili**, President of the Republic of Georgia said: 'If Poland can make it, lots of us out there can make it.'

José Manuel Barroso, President of the European Commission told participants: 'The fundamental wish to have a dignified life for oneself and one's children, free from poverty, violence, oppression and corruption, where all can participate in a community that is respectful of its people, that is something that all human beings have in common. There may be cultural differences, but I believe that there are common aspirations of every human being.'

He added, 'building 'deep democracy' is a complex task. But it is a challenge that must be overcome, because to build such a system is to sow important seeds for human fulfilling, for human realisation, but also for growth and development.'

While every country in transition faces unique problems, there are lessons that can be learned from the transformation experiences of other countries. Networks of transformational thinkers from around the world can share lessons, combine local and global experiences, and identify the right common questions.

Successful transformation has many aspects to it, including economic development and reform, democratic institution-building and a more robust civil society. There are many transformation strategies: one size does not fit all. However, there are some common rules for successful transitions. First and foremost, truth is needed to develop the people's trust. Trust is needed for reconciliation; and reconciliation is needed for democracy.



IBRAHIM_HEGAZY



FARIDA_ALLAGHI



MUSTAFA_MOHAMMED ABDUL JALIL

Drawing Lessons from the Arab Spring

Just like 20 years ago, mounting poverty appears to have been an underlying cause of the unrest across the Arab world. However, protesters are also demanding human rights, political freedom, democracy and cultural and religious diversity.

For example, the transformations unleashed during the Arab Spring share some common and unique characteristics – the role of youth and the dynamic tension between democracy and theocracy. As recent elections in Egypt show, how this tension will be resolved is an open question.

‘This is unlike other transformations. This is unique. There is a need to reconcile democracy and theocracy,’ said Dr **Ibrahim Hegazy**, Associate professor of Marketing, Head of the Marketing Academic Unit, American University, Egypt.

‘While democratic governments need to find ways to support citizens’ rights in developing countries, they also need to respect the Arab way of thinking,’ said **Farida Allaghi**. ‘But Arab people and Arab countries need to also do it for themselves, to do the job internally.’

Young people were at the heart of political reform. ‘For their courage, young people in the Arab world deserve our support,’ said **Andris Piebalgs**. **Tawakkol Karman**, Yemeni human rights activist and 2011 Nobel Peace Prize Laureate, echoed that sentiment in her video address to the EDD audience. ‘You have to be strong, you have to trust that you can bring down the dictatorship regime and build a new society,’ she said. ‘We know that anything that you dream can happen. You have to know that you have the ability to achieve your dream.’

Commissioner Piebalgs told participants the Arab Spring continues to remind us that others still yearn for freedom and a better future.

LIBYA’S CHALLENGES

After the fall of Muammar Gaddafi, human rights issues are still high on Libya’s agenda. Security is at the top of the agenda, but people are full of hope, according to **Farida Allaghi**, women’s rights activist, Senior Advisor for International Development, Libya.

In a Special Address, **Mustafa Mohammed Abdul Jalil**, Chairman of the National Transition Council of Libya, described developments in his country, which is being swept along by the forces of change: ‘There are many [fighters] who would like to return to normal life, but require support. If the international community would unfreeze Gaddafi’s assets of between US\$ 140 million and US\$ 160 million we would be able to show we appreciate the efforts of these fighters, and retrain them to be part of the military or security forces.’

Mr Jalil added: ‘If we can recreate the army this would be a way to end security problems in Libya. My experience as a judge and former Minister of Justice is that security and stability are the first steps to achieve security in general. No country can achieve its goals without this, and we cannot achieve development without rational justice.’

He told participants: ‘I can assure everyone that moderate Islam prevails in Libya, which respects the rights of everyone and shows gratitude to human beings, in accordance with God’s thinking. In religion it says you are not allowed to touch human dignity or torture people, nor to steal people’s money nor to harass, endanger or dishonour other people.’



CARLOS_VALENZUELA



MARTHA_WANGARI_KARUA



ANDRÉ_GERRITS

SECTION I DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT

Timing the Elections Right: Managing Expectations and External Pressures

In considering the toughest democratic challenges, it is important to remember that elections are perhaps the most complex undertakings for governments. Although elections are an essential feature of democracies, they can be imperfect, even in developed Western democracies. For example, opposition parties often lack media access and sufficient funding to effectively campaign against ruling parties. Pragmatism and humility are thus required. One should not expect perfect elections, only those that 'reflect the will of the people', argued **Carlos Valenzuela**, United Nations Senior Electoral Advisor.

'I don't like the words free and fair elections. What does this mean? This is a very subjective idea. We [at the UN] like to say "credible"; that people have trust in the process and trust in the results. How you create trust depends on the context. There are no recipes for this,' he said.

'Elections are not a panacea. Elections must be credible if people are to participate,' echoed **Gilbert Kiakwama**, Vice-President of the *Convention des Démocrates Chrétiens*, and Member of the National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Though paramount to successful democratic transitions, holding the first genuine elections in transitioning countries can be even more complicated, especially in terms of timing. The recent successful elections in Tunisia could provide a best-case example of how and when to hold elections in transition countries (see box). Yet the situation in Tunisia was somewhat unique. Conditions in other transition countries, such as Egypt and Libya, are different and will require different approaches.

There is no set timetable for elections in transition countries. In fact, it can be detrimental to hold elections if conditions are not yet right. Time is needed to prepare institutions and stakeholders. Conversely, there are dangers in waiting too long.

Pressure to hold elections from external sources can sometimes help democratisation, but can sometimes backfire. **André Gerrits**, Professor of Politics, Leiden University, pointed to the example of pressure on Bosnia, principally from the United States, to hold early elections when the country was not ready. The result was years of violence. The United States appear to have used the Bosnian elections as an exit strategy. Many believe this was a mistake. The timing of elections should be based on realistic, not strategic, thinking. The domestic situation must be properly assessed.

'Transitional elections draw much attention, but the subsequent elections are even more important,' confirmed André Gerrits. 'It is in those elections that the resilience of democratic institutions is tested.'

In countries that are not holding their first elections and that have established election schedules, elections must be held when the terms of incumbents are up. According to Hon. **Martha Wangari Karua**, Member of Parliament, Kenya: 'Elections should be held when they are due. There is a time when they are expected. Postponing elections causes tension and makes people agitated.' Postponing or cancelling elections in these situations breeds disillusionment, frustration and violence.





KAMEL_JENDOUBI



MOHAMED_BEJI_CAID_ESSEBSI

ELECTIONS IN TRANSITIONING COUNTRIES – THE CASE OF TUNISIA

Tunisia chose to have its first elections run by an Independent Electoral Commission, not affiliated with discredited ministries. The Commission did not have much experience, but it had political will and financial capacity. It decided upon a relatively simple election system.

‘If a nation wants to conduct elections, it has to have confidence and feel ownership. You cannot buy trust. You have to earn trust. The nation has to believe you. In Tunisia we have been through a procedure of building that trust,’ observed **Kamel Jendoubi**, President of the Independent Electoral Commission, Tunisia.

‘Tunisians were convinced that elections were a tool to deliver the people’s mandate to the government. This was a precondition for a successful election.’

In Tunisia in 2011, there was great pressure to hold the elections as quickly as possible. However, the Commission, after consulting with political parties, civil society and international experts, delayed the election for some months to make sure that the public was adequately informed about the election, political parties had time to organise and formidable technical issues had been resolved.

Most fundamentally, the Tunisian people wanted to make the elections work to regain their pride in themselves and their country. The elections were held less than nine months after the fall of the old regime.

In a Special Address, **Mohamed Beji Caïd Essebsi**, Interim Prime Minister of Tunisia, described four success factors that contributed to the success of Tunisia’s revolution leading up to free and multi-party elections in October 2011 and noted that meeting the expectations of citizens, particularly young people, is critical.

‘[First], our nation is very well educated. All young people of school age attend school as we have this obligation in our country.

‘[Second], women account for 51 % of our population. Tunisian women are free and they live in an Arab and Muslim country. Women [also] occupy important positions in the public administration of our country. We have women ambassadors, like in Poland.

‘[Third], another important condition for success is that Tunisia has a very large middle class –which is one of the reasons for success.

‘The fourth condition is the economic situation. The economy must be able to fulfil the expectations of its citizens, especially young people, which is not always the case of developing countries. This is why aid is indispensable to the success of this project. From the [very] first days the EU has provided support.’





MARTIN_DAHINDEN



KRISTIAN_SCHMIDT



SECTION I DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT

The effect of elections in autocratic countries can take various courses. Elections can either strengthen entrenched incumbents or can lead to democratic transition. The recent disputed elections in Russia may further entrench Vladimir Putin. However, the surprising protests may spark change.

Similarly, the recent elections in the Democratic Republic of Congo demonstrated that elections do not necessarily guarantee democracy. The results are contested and some people reject them. With elections results that are not credible, people are likely to become frustrated, disillusioned and sometimes violent.

For example, disputed election results fomented violence in 2007 in Kenya. In response to this violence, the West pressed for a coalition government. It conveyed the message that stability after elections is more important than supporting correct election results. However, many believe it was a mistake for the international community to push for this diplomatic solution. Elections aim at building consensus by determining a clear winner, not a coalition government. This precedent sent a message to African nations that election results can be ignored.

'The coalition government has refused to prosecute the violence perpetrators, which makes the victims feel angry and disillusioned,' observed **Martha Wangari Karua**.

While elections are necessary, they are not sufficient to guarantee genuine democracy. Democracy means more than holding elections and having parliaments. 'Democracy requires pluralism, an active and genuine civil society, and protection of civil and human rights', according to **Martin Dahinden**, Director General of the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation.

Elections are a critical pillar of democracy. They are not just a one- or two-day event, but involve a whole cycle. And they are just the beginning of the democratic process. After elections, the elected officials must govern effectively, execute policies and abide by the rule of law. The election process is an ongoing cycle. To hold credible elections, preparation for the next election begins the day after an election.

'Smart Conditionality'

In recent years, the EU has given aid both to Tunisian civil society organisations seeking to promote democracy and to the Tunisian government because the macroeconomic indicators were going in the right direction.

One lesson for the European Union from recent events is that greater weight should be given to good governance, human rights, democracy and the rule of law in deciding which instruments and methods of aid delivery are used in specific countries.

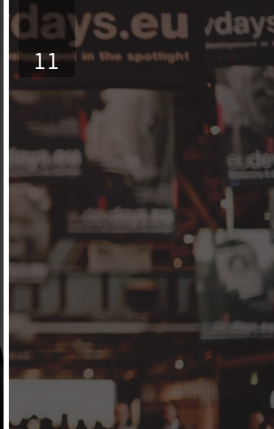
In its future development policies the European Union will place greater emphasis on aid conditioned on reforms in partner countries. As outlined in the 8 March 2011 Communication from the European Commission and the High Representative of the Union for Foreign and Security Policy – *Partnership for Democracy and Shared Prosperity with the Southern Mediterranean* – the European Union will take an incentive-based and differentiated approach, summed up in the phrase 'more for more'. Those partner countries that go further and faster with reforms will be able to count on greater support from the EU. According to the Communication: 'A commitment to adequately monitored, free and fair elections should be the entry qualification for the partnership.'



KRZYSZTOF_STANOWSKI



Ayo_OBE



Democracy, or at least real progress towards democracy, should be a precondition to aid, particularly aid in the form of budget support to governments. Budget support can be efficient if the recipient government's policies 'are broadly going in the right directions', said **Kristian Schmidt**, Director of Human and Social Development, Directorate-General for Development and Cooperation, European Commission. Yet, some civil society leaders in recipient countries and some emerging country donors question the wisdom of aid conditionality.

The conundrum of budget support and conditionality was expressed by **Ayo Obe**, Chair of the Board of Trustees of the Goree Institute, Trustee of the International Crisis Group: 'How to help poor people without helping bad governments? That is the problem with budget support – it helps governments, but not necessarily the people. Governments tend to be accountable to those who give the money. Governments receiving aid do not feel accountable to their own people.'

Aid to governments can undermine accountability of the recipient governments to their own people. Therefore, in countries with repressive, corrupt, incompetent and autocratic governments, aid should not go to governments. Rather it should flow to civil society and the local level to promote education, economic development, democracy, good governance and empowerment of people.

'Aid should empower citizens. Donors must consider the impacts of their interventions,' observed **Krzysztof Stanowski**, Under-Secretary of State for Development Cooperation, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Poland.

AN AGENDA FOR CHANGE – DEMOCRACY

'We will stand by our partner countries as they establish democratic systems, because democracy is not just the best means of securing sustainable and inclusive economic growth – it is the only means of doing so,' said **Andris Piebalgs**.

Democracies perform better than autocracies at developing their societies because the rule of law is best secured by democracies, which in turn provides a safer business environment for investors.

In its October 2011 Communication, *Increasing the Impact of EU Development Policy: an Agenda for Change*, the Commission emphasised: 'Good governance, in its political, economic, social and environmental terms, is vital for inclusive and sustainable development. EU support to governance should feature more prominently in all partnerships, notably through incentives for results-oriented reform and a focus on partners' commitments to human rights, democracy and the rule of law and to meeting their peoples' demands and needs.'

'This is not a romantic vision of development or human rights,' **Andris Piebalgs** said. 'It is a pragmatic vision. It is about developing smart conditionality. It is about concretely responding to the new standards that are emerging.'

● **FOR MORE INFORMATION**

European Commission

http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/news/agenda_for_change_en.htm





TERTIUS_ZONGO



HEIDI_HAUTALA



CHRISTOPHER_BEIER

SECTION I DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT

Funding Democracy Promotion

'We can't use aid to start a revolution,' said **Kristian Schmidt**, Director of Human and Social Development, Directorate-General for Development and Cooperation, European Commission. The spark for change must be ignited by the local population. Without change being shaped at the community level, there will be little change at the national level.

'We have to make a clear statement that you cannot buy reform with money. The recipients will pretend they have changed. But genuine change is a bottom-up process. We must ensure that the European institutions understand that a suitcase of money will not build democracy,' said **Tertius Zongo**, Former Prime Minister of Burkina Faso.

Political change needs to come from actively engaged citizens who are determined to change their destiny.

'The question about "when to introduce democracy" to a country is paternalistic,' said **Heidi Hautala**, Minister for International Development, Finland. 'We need to empower people so they can do it themselves. Public oversight by the international community is important to ensure that countries live up to their agreements on human rights.'

There should not be a timeframe put on a country's transition to democracy. It is difficult for donors or citizens themselves to say precisely when it has been achieved or not achieved, and to what extent.

'One message spelled out clearly for us [here] is that democratisation processes should begin at home. Ownership in building democracy and pursuing development goals is vital,' concluded **Andris Piebalgs**.

In terms of process and tools, some donors find it hard to work at the grassroots. It is easier to work through governments and big NGOs. Thus, the role of some development aid organisations in assisting countries in transition is to give strategic advice and build capacity of local actors. 'Donors should support reform actors, helping them explore options,' urged **Christopher Beier**, Managing Director of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit.

In financial terms, about 2% of Europe's Official Development Assistance is directed towards democracy-building. The European Union intends to increase its direct support for democracy, human rights and the rule of law. European Commission President **José Manuel Barroso** stated: 'Our action promoting democracy and human rights, if our proposals are approved, will be increased by over 40%. This will enable us to respond even better to democratic transformations, such as the ones witnessed in North Africa and the Middle East, but also other difficult situations, such as in Belarus.'

In this context, some participants argued that more support must be given to political parties and the media. 'There is very little support for parliaments, political parties and media,' urged **Maria Leissner**, Ambassador at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Sweden.

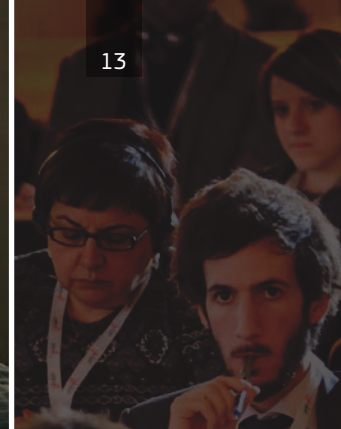
Increasingly, as seen recently in North Africa and the Middle East, the use of social media for information-sharing and debate is stepping up public pressure for good governance and political reform, better quality of life and faster growth. Online communities can take action from social networks to the streets.



MARIA_LEISSNER



KLAUS_RUDISCHHAUSER



Social media has emerged as a powerful development tool, adding to the potency of mobile telecommunications as drivers of economic and democratic change. Panellists agreed that development work comes back to empowering the individual. Having information and a voice gives people power to engage in the democratic debate.

Therefore, investment in infrastructure, media literacy and free, independent and pluralistic media overall should be at the heart of media development policies. 'These aims and the policy goal to free the media and to free access to communication technologies are also the goals of the EU as a development actor,' concluded **Klaus Rudischhauser**, Director for Quality and Impact, Directorate-General for Development and Cooperation, European Commission.

MEDIA: TOOLS FOR DEMOCRACY?

'Nothing in the 21st century is more fragile than the need to control information... But when you have openness of information, it is easy to get very ridiculous very fast. In a democracy, it is a given fact that every day you have to challenge and fight for your existence; you have to prove yourself. If you are a dictator you can show up one or three times a week or month to show your people how strong you are, how brutal you are, again to be admired. But that is the shortest way to get ridiculous. This is what new information flows bring. In the 1980s and 1990s, we had one channel, one newspaper, and one face. Suddenly we are launched in new space where you have to fight on a daily basis for your political existence. That is a very sound system,' explained **Mikheil Saakashvili**, President of Georgia.

Participants at European Development Days debated the role of free media in democracy building. The role of social media was made particularly relevant following its alleged role during the Arab Spring. However, it was pointed out that only a small percentage of the population in poor countries has access to the Internet, smart phones and social media tools.

Furthermore, many observers believe that the role of social media may have been overplayed and that the success of opposition movements in North Africa and the Middle East owed more to the television network Al Jazeera than to Facebook and Twitter.

The immediacy of social media seems more adapted to overthrowing repressive governments than to contributing to the subsequent, more difficult, consolidation phase. Yet, the new leadership in countries swept by the Arab Spring cannot afford to ignore opinions that percolate up from bloggers and tweeters.

The new tools provide politicians and policy-makers with a feedback mechanism that did not exist before. 'Social media is about empowerment of individuals and it is helping the poor,' said Klaus Rudischhauser. 'Social media and media in general have a huge impact on how a country is governed because it can expose how governments are operating.'

FOR MORE INFORMATION
Global Forum for Media Development
<http://www.gfmd.info/>



ROSA_ISAKOVNA_OTUNBAEVA



REBECA_GRYNSPAN



SECTION I DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT

Promoting Democratic Cultures

Democratisation efforts by donors have emphasised elections and good governance by elected officials. Civil society and human rights activists have received much support, while support for political actors has been limited.

According to **Maria Leissner**, to support democracy, it is critical to support not only electoral processes and elected officials, but also political parties.

Beyond elections, the fundamental challenge facing transition countries is to create a deep and enduring democratic political culture to consolidate electoral democracy. In some transition and developing countries, the people have no experience with democracy and will need to learn.

Rosa Isakovna Otunbaeva, Former President of the Kyrgyz Republic, described her country's transformation. 'We changed our country to parliamentary democracy. We had a scarcity of political information. We badly needed to learn how parliamentary democracy works in other countries. It is important to learn about the development of political parties, NGOs, mass media, etc.,' she said.

'Long-term progress requires political infrastructure,' said **Maciej Popowski**, Deputy Secretary General, European External Action Service.

Rebeca Grynszpan, United Nations Under-Secretary-General, United Nations Development Programme Associate Administrator, pointed out that: 'You don't establish democracy by decree. You build it, and it is a long-term process; and it is imperfect, but you build institutional arrangements with long-term processes to make democracy work.'

It may take years, if not generations, to develop healthy democratic political cultures. If genuine democracy is to take root, youth, women and minorities must be engaged. 'It is necessary to speak to the youth. Young people, women and minorities must be involved in the process,' argued **Jean-Louis Ville**, Head of Unit for Governance, Democracy, Gender and Human Rights, Directorate-General for Development and Cooperation, European Commission. Young people are driving demands for political reform. They must be involved in the process.

Real and lasting political change in countries in transition may take many years. It takes time to build functioning political parties and institutions, and develop political sophistication. After years of autocracy, it will take time to develop coherent opposition parties with the capacity to take and effectively exercise power. Western donors should not become fatigued.

Successful transformations involve teaching people to cooperate with former opponents. Institutions and attitudes must be created for functioning democracies. Leaders must be found who will keep their promises to the people, hold elections when scheduled and surrender power when their terms of office are up. Institutions must encourage peaceful changes of power. Transformation is a process that requires long-term commitment.

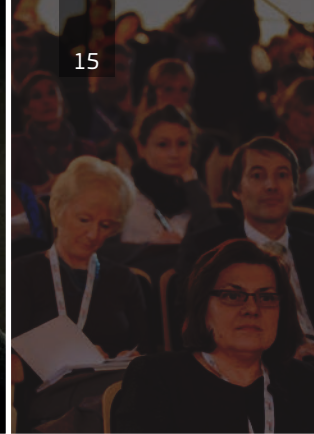
Leonard McCarthy, Vice President for Integrity, The World Bank Group, elaborated on this idea. 'It is important to bring the population along and give them constitutional thinking. To get the message across you have to speak in a language they understand.'



LEONARD_McCARTHY



ABDUMOMUM_MAMARAIMOV



CENTRAL ASIAN AWAKENING

The Arab Spring began in countries with strong but unequal economic growth. Many young university graduates found themselves without jobs. What did they do? They took to the streets. Panellists observed that a potentially similar situation is brewing today in Central Asia, where the economic and social benefits of growth are not necessarily being distributed to the general population – setting the stage for a potential Arab Spring-like movement in this region of the world.

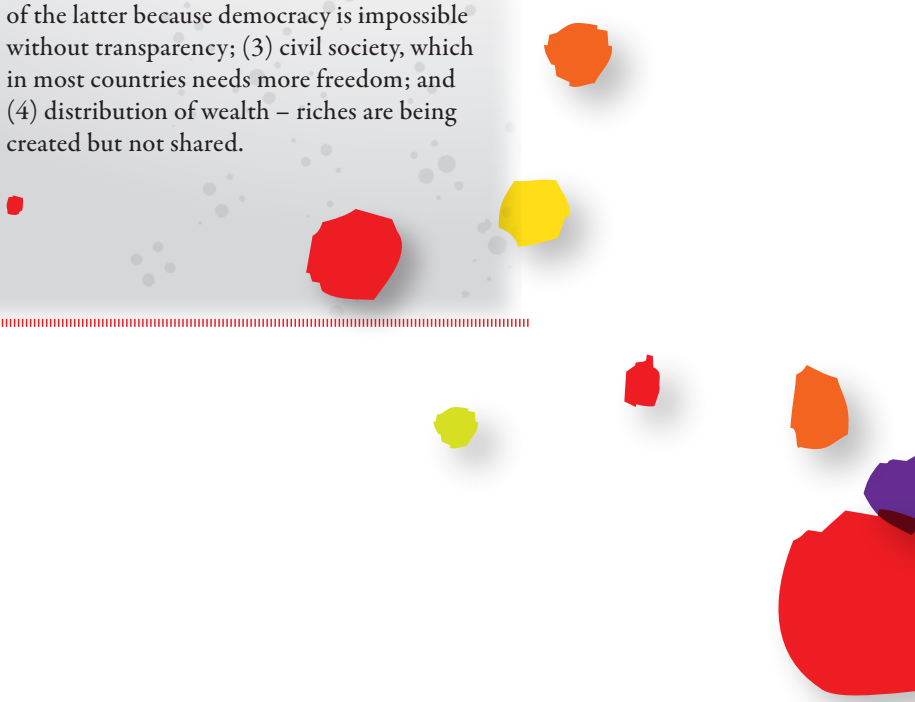
Each country of Central Asia has a distinct post-independence political history, but for all of them the road to democracy and civil society development remains very difficult. The notion of stability, while valuable, is often promoted to citizens to justify the lack of progress towards more open societies. Progress should not be ignored. However, for the most part, leaders who took power at independence are still in power.

The constitution of the former Soviet Union, for example, had the world's longest list of human rights. 'The problem was, it was a joke. Central Asia is the same. Everything changed and we have new countries, new flags and new slogans. But we still see the same faces in government,' explained **Krzysztof Stanowski**, Under-Secretary of State for Development Cooperation, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Poland.

Kyrgyzstan is seen as the region's island of democracy, but the reality is complex. Revolutions come and go, but the nature of power stays the same. Progress towards parliamentary democracy is real, but civil society organisations remain under control.

'With two recent upheavals, there is a sense of fear and fatigue within my country,' said **Abdumomum Mamaraimov**, Chairman of the Board, Public Foundation Voice of Freedom, Kyrgyzstan. 'We now face the challenge that people want stability and, as a result, such democratic values as freedom of speech are being lost because they are seen as instigators of instability.'

Those pushing for change should consider four factors: (1) regional cooperation, including with neighbours such as Afghanistan; (2) corruption and accountability – less of the former, more of the latter because democracy is impossible without transparency; (3) civil society, which in most countries needs more freedom; and (4) distribution of wealth – riches are being created but not shared.





ALLEN_ASIIMWE



MANANA_KOCHLADZE



MOHAMMED_OUZZINE

SECTION I DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT

Credible Political Parties are Vital

'Often in post-Soviet countries, parliaments and political parties are not considered [as part of] civil society – while they are the core part of civil society,' said **Manana Kochladze**, Laureate of the Goldman Environmental Prize, Founder of the Green Alternative, Georgia.

Beneficiaries, European political foundations and democracy-support practitioners recognise the need for a coherent, sustainable approach to democracy support that includes capacity-building for target groups, creating a conducive environment and facilitating dialogue with other stakeholders.

Genuine political parties are vital to real democracies. Political parties are vital to credible elections and to genuine democracy. They help absorb and mediate tensions between regimes and their people. For genuine democracy to exist, political parties must be credible to the people. In some countries, rich and powerful individuals own political parties. Richer parties can buy the allegiance of politicians of other political parties.

To be credible, political parties must engage in genuine internal debate over policies and initiatives. 'Political parties must transcend tribal and ethnic loyalties, and focus on values, ideologies, policy positions and inclusive national unity,' according to **Gilbert Kiakwama**. In transition countries, political parties need to be improved and strengthened. External organisations should help strengthen political parties. However, external assistance is politically delicate as incumbent governments often see this as interference in internal affairs.

Participants generally agreed that external organisations should not transfer money to political parties. However, most also agreed that political parties should be supported with training and capacity-building. This is important to democratisation and good governance because political parties must gain the capacity to govern properly.

Some argue that the EU should engage with political parties in transition and fragile democratic states to help ensure that there is no backsliding from democratic advances. 'Backsliding' towards autocracy is a constant risk, observed **Allen Asimwe**, Director of AVID Development, Uganda. A spirit of cooperation must be engendered among opposing groups and polarisation avoided. Formerly violent advisories must be transformed into peaceful, lawful competitors for political power.

'The challenge remains to strengthen political party capacity and political culture. The EU should do an assessment of how to effectively support political capacity-building,' urged **Professor Mohammed Ouzzine**, Secretary of State, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Morocco.

The Valuable Role of Political Foundations

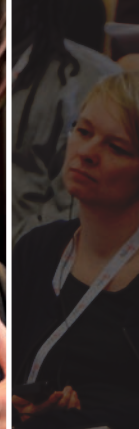
Political foundations can offer valuable assistance to political parties in developing and transition countries. They can provide training and capacity-building, and bring together representatives from political parties from various countries with similar political orientations.



MALGORZATA_WASILEWSKA



JAN_KRZYSZTOF_BIELECKI



'The European Union supports political foundations. They are key to checking the EU's thinking. The EU is striving for coherence in its support for democracy,' noted **Malgorzata Wasilewska**, Head of Unit for Democracy and Election Observation, European External Action Service.

According to **Jean-Louis Ville**, the EU provides support to political actors in various ways, including capacity-building, democratic institution building, parliament and electoral support. However, he explained that giving cash to political parties is prohibited under current EU rules, adding that the EU uses a multi-partisan approach, via civil society organisations such as political foundations and multi-partisan institutes to support political parties.

José Manuel Barroso explained that the European Union's *Partnership for Democracy and Shared Prosperity in the Southern Mediterranean* is supported by the European Commission SPRING programme (Support for Partnership, Reform, and Inclusive Growth), launched in September with €350 million in grants and a specific focus on democratisation. The Commission intends to extend this to €500 million for the period 2011 to 2013.

'This comprehensive approach reflects our conviction that a fully democratic society is the best possible basis for solid economic development, and that economic progress underpins open societies,' he said.

DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT: WHAT FUTURE FOR THE BRICS?

'Nothing in the 21st century is more fragile than a dictatorship,' **Mikheil Saakashvili** told participants. The world is attaining a critical mass of democracies, with just about one in two people now living in democratic countries, according to the *Economist* Intelligence Unit's measure of democracy.

Jan Krzysztof Bielecki, Former Prime Minister of Poland, observed: 'Economic growth is incredibly important for political transformation. Without it, it is impossible to build a successful democracy.' Political and economic change must go together hand in hand. It is false to argue, as some authoritarian regimes do, that economic development must come before political reform.

There are several ways of thinking about the relationship between development and democracy: as a method of creating a conducive environment for development; as a political system that is generally conducive to development; and as a political system that will succeed or fail depending on whether it delivers security, peace and prosperity for the people.

With the impressive development in the BRICS countries – Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa – when will they all define themselves as part of the democratic world? While imperfect, India, Brazil and South Africa are democracies.

Discussions focused on how long it would take China and Russia to become 'real' democracies. Continuing economic development and the spread of hard-to-control information on the Internet make democratic trends more likely, but historical and cultural traditions could militate against Western-style democracies.

'One cannot view China simply through a dictator/democratic lens. There are resilient factors and conditions for an authoritarian regime within traditional Chinese culture. The road to democracy begins by promoting democratic values at the local level. Today these are European values – and I have no doubt that someday they too will be Chinese values,' according to **Xiao Qiang**, Founder and Editor-in-Chief of *China Digital Times*.



MOHAMMED_EL-HACEN_OULD_LEBATT

SECTION II

HUMAN RIGHTS: THE CORNERSTONE OF DEVELOPMENT

Human rights are already 'deeply rooted' in the European Union's approach to development and are set to become even more so in the future. Democracy and human rights are inextricably linked, but this raises the thorny issue of double standards. Undeniably, aid has been given to repressive regimes in the name of stability and counterterrorism. Participants debated this and other issues including the right to development, gender, housing, migration and food security.

In just five years since its inception, the European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR), accounting for less than 1% of all EU development assistance, has made a huge difference and important headway in consolidating democracy by supporting pro-democracy activists and human rights defenders throughout the world, often in the most difficult countries where cooperation with government authorities is suspended and without the host country's consent.

EIDHR funds have helped rescue child soldiers in Congo, defended human rights lawyers in Colombia, Algeria and Armenia, supported freedom of the press in Azerbaijan and Somalia, and helped rehabilitate torture victims in South America and Central Africa. By protecting human rights and enhancing democratic processes, the EIDHR has delivered immense value in helping human development in a large number of countries.

In the wake of the EIDHR's success, the EU is committed to ensuring that its development aid underpins the fundamental values of human rights, democracy and the rule of law. These are now the elements seen as essential for the establishment of any partnership and cooperation between the EU and third countries. Protecting human rights is set to become a pre-condition for development assistance.

FOR MORE INFORMATION
[European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights](http://www.eidhr.eu/)
<http://www.eidhr.eu/>

Development and Human Rights

'It is a mistake to separate democracy and human rights from development,' said Mohammed El-Hacen Ould Lebatt, Chief Observer in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie. 'They go together and will not succeed alone. Even Gaddafi did some development, building a hospital here and there, but without considering human rights. What kind of life is it without freedom and human rights? What kind of life is it when we only want bread? It isn't freedom.'

Development aid has long been linked to good governance, but the international community has been talking about good governance for a very long time and it has not always made much of a difference. In some cases, donor countries ignore human rights abuses for reasons of political expediency. Some believe that, up to a point, aid has always been offered as part of a political quid pro quo.

In addition, as Mohammed El-Hacen Ould Lebatt pointed out, 'some dictators' have convinced their citizens that implementing human rights is a threat to local values and a conspiracy against people. These dictators have manipulated people into believing that there is always an agenda when it comes to aid, and that the 'Western style' of human rights is a luxury in developing countries. 'These beliefs are false. Not all aid has an agenda,' he added.

Respecting and promoting human rights is essential for development. If donors are pegging aid to human rights and democracy, it is very important that these terms be defined. For, as one participant pointed out, 'human rights', 'freedom' and 'democracy' mean different things to different people in different places. Today, simply having the right to vote is not enough.

Four sessions at the European Development Days focused on the importance of ensuring that human rights are the cornerstone of development programmes.



ANDRIS_PIEBALGS



AN AGENDA FOR CHANGE – HUMAN RIGHTS

Human rights must be ‘deeply rooted’ in the EU’s approach to development, according to European Commissioner for Development, **Andris Piebalgs**. ‘As we look to the future, governance, democracy and human rights will form a central part of our vision for EU development policy going forward. That vision is set out in our proposed Agenda for Change,’ he said.

In addressing the European Parliament’s inter-parliamentary committee with national parliaments in October 2011, Commissioner Piebalgs pointed out: ‘Human rights, democracy and good governance will be given greater weight in determining the ways and means of providing assistance.’

The Commissioner added: ‘Human rights will be a central consideration when we analyse a partner country’s profile and suitability as a recipient of general budget support.’

At European Development Days, Commissioner Piebalgs called for a multidimensional approach to addressing human rights violations: political dialogue, sanctions, and financial and technical cooperation to promote the human rights agenda.

FOR MORE INFORMATION

European Commission

http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/news/agenda_for_change_en.htm

THE RIGHT TO DEVELOPMENT

The ‘right to development’ was introduced in the 1970s and 1980s as one of several rights in a third generation of human rights. The first generation included civil and political rights, with the second based on economic, social and cultural rights. The third generation consisted of solidarity rights belonging to peoples and covering global concerns such as development, the environment, humanitarian assistance, peace, communication and common heritage.

The 1986 United Nations Declaration on the Right to Development stated unequivocally that the right to development is a human right. Human rights and development go hand in hand and should not be considered separately. This concept has never been more important than it is today.

Double Standards

Participants did not avoid the tough issue of double standards. At a time when the entire donor community is strengthening its support for the wave of democratisation sweeping across the Arab world and Central Asia, a key issue is consistency and how best to reconcile promoting democracy with the sometimes conflicting priorities and interests of donors.

The use of double standards was criticised. Aid has been given to repressive regimes in the name of stability and counterterrorism. Some countries, such as Switzerland, have provided havens for the assets looted by dictators. That said, recently Switzerland has made improvements by blocking assets and repatriating looted funds.



RAMI_ABDURRAHMAN

SECTION II_HUMAN RIGHTS: THE CORNERSTONE OF DEVELOPMENT

'There should be consequences for ill behaviour, but it is not always done,' said **Heidi Hautala**, Minister for International Development in Finland. 'The EU has extended sanctions against Belarus for election fraud, including travel bans for officials. However, it has not issued the same sanctions against Russia because Russia is deemed as being too powerful. The EU has to be more consistent when sanctioning countries in this regard.'

Public oversight by the international community is important to ensure that countries live up to their agreements on human rights.

The media and governments sometimes 'turn a blind eye' to lack of good governance or to human rights abuses, said **Rami Abdurrahman**, Founder of the Syrian Observatory for Human Rights. 'The EU seems to deal with each country differently.' For example, according to Mr El-Hacen Ould Lebatt, until recently, nobody had been concerned about what was going on in Libya. Gaddafi had been welcome everywhere, as had been the now ousted presidents of Tunisia and Egypt. Nobody wanted to talk about Bahrain. There were many human rights abuses in Saudi Arabia, but nobody was willing to discuss them because of oil. This was a 'glaring double standard', he added.

Yet, even if European donors were to reach full coherence in support of democracy, their efforts could be undermined by emerging donors pursuing different policies. The discussions underlined the fact that new actors in the development sector have different agendas and that China presents a particular challenge in this regard.

PROMOTING GENDER EQUALITY

The World Bank's annual flagship publication, *World Development Report 2011*, focuses on gender equality for the first time in 30 years. It arrives at two basic conclusions: that development can contribute to gender equality; and that gender equality can help promote development. In fact, not only is gender equality a development goal, but in many cases it also acts as a catalyst for other outcomes.

There has been progress on many fronts, but a persistent gap exists, notably in South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa, where death from childbirth is still common and the social status of girls and women remains dismal.

The failure to educate women contributes to the persistence of an unhealthy culture and both women and men must be educated to turn this around. Although women are often victims of a male-centric culture, it is they who in large part pass these values along from generation to generation. Every male has been raised by a woman. So when people talk about ways to remove obstacles for women, they need to think about educating women themselves – in addition to men – so that this unhealthy culture is not passed on. As long as cultural problems remain, equality is unlikely to be achieved.

Incentives can sometimes change behaviour, even if discriminatory beliefs persist. In some societies, for example, girls are not sent to school because according to societal norms it is inappropriate for them to study. However, if the government provides small grants to families that send their daughters to school, parents will do so – even if they still believe it is not right.



Many problems – such as domestic violence and low numbers of female elected officials – do not disappear as societies grow richer and achieve better living standards. They must be addressed via public policy.

In terms of domestic violence, helping women find a greater voice in the home – partly by allowing them to earn and manage their own money – can help. With some notable exceptions, the problem lies not with legislation, but with its implementation by the judiciary, police and the healthcare system. Sometimes indirect approaches work best: a health campaign can decrease alcohol abuse by men and have the additional effect of reducing domestic violence.

Europe admittedly has work of its own to do on gender issues, but it also wants to push them more forcefully in its development policies, both as part of the efforts to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and as a social justice issue in its own right.

On the development front, the EU Plan of Action for Gender Equality and Empowerment in Development (GAP) 2010-2015 sets out a number of objectives to be achieved at global and country level through coordinated action by the European Commission, external services and Member States.

These include:

- including gender in policy and political dialogue with partner countries;
- mobilising adequate financial and human resources to pursue gender equality;
- ensuring that gender is mainstreamed in all EU-funded programmes;

- supporting relevant civil society organisations;
- enhancing cooperation with UN and regional organisations in the promotion of gender equality; and
- supporting partner countries' efforts to achieve MDG 3 (to promote gender equality and empower women) and MDG 5 (to reduce by three-quarters, between 1990 and 2015, the maternal mortality ratio).

The first GAP implementation report was submitted to the EU Council in November 2011. It indicates a number of good practices, such as the increasing role the EU is playing as lead donor on gender in many partner countries, and the relevance of EU financial instruments such as the EIDHR in supporting civil society initiatives dealing with gender equality and women's empowerment.

The report also points to existing challenges, for instance the need to strengthen the capacity of EU staff to mainstream gender in all sectors and modalities of development cooperation and in policy dialogue.

FOR MORE INFORMATION
European Commission

http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/what/gender/index_en.htm

World Development Report – World Bank
<http://go.worldbank.org/CQCTMSFI40>



NEIL_CLARKE



ERIC_MAKOKHA



SECTION II_HUMAN RIGHTS: THE CORNERSTONE OF DEVELOPMENT

The Human Rights-Based Approach to Development: Experience from the Right to Adequate Housing

A human rights-based approach to development is necessary to ensure that European institutions and governments are held accountable for their development measures and that they involve beneficiaries in decisions that affect their lives. The human rights-based approach also provides a more effective and efficient strategy for development that produces long-term sustainable results.

THE HUMAN RIGHTS-BASED APPROACH

In development cooperation, the 'human rights-based approach' describes objectives to be achieved, such as access to clean water and adequate housing, equality, freedom of association and freedom of expression. It also offers the tools needed to attain these objectives, such as empowering people to take part in decisions that affect them and to hold governments and EU institutions accountable for their development measures. As a result, it is a conceptual framework for the process of human development that is both normatively based on international human rights standards and operationally geared towards promoting and protecting human rights.

The human rights-based approach is founded on core principles, explicitly linking development challenges to rights defined in international human rights instruments: universality and inalienability, indivisibility, equality, participation, empowerment, non-discrimination, prioritising vulnerable groups, accountability and the rule of law.

A People-First Approach

People living in poverty who are among the most marginalised suffer serious, often multiple human rights violations, and are the most excluded from democratic processes. The human rights-based approach addresses these issues through empowerment and a strong focus on participation.

Policies chosen by politicians and decision-makers that have an impact on people's lives must be rooted in human rights. 'People who are the least engaged in decision-making processes have the [fewest] rights; these are usually the most vulnerable and marginalised groups such as minorities,' said Neil Clarke, Head of Europe Programmes, Minority Rights Group – Europe. 'Human rights have a broader framework than development itself. A human rights-based approach should be engaged in all levels and should include input and participation from groups in their own development. This produces a more holistic result.'

When providing housing, for example, it is vital for donors to engage with people to understand what adequate housing means for them. 'Too often people are not consulted until the project is done,' said Eric Makokha, Chief Executive Officer of Shelter Forum, Kenya. 'No settlement is homogeneous. There are lots of different people living in any given settlement. Ask people with disabilities and youth, so you are informed about the different interests of the people who will be living there.'



JEAN-LOUIS_VILLE



ESTHER_SOMOIRE



WIDNEY_BROWN

It is also crucial to assess why people become susceptible to certain human rights violations. 'Often people are driven into slums because of other human rights abuses,' said **Widney Brown**, Senior Director of International Law & Policy, Amnesty International. 'For example, in Kenya prior to the new constitution, women had practically no inheritance rights. Without being able to inherit property when their husbands died, the only option left to women was to live in a slum.'

Providing Protection and Accountability

International human rights standards indicate the targets development measures should set. The right to adequate housing, for example, includes the right to tenure, privacy, habitability, and accessibility to work, school and healthcare facilities. The standards also give guidance on how to protect human rights in a process where opposing interests are in contention.

'Take, for instance, the construction of a dam to improve a population's access to water. The human rights system demands that the decision on where to build the dam involves the communities that will be affected by this dam. This doesn't mean that these communities must agree, but the process and alternative housing offered where evictions ensue must adhere to international standards,' said **Widney Brown**.

'For example, in India millions of people have been displaced by the construction of dams. What is interesting is that indigenous communities have practically always been moved. A human rights analysis of the process considers this discrimination and ensures that marginalised people are not automatically those who carry the burden of such projects,' she added.

Human rights provide a framework for accountability in development cooperation. Through participation, beneficiaries and civil society can hold donors and authorities to account so that objectives are met. In the worst-case scenario, in which development measures actually infringe human rights, the right to effective remedy must be guaranteed.

A Call for Commitment from Donors and Governments

'Clearly, human rights are at the core of the [European Commission's] new Agenda for Change, and will be strongly entrenched in its projects and programmes in the coming years. The new budget support approach has strong advantages. Now governments need to buy into the strategy. It looks like an easier way of doing things but it's complicated,' explained **Jean-Louis Ville**, Head of Unit for Governance, Democracy, Gender and Human Rights, Directorate-General for Development and Cooperation, European Commission.

'We set up a whole list of conditions. We want to ensure governments involve civil society in the process so that they can check on whether the money is being spent properly,' he said.

A human rights-based approach is difficult to apply evenly: all countries and situations are different. But the EU is now looking at ways to make it compulsory, before national governments can receive funds. Guidelines will be developed to ensure beneficiaries are involved.

Esther Somoire, Centre for Indigenous Children and Women, Kenya, highlighted the importance of working through grassroots organisations that reflect and represent all groups in society, especially vulnerable groups. 'It is difficult to access EU funds for grassroots organisation, it brings lower impact if donors work only at the national level.'





MICHAEL_OBERREUTER

SECTION II_HUMAN RIGHTS: THE CORNERSTONE OF DEVELOPMENT

Ms Somoire suggested making partnership with grassroots organisations a condition for receiving development funds from EU donors. 'We have to be aware of what the programme is about, and our involvement and role in the whole programme and its design,' she told participants.

'One of the difficulties for large agencies is bureaucracy. In many ways, donors in new Member States are best placed to develop best practice for a human rights-based approach,' added Neil Clarke. 'They may have smaller funds, but they are flexible, effective, unhindered by large bureaucracies and can work more closely and directly with beneficiary communities. By applying a human rights-based approach they can achieve more sustainable and effective results and influence the large agencies.'

Lilla Makkay, Head of the Development Cooperation Department at the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, suggested that all donors must ensure they apply the human rights-based approach. 'Hungary was a recipient country until recently and is now a donor. We know very well it is of crucial importance to promote the capacity of vulnerable groups to claim and exercise their rights and to provide services to fulfil their human rights. Building capacity is important. The importance of a human rights-based approach is going to be more important than ever with this new vision.'

FOR MORE INFORMATION
Minority Rights Group
<http://www.minorityrights.org/7606/programmes/mrg-europes-programmes.html#1>

Amnesty International
<http://amnesty.org/en/demand-dignity>

Migration, Development and Human Rights: Towards a Changing Paradigm

The arrival of approximately 49,000 migrants in Malta and Italy from the Maghreb since January 2011 resulted in a revision of EU migration policy towards increased border security, readmission and border management cooperation approaches. The EU is increasingly being challenged to provide common policy responses that can move beyond a security-related agenda to address the human dimension of migration and development in its own right.

The impact of migration on development has been recognised by the EU through its Global Approach to Migration (GAM), the external dimension of the EU's migration policy. But since its adoption in 2005, this approach has been mainly *inter partes* (involving exclusively the states of origin and destination) and has ignored the rights and voices of migrants, as well as the growing phenomenon of 'children on the move'.

There are more than 200 million migrants worldwide. They are unrecognised 'development workers', living and working abroad and sending money home to their families. Their remittances make an important contribution to economies. Governments are hammering out new strategies to take advantage of their strengths.

Vulnerability at Home and Abroad

'To ensure the protection of migrant rights, it is crucial that the EU's Migration and Development strategy tackles the root causes of migration,' said **Michael Oberreuter** from SOLIDAR, a European network of NGOs working to advance social justice in Europe and worldwide. Root causes include the lack of decent work, unemployment and poverty.



TRAORE_MAMADOU



CHARITO_BASA



FEDERICA_GIANNOTTA

In addition, the rights of migrants already living in Europe, who often face social exclusion and exploitation, will have to be addressed. 'Migrant rights are human rights and these rights should not be determined by their residential status,' he said.

Traore Mamadou, Executive Secretary of The Red Cross, Mali, paints an even grimmer picture. 'They [migrants] are often the targets of scams and abuse, their rights are violated, and they lose their dignity. When they move around they often have to hide,' he said. 'They give up their status as a citizen and take another status that is not comfortable. If they are refused entry into the destination country, they must try to find their way home and reintegrate, at which point they have lost everything.'

Linking Migration to Development is Vital

The role of the diaspora is important for the country of origin and the country of destination. Global remittances exceed official development assistance in value.

'When workers abroad send money home, they contribute to the economy of the country of origin and to their families' wellbeing,' said **Charito Basa**, Filipinos Women's Council, European Network on Migration and Development, Italy. 'In the country of destination, they take care of people's children and homes and provide other vital services that citizens do not want to do.' There is an important need for the diaspora's civil society organisations to be supported in access to funding for projects.

In policy debates and in project planning, it is important to have a strong link between migration and development, said **Ignacio Packer**, Incoming General Secretary, Terre des Hommes International Federation.

CHILDREN'S RIGHTS ABUSES IN LAMPEDUSA

Children who are in transit, such as migrant children, are at risk of exploitation, sexual abuse and trafficking. Very often they have no access to basic social services and their rights are violated.

Federica Giannotta, Advocacy and Child Rights Office, *Terre des Hommes*, Italy, gave an example. At refugee camps set up in 2011 in Lampedusa, a tiny Italian tourist island 180 miles (288 kilometres) from the coast of Libya, children's human rights were severely violated.

'Camp workers did not get support from the Italian government and other stakeholders, therefore they could not prepare children properly,' she said.

'The detention of minors had peaks up to 60 days, a clear infringement of the Convention on the Rights of the Child. During detention, minors were abandoned in a sort of legal limbo. Minors simply did not exist for all those authorities that could protect them. They were like ghosts for the Italian authorities. Because they were not told what was going to happen to them they became more and more depressed. The Lampedusa model should never happen again,' Federica Giannotta concluded.





IGNACIO_PACKER



ROB_ROZENBURG



SECTION II_HUMAN RIGHTS: THE CORNERSTONE OF DEVELOPMENT

RECOMMENDATIONS ON MIGRATION

Panellists at the European Development Days made several recommendations on migration issues, including:

- abiding by the principles of the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights at all stages of the migration cycle;
- ensuring that migrants are entitled to the portability of social rights (e.g. pension or social security rights);
- calling for a stronger EU resolution to deal with Member States that do not take a human rights-based approach to migration;
- taking gender into consideration in policies and planning;
- supporting the capacities of diaspora organisations active in the migration and development nexus;
- ensuring that Red Cross Societies have effective and safe access to all migrants without discrimination and irrespective of their legal status;
- granting migrants appropriate internal protection and guaranteeing them access to relevant humanitarian services;
- taking a no-compromise stand to ensure that signatory parties do not violate any aspect of the Convention on the Rights of the Child;
- recognising that decent work is legal work – migration and development should work together;
- coherently addressing the root causes of migration; and
- with a view to the 2013 High-Level Dialogue on Migration, developing a structured and specific dialogue between civil society organisations and European institutions.

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Solidar

http://www.solidar.org/Page_Generale.asp?DocID=24844&cla=1&langue=EN

EUNOMAD

<http://www.eunomad.org>

‘When people live abroad they can bring back new knowledge to their country of origin. However, they need to have a good reason to come back and to stay. When people have no future, no hope and no work, they move. If there are school, water and other services in a village, nobody wants to leave,’ he said.

Ignacio Packer added, ‘If, for example, a doctor trains abroad there has to be decent work waiting back in the country of origin. And if they train at home and take their skills out of the country the result is brain drain. Finally, when migration involves children, there should be no compromise to the protection of their rights and this throughout the movement process.’

‘Brain waste’ is a bigger problem,’ commented **Rob Rozenburg**, Deputy Head of Unit, Directorate-General for Home Affairs, European Commission. ‘People often work under their skill levels because of accreditation and other issues. It’s a waste of talent and resources. The EU could use this expertise. The EU needs a broad, comprehensive, global human rights-based approach to migration to ensure that migrants are not exploited.’

A new convention drafted at the International Labour Organisation’s International Labour Conference in June 2011 recognises domestic work as legitimate employment with rights. This convention should be used in a human rights-based approach to migration.



MARK_BREUSERS



The Right to Food: Building Resilience in the Horn of Africa

The Horn of Africa – Somalia, Ethiopia, Kenya and Djibouti – is experiencing the worst drought in 60 years, with 13.3 million people in crisis and 250,000 people at imminent risk of starvation. Drought may be an act of nature, but famine is not.

This humanitarian crisis is an extreme example of the broken food system at the global level that does not respect the right to food of millions of people. A systematic failure to address the root causes of food insecurity in the region led to the first famine of the 21st century.

The crisis in Ethiopia this year was not an exceptional situation, added Professor **Mark Breusers** from Caritas Belgium. ‘The number of people who needed food aid in 2011 was similar to the number of those who needed it in previous years. About 10 % of the world population is chronically food insecure in normal years,’ he said.

‘Where we are failing is in addressing the specific needs of the poor and very poor segments of the population, not so much in the planning phase, but in terms of providing them with feasible solutions at the implementation level,’ Mr Breusers added. ‘In Ethiopia, millions of people are continuously moving in and out poverty – repeating the cycle of relief, rehabilitation and development. The current investments and solutions are insufficient. We need to invest more and better in disaster-risk reduction strategies that link relief, rehabilitation and development principles into development programmes.’

CARITAS EUROPA RECOMMENDATIONS

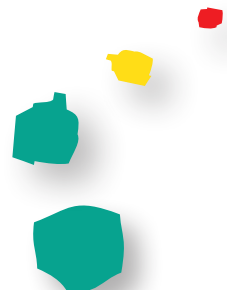
The organisation has made specific recommendations in this regard, including:

- continuing efforts to fill the financing gap of the Horn of Africa UN Appeal, and urging Member States to do the same;
- launching a Horn of Africa Resilience Initiative to secure the EU’s commitment to supporting recovery and long-term food security in the region;
- including disaster risk reduction measures that link relief, rehabilitation and development principles into development programmes;
- adopting and implementing a rights-based approach in the design of policies and including building resilience as an overall objective;
- urging Member States to adopt the Food Security Policy Framework implementation plan agreed in 2009; and
- ensuring coherence among the EU’s trade, agriculture, climate change and development policies so that they do not hamper efforts towards achieving food security in the long run.

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Caritas Europa

<http://www.caritas-europa.org/code/EN/soci.asp?Page=1275>





ANN_WATERS-BAYER



KRISTALINA_GEORGIEVA

SECTION II_HUMAN RIGHTS: THE CORNERSTONE OF DEVELOPMENT

Land grabbing is yet another problem, according to **Ann Waters-Bayer**, Senior Advisor, ETC EcoCulture, a Netherlands NGO. 'If people do not have land to farm they cannot be self-sufficient. Farmers do not have enough information – they often do not know that they have constitutional rights not to be removed from their land. They need awareness of what's happening and need a chance to resist what they have the right to resist,' she said.

Participants pointed out that, although the EU is a leader in the Horn of Africa, it has not been timely enough in its response.

How Could this Happen in the 21st Century?

The current drought in the Horn of Africa is a very dramatic and serious humanitarian crisis, said **Kristalina Georgieva**, European Commissioner for International Cooperation, Humanitarian Aid and Crisis Response. 'There are three underlying causes: nature – drought; human – instability and war in Somalia; and lack of leadership – policies that donors and governments do not apply in the best way,' she said.

'Europeans are the most committed to fight this crisis. But we need to pre-empt it. We need to invest in resilience, cross-cutting policies, peace and security,' the Commissioner added.

Fran Equiza, Regional Director for the Horn, East and Central Africa, Oxfam Great Britain, said that his organisation was asked why it took so long to respond.

'The whole system failed. We were late by 10 years to respond. The amount of money and effort in Africa is enormous. But there is very little coordination. Drought is predictable. We know it's going to happen. Tsunamis, hurricanes, volcanic eruptions are not always predictable, but drought in Africa is,' he said. 'The poorest people are the most affected, and are less resilient to cope.'

Refugee Camps: A Solution?

Commissioner Georgieva pointed out that without security it is impossible to combat famine. 'The continuing instability in Somalia has created several huge problems. The refugee camps set up in Kenya in 1991 have turned out to be a very different thing than first envisioned,' she said. 'They were supposed to be a temporary solution for 30 000 people. Now they are permanent cities that have been there for 20 years. We need to find a way to deal with these camps.'

A participant added that people in the refugee camps are traumatised from receiving aid with no livelihood options. 'They cannot leave the camps – they are locked in, becoming passive recipients. One major issue with the camps is water. People stay in camps because there is no water outside of them. Access to water is sometimes treated as a humanitarian issue, sometimes as a development issue. It is often easier for people to get water in humanitarian situations.'

A Joined-Up Approach is Crucial

Humanitarian interventions and development planning must go together in a joined-up way. For example, a participant pointed out that Niger was also facing a food crisis this year and that if just 25% of the country's aid money had been invested in seeds last year, the current crisis could have been avoided.



FRAN_EQUIZA

In northern Kenya, malnutrition was prevalent before the latest crisis, added Fran Equiza. 'Why do we only take care of malnutrition during crises?' he asked. 'Every dollar spent in the beginning can save money down the line. The amount of money devoted to malnutrition and agriculture is peanuts.' This disconnect has been apparent for years.

Commissioner Georgieva added that in high-risk countries, 'Everything we do has to be done through the lens of building resilience – shrink livestock numbers when drought is coming, provide mobile clinics to catch kids before severe malnutrition kicks in, empower communities to do rainwater harvesting. There is too great a divide between humanitarian and development planning. What is the use of building a road if the next floods will wash it out? These things need to be linked up.'

'Donors and agencies need to stay with projects longer. In addition, countries like India and China have to start contributing more to development – they need to realise that with more wealth comes more responsibility. But with new donors come the same old problems – they need to learn everything from the ground up,' said Commissioner Georgieva.

Population growth also needs to be addressed. It is an issue for people in the region and donors and other agencies cannot ignore it, thinking it is a politically incorrect topic to approach.

Fran Equiza noted that despite the failures, there are plenty of interesting success stories. 'For example, in an Oxfam project in northern Kenya, rainwater harvesting has been so successful that they had enough water to cope with drought, and have enough water savings to help their neighbours. We just have to find a way to scale up these successes.'

CHARTING THE WAY?

The EU is endorsing the Charter to End Extreme Hunger, released by a group of NGOs including Oxfam, Save the Children and ONE. It sets out five actions governments and leaders should take to address the underlying causes of the crisis, namely:

- respond early;
- support local food production;
- make food affordable;
- protect the poorest and most vulnerable; and
- reduce armed conflict.

FOR MORE INFORMATION
Charter to end Extreme Hunger
<http://hungercharter.org/>





JOSÉ_MANUEL_BARROSO



ANDRIS_PIEBALGS

SECTION III

AID AND DEVELOPMENT EFFECTIVENESS

The European Union is making improvements to its official development assistance to ensure greater effectiveness. Today's complex challenges require new solutions and new strategies to eliminate poverty. The EU's new strategy, Agenda for Change, aims to target funding on initiatives that will drive long-term and inclusive growth.

The European Union (EU), together with its Member States, accounts for more than half of global aid, making it the largest donor in the world. To increase the impact of this aid, the European Commission is refocusing its efforts with the ultimate aim of eliminating poverty. This is a timely response to changing times.

The European Development Days took place a year after the first wave of civil unrest and protest swept the Arab world, leading to revolutions in Tunisia and Egypt and civil war in Libya. In what has become known as the Arab Spring, protest movements sprang up across North Africa and the Middle East. At the root of this global discontent is a call for democracy and an end to poverty.

'We live in difficult economic times, thus we have a duty to European taxpayers to get the most impact from our resources... Hence our decision to channel our resources even more strategically, where they are needed most and make the most difference,' said **José Manuel Barroso**, President of the European Commission. He also confirmed the EU's support and commitment to remain a major international partner in tackling global challenges such as fighting poverty, ensuring food security and combating the effects of climate change.

AN AGENDA FOR CHANGE – INCREASING THE IMPACT OF EU DEVELOPMENT POLICY

In its October 2011 Communication, *Increasing the Impact of EU Development Policy: an Agenda for Change*, the European Commission calls for aid to be concentrated on fewer areas, and in countries in most need of assistance.

European development assistance will focus on those countries in the greatest need of external support and where aid can make the biggest difference. Future EU spending will concentrate on sectors that are key for long-term and inclusive growth. According to the European Commission, the sectors creating the foundation for sustainable growth include good governance, agriculture and food security, and clean energy.

The European Commission advocates more effective budget support to partner countries that meet eligibility requirements, including:

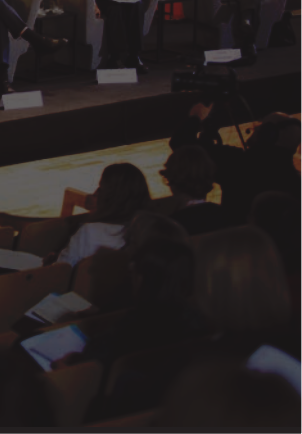
- a stable macroeconomic framework;
- national and sector policies and reforms focusing on sustainable growth and reducing poverty; and
- public finance management within a sound institutional, legislative and regulatory framework.

European Commissioner for Development **Andris Piebalgs** has said more attention will be given to a country's record on democratic governance, particularly regarding human rights and gender – and to moving the EU from 'aid effectiveness' to 'aid and development effectiveness'.

FOR MORE INFORMATION

European Commission

http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/news/agenda_for_change_en.htm



LINDSAY_NORTHOVER

Meeting Today's Development Challenges

The Agenda for Change takes into account the recent wave of democratic uprisings. However, the overarching aim is to update and refocus existing aid allocations to meet the latest development challenges, including the Millennium Development Goals.

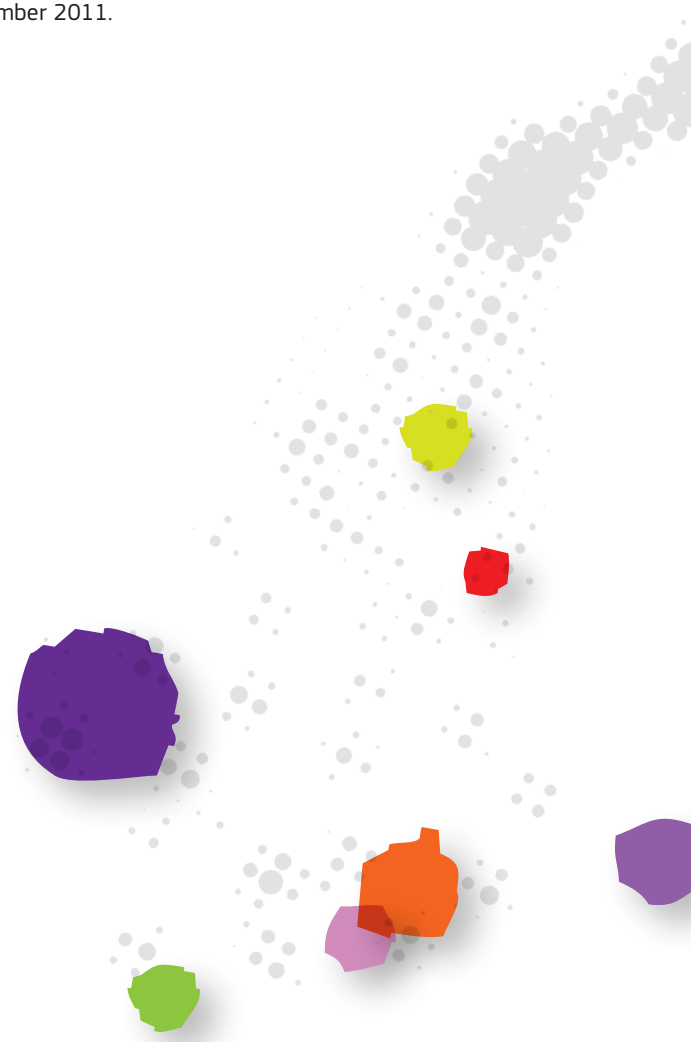
Panellists identified the main global challenges, which had changed a great deal in the past two decades. Today's challenges include: democracy, human rights and political accountability; demographic issues; environment and climate change; education; gender; the particular concerns of young people, including employment; water and sanitation; food security; economic development, especially job creation; economic, political and/or social exclusion; financial flows, including tax evasion by multinationals; physical security, including conflicts; global governance and leadership; and intergovernmental relations.

These issues are affecting people more and more – and in some countries, they are exacerbated by exclusion. In today's rapidly globalising world, where the use of communications technologies, including social media, is becoming increasingly pervasive, the result can be protest, uprisings and revolutions, as has been witnessed over the past year.

'The EU bloc needs to be open and needs to look outwards,' said **Lindsay Northover**, Government Spokesperson on International Development, House of Lords, United Kingdom. 'We should recognise how interconnected we are. This has to be at the root of our development policy.'

José Manuel Barroso told participants: 'In a changing world, where resources are tight, where some former developing countries are now aid donors – and I applaud them for that progress – it is only logical that Europe adapts its policy. Making our aid more effective is moreover the only way we will meet the Millennium Development Goals by 2015.'

Panellists further stressed this point, while insisting on the need to move beyond aid and explore other policies and work with other actors to promote development and tackle poverty. This was also the message that came out of the Busan conference on aid effectiveness in early December 2011.





RENATE_HAHLEN



ANTONIO_TUJAN

SECTION III_AID AND DEVELOPMENT EFFECTIVENESS

BUSAN PARTNERSHIP FOR EFFECTIVE DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION

Most stakeholders see the outcome of the Fourth High-Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness – held in Busan, Korea, in November-December 2011 – as a major step forward in fostering effective development cooperation.

The Busan Partnership for the first time establishes an agreed framework for development cooperation that includes traditional donors, Southern actors from emerging economies and the BRICS countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa), civil society organisations and private funders. This marks an important turning point for international development cooperation.

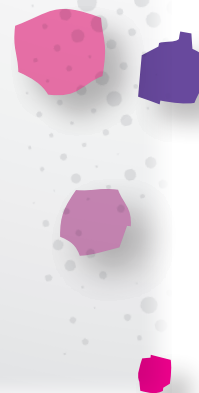
The European Union was upbeat about the results. **Renate Hahlen**, Deputy Head of Unit for Aid and Development Effectiveness and Financing, Directorate-General for Development and Cooperation, praised the level of inclusiveness at the meeting, and reiterated that the European Union ‘achieved almost everything it wanted’ in terms of country-level implementation and the means to move forward.

While welcoming the broad range of important state and non-state actors around the negotiating table and their ability to reach an agreement, there was some concern that the desire to get all present to sign up to a final agreement had made the Busan Declaration weak. **Antonio Tujan**, Co-Chair of the NGO Network for Better Aid, IBON International, The Philippines, who helped lead the NGO negotiations, characterised the results as ‘Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde’ (i.e. half good and half bad).

Natalia Alonso, Head of the EU Advocacy Office, Oxfam International, said: ‘The outcome of Busan was weak. We walked away with shared principles, but differentiating commitments – that’s a weak outcome.’ This was considered to have been partly the result of taking into account the views of the new players, particularly the emerging country donors, which had insisted on the principle of non-responsible aid. She noted that it had also been partly the fault of countries on the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development’s Development Assistance Committee (OECD-DAC). Having been hit badly by the financial crisis, they had only been prepared to agree to voluntary commitments.

■ **FOR MORE INFORMATION**
Busan Summit
<http://www.aideffectiveness.org/busanhlf4/>

European Commission
http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/how/ensure-aid-effectiveness/busan_forum_en.htm





NATALIA_ALONSO



KLAUS_RUDISCHHAUSER

A New Framework for Relations?

The Busan agreement acknowledged the diversity of development partnerships and the growing importance of new partners and donors.

At Busan, a broad range of stakeholders came together to discuss the future of aid and development effectiveness. As well as participants from donor and aid recipient countries, there were delegations from the BRICS countries and developing countries wishing to strengthen South-South cooperation. Civil society and the private sector were well represented also. In addition, the very high level of representation provided a strong political mandate for pursuing implementation of Busan commitments.

Forging Partnerships with the Private Sector

The European Union encourages the participation of new players such as the private sector. Emphasising inclusive and sustainable economic growth, the proposed Agenda for Change translates into redoubled efforts to forge partnerships with the private sector.

‘The public sector simply cannot do it all alone,’ said **Klaus Rudischhauser**, Director for Quality and Impact, Directorate-General for Development and Cooperation, European Commission. ‘Nor can anyone expect the taxpayer [alone] to fund development.’

Europe should work with private companies in developing countries to strengthen traits that companies and entrepreneurs – foreign and domestic – set as prerequisites for investing. These include good governance, transparency, less corruption and good quality education.

THE PRIVATE SECTOR AND DEVELOPMENT

Panellists and participants identified three reasons why the private sector is a critical driver of development cooperation:

- funds are limited while demands remain great, so new sources of financing must be mobilised;
- economic growth depends on the private sector, which remains severely underdeveloped in many countries;
- some traditional recipient countries have moved into the middle-income category and, while anti-poverty handouts no longer make sense for them, the EU should continue working with them on developing growth strategies.



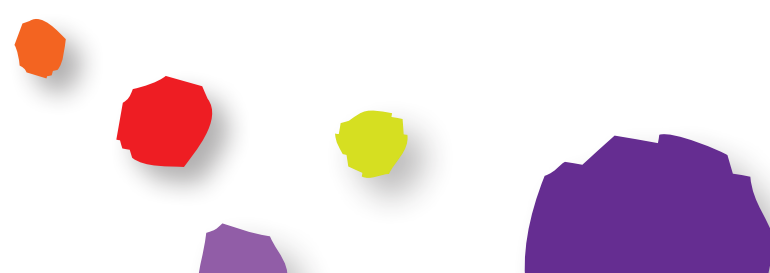
FOR MORE INFORMATION

European Commission

http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/what/economic-support/private-sector/private_sector_en.htm

‘For economic growth there is only one actor – the private sector,’ Mr Rudischhauser emphasised. ‘The local private sector develops growth, so it needs a good, local, inclusive business environment.’

Support for the private sector should not be limited to customary pro-business policies. For example, by removing the legal obstacles women face to becoming entrepreneurs, countries can unleash the potential of large numbers of creative and motivated individuals who would like to set up their own businesses.





ADRIAN_VAN_DEN_HOVEN



JACQUES_DELMOITIEZ



BETTY_AMONGI

SECTION III_AID AND DEVELOPMENT EFFECTIVENESS

Adrian van den Hoven, International Relations Director in BUSINESSEUROPE, referred to the legal and governance risks that European businesses face when investing in developing countries. Governments and companies need to work together to lower these risks by using financial instruments.

'We need to create trust,' said **Jacques Delmoitiez**, BASF President for Europe, the Middle East and Africa. 'Business for the long term needs local activity and consumers locally, so local jobs must be created.'

International financial institutions such as the European Investment Bank are supporting public-private partnerships and financing local financial institutions to put capital into small and medium-sized enterprises, which are traditionally the greatest source of employment in developing countries.

Mutual Accountability

The Busan Forum emphasised mutual accountability and called for both donors and recipients to be more transparent and accountable.

One very positive aspect of the Busan Declaration is the call to make the aid process more accountable. As **Brian J. Atwood**, Chair of the OECD-DAC put it: 'The Busan outcome document was a negotiated call to the international community to extend democratic ownership and processes.'

In asking for greater ownership and accountability, the obvious question is: who should be accountable? The Busan outcome document provides a framework of mutual accountability for all those participating in development partnerships.

There was a strong call at the European Development Days for accountability to begin at home, in the donor countries. **Betty Amongi**, a Member of Parliament from Uganda and Chairperson of the Uganda Women Parliamentarians Association, called for donors to enhance mutual accountability.

'This means providing information. Can you make it a condition that all donor conditionality is laid before the parliaments of the recipient countries so we can examine it?' she asked. This request was partly prompted by reports that as much as 40% of aid is spent on consultants from donor countries involved in implementing aid programmes.

Aid Effectiveness and Democratic Ownership?

A number of participants agreed upon the inherent connection between development policy and democracy. **Jerzy Buzek**, President of the European Parliament, and a leader in the fight for democracy in Poland in the 1980s, emphasised that 'It is crucial to talk about development policy and democratic ownership.'

Development is most effective when decisions are taken closest to the beneficiaries. If beneficiaries do not feel a sense of ownership, the impact will be diminished and the project is likely to be both less effective and inefficient. Participation leads to ownership and taking responsibility. When beneficiaries are involved, they will push for funds to be wisely spent. But governments also need to own projects because the EU and other funders cannot act without their consent. When governments make their people aware of which projects are being funded, there is less chance of the project money just going to government leaders' constituencies.





RICARDO_CORTÉS_LAISTRA



ANNA_LEKVALL



JERZY_BUZEK

Esther Somoire, Centre for Indigenous Women and Children, Kenya, said that some groups, such as her own nomadic Maasai, are often hard to reach – they are mobile, there is poor infrastructure where they live, and they are widely spread across large areas of land.

‘For these reasons they are often left out of development programmes because it is expensive for donors to reach them and involve them at the decision-making stage of projects. When decisions are made with no input from these groups, the project has a greater chance of failure,’ she told participants. ‘Too often beneficiaries aren’t consulted until the project is done – and then only so that the implementing agency can tick off the ‘consultation box’. When the local community is involved in every aspect of a project from design to implementation, their needs are taken into consideration and the projects is more likely to be successful. Each community is different, each group of people is different, and there can’t be a one-size-fits-all approach.’

Betty Amongi added that, in keeping with the emphasis on country ownership, national parliaments should be at the centre of implementing aid. She told participants: ‘We want to own our own processes. As parliamentarians we want to own our own budget.’

This is a view shared by donors. As **Rebeca Grynspan**, United Nations Under-Secretary-General and United Nations Development Programme Associate Administrator, explained: ‘Country ownership means that countries have options [in receiving aid]. Ownership doesn’t mean that you know the answers. It means opening up the option of policy choices.’

Disturbingly, recent research has shown that instead of promoting democracy in recipient countries, development aid can sometimes undermine it. **Anna Lekvall**, Senior Manager, Democracy and Development – Global Programmes, International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, described evidence showing that donor governments do not want to deal directly with parliaments, steering away from anything that could be ‘politically sensitive’ in the aid debate. As a result, only 2% of aid money involves parliaments, political parties or civil society organisations in these countries. This is because donors prefer to bypass national institutions, working through government ministers and a few key international NGOs in the country.

South-South Cooperation

The Busan Declaration highlights the role of South-South and triangular cooperation in aid effectiveness, recognising the potential of such aid modalities in meeting the commitments of the new Global Partnership for effective development.

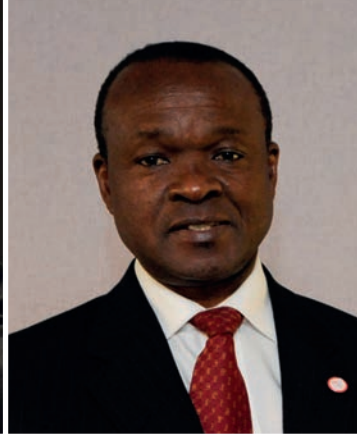
According to **Ricardo Cortés Lastra**, Member of the European Parliament: ‘One of the most significant South-South developments is between emerging and middle-income countries, which until recently were also defined as “developing countries”, and the poorest countries in Africa or the Pacific.’

As new economic powers have grown out of aid dependency, many believe that these emerging countries are well-placed to transfer lessons from their experience, which are often more appropriate than those from traditional donors, in that they are involve transferring skills rather than funds. Triangular cooperation (between a Northern partner and two Southern partners) in this regard is particularly cost-efficient because middle-income countries have developed models and programmes which are more suitable to developing countries.





CLÉMENT_DUHAIME



ERASTUS_MWENCHA



MOHAMED_IBN_CHAMBAS

SECTION III_AID AND DEVELOPMENT EFFECTIVENESS

Brazilian Ambassador to Poland, **Carlos Alberto Simas Magalhães**, confirmed this is the case with Brazil, where cooperation with developing countries is not aid, but 'horizontal cooperation'. Given the huge amount of innovation from the South, it is no longer a case of applying (sometimes inappropriate) solutions from the North.

Many South-South relations are built on exchange between equal partners. **Clément Duhaime**, Administrator of the Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie, described how countries in the French-speaking world exchange experiences, solutions and professionals. For example, teachers in Africa, Haiti and Lebanon learn from each other in a context that respects local norms and where there is a common language.

The panel addressed the challenges set forth by the Busan Declaration and its recognition of the role of South-South and triangular cooperation as a means of sharing development knowledge and practices, engaging in peer learning and helping enhance development effectiveness.

Developing countries are increasingly sharing their experiences and locally owned solutions with peers. They require more support to strengthen their capacities to effectively engage in South-South and triangular cooperation.

More systematic learning from development experiences is required, particularly from emerging economies, middle-income countries and key development partners, as a means of fully exploiting the potential of South-South and triangular cooperation.

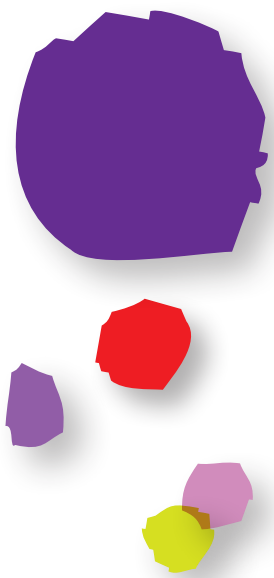
New collaborative approaches should foster knowledge-sharing activities around key development challenges in order to learn from and adapt experiences, institutional arrangements and successful initiatives implemented by development partners.

Triangular Cooperation – an Emerging Relationship

Triangular cooperation is growing. **Erastus Mwencha**, Deputy Chairperson of the African Union Commission, pointed out that many government sectors lend themselves to this type of cooperation. 'The unique challenge [to make countries feel comfortable] is inherent in the triangular cooperation setting. That is why making sure countries can identify via means other than political overtones is the best route to take,' he said.

One concrete example of how triangular cooperation can work in practice is that between Japan (North), Brazil (emerging South) and Mozambique (Southern developing country). The Japanese government worked with Brazil on the Cerrado project in the 1970s to develop agriculture in a previously unproductive region, resulting in a 160% increase in yields on just 30% more land. Brazil is now working with Japan to send Brazilian farmers to work with those in Mozambique's tropical savannah to increase agricultural production, based on the know-how they learned in the Cerrado.

Jerzy Pomianowski, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Poland, said that at Busan, potential donor countries – which do not adhere to OECD-DAC aid norms – argued for a different approach to South-South cooperation with different types of conditionality.





MAHAMADOU_ISSOUFOU



XIAO_QIANG



FILIP_KACZMAREK

Differences of opinion emerged at the European Development Days concerning conditionality of aid provided by OECD-DAC donors. Opinions were divided almost entirely along North-South lines. **Mohamed Ibn Chambas**, Secretary-General of the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) States, praised the support ACP countries receive from emerging countries such as India or China, which is quicker and more flexible, and places less conditionality, and therefore less interference, on aid recipients.

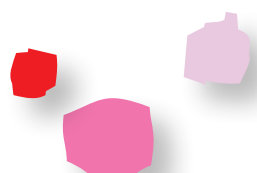
The President of Niger, **Mahamadou Issoufou**, criticised the North for applying conditions to its aid, while continuing to unfairly benefit from commercial exchanges. He cited the case of cotton, where Northern countries subsidise their own producers, squeezing West African cotton-producing countries out of the market. He emphasised that ending the inequality in trade would greatly help resolve some of the challenges facing developing countries.

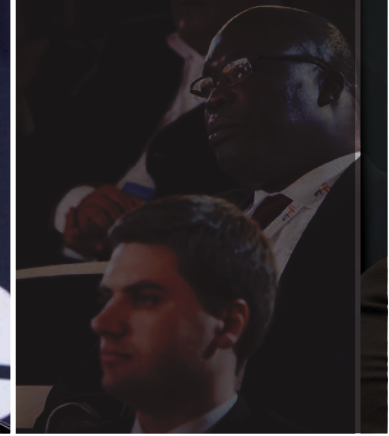
Martin Dahinden, Director-General of the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, disagreed. As a donor, he noted, OECD-DAC donors' conditionality is not 'interference', as it focuses on building democracy and human rights, which are 'essential elements if we want development'.

Filip Kaczmarek, Member of the European Parliament, agreed in another panel that it is important to foster democracy. He told participants that when asked about the fate of Eritrean political prisoners, the Eritrean President responded that there were no political prisoners, only traitors. This prompted Mr Kaczmarek to note: 'It is not entirely true that the concept of democracy and human rights is accepted with equal enthusiasm, wherever one goes.'

The jury is still out on whether emerging economies are funding developing countries without imposing conditions for reasons of solidarity, or whether they are anxious to form commercial ties with countries that are rich in minerals, such as uranium, cobalt and other resources. 'China is interested in obtaining resources, not developing local communities,' argued **Xiao Qiang**, Founder and Editor-in-Chief of China Digital Times. Civil society in developing countries and in China should scrutinise whether loans and aid from China in exchange for resources are in the long-term best interests of the recipient countries.

However, the panellists agreed that the changing paradigm in global development makes the idea that solutions owned by the developed countries need to be transferred to the South obsolete and shows the value of new approaches that emerge in developing countries.





SANDRA_FUENTES-BERAIN

SECTION III_AID AND DEVELOPMENT EFFECTIVENESS

A DEVELOPMENT AGENDA FOR THE G20?

For the first time, a developing country is President of the G20. Mexico assumed the G20 Presidency in December following the G20 Leaders' Summit in Cannes in November 2011.

Just two days before the European Development Days, Mexican President **Felipe Calderón Hinojosa** presented the priorities of the Mexican Presidency of the G20 to move forward in critical areas of global development and food security.

'The rise in prices, not only of commodities in general, such as oil and minerals, but particularly of food in the last two years has affected billions of the poorest people. This rise in the price of the basic food basket implies an almost mechanical increase, an almost automatic increase, in global poverty levels,' he said. 'If the poorest families spend more than half their earnings on food, and food prices have increased by 25 % on average, this means that there is a direct impact on income levels and an increase in poverty rates, [all things being equal], in all countries.'

Sandra Fuentes-Berain, Ambassador of Mexico to the European Union, echoed the Mexican President's concerns regarding global poverty levels during her address at the European Development Days. 'Global growth is central to development. The urgency of promoting sustainable and inclusive economic growth is one of the key challenges for the G20 and is a priority of the Mexican Presidency,' she said.

At the same time, Ms Fuentes-Berain noted, 'Our plans for economic development must be wrapped in a sustainability framework.' She pointed out that for the first time, the G20 would be addressing sustainable development, infrastructure investment, energy efficiency and green growth.

The Mexican Presidency intends to focus on the challenges of growing inequality and poverty, volatility of food prices, high unemployment and the negative impact of climate change.

'Taking steps to raise a society's standard of living is even more important when this means reducing the level of poverty,' Ms Fuentes-Berain told participants. 'Economic growth and poverty reduction are indispensably linked, as extended periods of economic growth are always a key indicator of an increase in the standard of living.'

She called for stronger global partnerships. 'We are running a serious risk that the main victim of the economic crisis will be a failure to meet the Millennium Development Goals by 2015. To avoid this, we need to accelerate the process of building stronger global partnerships.'

She also called on donor countries to explore new sources of finance for development, in addition to official development assistance pledges already made: 'We need to mobilise additional resources for development on a stable, predictable and voluntary basis.'

FOR MORE INFORMATION
Mexican Presidency of the G20
<http://www.g20.org/>



JEAN_BOSSUYT



JEAN-PIERRE_ELONG_MBASSI



NATALIA_ALONSO

What Next after Busan? – Localise the Debate

What happens next after Busan? Panellists at the European Development Days emphasised that the next step is to strengthen the country-level process and to localise the debate. Indeed, calls for greater accountability and transparency mean that governance must be located closer to the people, at the local level.

Jean Bossuyt, Head of Strategy, European Centre for Development Policy Management, described the Busan agreement as a 'systematic shift' and a 'political document' that sets new parameters, and fundamentally alters the relationship between the state and society in both donor and beneficiary countries.

It was suggested that taking a broader long-term view could also deepen the relationship between citizens and their governments, leading to their negotiating a new social contract.

'The next the big challenge is to localise the debate. This could lead to citizens and governments negotiating a new social contract,' suggested Oxfam's **Natalia Alonso**.

Strengthening Local Governance and Accountability

Jean-Pierre Elong Mbassi, Secretary-General of the United Cities and Local Governments of Africa, agreed: 'There is no way central government can deliver to the people without the support of local government. If you channel your money through the local government route you will get some results. If it goes through governments it will get dissipated [and] lost.' However, in Africa, 'most of the time the political will is there, but often the administration is against this', he added.

A recent study on decentralisation presented by **Dr Klaus Veigel**, Policy Division Governance, KfW Development Bank, DeLoG Member, had shown that 'Decentralisation is a political reality in most partner governments. When done well it makes local governments the pinpoints of service delivery and increases political representation.'

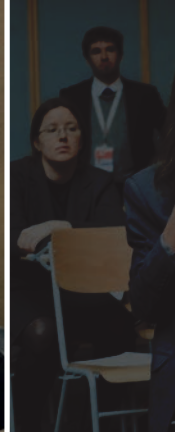
The push for improving services and local participation results from either a 'top-down' or a 'bottom-up' initiative. In the Anilao District, The Philippines, an enlightened Mayor, **Teresa Debuque**, President of the League of Municipalities of the Philippines-Iloilo, had introduced reforms to involve the local population in taking decisions about service delivery – changing the district from being poorly serviced to one of the best-operating municipalities in the region.



RISTO_ATANASOVSKI



OMAR_SAÏP_SY



SECTION III_AID AND DEVELOPMENT EFFECTIVENESS

'Local government is not just the responsibility of local authorities – but of all citizens. I tell people how much money we have, how much can be spent, our expenditure, etc. This also shows our municipality is bankable,' she explained.

In the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, the Municipality of Gevgelija had developed a strategy that included donors' organisation, local citizens and NGOs that had resulted in better local governance, said **Risto Atanasovski**, Manager, Foundation for Local and IT Development in Gevgelija.

In Senegal it was bottom-up pressure that had led to demands for greater involvement in local governance. Dr **Omar Saïp Sy**, Director of Studies, Forum Civil, National Chapter of Transparency International, Senegal, described how citizens wanted to improve the governance structure and the political process and stamp out corruption. With the support of Transparency International, a Good Governance Label, awarded by the population to the local government as a 'positive sanction', has been developed.

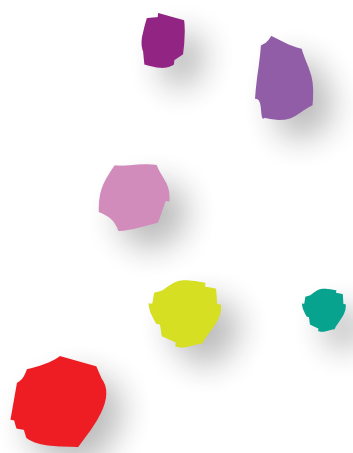
Decentralising services also helps deliver more 'joined-up' services, developing infrastructure projects such as transport to furnish local needs. This helps local entrepreneurs, thus indirectly generating more local taxation.

One question that arises is whether local authorities have the capacity to manage grants. This may explain central government reticence in delegating services – and decision-making – in development aid. **Betty Amongi** acknowledged that training is needed to give national and local politicians the required expertise. It is imperative to strengthen country institutions.

Jorge Rodriguez Bilbao, Directorate-General for Development and Cooperation, European Commission, expressed the view that donors should explore the possibility of using innovative funding approaches to ensure financial support for local governments, whose role is critical in ensuring high-quality public service delivery. Local governments need to learn to be responsive to their constituents, who must in turn learn how to be good citizens and to hold their locally elected representatives accountable. On-the-job training provided on site while local governments are in the process of assuming their functions is the best capacity-building approach. In this regard, European funding could be used to strengthen national and local administrations.

François Bary, Director for Expertise and Quality at the LuxDev development agency, agreed that it is important to convince donors that supporting decentralisation is not 'a quick win'.

The Busan Declaration also welcomes the role of civil society in recipient countries as a means of holding governments to account, and a 'push factor' to make Busan a reality. However, some government representatives at the European Development Days were wary of an increased role for citizens and civil society organisations. They stressed the importance of working with legitimate stakeholders, who are 'responsible, elected and transparent'.





JORGE_RODRIGUEZ_BILBAO



FRANÇOIS_BARY

THE ROAD AHEAD AFTER BUSAN: SHARED RESPONSIBILITY FOR DECENTRALISATION AND LOCAL GOVERNANCE REFORM

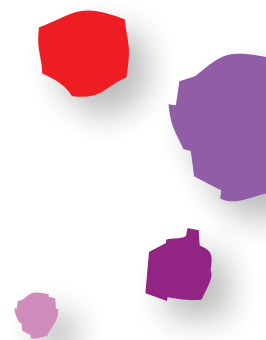
Decentralisation and local governance (DLG) reforms are an important political reality across the world. At the same time, decentralisation – when done well – is a desirable process because local governments are and should be the principle point of service provision and political participation. Local governments also play a critical role in confronting emerging global challenges, including climate change and urbanisation. The question is how local governments can be empowered to deliver on their promises and live up to the new challenges.

The DeLoG (Development Partner Working Group on Decentralisation & Local Governance) study 'Busan and Beyond: Localising Paris Principles for More Effective Support to Decentralisation and Local Governance Reforms' addresses this question and shows that development partners have an important role to play in support of DLG reform. At the same time, they cannot continue with business as usual. Development partners need to change their engagement in four important areas:

- improving their understanding of the political economy of partner countries' decentralisation reforms;
- strengthening partner engagement in terms of overall public sector and governance reform;
- improving monitoring and evaluation of the progress and effects of decentralisation reforms and development partners' support; and
- developing and implementing a more flexible and country-specific strategy for decentralisation support.

FOR MORE INFORMATION
Practitioners' Network for European Development Cooperation
<http://www.dev-practitioners.eu>

DeLoG (Development Partners' Working Group on Decentralisation and Local Governance)
<http://www.delog.org>





JOHN_PATRICK_NGOYI

SECTION III_AID AND DEVELOPMENT EFFECTIVENESS

Beyond 2015 – A Citizen Driven Agenda

The eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) range from halving extreme poverty to halting the spread of HIV/AIDS and providing universal primary education by the target date of 2015. Given the relatively slow progress on many goals since they were set under the auspices of the United Nations in 2000, there is considerable debate about whether developed countries can accelerate their efforts and ‘keep their promise’ to poorer countries in the four remaining years.

An Open and Inclusive Process

All participants in the session exploring 2015 and beyond – over 100 people from civil society, EU Member States and intergovernmental agencies – agreed that a post-2015 framework should be formulated by a UN-led open, inclusive, participatory process that responds to the voices of those most affected by poverty and injustice, rather than by a process of negotiation involving mainly governments, diplomats and technocrats following high-level agreement on an overall vision.

The UN is preparing plans for an open and inclusive process to gather citizen input for the next stage. The idea is to include those affected in the process, improve the quality of the results, and help build constituencies that will support the process down the line. It will do this in three ways: (1) through national consultations in about 50 countries; (2) through 8-10 regional/thematic consultations on inequality, human rights, population and demographics, governance, fragility and conflicts; and (3) via social media.

The UN stressed ‘the importance of the European community engaging... right now to set the agenda and to engage with partners so that this process has the best chance of being successful’.

The Arab Spring, the *Indignados* in Spain and elsewhere in Europe, sundry protests in Africa and the Occupy Movement across the United States provide evidence that many people, especially the young, feel excluded from the current systems of national and global governance.

As **John Patrick Ngoyi**, Director of Nigeria’s Justice, Development and Peace Commission, pointed out, inclusive planning cannot be led by ‘clubs’ of elites. ‘Those who are excluded need to be brought into the process,’ he told participants. ‘Those who are doing the excluding should not be the only ones making the decisions. Clubs should not lead. The G20 is a club. The G8 is a club.’

Instead, the UN should lead an intergovernmental process that includes civil society defined in its broadest sense, including the voices of those most affected by poverty and injustice. The debate cannot be restricted to governments, but must include civil society, citizens and other actors. EU institutions must be aware of international trends in development philosophy and must be fully engaged in the debate.

A truly inclusive process would avoid the pitfalls of the past, starting by rejecting the technocratic term ‘consulting’. It would avoid using civil society and citizens to legitimise a pre-established agenda. It would break away from old-line thinking by taking into account the climate of austerity in the North and the emergence of new actors like the BRICS countries. And it would encourage and allow citizens to speak with one another. Citizen participation cannot be used for some ‘higher interest’. The citizens themselves must be the higher interest.





MATT_BAILLIE_SMITH

As **Matt Baillie Smith**, Northumbria University, said, the post-2015 process provides an opportunity for global dialogue about where we want to go and how we want to get there. We have a chance to move beyond a development project to a world project, and we should take this opportunity very seriously.

Policy and Political Will

On the content side, the EU's Policy Coherence for Development (PCD) strategy envisions coordinating foreign policy in areas like agriculture, climate change, trade and energy with the development aid agenda. It would attempt to eradicate contradictory policies such as supporting biofuels development in Africa, and thereby reducing the amount of farmland available for food production, while investing at the same time in food security.

The OECD has launched an initiative that is moving in the same direction.

While this process is necessary, nobody is under the illusion that it will be easy. 'Continuing to work with the MDGs will depend greatly on political will,' noted MEP **Ricardo Cortés Lastra**.

For a post-2015 framework to be successful, it will be important for it to further political coherence. For example, if Zambia receives €10 million in aid but loses €10 billion because of other practices, there is something wrong with the model. Including policy coherence for development in a future framework could help fix this model.

THE POST-2015 AGENDA

As the deadline looms, development professionals and activists are beginning to think about what comes next. Panellists and participants examined the post-2015 agenda both in terms of the process or framework that would shape it and the policy content that it should address. Current options include:

- extending the current MDG deadline by 10 to 15 years, because few if any of the goals will be reached;
- updating the MDGs, altering or adding certain goals and indicators;
- moving beyond the focus on poor countries to create goals for all UN members, not just developing countries; and
- having no framework.

A majority of participants voted in favour of a global framework that is new and potentially radically different; a minority (perhaps 35%) for an extension of the existing framework with improved goals but no radical change. This clearly indicates the importance of lengthy discussions and negotiations in order to find a consensus on the content of a post-2015 framework.

FOR MORE INFORMATION
Beyond 2015
www.beyond2015.org

CONCORD
<http://coherence.concordeurope.org>



QUOTES

'Economic times are hard but we cannot balance budget with the lives of the poorest and most vulnerable.'

Rebeca Grynspan,
United Nations Under-Secretary-General



The crisis



'We can only appreciate the fact that we are holding these days in the context of economic crisis and sovereign debt in Europe. This choice reconfirms the quality of Europe's commitment to us.'

Dr Gary Conille,
Prime Minister of Haiti



'We do not seek to impose any single model of democracy. After all, the EU's 27 Member States each have their own form of democracy shaped by history, culture and circumstance. But we do seek to play a role where we can in supporting democratic processes, which are so fundamental to spurring economic development.'

José Manuel Barroso,
President of the European Commission

Democracy

'Nothing in the 21st century is more fragile than a dictatorship. Nothing in the 21st century is more fragile than the need to control information, because what the dictatorships or authoritarian system is based on is that you have a cult, a cult of personality mostly or maybe a party; but when you have open information, Internet, it's easy to get very ridiculous very fast.'

Mikheil Saakashvili,
President of the Republic of Georgia



'It is a big mistake to separate democracy and human rights from development. They go together or no one of them will succeed alone.'

Mohammed El-Hacen Ould Lebatt,
Chief Observer in DR Congo,
Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie

'You have to be strong. You have to trust yourself. You could step down the dictatorship regimes. You could build your country. You have to be part of it.'

Tawakkul Karman,
Nobel Peace Prize laureate 2012



'The whole system failed. We were late by 10 years to respond. The amount of money and effort in Africa is enormous. But there is very little coordination. Drought is predictable. We know it's going to happen. Tsunamis, hurricanes, volcanic eruptions are not always predictable, but drought in Africa is.'

Fran Equiza,
Regional Director for the Horn, East and Central Africa,
Oxfam Great Britain

'Hungary was a recipient country until recently and is now a donor. We know very well it is of crucial importance to promote the capacity of vulnerable groups to claim and exercise their rights and to provide services to fulfil their human rights. Building capacity is important. The importance of a human rights-based approach is going to be more important than ever with this new vision.'

Lilla Makkay,
Head of the Development Cooperation Department,
Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Hungary



'What is the point to invest in a road if it's going to be washed down by the next flood. We have to figure out how development can be more resilient. There are 31 countries around the world that are at high risk of natural disaster, droughts, floods.'

Kristalina Georgieva,
Commissioner for Humanitarian Aid

'We need consumers locally and that means that we need to create jobs locally. The private sector is the engine of development. The most important thing for us is to make sure that we can help in terms of education. On-the-ground education of farmers and workers, to explain what is against sustainability, environment protection to be sure that he can make his job very well.'

Jacques Delmoitiez,
President Europe, Africa, and Middle East, BASF



Development
cooperation

'Poland is a country which in the course of transformation has become tremendously successful... Poland has been a beneficiary of aid... We are an active donor and becoming more and more active yearly. Polish aid is expanding in financial terms. We are always ready to share our experience and counsel.'

Bronislaw Komorowski,
President of the Republic of Poland



European Development Days



'The European Development Days are definitely effective, as it is a good place to have a dialogue, to pose problems and to suggest solutions.'

Shirin Ebadi,
Nobel Peace Prize Laureate 2003



'For the first time EDD is taking place in the so-called new EU Member States. This is highly symbolic.'

Jerzy Buzek,
President of the European Parliament

'The most recent events from Belarus to Africa and the Middle East and even Burma, mark a process of change. All this proves that we do require a change of policy regarding development.'

Krzysztof Stanowski,
Under-Secretary of State of Poland



The Arab Spring



'Today the Arab Spring continues to remind us that others still yearn for freedom and a better future. And as we look to the future, governance, democracy and human rights will form a central part of our vision for EU development policy going forward. That vision is set out in our proposed 'Agenda for Change.'

Andris Piebalgs,
European Commissioner for Development

'I can assure everyone that moderate Islam prevails in Libya, which respects the rights of everyone and shows gratitude to human beings.'

Mustafa Mohammed Abdul Jalil,
Chairman of the National Transition
Council of Libya



'In Tunisia, without people on the streets with their phones, even with the shaky pictures, we wouldn't have had footage of the uprising because journalists weren't allowed in. This would have been unimaginable a few years ago.'

Ahmad Moeed,
Head of New Media, Al Jazeera English

'So far, 5 000 have been killed in Syria. Among them there are 277 children and 159 women. Many people have been tortured to death. All these crimes were committed in cold blood and the international community watched and did nothing. We came here to give the real picture of what's going on in Syria and ask to isolate the Syrian regime.'

Rami Abdurrahman,
Founder of the Syrian Human Rights Observatory



'It was the same phenomenon that today our brothers in the Middle East are going through. We paid very high prices, hundreds were injured, but we thought that we certainly turned our country to democracy. But we need a lot of assistance to strengthen this success.'

Roza Isakovna Otunbaeva,
Former President of Kyrgyz Republic

Elections

'I don't like the words free and fair elections. What does this mean? This is a very subjective idea. We [at the UN] like to say 'credible'; that people have trust in the process and trust in the results. How you create trust depends on the context. There are no recipes for this.'

Carlos Valenzuela,
United Nations Senior Electoral Advisor



LIST OF SPEAKERS

A

- Rami Abdurrahman**, Founder of the Syrian Human Rights Observatory
- Gabriel Accascina**, Director of the Knowledge Management Group, United Nations Development Programme
- Farida Allaghi**, Women Rights Activist, Senior Adviser for International Development, Libya
- Natalia Alonso**, Head of EU Advocacy Office, Oxfam International
- Fredrik Arthur**, Ambassador for Gender Equality, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Norway
- Hon. Betty Amongi**, Member of Parliament, Chairperson of Uganda Women Parliamentarians Association, Uganda
- Allen Asimwe**, Director of AVID Development, Uganda
- Risto Atanasovski**, Manager, Foundation for Local and IT Development, Municipality of Gevgelija, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
- Brian J. Atwood**, Chair of the Development Assistance Committee, Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development

B

- Amadou Mahtar Ba**, African Media Initiative, Global Forum for Media Development
- Dr Matt Baillie Smith**, Northumbria University, England
- José Manuel Durão Barroso**, President of the European Commission
- Tamsyn Barton**, Director General for Lending Operations outside Europe, European Investment Bank
- François Bary**, Director for Expertise and Quality, LuxDev
- Charito Basa**, Filipinos Women's Council, European Network on Migration and Development, Italy
- Christoph Beier**, Managing Director of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit
- Thijs Berman**, Member of the European Parliament
- Jan Krzysztof Bielecki**, Former Prime Minister of Poland
- Jorge Rodriguez Bilbao**, Directorate-General for Development and Cooperation, European Commission
- Jean Bossuyt**, Head of Strategy, European Centre for Development Policy Management
- Prof. Mark Breusers**, Caritas, Belgium
- Widney Brown**, Senior Director of International Law and Policy, Amnesty International
- Jerzy Buzek**, President of the European Parliament

C

- Mohamed Ibn Chambas**, Secretary-General of the African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States
- Pascale Charhon**, Senior Manager, Advocacy and Networking, European Network on Migration and Development
- Neil Clarke**, Head of Europe Programmes, Minority Rights Group
- Dr Garry Conille**, Prime Minister of Haiti
- Olivier Consolo**, Director of CONCORD, European NGO Confederation for Relief and Development
- Ricardo Cortés Lastra**, Member of the European Parliament, Chair of the Delegation to the EU-Mexico Joint Parliamentary Committee
- Dr Tony Crook**, Centre for Pacific Studies, University of St Andrews, Scotland
- Conny Czymoch**, Journalist and Moderator

D

- Martin Dahinden**, Director General of the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation
- Jacki Davis**, Journalist
- Teresa Debuque**, Municipal Mayor of Anilao, The Philippines, President of the League of Municipalities of the Philippines-Iloilo
- Jacques Delmoitiez**, BASF President for Europe, Africa, and the Middle East
- Clément Duhaime**, Administrator of the Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie

E

- Prof. Shirin Ebadi**, Nobel Peace Prize Laureate 2003
- Jean-Pierre Elong Mbassi**, Secretary General of the United Cities and Local Governments of Africa
- Paul Engel**, Director of the European Centre for Development Policy Management
- Fran Equiza**, Regional Director – Horn, East and Central Africa, Oxfam GB
- Mohamed Beji Caid Essebsi**, Interim Prime Minister of Tunisia

F

- Sandra Fuentes-Berain**, Ambassador of Mexico to the European Union

G

- Kristalina Georgieva**, European Commissioner for International Cooperation, Humanitarian Aid and Crisis Response
- Prof. André Gerrits**, Professor of Politics, Leiden University, The Netherlands
- Federica Giannotta**, Advocacy and Child Rights Officer, Terre des Hommes, Italy
- Joana Gomes-Cardoso**, Former CNN Journalist
- Rebeca Grynspar**, United Nations Under-Secretary-General, United Nations Development Programme Associate Administrator
- Patrick Guillaumont**, President of Fondation pour les Études et Recherches sur le Développement International

H

- Jelmen Haaze**, Journalist
- Renate Hahlen**, Deputy Head of Unit, Coherence and Effectiveness of EU Policies for Development, European Commission
- Heidi Hautala**, Minister for International Development, Finland
- Dr Ibrahim Hegazy**, Associate Professor of Marketing, Head of the Marketing Academic Unit, American University, Egypt
- Alain Henry**, Head of Cabinet, Minister for Cooperation, France
- Adrian van den Hoven**, Director of International Relations, BUSINESSEUROPE
- Fiona Hukula**, National Research Institute, Papua New Guinea
- Prof. Edvard Hviding**, University of Bergen, Norway

I

- Shada Islam**, Head of Policy, Friends of Europe
- Tashmia Ismail**, Gordon Institute of Business Science, South Africa
- Mahamadou Issoufou**, President of the Republic of Niger

J

Mustafa Mohammed Abdul Jalil, Chairman of the National Transition Council of Libya

Josef Janning, Director of Studies, European Policy Centre

Prof. Maciej Jędrusik, University of Warsaw, Poland

Kamel Jendoubi, President of the Independent Electoral Commission, Tunisia

K

Filip Kaczmarek, Member of the European Parliament

Shamsiddin Karimov, Head of the National NGO Association, Tajikistan

Hon. Martha Wangari Karua, Member of Parliament, Kenya

Gilbert Kiakwama kia Kiziki, Vice-President of the Convention des Démocrates Chrétiens, Member of the National Assembly, Democratic Republic of the Congo

Manana Kochladze, Laureate of the Goldman Environmental Prize, Founder of Green Alternative, Georgia

Bronisław Komorowski, President of the Republic of Poland

Aleksei Krivolap, European Humanities University Vilnius, Lithuania

L

Gosia Lachut, Pacific Unit, European External Action Service

Prof. James Leach, University of Aberdeen, Scotland

Mohammed El-Hacen Ould Lebatt, Chief Observer in Democratic Republic of the Congo, Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie

Maria Leissner, Swedish Ambassador for Democracy

Anna Lekvall, Senior Manager, Democracy and Development – Global Programmes, International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance

Patrick Leusch, Deutsche Welle Akademie

Paul Lokani, Melanesia Program Director, The Nature Conservancy

M

Tumi Makgabo, Journalist

Lilla Makkay, Head of the Development Cooperation Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Hungary

Eric Makokha, Chief Executive Officer of Shelter Forum, Kenya

Dr Paula Marcinkowska, University of Warsaw, Poland

Erica Marat, Research Fellow at the Central Asia-Caucasus Institute and Silk Road Studies Program

Simon Maxwell, Senior Research Associate, Overseas Development Institute

Abdoul-Aziz M'Baye, European Union Ambassador to the Pacific

Leonard McCarthy, Vice President for Integrity, The World Bank Group

Dirk Meganck, Director for Asia, Directorate-General for Development and Cooperation, European Commission

Ahmad Moed, Head of New Media, Al Jazeera English

Nazanine Moshiri, East Africa Correspondent, Al Jazeera English

Akere Muna, Vice-Chair of the International Board of Directors, Transparency International

Erastus Mwencha, Deputy Chairperson of the African Union Commission

N

John Patrick Ngoyi, Director of Justice, Development and Peace Commission, Nigeria

Lindsay Northover, Government Spokesperson on International Development, House of Lords, United Kingdom

O

Ayo Obe, Chair of the Board of Trustees of the Goree Institute, Trustee of the International Crisis Group

Michael Oberreuter, Migration Advisor, SOLIDAR

Femi Oke, Journalist

Diarmid O'Sullivan, Global Witness

Roza Isakovna Otunbaeva, Former President of the Kyrgyz Republic

Prof. Mohammed Ouzzine, Secretary of State, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Morocco

P

Ignacio Packer, Incoming Secretary General, Terre des Hommes International Federation

Bettina Peters, Director of the Global Forum for Media Development

Andris Piebalgs, European Commissioner for Development

Jerzy Pomianowski, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Poland

Maciej Popowski, Deputy Secretary General, European External Action Service

Gustavo Martin Prada, Director for Development Policy, Directorate General for Development and Cooperation, European Commission

Q

Xiao Qiang, Founder and Editor-in-Chief of China Digital Times

R

Prof. Knut Rio, University of Bergen, Norway

Prof. Hans Rosling, Karolinska Institute, Sweden

Rob Rozenburg, Deputy Head of Unit, Directorate-General for Home Affairs, European Commission

Klaus Rudischhauser, Director for Quality and impact, Directorate-General for Development and Cooperation, European Commission

S

Mikheil Saakashvili, President of the Republic of Georgia

Dr Omar Saïp Sy, Director of Studies, Forum Civil, National chapter of Transparency International in Senegal

Carolina Sanchez, WDR 2012 co-author and Lead Economist, The World Bank Group

Kristian Schmidt, Director for Human and Society Development, Directorate-General for Development and Cooperation, European Commission

Noumea Simi, Ministry of Finance, Samoa

Pietro Sicuro, Permanent Representative of the Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie to the European Union

Carlos Alberto Simas Magalhães, Ambassador of Brazil in Poland

Noumea Simi, Ministry of Finance, Samoa

Sandor Sipos, Special Representative to the European Union

Esther Somoire, Centre for Indigenous Women and Children, Kenya



Ernesto Soria Morales, Senior Policy Analyst, Policy Coherence for Development Unit, Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development

Catherine Sparks, Melanesia Program, The Christensen Fund

Krzysztof Stanowski, Under-Secretary of State for Development Cooperation, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Poland

Kasia Staszewska, WIDE NETWORK

T

Dane Taleski, Executive Director of the Progress Institute for Social Democracy, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia

Prof. Christina Toren, University of St Andrews, Scotland

Traore Mamadou, Executive Secretary of The Red Cross, Mali

Antonio Tujan, Co-Chair of the NGO Network Better Aid, IBON International, The Philippines

U

V

Carlos Valenzuela, United Nations Senior Electoral Advisor

Dr Klaus Veigel, Sector Economist, Policy Division Governance, KfW Development Bank, DeLoG Member

Dr Joeli Veitayaki, Oceans and Islands, University of the South Pacific, Fiji

Ulad Vialichka, Chairperson of the International Consortium EUROBELARUS, the Information Platform of the Eastern Partnership Civil Society Forum

Jean-Louis Ville, Head of Unit for Governance, Democracy, Gender and Human Rights, Directorate-General for Development and Cooperation, European Commission

W

Lech Wałęsa, Nobel Peace Prize Laureate 1983

Malgorzata Wasilewska, Head of Unit for Democracy and Election Observation, European External Action Service

Ann Waters, Senior advisor, ETC EcoCulture

Mark Wilson, Director of Panos London, Global Forum for Media Development

Y

Nazgul Yergaliev, Executive Director of Legal Policy Research Centre

Z

Tertius Zongo, Former Prime Minister, Burkina Faso

EUROPEAN UNION INSTITUTIONS

European Commission

European External Action Service

European Parliament

Polish Presidency of the Council of the European Union

CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS

Amnesty International

Caritas Europa

Centre for Indigenous Women and Children

Eastern Partnership Civil Society Forum

ETC EcoCulture

EUROBELARUS

European Centre for Development Policy Management (ECDPM)

European Network on Migrations and Development (EUNOMAD)

EUNOMAD, Italy

European NGO Confederation for Relief and Development (CONCORD)

Forum Civil

Friends of Europe

Global Witness

IBON International

Minority Rights Group Europe

Minority Rights Group International

National NGO Association, Tajikistan

ONE

Oxfam Great Britain

Oxfam International

The Nature Conservancy

Pacific Council of Churches, Fiji

Polish Humanitarian Action

The Red Cross, European Union Office

The Red Cross, Mali

Shelter Forum

SOLIDAR

Syrian Observatory for Human Rights

Terre des Hommes, International Federation

Terre des Hommes, Italy

Transparency International

Zagranica Group

EUROPEAN UNION

Republic of Finland

Republic of Lithuania

Republic of Poland

Republic of Slovenia

Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Hungary

Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs, France

Kingdom of Sweden

FINANCE INSTITUTIONS AND DEVELOPMENT AGENCIES

Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit

Development Partners' Working Group on Decentralisation and Local Governance (DeLoG)

European Investment Bank

KfW Development Bank

LuxDev

Practitioners' Network for European Development Cooperation

Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation

The World Bank Group

FOUNDATIONS

Bertelsmann Foundation
 The Christensen Fund
 European Network of Political Foundations
 The Lech Wałęsa Institute Foundation
 Public Foundation Voice of Freedom

INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS

African Union Commission
 Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)
 Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie (OIF)
 Secretariat of African, Caribbean and Pacific States
 United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)

LOCAL AUTHORITIES

League of Municipalities of the Philippines-Iloilo
 Municipality of Gevgelija, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
 Municipality of Anilao, The Philippines
 United Cities and Local Governments of Africa

MEDIA

African Media Initiative
 Al Jazeera English
 China Digital Times
 Deutsche Welle Akademie
 Global Forum for Media Development
 Panos London
 The Guardian

PARLIAMENTS

House of Lords, United Kingdom
 National Assembly, Democratic Republic of the Congo
 Uganda Women Parliamentarians Association
 The Parliament, Uganda
 The Parliament, Kenya

PARTNER COUNTRIES

Development and Peace Commission, Nigeria
 Independent Electoral Commission, Tunisia
 Kingdom of Morocco
 Kyrgyz Republic
 Ministry of Finance, Samoa
 Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Norway
 National Transition Council of Libya
 Republic of Brazil
 Republic of Georgia
 Republic of Haiti
 Republic of Papua New Guinea
 Republic of Mexico
 Republic of Niger
 Republic of Tunisia
 Republic of The Philippines

PRIVATE SECTOR

AVID Development, Uganda
 BASF
 BUSINESSEUROPE



RESEARCH INSTITUTIONS

American University, Egypt
 Central Asia-Caucasus Institute, John Hopkins University, United States
 Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik, Germany
 Fondation pour les Études et Recherches sur le Développement International, France
 Fundación para las Relaciones Internacionales y el Diálogo Exterior, Spain
 European Humanities University, Lithuania
 Gordon Institute of Business Science, South Africa
 Goree Institute, Senegal
 Institute for History, Leiden University, The Netherlands
 International Crisis Group
 International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA)
 Karolinska Institute, Sweden
 Legal Policy Research Centre, Kazakhstan
 National Research Institute, Papua New Guinea
 Northumbria University, England
 Overseas Development Institute, England
 Progress Institute for Social Democracy, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
 Silk Road Studies Program, Institute for Security and Development Policy, Sweden
 University of Aberdeen, Scotland
 University of Bergen, Norway
 University of Leiden, The Netherlands
 University of the South Pacific, Fiji
 University of St Andrews, Scotland
 University of Warsaw, Poland



AGENDA 15 | 12 | 2011

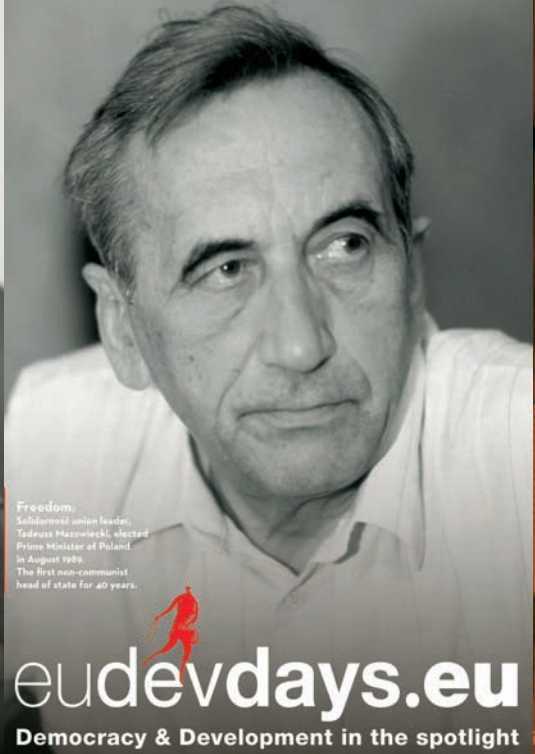
	Auditorium A	Auditorium B	Auditorium C	Planetarium
9.00	Opening Ceremony			
9.15				
9.30				
9.45				
10.00				
10.15				
10.30				
10.45				
11.00	How to Share Transformation Experiences	South-South And Triangular Cooperation	Democracy 3.0	
11.15	An Expert and Young Leaders Discussion on the Transferability of Lessons Learnt in Transformation Processes	Competition or Complementarity for Development Effectiveness?	Re-Casting Media Development in Response to a Changing Environment	
11.30		New Modalities to Operationalize Ownership and Mutual Accountability	FoE,	
11.45			DW Akademie,	
12.00	Polish Presidency, Bertelsmann Foundation, GIZ	OIF	GFMD	
12.15				
12.30				
12.45				
13.00	Press Conference			
13.15	K. Stanowski and A. Piebalgs			
13.30	Aid in the G-20 World			
13.45	H. Rosling			
14.00				
14.15				
14.30	Agenda For Change – Season 1	Aid Effectiveness and Accountability	The Power of the Private Sector in the Development Process	Photo Contest 'Lens on Development' Award Ceremony
14.45	Human Rights and Development: Mixing the Families?	Polish Presidency, Zagranica Group	From Financing to Implementing Public-Private Partnerships	
15.00				
15.15	European Commission		EIB, BUSINESSEUROPE	
15.30				
15.45				HumanDOC International Film Festival Award Ceremony
16.00				
16.15				
16.30	Can We Use Aid to Promote Democracy?	Spotlight on Decentralisation	Supporting Change through	
16.45	Polish Presidency	Strengthening Local Governance and Accountability Mechanisms: Translating Development Strategies into Results at Local Level	Advocating More Power to Women Gender Equality and Development	
17.00			The World Bank Group	
17.15		Practitioners Network, DeLoG	European Commission	
17.30				
17.45				
18.00				
18.15				
18.30	Special Address – M. Beji Caid Essebsi			
18.45	Keynote Closing Address			
19.00	J.M. Barroso			
19.15				
19.30				
19.45				
20.00				

University Library	Auditorium A	Auditorium B	Auditorium C	
Pacific Connections EEAS, University of Warsaw, University of St Andrews	Democratic Ownership after Busan The Role of National Parliaments and Civil Society European Parliament – Committee on Development	Beyond 2015 – A Citizen Driven Agenda CONCORD	The Human Rights-Based Approach to Development Experience from the Right to Adequate Housing Amnesty International, Minority Rights Group International	9.00 9.15 9.30 9.45 10.00 10.15 10.30 10.45
Climate Change				
Natural Resources				
Gender	Agenda For Change – Season 2 Democracy in Practice: Confronting Tough Issues European Commission	Central Asian Awakening Polish Presidency, The Lech Wałęsa Institute Foundation	How to Prevent Another Famine in the Horn of Africa The Role of the European Union in Building Resilience Polish Humanitarian Action, Oxfam International, ONE, Caritas Europa	11.00 11.15 11.30 11.45 12.00 12.15 12.30 12.45
Roundtable & Wrap-Up				
	Special Address M.M. Abdul Jalil			13.00 13.15
	Presidency of the G-20 S. Fuentes-Berain			13.30 13.45
Pacific Connections Film programme	Modernising European Development Policy DIE, ECDPM, FERDI, FRIDE, ODI	Moving Beyond Electoral Democracies Enhancing the Capacities of Political Actors Before, During and After the Electoral Process ENoP	Migration, Development and Human Rights Towards a Changing Paradigm in EU Development Policies EUNOMAD, SOLIDAR, The Red Cross, TDHIF	14.00 14.15 14.30 14.45 15.00 15.15 15.30 15.45 16.00
Sun come up (38 min) 				16.15 16.30 16.45
The Hungry Tide (89 min) 				17.00 17.15 17.30 17.45
	Press Conference of the European Parliament			18.00 18.15 18.30 18.45
	Closing Ceremony			19.00 19.15 19.30 19.45 20.00
			Planetarium 14.30-15.30 Posthumous Award Ceremony for Mr Adam Świerczyński, Co-founder of the Polish Centre for International Aid	



Democracy.
Election in Tunisia
on 23 October 2011.

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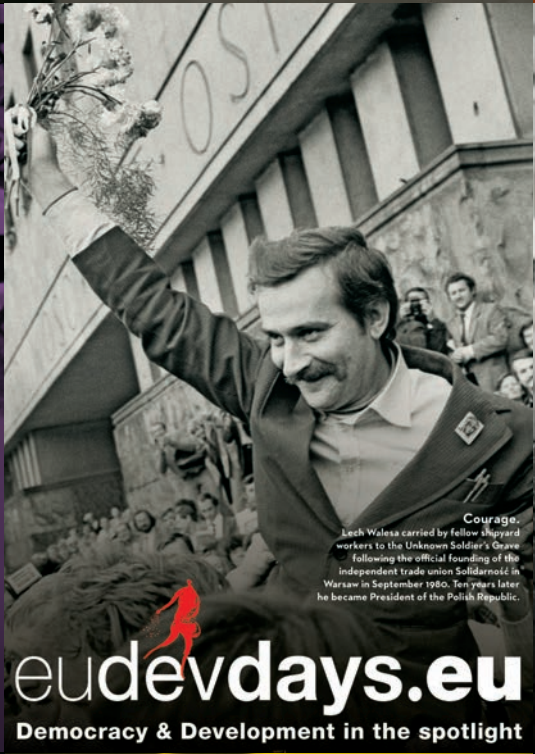


Freedom.
Solidarność union leader,
Tadeusz Mazowiecki, elected
Prime Minister of Poland
in August 1989.
The first non-communist
head of state for 40 years.

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Democracy & Development in the spotlight



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Courage.
Lech Wałęsa carried by fellow shipyard
workers to the Unknown Soldier's Grave
following the official founding of the
independent trade union Solidarność in
Warsaw in September 1980. Ten years later
he became President of the Polish Republic.

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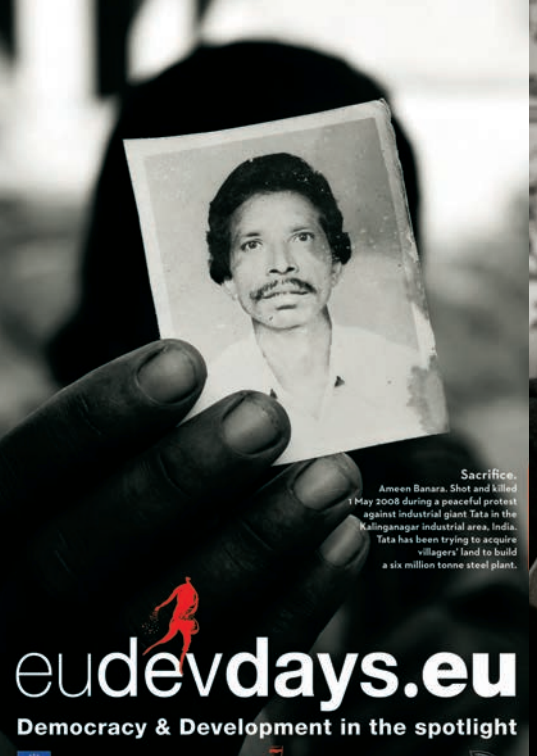
Conviction.
Nobel Peace Prize winner. Tawakkul Karman,
33 year-old journalist and activist,
a key figure in protests in Yemen's capital
Sanaa during the Arab Spring.

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Advocate.
Soviet nuclear physicist, dissident and
human rights activist Andrei Sakharov.
A major advocate of civil liberties and
reforms in the Soviet Union.
Nobel Peace Prize winner, 1975.

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Sacrifice.
Ameen Banara. Shot and killed
1 May 2008 during a peaceful protest
against industrial plant Tata in the
Kalinganagar industrial area, India.
Tata has been trying to acquire
villagers' land to build
a six million tonne steel plant.

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Courage.
Laureate of the 2011 Lorenzo Natali Journalism Prize Tom Heinemann. An independent, investigative journalist for 19 years. Winner of many awards for his work on global issues.



Leader.
Kenyan Nobel Peace Prize winner and environmentalist, the late Wangari Maathai. Founder of the Green Belt Movement, a women's civil society organization advocating human rights and good governance.



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Survivor.
A victim of sexual violence undergoes surgery at Panzi Hospital. 250 000 women are survivors of rape during the Democratic Republic of Congo's civil war.



Witness.
Filming the closing meeting of the Ennahda campaign in Tunisia, October 2011.



Critic.
27 year-old Tunisian blogger Lina Ben Mhenni, nominated for the 2011 Nobel Peace Prize.



Protestor.
Shouting anti-Mubarak slogans after Friday prayers at Tahrir Square in Cairo February 2011 and praying for an immediate end to President Hosni Mubarak's 30 year rule.

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