

# EUROPEAN DEVELOPMENT DAYS

13-17 NOVEMBER 2006 BRUSSELS



## PROCEEDINGS



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# EUROPEAN DEVELOPMENT DAYS

13-17 NOVEMBER 2006 BRUSSELS

## PROCEEDINGS





**LOUIS MICHEL**

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European Commissioner  
for Development and  
Humanitarian Aid

The success of the first edition of the European Development Days is a source of satisfaction and pride for Africans and Europeans. The forum was an opportunity to bring Euro-African dialogue up to date. It is proof that we were willing to turn the page on our troubled past so we can go forward towards a more constructive and balanced relationship founded on respect, proof that we had the will to break with our disheartening habit of pessimism. Images of an active, evolving Africa are still alive today. The words of Reverend Desmond Tutu, demonstrating that Africa is an unwitting giant, will resound long and loud in our hearts and in our consciences. At the conclusion, each of us understood that to assure the success of a better future for the African people, the road to be followed must be defined and envisaged in Africa.

The first edition of the European Development Days was also a success for we Europeans. It demonstrated our capacity to unite, to listen to our partners and to learn how to successfully implement, with them, a destiny that belongs above all to Africans themselves. It confirmed the role of Europe, not solely as primary sponsor of development aid, but also as a leader in international thinking on co-operation. Finally, this event gave us the opportunity to strengthen public awareness of the issues at stake in development and to feed the spirit of European Consensus with a view to effective aid.

I would also like to thank all those who took part in the first EU-Africa business forum. This event brought together distinguished professionals from Africa and Europe to discuss the public policy issues that condition the economic environment on the African continent. More specifically, it was the chance to exchange good practices and successful experiences in terms of business in Africa, thereby boosting the image of an African continent as a source of prosperity and human development.

From now on, all the actors of the development community in Europe will be invited every year to an exchange of ideas on the major problems of international co-operation. It is in this spirit that I am delighted to discuss the theme and the geographical focusing of the next edition, which will take place in Lisbon in 2007. In particular, in the light of President Barroso's suggestion, I hope that the success of the first edition of the European Development Days will contribute to the success of the next EU-Africa Summit.

It is also my intention that the ideas and suggestions exchanged during the forum will enrich our daily work, especially the semi-annual programme of aid to development, the Euro-African partnership and our recently redefined and broadened approach to governance. The legacy of the European Development Days must be transmitted, shared and defended.

The brilliant success of that first great gathering of ideas is set, without doubt, to become an event of global dimension, capable of tracing the lines of force of a modern political process that is free for ever of paternalistic, mistrustful and self-interested reactions that have probably prevented the fulfilment of even the finest of promises.

## CONTENTS

### 5 PART I | GOVERNANCE FORUM

#### 7 OPENING PLENARY SESSION

- 8 Introduction
- 9 José Manuel Barroso
- 13 Marjatta Rasi
- 17 Guy Verhofstadt
- 20 Kofi Annan
- 21 Louis Michel

#### 25 THEMATIC PLENARY SESSION: PERSPECTIVES ON GOVERNANCE

- 26 Saïd Djinnit
- 31 Mark Malloch Brown
- 33 Paul Wolfowitz
- 37 Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf
- 41 Donald Kaberuka
- 45 Aminata Traoré

#### 53 ROUND TABLES

- 54 Introduction
- 62 ROUND TABLE 1: State Rehabilitation
- 68 ROUND TABLE 2: Improving Governance in the Management of Natural Resources
- 74 ROUND TABLE 3: Consolidation of Social Rights
- 79 ROUND TABLE 4: Shifting Donor Paradigms
- 84 ROUND TABLE 5: The Role of the Media in Promoting Governance
- 88 ROUND TABLE 6: Former African Presidents
- 92 ROUND TABLE 7: Building a Culture of Democracy
- 97 ROUND TABLE 8: Stepping up the Fight against Corruption
- 102 ROUND TABLE 9: Inequalities and Vulnerable Groups
- 108 ROUND TABLE 10: The Voice of Civil Society
- 112 ROUND TABLE 11: Migration and Governance

#### 119 PRESIDENTIAL PLENARY SESSION: CHALLENGES OF GOVERNANCE

- 121 Introduction by Louis Michel
- 123 Boni Yayi, President of Benin
- 124 Festus Mogae, President of Botswana
- 125 Blaise Compaoré, President of Burkina Faso
- 126 Pierre Nkurunziza, President of Burundi
- 127 François Bozizé, President of Central African Republic
- 128 Meles Zenawi, Prime Minister of Ethiopia
- 129 Isatou Njie-Saidy, Vice-President of Gambia
- 130 Marc Ravalomanana, President of Madagascar
- 131 Amadou Toumani Touré, President of Mali
- 132 Ely Ould Mohammed Vall, President of Mauritania
- 133 Navinchandra Ramgoolam, Prime Minister of Mauritius
- 134 Mamadou Tandja, President of Niger
- 135 Paul Kagamé, President of Rwanda
- 136 Alhaji Ahmad Tejan Kabbah, President of Sierra Leone
- 137 Absalom Thembu Dlamini, Prime Minister of Swaziland
- 138 Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, President of Uganda

#### 139 CLOSING PLENARY SESSION

- 141 Luis Amado
- 143 Karin Kortmann
- 147 Desmond Tutu

#### 153 DEVELOPMENT VILLAGE

- 155 Introduction
- 157 Participants

#### 161 SIDE EVENTS

### 169 PART II | EU-AFRICA BUSINESS FORUM

#### 170 INTRODUCTION

- 170 Peter Mandelson

#### 175 WORKING GROUPS

- 176 Introduction
- 178 Good Governance and Corporate Ethics
- 181 Interconnectivity
- 185 Challenges and Opportunities of Economic Partnership Agreements
- 189 Conclusion

#### 191 CLOSING CEREMONY

- 192 Aapo Pöhlö
- 196 Maxwell Mkwezalamba
- 200 Louis Michel

### 207 PART III | WIDER PUBLIC

#### 209 ENGAGING YOUNG PEOPLE

- The Development Youth Prize

#### 213 ART SUPPORTING DEVELOPMENT

- 213 Contemporary African art exhibition
- 217 African comic strip exhibition
- 219 African Film Festival
- 221 African Fashion Show

#### 223 MDGs CAMPAIGN

- 223 Voices against poverty



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PART I

# Governance Forum

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OPENING PLENARY SESSION

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THEMATIC PLENARY SESSION:  
PERSPECTIVES ON GOVERNANCE

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ROUND TABLES (11)

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PRESIDENTIAL PLENARY SESSION:  
CHALLENGES OF GOVERNANCE

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CLOSING PLENARY SESSION

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DEVELOPMENT VILLAGE

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SIDE EVENTS







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GOVERNANCE FORUM

OPENING PLENARY SESSION

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INTRODUCTION

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JOSÉ MANUEL BARROSO

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MARJATTA RASI

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GUY VERHOFSTADT

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KOFI ANNAN

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LOUIS MICHEL

## OPENING PLENARY SESSION

### Introduction



***“The imperative of governance applies simultaneously to partner countries and to donors. Governance is a contract of confidence, at the heart of society in partner countries, but at the same time, also between developing countries and donor countries. Within developing countries, it is first and foremost a contract between governments and their citizens on the organisation of their political, economic and social system.”***

LOUIS MICHEL,  
COMMISSIONER  
FOR DEVELOPMENT  
AND HUMANITARIAN AID

The Governance Forum, which took place 15 to 17 November 2006, brought together a wide range of stakeholders to discuss and debate the central theme of the European Development Days: governance. European and African political leaders opened the Governance Forum in a series of plenary sessions.

The leaders of 16 African countries spoke out about their countries’ strategies for building a foundation for better governance and shared methods to bring the voice of civil society into methodologies for creating democracies with open market economies that deliver equitable benefits to their citizens. The seeds of governance have been planted in many African countries, however, all leaders agreed that fighting corruption is a priority if much-needed social and economic development is to grow and flourish.

Participants got down to work in a series of 11 round tables that tackled a wide range of topics, including state rehabilitation, managing natural resources, social rights, shifting donor paradigms, the role of the media, building a culture of democracy, fighting corruption, vulnerable groups, the voice of civil society, and migration. One round table brought together former African presidents who shared their views on how to shape successful transitions in leadership. After lively debate and discussion, round table participants made specific recommendations that will be carried forward into the next European Development Days conference.

At the closing plenary session, speakers included Nobel Peace Prize Winner Desmond Tutu, who reminded participants that Africa has a long tradition of democracy beginning with the rulers who sat with their councils, listened and summed up by building consensus in their communities. He reminded Africans of their triumphs and urged them to move forward with confidence and solidarity.

“Ubuuntu says that a person is a person through other persons. There is no way in which you are going to be able to enjoy your prosperity on your own. The only way we will ever be safe and secure is together. The only way we can hope to be prosperous is together,” he concluded.



As delivered

Prime Minister Verhofstadt,  
Excellencies,  
Presidents,  
Prime Ministers,  
Distinguished guests,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,  
Dear friends,

It is an honour for me to open the first-ever European Development Days. I am very grateful to Prime Minister Verhofstadt for his introduction, and for the commitment of his government to the cause of development.

It is a particular pleasure to see so many African leaders here, and I would like to extend a personal welcome to them. The Development Days are a recognition of the importance that the European Commission, and the European Union, gives to Africa; and the presence of so many senior African leaders is a recognition, I believe, of the importance which Africa attaches to Europe. This is the proof of our partnership.

I would also like this opportunity to praise the work that Commissioner Louis Michel is doing. He is a true friend to the developing world and to Africa in particular.

As you know, development and Africa are flagship issues for this Commission. And they are flagship issues for me personally. Africa is a continent that I have known and visited in for over two decades. So I am delighted that I can deepen those links further as President of the Commission.

Over the last two years I have visited hospitals in Mozambique, I have met with civil society organisations in South Africa and I have talked to the African soldiers fighting for peace in Darfur. Only one month ago I led the European Commission to Addis Ababa for a joint meeting with the African Union Commission. This was the European Commission's first ever working session in another continent.

I have reached two conclusions. The first is that Africa is changing, and changing rapidly. It is changing politically, thanks to the unprecedented process of integration that has followed the birth of the African Union and NEPAD. There is a renewed commitment by African leaders to improve the governance of their countries. Africa is also changing economically, with many countries enjoying growth of over 6%, compared to an average of 2.3% between 1980 and 2000. That is a great achievement and essential to help progress towards the Millennium Development Goals.



My second conclusion is that Europe's relationship with Africa remains special, and in many ways unique. But even this is changing, and it should change. Our two continents have a deep, sometimes difficult past. More recently it has been characterised too often in a context of donors and recipients. But, today, we are starting to work with each other as partners and as neighbours. That is where our shared future lies: in a new strategic alliance between the EU and Africa. It was with this in mind that Europe's leaders adopted a new EU Strategy for Africa last year. With this new Strategy, the EU has created, for the first time ever, a comprehensive and long-term framework for its relations with the whole African continent. It has placed Africa firmly at the heart of the EU's agenda.

Don't take my word for it: the figures speak for themselves. Let me give you three examples:

Firstly, on aid: Africa currently receives 60% of all its development assistance – or €15 billion annually – from Europe. The EU has pledged to double development assistance by 2010. That is a remarkable pledge, of which the EU and its Member States should be proud. Now we have to deliver.

Secondly, on trade: Europe buys 85% of all agricultural products exported from Africa. In fact, Europe imports more goods from Africa than all other G8 countries combined – you can throw in Australia and New Zealand as well, if you like. By 2009 Europe will have removed all quotas and tariffs on products from the poorest countries on earth, of course excluding arms.

Thirdly, in the health sector: 65% of all contributions for the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria come from the EU.

However, we must bear in mind that the Euro-African partnership is not, or certainly not exclusively, a question of money. The challenges facing Africa are political. Our common solutions, therefore, must also be essentially political. For this reason the new alliance that I am proposing should evolve as a political partnership.

In many respects, this change of orientation is already beginning to materialise.

In the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), we are currently working relentlessly to give the country's population what it wants and what it deserves after so much suffering: a peaceful and prosperous future. The elections that have taken place this month have demonstrated that the DRC is ready for a new start. The Congolese people responded with calm and resolve to all the sceptics and defeatists. The European Union has given political support to the electoral process through regular contact, including my own visit to the DRC last year, an electoral observation mission, financial support and the dispatch of a military contingent. And we will continue to support the DRC throughout the entire transition process: elections do not mark the end of the democratic process, but the beginning.

The European Commission has made an enormous investment, both political and financial, in the conflict in the Darfur region of western Sudan. It was the first international partner to offer its support to the African Union Mission (AMIS) in Darfur, and we remain its principal source of support. I want to make a point of thanking all the countries represented here that have sent personnel to this region.



We are working with all those concerned by the conflict in order to find a political resolution. For this reason I spoke very frankly last month, when I met with President Bashir, about the necessity of a political solution.

Our political partnership must extend beyond individual countries. Next year we will be celebrating the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Treaty of Rome, which represents, for the most part, the origin of the European venture as we know it.

Throughout these 50 years, Europe has been able to implement a regional integration process that has brought us peace, prosperity and security. In the course of this half century, European co-operation and integration have contributed to raising the standard of living of European citizens to unprecedented heights. They have permitted the creation of a single market without borders, and a single currency, the euro. Today, the European Union is a major economic power, a political actor of global dimensions, and the world's number one contributor of development aid.

The experience acquired through this process is far more valuable than financial aid to development, however large the sum given. As political allies, the EU and Africa have decided to share these experiences, each one learning from the successes and failures of the other. This exchange is already beginning to bear fruit. We are currently helping the African Union to set up an African student exchange programme, the Nyerere Programme. It is modelled on the European Erasmus Programme, which last year successfully organised the participation of 150,000 students in a variety of exchanges in Europe. We have also recently launched an EU-African partnership for infrastructures, inspired by the European experience of setting up trans-European networks.

Another lesson can be drawn from the history of Europe: employment mobility, inside or outside the continent, is without doubt one of the principal driving forces of economic growth. Migration is also an element of development. At next week's conference in Tripoli, we must discuss, together, how migration can best serve the process of development, and how its possible negative effects might be limited. This domain also demands a real partnership between Europe and Africa, as neighbours, as partners, and as friends.

It is therefore a simultaneously deep and diverse relationship that unites Europe and Africa. But we can do more, and we will do more.

Over the next few years, I would like to see Europe further strengthen its political dialogue with Africa. Six years after the last Cairo summit, we now need to restore Euro-African relations to the highest political level, a position from which they should never have been allowed to fall. I would like this Euro-African summit, so long awaited, to be finally organised next year, in Lisbon, as agreed from the start of this process.

I would also like to see stronger commercial relations between Europe and Africa. Over the last few decades, investment in Africa has diminished, reducing the continent's share in world transactions to the dismal figure of 2%. This is not acceptable. For this reason, we are striving, through economic partnership agreements, to develop commercial exchanges and investments between Europe and



Africa as well as between African countries themselves. The Commission is therefore organising this week the very first Euro-African Business Forum devoted entirely to Africa, so as to improve awareness of existing investment possibilities in Africa.

Finally, I would like Europe to be able to take pride in its partnership with Africa. During my visit to Sudan in October, I met young European volunteers who were risking their lives to help relieve the suffering of numerous refugees. There you have the image of Europe that I long for: open, generous, determined. It is for all these reasons that I can give nothing but praise to these European Development Days. It is a chance to reach all levels of society and urge them to reflect and take action. Because the development of Africa concerns us all.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

We all know that Africa's path to peace, prosperity and good governance will be long, not always straight, and very seldom easy. It hasn't been for Europe, and it will not be for Africa. But it is a path that Africa must take, a path along which we can travel together, with Europe making a long-term commitment. We are talking here about a huge challenge. But if ever there was a challenge that deserved to be taken up, it is this one.

We therefore have to put African development constantly at the heart of our concerns. Each new day must be a development day.

Thank you for your attention.





As delivered

Distinguished Prime Minister Verhofstadt,  
Presidents, Prime Ministers,  
Excellencies,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,  
Distinguished colleagues,  
Dear friends,

Let me start by saying that I am honoured to be here speaking on behalf of the European Union Presidency. I also would like to congratulate the European Commission for organising the European Development Days. The global challenges of development have been gaining more and more importance in the European Union policies and among the Europeans. This has led to an ever-increasing demand for information on opportunities and challenges of development.

This week-long event has already gathered large numbers of people in the wider-public events here in Brussels. Today we are starting an intensive three days among policymakers and other experts. The interest among the audience clearly demonstrates that the Development Days are filling a vacuum and are able to respond to people's demand for more information and an opportunity for networking. This is also a good opportunity for the practitioners not only from the EU, but also from our partner countries, as well as other development institutions such as the UN and multilateral financing institutions. And above all, this is a forum of frank and honest dialogue and debate that is free from the tight negotiation atmosphere that is all too familiar to us.

As a general theme during our presidency, Finland has very much emphasised the implementation of the commitments we have made in the EU. Only by turning our policy statements in to action and operation, can we expect reaching our development goals.

In the October GAERC (General Affairs and External Relations Council) we touched upon two issues that should boost the EU's global contribution and strengthen our partnerships with the developing world. In the Council meeting it became clear that we need to strengthen effectiveness of our aid even further and have a more coherent pro-development approach across our policies.

We have had very fruitful discussions on complementarity and a division of labour in the Council. EU is globally the largest donor providing about half of total registered development assistance. Therefore increased effectiveness of EU will change the global aid architecture a great deal.

All work on aid effectiveness needs to be built on our partners' ownership and commitment to national development. It is also a great challenge to us as donors, since that means not being in the lead of the process all the time. This requires trust among partners. Trust building among partners is a long process. I am confident that the European Development Days will be remembered as a forum



where European, African and other partners were able, through frank discussions, to build further the mutual trust that is needed for effective co-operation.

At the October GAERC we also discussed how we can better integrate development concerns in the Council decision-making in order to promote policy coherence for development. This is to say, how we can ensure that different policies contribute to each other in a coherent manner in the field of development. In this regard, one priority issue during our Presidency has been trade and development. We made some good progress in the October GAERC as to how to implement our Aid for Trade commitments.

The Implementation of the EU–Africa strategy has also been an important priority for Finland and I am happy to note that progress has been made so far including the preparation of the first report for the December Council.

I have listed some themes that we have touched upon during our Presidency that is already entering its final quarter. I am also very confident that these issues will be further advanced by the incoming German Presidency.

During our Presidency, one of the challenges we have addressed has been the perceived diminished legitimacy of the Union in the eyes of its citizens. We have made efforts to address this for example through increasing the transparency in the Union and turning statements into actions. I fully believe that the Development Days do play a fundamental role in meeting these objectives. Here we will be able to show and debate the global partnerships the EU has made with different partners in order to meet global development challenges. One good example is the EU-ACP Partnership with the African, Caribbean and Pacific states that dates as much back as 30 years.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I very much welcome that governance has been chosen as the general theme for the experts' meeting. It is needless to say that governance is at the very core of development and at the top of international development agenda since poverty reduction and sustainable development are impossible without major improvements in governance. The governance field is so extensive that only by working together and building on existing mechanisms can poverty reduction efforts become successful. The link between accountable, transparent and responsive governance and poverty reduction is clear. Therefore, governance is also an important element for the implementation of the EU-Africa Strategy currently under discussion in the Council.

With the EU Strategy for Africa, Europe has reaffirmed its strong commitment to Africa's development. The Strategy is centered on the objective to promote the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals. It aims to strengthen the ties between the two continents. Through the Strategy, the EU has pledged to concentrate its support in the areas of peace and security, good governance, economic growth, trade, social cohesion, environment and migration.





For the EU there is a strong need to constantly stay on guard to ensure that our policies *vis-à-vis* developing countries are coherent and mutually reinforcing. This has been one of key messages during our Presidency. This is highly relevant in governance issues as well. One could even argue that one of the very vital elements in improved governance is policy coherence. Policies of different government sectors must be consistent.

Good governance is a crucial element in a large number of fields. We cannot fully reap the benefits coming from the increased economic integration and trade if governance structures are not in place; we cannot assume improvement in aid effectiveness if governance systems are inefficient; and we will find harder to face the challenges in social sectors if governance is not supportive.

Ladies and Gentleman,

The governance agenda is an important element in our ongoing efforts to implement the Paris Declaration on harmonisation. The Council recently approved the Conclusions based on the Commission communication on “Governance in the European Consensus on Development – towards a harmonised approach within the European Union”.

This governance initiative provides an important step towards a common European understanding on democratic governance and acknowledges the multidimensional and holistic nature of governance. In order to bring forward the process on good governance one very crucial element is a regular and comprehensive political dialogue with the partner countries. From the EU side we need to align our support to national processes and strategies on democratic governance and use country systems and procedures to the maximum extent possible.

The Governance Initiative is particularly important for our partnership with ACP countries. We need an inclusive and flexible process while assessing the governance situation. I am also pleased to notice that regional assessment systems, like African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), are getting more important role in governance assessment.

During our Presidency, we have emphasized the need to enhance good coordination with other donors including multilateral organisations. Good governance is also a case in point where we need close co-operation with the UN system, the World Bank, the OECD Development Assistance Committee, regional organisations and other partners. Building further synergies and co-operation with these partners is welcomed and necessary.

Let me also mention the importance of corruption prevention as one important element of good governance. It should not be forgotten that the poorest of the poor pay the highest price of corruption. The United Nations Convention against Corruption (UNCAC) has strong development implications. It is necessary to explore how our partner countries can maximize the benefits of the Convention and how we can contribute to their efforts.



The Helsinki Process on Globalization and Democracy is a joint initiative of Finland and Tanzania aiming at improving and democratising global governance and finding innovative solutions to global problems. The Helsinki Process has initiated discussion on the implementation of the UNCAC. We all understand that the Convention can only have effective development indications if it is fully implemented.

I believe every country has a unique governance system and it has to be respected. We also need to understand the difference between bad and weak governance. However, there are universal values which are the basis of good governance. National accountability and the responsibility of governments at all their levels towards their people, protection and promotion of human rights and democratic principles and the rule of law are common values and universal in their applicability. Nor can we discuss governance without mentioning gender equality, women's empowerment and social equality as crucial dimensions of good governance.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is of great importance to inform our citizens about global development issues and the realities of development co-operation. We need an enhanced public understanding and an educated public opinion on development issues. I feel that we have sometimes been too shy or weak in telling about the important role of development policy and the achievements of development co-operation. I sincerely believe that increasing knowledge on the EU's role in global development will increase the legitimacy of the EU in the eyes of the European public. European citizens share values that appreciate assisting poor countries to reach the MDGs and to overcome humanitarian crises. This was one clear message from the European Stakeholder Conference on Development Education held in Helsinki earlier this year.

I wish to conclude by saying that today's development agenda is very broad and challenging. We need to enhance our efforts to further strengthening co-operation with all the donors, the partner countries and the civil society organisations – both here in Europe and in developing countries. As we can surely witness in this event, civil society organisations are following the EU development agenda with great interest. Their presence in addition to the European institutions – the Council, Commission and the Parliament – brings added value and effectiveness to our joint efforts for development.

I am convinced that European Development Days will provide an excellent opportunity for all of us to bring forward our common goals to reduce poverty and to promote good governance.



As delivered

Mr President of the European Commission,

Dear Heads of State and Heads of Government,

Excellencies,

Dear colleagues,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is a great honour for me to welcome you here in Brussels at the first edition of the European Development Days, very rightly focused on the great African continent. I am extremely pleased to see so many heads of state and government, ministers and high officials from both the European and the African Union, as well as representatives of so many intergovernmental and non-governmental organisations. This is an exciting gathering indeed. I am convinced it will inspire all of us to open new perspectives for enhanced co-operation and partnership with Africa.

Let me first of all congratulate the EU Commission and in particular the EU Commissioner for Development and Humanitarian Aid, our good friend Louis Michel, for this unique initiative to rally public support for development issues in such a broad way. Let me congratulate Louis also for his efforts in strengthening the effectiveness of the European Union's development assistance.

Development co-operation is not an easy matter. It requires vision, experience, investment and perseverance. The challenges are enormous. The results are not always encouraging. Sometimes they are even wiped out by new conflicts, mismanagement or natural disasters. Donor fatigue is often looming. People tend to question whether it is all worth their taxpayers' money. It is therefore essential to show to the public what development aid is all about, to show that our institutions truly care about development in a professional way, that we care about Africa.

No development initiative can bear any fruit without public support. That is why we must indeed do more to bring our cause to a wider audience and to enhance public awareness of the most urgent tasks to be done. I therefore very much welcome today's event, which to me is much more than just another conference. It is an opportunity for dialogue and mobilisation. It is an occasion to show how much Africa is changing for the better. To show that there is hope, much hope. That Africa is not merely the continent of wars and misery as it is often depicted. No, it is also a continent bursting with rich diversity and culture, a continent with a young and vital population eager to leave the dark chapters of its past behind. It is a population with an enormous talent to look at life from a positive angle. That is the Africa to whose development we, as Europeans, love to contribute.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

In development issues, Europe can indeed not be put to shame. On the contrary, taken as a whole, the European Union and its Member States are the world's largest donors of development aid, both in absolute terms and in relation to their GDP. And we will continue on that path. Last year we agreed



to set a new collective target of development aid amounting to an average 0.56% of our GDP by 2010. Half of this increase will go to Africa. My own country Belgium is right on track to reach the famous 0.7% benchmark by 2010. As Europeans we are all firmly resolved to attain those targets. This is one of our commitments to meet the UN Millennium Development Goals and to reduce poverty by 50% by the year 2015.

Yet, the bulk of European public aid – about 75%– is still managed by the individual Member States, not by the Union. It is indeed perfectly natural that Member States continue to operate at a bilateral level, taking up responsibilities for specific partners, often bound together by history. For Belgium, as you all know, this is particularly true for the Democratic Republic of Congo, for Rwanda and for Burundi. These three countries are the heirs of our century-old commitment to Central Africa. But particularly in Central Africa we realise every day that Belgian resolve is not enough to face the many challenges. We can only successfully tackle these challenges by rallying European support, as well as support at the level of the United Nations. In Central Africa our national input may at times be pivotal for change, but this can only be done in European and international concert. And we are most grateful towards our partners in the EU and the UN that this concert works. Close international co-operation is indeed the key to success.

I cannot speak about Central Africa, Ladies and Gentlemen, without paying homage to the impressive events that have recently unfolded in this region. This region which, with near indifference, was the scene of the greatest human tragedy of recent decades, a tragedy whose victims number in their millions. The long and difficult period of transition culminated in democratic elections. People voted in an atmosphere of calm and in great numbers, thereby demonstrating their civic sense and a deep desire to exercise their democratic rights and put an end once and for all to bloody conflict. I appeal today to all parties concerned to respect the verdict of the ballot boxes.

It is vital that the international community continue to support these people and this process. The holding of elections is without doubt a landmark moment, but represents only one step towards the restoration of a law-abiding state. We have to re-build states capable of assuming their responsibilities as much towards their own people as to their neighbours. States capable of defending their sovereignty without threatening the stability of their partners. States where power is wielded not for the benefit of a few, but in the interests of the entire population. Good governance must be at the heart of this process of reconstruction. It is crucial for the new authorities to give unconditional proof of their commitment to good governance, both political and economic.

I commend without reserve the European Commission initiative that puts the challenges of governance at the top of the agenda of these European Development Days. It is clear that governance is a multifaceted concept. It belongs in all the important spheres of development: good governance in the management of natural resources, in the development of infrastructures, in water supply, energy, and food safety. Good governance in the realm of economic and institutional reform, in health, education, etc. The list is long.



As you know, good governance constitutes one of the key elements in the new Strategy for Africa adopted by government heads of state almost a year ago. At the European Summit in December, we will be carrying out a preliminary assessment of this Strategy for Africa. I am convinced that the work of these European Development Days will represent an invaluable source of inspiration for this process of evaluation, particularly in its quest for new possibilities.

In this regard, I feel compelled to add something. It is inadmissible that the European Union maintains privileged partnerships with the United States, Russia, China, ASEM, and Latin America, while not being able to apply the same policy to Africa. It is unacceptable that a partnership between the EU and Africa should have to wait so long to emerge. I shall plead constantly and resolutely for the creation of a partnership between the EU and Africa during the coming year, and for the organisation of an annual summit, so we don't have to wait another seven years after the Cairo Summit.

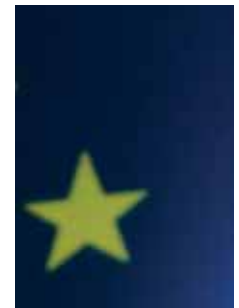
Ladies and Gentlemen,

Spurred on by Commissioner Michel, the European Council, the European Parliament and the European Commission have issued a joint declaration on the subject of "European Consensus on Development." This gives me great satisfaction.

It is now time, dear friends, to implement these principles and priorities and to find practical ways of improving coherence, complementariness and coordination for development – the "three Cs" – and that on a European scale. It is time now to mobilise the means of creating tools for a new decade of European development aid, and thus narrow the divide that separates the realities of 2006 from the objectives of 2015.

I sincerely hope that these European Development Days will succeed in reaching a much larger public that we could bring together here. I wish you all an excellent stay in Brussels, and a forum that will be as productive as possible.

Thank you for your attention.



As delivered

Dear friends,

Thank you all for taking part in this wonderful initiative and thanks especially to Louis Michel and his colleagues for making it happen. As Secretary General and as an African, I am delighted once again by bringing the public and the specialist together to support Africa. The European Union is showing the spirit we need to reach the Millennium Development Goals. You are building on the courageous leadership you showed last year when all European Union countries committed themselves to reach the 0.7% target for official development assistance by 2015.

That commitment was a milestone in the history of development co-operation. By it, the European Union shows the rest of the world that it is serious about making a real difference in the lives of millions of Africans. It challenged other developed countries to do the same and thus it helped pave the way to the outcome document of last year's world summit.

Our challenge now is to meet all the commitments agreed at that summit and step up our efforts to reach all the Millennium Development Goals by 2015. If we do, it will be largely thanks to Europe's lead. As you know, I'm now preparing to step down after 10 years as Secretary General of the United Nations, but I intend to continue working for Africa and my new freedom will allow me to do so in new ways.

Knowing that I will have partners like you fills me with energy and hope. I wish you every success with these Development Days. May they show all of us the way forward and help us to keep up the good work.





As delivered

Ladies and Gentlemen Heads of State,  
Mr Deputy Secretary-General of the United Nations,  
Mr President of the World Bank,  
Ladies and Gentlemen Ministers,  
Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen Ambassadors,  
Distinguished guests,  
Representatives of civil society and the NGOs

It is an immense pleasure for me to see to what extent development is once again becoming a central theme and a priority in international debate.

Development, reduction of poverty, universal security and stability all depend in large measure on states being able to carry out their essential public functions, such as providing access to health, education, justice and administration, promoting and protecting human rights and fundamental liberties, as well as managing natural and economic resources in a transparent and responsible manner. The concept of governance is the natural and indispensable nucleus of all political development.

By way of proof, what's more, I am looking for commitments by donor countries to substantially increase their aid to development. Also by way of proof, I am particularly looking for acknowledgment by partner countries of their primary responsibility in the development of their countries.

Practical initiatives clearly demonstrate the political will of our partner countries to make a resolute commitment to the process of reform. The programme known as The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) was launched by the African Union itself to promote political, economic, social and private sector governance in Africa.

The African Peer Review Mechanism aims to facilitate evaluation by peers themselves, exchange of good practice and encouragement of reform. This method, which has been wholly African since its conception, clearly has absolutely incontestable potential and opens up some highly positive possibilities.



It is very evident that partner countries, donors, the network of the United Nations and international organisations, as well as civil society, in short all development actors, want to make a real contribution to consolidating the process of governance.

This afternoon's plenary session will address this complex theme of governance by means of presentations that, I hope, will give a complete and perhaps occasionally divergent picture that will be very instructive and interesting: of what is, and what is not governance; of what it is possible to do, and of what it is perhaps counter-productive to do.

But let me take advantage of my role as President to establish a few reference points for identifying the leading concepts that give this meeting its direction, and perhaps for understanding governance more fully and trying to define its parameters.

#### **FIRST REFERENCE POINT**

From the outset I would like to clarify one thing that I consider important: the situation of governance in a given country is often described as “good”, or on the contrary as “weak” or “bad”. These descriptions, in my view, are neither useful nor appropriate. They can, in fact, especially when used by donors, give the impression of trying to impose an external model of governance, without necessarily considering the specific context of the country in question.

In addition, such a categorisation seems static, of little use and at times counter-productive in terms of reflecting the individual trends or dynamics unique to each country. When I think of the concept of governance, I think of a concept that is clearly dynamic, evolving, multidimensional and highly political.

#### **SECOND REFERENCE POINT**

Reducing governance to the fight against corruption seems to me both absurd and ineffective. It is true, of course, that we have to show proof of our resolve on the subject of corruption, for corruption harms government credibility and the legitimacy of democracy. At the heart of the judicial system corruption is a negation of the state of law. Within the public and private sectors, it leads to unequal allocation of resources. Lastly, it represents a very real tax on the poor.

However, it is my deep conviction that corruption is the result of the failure of a system, and the fight against corruption represents merely one aspect of governance. Corruption is often a symptom of the failure of a state or that state's capability. I am therefore more in favour of attacking the root causes of the failure of a state.

From now on I recommend a broad approach to governance. Numerous aspects must be taken into account in approaching such a complex theme, a fundamentally political question that concerns the grandiose functions of the state, its ability to assume these functions and to serve its citizens. To focus uniquely on one aspect of governance, without touching on the strong links between its many dimensions would be ineffective, superficial and short-lived.





It is well known that I have great admiration, and great confidence in civil society, as well as in non-governmental organisations. This morning I have already heard reactions that are warning, by advantage (*préciput/praecipuum*), preventively, or proactively, that this debate we are organising today could represent new conditionalities that, in the final analysis, might have a punitive effect on society.

I hope this is misinformation on their part. In any case, the European Union was clear on the subject, myself in particular; it is not about new conditionalities. In fact, it is about giving access to additional financial means of positively encouraging States to improve their governance, on the basis of a self-evaluation they do themselves, and based on a programme that, we hope, will be relevant and ambitious. That is what we are aiming at in all this. And I would even say that the theme of these Development Days was chosen so we could try and trace the outline of a common conception, so we could all participate at the level of major international donors on this question.

Let them rest assured, it is not about opening up the road to negative sanctions, to reduction of resources, to penalties, it is the contrary. In fact, it is about creating a real political dialogue between donors, with equal rights and obligations, and our partner countries, to try, at their request, to improve governance in their countries.

This was something I wanted to clarify, because I believe it is better to be clear when you seek to have good relations between privileged partners.

### **THIRD REFERENCE POINT**

The imperative of governance applies simultaneously to partner countries and to donors. Governance is a veritable “contract of confidence”, at the heart of society in partner countries, but at the same time also between developing countries and donor countries. Within developing countries, it is first and foremost a contract between governments and their citizens on the organisation of their political, economic and social system.

The undeniable acknowledgment by partner countries of their primary responsibility in the development of their countries forces us, the donors, to organise ourselves in a way which permits partner countries to draw maximum benefit from development co-operation. In other words, governance for donors means the effectiveness of aid and harmonisation of procedures, thus permitting developing countries to manage the abundance of donors.

In terms of the European Union, moreover, the Commission is very happy to have put this question. For we have today the European Consensus on development, we have the Communication on the harmonisation of aid with the Paris Conference and we are trying to bring the different legislations more into line with each other. What is more, I had the opportunity to exchange ideas as well as a shared conviction on this subject with the president of the World Bank, Paul Wolfowitz. It is absolutely vital that we the donors, at an international level, facilitate our partners’ capacity for assimilation, and for this too we have to talk about our own governance.



We owe it ourselves, out of respect, to define our aid strategies in favour of each of these countries, on the basis of their own strategies. As partners, we owe it to ourselves to support their efforts. But that also means their priorities, their programme, their schedule and their pace of work. It is not therefore, in any way, and I want to stress this, I want to say it firmly, it is not about imposing anything. We don't impose anything! In fact, it is about having a real political dialogue between partners with mutual respect, who appreciate each other, who acknowledge each other as partners. For developing partners it is of course about deciding their destiny, identifying their priorities, making their choices, letting us know how we can best help them.

People tell me, for example: "What is this governance? Would you like to impose your models on African countries?" We don't want to impose any model on African countries! But, it seems nonetheless possible to have a shared conception of a certain number of values, which are common to Africans, which are common to Asians, which are common to humanity or which, at least, should be common to humanity! After all, I presume that we don't have a different definition, for example, of the principle of separation of powers in a country? The same thing for tolerance, the same thing for the presumption of innocence. All these concepts, that somewhere make up a kind of common moral and ethical heritage, are shared by Africans, by Europeans, by everyone. Now, concrete democratic models, democratic representation. I admit that we can discuss them. But I don't think we can claim that it harms African autonomy, that it harms African authenticity, to seek to bring together the ethical and moral concepts generally accepted as being those that make the world a more harmonious place.

I also wanted to make this clarification because, in fact, this was perhaps more of an academic session, but from now on, it must become, I hope, a truly democratic debate, thus permitting contradictory exchanges of opinion. That is what I would like, and I thank in advance the speakers who are here to contribute to it.



GOVERNANCE FORUM

THEMATIC PLENARY SESSION

PERSPECTIVES ON GOVERNANCE

SAÏD DJINNIT

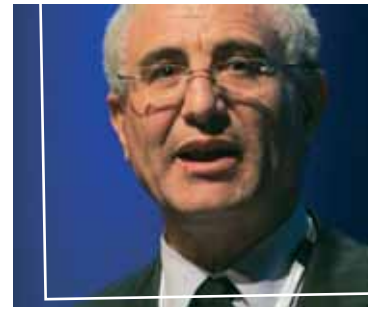
MARK MALLOCH BROWN

PAUL WOLFOWITZ

ELLEN JOHNSON-SIRLEAF

DONALD KABERUKA

AMINATA TRAORÉ



As delivered Mr Chairman,

Excellencies Heads of State and Government,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I wish on behalf of the African Union and its chairperson, Alfa Oumar Konaré, to commend the European Union Commission, President Barroso and Commissioner Louis Michel for this initiative and for bringing us together to discuss what I consider as the greatest challenge facing our continent but also facing our international community: the challenge of governance. I would like to seize this opportunity to say I fully share the views expressed by Louis Michel on the need to refer to governance without having to qualify it for the very reasons he has indicated.

I also share the convictions expressed by the Prime Minister of Belgium and President Barroso on the need to deepen the relations between the African Union and the European Union and between Africa and Europe in general. And to lead these relations towards new horizons, my presence here on behalf of the African Union Commission and its chairperson is a reflection of our commitment to these goals.

Mr Chairman, I was asked to give an African Union perspective on the issue of governance. First, I would like to touch on how the governance agenda has been developed within the African Union. Then I would like to refer to the new African vision on ownership and responsibility. Next, I will say a few words about peace, security and governance and how they are related. In conclusion, I will comment on what I believe we should all go towards, a world governance and establishment of a governance architecture.

How has the governance agenda emerged within the African Union? The governance agenda emerged in Africa in the late 80's and early 90's as results of combined effects of pressure from outside and inside the continent. Fundamental changes took place in the world and growing demands had been taking place from the people within Africa for change and transformation. Within the former Organisation of African Unity, the governance agenda developed within a context of its peace and security agenda. Indeed, conflicts in Africa and their devastating effects, including the destruction of the social fabrics in our societies, brought to the fore the core issue of governance, which is a root cause of conflicts in Africa. Initially, the Organisation of African Unity was engaged in the observation of elections, particularly in countries emerging from conflicts and crises. This involvement by the Organisation of African Unity in election observation gradually evolved and provided an entry point enabling the organisation to extend its role to an agenda for democracy.

This evolution is clearly illustrated through the various fundamental documents and instruments adopted by the African leaders as part of the process of transformation of the Organisation of African Unity in the late 80's that led to the creation of the African Union, including the adoption of the NEPAD (New Economic Partnership for Africa's Development) and the solemn declaration establishing the conference on security, stability, development and co-operation in Africa.



These efforts have been ongoing. We now are in the process of the developing an African charter for democracy and governance based on the experience of the African, but also drawing on lessons from the international community.

To understand the new African vision for ownership and responsibility, it is important to situate what is happening today in the light of the situation that prevailed 10, 20 or 30 years ago. Under the Organisation of African Unity, unity, peace and stability of the continent were essentially based on geography and closely linked to our common painful past and our common aspirations and destiny. That was a very important engine for advancing the unity of Africa.

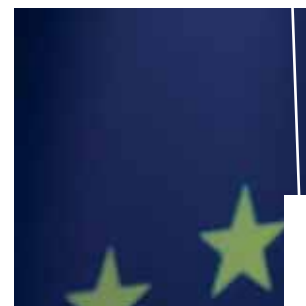
The transformation of the Organisation of African Unity to the African Union, and the considerations leading to this transformation, have brought about new principles, including the principle of common values. Beyond our geography, our common painful past, our common aspirations, our unity should be built on shared common values. That is based on this new principle. In Africa today, one member of this family may be with us on the continent, but he may not be one of us because he does not share our values.

These principles are properly reflected in the basic documents and mechanisms of the African Union. These include the NEPAD documents, the African Peer Review Mechanism, the Peace and Security Council Protocol establishing the Peace and Security Council and other documents essentially reflecting common values shared by Africa. They also include mechanisms to insure the implementation of these values, the monitoring of performance of our Members States either through a decision making process or through peer review. All of these essentially deal with the need for the African to respect their own commitments and their own values.

In Africa, we call this new, emerging principle the principle of non-indifference or the principle of African ownership and responsibility. The leadership in Africa and the people of Africa in general have come to realise that the problems of Africa should be first and foremost the problems of the African people. And the suffering of the people of Africa should be first and foremost the concern of the African people and the African leadership. These principles have emerged strongly and are reflected in the documents and instruments of the African Union.

One of these new emerging values is that the African Union should not be considered, as it was considered in the past, as an organisation of governments or a club of heads of states. The organisation, if it is to advance the aspirations of the people of Africa, should be opened to the people of Africa. Thus, we have seen the opening of the organisation to the civil society and the establishment of a parliament. When we speak of the opening to the civil society, the involvement of African women has been a very important breakthrough in the evolution of the African institutions. We believe in Africa that the African women have a huge reservoir of energy and resources that needs to be exploited. African women are indeed a critical agent of transformation. The transformation works in the interest of the women, so we have to work with women in Africa to make this transformation happen as quickly as possible.

But, of course, for that we need African leadership at all levels, at the level of our Member States, at the level of African institutions, and at the level of the African civil society institutions.



There is another point I should make now. We believe that we have a fundamental change of paradigm in the way we are doing business in Africa. Recall in 1963, when the organisation was created, there was a debate on the transfer of sovereignty. The leaders at that time debated this issue extensively; there were options, and they chose the minimum common denominator. We have been working with that minimum denominator for long time and to some extent it has undermined the speed of the transformation of the continent. Today, while things are not always easy, there is clearly a disposition of the African leadership and African people to move based on a higher common denominator.

The issue of the transfer of authority from the Member States to institutions at national, regional or continental levels, is being discussed. As we are talking again about the strengthening of the African institutions, this issue need to be addressed. We believe that by establishing institutions such as the Commission, which is really a driving force for the movement towards integration and unity in Africa, the Parliament of Africa, the Economic and Social Council, bringing together civil society, the Court of Justice and other institutions that all together through institutional synergy work towards accelerating the sense of history, we can move forward for the transformation of the continent.

My third point is with respect to peace, security and governance. The agenda of governance has emerged in the African Union through the implementation of its peace and security agenda. Why? Because when we went through conflict situations, we had to develop agreements at some point after the fighting. There was always an agreement because there is no military solution to a conflict. At the end of the day, the parties through dialogue, find solutions. Invariably we found out that the issues needing to be discussed for the agreement concern arrangements to make sure that the security of the people is guaranteed and those involve power sharing, wealth sharing, elections and preparation of a new constitution. All these are elements of governance.

On security, governance through security must assume that governance is everywhere. Governance is the best way of preventing conflicts. In the African Union, we refer to this as the structural prevention of conflict. This involves ensuring that the people are satisfied, power and wealth are adequately shared and security is properly addressed. All this leads to preventing conflicts in Africa. But, at the same time, we also realised that after a conflict and at the end of the day, we have to discuss governance. Governance is a way to consolidate peace and security in our continent. So governance is everyday and is everywhere.

We are determined to build the peace and to move ahead on the issue of governance. That determination is important. What is more important, however, is putting in place the institutions needed to implement and sustain that goodwill and determination. That is why, I believe, the most important aspect of governance in Africa is investing in the people of Africa and the institutions of Africa at all levels. At the national level, all national institutions are contributing to governance and to preventing conflicts. At the national level, we need to address security sector reform and a number of other issues related to the security of the people of Africa. The people of Africa need to believe that the principal of human security is leading our efforts in the security sector and towards establishing institutions.





We need to establish institutions at the regional and continental levels. There must be close co-operation between the region and the African Union to prevent conflicts, address conflict situations and consolidate peace in Africa.

As far as the African Union is concerned, the African leaders decided to establish a major institution, the Peace and Security Council. The Council will have a number of important structures such as the early warning system, to prevent conflicts and the Panel of the Wise to compensate for the intergovernmental nature of the Peace and Security Council, based on lessons from the United Nations Security Council. There are always limitations to the work of governments when they discuss peace and security. To compensate for these limitations, the leaders thought it important to establish a Panel of the Wise, composed of five eminent African men and women, who could pronounce themselves in an independent manner on issues of peace and security, saying openly what leaders might not be able to say within the Peace and Security Council.

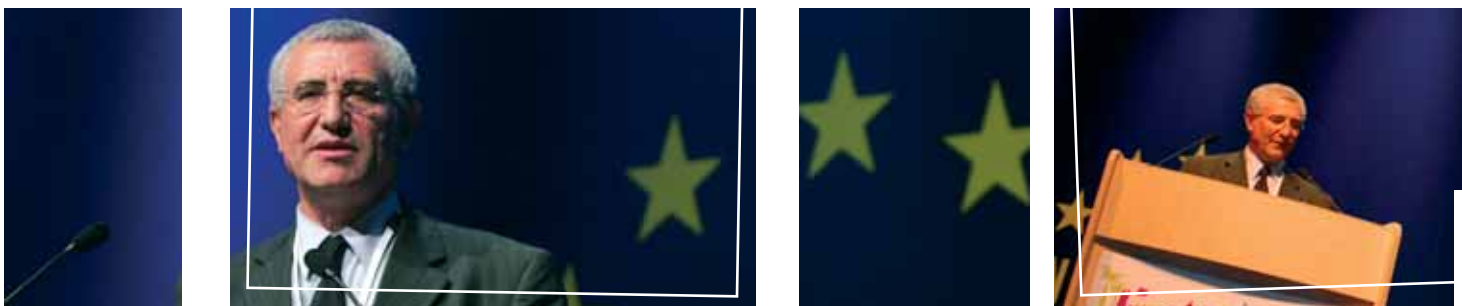
We have the African Standby Force, which has been established to be part of the peacekeeping capability and the Post-Conflict and Reconstruction Development Mechanism. We need to establish a mediation and negotiation capacity.

In sum, it is important to build institutions. To do so, we must invest in people and institutions through capacity building. I am glad that we are engaged with the European Union in a very important and ambitious capacity building program to insure that the security actors, both at the continental and regional levels, are provided with the necessary institutions and the resources.

On the issue of power sharing, which is political governance, we have so far addressed this issue through the narrow focus of elections. Holding elections in Africa is not by itself good governance. Elections are needed because they are the only manifestation of the will of the people, the only way to know the will of the people. But elections have limitations precisely because there is a lack of necessary institutions to back them up. Institutions such as constitutions, constitutional courts, judiciaries, parliaments, media and political parties are lacking on our continent.

This is the need: to invest in the people and institutions of Africa to make sure that democracy does not mean only elections. Elections are important, but investments must be made in all institutions needed to sustain democracy in Africa, including investment in the education of voters.

With respect to economic governance, issues to be addressed include equitable access to wealth, rational exploitation and management of national resources, protection of environment and management of movement of people and migration. One key problem relating to the management of resources and borders is the need to ensure that borders are not walls, but rather they are bridges. This concept should apply to the borders between Africa and the world at large and the European Union in particular.



Lastly, Mr Chairman, if I may make a few comments on what should be our joint endeavour towards a world governance architecture. We believe that security of individual countries is not enough. We are all bound to the principle of collective security. We should also be bound by the principle of collective responsibility and world governance. This governance is linked from the local to the national, to the regional, to the continental, and to the international levels.

The local and the national levels are critical because this is where things should happen. Change should be effective at local and national levels. But for this to happen, the role of the regions of our continent must be recognized because this is where we can transcend borders. We should build on these pillars of integration in Africa. It is important to invest in the regions as forums and as spaces where we can transcend borders, overcome ethnic divides and channel our energies in the right direction.

Next, there is the continental level, critical because it is the unique interface between Africa as a whole and the international community in bringing to the people of Africa universal values. Commissioner Louis Michel was talking about these universal values. Indeed, there is a common human heritage and the African Union is the ideal institution to bring the common values of humanity, the universal values to the people of Africa. But it is the same institution that should bring to the international community the legitimate concern of the African people. The African people have difficulties and problems that must be taken into account, otherwise the gap will not be filled.

Last, but not least, the international level is critical because it involves the global destiny of all people, of humanity. That is why we, as Africans and as the African Union, call for an urgent and effective review and reform of the United Nations, including its Security Council to make sure that this very important body, in which we strongly believe, becomes more representative and more effective. This will be good of the people of the world and definitively good of the people of Africa.

Mr Chairman, in conclusion, the challenge of governance is to make the people at the lowest community level feel not excluded, but rather included in governance in a new globalised world. This is our common responsibility. Governance is the challenge of bringing together all stakeholders at all levels from the local to the global.

I thank you for your attention.





As delivered

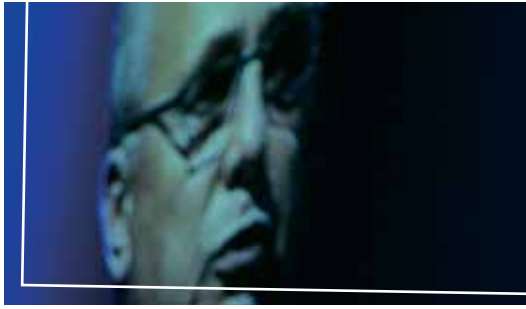
Mr President,  
Prime Ministers,  
Ministers,  
Louis Michel,  
Excellencies,  
Friends,

Thank you. I feel a little bit that Paul Wolfowitz and I are the middle of the sandwich here because we have very distinguished Africans who have spoken before us and are speaking after us. And that is how it should be, because I think for those of us who are not from Africa, we can only play a supporting role when it comes to talking about governance. As my friend and colleague Mr Djinnit just said, this is an African matter. What is so important about governance is that it has now become an African agenda for African leaders to promote and for us to support, but not for outsiders any longer to impose.

But let me just say that, with Louis Michel and the European Commission, the United Nations has been doing an awful lot to support elections in many of your countries just over the last 12 months. We have worked together with the Commission in Burundi, in the dramatic elections that have just concluded in the Democratic Republic of Congo, in Guinea-Bissau, Guinea, Liberia, and elsewhere, on making sure that this exercise of democracy has been done to a standard which has given voters in those countries the confidence that these have been fair and honest elections. And I think we know that behind those elections, have been stories of the triumphant emergence of new leadership, one of whom is President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, who is with us today. Her election represents an extraordinary moment for Africa.

But I must say, first, as administrator of the UNDP, and then later, now as Deputy Secretary-General, my view of democratic governance has always been that it is a means to development not an end or an alternative for development. It is a means to keep government accountable. As Amartya Sen argued in UNDP's Human Development Report and also in his writings, which won him the Nobel Prize for economics: there is nothing like the vote to keep governments honest and accountable to their poorer citizens. The vote is what has prevented, as he argued, a famine in India, whereas in other countries of Asia where there was not a vote, famines continued to occur. That is what has mattered to us at UNDP, it was this issue of making sure that the benefits of development reach the poor and politically least powerful. We saw democracy as a tool for achieving that.

We equally felt that the whole philosophy of human development meant that you could not have economic emancipation and freedom without also political emancipation and freedom. So to us, it is



no surprise that this last decade in Africa has seen improved economic performance at the same time that it has seen this great wave of democracy sweep back across the continent. We think these two issues are strongly linked.

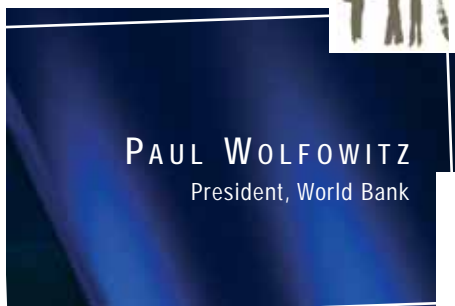
But we also believe that democracy, in addition to not being an alternative to development, cannot survive without development. President Johnson-Sirleaf has come to power in a country where the ballot box has replaced the gun. But now she must bring the benefits, the development dividend to her citizens. When the streetlights still go out in the capital, that is a poor reward for democracy for many of her citizens. She must have the opportunity to bring economic benefits quickly behind the political progress that her country has made if that political progress is to be sustained. That story is repeated in country after country across the region.

So we can celebrate the extraordinary development of African leadership, not just in presidents but leaders of civil society and leaders of the private sector. We can celebrate the emergence of new institutions at all levels of African countries. We can celebrate the reduction of regulations and other bottlenecks on economies which have lead to excessive opportunities for corruption, which are now being fought back and cut back. We can celebrate African Union innovations like the Peer Review Mechanism, and so much else.

But we must not take our eye off the development ball. Because democracy and good governance needs roads, it needs schools, it needs hospitals, it needs jobs, it needs prosperity. I cannot help but observe with President Museveni in the room, that I remember very well when I was a vice-president of the World Bank, the fantastic debate that opened up about the Bank wanting to spend a lot more in the social sectors and President Museveni saying, "That is fine, but give me my roads too."

Therefore, while I celebrate the partnership with Louis Michel on the promotion of good governance, I equally celebrate the fact that last year the United Nations, in partnership with the European Commission, repaired 2,300 km of southern Sudan's roads. It is the European Union's commitment to infrastructure as well as governance that will make the difference. That has allowed southern Sudan to recover its links with its neighbours, Kenya and Uganda. It has reduced transportation cost by 60 . That is the real good governance dividend.

Thank you.



As delivered

Thank you, Presidents,  
Prime ministers,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,  
Commissioner Louis Michel,

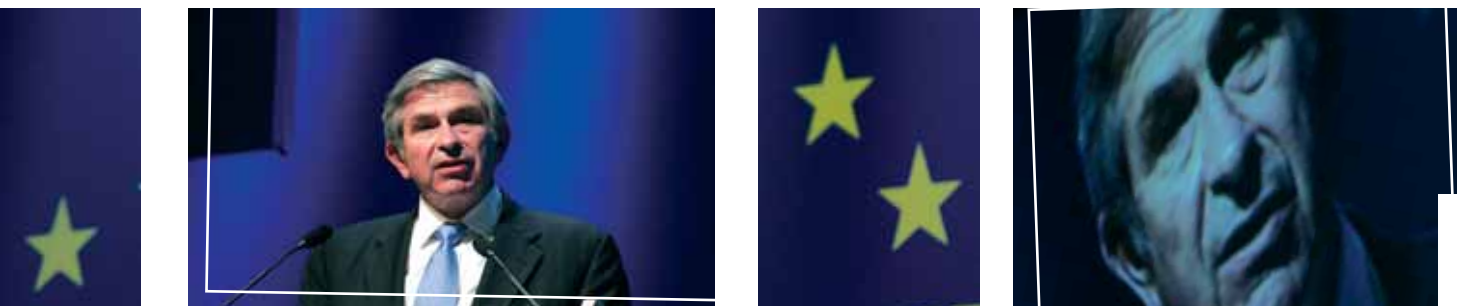
Congratulations on assembling such an impressive conference with such distinguished delegates. You really are a force of nature and it is a pleasure to work with you as a partner, and thank you for inviting me for this opportunity to share my thoughts on the global effort to fight poverty, especially in Africa. That issue is at the heart of our mission at the World Bank Group and it is also at the heart of an increasingly local global development agenda.

We are here today because we share an overarching goal to fight hunger, poverty and disease. We share the belief that the more than one people billion on our planet who still survive in extreme poverty, on less than a dollar-a-day, deserve the opportunity to build a better future for themselves and their children. That is the reality today, but it does not have to be the reality of tomorrow. Progress is possible; in fact we have seen remarkable progress in the past quarter century.

A quarter century that has seen some 500 million people escape poverty; the great bulk of them in East Asia, with many in South Asia, and many in Latin America. Sub-Saharan Africa unfortunately is the one region that has been left out of that picture of progress. Today, more than 300 million people in the sub-continent, roughly twice the number 20 years ago and roughly half the population of Sub-Saharan Africa, live in extreme poverty. That is why I have said since the day I came into this job that Africa must be the number one priority of the World Bank.

But, Africa is not just a continent of need. It is also a continent on the move; increasingly it has become a continent of hope. Economies are growing, the investment climate is improving, and governments are investing in their people through better health and education systems. Over the last 10 years, 17 African countries have consistently achieved growth rates of 4% or better over that extended period of time. Some have even reached averages as high as 7% or 8%. More than a third of Africa's citizens now live in those countries; countries whose economies are registering real growth and that does not include additional numbers that are living in oil producing countries.

That is still, however, only one-third of the population and even in those countries we are still talking about very poor countries. It is growth that is translating into improvement and social indicators and progress toward achieving the Millennium Development Goals. For example, in Ghana, Mozambique and Uganda more infants are living beyond their first year. More children are attending school and receiving immunisations; far more than compared with 10 or 15 years ago.



Most of the credit for the positive change rests with Africa's citizens and its leaders. They are increasingly recognising that development must rest on a strong foundation of stability, policy reform and good governance. More countries are improving their regulations to make it easier to do business. Each year the World Bank Group produces the *Doing Business Report*. This year's report shows that Africa is the third fastest reforming region in the world in terms of improvements in the investment climate.

Ghana and Tanzania are among the top 10 reformers in the world. They still have a lot of reform to do and a lot of work to do, but there is progress being made. In Burkina Faso, for example, starting a business now takes 34 days instead of 45 last year. Until last year, registering property in Côte d'Ivoire took more than a year; today it takes barely a month. Reforms like these are an important start, but much more is needed because Africa continues to lag behind the rest of the world in economic growth and in the ease of doing business. And the two are related.

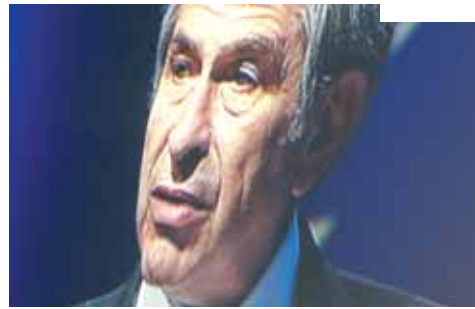
On average, African countries rank near the bottom of the list of the 175 countries, and that hurts. In many African countries, on the factory floor we are seeing competitive development. As an example, our statistics show that it costs US \$0.12 to make a shirt in the factory in Ghana compared to US \$0.29 in what is called an export promotion zone in China. But, once you get beyond the factory gates that competitive edge often disappears very quickly. Outside those gates are crumbling roads that make it harder to deliver products to markets and unreliable power supplies that limit productivity.

An entrepreneur in Central Africa for example pays three times what his Chinese counterpart would pay to transport a container the same distance. And, of course, the odds are that Chinese entrepreneur is much closer to port to begin with. African countries desperately need resources to provide the infrastructure that businesses need in order to supply jobs to help people escape poverty. But, this brings me to a key point, in the long run neither policy reforms nor investment in infrastructure nor human development by themselves will deliver results without transparent and accountable government.

Reforms also won't work without strong institutions that hold government accountable. Institutions such as a parliament, an independent judiciary, a free press and a vibrant civil society. But part of the good news story in Africa is that an increasingly informed African citizenry is demanding change. Not because she is here, but because it is such a stunning example, I love to point to the fact that last year the voters of Liberia were given a choice. Some people say voters in a poor country can't make intelligent choices. I think Liberia is one of many examples that proves those people wrong.

Given a choice between a soccer star and a woman committed to economic reform, the voters of Liberia overwhelmingly chose President Johnson-Sirleaf who is here with us today. I am proud to know her. I am also proud to say that she worked once at the World Bank. But I think the job you have today Ellen is a much harder job and a much more important one. Thank you for doing it. There are many other examples of leadership at many levels in Africa, from the highest to the lowest.

One I would like to cite is a man named Nuhu Ribadu, who is the Executive Chairman of Nigeria's Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), a member of President Obasanjo's remarkable economic team. Ribadu is leading the bold efforts of the Nigerian government to confront corruption.



Two of his staff were murdered, so his candor on the subject comes as no surprise. Let me quote him: “We know what corruption has cost us,” Nuhu said. “It has denied us the value of our resources, both human and natural. It breeds injustice; it causes killings, this disease that ravages us almost everywhere. That is not that we want and that is what we are not going to allow to continue.”

We have many compelling reasons to support courageous people like President Johnson-Sirleaf, like Nuhu Ribadu, like many, many others because ultimately change can only come from the inside; it cannot be imposed from outside. It has to be driven by the leaders and citizens of Africa, people who want to take control of their destinies and provide better futures for their children. So, where does that leave the international community and what is our role? Last year at the G8 Summit in Gleneagles, eight of the world’s most powerful leaders made a commitment to double their aid to Africa and to provide debt relief to the poorest countries in the world, most of them African. For our part, the donors have promised to provide more development assistance and for their part developing countries have committed themselves to strengthen their institutions and policies and to ensure that resources are spent wisely.

This matter is not only for the citizens and voters of Liberia and other African countries; it matters also to the voters and taxpayers in rich countries whose taxpayer dollars support development finance. They too are asking their governments to account properly for how aid money is spent. I am pleased to say that many African countries are meeting their side of the bargain. Just to pick one example, advocates of the new effort, the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative, are working to make sure that oil revenues are not squandered and that oil becomes a blessing and not as so often, unfortunately, a curse. Many countries have now signed up for the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative, many of them from Africa.

That’s not an insignificant change; it’s an important step toward ensuring that resources go where they should go, toward teaching children to read and write, for distributing bed nets to protect families from malaria. Donors now should deliver their side of the deal. I am afraid that the international community is at risk of falling short on those commitments from Gleneagles. Countries that are poised with good plans to make effective use of increased resources have missed opportunities to accelerate growth because they lack assistance in key areas such as transportation, education, health and agriculture.

On the governance agenda too, rich countries have something they can do. They have an obligation to support efforts of the African countries fighting corruption within their own borders, just stop and think. Every corrupt transaction has two parties or at least two parties, sometimes more: a bribe giver and a bribe taker. Too often that bribe giver comes from a rich country. The rich countries must do more to live up to their responsibilities to support good governance by disciplining that kind of behaviour and by helping poor countries recover assets that have been looted. Today, there is broad international agreement that improving governance is an important means to achieving development.

It’s our most important assurance that every development dollar is used as it must be to fight hunger, poverty and disease. The World Bank Group, believes in expanding partnerships with a wide range of groups that shares a stake in improving governance. Those partnerships of course include the incredibly valuable co-operation with the European Union. The European Union and the Bank have





already worked in coordination with other donors over the last 15 years, helping governments in Eastern Europe drive remarkable change. On Africa today, I met with Louis Michel, with Javier Solana, and with Jean-Marie Guéhenno, Under Secretary-General of the UN for Peacekeeping, to discuss how our institutions can best work together to support the elected government in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Given the vast size and the vast needs, the DRC will test the capabilities of donors. But I know that our partnership with European Union will greatly improve our chances of success in meeting that enormous challenge. Elsewhere in the West Bank in Gaza, the European Union and the World Bank are working together to sustain health and social services for the poorest Palestinians, despite the enormous political challenges we face.

In a very different part of the world, in Indonesia, I have seen how the European Union and World Bank are working together in the post-Tsunami reconstruction of Aceh in stimulating peaceful economic activity after the signing of Aceh Peace Agreement. I must note that that remarkable agreement was a product of the leadership of the European Union and the great diplomatic skill of Finland's former President, Martti Ahtisaari. Ultimately, our ability to deliver will depend on donors making good on their commitments to increase development assistance.

For the poorest countries in Africa and for many others around the world, the World Bank Group's concessional lending arm, the International Development Association, or IDA for short, is a critical source of development finance. Last year, IDA support for the poorest countries reached a record high of US\$ 9.5 billion and half of that was dedicated to Africa. It is still nowhere near enough, and IDA is also providing debt relief to the poorest countries through the Multilateral Debt Relief Initiative. Twenty of our partner countries are now eligible to receive a 100 percent cancellation of their debt but the donor countries now need to keep their promises to make up that dollar for dollar.

Next year, we'll begin replenishment talks for IDA 15. Those talks and the generosity of donors are critical to the future of Africa's next generation. We must aim at a replenishment that matches the ambitions and aspirations of the African people. We must do so, so that Africa's children have the same chance as children in other countries to step into a brighter future. Last year, I visited a poor village in Mexico that reminded me of many poor villages I visited in Africa. I met a young girl who was the first in her family to go to school. She was already imagining a very different world for herself. She recited for us a poem in her native Nahuatl that goes:

"I want to change everything – I want to change everything because I love the tiller of the soil and the sweat of his labour that enriches my homeland and brings forth maize, beans, and potatoes. I want to change everything because I love the world that does not yet exist; where those that bake bread, can eat it too. Where the farmer becomes a gardener of life and not of death."

Think of millions of children in Africa who also want to change their world who also yearn for world that for them does not yet exist. At the World Bank, we are proud to be partners with European Union with so many generous countries here in Europe to help children like that to realise their dreams.



As delivered

Excellencies Presidents and Heads of State here present,  
Mr Barroso, President of the European Commission,  
Distinguished panellists,  
Honourable representatives of Head of State,  
Officials and members of the European Commission,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,

Permit me to add my thanks to the organisers and in particular to Commissioner Louis Michel for having the vision to bring together the collection wisdom assembled in this room this afternoon and over the next two days. The people of Liberia are honoured that I have been asked to participate in this opening session.

As nations voluntarily embrace the concept of a global society, the overarching theme of this Forum is timely and relevant to ongoing efforts to foster more strategic partnerships aimed at deeper mutuality in interests and benefits. We are therefore pleased that one of the key anticipated results of this Forum is to strengthen the effectiveness of the European Union's assistance.

As I speak on the subject of perspective on governance, allow me to share with you some aspects of the emerging Liberian governance experience, broadly viewed in its social, economic and political dimensions. There is no doubt that this emerging experience bears wider applicability and broad relevance to other post-conflict societies today even if individual national paths to peace vary in details and relative emphases.

In the case of Liberia, following the Accra Comprehensive Peace Agreement signed in August 2003, brokered by many of our regional and partner countries present today, and based upon the experience of the National Transitional Government judged widely as non-performing, there was little question that any genuine effort at post-conflict recovery and stability must revolve around comprehensively reshaping the governance of our national affairs. We realise therefore that we have to do things differently, better and more quickly, as we strive to meet the raised expectation of our people, and of women throughout Africa and the world.

Thus, since the inauguration of our new government on January 16 of this year, we have lost no time in setting en train those policies and measures aimed at what we define as good governance: an effective and efficient management of national resources for the people, of the people, by the people. This has meant moving first to address the root cause of our collapsed economy – poor public financial management. The corrective measures taken are actively supported by our partners generally and specifically through the Governance and Economic Management Assistance Program (GEMAP).



As a result, we have made notable progress in our budgetary, expenditure and revenue management and control. We have also initiated studies aimed at reform of our tax system to bring it more in harmony with sister Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) countries, and we have started to develop policies that will lead to dissolution or more efficiency in operations of state-owned enterprises. A banking system under stress is now being revived through policy changes at the reformed central bank.

A robust civil society and media enjoy unprecedented freedom in carrying out their watchdog function, while a Truth and Reconciliation Commission has begun its work in fostering the processes of contrition and forgiveness. At the centre of this effort is a comprehensive anti-corruption program, which aims to ensure that public officials and institutions conduct their businesses with integrity and a sense of a new national ethos. The adoption of a Public Service Code of Conduct will soon be submitted to our National Legislature for enactment into law. Relatedly, a new anti-corruption policy has been formulated with full implementation strategy drawing on the policy to be completed by end year.

A judicial system long characterised by lack of capacity and credibility is under reform spearheaded by a changed Supreme Court. The GEMAP program itself is being revisited to include national capacity building, thereby ensuring sustainability in the transfer of enhanced know-how and systems in all relevant institutions. Measures that promote a conducive environment for attracting private capital and investment are underway.

The policies and programmes upon which the measures are based are articulated in an Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy that is nearing completion. It will be a successor regime to the International Monetary Fund Staff Monitoring Program, which will be successfully completed by year end. In this context, the issue of governance represents cross-cutting parameters in all aspects of our national policy direction that emphasises national security, revitalisation of the economy, rehabilitation of infrastructure and basic services delivery. Importantly, in the implementation of our programmes of national reform and reconstruction, we remain very clear that our efforts must go well beyond the centres to embrace all 15 of our administrative subdivision with a view to enhancing local governance through program decentralisation.

While clear in our vision, strategy and commitment, and despite the gains, we are still behind in the achievement of our goals. This is due to the realities of the serious dysfunctionalities that result from years of conflict – a bloated and deskilled civil service, a distorted value system of violence, indiscipline and dishonesty, and a lack of confidence in the commitment to reform. Added to this are the risks evolving from the inactivity of a dismantled army and security sector long in need of restructuring and reform.

To meet these challenges will require that we practice good governance in all its dimensions by ensuring that principles such as transparency, accountability and democratic values are more than just buzzwords and clichés. It must be acknowledged that these guiding principles are all part of a new emerging political culture not only in our country Liberia, but, I dare say, in other countries that share similar social, political and economic realities.





As we put into place measures that strengthen governance on the domestic front, we must also re-examine and re-tool the dynamics of the relationship between donors and recipients so that the relationship is more symbiotic and mutually beneficial. For example, it is clear that human resources being the most valuable resource of any nation, human recovery and human development are the best way to ensure that development assistance will be sustained in the long run and will alter the quality of life in a positive way for our citizens.

However, our experience shows that it is easier to get support for hardware than it is to attract assistance for some of the seemingly intangible but critical needs of our people. Another example in our experience is that corruption issues manifested in the design of strategies and the establishment of special bodies get much support – as indeed they should – but the judiciary does not. Clearly, judicial reform and strengthening of the pillars of integrity go hand in hand with any type of anti-corruption strategy. Thus, it is clear to us that building the capacity of our courts and strengthening our correctional institutions are key elements in ensuring a functional democracy and the rule of law. The one should not be developed at the expense of the other but should be seen as interlocking and complementary.

The same applies to the issue of national capacity. The Liberian experience is clear in this regard. Unless we are able to attract and retain the indigenous skilled professionals required, implementation of reform measures will remain behind schedule risking policy failure or reversal. Thus, if we continue the policy line where emphasis is not placed firmly at the points where change and reforms are most needed and critical, the implication for many post-conflict countries is that if human recovery is delayed, such nations run the risk of delaying the transition from dependency to self-sufficiency through the exchange of aid for trade; or run the risk of the unthinkable, which is slipping back into conflict. The record of post-conflict countries is clear in this regard.

Another reality in our global community today suggests that accountability should be a two-way street. Recipient governments must be transparent, but we must respond to the demand of our people that we get the same level of accountability from donors. In Liberia, we remain grateful for the generosity of the international community in our transition from war to peace and in our current state of reform where we are seeking debt relief and support for programs that will reduce poverty and improve the quality of life of our people.

However, sometimes it is not clear how much money is being spent by bilateral and multilateral organisations in the name of Liberia. In other instances, some of the development programmes of the donor community do not necessarily fit into our own domestic development agenda largely because home governments are not always involved in the planning stage for many projects, especially those implemented by international non-governmental organisations. In order to make our partnership more effective, some of these methods of doing business must change, that is the full implementation of measures agreed in Paris to enhance aid effectiveness and in Gleneagles in the level of aid.

The challenges we face in strengthening governance in its social dimensions is perhaps the most difficult in a post-conflict country like Liberia. This is partly because in addition to the challenging issues of scarcity of resources, high illiteracy rates, being at a higher risk of becoming victims of diseases such as HIV/AIDS, malaria and tuberculosis, the dysfunctional nature of such a post-conflict



society makes nation building a more daunting task. We have found also that illiteracy does not equate to ignorance and thus the involvement of traditional leaders and elders into the decision making processes can bring added value to nation building initiatives.

In addition, the ethnic, religious and other forms of diversity that underlay the Liberian experience can be harnessed into pillars of strength, but this can only be achieved when people are convinced that the government to whom they have delegated the authority to govern will do so in their best interest. In the Liberian experience, it is important that we change government and that government does not change us. This is why the serious delays in the implementation of agreed programmes must be addressed – the time between commitment and cash must be shortened if the hope and confidence of our people is to be maintained as a means of building consensus.

Given the social and economic challenges in the strengthening of governance in Liberia, it is not surprising that when one adds the political dimension, the picture gets more complicated. Because no one political party has a majority in our legislature, political consensus does not happen overnight. The dialogue, discussion and decisions that surround political decisions are healthy for an emerging democracy like ours, but as our political systems mature, we must work toward a significant reduction in the number of political parties and move towards the kinds of coalitions that would signal that we are finding common grounds to exercise our freedom.

Ladies and Gentlemen, even though I have not been asked to address the key challenges in strengthening governance, because I am who I am, I would be remiss if I did not reinforce the inescapable need to recognise gender equality as an indispensable element in any governance program. Programmes that focus on such areas as education of the girl child and that sensitise people to the evil of gender base violence and crime against children must be given special consideration and support. These most vulnerable members of our society deserve added protection and the allocation of special resources to make up for the years of inequity and neglect which they have faced.

In closing, let me urge the participants here over the next two days to dare to think outside the box and challenge some of the generally accepted paradigms that drive the dynamics of development assistance. This is not to say we should challenge the status quo just for the sake of doing so, but rather we should be more circumspect in analysing the parameters that defines the rules that govern the relationships that drive our global society. The challenge is ours to find the fulcrum that will truly balance our various economic, social, political needs with our desire to live in a world where good governance, accountability, transparency and the rule of law are accepted as universal and interlocking foundations on which we build and sustain global peace.

In Liberia, we dare to think that our national experience – our success in post conflict – will prove to be a barometer of the effectiveness of strategic partnership of international co-operation given the substantive investment already made in our transition from conflict to peace and sustainable development. The Liberian government will continue to strive to meet its part of the commitment to this partnership. We count on the European Union and other international partners individually and collectively to do likewise. Liberia's success is the success of international co-operation and effective partnership.

I thank you for your attention.



As delivered

## Your Excellencies Heads of State and Government, Distinguished participants,

It is an honour to be here and I wish to applaud this forum and commend President Barroso and Commissioner Louis Michel for the initiative. Thank you for associating the African Development Bank (ADB) to this event and to this panel of eminent personalities. To succeed in our shared agenda we, as partners, must continuously find ways of working better together in a more strategic manner. The cultivation and sustenance of this type of high-level engagement and dialogue is an excellent example. The many leaders of Africa who are here this week are a testimony to the rich experience of European Union/ Africa co-operation from the Lomé to the Cotonou Conventions.

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

We are witnessing a unique period of opportunity for Africa and its partners. Yet, perhaps not surprising, the discourse on Africa is still largely about violent conflicts, pervasive corruption, drought, despotic rule and more. Yet democracy has never seen a period of expanded space as it is today. Military takeovers have given way to elections. The Democratic Republic of Congo is the latest example – as were Liberia and Burundi recently.

Today, 15 or so countries are growing this year at above 6%. Capital flight is giving way to US \$12 billion of remittances, of which about US\$ 6.5 billion to Sub-Saharan Africa. But we are at the same time challenged in Somalia, Darfur and Côte d'Ivoire. Needless to say, most of the countries are off-track for the Millennium Development Goals. But even here we know that at least five countries in Africa will attain the Millennium Development Goals and on current trends most countries could attain at least two of the goals.

It is evident to all of us that failure of governance including its extreme form – war and conflict – accounts largely, but not exclusively, for the disappointing performance. But today, an increasing number of countries citizens are demanding and obtaining greater accountability and improved living conditions. A new assertiveness and confidence is evident everywhere. Our challenge is to sustain it, to prevent reversals and to work collectively for positive change.

The European Union has been for years the principal source of predictable, long-term grants to Africa. That solidarity has provided budget support and investments to build infrastructure, health, education as well as building institutions and governance, including peacekeeping and supporting democratic transitions.

I applaud the African Action Plan presented by Louis Michel, which further consolidates relationship with Africa and is in line with our own plans at the ADB. I would like to see greater collaboration at planning and operational levels, in particular in the area of infrastructure, thereby synergizing our efforts in line with the comparative advantage of each of our institutions.



Building effective states that are accountable and fair to the people takes time. I consider three issues to be critical: leadership, institutions and capacity. Only we in Africa can provide the needed leadership – but building institutions such as the civil service, the judiciary, financial oversight organs and reinforcing capacity is a collective endeavour.

To reach our shared objectives of poverty reduction and economic growth there is no substitute for committed leadership that sees the difference between a multiparty system and the true practice of pluralism democracy – from the multiple number of parties to genuine voice and choice for the people. There is no substitute for a leadership that sees the need to generate shared economic growth, that is not rent seeking and that holds public office in trust. I submit that this type of leadership is today emerging across Africa – ready and willing to correct errors of the past. It is our task to support them with the wherewithal, the capacity and strong institutions that can design and deliver.

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

That is what we, like you, are trying to do at the African Development Bank. We constantly look for more effective ways to provide that type of support, to promote governance, effective accountable states thereby enhancing the impact of our work, and our mandate – poverty reduction. That is what Africa deserves. We set out to achieve this in a constructive way, alongside other stakeholders, recognising the diversity of Africa and the acknowledgement that building institutions, building capacity and effective capable states are long-term undertakings.

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

In the recognition that development is country-specific and path-critical, we take into account the heterogeneity of African countries. We design solutions that are tailor-made to match the countries' initial conditions and a realistic assessment of our chances of success within the limits of our scope of action and resources and potential for working with other partners.

Where there are weak institutions, but committed leadership, our work consists of sustaining the pace and direction of change and gains made, making sure that there are no slippages and reversals. I see the follow up to the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) Peer Review Mechanism as a unique opportunity and I am glad we have been able to accompany the process. For countries where leadership commitment is less firm, less evident, our engagement is of a different nature: to act as spur for positive change via a robust dialogue with stakeholders while protecting the basic interests of our mandate to serve the poor.

Post-conflict and fragile states pose a special challenge. By the nature of our mission we are called upon to continue operating in regions and countries with weak or dysfunctional institutions. This includes devastated or fragile nations emerging out of chaos and mayhem. How we do so very much depends on circumstances. This choice is not an easy one, nor is it easily applicable.



While we are mindful of the risks involved, we are firmly convinced that as an African development institution, this is an essential part of our mandate and the benefits far outweigh the risks. We appreciate the work the European Union has accomplished in this domain, both upstream and downstream, and I look forward ways for further collaboration between our two institutions in the fragile states.

Over the last decade, the international community has invested tremendous efforts and resources in peacekeeping, peacemaking and even attempts at “peace forcing”. Significant resources have been committed for electoral exercises, in order to give a chance to the people to choose how they wish to be governed. Where we have not been effective – all of us – is in providing commensurate support “once guns have gone silent” and the people have spoken; the peace dividends are too long in coming. Post-conflict recovery is a long painstaking process and we need to be more imaginative during that phase of translating democracy into practical, meaningful change for the people.

Another challenge today is the management of natural resources. Today, Africa’s natural resources need no longer be “a curse”; neither should Africa continue to remain simply an exporter of raw materials. We would like to see our own economies benefit from the transformational potential of these resources. Ensuring transparent utilisation of natural resources and the revenues they generate is critical. I applaud many African countries, natural resource rich, who have adhered to the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI). It is a good start, but it is only a start. Sound management of natural resources is more than applying the principles of the EITI; it is above all ensuring that the exploitation and use of the country’s resources benefit the citizens by creating linkages in a self sustaining economy.

Today, across Africa, private sector investment is on the rise and public-private sector partnerships are growing. The costs of doing business are falling. It is our genuine aspiration that henceforth Africa’s natural resources create linkages in the economy that would allow greater value addition and greater prosperity shared.

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Accountability is above all to the citizens of the country, not to donors, not to outsiders. Progress will only hold if it involves ordinary people and state legitimacy can only be reinforced in the process. The NEPAD codes of political, economic and corporate governance provide an African defined and owned comprehensive framework.

But Africa is not only demanding more from itself and its leaders, but also from the partners. It is asking that international rhetoric be translated into practice. Africans know that, far too often in the past, commitments have been made only for goal posts to be shifted and ambitions to be revised down. Debts have been cancelled thereby providing additional resources for priority expenditures, new laudable initiatives are coming on stream but a question persists: will there be additionality, enabling access to predictable, long term finance for the Millennium Development Goals? Doha has stalled. Will it be re-launched with interests of developing countries frontloaded? Will there be vigorous action on climate change?





I am aware some of the issues here are complex but this was the Monterrey Pact – of mutual accountability – on trade, more and better aid, voice, governance and attention to global public goods.

This forum provides the opportunity to maintain frank and open discussions, at all levels, and conduct a reality check on where each side is on its commitments. Eight years to 2015, we cannot afford to fail.

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

As I come to the end of my remarks, let me reaffirm the engagement of the African Development Bank to expand the opportunities for the people of our continent, to reduce the risks and costs of doing business and bring about a better investment climate. The long-term goal, after all, must be Africa which graduates from aid by a meaningful participation in global trade and investment. The world economy is undergoing tectonic shifts before our very eyes with prosperity expanding across the globe – except in large parts of Africa. We have a mission to seize this opportunity. The European Union, the African Development Bank and our partners have a key role in this regard in the years leading to 2015. We will increase our chance of success if we pursue vigorously the Paris Harmonization Agenda, if we align to country priorities, if we spell out a flexible and dynamic division of labour among partners and if we stay focused.

Let me express once more our appreciation and I thank you for listening to me.



As delivered In my letter to the French President about the Côte d'Ivoire and Africa in general, I stress in fact that the elections in France are more concerned with my destiny as a Malian and an African than with the electoral processes that are taking place in my country and on the continent. Mr Louis Michel, I have often imagined having this opportunity to meet you in this role you play in political and development trends on our continent. Thank you, therefore, for giving me this opportunity.

I confess that when I received your invitation, I wondered why I was so honoured to be asked here today, given that distrust, indifference and at times denigration are sometimes the tendency of great institutions and states, and faced with our commitments as to the real state of the world, in Africa, and with the nature of north-south relations, including Afro-European relations.

Dialogue between political actors and civil society proves difficult and often unresolved. I am sure that Mr Mark Malloch Brown recalls the attempt by journalist Patrice Bara, who in 2001 wanted to establish a dialogue between Davos and Porto Alegre. It was a dialogue of the deaf. We continue most of the time to look at ourselves as inanimate objects, because we speak certainly of the same world, the same facts, but we do not necessarily attribute the same causes to the same ills, and we envisage even less the same solutions. The guardians of financial and political power who meet in Davos have for the most part a blind faith in growth and competitiveness, which would be the best remedies for the ills of the entire earth. The anti-globalists therefore look like utopians, even obscurantists.

I personally remain of the opinion, Ladies and Gentlemen, that the global jolt being felt throughout the world social movement since the ministerial conference of the WTO in Seattle is a historic opportunity to rescue Africa from the ghetto in which it is being imprisoned by theorists of the corruption, poverty and war trilogy.

The deconstruction of their doctrine is, in my view, an imperative necessity, as well as a moral and political requirement for the whole of Africa if we wish to hold our heads high, throughout the world, and look other humans in the eye.

If you would like me to tell you, Ladies and Gentlemen, the feeling I have today as a woman and as an African, it is one of humiliation. Beyond all the words, spoken here, I believe they are sincere, but what I hear, what I see in my real life outside this hall is actually stigmatisation, racism that supports that very trilogy of corruption, poverty and war that is suffocating Africa. It deepens anti-black racism. What respect can ordinary citizens have for Africans who are constantly held responsible for their own misery, who are presented as the lowest on the earth, because of the corruption of their leaders? I do not exonerate them, no one can dispute the fact that corruption is poisoning our economies and our societies, and that every African leader responsible and concerned for the rights and welfare of his country's citizens should insist on rigorous management and judicious allocation of available resources. No African citizen, man or woman, should play any part in the practices and behaviour that increase poverty, hunger, illiteracy and disease in our countries.

If governance must be the top priority in Africa, why does the initiative not come from Africa? Why should its content and method of implementation be the business of world powers? I can state unequivocally that bad governance has annihilated development in numerous regions of Africa.





“Corruption there is a permanent challenge”, declared the authors of the weighty 464-page report published by the Commission for Africa that British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, created and which was widely circulated prior to the resounding Gleneagles Summit in Scotland in 2005.

That year was supposed to be the year of Africa. Today I ask the question, what significant reduction in the burden of debt have we recorded since then? We know, on the other hand, from certain sources, that Iraq alone has enjoyed a debt reduction of US\$14 billion dollars out of a total of US\$23 billion agreed by creditors. I find it quite simply disturbing and strange how corruption, while being considered a worldwide phenomenon, is increasingly presented nowadays as the biggest obstacle to development in Africa.

Is our quest for alternatives to the plundering of the continent’s resources, to social inequalities, going to be reduced from now on to a fight against corruption? I hear, Mr Louis Michel, that you have said it is not just about that, but unfortunately, at the moment, Africa is perceived first and foremost as the continent of corruption. So, I would very much like, in these discussions, to come round to other aspects of governance, but for the moment, it is this review of the realities of the continent that does us the most moral damage.

Can we reasonably believe that this situation we are witnessing, of the degeneration of the continent, has no link with the structural adjustment programme of the IMF and the World Bank? And that the conditionalities of these institutions and of other lenders have not turned African leaders, be they well or badly elected, into “yes men”?

In Africa, as in other parts of the world, those who govern and those who are governed have no room for manoeuvre in the choice of neo-liberal politics that should theoretically allow the former to respond to the expectations of the latter. What governance can we speak of there, Ladies and Gentlemen, where the sovereignty of nations is thus sacrificed in the name of a financial system whose disloyal and predatory nature is no longer disputed.

The IMF, the World Bank, the WTO, the G8 and the European Union, from whom our leaders receive funds, along with instructions, want to be named not just because they consider that there is no alternative to neo-liberal globalisation, but also, because the fact of giving somehow relieves them of what they themselves call “accountability”.

Presented as one of the poorest countries in the world, my country, Mali, is equally emblematic of successful democratic transition and opening up of the economy. Persuaded that the pauperisation of our country was essentially due to the bad leadership of General Moussa Traoré, Malians adopted the slogan “Kokadjé”, meaning “washed and clean”. When Traoré’s regime was toppled, 300 people paid with their lives for a change of leadership that was going to mean the opening up of a new era. Freedom of thought, and of decisions, was going to permit us to be closer to our leaders. There was no such thing. We know today that this country is also one that suffers from economic subsidies that eat away at the cotton industry.



The African State, it seems, according to the preparatory documents for this meeting, was rehabilitated during the 1980s. Its role, which will have been recognised as essential for development, has become an important element of the international agenda. I doubt it. But let's assume.

What happened before? Shouldn't the fall in the price of raw materials from the beginning of the 1970s, the debt crisis and the imposition of structural adjustment programmes, which weakened and discredited the post-colonial state, all figure in any analysis of the situation on our continent? What is the origin of the erosion of states and their loss of legitimacy and credibility, if it is not the guardianship of the IMF and the World Bank?

An assessment of the last 50 years of co-operation between Europe and Africa should, considering the state of things, permit our generous donors to not only harmonise their methods, but also to further question the paradigm of the market. Instead of being viewed as the continent with a poverty level that poses one of the major challenges of the century, Africa should, on the contrary, be the place where, together, we should undertake a rigorous evaluation of the ravages of neo-liberal globalisation and dependent development.

The principle of equality between peoples and nations in terms of co-operation, the principle of reciprocity, would wish, Mr Louis Michel, that we Africans can also take a look at the sponsors and particularly Europe in construction. What is its agenda? On what basis is it being built? We too are familiar with the question of the "no" to the European constitution. That does not evoke any discussion in Africa. We play it by ear, having 250 political parties doesn't bother anyone in the West. But we have been able to observe, in following the run-up to the elections in France, that there is real debate going on about a vision of society. Are Africans too poor, too black to have the right to a debate on the direction of the world economy?

I find it hard to imagine liberal Europe, challenged by the imperatives of growth and competitiveness in the case of globalisation, developing the wealth of Africa solely for the profit of Africans. Its business milieu and its citizens, most of whom have become shareholders, would not understand it.

Governance in whose interest? Under whose control? How and with a view to what vision of society? These are the questions we constantly ask ourselves at the level of African and European social movements. The tragedy for most young Malians, Senegalese, Cameroonians, Congolese, who have braved the barbed wire of Ceuta and Melilla, is to be deprived in their own country not only of employment and income which permits them to have a place in their society and to play their role, but also of the ability to put vital questions to their leaders. The manner in which governance functions at a global level is a serious obstacle to the exercise of citizen control, which is dear to us in Africa.

I ask Europe to reflect on the fact that the Economic Partnership Agreements that are imposed on us will be implemented in the same context as the agreements concerning readmission of candidates for emigration and undesirable migrants, that is to say, of no use to the European economy.



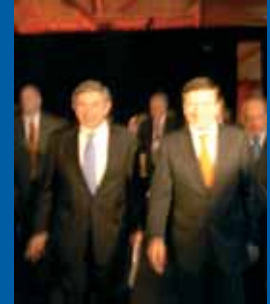
To conclude, I would like to remind you of certain realities that do not lend themselves to quantification because they do not show themselves, but outside of which it seems difficult to talk about development and partnership. The process of development, which we are discussing here, does not pick them up, does not take charge of them, when it affects them, and for the most part it mishandles them. It is in this regard that development, the Europe-Africa partnership is in an impasse. Pride and dignity belong to man, to all mankind. Are we not all humans? Do we not all have honour, pride, dignity, the infringement of which is the cause of conflict within ourselves and with others, but the respect of which guarantees peace, within ourselves, and with others.

I ask the Europe of peoples to continue to question the Europe of finance and commerce, as to the real nature of co-operation with Africa. We observe that the Europe that promised us a free, prosperous and open world is barricading itself, guarding its frontiers, taking control of our territorial waters, organizing manhunts.

With all the respect that I owe you, I am not speaking about individuals, nor about anyone, I am speaking about a system. How can we believe in democracy, when the European taxpayers' money permits African leaders to distance themselves more and more from their fellow citizens? Give us back our leaders, help us to reply to these questions and tell us, seriously, if liberal Europe is capable of rising to the challenge of another partnership with Africa.

I thank you.



















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GOVERNANCE FORUM

ROUND TABLES

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STATE REHABILITATION

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IMPROVING GOVERNANCE IN  
THE MANAGEMENT OF NATURAL RESOURCES

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CONSOLIDATION OF SOCIAL RIGHTS

---

SHIFTING DONOR PARADIGMS

---

THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA IN  
PROMOTING GOVERNANCE

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FORMER AFRICAN PRESIDENTS

---

BUILDING A CULTURE OF DEMOCRACY

---

STEPPING UP THE FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION

---

INEQUALITIES AND VULNERABLE GROUPS

---

THE VOICE OF CIVIL SOCIETY

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MIGRATION AND GOVERNANCE



## ROUND TABLES

### Introduction



A series of 11 round tables took place 16 November 2006, which brought together the many stakeholders involved in addressing the most pressing issues concerning shaping a new partnership for development co-operation. Lively discussions and debates were opened to the audience, which allowed for rich, interactive sessions. The round-table summaries in this chapter of the report attempt to capture the essence of the discussions, distil learnings and point to constructive ways forward. Following is a brief description of each round table.

#### 1. State Rehabilitation

Building effective, engaged states

Participants in this round table examined the underlying issues that have led to the structural crises in many African states. Key to such crises is that while states may exist legally, many have not earned legitimacy in the eyes of their citizens. The state in many cases is struggling under the yoke of a colonial past, leaving its citizens with no feeling of common identity and often, no common language. This structural crisis calls for a fundamental review of the state through:

- Decentralisation. Independence brought Africans liberty; decentralisation should bring them dignity.
- Regional integration. African states are too small to face the current challenges alone.
- A review of the external aid modalities. The donor-recipient relation should be replaced by a true partnership based on mutual respect and interest.

#### 2. Improving Governance in the Management of Natural Resources

Environment rights as human rights: a long-term basis to alleviate poverty

The debate on environmental change in Africa has traditionally focused on the declining productivity of the natural resource base, which has resulted in increased poverty and vulnerability of a large proportion of the population. This round table focused on more effective natural resource management as a pivotal component of governance and as a rights-based approach to poverty reduction. The international community has an important role to play in promoting governance in the area of natural resource exploitation and must take responsibility for the actions of its companies that exploit resources.

Proposals for action at international level included developing an international definition of "conflict resources" and guidelines for contracts for resource exploitation. Because governance, in particular in the management of natural resources, is not only about legislation, institutions or elections, but very much about human capacity, ways forward include:

- With regard to civil society and local populations: access to knowledge and information is essential for equitable sharing, and requesting accountability of governments.
- With regard to governmental bodies: to strengthen their negotiation capacity with companies for contracts for resource exploitation and to implement environmental legislation and recommendations resulting from environmental Impact studies.



### 3. Consolidation of Social Rights

Turning declarations of intent into effective rights

Following a wave of ratification of social and human rights covenants, African states are now presented with the challenge of putting these commitment into practice. This round table discussed the role and responsibility of the state in respecting, promoting and protecting internationally agreed rights. The enforceability of such international conventions is the basis for creating greater social cohesion.

Other challenges include the adequacy of control mechanisms and how to improve access to social rights. Participants discussed how the donor community and civil society could help partner countries move towards these objectives.

- Social rights and political rights are interconnected and mutually dependent. The rights approach must be further integrated in the national and international poverty reduction efforts.
- The monitoring of the compliance to these commitments needs to involve civil society, so as to develop a spirit of citizenship in Africa and to empower the poor to express themselves.
- Youth is too often forgotten, although they are critical to every country's future. Young people in Africa lack decent jobs and opportunities and are forced to massively migrate, draining from their countries the potential for development and hope for a brighter future.

### 4. Shifting Donor Paradigms

Yet are the political and institutional incentives in place to make it work?

The shift in donor paradigms manifests itself in different ways. Aid delivery mechanisms have changed: to enhance country ownership, donor agencies have largely abandoned the one-off project approach in favour of supporting national, sector and local development strategies through a variety of new approaches and financing modalities, especially budget support.

Round table participants discussed the challenges ahead from a donor perspective in the search for more effective and result-oriented approaches to development co-operation. Fundamental shifts call for a review of development paradigms:

- Development actors must adapt to these changes; or they will find themselves becoming increasingly irrelevant. Traditional development actors should question themselves about their *raison d'être*.
- These new trends necessitate new forms of global governance.
- A more challenging definition is needed of demand-driven ownership, whereby partner countries and organisations are not merely consulted, but rather leading and driving development co-operation, both in policy and implementation.



- The concept of “good governance” should be broadened to encompass issues such as the governance of donor countries, WTO negotiations, the politics of migration and brain drain, as well as the internal aid management procedures of donors.

## 5. Role of the Media in Promoting Governance

Better information for stronger synergies

In most parts of the world, the media landscape has been transformed by increased democratisation, liberalisation of the media, globalisation, new technologies and the emergence of a more dynamic civil society. This has in turn created demand for information among wider audiences, as well as increased opportunities for media to be involved in promoting pluralism and governance.

Participants pointed out that the media is a potential force in promoting governance, but journalists are not social workers or NGO representatives – their task is to tell the story with credibility.

- The African media has a wealth of talent and professionalism. However, to excel and to promote good governance it needs support, not only financially but also in training, so that they can keep up the high standards that are needed for reporting on such a challenging continent.
- An appropriate legal and regulatory framework for a proper functioning of the media should be implemented and respected.

## 6. Former African Presidents

Shaping successful transitions in leadership

This high-level round table brought together former African heads of state and the European community to debate the common challenges facing Europe and Africa. Following the theme of good governance, participants discussed issues related to Europe’s special relationship with Africa and the role of African decision makers and the EU in transitional processes. A wide-ranging debate led to several conclusions:

- There is no magic recipe or fixed model to successfully implement good governance in a country; it cannot be imposed from outside.
- Implementing good governance involves social, economic and political costs that weak and fragile states cannot meet. It is the responsibility of the international community to support such countries following a transition period.
- Both partners, the EU and Africa, must take on a greater sense of responsibility for good governance to develop.





- The international community should change the vision it has of Africa. In light of the economic and political progress made, it is time to start looking at Africa as an economic partner rather than a country that needs help.
- The issue of China raises different questions. Could Africa-China trade impede Africa's progress towards good governance? Why does the international community impose conditionality on trade relations with Africa, but not with China?

## 7. Building a Culture of Democracy

From hardware to software democracy

Building a culture of democracy means paying attention to the state's hardware – the functioning democratic institutions and elections. But it also involves looking after the state's software – respect for democratic processes even if one is the loser, understanding that everyone has a role to play and working for the common good of a society beyond one's own narrow interests. Round table participants discussed how best to support the software of democratic processes in Africa:

- All actors must participate in drafting the rules of the game, applying and reviewing them regularly. All must accept that they are accountable for how they handle this power, whether they are governments, the opposition or civil society.
- Donors must not try to export any model of democracy, but rather should help to ensure that the process of developing democracy locally is done in the most participatory and inclusive way, including even the most vulnerable in society.
- Donors must not look for quick fixes and formal attributes of democracy, but stay in for the long run to help ensure the dividends of peace and democracy delivered quickly and permanently.





## 8. Strengthening the Fight against Corruption

Building new alliances to increase impact

Corruption is taking a more central place among those development partners determined to achieve the Millennium Development Goals. It is widely perceived as a major obstacle to sustainable development and poverty reduction. Aid can be part of the solution. However, understanding of what drives corruption is expanding – it is increasingly understood as an outcome of poor governance.

Round table participants acknowledged that new international conventions, initiatives to increase transparency and often increased genuine commitment to change have improved prospects. Yet, effective action on corruption remains a real challenge. Much more can and should be done bearing in mind that corruption is a symptom of underlying weaknesses in political and economic governance. As a result:

- Eradicating corruption is a long-term, endogenous, political process that cannot be driven from the outside. However, donors support the fight against corruption in a harmonised manner.
- Support to all those willing to fight corruption must be increased; punishment for those engaged in corruption should be harsher.
- For all involved, action should start at home. Measures discussed included a common European black list suspending access to aid funds to those companies, consultants and NGOs known to be involved in corrupt practices.

## 9. Inequalities and Vulnerable Groups

Combining protection and empowerment

Poverty and inequalities are closely linked to vulnerability, which affects children, women, minorities, refugees, internationally displaced persons, people with disabilities, people from rural areas, the homeless, elderly people, ethnic minorities and other disenfranchised groups and individuals.

The round table focused on key trends and lessons learned through policies and programmes in support of vulnerable groups in Africa. Participants discussed ongoing challenges, including how to reach out to the most vulnerable groups and how to link national safety nets with programmes targeted at empowering vulnerable groups. They also addressed whether the needs of vulnerable groups are adequately represented in existing European and international development priorities.

- The resilience and strength of vulnerable groups is considerable; if only their contribution could be harnessed and these groups empowered, including women.
- Rural populations should not be overlooked. There will always be vulnerability within countries and people will be displaced if insufficient resources are put into agriculture and a country cannot feed itself.



- Conflict always harms the vulnerable. Special mention must be made of the vulnerable groups created by the conflict in Sudan, in particular women, children and the elderly.
- Disabled people are asking for inclusion, not exceptional treatment – they want this enshrined in funding protocols and properly monitored outcomes.

#### 10. The Voice of Civil Society

The search for a new social contract

During the 1990s, the participatory approach to development was widely embraced. This, combined with the new democratisation wave, increasingly created space for a diversity of non-state actors to contribute to development and governance reforms. This opening of co-operation holds great potential in terms of fostering democracy and good governance, as well as fighting poverty, promoting growth and delivering social services.

Poverty reduction strategy papers, budgetary support, the Millennium Development Goals and, in the framework of ACP-EU co-operation, the Cotonou Partnership Agreement, have opened new dialogue fora where governments and civil society actors are called upon to interact with official foreign development agencies in formulating, implementing and monitoring economic, political and social policies.

- Thinking on governance no longer limits public policy to governments. On the contrary, the role of new actors is increasingly being recognised. Much progress has been achieved over the past 15 years in the promotion of participatory approaches, notably through the Cotonou Agreement, which recognises the role of civil society.
- The political framework has been put in place, however agreement on the principles does not always translate into reality on the ground. There are many outstanding obstacles to ensuring civil society participation, including lack of information, feedback awareness raising and very limited in-country dialogue with stakeholders. Someone is not doing his or her job and this must be addressed.
- To ensure a genuine EU-Africa dialogue on governance, policy positions must be discussed with civil society in advance. Presenting partners with an end result is not good enough. On the other hand, civil society must be more proactive.
- There is need for a multi-actor approach. This should also be extended to decentralisation processes to include greater interaction and exchange with local authorities and parliaments. In general, instead of focusing on differences, the common ground between state and non-state actors should be emphasized.



## 11. Migration and Governance

### Moving beyond the security approach

International migration is a complex, multifaceted issue. Its expanding scale in the context of globalisation raises concerns and fears. Important migration flows are taking place from Africa towards developed economies. Main push factors include poor socio-economic and/or governance conditions in many countries. The response of many developed economies, including Europe, has tended to be based on security imperatives, thereby reinforcing the image of “fortress Europe”.

Participants agreed that migration should work for development, in a joint collaborative effort involving countries of origin, countries of destination and the migrants themselves. They also agreed that brain drain remains a major obstacle for the further development of Africa's economies and social delivery systems. This issue can only be fundamentally addressed through radical improvements of working conditions and environments in the countries concerned, including through better governance.

- Migration policies should not stand in the way of mobility, neither within the African continent, nor between Africa and the EU.
- Diasporas play an increasingly important role as agents of change, and EU and African policies should be aimed to facilitate their economic, and often also political, contribution to the development process in their countries of origin.
- Migrant remittances are an ever-growing source of income for countries and communities, and should whenever possible be made conducive to development. Engaging the Diaspora in helping to develop their countries of origin is key.
- International trade and services, international tourism, international scientific exchange, international political debate – such as at these Development Days – should be promoted not hindered by undue visa requirements.
- Well managed labour migration, as one the key drivers for economic growth, must be facilitated, primarily in the context of African regional co-operation and integration processes, but also – as part of broader development approaches – between Africa and the EU.





## ROUND TABLE 1

# State Rehabilitation

Building effective  
and engaged States



Chris LANDSBERG



*“Without peace there  
can be no lasting  
development. Without  
African leadership to end  
African conflicts there  
can be no lasting peace.”*

EUROPEAN CONSENSUS,  
2005

- **Chris LANDSBERG**, Centre for Policy Studies, South Africa, Moderator
- **Henriette DIABATÉ**, Former Minister of Justice, Côte d’Ivoire
- **Anna KAJUMULO TIBAIJUKA**, Director General, UN-HABITAT
- **Stefano MANSERVISI**, Director-General for Development, European Commission
- **Jean-Pierre OLIVIER de SARDAN**, State Sociologist, specialising on Africa
- **Mohamed OSMAN**, Minister of Economic Development, Egypt
- **Ousmane SY**, Network, Dialogue on Governance in Africa, Mali
- **Laimonas TALAT-KELPŠA**, Undersecretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Lithuania

## Introduction

During the 1990s, the pendulum swung back in favour of recognising the vital role of the state in development. This, in turn, brought the issue of state rehabilitation to the forefront of the agenda, especially as several African states have been seriously undermined in terms of legitimacy and capacity, or in some cases virtually destroyed as a result of conflict and war.

State rehabilitation demands the mobilisation of public and private actors at all levels, as well as innovative forms of donor support. Round table participants discussed lessons learned in state rehabilitation in post-conflict and fragile environments. They focused on adequate engagement strategies, on the appropriate division of labour between African, European and international actors, on relevant strategies in support of local reform and on the crucial contribution of decentralised levels of government.

## Main issues and challenges ahead

The development community has committed itself to improving the effectiveness of aid so as to achieve the Millennium Development Goals. At the same time, there is a realisation of the imperative to stay engaged with “poor performers”, countries where the goal of sustainable poverty reduction remains a distant prospect. Unlike in a somewhat distant past, donors have since the early nineties undertaken a wide range of activities in countries in conflict, in countries that are slipping back into instability, or in countries that are trying to rebuild after periods of violent conflict or state collapse.

## Responding to fragile states

The Commission, for instance, has made it clear that it will improve its response to difficult partnerships and fragile states, “where a third of the world’s poor live”, (Joint EU Development Policy Statement, December 2005). In the Paris Declaration, development partners have committed





Henriette DIABATÉ



themselves to deliver assistance in such fragile environments with the long-term vision to “build legitimate effective and resilient state and other country institutions”. Efforts are ongoing to better define the different challenges of this high-level commitment to state building or rehabilitation, as well as the opportunities for engagement.

At the conceptual level, the Fragile States Group of the Development Assistance Committee seeks a common definition of the core state functions, and answers to the question how to conceive of state building in fragile contexts. At a more practical level, there are numerous initiatives to capture the lessons from experiences in fragile states. At this level, there is broad agreement on basic principles for good engagement in fragile states, to which the European Commission has subscribed. These principles can also be applied to state rehabilitation. By and large, these principles are the same as the ones applied for delivering effective aid. Only weak ownership and capacities in fragile states compound the complexities in the implementation.

#### **The country specific context**

The first principle is to start from the country specific context. Fragility takes on many forms. The capacity of the state structures to perform core tasks and functions, their legitimacy and accountability, and the ability to provide an enabling environment for development differ considerably from country to country. In difficult partnerships – where there is a lack of political commitment to good governance – there are less opportunities for donors to align behind country owned policies than in weak states where there is willingness but lack of capacity to improve governance.

A thorough understanding of the capacities, strengths and weaknesses of civil society actors is required, as well as the potential of reform coalitions. Often, region specific dynamics have to be factored in, for example the threat or spread of violent conflicts or the presence of conflict management capacities. This principle calls for common diagnostics – involving as much as possible domestic expertise or reformers – to develop a more harmonised and deeper understanding of obstacles to reform and entry points for engagement.

#### **The right type of engagement**

A second principle highlights the importance of the right type of engagement, the appropriate mix of development instruments, and an adapted sequencing for each country. It also calls upon donors to remain patient and stay engaged. In the case of fragile states where the political will is lacking to commit to basic principles of democratic governance and poverty reduction, aid may have to be redirected fundamentally, except for those pockets in government that are not prone to capture by ruling elites. Traditional support for service delivery may have to be adapted.

Reform of the security system is one particular area that is critical for state rehabilitation and where donors, such as the EU, have committed themselves to make a difference. Engaging with institutions of the security system (such as the police and army) often poses risks, but these have to be weighed against the risks of doing nothing, and the longer terms costs for society as a whole. Although there is a stronger international commitment to engage in such domains, opportunities for early engagement are not always assessed or seized properly. In all these cases, there should be a strong focus on the demand side for improved governance by civil society.





Anna KAJUMULO TIBAIJUKA



Jean-Pierre OLIVIER de SARDAN



### Coherent response strategies and policies

Problems in fragile states are a mixture of economic, social, political and security related dynamics. Therefore, the third principle requires that development actors engage with the political, security and economic actors in recipient countries to determine coherent response strategies and policies. In order to build locally grounded support coalitions among donors and international organisations, the fourth principle demands a better division of labour, based on a jointly developed strategy for long-term engagement. Improved coordination mechanisms should result in a more effective co-operation with national reformers in government and civil society. It should also enable stronger coalition building with regional players such as the African Union, and its sub-regional conflict prevention structures.

### What went wrong with the African state?

Participants discussed the genesis of the African state. Although blaming the past is unproductive, knowing the past is necessary to understand the current weaknesses of the African states and, ultimately, to define a way forward. They highlighted various elements of this past.

#### African post-independence elite: too small, too quick

During the 1950s an African elite slowly emerged, educated essentially to help govern the colonial power. In 1960, all of sudden, all but two African states became independent. This transition came too quick for this young African elite to have the time to ripen.

#### Heritage of colonial borders

At the time when the Organization of African Unity (OAU) was established, Africa's leaders made a choice with long-standing consequences: they accepted the old colonial borders and hence, decided not to redesign Africa's map according to pre-colonial ethnic divisions. As a result, the political map of Africa today is very much like the one the colonial powers decided upon.

#### Colonial rule eclipsed cultural diversity and imposed foreign languages

The priority for both the colonial powers and the post-colonial governments has been to preserve national unity. In doing so, they ignored the cultural diversity within and between Africa's countries. If one looks at any African constitution written following independence, one will notice they all look very much the same. The same is true for language, an essential element in the creation of a national identity and nation building. The colonial state decided that the colonial language would bind together the colonial state. This imposed a foreign language onto the local population.

#### Pawns in the Cold War

During the Cold War, the young African states were obliged to choose sides. Hence, the institutional super-structure continued to constrain the development of Africa's nations. Somalia is a good example of the difficulties African states had in establishing themselves post-Cold War.



Mohamed OSMAN



Laimonas TALAT-KELPŠA

## State of play: Africa's current governance crisis

This history has brought us to a situation in which the African state is in “structural crisis”, a situation where the “ultimate crisis of Africa is a crisis of governance”, according to the Commission for Africa report. This crisis manifests itself in two different types of failed states, which manifest different characteristics:

- First, the classic failed states, mostly post-conflict states that lack the basic institutional structures. A good example is Somalia. The importance of this category of failed states cannot be overestimated. Although they only have 14% of the world's population, they represent approximately 35% of the world's poor, 44% of maternal deaths, 46% of children out of school and 51% of children dying before the age of five. Those states often have a detrimental impact on the economic growth and political stability of their neighbours. What's more, most of these states are “donor-orphans”, abandoned by most donors.
- Second, the structurally fragile states, states that exist legally and institutionally but that are meaningless in the eyes of their citizens. Often, indicators draw us a picture that does not correspond to the reality. The vast majority of African states belong to this category. Niger is an example.

### Importance of the informal sphere

An essential dimension is the blurred border between formal and informal society. Treating users of public services with contempt, the double-speak (official and between Africans) and a culture of impunity are aspects of this lack of distinction between the formal and informal sphere. It is from this same angle that one must look at the issue of corruption: in many African societies corruption is not necessarily a “bad” thing, but rather something that is an evident aspect of the informal sphere.

### Double discourse

Because of economic dependency most African governments see themselves as accountable to the outside, to the West, rather than to their own populations. African citizens feel their leaders are speaking more to the outside than they are to them. On top of this, the discourse is often divergent. One example is the poverty reduction discourse. While this discourse is dominant amongst donors, African leaders rarely mention poverty reduction as a key issue or objective when speaking to their own people.

### The language of the institutions vs. language of the people

Foreign languages such as French, English or Portuguese cannot be vectors of inclusiveness. The mother tongue of most Africans is not a foreign language. There is a Kenyan saying that “Swahili doesn't cost money”. It is the African languages, the mother tongues, that structure the people's thinking and in many ways their behaviour and sense of belonging.



## What to do next?

Participants agreed there is no single recipe for addressing the failures of the African state. Every country has a different history and has different needs. However, there seems to be a growing consensus on the importance of some policies.

### Decentralise governance

African states will not be effective or legitimate if the central government continues to maintain almost all decision-making and financial power. This is detrimental as it ignores local and rural communities, but also because it influences the political choices. For example, 87% of the Malian budget is spent in the capital.

African states should decentralise according to the subsidiarity principle. However, in many African countries, decentralisation is not done properly. It should not be a means to get rid of the poor, but an inclusive and deliberate process, as was the case in Mali.

### Create a culture of inclusiveness and linguistic unity

African states require a greater cultural and linguistic cohesion. For example, to solve the problem of HIV/AIDS, people need communication in their own languages. However, ideas diverged on how to best propagate these African languages. Some say the state could promote the main languages in a country. Others called for an “authoritarian language policy”, whereby, an African *lingua franca*, for example, Swahili, could be imposed.

### Foster regional integration

African states should not be considered in isolation, but seen in their geo-political context. It is essential to give states a regional/international perspective of belonging to an organisation that can provide them with legitimisation and a certain politico-legal framework. This is also a key lesson from the new EU Member States, where the Community *acquis* created the regional rules of the game and constitutes, to a certain extent, Europe's *lingua franca*. The process of regional integration in Africa, whether it be at sub-regional or continental level, is therefore essential. In this context, one should also see the added value of the Economic Partnership Agreements, which the European Commission is currently negotiating with four African regions.

### Promote macro-economic stability

Recent history of both the new EU Member States and some African countries shows the positive impact of macro-economic stability on institutional stability. Egypt received substantial benefits from turning its state-controlled economy into a private-led economy following, among other things, the principles of deregulation and privatisation. A conducive environment for private sector growth led to important investments, economic growth and, ultimately, poverty reduction.



Ousmane SY



### **Reconsider Europe's aid policy**

The logic and discourse of the donor-recipient relationship must be reviewed. Africa should not be seen as a patient, as stranger, to whom donors relate as a doctor. Such an unequal relationship is a vestige of the colonial past. Instead, a partnership is needed based on solidarity and responsibility, grounded in mutual interests. Responsibility implies also the right to say “no” when an African request is not appropriate or responsible. This is also something Europe's civil society must learn. In this regard, budget support is the most effective mechanism as it fosters a collective debate.

### **Bringing an end to endemic conflicts and violence**

Post-conflict situations require a specific approach, with much emphasis on “moral rehabilitation” and social cohesion. Citizens must regain their dignity. In this respect, elections can be a new start. In general, however, participants felt that the importance of elections should not be over-emphasised and should be seen in the wider debate on governance legitimacy. Some commented that elections are contrary to the culture of consensus in most African countries. In this sense, elections are sometimes a source of frustration and violence, as the loser refuses to accept the results.



## ROUND TABLE 2

# Improving Governance in the Management of Natural Resources

Environmental rights as human rights:

A long-term basis to alleviate poverty?



Elise COLETTE

***“Poverty in Africa can be made history if the region’s wealth of natural resources is effectively, fairly and sustainably harnessed.”***

AFRICA ENVIRONMENT  
OUTLOOK-2, UNEP, 2006

- **Elise COLETTE**, Journalist for *Jeune Afrique/L'intelligent*, Moderator
- **Patrick ALLEY**, Founding Director, Global Witness
- **Martin CURWEN**, Director for ACP countries at the Investment Facility in the European Investment Bank (EIB)
- **Brigitte GIRARDIN**, Minister of Development Co-operation and Francophone Matters, France
- **Karel KOVANDA**, Deputy Director-General, External Relations Directorate, European Commission
- **Jon LOMØY**, Deputy Director General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Norway
- **Gonzalo OVIEDO CARRILLO**, Senior Advisor for the World Conservation Union (IUCN)
- **Eugene SHANNON**, Minister of Lands, Mines and Energy, Liberia
- **Kandeh YUMKELLA**, Director General, UNIDO

## Introduction

The debate on environmental change in Africa has to a large extent focused on the declining productivity of the natural resource base. This decline has resulted in increased poverty and vulnerability for large segments of the population. The workshop focused on more effective natural resource management as a pivotal component of economic governance and as a rights-based approach to poverty reduction.

Better management of resources, such as water, soil, forest, oil and minerals, is only possible by including considerations of how political, economic and social forces have an impact on the use and over-use of these resources, and how in turn the declining resource base affects them. Participants also discussed “conflict diamonds” and the lessons learned from the Kimberley Process, and the initiatives of the extractive industry.

## Main issues and challenges ahead

In Africa, outstanding issues such rapid rates of deforestation, high levels of land degradation, wasteful water use in agriculture and climate change remain and need to be urgently addressed. Other challenges are emerging. These range from genetically modified organisms and the costs of alien invasive species to a transfer of chemical manufacturing from the developed to the developing world.





### **Avoiding the “resource curse”**

The rural poor in particular depend heavily on natural resources for their livelihoods, and poor people are most vulnerable to the effects of environmental disasters and pollution. To achieve lasting poverty reduction and sustainable development, the environmental dimension needs to be taken fully into account in all development activities. Good governance is almost always a prerequisite for sound environmental decisions. Sustainable development seeks to expand choices for all, including current and future generations, while protecting the “natural systems” on which all life depends.

At first glance, one might assume that a generous endowment of petroleum or mineral reserves would be an unambiguous blessing for a developing country. In practice, however, it has proven to be extremely difficult to convert natural resource wealth into broad-based improvements in economic performance and human development. In fact, heavy dependence on the export of natural resources has been shown to negatively affect a country’s development. Collectively, these negative impacts are often referred to as the “resource curse”.

### **Environmental rights**

Human rights and environmental stewardship are inextricably linked. Because human rights are based on individual rights to life, property, and security and because the environmental crisis threatens all these basic guarantees, human rights require environmental stewardship. Similarly, environmental solutions that neglect human rights will ultimately fail both ecosystems and communities. These connections have led some to propose the creation of environmental rights.

### **Transparency at work**

The United Nations General Assembly adopted, unanimously, a resolution on the role of diamonds in fuelling conflict, breaking the link between the illicit transaction of rough diamonds and armed conflict, as a contribution to prevention and settlement of conflicts. The General Assembly recognised that conflict diamonds are a crucial factor in prolonging brutal wars in parts of Africa, and underscored that legitimate diamonds contribute to prosperity and development elsewhere on the continent.

There are two particular transparency initiatives that deserve attention: the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative for oil, gas and minerals, and the Kimberley Process for diamonds. Both processes proceed on the basis that secrecy and lack of data support corruption and illegality.

### **Good environmental governance**

Poor governance creates a social environment detrimental to development. In such cases external aid, whatever the amount or intention, has little effect. Indeed, it can even be harmful if it contributes to prolonging an undesirable state of affairs. “Good environmental governance” will succeed in achieving better environmental outcomes only if it is seen as an essential contributor to better and more equitable development. Years of experience show that including affected communities and individuals in decision-making, and insisting on accountability of those ultimately responsible for environmental decisions, can lead to fairer and more effective management of natural resources.



Martin CURWEN



## An engine for development

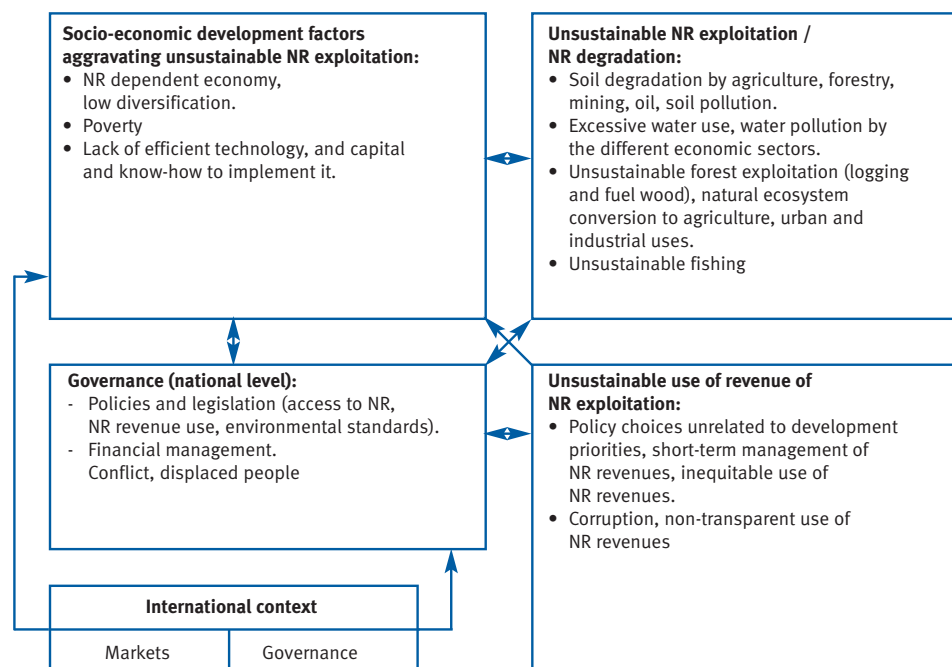
Participants narrowed the broad scope of the discussion to one question: “How can natural resources (NR) become an engine for development rather than a curse for resource rich developing countries?” They focused on managing the access to and revenues from oil, minerals and timber, rather than on environmental sustainability of soil, water, or biodiversity management.

### Linkages between NR, development and governance

Considering its wealth in NR, Africa is rich. But it often mismanages this wealth so that NR became a “curse” on Africa's path to development. These negative linkages between unsustainable natural resources exploitation, low development levels, and inadequate governance (or even conflict) are relatively well known, at least in conceptual terms. The graph below attempts to summarise them.

However, this vicious circle can be broken, to evolve from a negative situation to one where NR and their revenues make a positive contribution to poverty reduction and good governance.

MAIN LINKAGES BETWEEN LOW SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, UNSUSTAINABLE USE OF NATURAL RESOURCES (NR) AND THEIR REVENUES, AND GOVERNANCE





Brigitte GIRARDIN



Karel KOVANDA



## Strengthening positive linkages between NR, development and governance

### Choice of national economic development pathways

As there tends to be a correlation between NR endowment and low development indicators, as well as civil conflict (the so called “resource curse”), reducing NR dependence of a country should contribute to decrease its risks of conflict and improve its development perspectives. Diversification of the economies of NR dependent countries, towards higher value added sectors, is essential to reduce the pressure on the NR basis to generate revenues.

At the same time, some emphasised that NR is for many developing countries their main comparative advantage, and hence their main development potential, if well managed. Some consider that NR exploitation can kick-start a recovering economy. According to that vision, increased investment in NR exploitation should be encouraged, among other things, by good governance in NR management.

Increasing the efficiency of NR exploitation will favour a more sustainable contribution of NR to development by reducing raw material requirements, waste and negative environmental impacts. This requires efficient technologies. Their expansion depends on technology generation (research), technology transfer, but also appropriate policies to orient technological choices, as well as human capacity building.

### Managing access to NR and NR revenues at national level

For NR to be a positive factor of development, there are two main challenges to address. The first one is to ensure that the producing country obtains a fair share of the revenues. Important factors to ensure a fair share of revenues accrue to the country are: the ownership of the resource, the ownership of the company, the capacity to attract investment for NR exploitation, the national tax/royalty system and the negotiation capacity of the country vs. the exploiting companies. High commodity prices tend to rebalance negotiation power in favour of the country.

### Sharing revenues

Equity in the share of revenue going to the country is too often overlooked in the governance debate among international partners. The use of revenues, and in particular corruption, is an often more visible deficiency of NR governance. At the same time, this question may lead to conflicts of interests between a company of a donor country and the donor’s development agenda. It may also lead to conflicts of “ideology” between a donor’s and a developing country’s political economy paradigm. An example was raised of Bolivia’s recent reforms in this area.

OECD countries cannot ignore their responsibilities regarding the actions of companies that exploit resources. However, the multinational nature of those companies poses a real challenge. Coherence between relevant internal policies of OECD countries, such as energy or trade, and development objectives should be a first step.

The second challenge for NR to be a positive factor of development is to ensure a wise management and use of the country’s revenues from NR exploitation. This depends largely on the relations among stakeholders within the country. Governments alone cannot achieve good governance and equitable use of NR revenues.



Jon LOMØY



Gonzalo OVIEDO CARRILLO

### The role of civil society

Civil society has a central role to play to ensure rights of all stakeholders (including the most vulnerable) are taken into account in defining the access to NR and the use of their revenues. Access to information and knowledge by civil society, as well as empowerment of governance initiatives by civil society (with special attention to women) are important in that perspective. Rights of all stakeholders must also be reinforced. The general trend of development co-operation focusing “excessively” on governments, and ever less on other stakeholders, is not favourable to improving governance.

Wise management of NR revenues requires taking into account the fluctuations of NR revenues, planning for the post-resource era in the case of non-renewable mineral resources, as well as determination and management of the optimal exploitation rates of such resources. Managing expectations regarding the volume and use of NR revenues is a difficult balancing act, between short-term needs and sustainability over time of this source of income, especially in poorer countries.

### International governance in trade and investment flows

Key parameters to improve international trade and investment governance are traceability and transparency of transactions and flows.

#### Kimberly Process and the EITI

The Kimberly Process and the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative are proving to be relatively successful in reducing respectively the incidence of “conflict diamonds” in international trade, and in improving the management of mineral resources revenues. This shows:

- The efficiency of an approach to governance based on the elimination of financial rewards from bad governance.
- The real impact potential of international community involvement, as many national governance problems have an international dimension
- The potential, but also the limits, of voluntary processes. These processes also highlight the major time and efforts needed to create and operationalise them, as well as the need to involve all stakeholders, national and international.

Despite these relative successes, much progress is still needed for EITI principles to become widespread in the oil and mining industries. The recent FLEGT initiative in the forestry sector to exclude illegal timber from EU markets is also promising.

#### An international definition of “conflict resources”

Considering these relative successes, a major challenge for further improving governance in NR management is their up scaling or replication. However, considering the lessons learned, up scaling should not take place by a commodity-specific approach, but rather by actions such as developing an international definition of “conflict resources”, which would allow the international community, in particular the UN Security Council, to intervene swiftly in the international trade of such resources. The effective prosecution of operators in the “conflict resource” chain should accompany this. Regional coordination among NR exporting countries will also strengthen efforts to improve and monitor NR governance.



Eugene SHANNON



Kandeh YUMKELLA



There is a growing role in NR exploitation of enterprises from countries that do not prioritise sustainable NR management and transparency. They do not only exclude the principles of good NR governance from their area of intervention, but also weaken the adoption of such principles in the country in general. Associating these countries to international efforts to improve NR governance requires dialogue with the concerned enterprises and countries, as well as a more inclusive process of definition of governance standards.

#### **Linking loans and grants to the NR sector**

Another avenue to pursue is to link donors' loans and grants to the NR sector to social and environmental conditions in the recipient country. This does not require only the legal framework to be appropriate, but more broadly also the political and ethical climate. Actually, even if environmental and social concerns were not involved, profitability of investments requires the appropriate governance framework.

#### **Strengthen international standard setting**

International standard setting as regards management of NR and of their revenues has been established to a certain point, for example through the above mentioned initiatives, as well as through international environmental law. However the implementation of the latter must be improved, as it includes too often derogations in the name of "strategic interests". Other areas for international standard setting could be further developed, such as international "guidelines" for contracts for resource exploitation and international standards for financial analysis of investment projects, which should further internalise external costs.

#### **Concluding principles to improve NR governance**

Appropriate legislation is necessary for good NR governance. But it is not sufficient. Governance, in particular in the management of natural resources, is not only about legislation, democratic institutions, or elections, but very much about human capacity, in the countries concerned, both civil society and local population, and of concerned governmental bodies.

The involvement of the international community holds strong potential to improve governance, in particular in the NR sector, where international companies and trade flows play a major role. However, successful governance improvements require the convergence of efforts at international, regional, national and local levels. National and local ownership of governance efforts by all stakeholders is a pre-requisite for their success. To this end, governance models must be adapted to the local context, and in particular need to be politically acceptable, even if economically sub-optimal.





### ROUND TABLE 3

## Consolidation of Social Rights

Turning declarations of intent into authoritative rights



Michael EMERSON

*“We will spare no effort to promote democracy and strengthen the rule of law, as well as respect for all internationally recognized human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the right to development.”*

EU STRATEGY FOR AFRICA,  
2005

- **Michael EMERSON**, Senior Research Fellow of the Centre for European Policy Studies, Moderator
- **Regina AMADI-NJOKU**, Regional Director for Africa of the International Labour Organisation
- **Juan Pablo de LAIGLESIA**, Secretary General of the Spanish Agency for International Co-operation (AECI)
- **Mamadou DIALLO**, athlete, Senegal
- **Hilde F. JOHNSON**, Member of the High Level Commission for the Legal Empowerment of the Poor
- **Nono SIMELELA**, Director of Technical Knowledge and Support of the International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF)

### Introduction

While universal human rights have been declared and internationally agreed on almost 60 years ago with the UN General Assembly's Declaration of Human Rights, it has only been in the past two decades that the crucial relevance of human rights is being widely acknowledged for the purpose of sustainable development. This trend has been accompanied by a shifting interpretation of human rights. The first generation of human rights dealt with political liberties and participation in political life. This concept was later enriched by aspects referring to fundamental social, economic and cultural rights (second generation) and is recently complemented by the third generation of human rights focusing on collective rights to international solidarity and environmental conditions.

Following this extended understanding of human rights, an increasing number of development actors have adopted rights-based approaches, stressing the pivotal importance of social, economic and cultural rights for sustainable development and social cohesion. The Declaration on the Right to Development by the UN's General Assembly in 1986 represented a milestone in this regard. Subsequently, a number of regional institutions have established comparable declarations and charters that attempt to establish a legislative framework on the international, regional and national levels in the interest of collective and individual development.

In the context of the Euro-Africa co-operation the most prominent declarations have been the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR) of the OAU (AU) in 1986 and the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union in 2000. While differing in many aspects both make reference to the concept of a general “right to development” based on second generation human rights. To create effective mechanisms that would promote and protect these rights, the African Charter and the African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights were established.



Regina AMADI-NJOKU

## Main issues and challenges ahead

Beyond such achievements, controversy continues about conceptual questions, legislative concretisation and the roles of different actors in strengthening economic, social and cultural rights for development. Obviously the role of the state is paramount in providing, protecting, promoting rights to groups and individuals. Particular challenges remain in countries where the allocation of common resources is not always done in accordance with basic regard for fairness and equity.

Furthermore, many countries having ratified international conventions such as the ACHPR lag behind in converting international agreements into national legislation. But also concerns about restraining the state's sovereignty come into play here.

### Greater public participation

Discussions about the role of non-state actors in advancing social rights continue. Undoubtedly the voice of NGOs has become louder and stronger, advocating for the protection of individual and collective rights on national and international, individual and collective levels. Greater public participation and debate regarding developing policies in the social, economic and cultural areas are necessary to ensure that these are targeted towards the needs of the population, including those of marginalised groups.

Efforts to increase the participation of such groups should be pursued with particular vigour. Civil society and the media also have an increasing role to play in monitoring compliance with government commitments in the area of economic, social and cultural rights.

### Striking a balance

Social rights are largely assigned to individuals and subsequently to groups of individuals. However, the ACHPR in Chapter II explicitly mentions the duties of the individual toward the community and society as a whole: "Every individual shall have duties towards his family and society, the State and other legally recognised communities and the international community" (ACHPR, Article 27.1). A balance needs to be struck between individual rights and duties or responsibilities.

The only control mechanisms originally installed for the ACHPR was the African Commission, which is not granted sufficient protective powers nor a mandate to check members' compliance and consider any consequences. In fact, the decisions of the African Court of Human and Peoples' Rights are non-binding and still attract little, if any, attention from the governments of Member States.

Irrespective of international conventions and proclamations, social rights appear to be toothless if not accompanied by institutions that can be petitioned and addressed not only by states, but also by NGOs and individuals. The ACHPR currently does not foresee such legislative structures that would be accessible to individuals or NGOs.

It is the strength of initiatives as the ACHPR that they are regional initiatives taking into account historical circumstances and reflecting the cultural and political context. The involvement of international donors will be beneficial in enabling the duty-bearers of the right to development to fulfil their responsibility.



Juan Pablo de LAIGLESIA



Mamadou DIALLO

Further efforts from different actors and a robust discussion on the questions like the ones raised above will be necessary to turn “manifesto rights” into practical, accessible and guaranteed rights for everyone.

### What roles and responsibilities for the state?

Most African countries have ratified international treaties on human rights covering civil, political and also social and economic rights. Likewise, the progress reports of these commitments, UN analyses and NGO alternative progress reports show a weak implementation of those commitments.

Participants discussed the roles and responsibilities of the state in respecting, promoting and protecting internationally agreed rights, which are the basis for greater social cohesion. However, such social and economic rights are often out of reach in countries with low financial capacities. As a result, the international community has the responsibility to support those commitments in a predictable and aligned process, in line with the Paris Declaration principles.

#### A rights-based approach

There is a need to end the false dichotomy of civil/political vs. social/economic rights because they are deeply interconnected in the development process, which needs a right-based approach. “All rights are universal and inter-connected”. This approach needs to ensure that the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers and National Development Plans include the implementation of rights, national and international commitments, and a call for donors' responsibility when socio-economic rights face national economic limitations.

Participants discussed the work of the High Level Commission on Legal Empowerment of the Poor, which supports communities and countries in securing the property rights of the poor, as recognised in the African Charter of Rights, but are often neglected for the poor, especially those struggling to survive in the informal economy in the growing urban slums. There is a clear bias against women, particularly widows, who often lack rights of ownership to land and assets. Property ownership is essential for their protection as they cannot be evicted, but also to “unlock their potential”, for instance through access to credits, and to move from dependency to independence as individuals.

#### An inclusive procedure is needed

Participants discussed lessons learned from Spain's transition in the 1970s and the recognition and implementation of the comprehensive scope of rights. The main elements needed are political commitment, the regulatory issues deriving from the recognition of rights in the constitution and an inclusive procedure driven by the active involvement of all sectors of society.

#### The basic right to earn a living

The basic right to earn a living is largely neglected in Africa, where 70% of the workforce is in the informal economy. The emerging democracies in Africa raise questions on social rights linked to work. The right to work cannot be viewed outside of the “decent work agenda”, which includes the rights to work, to employment, to social protection and to social dialogue.



All of these elements require government's capacities, participation of civil society and linking the poverty reduction efforts and the MDGs to the attainment of social rights. There are estimates that 7% more economic growth is needed to reach the MDGs. These growth rates exclude many African countries. This points to the need for a “rights based partnership of North and South, to assist the best strategic decisions at national level to make progress in social rights”.

### Respect for social rights

There can be no true development or democracy if social rights are not respected. There is a need to combat growing inequalities. For example, the inequitable distribution of wealth worldwide and in most regions continues to grow. There is complacency towards child labour and modern forms of slavery such as child trafficking. Participants discussed the need for a wider citizens' participation in fair development and called for a more respectful international co-operation.

### The right to health

Participants discussed the “right to health” as a basic social right. In the last four years, very much related to the pressure from civil society, the coverage of treatments for HIV/AIDS has increased eight-fold, but still 80% of Africans have no access to this life-saving treatment. What reflects even more clearly the neglect of the right to health is the very low coverage – under 10% – of the prevention of mother to child transmission, an intervention which costs less than €5 per birth and could save over 300,000 lives per year.

Attention to health as a right has been undermined in the past five years by the attention given to a few diseases through a vertical approach and the pressure of patent rights against access to vital medicines for the poor. Three proposals to make progress on health and all social rights were proffered:

- Higher accountability of politicians and decision-makers.
- A comprehensive and long- term approach to the delivery of holistic basic health services.
- Empowering communities so that the poor can express themselves and create demand.

### The way forward

Participants agreed that the universal rights to education, health, social protection and security, as well as the labour market rights of decent jobs, and the right to property and entrepreneurship, are vital to development. At the same time, the workshop triggered a very passionate discussion with the audience, which in some instances questioned the inflation of meetings and statements of the international community in light of the level, alignment and predictability of aid to allow public structures and budgets in the poorest economies to progress on social rights and the MDGs. Valuable interventions also touched on the links of social rights and poverty reduction with African values and traditional structures.

Workshop participants also stressed the need to focus on more disadvantaged groups, especially children, women and those with disabilities. Youth deserves maximum efforts as young people, the future of all countries, are subject to lack of decent jobs and are forced to migrate.



Often social rights in international treaties and covenants are subject to available resources. As a result, many countries with low economic capacity cannot be held fully accountable and need increased, predictable and aligned aid. Aid should also be coherent with patents' laws and practices and respect for the basic right to health. The focus of international co-operation must shift to efforts of partnership to deliver basic and equitable services to guarantee universal social rights. Other points raised for future action:

- Socio-economic rights and political and civil rights are interconnected and mutually dependent to ensure sustainable progress on their fulfilment.
- The rights approach is still weak in national and international development plans and efforts.
- Traditional structures, beliefs and customs, and national poverty reduction strategies must be better linked. However, individual rights cannot be held hostage by cultural or economic elites.
- Beyond the reiteration of political commitments, national governments and the international community will need to take action to increase the inclusion of society, the monitoring of mutual social contracts and the accountability of decision makers.





Jean BOSSUYT

## ROUND TABLE 4

### Shifting Donor Paradigms

Yet are the political and institutional incentives in place to make it work?



Gunvor KRONMAN

*“... for too long the EU's relations with Africa have been too fragmented, both in policy formulation and implementation: between the different policies and actions of EU Member States and the European Commission; between trade co-operation and economic development co-operation; between more traditional socio-economic development efforts and strategic political policies. Neither Europe nor Africa can afford to sustain this situation.”*

- **Jean BOSSUYT**, Programme Co-ordinator at the ECDPM, Moderator
- **Gunvor KRONMAN**, Chairperson of the Finish Development Policy Committee
- **Joseph LEGWAILA**, Special Advisor for Africa to the UN Secretary General
- **Richard MANNING**, Chair of the OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC)
- **Jose Antonio OCAMPO**, Under-Secretary General at the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs
- **Irene OVONJI-ODIDA**, Board Member of ActionAid International and Member of the East African Legislative Assembly
- **Jerzy POMIANOWSKI**, Director for Co-operation at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Poland
- **Koos RICHELLE**, Director-General of EuropeAid Co-operation Office, European Commission
- **Jean-Michel SEVERINO**, Director-General of the French Development Agency (Afd)

EU STRATEGY FOR AFRICA,  
2005

## Introduction

Building on lessons learned from 50 years of development co-operation, new donor paradigms are rapidly gaining momentum. They invite donor agencies to align and harmonise their assistance in support of homegrown reform agendas, while fundamentally reviewing ways and means to organise international co-operation.

Workshop participants considered the main implementation challenges from a donor perspective. Discussions focused on progress achieved with the harmonisation of development practices; the comparative advantages of bilateral, European and multilateral approaches (pending a reform of the UN system); the disconnect between European development assistance and Europeans, and the emergence of new actors and methods.

## Main issues and challenges ahead

The shift in donor paradigms manifests itself in different ways, with some changes moving faster than others. A first and particularly visible shift is to be found in aid delivery mechanisms. To enhance country ownership, donor agencies have largely abandoned the project approach in favour of supporting national, sectoral and local development strategies through a variety of new approaches and financing modalities, especially budget support.



Joseph LEGWAILA



Richard MANNING

### A search for new approaches

A second and closely related manifestation of the new donor paradigm is reflected in the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness (March 2005). It represents a major milestone in the collective search for more effective and result-oriented approaches to international co-operation. The alignment and harmonisation challenges occupy a central place in the Paris agenda and related revision of the international aid architecture. This has fuelled the search for new approaches to programming aid at country and regional levels. It invites donor agencies to remove often-artificial barriers between development, trade and political co-operation. It has also pushed forward a number of complex issues such as the “Europeanisation” of EU development assistance; the strengthening of the multilateral development system (linked to UN reform); as well as the place and role of emerging bilateral donors, such as China, in the international aid architecture.

### Participatory development

A third shift in donor paradigms is related to the question of the actors of partnership. Pushed by the new democratisation and decentralisation wave of the 1990s, the concept of participatory development has rapidly gained momentum. A variety of new actors have entered into the development arena, claiming to be heard and to be associated in the development process. This has also affected international co-operation processes. Slowly but steadily, donor agencies have shifted from a largely single-actor approach articulated around central government agencies, to a multi-actor approach, which fully recognises the crucial role played by civil society, local governments and the private sector.

The fundamental challenge at hand is to put the primary responsibility for development firmly in the hands of the institutions and actors in the partner country, while ensuring the appropriate role division between these public and private players at different levels – local, national, regional and pan-African.

### The rapid rise of governance

Underpinning these changes, a fourth paradigm shift has become increasingly visible in the last few years. It related to the rapid rise of governance on the co-operation agenda. Building on earlier trends towards a politicisation of aid, governance has become the new over-arching concept, embodying the political dimensions of development partnerships. In principle, it provides a framework for political dialogue, for donor support to domestic political and institutional reforms, as well as for mutual accountability or good governance on the donor side. In practice, major fears exist that governance will not be used as a tool to construct a qualitatively different type of partnership, but as yet another tool of externally imposed conditionalities.



Jose Antonio OCAMPO



Irene OVONJI-ODIDA

### The key challenges

All this amounts to a major transformation of the way in which international co-operation has been conceived and implemented. While progress has been achieved in putting these new donor paradigms into practice, a wide range of strategic and operational challenges need to be further addressed in a partnership mode and through dialogue. The key challenges boil down to:

- Ensuring effective implementation of the new donor paradigms in a diversity of country contexts. For example, alignment and harmonisation, and the use of budget support are not evident in countries with poor governance.
- Creating the right incentives for donor agencies to introduce the required changes in their processes, systems, procedures and mindsets, for example moving towards truly Europeanised aid.
- Building new capacities among all parties to effectively work within the new donor paradigms.

### Governance at the heart of a new paradigm

Participants explored a number of key questions and concepts associated with the ongoing debate on a possible new donor paradigm. During the course of these discussions, the group addressed many complex new developments in the global aid architecture and on the wider international political scene, as well as measures traditional development actors and developing countries must take in order to remain credible and effective partners.

The discussion indicated that, in view of these shifts – in short, an ever-intensifying economic globalisation, the emergence of new non-traditional donors, and an increasingly blurred distinction between domestic and international politics – governance must be at the heart of a possible new donor paradigm.

#### A key focal sector for co-operation

It is clear that governance in the coming years – new paradigm or not – will remain a key focal sector for co-operation. Governance, and the promotion of good governance, will remain a crucial focus area in development co-operation, with more and more actors turning to budget support and sector-wide approaches.

Some argued that in the field of governance “the policies are almost perfect: now we need to implement them”. What are needed now are output- and result-driven policies, underpinned by a more ambitious form of demand-driven ownership and a more serious political commitment.

Participants were cautioned against over-reliance and over-emphasis on various governance indicators and rankings.

#### Governance of international aid institutions

Another issue is the governance of international aid institutions themselves. It was agreed that fundamental shifts are indeed occurring and that development actors must adapt to these changes or find themselves becoming increasingly irrelevant or even risk becoming obstacles to progress.



Jerzy POMIANOWSKI



Koos RICHELLE

It was noted that traditional donor approaches are challenged both by the emergence of new donors and by the availability of a range of new financial instruments. Participants were encouraged to think outside the box and strengthen the “financial imagination” of existing institutions.

### **Donor co-ordination**

Also important is the need for further donor coordination. Participants discussed the UN's efforts to create a “common UN house” and its work towards single-country budgets. Several participants also pointed to the need to find new forms of visibility – important for the domestic legitimacy of aid efforts and institutions – as donor co-ordination deepens. A first step toward better donor co-ordination could be better co-ordination within the EU, which represents more than half of the membership of the OECD Development Assistance Committee.

### **New forms of global governance**

It was also argued that these new trends – including the increasingly blurry distinction between internal and international politics, as well as between development policy and other political issues – would make new forms of global governance necessary.

However, there are dangers inherent in a too-narrow focus on governance in recipient countries whereby governance is taken to mean how to use aid to get a country from a-to-b. Instead, the concept of good governance should be broadened to encompass issues such as the governance of donor countries in such areas as WTO negotiations, CAP, corruption in aid institutions, the politics of migration and brain drain. Such a shift could help ensuring that donors themselves “walk the talk”.

## **Future considerations**

### **Re-defining ownership**

A number of participants and members of the audience highlighted the need for a more challenging definition of demand-driven ownership, whereby partner countries' governments and civil society stakeholders are not merely consulted, but rather leading and driving, both in policy and implementation. They recognised that such an ambitious notion of ownership would require a more inclusive process of consultations and identification of priorities, as well as a more proactive role of African governments and leaders.

### **“Do more, better and faster”**

On the issue of shifting power and influence in the international system the increasing global importance of emerging powers, such as China and India, was noted. At the same time, participants recognised the stronger role played by an increasing number of civil society organisations from North and South and private foundations, many of which were represented in the audience.

Participants speculated that a revised G8 or G20 could include such diverse actors as the US, China, India, Bill Gates, Coca Cola and Human Rights Watch. In general, it was agreed, the way forward would be to welcome all these new actors as additional partners and as a challenge to do more, better and faster.



Jean-Michel SEVERINO



The emergence of new donors was welcomed as a useful challenge because, “it forces us to be on our toes”. However, the talk of “new donors” needs to be put into perspective: already in the 1970s, the OPEC countries and the Soviet Union accounted for almost 40% of global ODA.

#### **Better indicators are needed**

Also stressed was the importance of better and clearer result-oriented aid indicators, which are crucial for policymaking and for democratic legitimacy, both in donor countries and in partner communities. The issue here, however, should be results rather than output, for example, count the number of educated children rather than the number of constructed school buildings. “Phantom aid” – which exists on the books but never reaches the poor – must be avoided.





Femi OKE

## ROUND TABLE 5

# The Role of the Media in Promoting Governance

Better information for stronger synergies



***“We recognise that freedom of expression and the free flow of information, ideas, and knowledge are essential for the Information Society and beneficial to development.”***

WORLD SUMMIT ON  
THE INFORMATION SOCIETY,  
TUNIS COMMITMENT, 2005

- **Femi OKE**, Journalist for CNN *Inside Africa*, Moderator
- **Salim AMIN**, Managing Director of Camerapix
- **Louis KEUMAYOU**, Special Advisor for Africa to the UN Secretary General
- **Tumi MAKGABO**, Communication Manager of 2010 FIFA World Cup, former journalist for CNN International
- **Peter SCHELLSCHMIDT**, Manager of the Media Project for Southern Africa, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung
- **Mactar SILLA**, President of the African Association of Private TV Producer (APPTA)
- **Rick THOMPSON**, Director of T-Media, former BBC World Services
- **Nouréini TIDJANI-SERPOS**, Deputy Director General of UNESCO

## Introduction

The media landscape in most developing countries has evolved dramatically over the last 15 years as a result of democratisation processes and the impact of new information and communication technologies. Independent media are key players in fostering better governance at local, national, regional and global levels. Yet their potential often remains under-utilised for a variety of reasons including political obstruction, conservative legislation, lack of resources and capacities, limited incentives to address development issues, as well as ill-suited donor support modalities. New trends (including media concentration) may further reduce the scope for independent media development, particularly at community level.

## Main issues and challenges ahead

In most parts of the world, the media landscape has been transformed by increased democratisation, liberalisation of the media, globalisation, new technologies and the emergence of a more dynamic civil society. This has created demand for information among wider audiences, as well as expanded opportunities for media to be involved in promoting pluralism and governance. Media can impact in various ways on governance as a:

- Watchdog contributing to transparency and accountability.
- Civic forum raising awareness and supporting the development of citizenship.
- Driver of change influencing elected bodies by relaying the voice of the people.
- A facilitator between public authorities and citizens or between different groups, especially in peace processes and post-conflict situations.



Salim AMIN



Louis KEUMAYOU

The Africities meeting in Nairobi, September 2006 called upon the media to increase critical reporting on how local governments cope with major development challenges – including the MDGs – and seek to innovate governance practices.

### Freedom of speech

Yet, several challenges are still ahead in order to enable the media to function optimally in the promotion of pluralism and governance agendas. First and foremost, appropriate legal and regulatory frameworks for a proper functioning of the media and the protection of journalists are necessary. Freedom “after speech” is often more the issue than freedom of speech. The international community, in partnership with non-state actors, should therefore encourage and monitor respect by the state of the freedom of expression, access to information and civil liberties.

### Overcoming capacity restraints

Second, though the media can help to give “voice” to the poor, develop a sense of citizenry and further accountability through transparency, it faces a number of capacity constraints, especially in developing countries. International organisations have a major role to play in helping to develop independent, pluralist and viable media. The 2006 EC Communication on Governance advocates the implication of a broad range of civil society and media stakeholders so as to ensure ownership of media support strategies as well as diversity in target groups.

The development of community media is particularly important in the context of emerging democracies. Pluralism goes with rural area coverage and a strengthening of rural media. In providing such support, due recognition should be given to the different roles to be played by the media: information, agenda setting on development issues (including whistle-blowing through investigative journalism or minority coverage), as well as citizen education. All this assumes that media properly assume their “social responsibility”, while remaining objective players.

### Media concentration

A third challenge emerges from liberalisation and globalisation, which can lead to concentration of the media ownership in a few hands, sometimes close to political power holders, thereby undermining credibility of the information. This raises several thorny questions, including the relationship between global and local media as well as the balance between the political independence, the economic viability of the media and sources of income such as advertising, and the needs of the poor. In this context, criticism is often exercised on the tendency for major international media players to bring “only the bad news out of Africa” or to respond to the growing “dictatorship of commercialism”.

### Governance

Fourthly, governance of the media itself is a challenge. Rights go together with responsibilities. Examples of media inciting to violence in conflict situations are still in the collective memory. ‘Quantity’ of media should not be equated to ‘quality’. It is vital that the media outlets and professional associations encourage accurate, professional and ethical reporting. This can be done by establishing voluntary codes of conduct, providing training for journalists and setting up mechanisms of self-regulation.



Tumi MAKGABO



Peter SCHELLSCHMIDT



Rick THOMPSON

### Access to information for women, youth and vulnerable groups

Fifth, the media can also play a powerful role in promoting gender equality. Women are more often deprived of access to information, and they are underrepresented in the governing and managing structures of the media. Young people, who constitute the largest sector of the population in many developing countries and usually are more literate than older generations, deserve special attention as well. The media can also be a powerful channel for providing access to vulnerable groups – including disabled persons, migrants and nomads – to participate in efforts towards better governance and development.

### Strengthening the role of media

Independent media are key players in getting better governance at local, national, regional and global levels. Yet, their potential often remains underutilised for a variety of reasons, including political obstruction, conservative legislation, lack of resources and capacities, limited incentives to address development issues. Workshop participants concentrated on ways and means to strengthen the role of the media in promoting governance while ensuring their neutrality.

#### Is it for media to promote governance?

Media has more than a role to play vis-à-vis governance – it is not a question of having media promoting governance as if it was given the task of campaigning for a governance agenda. By performing its role in a way that contributes to transparency and accountability, by giving voice and allowing for participation to the population, by providing balanced, complete and correct information in a free and fair manner, by facilitating the communication between authorities and citizens or between different groups, media is effectively promoting governance and can even be seen as an integral part of governance.

#### The need for responsible media

In this context, the social responsibility of media becomes evident and fundamental. Media will shape minds and societies and the quality, professionalism and ethical standards of the reporting has important consequences for better or for worse in terms of governance and even conflict. At the same time, media are sources of information and communication – for the population to fully realise their rights as citizens, they need to know their rights, know the environment that surrounds them, understand their problems and be able to express them and discuss them.

Media have a responsibility to ensure this is also valid for the poor, the dispossessed, the minorities. Women are more often deprived from access to information and they are underrepresented in the governing and managing structures of the media. While remaining neutral players, the media should promote pluralism and reflect the cultural diversity of a country, but at the same time help overcome ethnic divides and nurture tolerance and dialogue developing true citizenry in a culture of peace.



Mactar SILLA



Nouréini TIDJANI-SERPOS



### How to support professional and responsible media

To have independent, pluralist and viable media, there is a need to ensure that professionals are given the tools and conditions to play their role adequately. To this end, it is important to support the development of capacities, not only in terms of strengthening technical skills – including financial and managerial skills – but also those linked to professionalism and ethical standards, duties, rights and application of voluntary codes of conducts. Dialogue and engagement between media and other actors of society should also be encouraged.

But more important than this is that appropriate legal and regulatory frameworks for a proper functioning of the media exist and are respected. The elaboration of these institutional frameworks should be subject of a wide debate within the society and their implementation should be encouraged and monitored.

Media professionals should work in conditions where they are safe in conflict situations, hostile environments and political tensions, but also with salary and employment conditions that allow them to live and work freely and with dignity.

### “It’s also on people’s heads that things need to change”

Media plays an increasingly important role in Africa. The digital revolution is opening for new opportunities: increasing access, decreasing costs and promoting trans-border co-operation. There is an abundance of talent and high potential of African journalists. African journalists have also the responsibility to give a picture of Africa that reflects the reality and diversity of the continent. They have the capacity to do so; they are often better positioned and are likely to have better access to reality and contacts than Western media that too often depicts Africa only on its most bleak aspects.



H.E. Pierre BUYOYA

## ROUND TABLE 6

### Former African Presidents

Shaping successful transitions in leadership



H.E. Aristides MARIA PEREIRA

*“Europe and Africa are bound together by history, by geography, and by a shared vision of a peaceful, democratic and prosperous future for all their peoples.”*

EUROPEAN COUNCIL,  
DECEMBER 2006

- H.E. Pierre BUYOYA, Burundi
- H.E. Abdou DIOUF, Senegal
- H.E. Aristides MARIA PEREIRA, Cape Verde
- Sir Q. Ketumile J. MASIRE, Botswana
- H.E. Karl Auguste OFFMANN, Mauritius
- H.E. Nicéphore D. SOGLO, Benin

## Introduction

African countries face huge challenges to development in the coming years. They have already undergone many radical transitions, from colonies to – in increasing numbers – democratic states. The key to successful transitions has been the capacity to transfer legitimate leadership, as demonstrated by the prominent cases of Leopold Sédar Senghor in 1980, Julius Nyerere in 1985 and Nelson Mandela in 1999.

But the crises on the African continent document that an orderly transfer of power and responsibility are not the rule. There are cases where ill-managed elections or unconstitutional changes in government may lead to civil unrest.

- **How can African governments, in a joint effort with civil society, help sustain and multiply these successful transitions?**

Europe and Africa share a long history. The role of Europe has changed from colonial power and donor of development assistance to partner in the common aim of achieving the MDGs. New challenges, especially in the field of security and state reform, require common strategies and a common framework.

The experiences in Europe in state- and institution-building, as well as forming a stable and prosperous private sector and the African achievements in the previously discussed transitional processes can together generate the adequate toolbox for overcoming the problems of statehood and security on the African continent. The role of the European Union for the successful transitions to democracies in the future was discussed.

- **How can the traditional bonds, experiences and failures lead to a real partnership between Europe and Africa in implementing democratic structures?**





## Round table debates common challenges

To help answer these two questions, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, together with the Africa Forum (a forum for former African heads of state and government) and the African Presidential Archives and Research Center (APARC) at Boston University organised a high-level round table for former African heads of state and the European community to debate the common challenges facing Europe and Africa.

The African Presidential round table has already met four times before in Africa at the initiative of the APARC. The last meeting took place in April 2006 in Johannesburg. This conference marks the Round table's European debut.

Following the theme of good governance, participants discussed issues related to Europe's special relationship with Africa and the role of African decision makers and the EU in transitional processes. A young scholar specialising in EU-African affairs introduced both topics, leading into a round table discussion. Former democratically elected African heads of state, European and international high-level representatives from political institutions, academia and socio-political institutions attended.

**Christopher Cramer**, School of Oriental and African Studies, London introduced the round table. He emphasised that considering the lack of fiscal resources that exist in African countries, good governance is too expensive. As a result, "budget transfer" becomes the key to manage political instability. He also reminded participants that during the period of rapid industrialisation and poverty reduction in East Asia the governments were deficient in many perspectives, such as accountability and democracy, but were extremely effective in other perspectives, such as public and private management and export industries. This experience suggests that the need of African remains good governance towards fiscal space, production and technological progress.

**Abdou Diouf**, General Secretary of La Francophonie and former Head of State of Senegal, said no miraculous formula exists to successfully achieve democracy and peace. He emphasised that transition processes in Africa were marked by several difficulties, including political crisis, interruptions by takeovers, etc., that were amplified by the severe conditionality imposed by the international community. He also commented that democracy and peace has a huge cost that cannot be supported by vulnerable and fragile states, and therefore needs the support of the international community. Finally, he highlighted that the utmost important objective for Africa remains the prevention of crisis and conflicts. To this end, he stressed the need for the "mécanisme d'alerte précoce" to be deepened, reinforced and co-ordinated.

**Aristides Maria Pereira**, former President of Cape Verde, reported the history and experience of his country. Cape Verde went through two transitions from colony to an independent state and from a single party to multiparty government. At the time of independence, the country was comprised of 10% arable land and nearly no natural resources. He emphasised that civil society played an important role and contributed hugely to the rehabilitation of the state.



**Karl Auguste Offmann**, former President of Mauritius, pointed to a big contradiction concerning the EU's external relations with Africa and with China. He said that China was not a model of development, democracy and liberty; nevertheless, the EU trades on a very large scale with China without imposing any conditions or sanctions. When it comes to Africa, however, the EU imposes conditions. At the same time, he believes a very good partnership could exist between the EU and Africa. For this to happen, the EU must mobilise its technological and financial competencies. He concluded that the EU needed to look upon Africa with different eyes, as Africa is achieving huge political and economic progress.

**Nicéphore D. Soglo**, former president of Benin, recalled the period of the colonialism and the experience of Europe after the two world wars. He also emphasised that the new generation of young people in Africa represent new hope on the continent.

**Pierre Buyoya**, former president of Burundi, emphasised that good governance is necessary to create a good transition. These conditions include democratic institutions legitimatised by an electoral process and the consolidation of democracy and peace. In this context, he stated that until now the international community has failed in supporting the consolidation process and voiced his disapproval with some of the policies put forward by institutions such as the IMF and the World Bank, specifically conditionality and repayment of debt. He emphasised that solidarity should not end after the electoral process, but should survive after and during the transitional process. Finally, he said good governance could not be taken for granted and required responsibility on the part of heads of states.

**Sir Q. Ketumile J. Masire**, former president of Botswana, said that those who are disposed from power did not respect the rules. In Africa, the people served their own interests and abused natural resources, he added. Therefore, in order to increase good governance, those countries need a bigger sense of responsibility and a better repatriation of state wealth.

**Karin Kortman**, Undersecretary of State for International Co-operation, Germany, argued that good governance above all requires transparency. In this context, the EITI Initiative, in which 17 African states already participate, has provided new forms of dialogue. She also emphasised the importance of the role of the state in Africa. Fighting corruption, in particular, entails international duties that African States must adhere to. At the same time, she said, corruption is a global issue and should not be confined to particular states. She also highlighted the role of the so-called "anchor states", such as Nigeria and China, which carry responsibility for regional integration. She noted that the German Presidency of the European Council would be a prime motor in pushing for democracy, transparency and good governance in Africa.

**Charles Josselin**, former Minister for Development, France, emphasised the importance of the states in achieving good governance. Sanctions by the international institutions do not appear to be a good solution for development because they hurt the population, not the heads of states. In his opinion, the best way to enable rapid progress towards development is by developing and rewarding the sense of responsibility of these countries. Finally, he urged China to become partner in the drive for good governance. As China has a large role to play in Africa, it is about time for China to respect human rights and move towards good governance.



H.E. Nicéphore D. SOGLO



H.E. Karl Auguste OFFMANN



**Guy Labertit**, Director for Africa, Foundation Jean Jaurès, France, noted that ownership is essential for African countries. To this end, the international institutions should stop dictating the rules in those countries.

**Stefan Mair**, Deputy Director, German Institute International and Security Affairs, Berlin, emphasised that the EU had put in place very good strategies for development in Africa, but there is a need for more co-ordination among the EU members themselves. It is time to put these strategies into practice, he added.

**Eckhardt Deutsher**, Executive Director, World Bank, stated that the voice of the African people is not well heard and that the African community needs to ask for accountability from the international organisations. However, in his view, lack of development co-operation is not solely to blame. It is well known that African governments have spent a huge amount of money on subsidies and military issues. He pointed to a lack of coherence from both sides, which will require global good governance involving both rich and poor countries.

**Dieter Frisch**, former Director-General for Development, European Commission and founding member of Transparency International, emphasised the importance of launching an open dialogue, without taboos, between Africa and its partners. He also stressed that Europe should not have the same attitude towards Africa as it does towards China. He commented that Africa's partners must encourage the development of civil society, rather than interfere in the political process. External partners need to assist in helping African countries manage their resources. Those that manage their resources well should be entitled to more assistance. It is also very important to accompany countries economically and socially following their political transition.

**Mamadou Mamine Loum**, former prime Minister of Senegal, noted that good governance is not a guarantee for economic development. He emphasised that democracy and development are long-term processes, and that Africa and the EU need to agree on the priorities of Africa to achieve economic development. He also pointed out, taking China as an example, that democracy is not a condition to achieve economic growth. Finally, he emphasised that everything needed to be done to ensure that the achievements of these countries were irreversible.



Jean-Louis SCHILTZ

## ROUND TABLE 7

# Building a Culture of Democracy

From hardware to software democracy promotion



***“Democracy is  
foremost  
a state of mind.”***

PIERRE MENDÈS,  
FRANCE, 1907-1982

- **Jean-Louis SCHILTZ**, Minister for Development Co-operation (Luxembourg), Moderator
- **Sophia AKUFFO**, Member of the African Court of Human and Peoples’ Rights
- **Aribot BELLY**, Member of the Panafrican Parliament
- **Alifa C. FAROUK**, Vice President for Africa of the Association of Francophone Ombudsman
- **Gilbert HOUNGBO**, Regional Director for Africa of the UNDP
- **Sidiki KABA**, President of the International Federation of Human Rights
- **Ayodele OKE**, Head of Office of Deputy Director General (Florence Mugasha) at the Commonwealth Secretariat
- **Jaroslav OLŠA**, Former Czech Ambassador to Zimbabwe (2000-2006)
- **László VARKONYI**, State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Hungary

## Introduction

Over the last decade, Africa has made major efforts to move the democracy agenda forward at local, national, regional and pan-African level through the African Union. While progress has been achieved, including establishing the formal attributes of the “hardware” of democratic societies, key challenges remain to be addressed in terms of consolidating the process and building a culture of democracy.

This opens a broad agenda for the different actors who are directly or indirectly involved in the democratisation process. It implies a focus on the legitimacy of government beyond elections; the norms and attitudes towards the public good; the political society, including the empowerment of parliaments; the demand-side of democratic governance; as well as innovative ways to ensure transparency and accountability. It also requires a critical analysis of current forms of EU democracy assistance.

## Main issues and challenges ahead

Since the fall of the Berlin wall, Africa has experienced a new wave of democratisation. This move was marked by the appearance of multi-party systems, the move towards free and fair elections and the development of civil society. The international community supported such democratisation processes, developing – often from scratch – the basic policy and institutional foundations for such assistance. This was characterised by measures such as electoral assistance and observation, institution building, as well as the inclusion of references to democracy and respect for human rights as essential elements in co-operation treaties, for instance in the EU-ACP Partnership Agreements.



Sophia AKUFFO



Aribot BELLY

### **“Hardware” is not enough**

This support of the “hardware” of democracy has proven to be a necessary but not sufficient ingredient. More is needed to address the complexity and multi-dimensional nature of democratisation processes in hugely diverse country contexts. In divided and politically fragile societies, embracing the form rather than the substance of democracy often turned out to be a source of conflict rather than a force for progress.

In several developing and transitional societies, incumbent elites resisted change or manipulated the democratic process to their advantage, sometimes resulting in “hollow democracies”. Building democracy abroad proved to be much more difficult than initially expected. It is, therefore, important to continue the learning process.

### **Focusing on the “software” of democracy**

The importance of supporting the “software” of democracy is increasingly recognised. Effective democracy entails a whole range of societal norms and codes that must be firmly rooted and integrated into the culture of the people. The frequently observed absence of the notion of public good is an illustration of the need for a deeper understanding of democratic principles. Similarly, many governments can be legally elected but lack legitimacy in the eyes of their citizens. Supporting the “software” of democracy requires a long-term vision as well as new approaches to providing democracy assistance.

## **Support to political society**

Several important lessons have been learned in the last decade. These help to define some of the key challenges ahead. First, a stronger engagement with the “political society” – parliaments, courts of auditors, political parties, etc. – seems required. Over the last years, agencies experienced the limitations of political conditionality on central governments as an instrument to trigger effective change. It also appeared that promoting democracy from the bottom-up is a necessary but not sufficient condition. It is undoubtedly promising to support the role of non-state actors – including the free press and trade unions – as watchdogs demanding transparency and accountability, as well as fora for civic education in democratic participation.

Civil society organisations have a key role to play, but they are not a substitute for political parties or for social movements. There is a growing realisation that support to democratic institutions belonging to political society should be reinforced. Similarly, there is a need to invest more in open decentralisation processes, as local authorities can play a crucial role in the emergence and consolidation of local democracy and governance systems.

### **More integrated approaches required**

A second challenge is that more integrated approaches are required in the EU’s efforts to promote democracy. It makes no sense to separate democracy from human rights and socio-economic development. Besides, democracy does not thrive in conflict-prone environments, or in fragile states. Therefore, assistance to democracy should be linked to other relevant EU policies, including trade, development and external relations.





Alifa C. FAROUK



Gilbert HOUNGBO



Democracy can also be indirectly promoted through development programmes by instilling values of participatory development, accountability and transparency, the so-called “democracy with a small d”. As part of an integrated approach, the EU is making efforts to support African-driven processes of promoting democracy. The African Union – with its new political mandate – is a particularly important player and ally in this field.

A third challenge relates to the need for coherency between EU support to democracy in African States and diverging political or economic interests of EU Member States.

### **Working for the common good**

Participants heard civil society’s view of the developments concerning democracy in Africa since the advent of the first national conferences of 1989, which opened up political life in many Sub-Saharan countries. The wave of openness and change that swept Africa changed civil society’s role, from opposition advocates against one party rule to full and recognised participants in the political arena. The last decade, however, is seeing a return to coups, either in their classical form or in the novel shape of constitutional modifications following presidential elections, meant to help current democratic rulers sustain their grip on power. This turn of events shows how difficult it is proving to anchor democratic principles, including the peaceful transfer of state leadership, firmly in the African landscape.

Why is this? For years, donors and international attention have concentrated on building states’ institutional hardware – functioning democratic bodies, the formal aspect of elections – but have neglected the underlying human rights software. Peacefully accepting loss in electoral contests if one is defeated and understanding that, for the sake of peace and co-operation, every political force should be given a role to play if one is victorious, are new concepts for actors used to the “victor takes it all” attitude to power. African political society is slowly developing its capacity to accept the idea of working for the common good of a society beyond individual or group interests.

For this reason a solid culture comprising freedom of expression and association, the acceptance that people have a right to health, good working conditions, and education, as well as civil and political rights, has to take root. All actors have to participate in drafting the rules of the game, applying them and reviewing them regularly. Everyone has to accept that they are accountable for how they handle the power that is entrusted to them, whether they are governments, the opposition, or civil society. There can be no more room for a culture of impunity, and the lack of rule of law and of the real separation of powers. Citizens must be able to trust the fact that the constitution will be upheld and respected.

### **A culture of power sharing**

The rule of law and human rights are fundamental but we must move beyond to a culture of power sharing. Everyone must learn to play the game, to work for the common good, and to reach political maturity. We will know we have reached democracy when voters will chose an ideology, a programme, instead of voting according to their origin. But even if this succeeds, if social cohesion is not sought, the whole exercise might collapse. The new generation is full of promise, but if government can’t supply services and economic growth to the population, the whole concept of democracy may be questioned.



Sidiki KABA



Ayodele OKE

### Building faith in justice

A regional human rights protection architecture is emerging. ECOWAS's judiciary culture, initially oriented towards the resolution of business disputes, is now taking advantage of its maturity to reflect on possible new developments concerning human rights issues. The responsibility facing judges is to ensure quality justice, which means constant learning about how to sustain their integrity and impartiality and promote the accountability of their decisions. The judge has to strive to be a responsible activist, aware of the consequences of his or her decisions on society. Only when justice has been delivered in an efficient, fair and well-justified manner, can one expect the losers to accept a verdict. Only with faith in justice can the rule of law take hold.

Human rights are a popular topic these days, but authorities are keener to talk about them than to effectively enforce them. The creation of the African Court of Human and People's Rights is real progress, as NGOs lobbied to have a body with the power to emit enforceable decisions. Ultimately human rights protection will depend on whether state parties are ready and committed to promote their enforcement through the courts. Will other states apply peer pressure on each other to advance in this field? How law abiding will each state decide to be?

### Institutions foster dialogue and accountability

The Pan-African Parliament contributes to the spreading of a culture of democracy across the continent by creating a forum for discussion, and trying to get Member States to harmonise their laws with the standards developed by the African Union. Oppositions forces all over the region should not boycott elections or their seats in parliament, but participate actively in democratic dialogue.

A new concept in Africa is Médiateurs or ombudsmen, whose independence must be guaranteed and who must operate with a sufficiently solid legal basis. They must provide for the accountability of government and be able to recommend changes to legislation.

Institutions such as the Commonwealth Secretariat can help their members adhere to democratic standards, such as the Harare and Latymer principles, and take strong positions such as suspending states following a coup, and condemning persistent human rights violations. Everyone must now help the African Union with its draft Democracy Charter. Democracy cannot be imposed from outside, but must come from within a country, originating from the grassroots. The opposition must wait for power but at the same time, learn to participate throughout the whole political cycle, and learn to be an active stakeholder with a role to play at all times.

### The way forward

What can donors do to support all these efforts to plant the seeds of substantive democracy across Africa? They can learn from Zimbabwe, where by focusing on democratic hardware alone, donors did not realise that there could be a transition to the worse, even with apparently functioning democratic institutions.



Jaroslav OLŠA



László VARKONYI

Round table participants agreed that developed countries must not try to export any model of democracy but help to ensure that the process of developing democracy locally is done in the most participatory and inclusive way, so that even the most vulnerable in society are brought into this realm. They must not look for quick fixes and formal attributes of democracy, but rather stay committed for the long run, and help ensure the dividends of peace and democracy are delivered promptly and permanently.

The international community must help the whole system come together in an efficient way and help link the various democratic components to one another. It is insufficient to come into a country six months before an election to help out with the formal aspects, such as voter registries or an independent national electoral commission.

Similarly, it must not lose interest in a country shortly after a conflict has been resolved, as it is exactly at that time that elected governments need most help with the process of governing and providing services. Africans, on the other hand, must not feel inferior to developed countries and establish the basis for a real partnership.



## ROUND TABLE 8

# Stepping up the Fight against Corruption

Building new alliances to increase impact



Simon MAXWELL

*“Corruption hurts the poor disproportionately by diverting funds intended for development, undermining a government’s ability to provide basic services, feeding inequality and injustice, and discouraging foreign investment and aid.”*

KOFI ANNAN,  
UN SECRETARY-GENERAL  
STATEMENT ON THE  
ADOPTION BY  
THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
OF THE UN CONVENTION  
AGAINST CORRUPTION,  
NEW YORK,  
31 OCTOBER 2003

- **Simon MAXWELL**, Director of the Overseas Development Institute, Moderator
- **Benedicte CHRISTENSEN**, Deputy Director for Africa of International Monetary Fund (IMF)
- **Antonio Maria COSTA**, Executive Director of UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC)
- **Marlène HABATA ZEBANGO**, Chair of the Network of Anti-corruption Parliamentarians, Burkina Faso
- **Michael HOFMANN**, Director General for Development BMZ, Germany
- **Firmino MUCAVELE**, Executive Head NEPAD Secretariat
- **Bernard PETIT**, Deputy Director-General, European Commission
- **Nils TCHEYAN**, Director for Strategy and Operations, Office of Vice-President for Africa, World Bank
- **Chantal UWIMANA**, Transparency International

## Introduction

Internationally, the fight against corruption is taking a more central place among those partners determined to achieve the Millennium Development Goals. Corruption is widely perceived as a major obstacle to sustainable development and poverty reduction. Aid can be part of the solution. Anti-corruption clauses are integrated in most major development partnerships such as the EU-ACP Partnership Agreement. The World Bank – after changing its longstanding hands-off policy in 1996 – has now put its weight behind an anti-corruption strategy. The African Union has adopted a Convention on Preventing and Combating Corruption, and in 2003 the United Nations adopted the Convention against Corruption, which the EC signed last year.

Understanding of what drives corruption is expanding. The fight against corruption is no longer perceived as an end in itself. Increasingly, corruption – “the abuse of public office for private gain” – is understood as an outcome of poor governance. Increasingly, local, national and global actors demand better governance that also addresses the root causes of corruption.



Antonio Maria COSTA



Benedicte CHRISTENSEN



## Main issues and challenges ahead

Opportunities and challenges for tackling corruption as an outcome of poor governance have expanded meaningfully.

### Weighing the risks

First, there is the promise to reduce poverty, to improve governance and to scale up aid significantly. The prospect of an extra yearly US\$ 50 billion by 2010 raises the stake for development partners to ensure proper use of these new resources. There is a growing consensus among donors and partner countries that this can only be achieved by improving the governance systems through which these extra resources are being channelled. Through the Paris Declaration, donor and developing countries and multilateral agencies have committed themselves to improve both the effectiveness of aid and the governance systems and policies in partner countries.

Both sides are confronted with the risks that corruption poses for the diversion of existing aid, corruption's harmful effects (felt most acutely by the poor) and for the shadow that corruption casts over the promised new resources. Traditionally, concerns centred on fiduciary risks that development resources were diverted away from their intended uses. Recently, development partners increasingly pay attention to two other types of risk:

- The development risks in partner countries – the risks that poverty reduction efforts and economic growth are undermined.
- Risks related to the credibility of aid in donor countries, whereby the basis among public opinion in donor countries erodes because of real or perceived abuses of aid resources.

### New aid modalities emerging

Secondly, donors have committed themselves to harmonise their development efforts behind country owned strategies for poverty reduction. Traditional forms of conditionality are giving way to new partnerships whereby donors build on institutions and country systems. Rather than to bypass these systems or impose pre-determined models, donors transfer more development resources through the budget and management systems of developing countries.

Such new aid modalities provide opportunities to strengthen public finance management systems, build capacity, improve checks and balance institutions and contribute to transparency in the allocation, management and monitoring of public resources. If such opportunities are taken, this reduces the space for corruption. But, such aid modalities require a thorough understanding of these systems, their weaknesses, and the capacity development strategies required.

### Addressing symptoms within a broader context

Thirdly, the various symptoms of corruption have to be looked at in the broader governance context. This includes the systems of transparency and mechanisms for accountability. For example, it is recognised in the two Communications on Governance of the European Commission that accountability stretches beyond donors and the partner government. It also pertains to an open society based on multiparty democracy and electoral competition, a transparent system for financing political parties and support for parliamentary oversight and for other public and judicial





Marlène HABATA ZEBANGO



Michael HOFMANN



institutions. The effectiveness and sustainability of the fight against corruption – and for improving governance – rests also with civil society actors, the private sector, the media and ultimately with citizens who have voice.

Countries with corrupt political leadership or endemically corrupt institutions pose particular problems. But, unlike in the past, donors have committed themselves to stay engaged with adapted aid modalities and a stronger focus on domestic anti-corruption coalitions.

### **Tackling the supply side of corruption**

Fourthly, strengthening the supply-side of improved governance in partner countries and supporting the demand-side for accountability are related components of a longer-term engagement against corruption. Globalisation has increased the opportunities for large-scale corruption. A number of initiatives have been taken – such as the conventions against bribery and corruption by the OECD and the UN (2003) – to tackle the global supply side of corruption by reducing the incentives for corruption. Other initiatives, such as the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative, aim to build coalitions of companies, civil society and governments in support of transparency and accountability, especially in resource rich countries.

Never before have so many actors and stakeholders been involved at various levels in the fight against corruption. And never before, was there such a potential – both in terms of resources and knowledge – for grounding anti-corruption into longer-term reforms towards effective and accountable governance. But putting this potential to work remains the ultimate challenge.

### **Where do we go from here?**

For all involved, action should start from home. Measures discussed in this round table included a common European black list suspending access to aid funds for all those companies, consultants and NGOs known to be involved in corrupt practices. After an opening discussion on the general approach to be taken to step up the fight against corruption, the following themes were picked up for further debate.

### **What type of corruption matters most?**

Effectively dealing with corruption requires designing strategies that take into due account the various factors underlying the different types of corruption, be it petty or “big” corruption, institutional, political or economic corruption. Fighting petty corruption, for instance, may require reforming remuneration systems and liberalising markets, while fighting big corruption tied to public procurement or public revenues would require more effective and transparent public financial management systems.

The relevance of petty corruption was underlined either because of its disruptive effect on society's ethical fabric or because of its disproportionate impact on the poorest. Similarly, the importance of corruption linked to partner countries' public expenditure systems was underscored in view of its impact on the level, quality and costs of the services offered to the public, and the poor in particular. The relevance of corruption linked to aid money, or the domestic systems through which aid is channelled, was highlighted because of the need to reduce moral hazard issues and preserve public support for aid in donor countries.



Firmino MUCAVELE



Bernard PETIT



### What are the best entry points for the fight against corruption?

The participants highlighted several aspects to this question. All agreed on the need to be strict in dealing with known corruption cases. They also agreed that dealing systemically with corruption would require addressing the underlying governance problems. Emphasis and sequencing, however, seemed to vary among participants. Some, in particular, stressed the importance of sanctioning individual cases, safeguarding donors' funds and refraining from allocating aid to excessively risky countries or sectors.

Others underlined that corruption is a symptom of weaknesses in the state's capacity to play its role and therefore can only be effectively addressed through improvements in political governance. Because changes in governance cannot be imposed from outside and cannot be achieved over a short time span, fighting corruption will require a long-term process based on dialogue and incentives rather than conditions and sanctions which focussed on governance aspects such as, for instance, the relations between the executive, legislative and judiciary powers.

Many flagged the importance of a comprehensive and multidisciplinary approach based on joint assessments and country ownership. Some underlined how the fight against corruption should start with the individual's refusal to accept corruption practices and build up from there to a strategy addressing all relevant pillars of integrity. Yet, given the difficulties faced by individual anti-corruption champions facing structured networks of corruption, all agreed on the need to stimulate a comprehensive engagement by all relevant actors, including the executive powers, local parliaments, civil society, the donors and the business community.

The importance of ensuring the political sustainability of any anti-corruption strategy was also highlighted. Participants noted the importance of differentiating strategies according to countries characteristics, with post-conflict countries typically calling for a more direct involvement of civil society and more stable countries presenting a more opportune environment for embedding safeguards within an institutional framework. In this context, many remarked on the important role that decentralisation can play to enhance accountability in public spending.

### Are rules enough?

There was a general agreement that rules matter but obviously need to be accompanied by the political willingness and institutional capacity to implement them. Hence, the importance of capacity building and political dialogue. Several participants underlined the value of ratifying the UN Convention against Corruption and highlighted the significance of the related African convention.

A comprehensive set of rules for fighting corruption should include disclosure rules for the wealth of public officials, transparent norms for public procurement and appropriate regimes for political parties funding. Domestic frameworks should be complemented by clear international regulations for the recovery of assets and, more generally, the co-operation in the fight against corruption. The importance of codes of good practices, for instance in fiscal transparency, as well as in international initiatives such as the EITI was also noted.



Chantal UWIMANA



Nils TCHEYAN

While institutional building was generally regarded as very important, some underlined the need to ensure appropriate accountability mechanisms through the involvement civil society, local parliamentary institutions and peer review mechanisms.

#### **What should donors do?**

All agreed on the need for donors to mainstream the fight against corruption in their development co-operation, however the emphasis and the implications varied. Some underlined that most corruption “went through” aid and that therefore it needed to be tackled first and foremost by safeguarding the use of aid funds. The need to avoid creating incentives for corruption through non-transparent aid disbursement mechanisms was also noted.

Without disagreeing with these points, others warned against the risks of disengaging from political dialogue and taxing the poor twice by withholding aid rather than seeking more secure ways to channel funds. In this context, it would also be important to avoid giving the impression that addressing corruption has become the new overriding objective of development co-operation, rather than simply one of the tools to support the achievement of the ultimate objective of reducing poverty and achieving the MDGs.

Finally, the importance of harmonising donors' strategies towards corruption was emphasised.



## ROUND TABLE 9

# Inequalities and Vulnerable Groups

Combining protection and empowerment



Hilary BROWN

*“Inequalities in opportunity or capabilities can be a profound source of poverty, both within societies and across nations.”*

WORLD DEVELOPMENT  
REPORT 2006  
ON EQUITY AND  
DEVELOPMENT

- **Hilary BROWN**, Canterbury University, Christ Church, Professor and Moderator
- **Marie-Louise BARICAKO**, Board Member, Femmes Africa Solidarité
- **Joan BLANEY**, Director, Scarman Trust (CETA)
- **Shuaib CHALKLEN**, Director, African Decade of Persons with Disabilities
- **Mamadou CISSOKO**, Honorary President, Network of West African Farmer and Producers’ Organisations
- **Thuria HAROON DALDUM**, Lawyer, formally associated with the Amal Center (Sudan)
- **George OKOTH-OBBO**, UNHCR, Director for International Protection
- **Moss ILUNGA**, ACP -Secretary

## Introduction

Vulnerability often results from distorted power mechanisms and violations of human rights. It has many faces – economic, social, cultural, political – and affects children, women, minorities, refugees and internally displaced persons, as well as people with disabilities, people from rural areas, the homeless, elderly people, ethnic minorities and other disenfranchised groups and individuals. Poverty and inequalities are closely linked to vulnerability. Under development could be seen as the sum of individual poverty, while inequalities refer to the unequal distribution of resources and power within a society. Vulnerability refers to the probability to fall in a situation of deprivation and suffering. Vulnerability lies at the heart of poverty and is at the same time the result of a process.

The round table focused on key trends and lessons learned through policies and programmes in support of vulnerable groups in Africa. Participants discussed ongoing challenges, including how to reach out to the most vulnerable groups and how to link national safety nets with programmes targeted at empowering vulnerable people. Other challenges include strengthening the voice and increasing the participation of such vulnerable groups in policy making from decision to implementation.

## Main issues and challenges ahead

Linking vulnerability to poverty leads to the issue of the real causes of poverty processes and their dynamics. It encompasses the various aspects of economic, social and judicial governance.

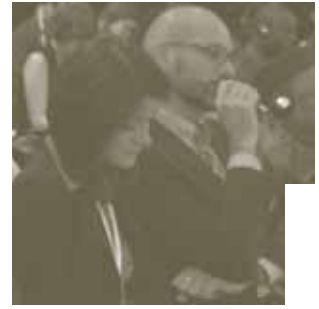
The European Union Strategy for Africa stresses the adherence to human rights, democratic principles and the rule of law; effective, well-governed states, and strong and efficient institutions for successful development. It also focused on the promotion and the protection of human rights, including the



Joan BLANEY



Marie-Louise BARICAKO



rights of women, children and other vulnerable groups and on the support of participatory democracy and accountability in Africa, especially by supporting African parliaments and civil society and by enhancing programme of election assistance.

## Addressing vulnerability

### Promoting social experimentation by vulnerable groups

Facing precarious situations, vulnerable groups may accept worsening conditions, migrate or try to find solutions. Social experimentation means addressing poverty and vulnerability through individual and collective action. Capacity building is a core issue because it focuses on developing local knowledge and empowering people to effect change. Effective decentralisation can play a key role in facilitating local strategies and accompanying approaches to fight vulnerability.

### Reducing structural inequalities

Structural inequalities cut across all dimensions of vulnerability and at the same time contribute to it. Inequalities are often rooted in the history of societies and nations. The building of a functional state is important to ensure a global pro-vulnerable framework. At the same time, internal changes are the product of a collective transformation process initiated by active citizenship.

### Covering temporary risks

There exist many social mechanisms, collective practices of mutual help, or redistribution, as well as micro-finance programmes. However, these locally based mechanisms may not be strong enough to cope with systemic problems. It is more effective to focus on social prevention based on the development of social organisations and alliances among stakeholders.

### Facilitating social dynamics

Inequality is the result of confrontation and power between groups. Each decision and action is ensuring or destabilising the power relationship that determines the condition of each group in a society. Social dynamics should be facilitated so that they reduce vulnerability. Networking and alliances among non-state actors are a key issue for social governance.

### Improving global governance and mutual accountability

Vulnerable groups are directly suffering from weak governance; many of them are paying with their lives in situations of food insecurity or political conflict. Although vulnerability is closely linked to the Millennium Development Goals, challenges for implementing pro-vulnerable strategies and programmes remain tremendous.

The first challenge is to improve global governance and mutual accountability. At the level of international co-operation, pro-vulnerable strategies question the coherence of the overall aid system. Local pro-vulnerable strategies may only be effective if they are in line with global policies, such as aid and trade. Part of this agenda involves exerting international/regional pressures on states that do not respect vital aspects of governance and human rights. This holds particularly true in conflict situations, where lives are destroyed and where peacekeeping faces many limitations.





Shuaib CHALKLEN



Mamadou CISSOKO



### More coherence needed

Second, there are many instruments within EU co-operation that must be used coherently so as to ensure more consistency and co-ordination among actions aimed towards vulnerable groups. The selection of approaches, for example the project approach versus budgetary support, may have to be reconsidered in the light of these pro-vulnerable strategies.

### The financial accountability issue

Third, dealing with vulnerable groups may require profound changes in current donor approaches and procedures. The prevailing administrative culture of risk-aversion and focus on financial accountability often makes it very difficult to effectively target vulnerable groups. It may also lead to systematically excluding highly relevant local organisations working on basic social services or as safety nets. There is a need to find new ways and means to reach out to the most vulnerable groups while staying in conformity with financial accountability.

### Weak national systems of protection

The fourth challenge relates to the capacity of the state to address vulnerability. Other than Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers, there is generally a lack of a national governance strategy aimed at reducing vulnerability, both at national and local level. National systems of protection are weak and ill equipped to serve the most vulnerable groups and judicial mechanisms are too expensive. In addition, decision-making processes on development strategies tend to be concentrated in the hands of privileged groups.

Fifth, the dialogue and collaboration with non-state actors need to be strengthened as they have a key role to play in addressing vulnerability. They can, for instance, help to gather sufficient knowledge on vulnerable groups, play a mediating role in conflicts, or help build capacity of the most vulnerable groups.

## Engaging civil society

Round table participants considered a number of questions, including: How are people made vulnerable? Do the various international norms, policies and instruments applicable to ACP states – including those of the EU – have a positive impact on vulnerable groups? They heard that the ACP Secretariat exercises a mandate that includes responsibility for vulnerable groups. Poverty and inequality in ACP states causes people to be vulnerable. The ACP is working to empower such people.

They acknowledged how difficult it was to access and consult with a wide range of African civil society groups, particularly given language barriers. It was also acknowledged that civil society often harshly criticises governments, which often makes government reticent to engage with them. Yet by working on governance issues at the international level, and including civil society to the maximum extent possible in consultations, vulnerable groups would have easier access to resources, including the European Development Fund.



Thuria HAROON DALDUM



Participants were reminded that AU Heads of State have announced this to be the African Decade for Disabled Persons, with the Secretariat responsible for implementing a continent-wide plan of action. The Secretariat is also working on a draft UN Convention on the Rights of Disabled People, which would oblige governments to consult with organisations representing people with disabilities.

At the same time, participants agreed there is no excuse for not consulting vulnerable populations; in order to tap their resources they should be included and represented both at grassroots and at the highest levels.

### Asylum system under extreme pressure

In 1979, former president of Tanzania Julius Nyerere stated that every African was a potential refugee. This is due to war, conflict, corruption, bad governance, or the inability to earn a living. According to UNHCR, there are now 20 million people worldwide who have been forcibly displaced from their homes, of which 4 million are African. And these numbers only represent the people who fall under a formal system of protection. The current asylum system is coming under extreme pressure. Women and children are particularly vulnerable. The system must be reinforced to ensure the safety of vulnerable populations.

### Eliminate the root causes

It was argued that the problem of vulnerability could not be addressed without eliminating its root causes. In the case of Sudan, for example, the principal cause is war. Other factors must be taken into account, notably education and the influence of culture. The vulnerability of the civilian population of Darfur was highlighted, particularly the plight of male youth, street children, orphans and the elderly.

### Inequality must be addressed

The inequality of African women results from conflict, ignorance and lack of vision, socio-economic factors, bad governance and corruption, all of which makes them vulnerable. Women are at the centre of the African economy and make up an enormous “capital fund” for Africa. If they remain trapped in inequality, it will be difficult to unlock Africa’s human potential. Governments, civil society, women and the international community, acting together, should ensure that the 2003 Protocol on Women in Africa – which itself needs to be diffused amongst African women – as well as other such commitments, are taken into account. The question of access to resources is key, particularly to health and education.

Unfortunately, many women in Africa are not interested in politics and as a result, cannot help change this state of affairs. They do not have the resources, the ability or the time. Because many cannot read, they cannot judge information. Again, the culprit is inequality.



At the same time, women need to improve their access to the political arena. African women presidents should not be an exception. While colonialism brought a patriarchal structure to the continent – in a large part responsible for the vulnerability and inequality of women – most African countries are thriving on the leadership of women.

### Empowering women

Government and policy-makers take a gender-blind approach. This is a mistake. Women's experiences and problems are different from those of men. If Africa is to develop, the leadership, resources and knowledge of women must be taken into account and developed. They must be empowered. Effective change can only come about by operating at all levels, through a variety of organisations.

A new generation, a network of women leaders must be formed, active in politics, peace building and development. They must work together, not as victims or beneficiaries, but as actors. Those women who are more advantaged must remain accountable to those who remain vulnerable. They should meet before Africa summits, form scrutiny committees and ensure that women are at the heart of policy across the continent. Fora designed to ensure that the concerns of civil society are taken into account must be held at times suitable for women and must have childcare facilities or welcome children.

Despite the Beijing Platform, women still have unequal access to a range of products and services; in many countries they have no access to land. HIV/AIDS has been an enormous setback, with more women than men dying as a result. While education is the route out of poverty, women have markedly unequal access to education.

### Focus on agriculture

The importance of agriculture to the African economy was discussed. As the “motor” of the economy, this sector does not get a fair deal from the state. As a result, the values of family and community, themselves rooted in agricultural tradition, are progressively being lost. The existence of such values helps prevent the emergence of vulnerable groups. Communities imbued with such values can protect those who are vulnerable. It was recognised that vulnerability and inequality can only be countered by supporting income-generating activities exercised by families and communities. Donors and governments that do not consider the advantage of putting resources into agriculture exacerbate the problem of vulnerability. The EU, for example, does not sufficiently support African agriculture.



Moss ILUNGA



### Vulnerable groups must negotiate

One member of the audience pointed to the positive attempts made in Uganda to mainstream the needs of women, young people and the disabled. These groups are represented in parliament so that the root causes of inequality and vulnerability can better be addressed. Beyond changes to the legal and policy framework, the need for training and awareness raising should be taken into account to ensure that the problems of vulnerable groups can be effectively tackled.

One participant noted that vulnerable groups will never get what they deserve – only what they negotiate and fight for.



Olivier DONNET

## ROUND TABLE 10

### The Voice of Civil Society

The search for a new social contract



*“Civil society, including economic and social partners such as trade unions, employers’ organisations and the private sector, NGOs and other non-state actors of partner countries, play a vital role as promoters of democracy, social justice and human rights.”*

EUROPEAN CONSENSUS  
ON DEVELOPMENT, 2005

- **Olivier DONNET**, SEPIA, Moderator
- **Denise AUCLAIR**, responsible for EU development policy with CIDSE (Coopération Internationale pour le Développement et la Solidarité)
- **Susana FLORIO**, European Economic and Social Committee, ACP-EU Committee
- **Isabelle HOFERLIN**, International Trade Union Confederation
- **Gérard KARLSHAUSEN**, CONCORD
- **Dr Ibrahim KHADAR**, ACP-EU Technical Centre for Agricultural and Rural Co-operation
- **Hon. Patrizia SENTINELLI**, Deputy Minister for Development, Italy
- **Ahmed SOW**, Director, Centre for Development and Enterprise (CDE)

## Introduction

During the 1990s, the participatory approach to development was widely embraced. This, combined with the new democratisation wave, increasingly created space for a diversity of non-state actors (NSAs) to contribute to development and governance reforms. This opening of co-operation to NSAs holds great potential in terms of fostering democracy and good governance, as well as fighting poverty, promoting growth and delivering social services.

International donor agencies have sought to integrate civil society actors into the co-operation processes. The Cotonou Partnership Agreement, for instance, recognises that participation is a “fundamental principle” of co-operation. In a growing number of countries, donors provide support to the emergence or consolidation of a strong and viable civil society. The principle of participatory development is not limited to national level policy processes, but is increasingly applied at local, regional, pan-African and global levels of ACP-EC co-operation.

## Main issues and challenge ahead

Poverty reduction strategy papers, budgetary support, the Millennium Development Goals and, in the framework of ACP-EU co-operation, the Cotonou Partnership Agreement, have opened new dialogue fora where governments and civil society actors are called upon to interact with official foreign development agencies in formulating, implementing and monitoring economic, political and social policies.





Denise AUCLAIR



Susana FLORIO



### Adopting participatory development approaches

It is now widely recognised that NSAs have a key role to play in governance processes. As watchdogs, NSAs can push for more transparency and accountability; NSAs can also inform and raise civic awareness, thereby fostering citizenship and providing incentives for a more participatory management of public affairs. By so doing, NSAs can influence the setting of the political agenda. Their representative nature and proximity to the local level can also contribute to enhanced legitimacy of the government and its decisions. The same applies to international conventions or development programmes, as the participation of NSAs tends to ensure better impact and follow-up opportunities. Also, NSAs can provide the necessary institutional basis for service delivery when questions of effectiveness and responsiveness of the state or donors arise.

The international community has gradually sought to adopt participatory development approaches. Progress has been achieved in clarifying the policy framework for engaging with civil society. Attempts have been made to reach out to NSAs for participation in public policy dialogue processes. Innovative civil society support programmes are being launched in several African countries.

### Encouraging learning and institutional change

These are promising steps forward, yet there is still a way to go before civil society participation is properly mainstreamed in the co-operation with Africa in an effective and sustainable way. To this end, a number of challenges need to be addressed. First, learning and institutional change is to be encouraged. The relative novelty of participatory approaches puts a premium on learning for all actors involved in development and governance processes. This is a precondition for a qualitative evolution of partnerships with civil society. It is also essential for developing a culture of participation and for implementing the necessary institutional changes that go with such an approach to co-operation, such as working methods, instruments and procedures.

Second, further progress is required in moving beyond instrumental approaches to participation and towards adopting a societal transformation perspective when engaging with civil society. Clarity of purpose is essential in dealing with civil society. Official parties and NSAs should clearly know why they want to work with each other.

### Defining governance priorities

Third, experience suggests the importance of applying principles of good governance when dealing with civil society. This means ensuring the full participation of civil society in setting the governance agenda in a given country. Defining governance priorities is too important a battle to be left to the central government agencies alone. Recent research has clearly demonstrated that in the South, civil society views on governance do not necessarily coincide with government positions. Adopting a governance approach to civil society also implies recognising the legitimate roles to be played by central and local governments. This challenge is particularly visible at local level, where instead of promoting collaboration donor funding may exacerbate competition between civil society organisations and elected local governments.



Isabelle HOFERLIN



Gérard KARLSHAUSEN



### Governance of NSAs key to credibility

Fourth, as civil society moves to the forefront, there is a need to ensure good governance of the NSAs themselves. The credibility of NSAs as stakeholders in promoting governance depends on the perception that they uphold the values they claim to represent. To demonstrate their ability and reliability, it is important for NSAs to apply good governance principles within their own organisations. This means ensuring their legitimacy, in-house democracy and commitment to principles of transparent management.

### Part of mainstream processes

Fifth, civil society support programmes should not be delivered in a vacuum, as stand alone activities, isolated from mainstream development processes. Experience suggests that the effectiveness and sustainability of civil society support programmes largely depend on a proper articulation with national reform processes, such as decentralisation, good governance and public sector reform; with the activities of key institutions, such as sector ministries; or with other donor initiatives.

Sixth, the role of civil society in new aid delivery mechanisms should be clarified. While the alignment and harmonisation challenges embedded in the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness (March 2005) may help to increase country ownership, there is a danger of re-centralising decision-making on key policy choices. Participation of civil society should be ensured at all stages of the policy process. In a similar vein, there is a need to clarify the place and role of NSAs in partnerships based on the provision of budget support.

## Governance and participation

Round table participants discussed a number of key concepts, such as “governance” and “participation” and answered a series of questions linked to the definition of the concept of civil society, as well as the role of NSAs in the implementation of public policy. They discussed a definition of civil society and the role of the private sector as a factor in wealth creation.

They emphasised the need to reinforce the capacities of civil society in the South, encouraging greater involvement in the negotiation of development policies and the importance of fostering a deeper exchange between the civil societies of North and South. Speakers also discussed problems associated with the exploitation of civil society, for example using it to give the illusion of participation, which hinders good governance.

The theme of governance was one of the most critical issues and the subject of considerable discussion. The speakers presented their different visions of governance. According to the World Bank, for example, governance is a challenge that can help civil society organisations participate effectively in the elaboration of policies; at the same time, donors adopt a much more technical approach when developing governance criteria. One of the participants deplored the fact that the EU works essentially with partner governments, and the involvement of civil society is often limited to a consulting role, when in fact it should have a supervisory function.



Dr Ibrahim KHADAR



Hon. Patrizia SENTINELLI



Ahmed SOW

### Recommendations

Recommendations were made on decentralisation of EU Delegations. Participants recommended, among other things, reinforcing the capacity of Delegations to enable them to implement projects more effectively.

The issue of the Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) was tabled as one of the preoccupations of NSAs, an issue on which they have had little opportunity to express their concerns. The public has been very responsive, a fact that indicates some interest in the issue. Reactions have been productive in terms of both contributions and criticisms. The contributions revolve around the idea of establishing a negotiating platform bringing together the various actors from civil society.



## ROUND TABLE 11

# Migration and Governance

Moving beyond the security obsession



Colin MANCHIP



*“(We must be) conscious that the management of migratory flows cannot be achieved through control measures only, but also require a concerted action on the root causes of migration, in particular through the implementation of development projects in Africa.”*

EURO-AFRICAN PARTNERSHIP  
FOR MIGRATION  
AND DEVELOPMENT,  
RABAT DECLARATION,  
JULY 2006

- **Colin MANCHIP**, Director of Eurasyllum Ltd., Moderator
- **Gibril FAAL**, Founder of RemitAid
- **Jonathan FAULL**, Director General of Justice, Freedom and Security, European Commission
- **Joseph KITICKI KOUAMBA**, Diplomatic Advisor, Presidency of the Central African Republic
- **Ndioro NDIAYE**, Deputy Director General of the International Organisation for Migration
- **Rita SÜSSMUTH**, German member of Parliament, Member of the Global Commission on International Migration (GCIM)
- **Aminata TRAORÉ**, Economist, Sociologist, Essayist, Former Minister of Culture (Mali), Founder of the African Social Forum

## Introduction

Migration is not a new phenomenon. However, its expanding scale in the context of globalisation raises concerns and fears. Particularly from Africa, important migration flows are taking place towards developed economies. Main push factors are poor socio-economic and/or governance conditions in many countries. Migration takes many forms, including a continuing brain drain of educated Africans, thus further depriving Africa of the human resource base it needs for development.

The response of developed economies, including Europe, to the new migration patterns has so far tended to be largely based on security imperatives. This, in turn, has led to reinforcing the image of Europe as a fortress. However, awareness is growing that a more comprehensive approach is required to properly address international migration flows.

## Main issues and challenges

International migration is a very complex, multi-faceted issue. Migration is mainly a response to differences that encourage individuals to cross national borders seeking better jobs and higher incomes. Individuals have ever more incentives to cross national borders for economic betterment. Sending countries have begun to recognise the advantages of remittances and Diaspora-led development. Receiving countries have often developed layered policies, welcoming some highly skilled migrants, while erecting higher barriers to unskilled migrants.



Gibril FAAL



Jonathan FAULL



Beyond these economic responses, the EU has been increasingly prioritising a security approach to tackling migration flows, making use of “carrots and sticks”. [See the conclusions of the Councils of Seville (June 2002) and of Thessalonica (June 2003)]. This approach is also visible in ACP-EU co-operation, particularly in Article 13 of the Cotonou Agreement, according to which migration issues are to be “the subject of in-depth dialogue in the framework of the ACP-EU partnership”. Its inclusion is the result of pressing recommendations from some EU Member States that sought to improve the effectiveness of their immigration policies through the use of external relations instruments. The recent EC Communication on governance and related Governance Profile also include the management of migration flows in the list of what governance entails.

Security issues reflect legitimate EU concerns. Yet it is increasingly acknowledged that all parties stand to gain from a more “comprehensive” migration policy, as envisaged in the Amsterdam Treaty. This message came through very forcefully in the recently issued Euro-African Rabat Declaration of July 2006, which called for a strong nexus being established between migration and development. This, in turn, implies adopting a governance approach to tackling migration issues.

### Ensuring coherence

Several governance challenges arise in relation to managing migration flows in a comprehensive and sustainable way. First, there should be a better appreciation and management of the close linkages that exist between international migration and development and other key policy issues, including trade, aid, state security, human security and human rights. This need for coherence should take place at different levels, including the national one. In many states, responsibility for migration is divided between different ministries and coordination is often lacking. Moreover, national policies on migration sometimes lack consistency with international commitments. Coherence is also needed among stakeholders at the regional and global levels, between the EU and Africa or between the European Commission and EU Member States

### Shared responsibility and mutual commitments

Second, managing migration flows requires shared responsibility and mutual commitments. This means that all parties need to respect key governance principles such as fair treatment of immigrants, including respect for human rights.

A shared policy response is also required to properly address the issue of brain drain. African states are called upon to show commitment to creating incentives for migrants to stay at home – so safeguarding human capital for economic development. Donors, in turn, are invited to support the efforts of states to formulate and implement national migration policies through the contribution of resources, appropriate expertise and training.

### Ongoing dialogue

Third, regular dialogue is a key tool to ensuring a governance approach to managing migration flows. Yet, the systematic use of an inclusive and participatory approach remains a challenge. Such a dialogue may help to share good practices, establish mutually beneficial partnerships and contribute to the elaboration of common agendas.





### Developing a longer-term approach

A fourth governance challenge is to develop a longer-term approach to migration. This means translating the proposed partnership approach to migration into effective action. This promises to be a difficult exercise. Fifty years of development co-operation clearly demonstrate that reducing the structural inequalities that promote migration is a complex task that will not be completed quickly.

Proposals have been made for establishing a World Migration Organization with a view to defining rules and imposing norms on migration. However, it is doubtful that many national governments would give up the authority to determine who enters and stays inside their borders to regional or global organisations. In 2004, the UN launched a Global Commission on Migration as a framework to promote more orderly and legal migration.

The UN Commission may be able to help developing countries to think through the hard choices they face in developing the economic policies needed to promote stay-at-home development. It may promote policies aimed at reducing migration pressures indirectly, for example by proposing ways to increase the volume and investment impacts of remittances from the migration that is occurring.

Recent changes in EU policies towards Africa, as reflected in the new EU-Africa Strategy, harbour potential to develop a more comprehensive and long-term approach to migration. The challenge for both parties will be to engage in a balanced dialogue and to properly integrate migration into the overall partnership.

### Migration for development

The round table sparked an interesting and lively debate. The discussions were timely following in the wake of the migration and development discussions at the Rabat conference and the UN Higher Level Dialogue in New York. The event also preceded the Africa and EU Ministerial Conference on Migration held the following week in Tripoli. Two clear messages came out of the round table discussions:

- Migration is not just an issue of control: migration should also work for development.
- Migration policies should not stand in the way of mobility. Among other important issues raised were racism, policy coherence and human rights.

Everyone agreed that migration is neither a new phenomena nor purely a security matter. “Migration is as old as the ice age. It is crucial to all development programmes ... it is also not a problem which can be solved by one country alone, we need regional and international co-operation”.

This view was echoed throughout the session. The audience also heard of the importance of the three classical elements that need to be addressed to make migration work for development: migrant remittances, Diaspora engagement and brain drain.



### **Migrant remittances**

Participants heard a presentation on the importance of making remittances conducive to development. They were told that money sent home by migrants abroad often represents four or five times the amount of Overseas Development Aid (ODA) that poor countries receive. In fact, in Ghana and Senegal remittances apparently account for 40% to 60% of household incomes. Unlike profits from most foreign investments, money from remittances goes into developing countries and stays there. Remittances also have the tendency to grow through good and bad times.

Why do remittances not benefit from tax relief as development money does? Participants discussed an interesting concept, whereby money taxed from remittances would be pooled to help those desperate families who make up the new poor: those who receive no remittances.

### **Diaspora engagement**

Despite the considerable amount of money they send home, there is little government dialogue with remitters. This raises the importance emphasised by participants in creating EU and African policies that actively engage the Diaspora in helping to develop their countries of origin. This involves not only the transfer of resources, but also of skills. However, members of the Diaspora who want to help often face difficulties obtaining visas to allow them to return to their host countries afterwards. Pioneering work carried out by Belgium was cited, in which Diaspora members helped rebuild the Great Lakes Region. It was also pointed out that governments cannot be relied on to make all the progress: the Diaspora also must do more to organise themselves.

### **Brain drain**

Brain drain remains a major obstacle to the further development of Africa's economies and social delivery systems. It was cited that one in five doctors leave Africa each year. Why? Because it is not enough for doctors to earn US\$ 200 a month after seven years of study. Issues of brain drain need to be addressed through radical improvements in working conditions and environments in the countries concerned, including through better governance.

However, developed countries also have a responsibility to put in place ethical recruitment policies. The EU has made a commitment to address this issue, particularly in the healthcare sector. The European Commission has tabled proposals to tackle the shortages of healthcare workers in Africa, which involve disciplining EU recruitment.

### **Migration and mobility**

The issues surrounding mobility, including employment opportunities, legal migration and visa requirements provoked some heated exchanges. Well-managed labour migration is a key driver for economic growth, therefore mobility within Africa and between Africa and the EU is essential for the development process. The urgent need to create employment opportunities was highlighted. This is particularly urgent for African youth. Another issue to address is the unfairness of policies concerning free circulation of goods in the absence of similar agreements for labour.



Rita SÜSSMUTH



Aminata TRAORÉ

A member of the audience from a Dakar-based NGO described how a colleague had been invited to speak at a conference in the EU but had been unable to obtain a visa. This led to several personal accounts from round table participants highlighting similar experiences, including lengthy hold ups at EU border controls. Why there is such a negative attitude in the EU to issuing visas to students, businessmen and scientists? The answer is that there is no fundamental right to mobility. We live with states, with papers and with frontiers.

An EU policy should cover both legal and illegal migration. However, slower progress has been made on legal migration, partly because this remains a Member State competency. The new Commission Communication on the Global Approach, due to be presented in the following weeks, is an attempt to redress the balance and to tackle the root causes. However, the Commission Director-General stated, “laws must also be enforced, countries have the right to maintain borders and irregular migrants should be returned home, in full respect for human rights”. He indicated that the EU is making funding available for this combined approach.

African countries need to “stand up and talk about these issues”, but that there is a lack of technical capacity. The EU should help Africa enhance its capacities so that it can become an equal partner. One of the International Organization for Migration’s proposals is that migration should be built into the curriculum at universities in Africa. In this respect, Africans will gain the essential knowledge to devise their own migration policies.

### Why focus on Africa?

In 2006 the EU's migration agenda has focused heavily on Africa. The example of Spain was cited, where the majority of migrants come from Eastern Europe and Latin America, not from Africa. Consequently, why is the focus on Africa? The EU was accused of racism. Referring to the EU's separate policies on North and Sub-Saharan Africa, the question was posed: “If the EU is not racist, then why distinguish between black and white Africa?”

One reason the EU's focus could be on its African neighbour is because large numbers travel to the EU, often in tragic circumstances. Hundreds die on route and others are exploited by criminal gangs. There was denial of an anti-black policy. The focus is on Africa over the last year because there have been “real problems” in the Mediterranean. But there have been other crises before, concerning white migrants, for example, in the Balkans.

EU trade, agriculture and fisheries policies all impact on migration. Another strong message delivered was the need to give Africa the means to develop itself. Migration is the sign of the failure of development, it was suggested, and EU trade policies are to blame: “Africa has opened its economy to world trade yet it is still unable to live from agriculture or have enough food or water.”



### **Human rights are fundamental**

A member of the audience reminded everyone of the importance of considering human rights issues, given that in some situations migrants' rights are ignored. The Global Commission on International Migration, for example, makes human rights the starting point for its work. The organisation takes a more progressive approach than EU Member States, which sometimes "forget" the migrants themselves.

It was proposed that the starting point be changed from how to prevent migrants from coming, to what contribution they can make. Migrants, especially women, are the active drivers of development.

It was agreed that human rights are fundamental: "We should not talk about good governance without talking about the participation of migrants."





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GOVERNANCE FORUM

PRESIDENTIAL PLENARY SESSION

CHALLENGES OF GOVERNANCE

INTRODUCTION BY LOUIS MICHEL

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BONI YAYI, PRESIDENT OF BENIN

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FESTUS MOGAE, PRESIDENT OF BOTSWANA

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BLAISE COMPAORÉ, PRESIDENT OF BURKINA FASO

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PIERRE NKURUNZIZA, PRESIDENT OF BURUNDI

---

FRANÇOIS BOZIZÉ, PRESIDENT OF CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

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MELES ZENAWI, PRIME MINISTER OF ETHIOPIA

---

ISATOU NJIE-SAIDY, VICE-PRESIDENT OF GAMBIA

---

MARC RAVALOMANANA, PRESIDENT OF MADAGASCAR

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AMADOU TOUMANI TOURÉ, PRESIDENT OF MALI

---

ELY OULD MOHAMMED VALL, PRESIDENT OF MAURITANIA

---

NAVinchandra RAMGOOLAM, PRIME MINISTER OF MAURITIUS

---

MAMADOU TANDJA, PRESIDENT OF NIGER

---

PAUL KAGAMÉ, PRESIDENT OF RWANDA

---

ALHAJI AHMAD TEJAN KABBAH, PRESIDENT OF SIERRA LEONE

---

ABSALOM THEMBA DLAMINI, PRIME MINISTER OF SWAZILAND

---

YOWERI KAGUTA MUSEVENI, PRESIDENT OF UGANDA

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Speech introducing  
the Heads of State  
and Government

Ladies and Gentlemen Heads of State,  
Ladies and Gentlemen Ministers,  
Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen Ambassadors,  
Representatives of International institutions,  
Representatives of Civil Society,

I would like to express, to all of you – speakers, participants, exhibitors and organisers – my deepest gratitude for the success of these first European Development Days.

I would like to thank all the distinguished figures who have helped give form and exceptional quality to these three days.

In particular, I would like to greet the many African Heads of State who honour us with their presence in Brussels. I greet Monseigneur Desmond Tutu, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize. All these distinguished participants are, in a way, the soul and conscience of these Development Days.

These first European Development Days have permitted us to approach together themes that are at the very heart of the problems of development.

Governance, of course, has been the common thread of these three days, and I must say that the remarkable quality of this morning's Forum was very encouraging. This central theme has been spelled out from many angles, such as rehabilitation of state authority, management of natural resources, consolidation of social rights, vulnerable populations, the coherence and effectiveness of aid, culture and democracy, the fight against corruption, migration, as well as the role of the media and civil society. All these questions have been the subject of stimulating round table discussions that have allowed clashes of opinion and permitted the evolution of our common understanding of the issues at stake in governance.

In addition, parallel events have permitted the presentation and illumination of certain initiatives.

Lastly, and in my view not least important, the numerous cultural events that have accompanied these Days have permitted a real and more intimate encounter between Europe and Africa. These parallel cultural events bear witness to Africa's remarkable creative power.

In the course of these three days, we have presented an Africa that is active and evolving. An Africa of hope and growing opportunity. An Africa that is a source of inspiration and life. I think we have to break with the disheartening and negative habit of pessimism.



Dear friends, before announcing the distinguished and exceptional speakers that we are going to hear, I can also, already, draw an initial conclusion. It is that development in Africa must be planned, conceived, and implemented by Africans themselves if they are to exercise the inalienable right that they certainly have to trace the contours of their own destiny, without suggestions, impositions or instructions from donors. I want to say this because, sometimes, we have harboured ambivalent sentiments on this question.

The objective of these Development Days, to be precise, has been to bring about a meeting, a confrontation, between the realities, the diverse truths of donors and recipients, but in a context of partnership, as mutually respectful partners, and so I want to emphasize that the real and profound meaning of these Development Days is a break with the past. If Africans have a responsibility to take their destiny into their own hands, we, the international community, the community of donors, also have an overwhelming responsibility. It is to be a little less habitual, offer less advice and fewer moral lessons or suggestions, and be a bit more restrained in our interference. All this is the message that is already evident in the conclusion of these European Development Days.

I would like to tell you how proud and happy I have been to be able to welcome so many distinguished personalities, so many people committed to development. I am talking of course about all those who represent institutions, but I am also talking about the representatives of civil society who, with their indispensable irreverence, have brought additional value without which these Development Days would not have had their qualitative scope and dimension.

I wanted to give you these initial conclusions, to tell you how happy and proud we are, to thank you very sincerely for your presence and to say that we are now going to ask each of the personalities present to talk to us of their experience of governance, to trace the contours of their own understanding of governance. I hope, and I am sure, that this will add a dimension to our discussions that is truly useful, interesting and positive.

Thank you.



## Challenges in a “haven of peace”

Summary speech

President Boni Yayi cited the central theme of the challenge of governance as being the challenge also for African nations in their quest for prosperity in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

He described the route to political stability taken by Benin since 1990, drawing on the country’s creative resources to bring about a historic convergence of the nation’s life forces. This resulted in a peaceful transition from a one-party to a multi-party system, heralding a new era of democratic renaissance that has seen three bloodless political changes at the head of government in 16 years. He expressed particular thanks for this stability to former president Nicéphore Dieudonné Soglo.

The last presidential elections in March 2006 demonstrated a strong popular commitment to the social programme, and desire for a “change of mentality to encourage quality governance and fight resolutely against hunger and poverty”.

In the economic sphere, bad governance and the absence of committed leadership or enlightened vision were the causes of a fall of more than 50% in economic growth between 1995 and 2005. It is now time, he said, for a vision that corresponds to the popular desire for change.

Boni Yayi described the measures necessary for the consolidation of the young Benin democracy: a democratic culture, free speech and modernised public administration.

“We are committed to reaching, in the next 10 years, a double-figure economic growth rate,” he said, predicting a four-fold increase in personal income. Investment and the elimination of corruption are essential to achieving this.

Among other challenges Benin faces are the modernisation of water supply and the encouragement of investment through promotion of the private sector. At a social level, education is another major challenge for the country. Health, sanitation, and the care of women, children and senior citizens, are also priorities.

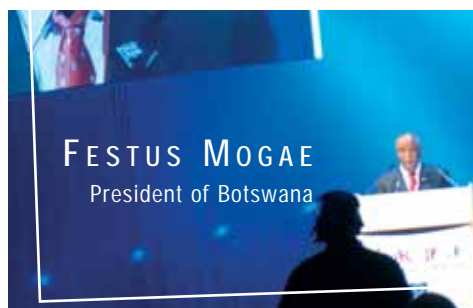
To demonstrate their determination to be a “role model for our people”, every government member, including himself, has made “a formal declaration of wealth”.

A European Commission profile of governance in Benin in 2005 and 2006 concluded that Benin is a “haven of peace and stability”. The President added that more progress is expected in the fight against corruption and child trafficking. He also stressed the importance of secure frontiers, praising neighbouring countries for their efforts to assure peace in the sub-region.

These challenges have been “a shock for our people”, he added. It will take time to rise to them. At EU level he envisioned “an appropriate alert system” able to implement the financing of the attitude changes essential to these challenges. He proposed a high-level meeting to evaluate current negotiations before they come into force, adding that NEPAD was particularly deserving of European financial support.

In conclusion, he reminded participants: “It is not the impossible that brings despair, but the possible unattained.”





**“We need  
the co-operation  
of all”**

Festus Mogae focused on the importance of Botswana’s natural wealth and the need to control the profits generated from it. The President described the importance of diamonds in Botswana’s economy, which account for roughly 37.5% of GDP, 75% of export earnings and 50% of government revenue. He explained how the resources were used develop schools and health facilities, improve the infrastructure of the country, and support the costs associated with the HIV/AIDs epidemic.

**Summary speech**

The President acknowledged: “I am aware that in part of our continent, proceeds from natural resources were used to finance civil wars and sectarian interest with untold human suffering and abuse of human rights. In more recent times, the misuse has been reduced.” He reminded the audience that Botswana subscribes to the principles of the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative and is a committed member of the Kimberly Process Certification Scheme, both of which aim at ensuring that revenues from natural resources are accounted for.

“I fully recognise that the Kimberly Process needs constant vigilance and adaptation to ensure no conflict diamonds ever enter the supply chain and contaminate clean diamonds such as those of Botswana,” the President said. “For this to succeed, we need the co-operation of all, including the consumer market, where diamonds end up.”

He placed partial responsibility with the West and argued: “It is not enough to concentrate all our efforts just in the producer counties. People who benefit from proceeds of conflict diamonds are also party to the violation of human rights.”

The President noted that in terms of development aid, it is important to take into consideration other factors than the level per capita of income. He argued that countries such as Botswana, which are highly dependent on finite natural resources, remain highly fragile states until sustainable economic diversification takes place, even though they may have an apparently high per capita income.

“It is deeply unwise to abruptly cut off development assistance to countries that have reached a certain level of per capita income without considering other important indicators of development and social progress,” he said.

“Governance is all-embracing and it is not a menu from which to pick and choose,” Festus Mogae commented. “All elements must be underpinned by various and broad-based citizen participation, transparency, fairness, the rule of law and above all, accountability.”

He agreed with the need for coordination between donors to avoid the imposition of conflicting conditionality on a recipient country, but cautioned: “I hope that such co-ordination will not be used to isolate and ostracise a recipient who has had the temerity and audacity to disagree with their donor. Do encourage and inspire us to practice good governance. But, for goodness sake, do not use your wealth and power and our poverty to try to create us in your image.”



## A republic built on tradition and modernisation

Summary speech

President Blaise Compaoré described the present state of governance in Burkina Faso, which he said reveals important experience not only in political, economic and administrative spheres, but also in decentralisation. He began with the political sphere, where his country has been, “resolutely committed since 1991 to building a state based on democratic law, respectful of freedom, fundamental human rights, founded on values of political pluralism and responsible management of public resources”.

The result is the Constitution of the Fourth Republic, permitting the establishment of republican institutions with a stability unprecedented in the nation’s history, three consecutive presidential elections and three legislative ballots. The National Assembly provides governmental balance, while, judicial reform assures an independent and effective justice system. Other vital new institutions, like the Faso Mediator, contribute to peace, freedom and good governance.

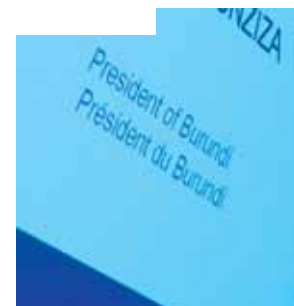
Turning to economic governance, the President described Burkina Prospective 2025, a national study offering a vision of the country’s economic future, while the 2000 Framework Strategy for fighting poverty remains pivotal for managing the economy. “Our programme of construction of economic and social infrastructures consolidates and enlarges business opportunities,” he said, referring to a new code encouraging foreign investment in Burkina. “This is accompanied by prudent and rigorous political administration based partly on mobilisation of resources and partly on spending and debt control.”

At administrative level, an ambitious programme of state reform and modernisation began in 1998, aimed at transforming the state into a capable and effective actor. The President turned to local governance: “Decentralisation took a decisive leap with municipal elections in April 2006 towards establishing democracy at the grassroots of society. Traditional powers, religious communities and civil society constitute a potent force for democracy, contributing to a peaceful social climate valued nationwide and preserved through dialogue, co-operation and reconciliation throughout society,” he said.

Blaise Compaoré described the numerous constraints on governance in his country. In addition to very young institutions and weak communication infrastructures, Burkina Faso faces grave socio-cultural challenges such as illiteracy and poverty. The government hopes to overcome these constraints by 2015 by promoting human rights, improving dialogue, and involving women in public action.

“In a global world, good governance cannot be confined to national action. We are participating in regional and international initiatives designed to promote good governance,” he said. These include adoption of UEMOA criteria, CEDEAO models of governance, and NEPAD’s African method of peer evaluation, as well as hosting the Seventh African Forum on governance in July 2007. This global co-operation also includes working with international organisations, banks, the EU and the IMF, and particularly initiatives supporting African cotton producers.

The President concluded with his, “ardent wish for the conclusion of Economic Partnership Agreements that would create the conditions for lasting and shared human development.”



## A shared journey from suffering to national reconciliation

Summary speech

President Pierre Nkurunziza began with a reminder that the “essential pillars” of Afro-European co-operation are “good governance, democracy and respect for human rights.” After a troubled past, “Burundi has learned lessons from its history and is convinced that dialogue and co-operation are the only paths to democracy, reconciliation and lasting peace,” he said.

“For the very first time in its history,” declared the President, “Burundi has experienced a year of democratically elected institutions.” This results from free and transparent elections that were praised worldwide and a new defence and security force now considered a role model for a successful African initiative.

Pierre Nkurunziza described the new Ministry for Good Governance, whose mission includes promoting transparency, fighting corruption, and creating laws and controls that correspond to current realities. “Justice is a need to which human beings have aspired since the world began,” he said. The upheavals experienced since 1993 resulted in massive levels of crime committed with “notorious impunity”, creating a formidable challenge for the justice system. With peace now reigning, measures are underway to rise to that challenge, including access to justice for the most vulnerable, improved judicial structures, and revised legislation.

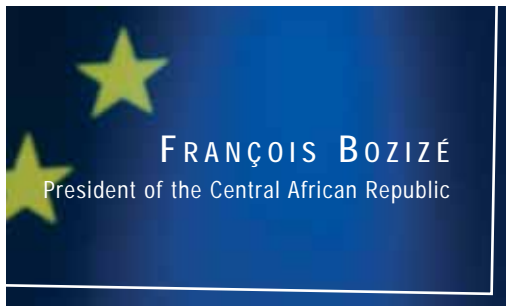
“In the sphere of human rights, despite all efforts and some progress, the situation is not yet completely purged of the bad practices associated with war and the election,” he said. Defending human rights must therefore, by necessity, be a long job, and the government is currently negotiating with the UN to create a Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

The President said the World Bank is working on a three-year scheme to fight poverty, based on the opinions and reflections of every layer of Burundi’s population. “In the same spirit of consensus, the government is preparing a study of Burundi 2025 where the entire population will have the chance to express their views on the country’s future projects,” said the President. Opinions will also be sought from neighbouring countries and the EU – further proof of Burundi’s commitment to transparency.

Pierre Nkurunziza stressed the importance of regional integration, reiterating Burundi’s request for EU support in the daunting post-conflict task of reconstruction and economic revival. He also reaffirmed his country’s commitment to directing development efforts towards the achievement of the MDGs.

Burundi has started the process for ratifying the revised Cotonou Agreement, a vital step towards ACP-EU co-operation. The President commended the EU’s prioritisation of financial support as a principal aid instrument. “However, we cannot remain silent on the pressing question of Economic Partnership Agreements currently being negotiated between the EU and ACP States. EPAs are vital to the eradication of poverty and integration into the world economy,” he added.

Pierre Nkurunziza concluded with hope of continued EU support for his country’s difficult but determined passage from suffering to national reconciliation.



## Friendship and co-operation in the transition to peace

Summary speech

François Bozizé spoke about co-operation between Africa and the European Union, “co-operation marked often by friendships, and even complicity, but also by questioning when the circumstances demand - and that also is friendship”, he said.”

He illustrated this by relating how the Central African Republic (CAR) was subject to the procedure of Article 96 of the Cotonou Agreement, following the takeover of 15<sup>th</sup> March 2003 which led to a change of regime. (Article 96 provides the legal basis for the suspension of co-operation in cases where one of the parties feels the agreement’s essential elements – the respect for human rights, democratic principle and the rule of law – are not being respected.)

“It was altogether appropriate that we submit to this procedure, at the end of which our action was, quite justifiably, well understood,” he said.

The President expressed thanks to the European Commission, the European Council and the ACP states for showing understanding towards the CAR. “Since that time we have worked to make the transition a transparent framework for the management of public affairs. A diversity of social and political attitudes was represented during this transitional period, contrary to what might have been,” he said.

The result was the organisation, in quick succession and in a context of solidarity, of the constitutional referendum, widely approved, and general elections held in an exemplary manner according to the international community. The President expressed once again his country’s gratitude to the EU for “the valuable co-operation” it has thus brought to the return of constitutional legality in the CAR.

“In the past 17 months, we have fully regained our place in the community of nations,” the President commented. “It is all the more essential that co-operation with the EU increases in domains judged as priorities such as education, health, agriculture and the opening up of the country.” The scope of this co-operation now extends to security domains, as seen in EU and African Union action within the EU-funded African Peace Facility and the multinational force in Central Africa.

The President described how his country has faced 15 days of aggression characterised by the violation of its territorial integrity and by the occupation of several towns situated in the north-east by a band of unidentified assailants seeking to impose an external rebellion. He took advantage of this opportunity to ask the European Union, a long-time ally, to help implement UN Resolution 1706 relating to the positioning of UN forces on the borders of the CAR, Sudan and Chad, as was done with the 11<sup>th</sup> Francophone Summit resolution in Bucharest.

François Bozizé concluded by calling for continued co-operation between the Central African Republic and the European Union and praising international solidarity.



## The march towards democracy

Summary speech

Ethiopian Prime Minister Meles Zenawi believes that achieving democracy is vital to his country's economic, political and economic development. In addition to being central to Ethiopia's economic development, he holds that democracy is the only means of bringing stability to the ethnically diverse mix that makes up the country.

"All past attempts to manage the ethnic, religious and political diversity in our country by undemocratic means have not only failed miserably, but have also lead our democracy to the brink of total disintegration," he said. "Democracy is the only way of accommodating, indeed embracing, the very high level of diversity and hence the only means of avoiding chaos and disintegration in our country."

The Prime Minister admitted that the process would be "difficult and protracted", but he remained positive that Ethiopia would eventually achieve true democracy. Part of the problem, he conceded, is the need to change the mentality of the Ethiopian people, a process that must run side-by-side with the establishment of democratic institutions.

He called for European support and advice during the process and appealed to leaders of the European Commission: "We want and need your partnership because we know that over a period of centuries you have developed a remarkable culture of democracy, tolerance and respect for the rule of law from which we believe we can learn a lot."

Meles Zenawi described how previous attempts to achieve democracy in Ethiopia had failed because they were enforced by European powers, as opposed to a genuine desire for democracy coming from the Ethiopian people. He argued that: "There have been times when people in Africa have felt that the issue of democratisation and good governance is just another layer of aid conditionally designed to justify lack of will to provide adequate development assistance."

However, he went on to explain that Ethiopia has now reached a stage of political development where it genuinely desires democracy as opposed to simply submitting to a European imposition of the process.

The Prime Minister emphasised that democracy in Ethiopia must come, as it currently does, from a genuine desire of Ethiopian people for democracy as opposed to financial inducement or political pressure from an external power. This is important both from a practical and an ideological standpoint, he argued.

"Democracy that is imposed from outside through pressure or financial inducement implies that the government that has been so democratised is ultimately accountable to the external source of change. Accountability to external forces rather than citizens would be contrary to the central tenets of democracy," Meles Zenawi concluded.





## Reforms on the road to governance

Summary speech

Gambia can only develop once it achieves good governance, which Vice-President Isatou Njie-Saidy described as, “the complex mechanisms, processes and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, mediate their differences and exercise their legal rights and obligations”.

The Vice-President told participants: “There is no question that Africa needs more improved political and economic governance. The areas of the judiciary and freedom of expression are particularly challenged. But these must be tackled within the framework of a rules-based culture. Rights must be balanced with duties and responsibilities.”

To achieve this, the government has implemented a series of reforms destined to improve the way Gambia is governed and to create a secure and sustainable environment to encourage external investment. As part of this effort, the country has set up the National Governance Programme to encourage a more effective and democratic government rule in Gambia.

The programme trains and improves the capacity of elected local government officials, National Assembly members and the judiciary. New local government legislation has also been established to encourage efficiency by distributing resources between the central and local governments. National assembly staff is also currently undergoing a sustained training effort in budget analysis, parliamentary and other related procedures.

As well as improving government efficiency, the initiative aims to politicise the general population. To this end, the programme has initiated a wide-scale improvement of civic education to strengthen community empowerment. Attempts have also been made to create a greater awareness among the general public of their civil rights and to improve their access to justice. A Civic Education Task Force has been established to give advice on the execution of the various education and training programmes.

Among efforts to improve the governing of the country and education of the population initiatives include improving the electoral and judicial systems. To this end the National Council for Civic Education and the Independent Electoral Commission have been set up to improve voter education and encourage transparent and peaceful elections. This has been accompanied by a general revision of business-related laws, the revising and adoption of the High and Magistrate Courts Rules, and the setting up of an alternative dispute resolution mechanism.

Isatou Njie-Saidy said the country is hoping to create a more attractive investment environment by establishing commercial courts and industrial tribunals. But to achieve this, Gambia must acquire the requisite skills, technology and capital.

She asked: “The questions is, are Africans up and ready for the task and are the technologically advanced nations willing to transfer these skills or know-how to Africa to bridge this divide?”



## A “Marshall Plan” for Madagascar

Summary speech

President Marc Ravalomanana introduced the Madagascar Action Plan (MAP), a bold, five-year initiative to help the country make a quantum leap in its development. MAP, developed by the people in the country’s 22 regions, outlines the nation’s commitment to the specific actions, values and principles needed to drive such development. “The MAP is a kind of Marshall Plan for Madagascar,” he said.

The government of Madagascar is committed not only to good governance, but also to “responsible governance”, the President told conference participants. Good governance principles tell us to maintain a clean government, but to succeed, more must be done.

“Responsible governance is about values, integrity, professionalism, commitment and results,” he said. “I am committed to results, big results. In Madagascar and in all of Africa, we need big results. There is too much poverty, too much waste of resources, too much corruption, too much apathy – and not enough commitment, action and results.”

The government has set up the Conseil supérieur de lutte contre la corruption and Bureau indépendant anti-corruption, an independent agency for the investigation of corruption cases. Those measures, as well as others, have allowed Madagascar to make progress in the index of Transparency International, from 1.9 in 2002 to 3.1. The President is aiming to be 5 or 6 on the list within five years. “Concerning corruption, we will fight it and we will win.”

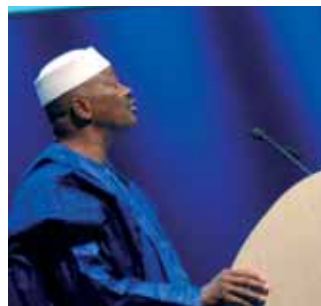
Ravalomanana said MAP is committed to judicial reform. In an effort to reform the prison system, he has established the Presidential Task Force on Prison Reform to ensure that human rights are fully respected. Responsible governance of the environment and natural resources is critical; in just three years, Madagascar’s protected areas have been increased by more than 2 million hectares.

“We are committed to responsible administrative governance that makes a real difference in providing services to the people,” he said. “Decentralisation is at the heart of this reform.”

MAP is also committed to help the very poor and very vulnerable, including the fight against the exploitation of children and providing vulnerable groups with access to basic social services.

The President said he is committed to responsible partnership with donors and the international community to make MAP a reality. “MAP is about bold and big goals that focus the energy and aspirations of everyone. Some people and some donors have criticized me for being too ambitious. But we have to be ambitious if we are to get out of the mess we are currently in.”

The President called on the EU to work more closely with Madagascar to achieve MAP and on his fellow African leaders to transform the African partnership: “We want to learn from the successes of the European Union. Let us intensify our dialogue and strengthen our co-operation.”



## A 13<sup>th</sup> century charter for a 21<sup>st</sup> century democracy?

President Amadou Toumani Touré began by evoking the history of the Malian empire, describing the 13<sup>th</sup> century Charter of Kouroukan Fougá, which declared, impressively in advance of history, that “the human being is sacred and inviolable”. He praised this document, so ahead of its time in advocating, “the organisation of power (its limits and obligations), the defence of human rights and public freedom, and the protection of professional activities, of individuals and their possessions”.

### Summary speech

He told humorously how the first Emperor of Mali was chosen by drawing lots, a process that was certainly not yet an election, but unquestionably the beginning of political competition.

“The Mali of 1991 claimed to be the heir to that tradition,” he said. The country was shaken by rebellion and bloodshed, quelled only by military action, all of which eventually opened the door to democracy. Free elections followed, and by 2002 Mali saw its first peaceful, democratic change of leadership.

Turning to present-day Mali, President Touré said the theme of his candidacy had been “the development of Mali”, and the current philosophy of power is “to govern together, while respecting our differences”. After four and a half years of this new political experience, parliament continues its role in controlling government action and in all other spheres.

“It is a triumph for democracy that the current legislature is seen by many as the most difficult the government has ever had to face,” he declared. “Consensus does not preclude a wealth of debate, ideas and differences.” Financial aid to political parties was therefore raised this year to more than €1.5 million. Similarly, since 1996 the media has received €2 billion of state funding.

“Decentralisation is the backbone of the democratisation process in Mali, putting the citizen at the heart of decisions and self-development,” the President said. A High Council of local authorities ensures national representation for all Mali’s communes, prefectures and regions. President Touré expressed gratitude for the EU funded support project Appui, which reinforces Mali’s own investment in local authorities.

He outlined Mali’s Programme for Institutional Development (PDI), aimed at modernising administration by adapting it to political evolution, as well as strengthening public services and making them more user oriented.

“The fight against corruption and fraud is one of the barometers of good governance,” Amadou Toumani Touré said, outlining Mali’s control and inspection mechanisms. The most innovative is the post of General Verifier, a totally independent official who, with a diverse team of verifiers, will evaluate public policy and monitor the efficiency, quality, reliability and honesty of state revenues.

President Touré concluded with an overview of Mali’s Decennial Justice Programme for improving the judicial system and Mali’s many other social and educational initiatives whose mission is to establish participative democracy.



## From transparency to democracy – Mauritania’s “glass tower”

Summary speech

President Ely Ould Mohammed Vall described Mauritania’s history of one-party politics since independence, stating his belief in democracy as “the *sine qua non* of good governance”. When a regime takes over an entire state with no political opposition, the result is unrestrained and permanent abuse of power. For this reason, the political systems and measures implemented in Mauritania today have the objective of establishing truly democratic institutions.

The first step has been to adopt a constitution assuring obligatory change of leadership after two five-year mandates and holding political leaders accountable for their policies. The second step is transparency, meaning transitional authorities must be “totally neutral” and not eligible to stand in any election. This is the only way to ensure that votes are truly representative of the will of the people, and not the result of state manipulation.

The President described the measures taken to assure that the current election takes place in an atmosphere of absolute transparency. These measures include non-eligibility for certain high-level posts, legal and media controls, and the establishment of a “national election observatory” elected by, representative of, and independently controlled by civil society.

Another measure is international observation, whereby all international organisations become an observer. Many have already done this, including the EU, the African Union, the Arab League, the CI, the American NDI and the African Parliament.

“As a result, whatever happens in Mauritanian politics happens, in effect, ‘in a glass tower’, assuring the transparency necessary to the democratic process,” he said. “As a result, politicians can no longer hold the country hostage, but can be replaced.”

Ely Ould Mohammed Vall described the plan for a parliament, based on proportional representation and reflecting the country’s entire political spectrum and talked about the importance of an effective justice system.

“The kind of judicial system needed in Mauritania is one that is independent of power and corruption, free from the influence of individuals and interest groups, and feared and respected by society for its integrity,” the President said. “Measures are underway to rejuvenate the justice system, and provide the resources necessary for it to recover its freedom to judge, and its ability to serve the Mauritanian state.”

Another area of action for good governance is within state institutions. He mentioned the need for a rise in salary for all government employees and a system of recruitment by entrance exam based on competence and knowledge. Improvements are also being made in central administration, with the setting up of new authorities, greater powers for the Audit Office, and measures to ensure transparency in government spending.

Finally, in the accounting of revenue in the mining and oil industries, a national commission has been created to ensure transparency, not just vis-à-vis Mauritanian society, but in the eyes of the entire world.



## Graduating to “fully competitive” economies

Summary speech

Navinchandra Ramgoolam welcomed the “multifaceted and holistic approach” advocated by the EU on the nature of governance, as well as the inextricable link between governance, poverty reduction and achievement in the development co-operation agreements that are concluded between the EU and ACP Member States. He pointed out that the political dialogue enshrined in the Cotonou Agreement has contributed to creating good governance.

“It is indeed a shared responsibility to reinforce co-operation in a number of areas related to governance. Enhanced accountability should promote ownership of the process on the basis of shared elements of governance,” he said. “A challenge is to ensure that these shared commitments trickle down to our citizens.”

The Prime Minister pointed out that ever since independence in 1968, Mauritius has systematically nurtured a culture of good governance. “We maintain social cohesion in our plural and diverse country, as well as ensuring its economic well being. Mauritius observes a strict adherence to the principles of democracy, human rights and the rule of law in our judiciary and in an effective parliament.”

He noted that the fight against corruption remains an un-ending battle for all countries. Mauritius has not remained aloof from this fight against the scourge of corruption. The country has improved in the eyes of Transparency International, with a score of 5.1 as opposed to 4.2 in 2005. Mauritius today ranks 42<sup>nd</sup> out of 163 countries on the index.

The Prime Minister described the implementation of a “bold economic reform programme” aimed at achieving an environment conducive to attracting investment, based on transparency and efficiency. To this end, the country is committed to conducting a detailed assessment of the Public Finance Financial Accountability Methodology. “We believe this will improve the environment for doing business and lead to better management of our natural resources,” he said.

Navinchandra Ramgoolam called for a “more participatory framework” for development that would put his country and others in a better position to achieve the Millennium Development Goals, as well as make a significant dent in the pressing issues of global poverty and climate change.

Governance measures cannot be sustained in a vacuum, he warned. International trade and development co-operation are inextricably linked. “As we negotiate Economic Partnership Agreements, we urge our EU partner to understand that tangible and adequate accompanying measures are necessary for a successful implementation of the proposed objectives,” he said.

The Prime Minister emphasised that development should remain the prime focus of the Doha Round and welcomed the increased commitment to aid for trade. “The process of reform is particularly challenging to countries like mine that are exposed to the escalating energy vulnerabilities of being a small island state. In this transition period, we look towards aid for trade as vital to enabling us to graduate from preference-dependent economies to fully competitive ones.”





## International aid – contributing to a “vision that is ours”

President Mamadou Tandja highlighted the importance of this occasion for reflecting on the central theme of governance. This is particularly true for Africa, which, despite decades of independence and international aid, has still not made “the decisive leap” on to the path of development.

“The bleak situation we see today is due to insufficient involvement of Africans themselves in development projects, as well as payment procedures that are too long and complex and often incompatible with the urgency of the problems being addressed,” he said.

### Summary speech

Mamadou Tandja stressed the vital need to build “a new consensus on working methods which integrate the new vision that is ours”. Governance is as much about development in tangible areas such as agriculture and environment, as it is in the more ideological arena of democratic principles, human rights and corruption, where Niger is already firmly committed.

As an exception to this sombre analysis, he cited the infrastructure sector, where growing EU involvement has brought good results and hope of rapid regional integration. But progress otherwise has not lived up to either the dynamism seen at the start of international involvement, or that reflected in the Millennium Development Goals. The President reminded participants that aid alone, “however precious”, is not enough.

“Stringent measures to transform the socio-economic milieu are essential in Africa to reverse the trend towards perpetual poverty,” he said.

He described the Special Programme launched in 2000 centred on the creation of basic infrastructures, and shared with institutions such as the Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa. In five years, more than 5,000 successful infrastructure projects were implemented throughout the country in domains such as health, education, electricity and water supply, and the employment of women.

These initiatives have seen the number of children in school rise to over 50%, a massive fourfold increase in domestic electricity supply, as well as improved water supply and sanitation. The Programme continues today, keeping young people in rural communities by employing them in a “cash for work” scheme, where they work with desertification and the reclamation of uncultivable land.

Over the past two years, drawing on the experiment in the Niger basin, more than 9,000 hectares of arable land have been reclaimed. This has been protected from encroaching sand by dune stabilisation. Replenishment of ground water has created favourable conditions for pastureland and stock farming.

Mamadou Tandja concluded by reaffirming his belief that, “the reform of aid itself, as much as its methods and implementation processes, is an absolute necessity”. African people need to take charge of their development programmes if they are to escape from the “vicious circle of underdevelopment”. He called on Africans to be first and foremost self-reliant and to see aid as no more than a contribution to a future society that is of their own making.



## Good governance comes from within

Summary speech

Paul Kagamé, President of Rwanda, told participants that, “governance takes different forms and practices even though the main principles remain the same”. This is because every country has its own historical and other contexts that have shaped its governance systems. The lesson from this is that the general principles should not be confused with the context and practices of good governance.

He expanded on this point and went on to explain that the definition of good governance is more often decided by the Western world, which becomes problematic when these definitions become powerful instruments over determining which country will receive development assistance and under what conditions. He argued that all hope is not lost: “The shift in the development discourse confirms that good governance can only come from within, with the partners from the outside encouraging home-grown processes.”

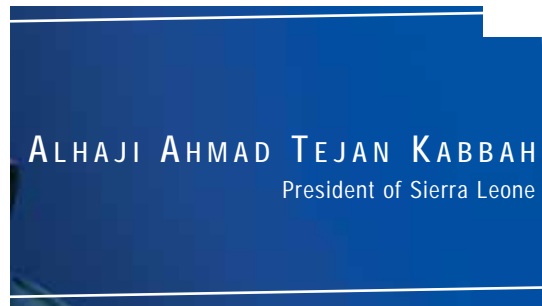
Paul Kagamé outlined what Rwanda is doing to improve governance. The first of these improvements involves ensuring representation for all political parties: “We realise, for example, that the winner-take-all type of political disposition is not the best option for Rwanda. We believe that our country’s well-being depends on ensuring that all political orientations become included in the governance mainstream.”

This has been recently achieved by a series of power sharing arrangements. He described two of the most prominent. First, is that the winner of the national elections can only draw 50% of the cabinet ministers from his or her party; the remaining posts must come from other parties. The second ensures equal political representation, whereby the head of state and the speaker of parliament cannot come from the same party.

Another important change implemented as part of the government’s attempt to ensure good governance is the reinstatement of the informal Gacaca system of justice. This is a historical community-based justice system in which the accused and the accuser meet in the villages. The process is led by a council of elders that settles the case. It is seen as especially efficient in promoting reconciliation, as the penalties are mutually binding and dispensed largely in the form of community services.

Measures have also been introduced to involve more women into positions in national institutions. This has been achieved by various constitutional amendments. According to the Rwandan constitution, women’s participation in institutions is not allowed to fall below 30%. As a result, the percentage of women in the parliament currently stands at 49%. Efforts have also been made to decentralise the government, which the President sees as fundamental to good governance. This has involved a transfer of powers from central government to local government structures in the hopes of increasing citizen participation.

“Meaningful participation needs to be informed and organised to place government within the reach of those that elected it,” he concluded.



## How good governance rebuilt Sierra Leone

Summary speech

Alhaji Ahmad Tejan Kabbah blames bad governance on the breakdown of Sierra Leonean society and the subsequent civil war. The President explained that when he came to power, the only way his government could rebuild the country was through a programme of good governance. “I was faced with the Herculean challenge of reversing the downward trend of a failing state, of creating the conditions for putting the country back on its feet and restoring hope in a population that had been demoralised, pauperised and rendered desperate by a horrendous internal war,” he said.

Rebuilding involved rebuilding a democratic political system based on a greater openness and accountability, improving the legal system, combating corruption and promoting human rights. “Good governance is the most important element in the political vision of Sierra Leoneans and is seen as the most effective means for guaranteeing development, restoring stability and ensuring that the country does not revert to chaos and violent conflict,” he said.

The government increased the population’s participation in governance through decentralisation and strengthening of local government administration. Improving governance also involved increasing the efficiency of the civil service. To achieve this, management and functional reviews were carried out on key ministries and new personnel regulations introduced, including a performance appraisal system for high-level civil service executives. A Senior Executive Service was set up to fill higher non-political positions and to strengthen the effectiveness and competence of the management level of the civil service.

A series of local government reforms decentralised the power structure, the most important of which was the Decentralisation and Local Government Reform Programme. As a result of this, local council elections were successfully carried out and today there are 19 functioning local councils in place across the country.

Alhaji Ahmad Tejan Kabbah also described government efforts to reduce poverty as part of its efforts to create good governance. For example, the government launched the National Recovery Strategy to consolidate state authority, protect human rights, rebuild communities and aid economic recovery. The government also implemented the National Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper, with the aim to reduce poverty through the promotion of good governance, security, pro-poor sustainable food growth and the creation of employment opportunities.

While acknowledging the problems of poverty and corruption that still exist in Sierra Leone, the President emphasised the progress in that had been made in stabilising the country and promoting good governance. He also acknowledged the importance of international support in rebuilding Sierra Leone. “The collaborative efforts between the government, the United Nations, the EU and members of the international community, including bilateral donor governments, have fostered a stable environment that has been described as one of the most successful peace building endeavours achieved in recent times,” he concluded.



## A new constitution to improve governance

Summary speech

Absalom Themba Dlamini announced that Swaziland is adopting a new constitution as part of a series of measures designed to improve both the political and economic governance of the country. The constitution separates the governmental power into three distinct sectors: executive, legislative and the judiciary. “We hope this new constitution will improve citizen participation in the political process, increase investor confidence and improve credibility and capability of the government to develop and implement new policies,” he said.

Measures implemented under the new constitution include improving the effectiveness of the law, establishing anti-corruption and anti-money laundering acts, as well as implementing a decentralisation policy. It also includes a bill of rights that guarantees the protection of individual rights and fundamental freedoms. The government is also drafting a Poverty Reduction Strategy and Action Programme. As part of its co-operation obligations with the EU, the government has also produced a new strategy paper that attempts to find new ways to help the government achieve the principles of good governance: accountability, transparency, fighting corruption, better public resource management and government credibility.

Absalom Themba Dlamini added: “The government acknowledges and appreciates the important role played by the media and civil society as major stakeholders in the promotion of good governance practices. There is no doubt that a free media and civil society enhances accountability and transparency.”

He pointed out that Swaziland’s economy is primarily agriculture-based, but noted that the services sector has grown, averaging more than 49% of GDP. At the same time, the lifting of textile quotas has led to significant job losses in the garment sector. The country’s unemployment rate is about 29%, with youth mostly affected at 40%.

Despite the increasing pressure on public resources to increase spending of social sectors such as agriculture, the government is committed to maintain a fiscal balance and macroeconomic stability in the medium term, with a deficit of about 2% in 2007-2008 and a balanced budget in 2008-2009.

The President announced that as part of its reforms, the government is committed to implementing the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Convention of the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women. It is also taking steps to curb corruption by setting up the Anti-Corruption Commission. “Corruption is a cancer that hurts not only the economic development of the country, but the nation as a whole, it hinders the attainment of economic development goals,” he said.

Absalom Themba Dlamini stressed the importance of European support to help the country achieve its goals: “May I take this opportunity to appeal to the EU Member States and the European Commission to continue to support (us) in our quest for sustainable development.”



## Poverty and primary production – Africa’s “modern slavery”

Summary speech

President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni described Uganda’s economic growth and discussed the “modern slavery of Africa”, which affects Uganda as well as the rest of the continent. In his speech, the President described how Uganda is undergoing a transformation from a “traditional peasant quasi-feudal society, with a sprinkling of a small comprador bourgeoisie created by colonial and neo-colonial conditions”, into a middle class, skilled working class society, such as exists in Europe.

During past 19 years Uganda has undergone a series of economic and educational reforms, including the Universal Primary Education and Universal Secondary Education. Due to these reforms the literacy rate in Uganda is now at 70%. The economic reforms have freed the private sector from the state and as a result, the Ugandan economy has grown by 6.5% per annum during the same period. The economic expansion has been fuelled by a huge growth in low technology businesses that rely on low initial investment.

The President explained that despite Uganda’s economic growth, the economy is being held back by the population’s inability to invest in high investment, high income enterprises such as textile mills and coffee processing plants. This failure to export processed goods means that Uganda earns only 10% of the post-production value of the products that it exports, trapping the country in a circle of poverty and primary production.

He described this situation as the “modern slavery of Africa”, quoting the example of coffee, which Uganda exports for US\$ 1 per kilogram, and which after processing and retailing in the west is valued as much as US\$ 70 per kilogram.

“Uganda exports 180,000 tonnes of coffee per annum,” he said. “Do the necessary calculations and see the haemorrhage Africa has been suffering from.”

Despite the problems with the Ugandan economy, Yoweri Kaguta Museveni emphasised that the situation is improving. Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), which is a real solution to the problem, has resulted in several lucrative contracts. FDI has already created 18 fish processing factories which bring in US\$ 140 million a year and has raised the value of the country’s cut flower growing industry to US \$37 million a year.

He appealed to the West to encourage companies to invest in Uganda and help them to develop high added value industries or else to “stop interfering in our efforts to do so”.

Yoweri Kaguta Museveni also praised the US, China and the EU for creating the African Growth Opportunities Act (AGOGA), which abolishes tariffs and quotas for African products entering their markets. He described the treaty as, “the greatest act of solidarity between you and us in the last 500 years”.



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GOVERNANCE FORUM

CLOSING PLENARY SESSION

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LUIS AMADO

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KARIN KORTMANN

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DESMOND TUTU

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As delivered

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I naturally wish to greet the government heads of state, and also to congratulate them on these reports and contributions to this session. It is a challenge for me to speak to you after such stimulating addresses. I also wish to thank the Commission for the honour of participating in this closing session, and of course to offer my congratulations to Louis Michel for the success of this initiative as well as assuring him of the great pleasure we will take in hosting this initiative next year in Lisbon during our Presidency.

It is my belief that questions of development are at the heart of present day world problems. If we speak a great deal about threats, and they are threats we are all familiar with, we must also firmly believe that beyond these threats there is a major problem, the problem of extreme poverty: millions and millions of human beings with no future or hope, societies torn apart by permanent instability and states at the limits of their endurance. Of course, it can be argued that this has always been the history of the human race. But we must bear in mind the context in which we are living, that of globalisation. The globalisation of communication, with all its attendant images, threatens with unbelievable force, virtually everyone in our society, presenting us regularly with the stark contrasts of extreme poverty and extreme wealth. There is a power inherent in such images that can only lead us to violence. Faced with this, we maintain the belief that all of us holding political office must put the question of development at the top of the national agenda, and the European Union has a particular responsibility in this domain.

This is true firstly by virtue of its own experience and its example in the world. The European Union is today a hub of wealth and economic and social well-being. But we should not forget that, just a half-century ago, Europe was destitute, in the aftermath of a war that saw millions and millions of deaths, with millions of people seeking to re-make their lives in other regions, and on other continents. And what is the key to the success that we recognise today? Without doubt, it is the wisdom of the founders that has brought peace, stability and development, the central aim of the integration process. This is the real reason for European success. And it is in this way that the Europe of today, as a hub of wealth and stability, also sets an example – an example that so many regions in the world, having experienced the problems of war, instability and poverty, now look at with increasing attention. And this is why Europe has an enormous responsibility in terms of world development.

It is also because, in our view, the question of peace, stability and development in Europe is not compatible today – is untenable today – if we are not capable of supporting the process of stabilisation and development in our neighbouring regions, whether they be geographical, historical or cultural neighbours. And we are strongly aware how absolutely essential it is to contribute to regional peace, stability and development, in a world of rapid globalisation, where economic and communication phenomena generate chain reactions.

The objective enshrined in the Treaty of Rome will not be tenable in the future. That is our firm conviction. We have seen what happened in Europe during the fall of the Berlin Wall, heralding the end of the Cold War, the end of the Soviet empire and the threat of destabilisation in the whole of Eastern Europe. We witnessed how responsibly Europe reacted, with great strategic sense, with grand ambition, with unity with its allies across the Atlantic for peace in the Balkans, with leadership.



I don't feel able to say the same thing when I see what is happening in terms of responsibility regarding events at the southern frontier of Europe, in the Mediterranean, in the Middle East, in Africa. There I see a lack of the presence, the will and the strategic mission that Europe must undertake in this region. And that is why we also consider it absolutely essential to turn a page in our relations with the Mediterranean, the Middle East and Africa. We must turn the page containing the paradigm in our relations that remains bound to a model influenced by our colonial experience. European policy in regard to its relations with the Mediterranean, southern Africa, and Sub-Saharan Africa, is still too dependent on means and methods inspired by the colonial period. We need to let go of this model of political relations. We have to build a new paradigm for this relationship, a paradigm that has as its reference points, on the one hand structured political dialogue, and on the other a real strategic partnership, so our relations can also be ambitious in terms of development.

This was what gave us our motivation and enthusiasm when, in 2000, during the Portuguese Presidency, we launched the idea of a summit in Cairo between all European leaders – not just the former colonial powers – and African leaders. And indeed, since then, much has happened. There is no doubt that a direction is evolving in European Union policy, especially in the sphere of African politics. Today we have a European Strategy for Africa, there is a Facility for peace in Africa, an initiative for good governance, and a growing awareness of the importance of the question of peace and stability for development throughout the continent.

But above all, from an African perspective, we have seen over recent years the emergence of a whole new generation of ambitious leaders, all aware of the problems of their continent, and conscious of their historic responsibility in having, for the first time in their history, “ownership” of the process of development of their continent. There is the African Union, with the same objective of generating a process of peace, stability and development for the entire continent. There is NEPAD, representing a worthy and very important initiative. There is a whole range of new experiences emerging on both sides, the European side and the African side.

In our view, this is the moment to build a common strategy between the European Union and the African continent. Conditions for the development of the continent, and for the resolution of conflicts, are for the most part in African hands, and Europeans must understand this. But there remains, without a doubt, a historic responsibility that the European Union must assume. For this too, we are convinced that, within the agenda of the next summit between the European Union and Africa, the concept of a common strategy for the European Union and the African Union must evolve as a new and important means of building an atmosphere of confidence between our institutions, our communities, and our peoples, equal in its grandeur to the historic responsibility that we must all assume.

Thank you very much for your attention.



As delivered Your Excellency, Archbishop Tutu,  
Commissioner Michel,  
Minister Amado,  
Excellencies,  
Dear colleagues from around the world,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,

I would like to extend special thanks to Louis Michel and to the Commission for this fantastic initiative – a new feature of European development policy: the European Development Days. I very much hope that this meeting will become the first of many successful annual meetings between policymakers from the developing world and Europe, from governments, civil society and academia.

The key feature of these days and of any partnership is dialogue – respectful, frank and forward looking. The past three days have been a unique opportunity and substantially contributed to this idea. I would like to thank all those involved very much.

In 2007, Germany will take on the presidencies of the EU and of the G8. Expectations are high, both of the German G8 Presidency and of our EU Presidency – because of the successful 1999 Cologne summit on the one hand but also in view of the fact that a certain degree of “EU fatigue” can be found among the people of Europe. Germany, as a large Member State, is expected to provide fresh ideas and impetus. We want to define more than one common thread running through our Presidencies.

Existing initiatives will be continued and further developed, but we will also highlight some focal areas of our own: in the EU, action is needed on implementing strategies and taking the lead on moving them forward. At G8 meetings, the reform partnerships with Africa are to be further expanded and self-sustaining; lasting, inclusive economic growth is to be supported.

All of us – both Africans and Europeans – are facing the great opportunity, but also the great responsibility, of transforming yesterday's relations based on domination and dependency into a relationship of true partnership and co-operation today and tomorrow. After all, it is this partnership that we need in view of the many interlinked challenges of our globalised world.

We want a strong Africa! Europe needs a strong Africa, an Africa that is a partner for Europe in shaping the policies for the twenty-first century.

As Europeans, we are today witnessing an Africa that is increasingly organising itself into a political community of shared interests and joint action, which is rapidly changing the face of the continent. At the same time, Africa is moving forward in the formulation and implementation of shared values. This has manifested itself for example in the African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights and the Solemn





Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa. The New Partnership for Africa's Development has generated a new awareness of Africa's common economic and development area. Africa's economy is experiencing stable growth, intra-African trade is increasing, and more and more countries are succeeding in translating economic growth into jobs and poverty reduction.

I would like to highlight the active efforts of many African countries to:

- Increase transparency and accountability in budget and financial policies.
- Improve and consolidate public financial management.
- Achieve transparency of resource extraction revenue under the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI).
- Fight corruption.

Europe has reacted to these developments in Africa rapidly and resolutely, be it through the Everything But Arms initiative or support for the AU's role in building peace and resolving conflicts through the African Peace Facility – or be it through our Strategy for Africa of 2005, which describes Europe's common and strategic interest in a partnership with Africa.

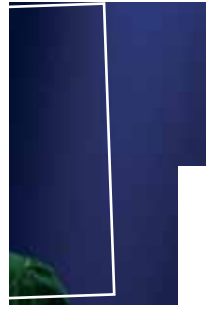
After many centuries of shared cultural development, but also bitter warfare, Europe is today a community of shared values in which common interests are put before countries' national interests. This has made Europe into a role model for many of our partners, especially in the South. We are not interested in maximising benefits in the short term, but in building stable relations on the basis of trust. Today's unified Europe has the great opportunity to strengthen such trust and rebuild trust that has been lost.

We will need this partnership with Africa so that we can jointly shape our future. The Millennium Development Goals and the Millennium Declaration describe the framework and also the challenges of this partnership.

Forty per cent of all people still live in poor countries. They are deprived of their social, economic and cultural rights. Their chances of accessing basic resources and services are limited. Women and girls need to be empowered to shape and benefit from development.

Poverty is closely linked with the denial of political and civil liberties and rights. These European Development Days have made clear that the voice of the poor and powerless and of civil society is critical in holding governments accountable.

Global climate change is impossible to ignore. It will have a dramatic impact unless we jointly take more determined measures to tackle it. Sir Nicholas Stern, former Chief Economist of the World Bank, has shown us plainly what economic and social consequences our ecological mistakes will have. We must, at any rate, be prepared to adapt to huge environmental changes with a dramatic impact on the social and political fabric of our societies. We cannot afford any more ecological or economic delays! We finally need to change our course!



When we talk about globalisation, we far too often think about capital flows, investments, and world trade – and far too seldom about people. People who lose their livelihoods, people who hardly benefit at all from the wealth of resources in their home countries. In both our presidencies, we want to make clear that there must be more globalisation of solidarity.

Making Africa a focus of our EU Presidency means, first and foremost, implementing the 2005 Strategy for Africa and providing fresh ideas and impetus to the areas of governance and agriculture. We also want to further develop, and adopt, the Joint Strategy of the European Union and the African Union.

We want to further expand our partnership with those in Africa who are shouldering responsibility, pushing ahead with reforms and pursuing policies for development – a reform partnership for a sustainable policy.

I would like to highlight three goals in this regard:

- First, there can be no sustainable development without increased trade. It will be vital to successfully conclude the Economic Partnership Agreements in 2007. Germany regards it as central to ensure that these Agreements are pro-development. In other words, asymmetric market opening is more important than quick market liberalisation. And targeted aid for trade, provided in parallel, should help tap the potential of regional and global trade to benefit development.
- Second, no sustainable development without sustainable energy. It is quite bizarre that high oil prices are putting the achievement of the MDGs at risk. In order to prevent the blessing of resource wealth from becoming a curse, especially in Africa, we feel two things are important: for one thing, mobilising resource revenue for poverty reduction and achieving greater transparency; for another, encouraging alternatives and making greater use of the potential offered by renewable energies.
- Third, there can be no sustainable development unless we make progress on fighting AIDS and malaria. Seventy percent of all those infected with HIV live in Sub-Saharan Africa. And it is more urgent now than ever before to effectively address the root causes of the “feminisation” of HIV/AIDS. Ten years ago, 12% of all people living with HIV were women; now it is almost half of them. In Africa, the rate is as high as 60%. Fighting HIV/AIDS takes more than drugs. Among other things, we need to empower women to defend themselves and their rights.

We are half-way on our road towards achieving the MDGs in 2015. We will take stock of what Europe has done so far toward achieving those goals. In many areas, things are on track, a certain amount has been achieved, but – especially with regard to Africa – we also know that we must become even better, even more effective, and mobilise more aid – and we made a binding commitment to do so in the European Union's ODA timetable.

More and better aid means many things. It means policy coherence for development, for example in the area of trade policy – and the current Finnish Presidency has been making exemplary efforts towards that goal. It also means an improved division of labour within the EU, both between the Commission and the Member States and among the Member States.



We realise that we must continue to work on this important task with vigour, but it is not something that can be completed within half a year or one year. So it makes a lot of sense that we are addressing this issue together during our team presidency with Portugal and Slovenia.

Responsibility and solidarity on the part of the North must be matched by the South taking ownership for its own development. It is therefore very fitting that governance is the central topic of the first European Development Days! Good governance is a comprehensive concept. It includes democracy, the rule of law, the protection of human rights, and gender equality. It is a political concept which communicates values touching on the legitimacy of power and the sovereignty of governments. And it explicitly includes players from civil society and from the private sector.

Good governance and democracy cannot be enforced from the outside. They can only be developed gradually from within. Essentials for sustainable transformation processes are functioning democratic institutions, parliaments, an independent judiciary, a vibrant civil society and an independent media.

In this regard, too, many things have changed in Africa: the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), the African Peer Review Mechanism, the African Union's African Charter on Good Governance, the establishment of the Pan-African Parliament and the Association of African Ombudsmen are all clear signs of African ownership in the area of good governance, and they provide sufficient encouragement for the G8 countries and the EU to stand by Africa. I am very happy that members of these important institutions have come to Brussels to enrich the debate at the European Development Days.

Europe will be celebrating an important anniversary in 2007. The Treaties of Rome were signed on the 25<sup>th</sup> March 1957 – and development policy was one of the founding policies at the time.

Europe has since become a great success story, both within its own borders and as a model for the outside world. The European Union is the most important peace project of all times. Europe is a powerful economic area and a strong foreign policy and development policy partner for the world.

Today, Africa is a continent on the move. It is changing dramatically and has taken its development into its own hands.

Excellencies, dear guests, let us continue striving together toward our common goal – with a visionary approach to the big issues and a realistic approach to the details.

That common goal is to make our world a place that is more peaceful and more just and that has an intact environment, so that our children and grandchildren can build a better, more viable future for our one world.



Integral speech

Your Excellencies, Heads of State and Government

Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen,

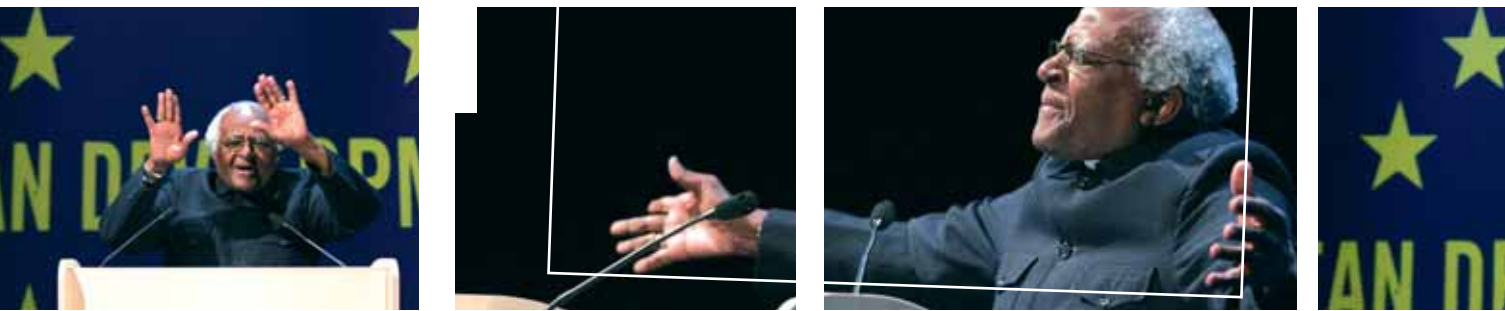
I am a preacher and I am standing behind something that looks like a pulpit. So you are warned. A little boy went to church with his mother and over the altar was a red lamp. The preacher went on for a long time. The little boy turned to his mommy and said: "When it turns green, can we go home?" I hope you do not feel that way.

There is much so-called Afro-pessimism abroad, leading, as we are told, to donor fatigue and the tendency to relegate our continent, Mother Africa, to the backburner or in current jargon, Africa disappears from the radar screen. There might seem to be justification for this negative attitude if you think of the catalogue of woe that represents every media coverage of Africa and things African: famines, droughts, disasters, man-made and natural. Conflicts: conflicts in Somalia, Sudan, Darfur, DRC, Zimbabwe, etc.

This conference proclaims loudly and clearly that there are those who have not given up on Africa. So let me join the many who have commended most warmly the EU and particularly you, honourable Commissioner for Development and Humanitarian Aid. Thank you for having hosted this particular and important conclave.

I want to address the issue, very quickly, of Afro-pessimism because I believe that the three perspectives I want to give would give us substantial grounds for hope that Africa, the cradle of humankind, is a sleeping giant that is shaking itself into wakefulness. The first of these perspectives. This Africa, which may so frequently be the object of pity or even scorn, actually has outstanding antecedents, a glorious legacy of which we can and should be justly proud. I want to make a clarion call to Mother Africa and her children: Look to the rock from which you were hewn!

This Africa, which today is an object of pity, causing observers to shake their heads in dismay because we currently produce 50% of the world's refugee population, many due to natural disasters, but sadly not the bulk. Most are the victims of gross violations of their fundamental and inalienable rights and are escaping from injustice and oppression and conflict. But you see, this Africa, that we see in this light today, this Africa, in Biblical times, so the Bible tells us, when there was a famine in the Holy Land, where did Abraham and his later descendants, where did they go to look for food? The Bible says they came to Africa, to Egypt. And when the holy family faced persecution and the possible killing of the infant Jesus by King Herod, it was to Africa they came to find refuge, which they did again, in Egypt. Africa has an important, even if it is but a small part, in the story of the crucifixion of Jesus on the first Good Friday. It was an African, Simon of Syrene, who had the honour of helping Jesus to carry his cross. Simon might not himself have thought of it as an honour then. Some of the leading lights of the early Christian church were to be found in Africa, such as Athanasius, Cyprian and most notably Augustine of Hippo who has left an indelible imprint on Western Christendom because of his massive intellect.



Look to the rock from which you were hewn!

In African traditional governance the good ruler was one who sat with his council, for it was a participatory system. He sat and listened. And the good ruler was he who, at the end, would then be able to sum it all up in the consensus of his community. It is a gross untruth to suggest that democracy is alien to Africa.

Look to the rock from which you have been hewn!

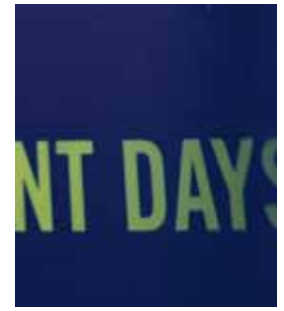
Look and find inspiration. That is the first. The second perspective is this. One or two of the previous speakers referred to in passing the history of Europe and of the West, which can give us great inspiration and cause for hope. Even most recently Europe had a thoroughly unprepossessing antecedent. And yet, this West was able to emerge to be the giant it has become.

For it was not always so. The foreign minister of Portugal has referred to it. Just in the 20<sup>th</sup> century Europe had two World Wars. Two! There was a Holocaust, which saw the death of six million Jews. There were the several millions who died in Stalin's gulags. Europe was devastated by the excesses of fascism, Nazism and communism. There were dictatorships in Spain and Portugal; even Greece, the birthplace of democracy, was just a few years ago ruled by a military dictatorship. There was a time when one was not sure who was the government of Italy for they changed so rapidly, so often. There has been also a new phenomenon, so-called ethnic cleansing, which happened in Europe. There is still the running sore of Northern Ireland. You can imagine, if someone wants to describe Europe they could quite easily have said that you have the ingredients here to cause Euro-pessimism.

So, Africa, should take heart. That the West that was some time reduced to dust and ashes rose like the proverbial Phoenix to soar to its present heights. This West, so prosperous and so powerful, knows a time when suspected witches and heretics were burned at the stake; when many of the citizens of these states, as a result of the industrial revolution, were victims of grinding poverty. The march to the modern democracies that we see was characterised by excesses, the excesses of the powerful and considerable bloodletting. It has not been a smooth and uneventful journey. We in Africa can draw much encouragement and inspiration from your ultimate triumph considering what preceded it all.

You triumphed because you invested in democracy, freedom and peace because development and prosperity require peace and good governance. You showed near-zero tolerance of corruption. You upheld the fundamental rights of all, the freedom of expression, of association, the freedom of movement. You helped to establish the rule of law. You had accountable and transparent governance. A vibrant and free press. And you had an engaged and lively civil society, vigilant watchdogs; for they say the price of freedom is eternal vigilance.





That is the second. And the last one.

Hey, Africa, you have notched up significant victories. You overcame colonialism, inspired by C.L.R. James and Kwame Nkrumah and other African giants. You helped to overcome Apartheid. Yes, the international community assisted considerably. But I, as a South African, take my hat off to our African sisters and brothers who placed very considerable pressure on few resources to help us, who gave refuge to our exiles. You ran the gauntlet of Apartheid's defence force, you in the frontline states. And on behalf of our people I say thank you. We have won a victory! And I need to say here, I apologise for the fact that in South Africa we are seeing examples of a xenophobia that ought not to be happening. Forgive us! Forgive us for seeming to have forgotten so soon.

Africa, you have produced some great personages: Nyerere, Sadat, Mandela. Go anywhere in the world today and ask who is the most admired statesperson. Almost universally it is an African, Nelson Mandela. But these African leaders were men, mainly, who were leaders of governments. They were altruistic, they were people who said: I am in this not for what I can get for myself, not for self-aggrandisement. I am in this for the sake of those I lead. They upheld high standards of morality. Yes, we have the capacity to be again, we who were the cradle of humankind; we have the capacity to bring a wonderful contribution to the community of nations.

Again, it is we in Africa, who have given the world an extraordinary example of how we deal with post-conflict situations. For where people expected that a Black-led government would be hungry for revenge and retribution, they saw instead the Truth and Reconciliation Commission processes in South Africa. That no, there is another way, the way of forgiveness of reconciliation. The gift we can give the world is our concept of Ubuntu, where you say, my humanity is bound up in your humanity. I need you in order for me to be me. I need you to be you. And, dear friends, you must know, that there is no way in which we are going to be able to win wars against terror, as long as there are conditions in so many parts of the world that make people feel desperate. And so, we say, there is no way in which we can be free, except together. Ubuntu says that a person is a person through other persons. There is no way in which you are going to be able to enjoy your prosperity on your own. The only way we will ever be safe and secure is together. The only way we can hope to be prosperous, ultimately, is together. The only way we can be human, is together, all of us, members of one family, the human family, God's family.









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GOVERNANCE FORUM

DEVELOPMENT VILLAGE

INTRODUCTION

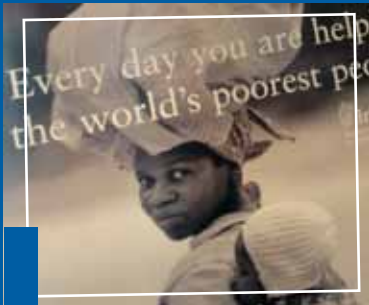
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PARTICIPANTS

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## DEVELOPMENT VILLAGE

### Introduction



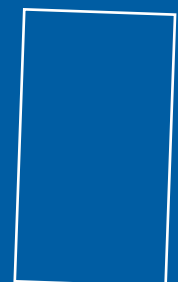
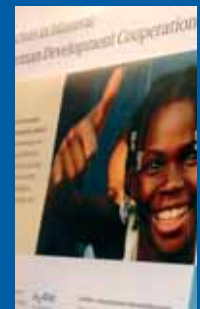
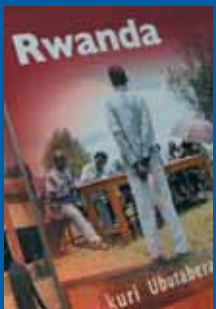
The Development Village offered development professionals the chance to showcase their activities. Non-governmental organisations, ACP institutions, foundations, research institutes, international organisations and EU Member States participated by setting up stands.

Display stands – six-metres square and furnished with a table, shelves for materials and chairs – were grouped in clusters of six to create a lively village atmosphere.

Walking through the colourful Development Village was a rich and informative experience. Visitors had the opportunity to experience a number of exhibitions, such as the “voices against poverty”, an e-campaign related to the MDGs-organised by the DG DEV (in co-operation with UNDP), the Christian Blind Mission International’s interactive exhibit where they were given the chance to experience life as a visually impaired person by wearing special glasses. They also took in photo exhibits by the Global Campaign of Microbicides, UNFPA’s “Chasing the Dream” and the Czech Republic’s photos display of the country’s development co-operation with Africa, as well as exhibits on migration and violence against women.

Meeting rooms were available, which some booked to launch Side Events (see page 161) and others used to hold meetings. The Development Village gave people the opportunity to come together and share information, experiences and best practice. It was a great success, thanks to the spirit and teamwork of the participants. It reflects the open and democratic spirit of the European Development Days.







## DEVELOPMENT VILLAGE

### Participants

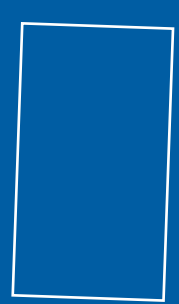
European Development Days 2006



### STANDS

- **AAI** – ActionAid International
- **APRODEV, Caritas Europa and CIDSE**  
International Co-operation for Development and Solidarity
- **Austria**
- **Belgium**
- **CEMR** – Council of European Municipalities and Regions
- **CDE** – Centre for the Development of Enterprise
- **CNCD** – Food Sovereignty Campaign
- **CONCORD**
- **Croix Rouge**
- **CTA** – Technical Centre for Agriculture and Rural Co-operation ACP-EU
- **Czech Republic**
- **EADI** – European Association of Development Research and Training Institutes
- **ENOP** – Independent Political Foundations
- **Estonia**
- **European Commission**
- **EUFORIC** – Europe's Forum on International Co-operation
- **EIB** – European Investment Bank
- **European Global Health Network** – International HIV/AIDS Alliance, Marie Stopes International (MSI) and the European Public Health Alliance (EPAH)
- **European Parliamentary Forum on Population and Development**
- **Finland**
- **FIDH** – International Federation of Human Rights
- **France**
- **GAVI** – The Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunization & **DSW** – the German Foundation for World Population
- **Germany**
- **GLEN** – Global Education Network for Young Europeans
- **Greece**
- **GRIP** – Groupe de recherche et d'information sur la paix et la sécurité
- **HelpAge International**
- **Hungary**
- **IDDC** – International Disability and Development Consortium & **the African Decade of People with Disabilities**
- **IOM** – International Organization for Migration
- **IPPF** – International Planned Parenthood Federation
- **Ireland**









- **IUCN** – The World Conservation Union
- **KEHYS** – Finnish NGDO Platform to the EU
- **Latvia**
- **Lithuania**
- **Luxembourg**
- **Malta**
- **Nonviolent Peaceforce**
- **ODAMoz**– Overseas Development Assistance to Mozambique
- **OECD** – African Partnership Forum
- **OIF** – Organisation française de la francophonie
- **Pax Christi**
- **Poland**
- **Portugal**
- **Slovakia**
- **Slovenia**
- **Spain**
- **Sweden**
- **The Commonwealth**
- **The Netherlands**
- **World Bank**
- **United Nations**
- **UNITAID**
- **United Kingdom** – Department for International Development
- **WWF** – World Wildlife Foundation
- **YFJ** – Youth Forum Jeunesse

## EXHIBITIONS

- **Christian Blind Mission:** Disability Simulation
- **Czech Republic:** Photo exhibition: Co-operation Czech Republic – Africa
- **Global Campaign on Microbicides:** Photo exhibition
- **IOM:** Photo exhibition: Migration and Development
- **United Nations:** Message Box
- **UNFPA:** Photo exhibition: Broken bodies. On violence against women
- **UNFPA:** Photo exhibition: Chasing the Dream.



GOVERNANCE FORUM

SIDE EVENTS





## SIDE EVENTS



### A panorama of initiatives

Several Development Days Side Events created a diverse panorama of initiatives for the participants. Some organisations showcased their activities, while others addressed specific topics. The objective of Side Events was to create a platform where development practitioners could meet, exchange experiences, share best practices and think about synergies for future collaboration and partnership.

Participants included six NGOs, four international organisations, two development co-operation agencies, three foreign affairs ministries and three EU institutions. Two Ministerial Side Events were held: one with Hilary Benn, UK State Secretary for International Development Co-operation, who presented a White Paper: *A Modern Europe Matters for Development*. The other involved Philippe Douste-Blazy, French Minister of Foreign Affairs, who presented the UNITAID Initiative, an innovative financing system to benefit health in developing countries.

### Spain's new development co-operation policy

AECI (Spanish Agency for International Co-operation) and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Spain presented its new four-year development co-operation policy. Spain enjoys an advantage in the assistance it allocates to Latin America due to common linguistic, historic and cultural links. However, Spain is now directing an increasing portion of its aid to Africa, with technical co-operation offices recently established in Cape Verde, Ethiopia and Mali and one planned for the Democratic Republic of Congo. Spain's new challenge is to adapt its development co-operation to new and different conditions and, to this end, is looking for partners.

### Meeting of European development co-operation practitioners

"Agence Française de Développement" (AFD) and "KfW Entwicklungsbank" sponsored this second meeting of European aid, which gave aid practitioners from several Member States' implementing agencies and other European organisations the opportunity to discuss development co-operation. Participants agreed that, in view of the commitments made in frameworks such as the Paris Declaration, increased efforts should continue in the fields of harmonisation, co-ordination and co-operation among donors.

### Southern civil society views on European Commission and World Bank strategies

This event was chaired by CIDSE (Coopération internationale pour le développement et la solidarité). The results of a survey of 56 of CIDSE's civil society partner organisations in 24 countries were presented. The respondents were asked to state their definition of good governance and to give their view of development partner's activities in this field. Criticisms of donor behaviours emerging from the survey include:



- An excessively strong focus on economic issues by some donors.
- Too limited participation opportunities given to government and stakeholders in recipient countries.
- The need for more time for consultation with civil society stakeholders and a stronger focus on dialogue rather than conditionality.

### Whose governance? Governing as if people matter

A round table, organised by CONCORD in collaboration with other NGOs, discussed the need for a common definition of governance, questioned the role of multilateral institutions and explored the implications of the Economic Partnership Agreements being negotiated by the EU and ACP countries..

### Access to information for agricultural and rural development

The Technical Centre for Agricultural and Rural Co-operation ACP-EU (CTA) organised an interactive presentation of its products and services for ACP organisations and individuals active in agricultural and rural development. Feedback from the participants confirmed the usefulness of several measures taken by the CTA through its new strategic plan, including the impact measurement of products and services, the increase in the number of beneficiaries from each project and the importance of simplified information that easily can be reproduced in local languages.

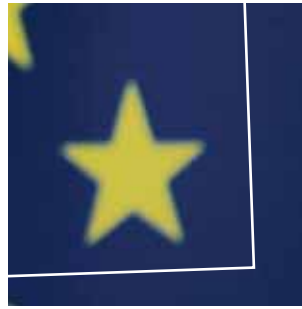
### Aid effectiveness and donor co-ordination

Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania presented their recent development co-operation policies and exchanged their respective experiences. The common challenge for these countries is to handle the significant increases in their aid volume, due both to the objective to increase the percentage of ODA and their strong economic growth. All three states underlined the importance of working bilaterally before being able to launch wider donor collaborations.

### EU Member States' Development Directors General Meeting

The EU Directors General in charge of development policy from the Member States, including Bulgaria and Romania, and the European Investment Bank held an informal meeting to discuss the nexus between the regional programming of the 10<sup>th</sup> European Development Fund and the negotiations of the Economic Partnership Agreements with ACP partners. Directors General also exchanged views on the ratification process of the revised Cotonou Agreement and the 10<sup>th</sup> EDF in their countries and provided an initial feedback regarding the ongoing joint EU programming in ACP countries.





## EUFORIC: Enhanced Europe-Africa dialogue through knowledge sharing platforms

How to facilitate and reinforce the sharing of information, knowledge and ICT in development co-operation was the topic for participants at this event, hosted by EUFORIC. Launched in 1995, this organisation aims to be an open and highly valued information and communication resource for people and institutions engaged in international co-operation and development. The discussions proposed a common database for sharing people's knowledge and experience.

## Evaluation of European Commission support for good governance in third countries, presentation of main conclusions and recommendations

How effective is the EC in delivering governance support? Participants discussed the findings and conclusions of the EuropeAid evaluation, which found that the EC policy framework has evolved dramatically over the last years. The evaluation led to recommendations to:

- Strengthen the political response capacity in order to deal properly with the “politics” of EC/EU governance support.
- Enhance the development response capacity to address the challenges of delivering relevant, effective and efficient governance support in various country and regional contexts.
- Improve the institutional response capacity by creating an institutional environment to deliver effective governance support.

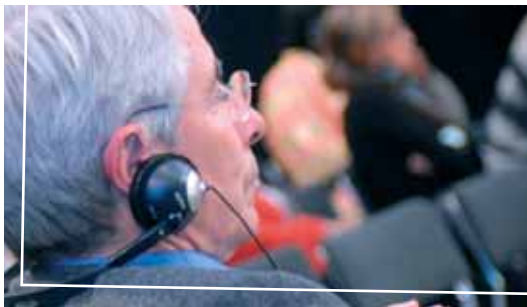
## A European strategy framework for development education

Development education is a learning process aimed at raising awareness among the public on the development work done by the EC and its Member States. Finland's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Development Education Forum followed up on the July 2006 Helsinki Conference on Development Education organised by CONCORD. Participants gave feedback on development education activities by different stakeholders and discussed practical implementation of development education goals.

## New health technologies for development

An expert discussion focused on new technologies for reaching the MDGs, including new vaccines and HIV/AIDS prevention. The discussion was organised by GAVI – the Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunization and DSW, the German Foundation for World Population. Two major topics were addressed:

- Current research on new health technologies, especially microbicides.
- How existing technologies can be made commonly available in developing countries?



Participants' questions focused on the problem of making available existing technologies, such as female condoms. Pilot tests in Rwanda and Guinea have shown a positive response among women; however the costs of female condoms remain far too high, which means they cannot be used in the developing world.

### Trade, Aid and Security: an agenda for peace and development

Participants learned about Trade, Aid and Security, a joint initiative by the International Institute for Sustainable Development and the World Conservation Union, focusing on the issue of trade policies increasing the risk of conflicts. The discussion identified six key objectives if trade and aid policies are to contribute to peace and security rather than violence, including:

- Design of conflict-sensitive trade policies.
- Development of conflict-sensitive aid.
- Promotion of good governance.
- Restriction of trade in conflict resources.
- Promotion of conflict-sensitive business.
- Managing of revenues from natural resources.

### From commitments to action: integrating biodiversity into European development co-operation

This World Conservation Union initiative focuses on integrating biodiversity into European development co-operation. Participants discussed the Paris Conference on Biodiversity and European Development Co-operation held September 19–21, 2006. On the basis of the Paris Conference, the main challenges for the EU regarding integration of biodiversity to its development co-operation concern:

- The importance of biodiversity for sustainable rural development.
- Governance issues.
- The use of instruments and policy coherence mechanisms to reduce the ecological footprint of the European Union.
- Recognition of biodiversity in overseas countries and territories.



## European Research Initiative for Development Policies

The European Research Initiative for Development Policies is a joint initiative of the European Commission and some EU Member States. The context is provided by the EU development policy statement, the European Consensus on Development, which highlights the need to stimulate the debate on development in Europe, to enhance analytical capacity at European level and to strengthen the linkages with policymaking. Participants learned about the initiatives' informal process of debate and reflection on how best to realise the potential of European research for policymaking. The initiative is dealing with new development challenges, including:

- The link between development and security.
- New global issues, such as climate change and migration.
- New competition issues, for example the emergence of new actors such as China and India as key player in global change, energy access and natural resources.

## “The Tunnel and other lies”

This film shown by the Netherlands' Ministry of Foreign Affairs deals with the absence of good governance. In post-war Bosnia, influential people succeed in defending their interests in the bureaucratic maze, while the average citizens are short changed. In the film, Omer Bjelonja's family is trying to repossess the home they sacrificed to their country's war effort. Their home served in the war as the entrance and exit of the legendary Sarajevo tunnel. The government confiscated their home to create a museum. Omer becomes trapped in a bureaucratic maze. Because the government chose the location of the entrance of the tunnel, Omer should get compensation. However, like many others in his country, he is not getting access to a fair trial. A courageous lawyer, Branka Inic, challenges the corrupt system.

## UK White Paper: *A Modern Europe Matters for Development*

Hilary Benn, British MP and Secretary of State for International Development, presented the UK's recent White Paper that sets out its vision for development, emphasising improved governance and security, as well as tackling climate change. These objectives can only be reached through common agreements and collaborations and should, therefore, be seen as “an opportunity where the collective strength of Europe is part of the solution itself”. The paper argues that the EU is now more important for development than ever: it acts politically, makes policies that matter for developing countries and spends 55% of the world's aid money. He concluded by posing a number of questions:

- How can we make the most of existing financial assistance?
- Is there more scope for closer co-operation between the European Commission and the European Investment Bank?
- Should there be greater input into the strategy process and policy dialogue?
- Should Europe offer a more coherent package of loans and grants to partner countries? Should it simplify the structures in Brussels so that aid policy, aid operations and development co-operation can be managed jointly?



## The European Union – UNIDO: Partners for Development in Africa

UNIDO, the United Nations specialised agency with the mission to help developing countries and transition economies alleviate poverty through sustainable industrial growth, particularly in Africa, marked its 40th anniversary celebration in Brussels. The meeting brought together key speakers to discuss how the European Commission and UNIDO are working jointly to reinforce African productive capacities through private sector development and through the establishment of quality infrastructure for regional integration and enhancement of international trade. Participants also discussed the need for a deeper co-operation between UNIDO and the EU if the challenges of poverty reduction and integrating Africa into the global economic are to be met.

### The UNITAID Initiative

France's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Philippe Douste-Blazy, described UNITAID, an international drug purchase facility established in September 2006 for HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria treatment drugs. He was accompanied by Mali's President Amadou Toumani Touré and the Prime Minister of Mauritius, Navinchandra Ramgoolam. Both countries have recently introduced a "solidarity contribution" on airline tickets that goes directly to fight the diseases. Mr Douste-Blazy presented UNITAID's philosophy, which is based on:

- The need to initiate a long-term effort to fight HIV/AIDS, TB and malaria in an effective manner.
- The need to deploy innovative financing schemes, such as an obligatory levy on airline tickets, to guarantee the continuation of the fight against illness.

### YFJ: Africa-Europe Youth Summit information

Participants were introduced to Youth Forum Jeunesse (YFJ) and learned about the Africa-Europe Youth Summit that will take place during the Portuguese presidency of the EU. The objectives of YFJ, an intergovernmental organisation, are to:

- Encourage the participation of young people from the North and the South in decision making processes.
- Take into the consideration the needs of young people.
- Address the needs of young people in poverty reduction strategies.
- Reinforce the capacities of young people to enable them to participate in the implementation of development policies.

Speakers discussed YFJ's activities, including training sessions on HIV/AIDS prevention.







PART II

EU - AFRICA

**B u s i n e s s   F o r u m**

INTRODUCTION

WORKING GROUPS

CLOSING CEREMONY



## INTRODUCTION

### PETER MANDELSON

European Commissioner for External Trade



## The Challenges and Opportunities of the Economic Partnership Agreements

As delivered

Let me begin by congratulating my colleague, Commissioner Louis Michel, for taking the initiative to launch this new EU-Africa Business Forum.

This forum is a unique opportunity not only to strengthen the dialogue between business and the European Commission, but also for African and European businesses to get together and to establish new linkages and partnerships for the future. It is, after all, business which carries out trade, not policy makers.

And the opportunities offered by trade are at the heart of the Economic Partnership Agreements, which will frame the relationship between African regional groupings and the EU, in trade, investment and development.

The purpose of these agreements is to foster the gradual integration of the ACP countries into the world economy, thereby contributing to economic growth and lifting people out of poverty. It is the private sector that provides the jobs and the investment needed to alleviate poverty. What we will provide, with our African partners, is a better framework for business to operate. You will provide the results. The EPAs are a tool for development. But it is you who will be the engine.

I want to ask you today to be partners and constructive critics. Support us in what you think we're doing right. And tell us what you think we can do better. We're at a critical moment with just over one year remaining of the EPA negotiations. So the time is right to mobilise and to influence the negotiating process.

Where do we stand in the EPA negotiations?

We started the negotiations in 2002 with six groups of ACP countries. Four of these are African.

The need for the EPAs is as clear now as it was then. The WTO has granted a waiver that allows us to continue to give preferential market access exclusively to the ACP countries but this waiver will expire at the end of next year. This, therefore, provides a natural deadline for completion of the new trade arrangements under the EPAs. But this is not what really matters.

What matters is that after thirty years of preferential market access, Africa still exports just a few basic commodities to the EU. Most of these are sold at lower prices than they were twenty years ago. And their share of the EU market is steadily declining. The trade preferences have not had the intended effect of helping Africa to diversify its economy into higher value products, and it now attracts less than 2% of world foreign direct investment.

This is not sustainable. It certainly isn't sustainable development. The EPAs will change our relationship, from one of dependency on EU tariff preferences, to a partnership that will help to achieve precisely some of those goals that are identified in the discussion paper that has been prepared by private sector representatives for this conference: bigger regional markets, better rules for business and more market access. And we also need to concentrate on how we target and tailor development assistance to support and reinforce those things.



For many African businesses, the EU is the most important market. Much more important than the markets in neighbouring countries. As an example, nearly half of Ghana's exports go to the EU, and its neighbour Benin accounts for less than 3%.

So you are absolutely right that the EPAs should seek to create new opportunities for businesses by building bigger and more dynamic regional markets. Only genuine, open regional markets will attract new private investment – at least outside the traditional natural resource sectors.

Larger regional markets mean more potential customers for both African and European businesses, and this can help Africa compete for the attention of investors that would otherwise focus on markets such as those in China and India.

Here, economic operators have to send a clear message to African policy makers: make choices in favour of economic integration, and crucially, implement them in practice. These changes have to be felt on the ground.

Building successful regional markets is of course about much more than just harmonising tariffs. Investors need certainty and predictability about the rules of the business environment. Without clear rules, legal security and transparent frameworks in Africa, other markets will remain a safer bet. And many of Africa's own investors choose to invest outside of the continent – which is a tragedy.

This is why the argument that we are making together with reforming leaders in Africa for clearer rules on a regional basis is, in reality, a development argument.

Think about it this way.

In Africa, it takes an average of 64 days to start a new business. And 6 of the 10 countries considered by the World Bank as having the most difficult environment for starting a business are in Africa.

It takes 18 signatures on average to ship cargo from Africa but just 3 in the OECD. And as a garment exporter from Madagascar put it, if port clearance were reduced to one day, he could save a sum equal to as much as 30% of his wage bill. In the same way, transparent rules for public procurement could cut costs by a third and reduce the possibilities for corrupt behaviour.

The EPAs are a unique opportunity to make progress in these areas. African regions themselves have embarked on this route. Not all at the same pace. But what EPAs offer, is to anchor these efforts into a partnership agreement with the EU.

Some regions are still questioning the need to negotiate binding rules for these issues. We will continue arguing the need to provide stable predictable and transparent rules in sectors where investment is needed to diversify the economy. Other regions accept the necessity but question the specific content of such rules. We are ready to adjust our concepts to the development needs of each region.



With regard to market access, most African exports already enter the EU market at zero tariff duty.

We're not asking the same of the African regions but we are supporting the creation of regional markets through elimination of intra-regional tariff barriers. This agenda is already in progress in each African region.

Some African firms and businesses may nevertheless be concerned about competition from European businesses once the EPAs enter into force. Let's be clear: EPAs will be flexible. We're not asking the African regions to fully open their markets to EU exports – these are not free trade agreements in the traditional sense. There will be all the flexibility appropriate for industries that need a careful transition before they are exposed to wider competition, flexibility to protect sensitive sectors, and safeguard mechanisms.

Our challenge is to use the available flexibility to give time and space for industry to grow and bring down the price of key imports, by starting first at regional level. But to succeed in doing this, we need to get down to specifics in the talks now.

Finally, a word on development assistance.

There is a lot of it, and as much as necessary to accompany the EPAs.

But development assistance is not an objective in itself – its role is to help Africa to benefit from the opportunities offered by the EPAs and adjust to change. We very much hope that you will help identify and prioritise those challenges and opportunities so that our development assistance can be put to the best possible use.

Before I conclude I'd like to draw your attention to a highly successful EU initiative, which I believe is of interest to today's audience: this is the EU's Export Helpdesk. This is an online service, completely free of charge, which offers detailed product specific information on EU import requirements. It also provides a market place where African and European businesses can develop linkages and establish partnerships between exporters and importers.



The clock is ticking on the EPAs. Now is the time to give the process the final impetus, to make sure we address the points that really matter to business in terms of regional integration, better rules and market access.

So what I'm going to do, with Louis Michel, is to try to take this agenda forward and with our African negotiating partners. We want to keep working on the difficult but vital work of policy reform and regional market building. We'll also work to target Europe's development support even more closely to maximise the benefits and address the adjustment needs that will flow from these plans. It is for these things that we need your input. Both African and European negotiators need to know what your interests and priorities are.

These negotiations are political, of course, like all trade negotiations. But they are also about doing business in Africa, promoting opportunity through trade and investment.

What they need today is a lot less ideology, and a bit more common sense from those with a key stake in Africa's economic future. Which of course means all Africans but especially you. So we need your input and your leadership.







BUSINESS FORUM

## WORKING GROUPS

INTRODUCTION

GOOD GOVERNANCE AND CORPORATE ETHICS

INTERCONNECTIVITY

CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES  
OF ECONOMIC PARTNERSHIP AGREEMENTS

CONCLUSION

WORKING GROUPS  
THE EU-AFRICA BUSINESS FORUM –  
A CATALYST FOR PRIVATE SECTOR  
DEVELOPMENT

Introduction



***“Africa is a continent that must be developed. But, at the same time, there is no harm in affirming that Africa has a potential for commercial and economic trade that is quite remarkable for Europe. We can very easily register the Europe-Africa or the Africa-Europe relationship in respect of interests and in a win-win dimension.***

LOUIS MICHEL  
EUROPEAN COMMISSIONER  
FOR DEVELOPMENT  
AND HUMANITARIAN AID

***“Business opportunities in Africa are vast. (But) Africa needs private sector investment to develop and through closer collaboration and partnership with our European friends, we will surely achieve our development objectives.”***

MAXWELL MKWEZALAMBA,  
COMMISSIONER FOR  
ECONOMIC AFFAIRS  
AFRICAN UNION  
COMMISSION

The first EU-Africa Business Forum, which took place 16-17 November 2006 in Brussels, provided business leaders with an opportunity to work together to shape policies designed to boost private sector development and encourage European investors to consider opportunities in Africa. As a business driven initiative, the forum set the stage for finding ways to expand trade and investment between the companies of the two continents.

More than 150 people attended the opening session, including representatives from about 45 European and 30 African companies and confederations. Other participants included more than 50 observers from these companies or confederations, plus staff from international financing or private sector support organisations, including the International Finance Corporation, European Investment Bank, Centre for the Development of Enterprise and ICF. Representatives also attended from the African Union Commission, the EU Presidency, the two Member States next in line for the presidency and the European Commission (Germany and Portugal).

African and European business representatives engaged in a meaningful dialogue with the European Commission and the Commission of the African Union. Together, they considered issues critical to business, the negotiation of Economic Partnership Agreements, governance and development co-operation. Business agreed on recommendations designed to leverage trading opportunities between the two regions.



***“It is the private sector that provides the jobs and the investment needed to alleviate poverty. What we will provide, with our African partners, is a better framework for business to operate.”***

PETER MANDELSON,  
EUROPEAN COMMISSIONER  
FOR TRADE

## Showcasing success

A session was devoted to showcasing business success in Africa. Michael Klein, vice-president of the International Finance Corporation presented the 2006 Doing Business report in relation to Africa. This was followed by the presentation of five examples of business success by UNIMA (Madagascar – having benefited from assistance by the European Investment Bank), Dire Industries & Adelchi (Ethiopia & Italy – Centre for the Development of Enterprise), BHP Billiton (Mozambique – International Finance Corporation/European Investment Bank), SAB/Miller (several countries) and Private Investors for Africa/Heineken (several countries).

### Objectives of the EU-Africa Business Forum are to:

- Help draw the attention of business representatives to potential opportunities on the African continent.
- Facilitate networking opportunities and business contacts between business representatives from both Africa and Europe.
- Develop and adopt a Declaration by the EU and African private sectors containing recommendations for future action.

## Giving business a voice

***“In the future, our challenge is to ensure private sector ownership of the undertaking to combine development, trade and investments.”***

AAPO PÖLHÖ,  
DIRECTOR-GENERAL  
OF THE DEPARTMENT  
FOR AFRICA AND  
THE MIDDLE EAST  
IN THE FINNISH MINISTRY  
OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

There is a strong EU commitment to listen to the private sector and to take its views into account when devising and implementing strategies in Africa. In this forum, business had an opportunity to influence both European and African public policies with a view to improving business opportunities and the business climate in Africa.

Three working groups focused on the issues of **governance, interconnectivity** and **Economic Partnership Agreements**. Each made recommendations that will feed into EU-Africa Troika meetings beginning 2007.

The first EU-Africa Business Forum concluded with a Declaration, whereby the private sector reaffirmed its support in strengthening EU-Africa relations to foster more political momentum and commitment to create a better investment and business climate in Africa. (See page 185).



## WORKING GROUP

### Good Governance and Corporate Ethics



## Creating a healthy business climate

Governance has become central to the development discourse over the past decade. The Cotonou Agreement explicitly provides that good governance is the fundamental element of the EU-ACP partnership that shall underpin the domestic and international policies of both ACP countries and EU Member States. Serious cases of corruption, including acts of bribery leading to such corruption, violate the agreement. Good governance and corporate ethics foster a healthy business climate and lead to better company performance, higher profitability and increased shareholder wealth.

Governance itself is about law, which together with regulations and enforcement mechanisms underlie economic performance. Foreign direct investment (FDI) is a major engine for growth, however, it can only be attracted to Africa if there is a healthy business climate, quality in public governance, and an improvement in the internal practices of corporations.

The August 2006 Communication of the European Commission on governance and development co-operation aims to position the EU as a key actor on governance and to provide a common approach to EU Member States. Concern about good governance coincides with serious and increasing attention to governance issues within African countries. This is largely driven by the recognition that there is a strong need for states being able to ensure the respect for human, economic, political and social rights. This entails strong and accountable institutions, political commitment to effective management of the state, and a vibrant and organised civil society.

Within the 10<sup>th</sup> EDF programme, the European Commission is planning to establish a “governance profile” for each ACP country, containing an extensive set of indicators and information. This will be used as a basis to assess the governance situation and trends, identify the main governance constraints and as a basis for the programming dialogue on governance with partner countries.

The EU-Africa Business Forum focused on two main areas of good governance and corporate ethics:

- Public sector issues, such as transparency and anti-corruption. The discussion also covered other external factors that have an impact on corporate social responsibility (CSR).
- Private sector issues, such as CSR. Discussion focused on both internal and external factors affecting the adoption by corporations of socially responsible behaviour. Participants also examined the barriers to CSR and identified key success factors in its adoption and implementation.





## Key elements of support to governance reforms

The August 2006 Communication of the European Commission on governance and development co-operation offers a practical list of key areas where EC support to African countries would be warranted:

- Support a police and judiciary system based on the principle of separation of powers.
- Support an independent court of auditors.
- Support pluralistic election commissions.
- Strengthen public finance management systems.
- Reinforce national parliaments.
- Develop local capacities, notably through decentralisation.
- Support civil society.

## Addressing barriers to CSR

Participants in the working group discussed the key drivers, obstacles and critical success factors in promoting a wider application of CSR, both in Europe and in Africa. The internal drivers of CSR include: human rights, accountability, transparency in company operations, combating bribery, compliance with international standards and national legislations.

These are all domains where businesses can play a more constructive role. Corporations will need to take account of their economic, social and environmental responsibilities in addressing sustainable development wherever they operate. At the same time, public authorities have an important role to play.

However, there are barriers to overcome. Corporations have a role to play in facilitating good governance and transparency with regard to their own operations. Many wish to act responsibly when conducting business in developing countries, but they sometimes hesitate to do so because other less responsible companies may replace them and take over their business.

In practice, supply chain complexity is a major barrier to the implementation of inspections and audits. The trend towards global economic consolidation places a greater emphasis on supply chain management.

Developing and adopting CSR instruments, such as internal and external audits, often constitute obstacles to voluntarily setting up socially and environmentally responsible business practices in African countries. Achieving corporate coherence is another challenge for many large companies that operate across a number of countries, notably when companies do not find appropriate local business partners. The following barriers to CSR have been identified:

- Poor public governance.
- Supply chain complexity.
- Costs and lack of resources.
- Lack of consistency of CSR directives within companies.
- Language and cultural gaps affecting effective communication of policy within the company.
- Local skill capacities.
- Absence of appropriate partners and contradictory expectations of stakeholders.



## Working together

Local stakeholder involvement is crucial to private sector success. CSR strategies in developing countries necessitate collaboration with relevant public bodies. Forging public-private partnerships is also critical. Such partnerships are even more fruitful when they involve civil society and other stakeholders, such as trade unions and NGOs. Companies may work with local governments, civil society and international organisations to improve such areas as education and health in local communities.

Other stakeholders, such as consumers, investors and the Fair Trade movement, are increasingly aware of the need to adopt sustainable CSR strategies. They can become an important external influence and a driving force for corporations to adopt CSR findings. Publishing key findings from internal and external audits, as well as reporting on CSR, result in a greater transparency of information in the public domain.

## Recommendations

The EU-Africa Business Forum welcomes the European Union's governance initiative, which provides for the establishment of a European consensus on governance within the framework of EU development policy, supports the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), and establishes a coherent set of means with which the EU will support governance reforms on the basis of a dialogue with partners.

The working group considers that well-governed states, and strong, transparent, accountable, responsive and efficient institutions, supported by a conducive legal environment are imperative to attract investment. This is key to sustained, equitable and broad-based growth. Business recommends that the EU and Africa should work together to:

- Reduce bureaucratic red tape, adopt better regulation, and create fairer, more effective and better functioning judicial systems in Africa.
- Ensure direct consultation of the private sector on country governance profiles in the EU Governance Initiative.
- Create an African business network to promote, disseminate and exchange best practices on governance and CSR and to promote a better understanding of corporate responsibility initiatives in Africa among the wider public.
- Examine ways to improve the fight against government corruption and promote and support business-led partnerships with governments to reduce corruption.
- Call on African governments to develop and implement guidelines on state-owned enterprises based on good practices – for example, OECD guidelines.



## The key role of infrastructure investments

Access to infrastructure is a major factor for a successful development policy. The business community strongly welcomes a renewed recognition by the international development community and, in particular, by the European Commission, of the key role that infrastructure investments play, notably in achieving the UN Millennium Development Goals.

Such infrastructure investments contribute directly to the well being of populations, as in the case of modern energy and safe water and sanitation. They contribute indirectly as a precondition for creating macroeconomic wealth, as in the case of energy and a reliable transport network.

Economic policies, strong property rights, liberalised markets, and limited restrictions on entry and ownership are also conducive to attracting investment, boosting economic growth and reducing poverty. The business community stresses the need for developing coherent policies, with a clear prioritisation of investment needs.

Many contributors to the discussion on interconnectivity – in such sectors as energy, water and sanitation, transport and ICT – point out that development aid flows alone will not be sufficient to attain the MDGs. Growth demands delivery mechanisms for economic and social ends, of which infrastructure development is critical. The European and African private sectors recognise the important role of infrastructure, including information and communication technologies, which offer special opportunities to stimulate growth and increase innovation in every local setting.

ICT also enables individuals and institutions to interact more productively with the global economy and the wider world. The importance of interconnectivity cannot be underestimated, as integration of ICT into personal and professional lives, as well as efficient transport systems, help create growth, increase productivity and improve quality of life.

Generally, business considers that the “project approach” to infrastructure development should be maintained. In addition, the EC’s infrastructure management capabilities should be reinforced with resources from the private sector and robust project delivery mechanisms should be adopted. The technical and environmental quality of projects and the procurement process for infrastructure works should also be improved.

Participants in this working group made recommendations in the areas of global competition, regulatory issues, microfinance, strengthening intellectual property rights, public procurement, prioritisation of infrastructures and capacity building.



## Global competition

Many state-owned companies from outside the EU or Africa have more flexibility and are heavily subsidised when accessing markets, which distorts fair competition. Specifically, business recommends that:

- The European Commission forms an Africa task force to address the strategic, policy, trade and infra-structure challenges related to creating a level playing field with competitors from other regions. Key areas to focus on include: export financing, export credit insurance and public procurement.

## Regulatory issues

There are difficulties with public-private partnerships due to the entry of public players into the market and non-discrimination for public procurement between publicly owned and private entities. Regulators, in some cases, need additional capacity. Specifically the working group recommends that:

- The European Commission support the liberalisation and regionalisation of infrastructure and e-communication legislation, including spectrum planning and management. Best practice regulatory projects like UEMOA/ECOWAS/WATRA/ITU should also be extended to other regions.
- Information on African legislation and call for tenders should be more widely transparent and available for European companies.

## SMEs and microfinance

There are many challenges for SMEs to enter markets. Extending microfinance and small business finance and addressing capacity challenges with microfinance lenders could improve the situation.

In various fields of procurement, such as road transport maintenance, there is a lack of long-term contracts, which makes SME participation more difficult. Specifically business recommends that the European Commission:

- Works with private banks and the European Investment Bank to promote microfinance systems and small business credit and guarantee systems for local African countries.
- Facilitates telecoms clearing houses on the continent and work with industry to extend prepaid business models to other technology and infrastructure businesses.
- Promotes a business model for infrastructure maintenance as a means to encourage SME development.



## Improving Intellectual Property Rights (patents, copyrights, trademarks), enforcement and anti-counterfeiting

Capacity is lagging in fighting piracy and counterfeiting, both in skills and resources. This is preventing the development of indigenous software and creative industries. Ensuring affordable access to medications to deal with HIV/AIDS and other health crises is an essential issue in Africa.

The amendment to the WTO TRIPs Agreement relative to access to essential medicines was a key first step to addressing this issue. Business recommends:

- Building capacity to improve the protection of IPR.
- Ensuring fair access to intellectual property, for example support voluntary licensing of anti-retroviral medicines for HIV-AIDS.

## Public procurement and prioritisation of infrastructures

Businesses often incur high operational costs due to infrastructure inefficiencies. Projects need a regional dimension to ensure economies of scale. Prioritisation is needed among various infrastructure projects in the energy, transport, water and ICT sectors. Because such projects are very interdependent, there is a need to ensure there is no fragmentation of approach. Projects are financed by hard currency loans that are paid back in local currency, which creates risks. In addition, infrastructure projects often do not have an effective maintenance component. Specifically, business recommends that:

- To ensure a holistic and regional approach, the Commission could map political regional integration to the infrastructure development maps within the AUC/NEPAD Infrastructure Action Plan to encourage regional economic communities to take ownership.
- The Commission should consult the EU-Africa Business Forum on the consortium list of lead projects (NEPAD/ADB/AU) prior to engaging in feasibility studies, which are needed to determine cost, delivery, scale, delivery time and the economic impact of projects. The Forum will prioritise and give input on the cost to business for weak infrastructure and supports transparency of project coordination with other donors. To pre-qualify for Commission funding, companies should respect environment, social, financial standards within the EU *acquis communautaire*.
- Efforts are needed to ensure that risk is covered by local donors for the hedging of local currencies.
- Complementary ICT infrastructure is needed to ensure affordable and reliable mobile and satellite access in the short term and terrestrial services for the long term.





## Capacity building for individuals and organisations

Capacity building is important to ensure that business – especially SMEs – can work efficiently with donors and local governments in developing interconnectivity in Africa. Business recommends that the Commission:

- Provide more capacity building for civil servants working in the fields of policies and procurement specifically standardisation, procurement competition, IPR, telecom, spectrum and infrastructure.
- Build capacity to improve the protection of IPR.
- Support capacity building for SMEs, specifically SME knowledge and skills transfer to local SMEs.



## WORKING GROUP

# Challenges & Opportunities of Economic Partnership Agreements



## Fostering open, vibrant markets in Africa

The negotiation of Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) between the EU and four African regions are expected to promote a dynamic process of growth and development with a view to creating more dynamic regional markets and enhancing the ability of Africa to attract investment. The European and the African private sectors agree that reducing barriers to trade and investment is an important step in a broad-based development strategy.

The long-term objective remains the fostering of open and vibrant markets in Africa, in partnership with the EU. However, the African private sector signals a need for a careful sequencing and speed of measures. It also calls for a development co-operation policy that is primarily geared towards achieving the Millennium Development Goals. To take advantage of the opportunities that EPAs could provide, a number of key challenges must be addressed

Within the framework of consultation, boosting investment and developing co-operation policies, the working group made recommendations with the aim of creating a win-win collaborative approach rather than a compromise whereby some win and others lose. To achieve such “win-win” EPAs and not be sidetracked by myriad other issues, participants were reminded of the overriding objective of the Cotonou Agreement:

“Economic and trade co-operation shall aim at fostering the smooth and gradual integration of the ACP states into the world economy, with due regard for their political choices and development priorities, thereby promoting their sustainable development and contributing to poverty eradication in the ACP countries.” (Article 34.)

With this objective in mind, the working group made recommendations on consultations with non-state actors, market access, enhancing investment prospects, trade facilitation, trade in services, and development co-operation policies.

## Consultation with non-state actors in negotiating EPAs

To put forward an effective negotiating platform, the private sector must be better informed. It must have a clear understanding of what it is signing onto when it endorses the proposed EPAs. The business community shares the concerns that there should be more structured consultation with business in the context of the EPA discussion. The Cotonou Agreement reserves an important role for non-state actors, the private sector, economic and social partners, including trade union organisations, and civil society. However, it has been recognised that progress on the involvement of non-state actors has been insufficient.

Business is firmly convinced that co-operative dialogue at the national, sub-regional, and regional (EU-Africa) level is essential to ensure the EPA negotiations are a success. Business should be consulted on crosscutting issues, such as trade facilitation, standards, public procurement, public-private partnerships and fiscal policy, to reach consensus on appropriate preparatory timeframes and clearly defined implementation roadmaps to establish predictability for investors and companies.



The EU-Africa Business Forum can serve to facilitate private sector input into the EPA negotiations as well as WTO negotiations, but transparent dialogue should also be established at other levels. The EU and African governments should encourage greater participation of the private sector in trade policy negotiations – WTO and EPAs – at all levels. To this end, business recommends that:

- The Commission and the four African EPA regions conduct an inventory of the business dialogues on EPA negotiations that exist at the national, sub-regional and regional levels in Africa in order to improve the information flow to the private sector.

## Market access

To overcome the problems of small, fragmented markets, the development of interregional trade in the four African regions will be essential to expand their market size and stimulate regional competition. To increase export opportunities for African companies, the EU should open its market to all goods exported by EPA partners and commit to a reduction in non-tariff barriers as of the date of implementation.

Therefore, the liberalisation of the most sensitive products – including those linked to subsistence production – by African countries should be appropriately sequenced. Although goods liberalisation is vital for competitiveness, business is concerned about the slow pace of regional integration in some EPA sub-regions. Moreover, business recognises that trade between the EPA sub-regions, for example between West and Central Africa, should also be facilitated. Finally, there are concerns over non-tariff barriers to the EU market that prevent African companies from taking advantage of trade opportunities. Business recommends that:

- The EU and Africa should focus on accelerating intra-African trade liberalisation as a first step to increasing competitiveness. As a second step, African countries should progressively liberalise to EU trade to lower input costs and strengthen manufacturing competitiveness.
- The EU and Africa must closely examine the issue of non-tariff barriers – including standards and rules of origin – to ensure that African companies can export to the EU market.
- African sub-regions/countries require laboratories to conduct standard testing and certification. Similarly, the role of non-state actors in standards/certification must be considered.



## Enhancing investment prospects

By expanding the size and increasing the openness and predictability of African markets, EPA negotiations can tackle one of the main causes of under development in Africa – under investment. However, a key part of an enabling investment agenda should concentrate on creating larger, more predictable markets.

Business is concerned about the co-ordination and timing of negotiations of EPAs and capacity building (in the form of EU development assistance programmes) to ensure that African countries will be able to strengthen their competitiveness while liberalising trade. In particular, business feels that the SME sector remains underdeveloped. Business recommends:

- A commitment to EPA rules for national treatment, non-discrimination and incentives/disincentives for investment and bilateral dispute settlement.
- Closer co-ordination of trade negotiations and development assistance in relation to the EPAs with a particular focus on the capacity building needs of the SME sector.

## Trade Facilitation

Improving Trade Facilitation will contribute to growth if African countries continue to focus on an integrated and coherent approach. African governments suggest that business stakeholders and civil society need to determine the specific Trade Facilitation measures they are willing to support. Trade Facilitation should be designated a priority issue in the EPA negotiations.

Key issues to be addressed include: transparency of procedures and regulations, transit, harmonisation of trade procedures, customs co-operation, minimisation/elimination of fees and charges, legal recourse for appeal of customs decisions, establishment of a single window, and accelerated and simplified procedures for clearance of goods. However, business is also concerned about the practical realisation of EPA customs reforms: in particular to reinforce the case for fair government revenue, regional customs co-operation and good governance of customs. Business recommends that:

- Assurances should be given that the private sector will not face unreasonable increased tax burdens as a result of customs reform.
- The EU and African sub-regions should clearly address the issue of revenue sharing and avoidance of potentially lost revenues.
- To improve governance, more transparency and co-operation between customs authorities and business is needed.





## Trade in services

With respect to services liberalisation, the private sector recognises that liberalisation commitments and more support for public-private partnership projects could stimulate strong investment in the services sector in Africa over the coming years. For the European private sector, services liberalisation, particularly in underdeveloped infrastructure related services – water, electricity and telecommunications – should be a key issue for EPA negotiations. Many ACP countries maintain inappropriate regulations in the service sector. It is essential these countries deregulate their service sectors to allow both for new national entrants and foreign-owned companies.

African countries and regions need sound policies to develop trade in services. Liberalisation should occur where African countries can strengthen their competitiveness. Business recommends:

- The improvement of services related to “export infrastructure” such as transportation costs, export financing, etc.

## Development co-operation policies

Development co-operation is an important aspect of the EPA process, which must be targeted to the specific needs of each African region and/or country. The overall objective of development policy should be to develop vibrant, open markets and, where necessary, to facilitate regional integration. The working group recommends that the EU and Africa should:

- Adapt development funding to the regional logic of the Economic Partnership Agreements and ensure co-ordination between trade negotiations and development assistance.
- Promote good governance by strengthening legal regimes and promoting best practice.
- Invest in infrastructure networks through development assistance and public-private partnerships.
- Promote training and human resource development in combination with concrete measures for job creation. This should include investment in training on professional, financial, health and environmental issues and the development of sound basic education and health policies.
- Promote pro-competitive policies and regulations to foster an investment-enabling environment.
- Develop programmes to improve competitiveness, restructure and upgrade the capacities of African business – in particular SMEs – and representative business organisations.
- Give more focus to the appropriate financing instruments and technical assistance to promote and support SMEs.





## WORKING GROUP

### Conclusion



## Business dialogue as a catalyst for sustainable development

The EU-Africa Business Forum discussed the relevant policies and activities – trade, development aid, regional economic integration, national/local governance and corporate social responsibility – that can contribute to making Africa an attractive region for investment as well as social and economic development.

However, these policies and activities will only make a difference on the ground if there is a way to ensure better coherence and more local ownership of the need for change and reform. A change in attitude towards development by government authorities and agencies – as well as business – is just as important as policy reform to achieve truly sustainable development.

Co-operative dialogue among business, government, regional organisations and development assistance donors on the strategic direction of trade, aid, regional integration and governance policies can make a real difference in terms of shaping effective and sustainable policies. Business can play a key role in catalysing the various actions and policies into a pro-development direction by recommending changes and improvements that will facilitate private sector development – and hence development itself.

A commitment to meaningful dialogue with business will also be a testament to the goodwill of countries that claim they are reforming by actually responding to business needs.

The EU-Africa Business Forum is convinced that a much closer dialogue with business will prove to be an invaluable asset for Africa that will contribute to establishing more effective economic policies, to improving the benefits of development aid, to strengthening public and private sector governance and ultimately, to sustainable development. We therefore urge our respective governments to further develop and strengthen government business co-operation and dialogue at all levels.

### DECLARATION BY THE EU-AFRICA BUSINESS FORUM – BRUSSELS, 16-17 NOVEMBER 2006

Business welcomes the establishment of the EU-Africa Business Forum as a tool for improving EU-African relations and economic development through closer private sector co-operation and dialogue. Business agrees that EU-Africa economic relations should be strengthened to foster more political momentum and commitment to create a better investment and business climate in Africa. Business recommends that:

- The EU and Africa should cooperate multilaterally on peace and development including:
  - United Nations development, food and health activities.
  - Restarting the WTO Doha Development Agenda Negotiations.
- The EU and African Union should hold regular high-level political dialogue to address trade and development challenges.
- The EU-Africa Business Forum should become an annual event to foster mutually beneficial trade and investment between the two regions.



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BUSINESS FORUM

CLOSING CEREMONY

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AAPU PÖLHÖ

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MAXWELL MKWEZALAMBA

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LOUIS MICHEL

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## CLOSING CEREMONY

### Aapo PÖLHÖ

Director General, Department for Africa and the Middle East,  
Ministry for Foreign Affairs,  
Finland (Presidency of European Union)



## Connecting Two Ladies and Gentlemen,

### Continents:

### Opportunities for the

### EU's Africa Strategy

As delivered

The mutual interests of the European Union and Africa are in trade and investment. That fact presents a unique opportunity for increasing growth through trade and fostering the integration of the continents into the global economy.

This first EU-Africa Business Forum is a very important form of co-operation to find ways how to enhance trade and investments between companies in the two continents. We thank the private sector for their remarks during these two days and we would like to present some views about the deliberations of this productive Forum.

The importance of trade for development and growth has become more and more evident. It is clear that increasing trade and investments will increase the well-being in societies. There is a challenge to step up the capacity of integrated business environment in Africa. That means infrastructure, market institutions, business competition and good governance. Together, these factors determine the cost level of doing business between African and European companies.

From the perspective of broad-based development as well as business, it is of utmost importance to involve African countries so that they are genuinely able to participate in and benefit from international commerce. We should support African countries in strengthening their overall trade capacity both in their North-South and South-South commerce.

I would like to emphasize the importance of coherence in the EU policies. We have the new EU Strategy for Africa. With this new strategy, the EU affirmed its commitment to peace, stability and development, and defined a single comprehensive, integrated and long-term framework for its relations with the whole of Africa. The strategy is a solid platform to improve the coordination, coherence and consistency between the EU's policies and instruments supporting Africa and those of its Members States. The global market with its new challenges to all of us links the African and European continents together. Therefore, the EU should support African economies to integrate at the global level and to exploit economic relations better than before. One of the biggest challenges is in getting private sector companies to join our shared efforts to develop essential structures for increasing commercial relations between the two continents. I also want to emphasise African ownership when building business environments, competitive market structures and quality market institutions. In this respect, the local market development is very important.

The challenges business environments face are not just creating opportunities, but they are also security risks that may cause unexpected harm to business. There is a strong link between development and security. Sustainable development is not possible without stability and security. One central goal of the EU Strategy for Africa is therefore to step up the EU's efforts at all stages of the conflict cycle: conflict prevention, crisis management, post-conflict situation and reconstruction. Another goal is to support the emerging new security structures with the African Union (AU).



Aid for Trade is needed in all developing countries. Economic Partnership Agreements are currently being negotiated with the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries to turn existing trade preferences into a series of reciprocal free trade agreements. Fostering regional integration and a development friendly outcome are at the heart of the EPA negotiations. EPAs provide a basis for an active private sector for Africa's future. We feel that EPAs are not only in EU's interest but first and foremost in African countries' and businesses' interest. In order to work properly they have to be mutually beneficial.

The importance of the EPA negotiations is further underlined after the temporary suspension of the WTO negotiations. The EU is committed to provide support to Aid for Trade. The collective EU target per year is two billion euros by 2010. Furthermore, the EU has also made a commitment to allocate a substantial share of the Member States' Aid for Trade contribution for the ACP countries. The on-going scaling-up of EU aid provides new opportunities to strengthen our support also in this field as prioritized by our partners.

Making EPAs development friendly is, however, not just about providing more support. Development funding is no substitute for the potential of economic growth that would result from increased trade and investment. The development agenda needs to be incorporated in the agreements themselves. The EU is committed to an ambitious and timely outcome of the EPA negotiations.

The EPAs have a potential to serve as a platform to promote predictability and security for trading and Investment and to facilitate a conducive environment for business. Investment, procurement and competition legislation are but examples of issues that can be promoted not only at the national but also at a regional level. Clear and common rules for wider markets would bring the economies of scale to the support of development.

In addition to EU's Aid for Trade commitments, it is also important to bear in mind that an already considerable level of EU support is channelled to productive sectors and infrastructure. Development of trade facilitation infrastructure, such as improvement of ports, roads, railways, and telecommunication networks, will advance Africa's integration into the global economy as well as regional integration in Africa.

As a part of implementing EU Strategy for Africa, I would like to affirm our commitment to the EU-Africa Partnership on Infrastructure. The Partnership responds to the development goals of the AU and NEPAD. It aims to increase the EU's support and investment in Africa's infrastructure. The Partnership establishes a new EU-Africa infrastructure trust fund, financed jointly by Community funding, the European Investment Bank and the EU Member States. In the infrastructure sector, as in others, ownership and partnership remain the key operating principles.





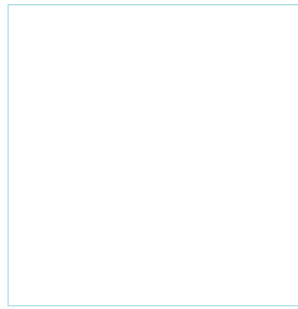
The EU will support Africa's efforts to identify and address missing links in existing networks, harmonise transport policies, develop integrated water management, develop cross-border and regional energy infrastructure, and promote efforts to bridge the digital divide. Access to information and application of knowledge and innovation have become decisive factors in when it comes to competitiveness, growth and wealth. In response to these challenges, governments are adjusting their development strategies within a new framework in which knowledge-related policies in the areas of education, innovation and information and communications technology (ICT) are occupying a central place. Information and communications technology is an important instrument for increasing productivity, competitiveness, creation of public services and sustainable development.

How can we improve predictability and cost-effectiveness of companies' business environments? African countries need to improve their governance systems to be able to use the funds efficiently, in a transparent and fair manner, and to build credible institutions. The EU Strategy for Africa identifies good and effective governance as a prerequisite for development and launches a Governance Initiative. The initiative sees good governance in a wide manner requiring comprehensive action from fighting corruption into improving public management systems. The principles of the initiative guide the ongoing EDF programming but are also followed outside the ACP region.

Democratic governance relates to the political, economic, social and environmental spheres. It is a broad approach to governance. It is based on commonly agreed principles that apply to the main functions of government and to the interaction between public institutions and citizens. Processes of democratic governance cannot be imposed from the outside. In relations between partner countries and donors, it is vital that ownership of the reform processes is respected. Only the countries concerned can decide and implement their own reforms. They themselves have to recognise the benefits of doing so as well as the consequences of not doing so. If there is no political will inside the country, outside support is unlikely to deliver results. Dialogue must be the preferred means of encouraging countries to embark on reforms and it must have a substantial preventive dimension and permit the discussion of politically sensitive issues. Since reform processes can be slow and complex, the dialogue on good governance must be based on realistic expectations and involve a commitment to support the countries' efforts politically as well as financially.

Good governance is an indispensable element of a good business environment. Africa is displaying clear signs of positive change in the area of democratic governance. Some African countries have committed themselves to being regularly monitored in the framework of the Africa Peer Review Mechanism, a unique tool for peer review and peer learning, which is pursued in the context of NEPAD and the AU.

Economic partnership agreements, infrastructure and good governance have an important impact on commercial relations both in public and private sectors. Our aim is to move towards greater volume and more diversified commercial goods, shifting away from excessive reliance on a few basic commodities. This would give African economies a possibility to participate in global economic production networks and structures.



Once again, this first EU-Africa Business Forum opens up the possibility for regular interaction and helps to find ways to expand trade and investment between the companies of the two continents. In the future, our challenge is to ensure private sector ownership of the undertaking to combine development, trade and investments. I am convinced that when companies are innovating new business between Europe and Africa, new challenges for the public sector will emerge. The dialogue between Europe and Africa has been active this far in the Forum, but most active it should be between private sector partners when they meet and create new business together in everyday life. This kind of a dialogue is institutionalised between other continents, Europe, Asia and Latin America. Now, it is time to anchor Africa to global economy.



## CLOSING CEREMONY

### MAXWELL MKWEZALAMBA

Commissioner for Economic Affairs,  
African Union Commission



**The Future of** Co-Chairs,  
**the EU-Africa** Mr Louis Michel,  
**Business Forum** Members of the Private Sector,  
**in the Context** Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen,  
**of the African Union**  
**and the Private**  
**Sector**

As delivered

Allow me to start by extending, on behalf of the African Union Commission, my sincere appreciation to the European Commission for hosting this important event, and all the participants for actively taking part in this event during the past one and half days. With this level of commitment on the part of all the stakeholders, we will surely achieve our objectives.

Prior to attending this Forum, I had very high expectations in terms of the likely positive benefits, both direct and indirect, that would accrue to the African continent following a successful EU-Africa Business Forum. After one and a half days of deliberations, having seen the level of participation and the richness of the discussions, and having heard the declarations of commitment from both the EU Commission and the EU private sector, I will be leaving this venue with even greater optimism.

As speaker after speaker has alluded to, business opportunities in Africa are vast. Africa needs private sector investment to develop and through closer collaboration and partnership with our European friends, we will surely achieve our development objectives. We have heard from earlier speakers the various initiatives that are being taken to further improve the investment climate both at country and continental levels and in collaboration with our development partners.

We, at the level of the African Union Commission, will continue to guide Member States in their attempt to develop more competitive economies by putting in place measures such as the elimination of all forms of bottlenecks to private sector activity. We will continue to guide Member States towards the adoption of appropriate macroeconomic policies and legal, regulatory and institutional frameworks conducive to investment and private sector business activity. We will also continue to work rigorously towards implementing our economic integration agenda so as to promote sustainable economic growth and development in the continent.

It is our conviction that the achievement of our socioeconomic development objectives will remain a distant dream in the absence of a vibrant private sector. Our efforts to develop and implement strategies aimed at attaining macroeconomic convergence on the continent and strides to harmonize business law in Africa bear testimony to our commitment to bring about the much needed change. Our business law harmonization exercise aims at facilitating business and supporting the creation of regional and continental common markets to enhance the free movement of goods, services, capital, labour and people as well as the recognition of the right of establishment. The simplification and harmonization of complex and differing laws will facilitate business with the resultant reduction in the cost of doing business, hence generating local investment and attracting foreign direct investment.



We still have a long way to go, though, and many more challenges lie ahead. However, a journey of a thousand miles begins with a single step, and I can confidently say that, not just that first step but several steps have been taken, both at the level of individual Member States and at the level of the African Union. There is a strong commitment to create the space for private sector activity on the continent and we shall be steadfast in pursuit of this goal.

The topics discussed here during the past one and a half days are quite relevant indeed. Poor public governance has long been one of the biggest obstacles to Africa's development. Evidence suggests that good governance is likely to result in economic growth and development and hence improved living standards and it goes a long way in increasing investor confidence. In recognition of this, we have seen strong commitment to tackling, for example, the twin vices of bribery and corruption in many parts of the continent.

Within the framework of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), twenty-six countries have acceded to the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), an instrument voluntarily acceded to by Member States of the African Union as an African self-monitoring mechanism. The APRM aims at fostering the adoption of policies, standards, and practices that lead to high economic growth, sustainable development, and accelerated subregional and continental economic integration through sharing of experiences and reinforcement of successful and best practice, including identifying deficiencies and assessing the needs of capacity building. This is likely to lead to rapid poverty eradication and achievement of the objectives of the NEPAD programme and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Reviews have been launched in nine countries so far and the process has been completed in three of these, namely Ghana, Rwanda and Kenya. We hope to see many more reviews conducted in the near future and this is a manifestation of Africa's commitment to good governance.

Corporate governance, referring to the structures and processes for the direction and control of companies, is equally important. It concerns the relationships among the management, Board of Directors, controlling shareholders, minority shareholders and other stakeholders. Good corporate governance contributes to sustainable economic development by enhancing the performance of companies and increasing their access to outside capital. The events of recent years, starting with Enron scandal and subsequent revelations of companies misrepresenting their financial statements highlighted the importance of corporate governance even in developed countries. In developing countries the issue of corporate governance is even more important because of the weak legal systems which cannot effectively enforce contracts and resolve disputes and poor quality of information which prevents effective monitoring. As such, the African Union Commission will continue to pursue measures aimed at promoting good governance, both public and corporate.



The issue of interconnectivity has also been discussed in detail and the recommendations that came out of these discussions need serious consideration. The development of basic infrastructure is required for the facilitation of business links between Africa and its European partners. The development of communication and energy infrastructure, for example, are basic prerequisites for industrial development and for increasing the productive capacities of industry. Hence, addressing other policy areas without comprehensively dealing with basic infrastructure issues will leave serious bottlenecks. As such, initiatives like the EU-Africa Partnership for Infrastructure are steps in the right direction. I would, therefore, like to appeal to EU Member States to contribute to this facility so that interconnection in Africa can be improved, and with it, the investment climate.

The discussions on the Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) have also brought to light some key issues and the implementation of the recommendations will go a long way in helping Africa's private sector access the vast opportunities in Europe. These EPAs with the European Union can be effective tools for the acceleration of economic development and integration of Africa provided that they adequately address supply side constraints, infrastructure bottlenecks and adjustment costs. It is our view that EPAs should be in line with the objectives and economic integration process as per the Constitutive Act of the African Union and the Treaty Establishing the African Economic Community. What is expected of our development partners is to pursue negotiating objectives that would be supportive of the existing programmes and processes for economic integration in Africa. At the same time, the African Union deeply regrets the suspension of the DOHA Development Agenda negotiations, given that the EPAs, once negotiated, will need to be WTO-compatible. We therefore call upon our development partners to seriously consider the immediate resumption of the negotiations.

Co-Chairs,

Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen,

We at the African Union Commission are committed to building on the momentum created by this EU-Africa Business Forum. The concept of the Forum is very much in line with the objectives and strategies of the African Union and as such, it is our intention to give it the serious attention it deserves. We will continue to provide the necessary support to the private sector to organize itself into a strong grouping and explore initiatives that strengthen the link between the African private sector and that of Europe. Such networking will be an effective route towards the creation of North-South business partnerships with potentially huge benefits to both parties – the African side will benefit in the form of managerial expertise, investment capital and acquisition of new technology while the European side enjoys easy market access and vast knowledge of local market conditions.

The idea of linking the Forum to a political event is very much welcome as it will create the opportunity to present the conclusions of the Forum directly to the Member States and thereby ensure effective implementation of the recommendations. In light of this, therefore, we would like to link the next Forum to the Summit of the African Union to be held in Ghana in July 2007. It is our sincere hope that the EU and African private sectors will take the lead in the organization of the Forum and that our two Commissions, the European and African, will act as facilitators.





At the level of the African Union Commission, we will endeavour to attain synergy by identifying regional fora organized along similar lines and building a system of liaison and information sharing. As these complement each other, we hope to be able to achieve much greater impact from such activities. The European Commission, for example, has been invited to the forthcoming AU Private Sector Forum scheduled to take place in Cairo, Egypt, from 28–30 November, 2006. Experiences from such fora will help us improve on the organization of subsequent EU-Africa Business Fora. I wish to take the opportunity to invite you all to the African Union Private Sector Forum to be held in Cairo.

Co-Chairs,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I would like to conclude by, once again, saying a big thank you to each and everyone who, in one way or the other, contributed to the success of this very important event. Special thanks go to the private sector for having answered our call and for sharing your views with us, and the European Commission for hosting the Forum.

I do hope that the high level of interaction and information sharing that transpired here over the past one and a half days will lead to tangible results in the form of Africa-Europe private sector partnerships. I am sure this will also boost Europe's desire to invest in Africa, culminating in increased investment flows from Europe to Africa.

We have taken note of the concerns and views expressed by the private sector and I can assure you that the African Union Commission will seriously consider these as we continue to strategise and formulate policies, particularly with respect to private sector development, harmonization of business law and the development of common investment policies and possibly, investment guidelines. It is our resolve to make Africa an even better investment destination as we strive to remove obstacles and facilitate investment through the Investment Climate Facility to which a number of cooperating partners are making contributions.

I look forward to seeing you all in Africa next year and hope that some of you will be telling us of your new experiences following your investments in Africa.

## CLOSING CEREMONY

### LOUIS MICHEL

European Commissioner  
for Development and Humanitarian Aid



## Public/private partnerships for development in Africa, from dialogue to action

As delivered

You have just given two days of your time to this first Business Forum between the European Union and Africa. You have demonstrated your belief in the usefulness of a high-level dialogue between the public sector represented here by the European Commission and the Commission of the African Union as well as our Member States and the private sector of both continents.

I think this dialogue holds the seeds of a revival of honest economic interaction between the two continents. I personally regret not having been able to spend more time with you but, as you know, this Forum is taking place during the European Development Days, which have attracted thousands of people, but also 18 African heads of state and government with whom I have met personally to further my ongoing political dialogue with them. Furthermore, this aspect of securing European investment in Africa has an important place in such a political dialogue.

I wanted this Business Forum because I think the European private sector has seemed – and I mean seemed – to be disinterested for too long now in the African continent. This is not totally true of everyone but, generally speaking, that is nonetheless the feeling that I have.

That said, I would also like to thank my colleague at the Commission of the African Union, Dr Maxwell Mkwezalamba, for his presence and the support that his organisation is giving to this Forum. His presence is all the more important given that next year he will host the second of these Forums in Africa.

Ladies and Gentleman, we share several deep convictions. Our two continents are united by a secular history, a common history. As neighbours, they are natural partners who have everything to gain by developing their economic relations. But, the driving force for creative economic growth and sustainable employment is a private sector that is enterprising but also responsible, that operates within a stable, effective, democratic and legitimate political environment. I have had the opportunity, several times already, to point out that, clearly, just because there is growth in a country does not always necessarily mean there is a decrease in poverty. This is a fact. But, we cannot reduce poverty if there is no growth. I think we all agree on that.

I think it is equally important that European businesses reflect on the best way to use our creativity to respond to the anxieties that our African partners have about Economic Partnership Agreements. Today I had the chance to hear a whole succession of heads of state and government, who expressed quite clearly the fears of their businesses, their citizens as well as their politicians in regard to Economic Partnership Agreements. They have the feeling that these EPAs are designed primarily to respond to our concerns, our interests; whereas Economic Partnership Agreements are in fact, first and foremost, partnership or, I would say, development project agreements. There are a few misunderstandings that we should clarify. A Business Forum like this one, where African and European businesses meet, could without doubt be a useful place of reflection to identify ways and means of creating the responses necessary to appease everyone's anxieties.



The moment chosen for this Forum is particularly opportune. Africa's political and economic situation today is better than it has been for 30 years. I have the feeling that Africa's day has come. These shared convictions enable us to set three objectives for this Forum:

- To establish a direct dialogue that will involve African and European businesses in the issues on our development policy agenda: governance, infrastructure and Economic Partnership Agreements.
- To improve the business and investment environment.
- To make Africa more attractive to European private sector investment by giving a more precise, fairer and thus more positive image to this continent that has remained absent for too long from the governing Councils of European businesses.

Have these objectives been achieved?

Naturally I do not want to jump to conclusions, but I can nonetheless already make a few observations.

Concerning direct dialogue, the response is clearly positive. The plenary sessions and the working groups organised around three themes – governance, infrastructure and EPAs – constituted a theatre of apparently very frank and constructive dialogue. I intend, what's more, to pursue this dialogue at different levels with my colleague Peter Mandelson.

I would like to establish substantial consultation of the private sector in the context of the EPA negotiations, and complementary measures necessary for providing aid to commerce. Private sector actors are the first affected by these negotiations and can help the negotiators to identify, as I just said, the most useful measures and to use to best advantage the volume of aid we are going to give.

I would also like the Commission delegations in Africa to be your natural spokesmen, to be able to consult you regularly on questions of mutual strategic interest. For example, we are currently in the midst of preparing the 10th European Development Fund and national and regional development programmes. We are trying, furthermore, to establish joint programming with the Member States on certain pioneer countries. What does this mean? To divide and share work more effectively with our partners; to see a bit who does what with our partners. We have already identified a certain number of African countries for which the Commission is working, along with a dozen European countries, on joint programming. The aim is obviously to have improved administrative costs, much more flexibility and reactivity and to avoid, of course, a proliferation of bureaucratic or administrative problems.

For your part, those of you in the private sector, I would like you to be able to get involved in this dialogue and in the organisation of future Forums, so that they become, as has been suggested, your platform for structured dialogue with us.

I am taking advantage of this opportunity to digress and thank the two Co-Presidents of this Forum who come from the private sector, Mr Maphai and Mr Morgan, and the moderators, Mr Skehan, Mr Diarra, Mr Räikkönen, Mr Jeetun and Mr Buck. I am told that this has been led skilfully; the discussions have been very well conducted in such a way as to produce concrete and measurable recommendations.



Now to my second point, concerning changes in the business and investment environment.

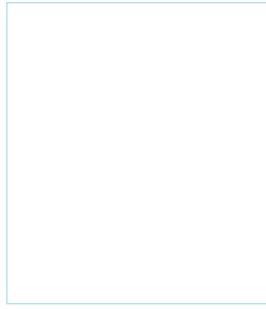
Certainly this Forum is not going to transform that environment in all African countries in the space of two days. On the other hand, it subscribes to a process of reform, described yesterday by Michael Klein in his presentation, *Doing business in Africa*.

The private sector declaration that you have just finalised identifies some very practical ways of improvement. I promise to make sure that the European Commission and its partners take them into account and find inspiration in them. In particular I will propose that the Member States of the European Union formulate and publish a joint response to your recommendations. I will also make sure that Commission participation is examined more closely, or at least its support of public-private partnerships, which are capable of being catalysts of change on the African continent. Lastly, I envisage the re-evaluation of Commission programmes of support to the private sector, such as, for example, business development centres, in order that they supply the services you need in the 21<sup>st</sup> century economy and that they be, much more than now, active agents of improvement for the business environment.

As for changes in the perception of Africa, this Forum and all the events of the European Development Days were very widely followed at first by the international press, which reported on it very positively. Your participation here, and what you will do with it; will contribute, I am sure, to changing the perception of Africa. The same goes for the success stories you heard about yesterday and the numerous other examples to be found in your various information sheets.

The influx of Chinese influence and their businesses deeply transforms the perception that European businesses have of Africa, given that it is guided essentially by economic considerations and not charitable ones. Africa has natural resources indispensable to Chinese economic development. We should not be afraid of this Chinese influx. It is becoming an obsession; it is all anyone talks to me about. At every meeting I attend, people always ask me the same question: Aren't you afraid of the Chinese? Aren't you afraid of Chinese competition in development? First of all, development is not an arena for competition, I'm sorry but, development does after all still have, just a little, an inherent aim, an end! There is something rather cynical in saying that. Confronting the Chinese, entering into competition with them on the development of the African economy, I am not at all sure that this is the right course of action. I am going to China, at the beginning of next year to talk with them and work out with them means for co-operation, three-way co-operation projects, while at the same time, obviously, trying to persuade them of our convictions and our parameters.

I also think that our African friends are much more acquainted with the motives of the Chinese than we imagine. Earlier today I heard President Museveni make a rather amazing speech on the subject. It was not at all hostile but it was an altogether realistic speech. So I think that our African friends will be able to tell the difference between ways of behaving, between business criteria and business parameters, from the European business model, with all that that represents too of the ethical dimension, of the social dimension, of the human dimension. So, I have very few worries in this regard. But naturally, in order for it to be so, it is still essential that our businesses return in greater numbers to Africa and that they once again see Africa as a real economic partner.



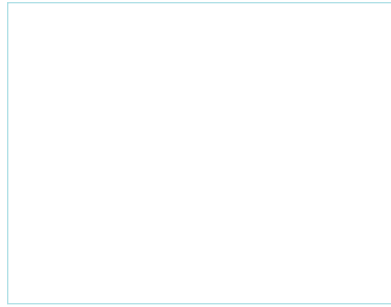
In that regard, I am certainly going to surprise you and perhaps shock some of you, but, as Commissioner for development, I have no problem being realistic and I have no problem seeing Africa as a continent that must be developed. But, at the same time, there is no harm in affirming that Africa has a potential for commercial and economic trade that is quite remarkable for Europe. We can very easily register the Europe-Africa or the Africa-Europe relationship in respect of interests and in a win-win dimension.

I don't really understand why such fine European minds, systematically, and it happens often at the European Parliament what's more, question me to know if it is really right that a certain business do a certain thing, in a certain African country. No one ever asks me if it is really correct that a certain American business, or Israeli, Indian or Chinese business, be in Africa. People seem to find that completely normal for all businesses, except for European businesses. So make the most of it, you have three-and-a-half years left with a Commissioner who is definitely not angelic, who knows that business is business but who knows that business is necessary to our African friends for their development and who knows that Europe is, in effect, Africa's primary commercial partner. Let us remember that. I don't really understand all this rather silly fuss that consists of saying, "Let's not touch that!" No, I think that when we talk of commerce, we are doing commerce and I think that there really is a space for mutual development with Africa that must be strengthened.

With your recommendations on governance, I note first of all your support of the European Union Governance Initiative. The major vehicle of this initiative is political dialogue with the authorities of the countries concerned. Such a dialogue is the way to influence national strategies in the name of the principle of appropriation, with a view to positive trade and incentives rather than conditionalities and sanctions. Governance for us is not limited to the fight against corruption. Corruption is, largely speaking, merely a symptom of the failure of a system of governance. It is first and foremost a symptom of a failing state, of state failure. The fight against corruption, therefore, must involve the consolidation of a state's capacity to assume all its grandiose functions. I'll explain what I mean: entrepreneurs, in any case the European entrepreneurs who know me, know that I am a liberal. In order that there be no dishonesty in the market, I am a liberal and I declare myself as one, I am not a socialist. I therefore believe categorically in a market economy. But I am perhaps going to shock any true liberals in the room, because for me liberalism is a project of society that touches humanity. It is a certain vision of humanity. It is, what's more, an optimistic vision of humanity, but that is a personal opinion. I am in politics, and I delight in politics and that, perhaps, provocatively, because some would prefer to limit me to the role of bureaucrat. I am not a bureaucrat, I am a politician, I say this, and I repeat it, emphatically. Coming back to liberalism, I believe in a market economy more than in any other kind of economic model. However, I must stress, as a liberal, that I have never seen an example of a market economy being honest in the absence of an organised state.

I am therefore liberal, not libertarian. There is a subtle but substantial difference. I must tell you that the concept of governance that I am developing and fighting for, is that one. It was the former French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Védrine, who wrote about it and very rightly, saying: "Perhaps in Europe, we can say less state, better state." The time had come when we could say it because there had been too much public interference in the private domain. But I believe as he does that, in developing countries, what is needed is more state and better state. And less state does not mean a better state in developing countries.





It is clear that a state that has no effective judicial system, that has no administration capable of serving people, that has no democratically operated police force, a state that is not capable of “delivering” as they say in English, in the more grandiose functions, but also in basic services to the population, such a state clearly does not offer much security and is not an attractive investment.

My own conception of governance is everything that strengthens the state in its capacity to deliver in an impartial manner, which means in its capacity for public and impartial power. So, all this is what we have been talking about during these three days. I am really very pleased because I have a feeling that Europe really has made a difference and is going to make more and more of a difference in this concept of governance. Certain concepts that are circulating at the moment, that are currently fashionable, consist of reducing governance to the fight against corruption. They go so far as to say that categories should be established every year. Four categories: countries with very good governance, those a little less good, those even less good and those that are bad. In other words, lists that go from white to grey. I don't see that as being the right approach. I am very happy to have had the chance to go and develop my concept of governance in Singapore, within the context of the World Bank. I have also been very happy to observe that when Europe takes the lead with a concept, with a major problem, or a conceptual position, and obliges other institutions, principle actors or donors to react, in general the consensus is to retain the European position. That is what I am pursuing with these European Development Days.

Europe is the biggest donor in the world, 55% of world aid is European, 46 billion euros a year, more than 66 billion euros in 2010, which is not exactly insignificant. So therefore it is only natural that we should not just be the biggest donor in the world, but also that we should carry much more weight with our values as an emblem, with our values as an intellectual and conceptual masthead. It is only natural that we can also set the trend in the area of development. I think there is everything to gain for a North-South relationship and for a relationship between donors and partners who are in true partnership, with partners who have mutual respect and equal rights and obligations. When we are able to do that, we will have definitively turned a page in history, a rather dark page however, the page of colonialism, of paternalism, that we still find like old spiders' webs in certain administrations, in certain governments, in certain minds. I still meet it every day, it is not yet over, but I would like it to disappear as soon as possible so as to purge all that. Because it really holds back development. There, I wanted to give a little political philosophy on the subject as well, I think it's important.

On the subject of infrastructure, I would like to say, for those who doubt the investment and the potential that that represents, that the Commission today has an annual investment capability in infrastructure of 5.6 billion euros. This is enormous and opens up many possibilities. This is without taking into account the trust fund we have established with the European Investment Bank, which should further enhance our capabilities. It is without taking into account what Member States will be mobilising in the months and years to come, because I want to make infrastructure in Africa an absolute priority.

I don't think I have to remind you how much infrastructure of all kinds – transport, energy, water, information technology – are indispensable to the human, social and economic development of Africa. I shall, therefore, take good note of your ideas, for example, on the triple necessity of a modern statutory framework; or the idea of expanding the regional and continental scale, in a structured plan to



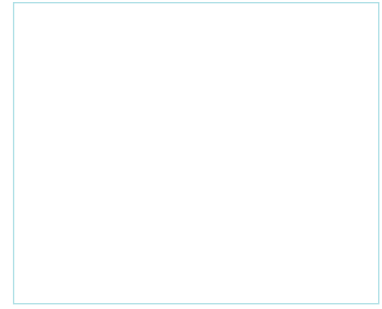
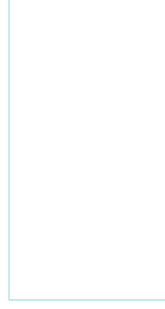
identify fixed needs, priorities between numerous projects, making sure that they are implemented, and managed in a co-ordinated way. Dealing also with the consequences of reorienting our development policies from project support to budgetary support, on the social standards used by businesses that will be selected to carry out infrastructure works, and on the sustainable development of local businesses.

This immense list of specifications and requirements, that I would very much like to see make progress within African infrastructure, is not unrelated to the difficult subject of migration. It is obvious that the construction of all of this infrastructure represent tens, hundreds of thousands, without doubt millions of jobs for the coming years. It also represents know-how. That truly means capability for our developing countries. I am opening this debate because it too is very important.

Our ambition therefore is to support and launch pan-African network development programmes, because actually, when I think about it, if we had had to judge Europe 60 years ago, 65 years and after, I think that we would have had a pretty pessimistic view of Europe. There was fascism, there was Nazism in Europe and, even later, in certain countries in Eastern Europe, there was totalitarianism. Spain, Portugal, Greece were definitely not democracies... So, if we had had, in, let's say, a somewhat complacent manner, to give an image of Europe not so long after that, a few decades, we could have spoken of Euro-pessimism, just as we speak today of Africa-pessimism. I think in fact that our African friends must see, in what Europe was capable of doing, some reassuring signs of hope, even in difficult situations. In any event, the European example in this regard is clearly significant, as well as in regard to infrastructure.

The Congo has just had a democratic election. Yet, some will tell me again: "Things are still fragile", "We don't know the results", etc. I think the reality is much stronger than that. The Congolese people have elected a parliament that is now in place. They elected it democratically. Members of parliament were elected democratically. The president was elected democratically in the presence of all the major witnesses from the international community, with an independent electoral commission that did its work honestly, thus giving legitimacy to this president. Contrary to what people might think, I have no preference. If it is Kabila, that is very good. If it is Bemba, that is equally good in my view. The only thing I keep in my mind in all this is that we have succeeded – and it is a major victory for the international community in helping the Congo in its process of transition whereby it has today become a democratic country. The conditions for democracy have been fulfilled. So, obviously, you can still say, you entrepreneurs and you, members of private initiative or the private sector: "Yes but as long as we are unsure of whether the Congo is definitively a democracy, of whether all is definitively secure there, we cannot go there." If we do all that, we clearly diminish the chances of the Congo being able to consolidate what it has acquired today. But you are not there to effect political consolidation, or stabilisation. But if we say that, there are others who are not going to have this reasoning, others who have already started to give this country their backing.

So let's keep talking about the Congo. For five to six months now, the European Commission and the World Bank – joined recently by the United Nations and a certain number of European countries – have been working on joint programming and a governance contract. One aspect of this governance contract is to propose to the new Congolese government a whole battery of legislation that offers re-assurance and security for foreign investors. An example is the fiscal ruling, which enables a business



to know, in advance on what parameters it will be taxed. Another example is arbitration and mediation. With the World Bank, we are in the process of working with our Congolese friends to see how they can create the kind of legislation that will reassure investors and possibly protect Congolese law from conflicts in the world of business. They are very open to that. There is the kind of work to which I imagine your Forum could certainly be very useful.

I called my speech: “Public/private partnerships for development in Africa, from dialogue to action”. In organising the structured dialogue between private sectors that defines this Forum and in establishing concrete tools for promoting reforms, such as the partnership for infrastructure or the “trust fund”, the Commission has the feeling, at this stage, of having started to carry out its share of the work. It is now up to the private sectors, in particular the European private sector, to do theirs, abandoning their over-cautiousness, augmenting their investments, increasing partnerships with their African counterparts, and thus defending their place in history against newcomers who dream of supplanting them. You can rest assured that you will find the European Commission at your side when you commit yourself to this path. We will move on now from dialogue to action.

I want to thank you in advance for your open-mindedness and for your motivation. I have several points to end with. The first thing: I believe that this Forum must become an institution or a permanent body. That does not have to mean a weighty mechanism; it simply means that we must commit ourselves to meeting regularly, to thrashing out issues and producing real operational recommendations. It makes no sense if this is reduced to occasional academic meetings, or even to interesting exchanges of thought. What is quite clearly needed is “substance”, so the Commission can do its work, can make decisions and undertake measures that correspond to recommendations. And do this in a manner that enables the countries in question, our countries but also the African countries, to be inspired by these legislative recommendations.

We, at Commission level, must obviously try to introduce into the financial regulations some new parameters, or at least more flexibility. The Commission’s lack of flexibility was not invented by our bureaucrats. Our bureaucrats are victims, as we are, of rules invented by the Member States. That is the truth. So, the truth has its place, but I can testify that European bureaucrats sometimes experience the same agitation, in regard to the rules that they have to put into practice, as I do. So, we are, in a way, accomplices, and sometimes in collusion, not to circumvent these rules, but to interpret them in a more flexible way. I think that they too are very willing to help us to envisage rules that make these public/private partnerships a little easier.

There, I would like to thank you once again for the work that you have done, I can promise you that we will find great inspiration in it. I believe categorically that so long as we fail to develop a successful economy in Africa, or, moreover, more widely in the developing countries, it will be extremely difficult to create prosperity and effect real development.

Thank you in any event for your contribution and your conviction, and also thank you in advance for your renewed involvement in African investment.

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PART III

Wider Public

ENGAGING YOUNG PEOPLE

ART SUPPORTING DEVELOPMENT

MDGs CAMPAIGN

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## ENGAGING YOUNG PEOPLE



### The Development Youth Prize

One of the high spots of the Development Days was an exhibition of the winning entries for the Development Youth Prize, organised by DG DEV, with a partnership of 25 European Ministries of Education developing learning for schools, teachers and pupils across Europe.

The European Commission in co-operation with the “European Schoolnet” launched the Development Youth Prize “Focus in Africa” to highlight the three development issues of health, education and the environment in an artistic way by poster, photo or multimedia presentation. Young people aged 16 to 18 from across Europe were encouraged to submit their interpretations of how these three key development issues affected the African continent to raise awareness among fellow pupils, teachers, families and friends about development issues.

### Choosing the winners

The national winners were selected out of more than 751 entries, representing schools from all EU member countries.

The entries, were judged on creativity and originality, clarity of message, which included both the visual impact of the entry and the message communicated by the entry and the quality of the contribution. This included the general artistic quality of the piece as well as the layout, colour and composition of the piece.

The judging process was carried out in two stages. In the first phase, a short list of entries from each European country was compiled by a team of teachers who specialise in subjects relevant to art and development issues. In the second phase a national jury in each of the 25 EU Member States selected one winner and one runner up from their country. In each of the countries the jury was composed of one representative of the Ministry of Development Affairs, one representative of the Ministry of Education and one person from the visual art community.

### “Immense personal commitment”

Commissioner Louis Michel commented during the ceremony for the attribution of the prizes: “Through your pictures and multimedia presentations you have clearly shown difficulties you see related to the three themes of education, health and environment. You reacted to them in different and very creative ways and it is amazing and very rewarding to see your immense personal commitment.”

He added: “You have presented the heartbreaking living conditions in Africa caused by hunger, malnutrition, lack of schooling, floods and desertification. You have understood that these issues are intrinsically related and that we have to act if we are globally to break this vicious and inhumane circle. Your contributions are seen by a worldwide audience and your efforts and enthusiasm to help raise awareness among your fellow pupils, teachers, parents and many others has been extremely important.”



Given the success of its first year, the youth development prize looks set to become an annual event.

## The Prize

A winner and runner-up from each EU country were invited to the Development Day Week, held in Brussels in November 2006.

The national winners and their teachers are also invited to accompany the Development Commissioner to an African country in 2007. During a five-day all-expenses paid trip, the winners of the contest will have a unique opportunity to see some of the challenges facing Africa, and witness EU development co-operation at work in the field.

### WINNERS OF THE 2006 YOUTH DEVELOPMENT PRIZE

COUNTRY	NAME	SCHOOL
Austria	Julianne W.	BHAK Linz,
Belgium	Helena V.	Sint-Norbertusinstituut,
Cyprus	Savvas Theofanous	Lykeio Agiou Spyridona,
Czech Republic	Martin H.	Gymnázium Nymburk,
Denmark	Bertil H.	Hindsholmskolen,
Estonia	Gerly N.	Carl Robert Jakobson inimeline Gümnaasium
Finland	Hanna T.	Juvan lukio
France	Aude L.	Externat Notre-Dame
Germany	Michaela P.	Bischöfliche Maria-Montessori-Gesamtschule
Greece	Arsenios Z.	Mandoulides School
Hungary	Dora B.	Közgazdasági Politechnikum
Ireland	James Mc C.	De La Salle College
Italy	Michele D.	Liceo Scientifico Renzi
Latvia	Kate Z.	N.Draudzinas gymnasium
Lithuania	Karolis B.	Sietuva Secondary School
Luxembourg	Tom B.	Lycée technique agricole
Malta	George Micallef G.	De La Salle College
Netherlands	Ilona D.	Emmauscollege
Poland	Alicja J.	XXXIII Liceum Ogólnokształcące im. Mikołaja Kopernika
Portugal	João C.	Escola secundária Jaime Cortesão
Slovakia	Michaela J.	Gymnazium Skalica
Slovenia	Paradigma	Gimnazija Bežigrad
Spain	Alexandra P.	Altaduna
Sweden	Alexandra P.	Katedralskolan
United Kingdom	Maeve K.	Rathmore Grammar School



#### LIFE FOR CHILDREN IN AFRICA

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- Every thirty seconds an African baby dies of malaria.
- Desertification affects 46% of Africa and 485 million people.
- Some 90% of world malaria cases and 60% of people with HIV/Aids are found in Africa.
- About 6,000 children die every day from diseases associated with lack of access to safe drinking water, inadequate sanitation and poor hygiene.
- The life expectancy of people in Africa is 46 years, the European average is 74.9 years for men and 81.2 years for women.
- Only six out of 10 African children go to primary school.





## ART SUPPORTING DEVELOPMENT

*“Africa is changing  
and does not cease  
to amaze me  
everyday”*

LOUIS MICHEL,  
EUROPEAN COMMISSIONER  
FOR DEVELOPMENT  
AND HUMANITARIAN AID

### A taste of Africa at the heart of Europe

From the 13 to 17 November 2006, Brussels was immersed in the colour and talent of Africa as it hosted a festival celebrating African culture. This festival of contemporary art, comic strips and film was part of the first European Development Days, held to raise awareness of the European Commission's co-operation with developing countries. One of the high spots was an exhibition of the winning entries for the Development Youth Prize (see page 209), which showcased young talent and concern for the development issues of health, education and the environment.

### Contemporary African Art Exhibition

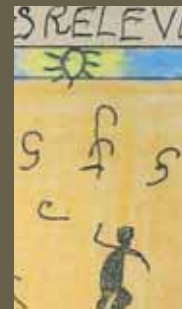
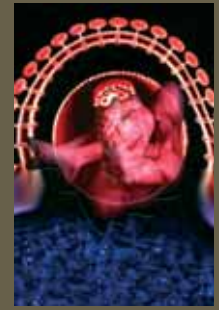
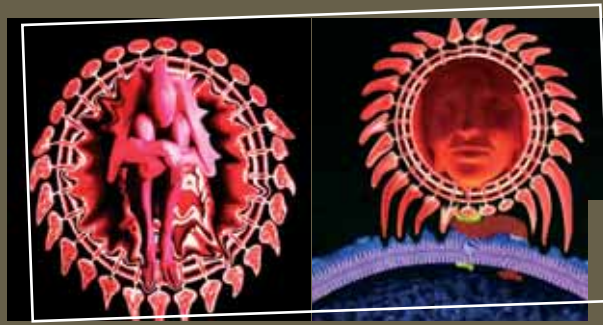
Curator of the exhibition, Yacouba Konaté, evoked the memories of Yanguiné Koita, 14 years old, and Fodé Tounkara, 15, who died trying to reach Europe seeking better education and some way of making a living. The two Guinean boys were found in the undercarriage of an aircraft that landed in Brussels in 1999. In a letter addressed to European policymakers and politicians, the boys asked for help in the fight against poverty in Africa and to help African youth to get an education.

“Many elements are killing hope in the spirits and hearts of young Africans: the incapacity of African leaders and elites to offer meaning, values, or a positive vision, education only for the rich and the incapacity of Europe to offer aid suited to Africa,” writes Konaté. “In this desperate situation, departure to the West seems the only path to safety.”

The curator explains: “This exhibition encompassed these themes and integrates the fact that Africa is the foundation of all people, in Europe and elsewhere. Artists create dreams and myths that give people of all nations knowledge of who they are and the respect of others.”

Paintings, sculptures, carvings, video loops, photographs, collages and multi-media installations revealed poignant, emotive and powerful images that at once reveal an Africa that is rich, energetic, courageous, beautiful and fertile. Twenty-four artists showed their work at the exhibition.





**Brahim El Anatsui** (Ghana) displayed a magnificent “Society Women’s Cloth”, a colourful “cloth” fabricated from bottle caps in aluminium and copper.

**Jems Robert Koko Bi** (Ivory Coast) presented his haunting wood sculpture of burnt poplar, “Silhouette d’Elmina”.

**Berry Bickle** (Zimbabwe) showcased “Sleeping Beauty”, a photo and video installation depicting the world we wake up in today, a world of nightmares and dreams.

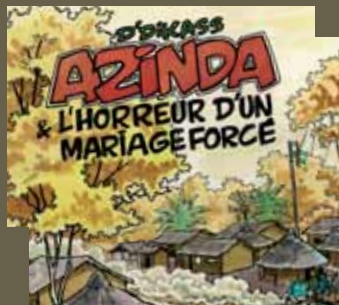
**Toyin Loye**’s (Nigeria) “Bridging” collage of mixed media and photographs, urges Africans to think about finding their own solutions to what ails the continent.

“The Face of the City”, by Nigerian born **Dilomprizulike**, commonly known as “the junkman”, is a mesmerising installation displaying 30 people constructed from garbage. His message is stark: the abandoned and mistreated must be re-integrated into society.

**Ndary Lo** (Senegal) showed a mixed media installation, “Le Refus de Rosa Park”, in homage to the courageous American woman who is famous for her refusal on 1 December 1955 to obey bus driver James Blake’s demand that she relinquish her seat to a white man.

(...)





## African Comic Strip Exhibition

This exposition of contemporary African comic strips, showcasing a wide selection of work, was split into two sections. The Contemporary Talent section offered a selection of comic strips and the Concrete Project section displayed some examples of published works. The works in the first section were selected for their artistic quality; the criteria for the second section focused on comics as a living element of a society.

The Contemporary Talents section was composed of stories selected by the “Africa e Mediterraneo” Award for Best Unpublished Comic Strip by an African author. The award was inaugurated in 2002. With the help of international juries of experts in comics and Africa, it has celebrated many of Africa’s finest cartoonists, both professionals and amateurs. It presented complete stories in three award categories: Reflections of Human Rights, Free Subject Stories and Chronicles, and Stories on Migration. The richness and variety of the submissions reflect African life, the violations of human rights and the precarious living conditions that face many Africans. The comic strips also reflect the plight of children and express their hopes and dreams for the future.

The Concrete Project section of the exhibit presented a selection of published comics by African artists in Africa and Europe. The comics are classified into categories according to the artist’s “Intent to communicate”. These works reflect every cartoonist’s basic ambition: to transform one’s drawings into products for communication and to reach a public through the press, self-produced photocopied magazines, or via the internet.

A whole new world of personalities came to life in the exhibit, including orphans, magicians, students, police officers, journalists, warriors, village children and oppressed women. The stories tell of love, greed, family sagas, war, magic spells and dreams. Works by both amateurs and professionals, they evoke hope and demonstrate the richness and vitality of African comic strip art.









## African Film Festival

Guido Huysmans, Director of the “Afrika FilmFestival”, notes that according to Baba Hama, Head of the Pan African Film Festival in Ouagadougou, African cinema is important not only for Africa, but also because it expresses reality in a specific way. Baba Hama believes globalisation can hamper our way of looking at the world. Africans need to create their own audiovisual productions and look for opportunities to distribute their films on the continent and beyond.

Some very “important and intriguing” films, such as, “Heremakono” (Waiting for Happiness) by the Mauritanian filmmaker Abderrahmane Sissako won the “Étalon d’Or in Ouagadougou in 2003, and “La vie sur terre”, in which Sissako gave his artistic view of Africa at the verge of the 21<sup>st</sup> century attracted the attention of the wider public. Belgian filmmaker Thierry Michel provided an in-depth perspective of the DRC in “Congo River”.

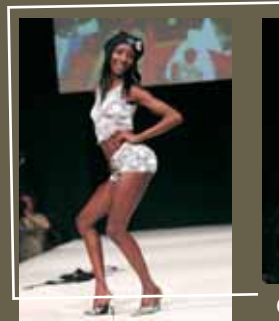
South African film productions are increasingly putting Africa on the cinema map. “U-Carmen E Kayelitsha” by Mark Dornford-May won the Golden Bear in Berlin in 2005, and Gavin Hood’s “Tsotsi” won the Oscar for best foreign production in 2006.

Short film productions, such as “Le cinéma africain” by François Kotlarski gave African filmmakers the chance to express their views. Other short films included, “And There in the Dust”, “Safi la petite mère” and “La femme seule”.





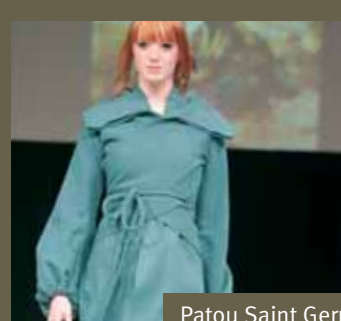
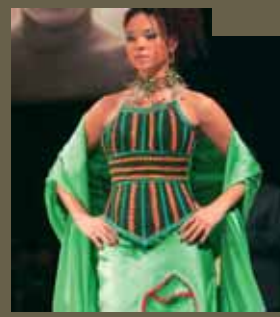
Xuly Bêt



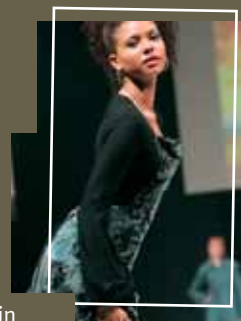
Claire Kane



Alphadi



Patou Saint Germain



## African Fashion Show

Fashionistas and the curious enjoyed a rare opportunity to experience the creations of four of Africa's top designers, who brought their creations to the catwalk at a fashion show held at Heysel Expo, 16 November 2006. These designers showcased their unique styles and demonstrated that fashion out of Africa or inspired by Africa is as rich, diverse, colourful and imaginative as the continent itself.

**Xuly Bët**, (Senegal), has been making his mark on the world of Paris fashion since 1989. He started with what has been described as an “urban-pluri-ethnic” look, based on bits and pieces he put together from second-hand clothes. He no longer uses second-hand clothes, but the look is funky, offbeat and expressive. Xuly Bët's signature style is red thread and visible seams.

Once she discovered Africa for herself, **Claire Kane's** mission appears to be to introduce Africa to the world through her art. She was first inspired by designer Holly Bagdeley in Morocco. Claire Kane's bold, geometric fabric designs and unique signature style have developed out of her work in Senegal with Belgian graphic designer Bernard Baudouin. Claire Kane's work has been shown around the world.

**Alphadi** was born in Mali and grew up in Niger. After studying tourism in Paris and working in Niger at the Ministry of Tourism, he eventually dedicated his life to his passion for fashion. In 1985 he created his haute couture line that he presented in his first fashion show organized in Paris during the International Tourism Trade Show. He has never looked back and today is renowned world-wide. Alphadi believes that fashion and culture are the industries that can lift Africa to the ranks of prosperous nations.

**Patou Saint Germain's** cutting edge designs stand out because of the way she blends fabrics to shape her fashions. She draws inspiration from the fabric – silks, linens, and knits – and then lets her creativity flow. Patou's original designs are boldly feminine and celebrate the female body. The colours range from soft, subtle pastels to bold primaries.





## MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS CAMPAIGN

### A more equal and prosperous world

In September 2000, the heads of 189 countries promised to eradicate extreme poverty and build a safer, more equal and more prosperous world for everyone by the year 2015. They agreed on eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which range from halving extreme poverty to halting the spread of HIV/AIDS and providing universal primary education by the target date of 2015. The MDGs form a blueprint agreed to by all the world's countries and leading development institutions. In efforts to meet the needs of the world's poorest, the MDGs aim to:

- Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger.
- Achieve universal primary education.
- Promote gender equality and empower women.
- Reduce child mortality.
- Improve maternal health.
- Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, tuberculosis and other diseases.
- Ensure environmental sustainability.
- Develop a global partnership for development.

### Voices raised against poverty

As part of the Development Days 2006 organised by the European Commission in Brussels, the United Nations ran its No Excuse 2015 campaign aimed at the general public. Information stands set up at three busy areas in Brussels (Place de la Monnaie, Rond-Point Schuman and Heysel) allowed participants and passers-by to learn about the MDGs.

Now, with the target date approaching to achieve the MDGs, the UN is urging everybody to stand up against poverty and make their voices heard. Visitors learned about ways to pressure their governments to honour their commitments to reduce poverty in the world. They were then invited into a Voice Box to record a video message aimed at authorities to remind them about their commitment.



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