

Division for  
International Cooperation

Peace, Democracy  
and Development

Bonn 2000

*Publishing:* Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung  
Division for International Cooperation  
Godesberger Allee 149  
D-53170 Bonn

*Editing:* Uwe Kerkow

*Coordination:* Peter Schlaffer

*Translation:* Annette Brinkmann

*Layout:* Pellens Kommunikationsdesign Ltd., Bonn

*Fotos:* Andreas Boueke, dpa, Helmut Elischer,  
Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Peter Hering,  
Klaus Reiff, Heiner Sassenfeld, Sepp Spiegl,  
Günter Walpuski, iAfrica, Wonge Bergmann,  
IMAGE BANK, Werner Bartsch, Walter Keller

*Lithography:* eps Schreck & Jasper Ltd., Bonn

*Print:* Toennes Satz + Druck Ltd., Erkrath

Printed in Germany 2000

updatet reprint

ISBN 3-86077-904-4

# Contents

<b>4</b>	Introduction
<b>6</b>	Promotion of Democracy
<b>13</b>	Social Justice
<b>19</b>	International Understanding
<b>24</b>	The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Worldwide
<b>27</b>	Crisis Prevention and Conflict Management
<b>31</b>	Trade Union Activities
<b>34</b>	Gender and Positive Action for Women
<b>39</b>	Human Rights
<b>42</b>	Protection of the Environment and of Resources
<b>46</b>	Organizational Structure of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung
<b>48</b>	Addresses

# Peace, Democracy and Development

Willy Brandt's statement – both visionary and admonitory – that “development policy is the peace policy of the 21<sup>st</sup> century” has become the *Leitmotif* of international development cooperation on the part of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. It is today one of the Foundation's central tasks to promote, to the best of its ability, development and democracy in Africa, Asia and Latin America. In so doing, it realizes the legacy of its founder, the first German President Friedrich Ebert, of contributing to the understanding between peoples.

At the end of the East-West conflict and the onset of the era of “globalization”, many issues are back on the agenda in a changed form. Models of State socialism are out of fashion, free and market-oriented systems have proved to be superior. Nevertheless, to copy successful political and economic “models” has turned out to be impracticable. Each country, each region apparently needs to start on its own road towards development and democracy. The Foundation aims at assisting its partners and friends in this process – offering help for self-help in societal issues, as it were.

Democracy is not achieved by simply holding elections at regular intervals. It requires the active participation of broad sections of the population. It must accept plurality of views and should bestow power for limited periods only. Governments must be made accountable; the opportunity of a change of power by peaceful means, ie through elections, is a prerequisite of any democratic order. Individual liberties must be guaranteed (freedom of association and assembly, freedom of expression and of the press, to mention just a few). The law and legislation must be applied and be

accessible to everyone in equal measure. Freedom from hunger and deprivation and social justice are similarly imperative for democracy.

Colonization, State-socialist experiments and authoritarian governments have destroyed the first steps towards democracy and development in many countries of the Third World. Under such circumstances, ethnic, religious and cultural antagonisms will lead time and again to crisis-prone developments – including violence, war and destruction of unprecedented dimensions. Contributions to peace and understanding are very much in demand as a result. The willingness to manage conflicts peacefully in the future needs to be enhanced.

A great challenge – or perhaps too great a challenge for consultancy by a political foundation?

The following examples are intended to give an impression of the wide range of activities carried out by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. It is not our aim to present a comprehensive or even a representative picture, but to illustrate that it is primarily a matter of constant adaptation

The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, founded in 1925 and thus the oldest political foundation in Germany, is a public-interest, private institution committed to the ideas of social democracy. It carries the name of the first democratically-elected German President, Friedrich Ebert, and continues his legacy of shaping freedom, solidarity and social justice by political means. The Foundation pursues these aims through its programmes of political education, international cooperation, scholarships and research both inside and outside the country.

to the pressing needs of the day. Again, the point is to propose not ready-made recipes, but possible solutions to outstanding problems in cooperation with our partners.

The fact that a major part of our activities is directed towards qualifying groups of the civil society is self-evident: democracy needs to be internalized and formed. This is where political parties, trade unions, peasants' organizations and business associations, human rights groups, women and environmental organizations have a role to play, as do independent media, research institutes, universities, churches and local institutions, as also political and State institutions such as parliaments, governments and ministries.

In the cooperation with State organizations it is our aim to contribute to good governance, thus also following our ideas of social democracy, individual participation and public administration close to the people.

The confidence which has been built up over many years has enabled the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung to act as a mediator in many critical instances: Central America, Chile, Zimbabwe and Mozambique are cases in point. However, when acute conflicts are brought to a halt, confidence and the willingness to cooperate must be restored. This requires both action to prevent new conflicts and efforts of reconstruction and development for the benefit of everyone concerned. Crisis prevention and conflict management – apparently re-discovered areas of activity in development cooperation – have been and continue to be an approach practised for a long time, and in many instances successfully, by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.

The promotion of peace and democracy in the impoverished countries of the South must always go hand in hand with efforts of economic development. To quote Willy Brandt once again: “when starvation reigns, there is no lasting peace”. Again, the Foundation attempts to use its moderate resources to assist, but is not really able to promote nation-wide programmes; it therefore needs to limit its activities to so-called pilot projects – promotion of associations, small-scale industry development, amongst other things. But it attempts to supplement these by cooperating and coordinating activities with other national and international donor institutions.

The current globalization debate has left its mark on international cooperation between states. Our partners increasingly demand support for their efforts of shaping the globalization processes and their effects. Is globalization a blessing or a burden? It should certainly be not only a blessing to the rich countries, and a burden to the impoverished ones! In particular in times of globalization, policies which have a lasting effect are in demand. A blessing to only a few and a burden to many – this is not the way to secure lasting peace. The Foundation is also contributing to this discussion which will decisively affect the course of the new century.

Peace, democracy and development in social justice are the values that the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung stands for in its international development cooperation.

The examples in this brochure are intended to illustrate this. ■



our mission: supporting disadvantaged groups (favelas in Rio de Janeiro)

# Promotion of Democracy

To promote democracy entails more than just support of formal democratic procedures such as elections. As demonstrated by the examples of Indonesia, Guatemala and South Africa, it involves specifically the strengthening of civil-society structures in all their forms. The Foundation's activities in Mali and in Lebanon illustrate very clearly how important it is in this context to devolve State power. The important role played by the media in a process of democratization is demonstrated by the example of "community radios". They are indispensable for giving a voice to disadvantaged and silent groups of the population, as in the case of Ecuador. The fact that political actors need to be qualified for their new functions is illustrated by the example of Egypt.

## PREPARING FOR ELECTIONS IN INDONESIA ...

Indonesia's path towards democracy has been and continues to be long and hard. The country faced major political challenges in 1999. The end of military rule under Soeharto in 1998, which had lasted for more than 30 years, parliamentary elections in June 1999 and also presidential elections in October that same year, paved the way for some initial political and societal reform measures in favour of democratic developments. Fundamental conditions for democratic elections had first of all to be established. Political parties had to be registered and a new electoral law adopted. Moreover, after decades of systematic de-politization under the Soeharto regime, the voters had to be prepared, by means of political education, for the new political situation and for the choice of candidates from a large number of competing political parties.

The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung accordingly adapted its programmes and

the composition of its partners and established contact with the emerging democratic forces within a very short period of time. The current President, Abdurrahman Wahid, visited Bonn in February 1999 on invitation of the Foundation in order to establish direct contacts with the German body politic. Information programmes for the leadership of new democratic parties, the publication of a voters' manual and discussions between selected groups of voters (workers and women) and political parties about their party platforms formed important elements in the Foundation's activities. They were meant to reinforce a new democratic political culture. To support the independent commission of election monitors (KIPP) in order to ensure fair and publicly-controlled parliamentary elections was similarly important. In addition, the reform process was stimulated by organizing public forums with politicians, experts and representatives of the civil society on critical issues such as "the re-



t-shirts on the clothes line – for parliamentary elections in Benin from the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung



form of electoral laws”, “laws on political parties” and “devolution”. The strengthening of democratic structures in Indonesia has been and continues to be a long-term objective.

### ... AND PROMOTING DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH AFRICA

As early as the eighties, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung supported the South African liberation movements against the system of Apartheid which was in place in South Africa at that time; the Foundation also organized meetings outside the country to facilitate the dialogue between the opposition in exile and forces from the business and academic communities open to reform. With the onset of political liberalization in 1990, the Foundation was able to begin its operations inside the country as well.

During the political transition up to 1994, supporting the negotiating process which led to an interim constitution and the first free and general elections has

played a major part in the Foundation’s dialogue and consultancy services. To this end, political expertise and access to international experience has been made available in particular on questions of structures of government (federalism), the work of constitutional courts and media legislation. This went hand in hand with programmes aimed at preparing representatives of the former liberation movement ACN for the time when they were to assume political responsibility and at assisting them in developing policy options in the field of, for example, economic policy. In addition, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung contributed to the preparations of the historic elections in 1994 through voter education programmes and the training of polling agents.

Since 1994, the Foundation’s activities in South Africa are directed towards consolidating the new democratic dispensation and establishing it more firmly within society. In connection with the negotiations on South Africa’s final constitution, which was adopted in 1996,

the advisory services offered by the Foundation concentrated mainly on the relationship between the different spheres of government. The constitution now provides for a body representing regional interests, the „National Council of Provinces“, which participates in the national legislative process similar to the German *Bundesrat*. By assisting the South African trade unions, the Foundation supports the social dialogue between the Government and the social partners within the framework of the “National Economic Development and Labour Council”, established after 1994. Programmes for local government development and cooperation with parliamentary committees at the national and provincial levels are also aimed at strengthening the institutions of South Africa’s democratic system. Dialogue programmes on general political issues which are being implemented in cooperation with various South African institutions complete the picture.



1994: historic elections in South Africa

## DEVOLUTION IS THE MOST IMPORTANT DECISION FOR THE CONSOLIDATION OF DEMOCRACY IN MALI

*“Fanga seginna so!”* (the power returns back home!) These are the words used by the inhabitants of Mali’s villages and towns when they comment on the introduction of devolution. “Devolution is the most important political decision for the consolidation of democracy in Mali”, says Mali’s President Alpha Oumar Konaré in order to emphasize his political conviction. This has caused the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung to take part in the country’s process of devolution:

- We assisted in the preparation of devolution in the context of financial policy by organizing educational programmes for future city treasurers (1996 and 1997).
- We organized seminars for the candidates of city and county councils in the years 1997 to 1999.
- In 1998 and 1999, we trained women secretaries general of local governments so as to ensure that new local politics took into account the “gender perspective” from the start.

“Just imagine elections being held and no one taking part!” This is a nightmare scenario for anyone in political office. In consequence, we organized meetings in the towns and villages together with women’s organizations, we sponsored street theatre productions and also “Tam-Tams”, as they are called in Mali: drummers, musicians and singers motivated people to go to the ballot. The results were quite impressive: 38.3 percent of the population, or 45 percent respectively, voted in the local elections in June 1998 and in May/

June 1999 – thus increasing the turnout by some 100 percent compared to the National Assembly elections in 1997. Even the radical parties in opposition took part, which had boycotted previous elections: in all communities of Mali a total number of 15,000 local councillors and 701 mayors were elected, including 12 women mayors for the first time in the history of Africa.

Journalists were also included in these programmes. Reports and information ads were sponsored in which the country’s citizens were informed by radio about devolution and the rights and duties of citizens.

In a country in which elections have been routinely rigged in the past, citizens and democratic politicians have little faith in results which are officially presented. In order to ensure the rule of law and to support the political election process, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in



traditional leader, Mali

1997 also trained the country’s judges from the administrative courts in matters related to local election laws, thus enabling the judges to deal competently with possible challenge proceedings.

The four areas in which we have been active include: motivation of citizens, training of both female and male candidates and councillors, advanced

training of important leaders in public opinion (broadcasting journalists) and guarantors of the rule of law (administrative judges).

Owing to the positive response to devolution in Mali – which may serve as an example for the rest of Africa – the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung is currently supporting a nation-wide working programme on local government policies to assist, for example, local mayors in the introduction of a citizen-friendly system of public administration and also city councillors in the launching of development projects. And last but

not least it is important in a traditional society to build bridges between new democratic local government representatives and traditional opinion leaders, such as chiefs of city districts and tribal chiefs, if democracy is to be stabilized.



## FROM PSEUDO-DEMOCRACY TO DEMOCRATIC REALITY: HOW ENCRUSTED STRUCTURES ARE BROKEN UP IN GUATEMALA

Guatemala in December 1999, 13 years after the re-introduction of democracy and three years after the peace settlement: long lines of cars with blaring music and colourful posters tried hard to get to the villages on the dirt roads. The messengers of democracy “convinced” their often undernourished illiterate electorate with many promises but no concrete policies, with roofs of corrugated iron, food parcels and gifts of some ten marks for each vote cast. If no other argument worked, former paramilitary occasionally visited the remote villages and described to the locals what would happen to them if they were to elect the wrong candidate. Election campaigns in the indigenous West of the country have nothing in common with what the word “democracy” normally entails. For 55 years, power in Guatemala has been handed down from one military ruler to the next, from a more modern group of entrepreneurs to a more traditional one. But the ruling elite has remained the same: the military, businessmen, big landowners – all of them Ladinos. The large majority of indigenous people, every second inhabitant of Guatemala, and also the lower and middle classes of Ladinos have not been represented in the governments – in spite of or just because of the prolonged civil war.

How can democracy be made to function under such circumstances, and where do we start? Of course, institutions and a new constitution, based on the division of power and democratic principles, must first be introduced. But in most cases such reforms merely scratch

the surface of an otherwise undemocratic legacy. People absorb the proper democratic spirit once they are surrounded by an appropriate political culture.

Since the beginning of 1995, our Foundation has been trying to improve the very situation which has been described. The aim is to give a voice in the political process to those who have kept silent so far. Since then, the partner in this process has been Rigoberto Quemé Chay, a Quiché-Indígena from Quetzaltenango, the second largest city in this country of 11 million inhabitants. Originally a candidate of the indigenously-based civil movement “Xel-jú”, he be-

be enabled to achieve their objectives inside the country by means of more democracy, and also to personally benefit from it. On the initiative and with the assistance of the Foundation, Quemé was the first in his city to draw up a differentiated working plan for his four-year term of office, a clear advantage over his opponent. Quemé won, albeit with a tiny majority.

Since then, democracy from below has gone hand in hand with the reinforcement of institutions, advising and training of members of staff and the search for ways of getting out of the crisis. At the same time, it meant to arouse awareness in many seminars



big land-owner in Central America

came known for his intercultural ideas aimed at sharing responsibility between Indígenas and Ladinos instead of keeping power exclusively in the hands of Ladinos. What he is trying to achieve instead is a sharing of responsibility. A first invitation to Germany by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung quite unexpectedly provided the candidate, who had run as an outsider, with the necessary prestige which had so far failed to exist. Yet it is not sufficient to simply support new political actors. They also need to

about the rights of individuals, to neutralize racist excesses and to bring together the opposing parties: businessmen of Ladino and Indígena origins, the Ladino elite and the new City Government. Democracy is certainly not limited to elections, yet without a properly democratic electoral process it would not function either. How can candidates be made to genuinely respond to people's needs and be prevented from reaching their aims by making empty promises? In the ensuing weeks, similar working

plans were discussed and drawn up in 23 other counties together with political parties and civil movements. Seminars were organized in cooperation with the same partners to analyze the situation and aspirations of the people. The body politic and power is moving closer to the people – at least in these 23 counties. And what if the political parties actually win? Then it is essential to prevent conflict. Round-table talks have already brought together the people in Quetzaltenango. But how to reach compromises

if the individuals concerned are unwilling to drop their authoritarian attitudes in negotiations? One possible solution: seminars on the culture of debate and conflict prevention.

The activities of a political foundation are not constantly crowned with ever-increasing successes. However, in the elections of November 7<sup>th</sup>, 1999, a mayor was re-elected for the first time in the history of Quetzaltenango: Rigoberto Quemé Chay won a second term of office. Of course, his election was again chal-

lenged immediately by his political opponents. It continues to be difficult for Ladinos to accept that an Indigena holds the most important office in the City Hall. This had always been the prerogative of Ladinos. And now the elite has to resign itself to another four years of being represented by an Indigena mayor.

This has not yet brought democracy to Guatemala. But owing to the Foundation's activities with civil movements in particular, a regional party is in the process of being established which may

## THE CASE OF EGYPT: TRAINING OF THE NEXT GENERATION OF LEADERS FROM POLITICAL PARTIES, NGOS AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

Globalization presents a new and special challenge to every country and to every individual. In particular leaders from the political community, society and business are being faced with complex situations and decision-making requirements for which they are often neither trained nor experienced enough. It is precisely in countries like Egypt with its long socialist traditions and perpetuated hierarchic and centralized decision-making structures that globalization brings about the most radical break with acquired cultural techniques. Young people have to respond to these new challenges in order to fulfil their future leadership functions responsibly.

No training has so far been offered to them outside the formal educational system. The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has therefore initiated a training programme for young leaders in cooperation with the Faculty of Economic and Political Science of Cairo University. As part of this training, participants from political parties, NGOs and from local govern-

ments are given the opportunity of acquiring personal competence in political action. Their active engagement for society is to be promoted and supported in the process. They are trained by means of lectures and practical exercises in rhetoric and communication techniques, in how to deal with the media, to resolve conflicts on the basis of partnership, to

moderate meetings and in a democratic style of leadership. In addition, the question of how to deal with the content side of their work is addressed. Global political and economic developments are discussed with experts from a practical background. In total, more than 300 experts have been trained in 6 training courses.



parliamentary elections in Egypt

eventually become a national movement in four years' time.

### REINFORCING LOCAL GOVERNMENT DEVELOPMENT

Owing to pressure from the civilian population, local elections were held in Lebanon in 1998 for the first time in 35 years. In many communities, members of local councils had died in the meantime or no longer represented the local constituency and its often denomination-based interests because of demographical changes during the war years.

In 1997, a poll by the Ministry for Local Affairs showed that 50 percent of the then existing 695 local communities operated without a properly legitimated local council. 25 percent were controlled by a district administrator or by individuals who were well past retirement age.

The post-war centralized policy of the Lebanese Government has perpetuated a disastrous situation in a large number of local communities even 10 years after the end of the civil war. Problems are caused, in particular, by the poor condition of the roads, and also of the water supply system and the telecommunications network. In 1997, no waste disposal system existed in 41 percent of towns and villages outside Beirut. Local services (hospitals, libraries etc.) were concentrated in the area of Mount Lebanon.

It has not yet been decided what the functions of the currently 637 local councils and the future of local governments

will be. At present, almost all local government coffers are empty because the Central Government has invested local taxes into the reconstruction programme of Greater Beirut. The existing Local Government Act leaves little room to local communities to regulate their own affairs. An amendment of the Act and of electoral laws has been on the political agenda for years.

Local elections in 1998 proved that opportunities for political participation were greatly appreciated by the local population. This was illustrated, amongst other things, by the fact that a large number of women stood as candidates and that many young people were upset

In the run-up to the elections, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung had supported women's organizations, with which it had established friendly relations, with the aim of enabling women to exercise their right of political participation. Since the summer of 1998, it has maintained a forum discussing political issues which are affecting local communities. These monthly events have caused various local councils to ask us for further assistance in the discussion of socio-political issues. As from the year 2000, we will cooperate with the Local Government Federation of North Lebanon in running an advice and training centre for the existing 156 local councils in North Lebanon. This



workshop in Lebanon

about being excluded from the elections because the voting age had been set at 21 years. Voters' turnout, at roughly 60 percent, was far above the turnout during the parliamentary elections in 1996 (40 percent).

centre is intended to provide services to members of local councils and administrative units, and also to offer training courses and advisory programmes. After the start-up phase, it is intended to operate on a cost-covering basis.

## COMMUNITY RADIOS: SMALL, BUT WITH POWERFUL ROOTS

The media ensure openness and transparency – and therefore form a constitutive part of any democracy. But in many countries of the Third World, they cannot, or simply do not, fulfil this function because governments and legislation stop them or because monopolies and oligopolies prevent a plurality of views from being articulated.

This is where the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung and its media activities have a role to play. The Foundation helps journalists by arranging professional training and advanced training for them or by supporting their lobby groups. In addition, it provides direct support to the media and their networks, in particular to alternative media such as community radios and community TV. These are small and largely noncommercial radio or television stations.

### THE EXAMPLE OF ECUADOR, COTOPAXI PROVINCE:

In this province, “Radio Latacunga” is on air, the only radio station of the 58 in the province which broadcasts in the Indian language Quechua. The reason for this is that the indigenous Indians represent the majority of the population, in particular in the rural areas. The radio supplies information, but it also gives them a voice. 30 voluntary staff are working as reporters by collecting the news and conducting interviews.

Their message meets popular demand. The indigenous people, who have

been without rights and organized forms of representation for centuries, are suddenly able to act in solidarity. They march on Quito in July 1999 and paralyze public life. They demand that price increases, ordered by the International Monetary Fund, be repealed. A general strike follows. The Government makes concessions. In January 2000 they march



supporting workers from the informal sector

again. This time, there is even a change in the Presidency. The “radios populares” are indeed playing an important part in the organization of mass protests. In Ecuador, they are organized in the national association CORAPE, which in turn is affiliated to the World Federation of Community Radios, AMARC. The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung coordinates training initiatives for alternative broadcasting stations via AMARC and supports its initiatives for improving broadcasting rights in Latin America.

### OR CAPE TOWN:

This is where “Bush Radio” is broadcast. It is one of the currently 84 community radios in South Africa. Its history sounds almost fantastic: the University of the Western Cape established an edu-

cational centre for coloured students in the midst of the bush in 1991, ie, still in the days of Apartheid. The communication activities of this “Bush College” developed into “Bush Radio”. Live recordings from democratic countries elsewhere were broadcast, recordings of discussions and original contributions were taped on audiocassettes and circulated behind the censors’ back.

This is the way in which this medium – the only independent one at the Cape then – developed.

There are good reasons for calling “Bush Radio” the mother of all community radios at the Cape. It broadcasts on VHF, mostly live, for twelve hours a day in English and two African languages. The listeners are on average between 18 and 25 years of age. Emphasis is placed on their being directly involved. They can regularly comment on the design and quality of the

programme in the so-called Open Forum. They can phone in at any time when a programme is on air. In addition to studio interviews with politicians and other public figures, there are special programmes for women, the unemployed, the handicapped and ethnic minorities. The content focus is on everyday issues: lack of health care, Aids, crime, rape, drugs and terror in the townships, the target area of the programmes.

With assistance from the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, “Bush Radio” provides training and advanced training to some 40 future journalists each year. They come from all parts of South Africa and even from neighbouring countries. The practice-oriented training schedule includes broadcasting management, documentation, news, reporting, interviews and radio drama. ■



Active support for disadvantaged sections of the populations, for example in India, and cushioning the impact of the financial and economic crisis, such as in Thailand, are intended to benefit directly the losers in the process of globalization. In addition, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has launched a dialogue programme with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the International Trade Secretariats in order to explore the conditions under which core labour standards can be enforced worldwide. To cooperate directly with trade unions in, for example, Morocco plays a special part in this. The activities of the Foundation in this field are completed by support for the modernization of social security systems in countries such as China or the reform of pension systems in Central America.

### CUSHIONING THE EFFECTS OF THE FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC CRISIS IN THAILAND

The most conspicuous sign of the financial and economic crisis into which Thailand was plunged in July 1997 was the breakdown of a large number of financial institutions and businesses. Demand went down drastically in some parts of the economy and entire industries, such as the building industry, came to a standstill.

A poorly developed system of social security further aggravated the effects of the crisis. Unemployment figures rocketed, while many other workers had to accept lower wages and short-time work in order to keep their jobs at all. Women were disproportionately affected by unemployment. Several hundreds of thousands of children were taken out of

school because their unemployed parents could no longer afford the school fees and additional costs (school uniforms, books, transportation, school meals). A flood of workers returned from Bangkok to the rural areas in order to make a living with their families and in agriculture.

Under these circumstances, the Foundation in Thailand reinforced its cooperation with the Thai trade union movement with the aim of bringing about reforms in social policies. At a number of meetings, potential strategies that could facilitate a resolution of the crisis were discussed, as were the implementation of fair industrial relations and the spe-

and the Government on the issue of unemployment assistance/unemployment insurance and on occupational health and safety. In addition, it initiated a debate about the social effects of privatization – a topic which is becoming increasingly important in view of the fact that the extensive privatization plans of the Government will affect public utilities, universities and hospitals alike.

Other activities on our part were intended to strengthen the Thai trade unions. They included training courses for trade union leaders, for example in negotiating techniques, and also joint strategic planning and coordination



coconut vendor in Sri Lanka

cific problems of unemployed women. It was the women in the rural and informal sectors in particular that were supported in training seminars and assisted in forming networks. Women workers in home-based industries constituted a special target group for activities in this field because they lacked any form of social security and legally protected status.

The Foundation promoted the discussions between workers, employers

meetings of the fragmented labour movement. On the suggestion of the Foundation, the Thai trade unions set up a scholarship fund for the children of unemployed parents which was supported by the German and international labour movement. The Thai Government also gave a considerable sum of money to the fund when this successful initiative was brought to its notice.

## INDIA: ACTIVE SUPPORT FOR DISADVANTAGED SECTIONS OF THE POPULATION

How can street vendors ensure that they are no longer driven away from their sales pitch? What can poor female lease-holders do to get access to small loans from the State? And how can an Indian woman convince her father that she, as a daughter, has an equal claim to the inheritance?

Since 1989, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has supported disadvantaged groups of the Indian population with

environment. To support women from the urban and rural informal sectors is therefore at the centre of our projects. With the help of Indian partner organizations, the persons concerned learn to initiate processes of change towards greater economic and social security, to become more involved in the political process and more aware of their own rights. The small-scale projects in various regions of India are directed towards self-help by practical measures: training, workshops and study tours. Whether the aim is to inform displaced persons in Orissa about their legal situation, to

of the lessons learnt from ten years of project activities is that a network involving everyone concerned is absolutely vital for successful lobbying on behalf of the poor in the Indian society.

Some examples of activities with our partners: with assistance from the Foundation, "Nari Nidhi" in 1991 founded a revolving credit fund for women who were previously dependent on private moneylenders. Some 6000 loans have been distributed in the meantime in the rural parts of Bihar. Together with "So-hard", an NGO from Rajasthan, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has organized practical training exercises in 60 villages for women active in local politics. For several years, 33 percent of the seats in local bodies have been reserved for women. Today, these women make sure that new watertanks are installed in their villages or that girls attend school regularly. They have become more self-confident and bring the problems of disadvantaged groups to the notice of politicians and government officials. In Patna, "Nidan" assists street vendors who are being spurned in all parts of India and harassed and driven away by the police and public authorities. A National Alliance of Street Vendors has been established and the campaign is controlled by Nidan.



being born into a caste should not determine the rest of his life

information and advice. The majority of the estimated 340 million poor in the country consists of the casteless, indigenous ethnicities and religious minorities. They are all discriminated against – socially, economically and politically – in this strictly hierarchically and patriarchally structured society, and women are disproportionately affected by this: they are denied access to education, income and social security, and also to participation in decision-making processes even in their direct social en-

educate women active in local politics in Rajasthan or programmes in Andhra Pradesh in which entire communities practise sustainable resource management in areas of drought – all these activities are directed towards improving the working and living conditions of the groups concerned. Experience gained at the grass roots is incorporated into the national development debate by means of studies, conferences and discussion meetings with representatives from the scientific and political communities. One

## SOCIAL SECURITY SYSTEM TO REPLACE THE "IRON RICE BOWL" IN CHINA

"In China, we are just starting a system of comprehensive social security, while in Germany, in contrast, such a system has been in place for more than 100 years." Representatives of local authorities responsible for labour and



social security describe in these words, which can often be heard in China, the enormous task faced by their country. In view of the fact that social services are increasingly taken out of the responsibility of State enterprises which are in need of reform, the authorities in charge in the Chinese provinces are being confronted with the task of establishing a social security system outside the industries as part of their social policy.

In 1995, a pilot project was launched in Shanghai with the aim of building up a pension insurance for urban workers. Since the end of 1998, an unemployment insurance, tax breaks for buying private housing property and a health insurance have been added. In 1999, priority in the reform process has been given to the nation-wide introduction of urban health insurances. In addition, an external accident insurance – independent of enterprises – is intended to be built up in the years to come. There is a certain measure of discretion of local governments in setting contributions to be paid, services covered and forms of investment. It is the aim of all programmes of social policy in China to provide services first to the entire urban population and then to extend and standardize the system nation-wide in the longer term.

Within a few years, the People's Republic of China has drawn up, and to some extent established, a system of social security for the urban workforce which is remotely comparable to the original system of local German health insurances. Most progress has been made in its implementation in the cities of the coastal provinces. According to official statistics, 4.3 million people, or 98 percent of urban workers, are covered

### GLOBALIZATION WITH A HUMAN FACE – TO ENFORCE CORE LABOUR STANDARDS WORLDWIDE

The International Labour Organization (ILO) adopted a declaration on fundamental rights at work which was supported by a large majority of governments, employers' associations and trade unions. In this process, governments and social partners have committed themselves to compliance with fundamental trade union rights and the ban on child and bonded labour, and also on discrimination at work.

Through its international activities, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung is supporting the practical implementation of this declaration. The worldwide network of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung and its broadly-based socio-political approach make it possible to pursue this discussion outside the polarized North-South context and to reinforce the political determination to implement core labour standards together with other institutions of the civil society.

In cooperation with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the International Trade Secretariats, we are promoting, on the one hand, the dialogue between organized labour and international organizations involved in global governance activities,

such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organization (WTO), about how to incorporate social aspects into the programmes of these organizations.

On the other hand, it is our aim, and that of other partners in Germany, to incorporate core ILO labour standards in projects and programmes funded within the framework of German development cooperation. In other words, we contribute, at the national level as well, to the strengthening of the social market economy and the application of international standards.

At the same time, we commission studies, such as the one by Christoph Scherrer and Thomas Greven (1999), analyzing how the activities of the WTO impact on social and environmental standards.



**bonded labour in Myanmar**

by a pension insurance in Shanghai. In view of the rapid increase in the proportion of elderly inhabitants in Shanghai (the city government estimates that 36 percent of the citizens will be sixty or older in 2030) and the current decrease in numbers of people in work, the pension system will come under considerable strain at some point in the future. The health insurance is currently still based on high personal payments and simultaneously restricted entitlements in the case of severe illnesses.

The level of services provided by the social system offers a minimum of protection at least in the cities of the coastal provinces and is more balanced than, for example, the US-American system. State-owned enterprises in the coastal regions have in the meantime been to a great extent relieved of the costs incurred for the “iron rice bowl”, i.e. the principle of life-long social protection by State enterprises. Since their funding is not guaranteed, however, the new systems will not be adequate for the poorer landlocked provinces where the restructuring of State enterprises is particularly urgent. It can thus be anticipated even at this point that the question of how to share the burden of social insurances between coastal and landlocked provinces will have to be addressed in a few years’ time.

The Shanghai office of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has initiated a cycle of seminars and workshops about the individual components of a nation-wide system of social security since 1996. It cooperates with the relevant authorities and trade union federations which are involved in the design, implementation and monitoring of the systems by the employment authorities at all levels. The

pressures on the social security system which are being discussed in Western Europe are noted with concern in China where employers are liable to contribute and will soon have reached the end of their ability to pay in view of approximately 40 percent non-wage labour costs. The Foundation is making a contribution to social justice in China by offering consultancy about the various components of a statutory social insurance, the institutional advantages of the principle of self-governance for statutory health insurances and pensions insurance bodies, the incentive system of the German accident insurance and by sharing the German experience of a uniform and nation-wide system of social security.

### PENSIONS REFORM IN CENTRAL AMERICA

Both the debt crisis in the eighties, and the development of inflation which got out of hand in the course of it, have aggravated the structural defects and weaknesses of the social security systems in Central America and in some cases brought them to the brink of collapse. It was in particular the pension systems that were most affected by this development: as early as the mid-nineties they were at the end of their financial tether in several countries. The low level of cost-coverage of the systems, of which many had only existed for a short time, the inefficiency of their administration, the funding problems and not least the selective range and low level of services were the reasons behind the need for reform.

Since 1994, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has been instrumental in analyzing existing systems and in drawing up reform concepts in the countries of Cen-

tral America. In almost all the countries, the social insurance situation was comprehensively analyzed and reform concepts were submitted so that the discussion about the road to be taken was very broadly based. Additional consultancy by international experts, offered to decision-makers in social policy, and the realization of a great number of discussion meetings contributed to a broadly-based consensus.

Activities of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung have considerably influenced the discussion on the conceptual redesign of pension insurances in all Central American countries. The most recent example is the adoption of a pension reform in Costa Rica which may undoubtedly be regarded as one of the most modern of the continent. It successfully combines solidarity-based elements of the “pay-as-you-go”-principle with the financial advantages of the funding principle. The discussion process has not yet been concluded in the other countries.



helping to modernize social insurance systems



### REINFORCING THE SOCIAL DIALOGUE – COLLECTIVE AGREEMENTS IN MOROCCO

Morocco is one of the countries in which the Government is actively supporting the social dialogue and collectively-negotiated industrial relations. There can be no doubt that so far collective bargaining is merely supplementing existing statutory regulations.

A poorly-developed rate of unionization, the fragmentation of the labour movement, the absence of employers' associations and the security interests of the State have politicized the social dialogue and reduced the opportunities for conflict resolution. This is also proved by the failure to negotiate collective agreements and by the large number of bargaining and conciliation procedures initiated or promoted by the administrative authorities or political instances.

The last decade saw a political process of opening-up and of liberalization

of the economy. The State increasingly withdrew from social activities. Shortly before the Constitutional Referendum in 1996 – the preparation of which took place in a consensual political atmosphere – this process culminated in a large national conference on the issue “Social Dialogue” which was concluded with the “Joint Declaration of August 1<sup>st</sup>, 1996”. This declaration has been regarded from then on as the new social pact and has been the turning point in the relationship between the social partners and the State.

Some months before the final ratification of the declaration, leading representatives of the three major trade union centres and of the employers' association (all signatories to the declaration) had taken part in a study tour to Germany, on the invitation of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, with the aim of being briefed on the German system of industrial relations. This reinforced the determination to continue the dialogue and to draw up a cooperation programme.

The Foundation therefore organized two other study tours to Germany and one to Spain in which representatives of the executive bodies of partner organizations took part. Between 1996 and 1998, workers and employers held parallel introductory seminars at the regional level with assistance from the Foundation. It was the aim of this sequence of programmes to promote direct contacts between the leadership of organizations at the regional level, to stimulate the social dialogue and to discuss how to improve the opportunities for a negotiated settlement of social conflicts. The climax of this series of meetings was a two-day national seminar in Casablanca at the end of November 98 which concluded the conceptual part of the first phase of the programme.

It was decided in July 1999 to proceed with cooperation in the field of, in particular, trade union education and the promotion of “best practices” in connection with the social dialogue.



demanding support for groups that are particularly vulnerable



and promoting self-organization (Koutoubia minaret in Marrakech)

However, the Foundation's partners also underlined their determination to tackle the underlying social issues. As a means of general orientation, it was intended to prepare the resolution of conflicts by means of negotiations, to draw up

collective agreements and to monitor their implementation. Current activities are mainly concerned with two things:

- focussing on specific industrial sectors with the aim of reaching a collective agreement for them;

- developing the concept for and establishing a training centre for collectively-negotiated industrial relations.

## ADDING A SOCIAL DIMENSION TO GLOBALIZATION

Under conditions of globalization, the pursuit of political and social objectives can no longer be restricted to national strategies. For quite some time, international capital markets, international organizations and large transnational trusts have played a crucial role in influencing the development opportunities of states in the Third and Fourth World.

The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung is attempting to react to these trends with a specific globalization-oriented project approach. The national activities of the Foundation's offices are being supplemented by worldwide activities, while national partners are incorporated into global contexts of discussions and interaction, and are thus enabled to continue to pursue their own objectives under conditions of globalization.

This approach is at present concentrated on three major areas. At the centre we find the issue of a new international financial architecture, the problems of

how to soften, socially and ecologically, the impact of world trade and the strengthening of regionalization processes with the aim of re-establishing the ability to act on the part of the states in the South at a different – regional – level.

These aims were pursued in the course of a series of international conferences (for example, on the regulation and de-regulation of capital markets in threshold countries, the role of rating agencies in the international financial system or on the experience of regional processes of integration); by means of studies (on the social conditionalities of world trade, the attitude of important threshold countries towards the problems of the international financial architecture, the issue of trade in hazardous waste) and by subject-specific consultancy for development politicians and partners (for example on the importance of ILO core labour standards).

Both the North-South exchange (for example by means of the English-

language "Studies on International Financial Architecture" which is also distributed in Germany) and the South-South exchange are taken into account in this process. The two dimensions are important if the real interdependencies in a globalized world are to be addressed. The "Studies on International Financial Architecture" are additionally available worldwide by email and distributed via the Foundation's offices, also by electronic means, to interested institutions in the partner countries. Expert knowledge from the South is specifically available for political processes in the South: at a conference in Kampala, experts from the MERCOSUR, ASEAN and SADC-areas analyzed the draft treaty for an "East African Community", which was in the process of being signed, and submitted proposals on how to optimize this regional integration concept. The Internet is also used for disseminating the results. ■

The improvement of the partnership between the Europeans and, for example, the Mediterranean or Latin American countries represents an important element of international understanding. But specific problems of understanding with, or between, developing countries have to be addressed as well. In consequence, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung is trying to integrate China into the international dialogue or to improve understanding between South Africa and Nigeria. The relationship between Peru and Ecuador, which continues to be tense, can be improved by means of youth exchanges and media-related activities. In addition, support is being given to international organizations, such as the Peace-keeping Section of the UN, in the pursuit of their missions.

## EUROPE AND LATIN AMERICA IN SEARCH OF A NEW CULTURE OF COOPERATION

The Latin American participants and observers looked forward with great expectations to the first Summit Meeting of 48 Heads of States and Governments from Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean which was held in Rio de Janeiro on June 28<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup>, 1999. It was, in particular, the MERCUSOR-member states that had pinned their hopes on the Summit to produce the breakthrough in their efforts towards a regional trade agreement – as concluded by the EU with Mexico soon afterwards. Yet the preparatory documents in fact pointed in a different



direction: it was not trade, but the political relations, development cooperation and cultural exchange which were to be inspired by the historic meeting.

In cooperation with other political foundations and organizations of German development cooperation, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung drew up a number of recommendations for the participants of the Summit and the general public on both sides; these recommendations anticipated to a great extent the wide range of issues covered in both the Final Declaration and the Plan of Action and were oriented towards a new culture of cooperation in which not only diplomats but also the civil society, with all its diverse concerns and institutions, should become more closely involved.

The aim is to develop a strategic partnership in which political dialogue, cultural and human contacts carry the same weight as economic relations, thus consolidating the relationship between the two regions “on the basis of the immense cultural heritage which unites us” – as the Final Declaration states.

Owing to the revolutionary events in Central and Eastern Europe and the emerging regional powers in Asia, less attention is today paid to Latin America. Stable democracies and successful market-economic reforms prevent people from looking behind the facade at a social reality which continues to be grim: 40 percent of the population is living below the poverty line. The explosive potential of globalization is often under-



estimated in its effect on the political and economic institutions which are often not yet fully developed.

In consequence, the activities of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in Latin America and the Caribbean continue to be determined by the need for contributing to stability and to socially-balanced and democratically-legitimated developments. The Foundation confronts this task in the spirit of strategic partnership invoked in Rio: by means of dialogue-based discussions on political and subject-specific issues, information programmes for partners in the EU and in Germany, support in developing institutional capacities, especially for the organizations of the civil society, but also for local communities and provinces.

Integration and democracy continue to be key terms, in particular in connection with the weak civil societies in Latin America and the Caribbean. An international conference of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung on the fringe of the Rio Summit demonstrated that major differences still exist in this respect between Europe and Latin America. While the treaties of

Maastricht and Amsterdam have moved the European Community closer to genuine democratic integration despite existing “democratic deficiencies”, Latin American scientists and politicians continue to pursue their discussions within national boundaries: only a strong nation state, capable of resolving the social problems, can come to terms with globalization and strive for regional integration. But we know from Europe that “*se hace el camino al andar*” (To travel hopefully is a better thing than to arrive, and the true success is to labour).

At the same time the fact that organizations of the civil society, in particular, expect international agreements at sub-regional level to speed up progress – in an enforceable form – in the fields of, for example, protection of environment and resources, gender equality or health and safety standards was also addressed at the conference. The weak MERCOSUR-institutions are not yet equal to this, but again the main point is to get started.

In other words, activities by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung also need to place greater emphasis on providing a platform

for dialogue between the regions. To transfer the “German model” directly to other parts of the world is not a valid proposition; what counts is the willingness to learn from each other. In this process, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung sees it as its contribution to a new culture of cooperation to support both regional projects on issues of common interest, coordinated by the countries’ representatives, and a more intensive dialogue about innovative policy concepts on both sides – Europe and Latin America.

#### EURO-MEDITERRANEAN PARTNERSHIP UNDER THE MICROSCOPE

Since Ehud Barak’s election as Israeli Prime Minister and the revival of the Middle East peace process, the chances of successfully implementing the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP) have again improved considerably. In spite of all efforts of, verbally, decoupling the so-called Barcelona process from the peace process, it had become obvious under the Netanjahu Government that



striking a balance: slums and rubbish dump in Brazil





peace, development and partnership were inseparably linked. And not only that: the Barcelona process is the most important instrument for Europeans to positively influence the peace process and to complement American presence in a meaningful manner.

This is done in two ways: on the one hand, Europe is one of the most important donors for funding the building-up of the economy and State structures in the Palestinian territories, on the other the EMP offers a neutral framework for meetings between, for example, Arabs and Israelis even at a time of crisis; this equally applies to other parties in the conflict, of course. Below the level of governments, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung was able to bring together Israelis and Palestinians and Europeans in a series of workshops in Brussels, thus successfully pointing the way. A major project of cross-border cooperation between Israeli and Palestinian regions developed out of these meetings and in the meantime has been granted considerable support by the European Commission in its function as a pilot project.

But the EMP was, of course, not primarily brought into being with the aim of complementing the Middle East peace process. It was rather an indirect result of the transformation in Eastern Europe, and subsequent negotiations for accession with the Eastern European States, which caused concern amongst the Southern EU-member states about a potential neglect of their interests. Their interests are self-evident: the Mediterranean region is strongly affected by conflicts inside and between countries, by religious fundamentalism, dictatorial regimes and social inequalities. The impact on Europe: refugees, terrorism, drug trafficking and a long-term threat resulting from weapons of mass destruction. The EMP converts this threat scenario into a positive picture by emphasizing the opportunities of security partnership, economic exchange and encounters between the populations concerned. In addition to multilateral mechanisms, it is in particular the bilateral association agreements with five countries up to now (Cyprus, Malta and Turkey besides the candidates for membership) which

are intended to bring about the desired results. For activities by an NGO such as the Foundation, the “third basket” is of special importance because it refers to direct contacts between the NGOs of the various countries and the promotion of democracy, human rights and social justice.

We have promoted corresponding projects in almost all 12 Mediterranean partner countries and attempted to initiate multilateral exchanges. Meetings with journalists from the Southern Mediterranean countries, which are taking place in Brussels on a regular basis, and a cycle of conferences on security and cooperation in the Mediterranean are cases in point. How important these activities have become obvious during the Euro-Mediterranean Conference of Ministers in Stuttgart in April 1999 when the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, together with its partners, organized a meeting of journalists, a human rights forum and a trade union conference on the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership.



boom town Shanghai

## CHINA'S INTEGRATION INTO THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIO- POLITICAL DIALOGUE

China has extended its active engagement in international organizations in recent years, ranging from the UN to the ILO and membership in WTO. Nevertheless, both historical and current events put a strain on attempts at extending an

international socio-political dialogue with the People's Republic of China. The willingness of both parties to abandon out-dated stereotypes forms an essential part of any meaningful dialogue. Those who wish to enter into a dialogue on societal issues with China need to be aware of the risk of being sucked into a "dialogue amongst the deaf" once mutual prejudices come to the surface.

If the aim is to advance the socio-political dialogue, it may be advisable to start with areas of a more mundane nature as part of a practice-oriented dialogue, such as the role of social security systems in a market economy and the development of a legal system. The abolition of the "iron rice bowl" has necessitated the introduction of a new system of social protection. The pension, health

## THE PRACTICE OF SOUTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE: SOUTH AFRICA – NIGERIA



Olusegun Obasanjo, Nigerian President

In the eyes of other countries on the African continent, South Africa passed through an exemplary reform process when Apartheid came to an end. In Nigeria, the most populous country of sub-Saharan Africa, a new political development took shape in 1999 under an elected civilian Government after 16 years of military dictatorship. It therefore makes sense that these two, probably most important, countries in sub-Saharan Africa have begun an intensive and mutually-supportive dialogue – which has also been endorsed by the two Presidents currently in office.

On the part of South Africa, one of the Foundation's partners, the "Institute for

Global Dialogue" (IGD), was commissioned by the Government to realize the planned bilateral exchange of experience. A subsequent exploratory visit of IGD-staff to Nigeria in October 1998 led to first intensive contacts with Nigerian representatives of the Government, the business community, trade unions, the media, NGOs and academia, who had set up a "Nigerian Steering Committee" to act as a counterpart of IGD. It was decided to hold two conferences with the aim of identifying common fields of interest, ie, the focal points of future activities.

The first conference took place in Lagos on February 12<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup>, 1999. Discussions centred around experiences gained in connection with the processes of transition, prospects for democratic consolidation and the strategic roles of the two countries in continental or global affairs.

At the second conference in Johannesburg on August 26<sup>th</sup>/27<sup>th</sup>, 1999, the initial discussions were resumed and intensified. South Africa's President Mbeki participated at some stages of the conference.

The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung was invited by IGD to take part in the project

from the start. In consequence, the overall concept of the planned dialogue was extensively discussed with our offices in Johannesburg and Lagos. The Foundation also undertook to pay part of the costs for activities so far implemented.

Future debates will focus, in particular, on matters related to the Constitution, good governance, devolution, economic exchange and the building-up and enlargement of the civil society. A major expert input will inevitably have to be contributed by South Africa. However, the Nigerian partners will wish to share their specific experience in the drawing-up of policy proposals.



Thabo Mbeki, South Africa's President

and unemployment insurances, which have been put on a statutory basis since the mid-nineties, reflect to a great extent the seminars, symposia, expert consultancies and study tours of civil servants, researchers and experts which the Foundation has been offering over the years.

Owing to the market-oriented economic reforms, trade unions are in the process of reorienting their basic philosophy from political domination towards becoming genuine representatives of labour interests. This includes a gradual opening-up to and conceptual cooperation with Western trade unions and international trade secretariats.

The internationally most difficult and emotionally charged issue in the dialogue with the PR China continues to be the implementation of and respect for human rights. The traumatic experience of the Tienanmen Square massacre in 1989 causes many people in the West to question the very ability of the Chinese Government to pursue any social reform or dialogue. The Chinese body politic, in contrast, emphasizes the important role of social human rights against the background of China's historical experience of poverty, starvation and feudalism. The Chinese political leadership does not directly deny a deficiency in the implementation of general and political human rights, but argues that it requires more time to implement them and, for deterrence, calls to mind the case of Russia.

The PR China, as a regional power, demands to be taken seriously and to be treated as an equal partner in the discussions of global issues. The formula practised by NATO in the Kosovo conflict of "human rights take precedence over

sovereignty" is seen by China as some new attempt at bringing back interventionism through the backdoor. The nightmare of a hundred years of foreign domination owing to its own weakness is coming back to haunt it. The bombardment of the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade has rekindled old fears of being spurned and disdained by the big powers.

### PERU/ECUADOR: YOUNG PEOPLE CONTRIBUTE TO PEACE

With the signing of the overall peace agreement of Brasilia on October 26<sup>th</sup>, 1998, a border conflict between the two South American neighbouring countries of Peru and Ecuador finally came to an end: it had been going on for almost two centuries and had repeatedly erupted into armed confrontation in the disputed border area – the last time in 1995.

While the compromise reached after prolonged negotiations between governments has put an end to political and military confrontation, the deeply rooted distrust based on nationalist perceptions between the populations of the two neighbouring countries has persisted. However, the treaty as a whole, and the longing for peace expressed in it, met the approval of the majority of the people. But the mutual dislike between the two nations lives on in the minds of the people.

The offices of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in Peru and Ecuador are therefore organizing a youth project, involving young persons from the two countries, as part of the "Agreement on Confidence-Building Measures and Security" for the year 2000; it is the aim of this project to diminish such resent-

ment and prejudices and to promote a change of heart amongst the next generation of leaders and decision-makers.

The project follows to some extent the example of Franco-German youth exchanges. The participants in the exchange come from two cities in Peru and Ecuador. Programmes lasting several days take place alternately in the two countries. The target groups include young persons in general and young leaders between 20 and 30, who are living in the border area.

In a first step, the dialogue is directed towards issues of common interest, such as youth unemployment or military service, and the exchange of experience. Once the initial defensive attitudes are broken down, other political issues can be addressed. Peruvian and Ecuadorian youth organizations are part of this process and are expected to contribute to the viability of the project in the longer term, thus facilitating peace and understanding between the peoples of the two countries in future.

Cross-border communication, not only between politicians, forms part of the "confidence-building measures" which are expected to bring to life the peace between Ecuador and Peru. They are directed, in particular, towards the populations on both sides of the border.

In today's world, this can be achieved by the media only, for example by "TV-Loja". A bi-national television system is planned to be established in cooperation with the "Universidad Tecnica Particular" in Loja and corresponding partner institutions on the part of Peru. Productions and programmes are planned to be jointly used by being broadcast in the respective other country as well. This adds to the programme offered without

# The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Worldwide







extra costs. It meets the information needs of some 6 million inhabitants in a border area which was a “flourishing region” before the conflict.

The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung supports TV-Loja by means of training courses. The project started with a basic course in news production and was later supplemented by the development of independent formats for information

programmes. The cooperation partner in this case is the Ibero-American Association of Regional and Local Television Stations, ASITRA.

In addition, a network of six community radios along the border, three from Ecuador and three from Peru, are taking part in the implementation of peace. In cooperation with their national umbrella organizations, they have developed a

“pilot project for bi-national participatory grass roots communication for peace, integration and development”. Again, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has given its support to this project, this time through the World Federation of Community Radios, AMARC, by providing seminars and workshops to teach journalistic skills and know-how. ■

## PRACTICAL COOPERATION WITH THE UN-PEACEKEEPING SECTION

Kofi Annan – then Head of the Blue-Helmet Section of the UN – called upon to the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung in 1994 to support the UN in its worldwide peace operations. Annan knew the Foundation from its long-term activities in his native country Ghana. It subsequently assisted the Peace-keeping Section in building up

a small unit in the UN-Secretariat in New York. It has been and continues to be the remit of this unit to analyze past UN operations and draw lessons for the future.

The Foundation equipped the new sub-section with modern archive and data-processing technology and assisted

in the organization of a great number of seminars for the analysis of peace activities in countries such as Somalia, Mozambique, Angola and Cambodia, to mention a few. Staff of the Foundation took part in a field study in Haiti, examining specifically to what extent the media and communications may contribute to the re-establishment of peace and to economic-social reconstruction. The “Guidelines for Media and Information Activities during UN Peace Operations”, which are available to every blue-helmet soldier as teaching and information material today, are one of the results of this work.

Cooperation with the UN-Peace Section was continued in 1999 with a conference in Geneva for more than 90 experts from the UN-system, the military, representatives of aid organizations and national development agencies. The meeting held intensive discussions on how to de-militarize parties in a dispute and to re-integrate former combatants and child soldiers into the civil society.



“Guidelines for Information Activities”: UN blue helmets



# Crisis Prevention and Conflict Management .....

Each year, armed conflicts, in particular in the countries of the South and East, destroy the positive development effects of previous years. These wars and, increasingly, civil wars and other violent internal conflicts within states are often the consequence of economic and social inequalities, of violations of human rights and the lack of alternatives and institutions for balancing interests and resolving conflicts in a peaceful manner. Peace policy may take the practical form of promoting cross-border cooperation between Israeli and Palestinian local authorities or of inviting the parties to the conflict in a state to talk to each other (Sri Lanka) or finding a common solution for peaceful conflict management (democratization in Mozambique). International policies may also contribute to the consolidation of peace, as has been demonstrated by the activities of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in the Mekong region.

## A CASE OF PRACTICAL PEACE POLICY: CROSS-BORDER COOPERATION BETWEEN ISRAELI AND PALESTINIAN LOCAL AUTHORITIES

On February 15<sup>th</sup>, 1999, an agreement was signed in the City Hall of Haifa which may be called historic in every respect: "Cooperation North" spells out cross-border cooperation between the Palestinian border region of Jenin and the Israeli border regions of Gilboa and Bet Shean, and the City of Haifa. It was the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung and its partners, Dr. Yair Hirschfeld, Director of the Israeli Economic Cooperation Foundation and Zuhair Manassrah, Governor of the Palestinian Autonomous Region Jenin, who had taken the lead in this initiative.

It is the first agreement of this kind and its symbolic role in practical peace policy should not be underestimated. Fields of cooperation include the extension of regional and cross-border infra-

structure, such as water supply, waste water management and drainage, electricity supply, waste disposal and transport. It is planned to cooperate in future in the fields of agriculture, business development, environment, local government, education, health and social services, tourism and protection against crime as well.

The Foundation sees its role primarily as that of a mediator between both the unequal partners and vis-a-vis Europe. Its good contacts to the Upper Rhine region have come in useful in this context: in the past 50 years, a system of cross-border cooperation has been developed there which has found worldwide recognition as a model and is used as a blueprint elsewhere.

With assistance from the Lord Mayor of Freiburg, Dr. Rolf Böhme, a triangular partnership agreement was concluded with "Regio TriRhena". As part of it, German, French and Swiss experts give advice to the Palestinian and Israeli partners, exchange programmes are planned



Palestinians demonstrating for work and peace

and traineeships with German and French institutions will be arranged in individual cases. A first group of experts has been to Israel and the Palestinian territories at the end of June 1999 for discussions with the partners and set out a working schedule for planned cooperation.

Considerable synergy effects for other projects in technical and financial development assistance in the Palestinian territories may be achieved as a result of "Cooperation North". The Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation is already examining whether to support cross-border infrastructural projects and has commissioned a feasibility study on water supply, waste water management and drainage as a first step. This will create greater acceptance of and regional coordination for measures already decided for Jenin: it is planned to set up an industrial park and to extend the water supply and waste water disposal systems.

The European Commission will provide considerable funds for programmes in the fields of environmental protection, business development, cooperation

between schools and universities, and also for meetings between NGOs, youth, women and other groups. The Commission approved a project "Cooperation North" by the two offices of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung; the project will furnish quite considerable amounts of money for planned cooperation between Israelis and Palestinians as from spring 2000.

### MOZAMBIQUE: THE ROAD TO PEACE

Rome, October 1992: representatives of Mozambique's two warring parties sign a peace accord which brings to an end one of the bloodiest civil wars on the African continent and one which lasted for 16 years.

The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has come to Maputo with a project office and a residential member of staff as early as 1984. Reform forces are carefully selected and supported in their efforts towards peace and democratization. A short while later, a business expert follows: consultancy for and funding of the crafts and small-scale industries are expected to

demonstrate the economic prospects in times of peace.

While the war is still going on, plans have to be made for the ensuing period. Constitutional matters, legal systems, the functioning of democratic institutions are issues on which information is very much needed.

End of November 1994: the first free elections are to be held. The majority of the 16 million Mozambicans are illiterate, have never seen a ballot paper or a ballot box. They do not know the capital Maputo where the President they elect and his Cabinet will reside and represent them and where the elected members of Parliament will act on their behalf. The German and local staff of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung are planning and drawing up education programmes tailored to the specific needs of the local people.

Broadcasting in local languages, comics and street theatre – this broadly-based campaign would not be possible without the support of prominent Mozambican artists, but time and again it must be coordinated with other organizations.

Of course, politicians need to be prepared and trained for their functions as



landmine victims in Mozambique



violence in Nigeria



well, and information provided. The academic community needs to be incorporated and forums be so organized as to enable them to contribute to a democratically-structured societal system. Although the elections have proceeded without major upsets, Mozambique's democracy continues to be lacking in democrats. The successful programmes of political education which have been started need to be continued, constantly improved and expanded. The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has added cooperation with the Parliament and parliamentary groups to its programme.

May 1998: the first local elections are being held in some parts of the country. An incomplete election register provokes serious political confrontations. An election boycott called out by the opposition leads to a voters' turnout of no more than 20 percent. Nevertheless, it has been one more step towards stabilizing democracy, yet also a reminder that political education must not be neglected.

December 1999: This time Mozambicans go to the ballot box for the second time to elect their President and the National Assembly – indeed quite a success story for democracy in Africa, and it requires further support.

### RESOURCE MANAGEMENT IN THE MEKONG REGION

The international conference on the subject "The Greater Mekong Subregion (GMS): political and security implications for ASEAN" is part



of a sequence of conferences on regional cooperation which are being organized in close cooperation between the "Cambodian Institute for Cooperation and Peace" (CICP) and the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. One round-table conference discussed the question of "ASEAN policy: flexible engagement or non-intervention?" and attempted to strike the right balance between state sovereignty and growing (regional and international) interdependence. The discussions went along the same lines as a regional workshop in March 1998 on "environmental management and sustainable development in the Greater Mekong Subregion". It is planned to follow up these programmes by organizing other activities in this field.

It became evident during the conference that the subjects presented and discussed were highly topical. This was explicitly emphasized by prominent speakers, such as the Prime Minister of Cambodia and the ASEAN Secretary General, and was later re-confirmed during discussions at the ASEAN Conference in Singapore in July 1999. There are a number of reasons for this:

- With Cambodia's accession to ASEAN as its tenth member, an important gap was closed between ASEAN and the GMS, which had so far been open.
- In view of the considerable economic potential of the GMS, ASEAN leaders decided as early as 1995 to jointly support the Mekong subregion.

- Owing to the many decades of war, aggression and instability, in which the Mekong river largely functioned as a dividing line, security – apart from the economic implications – constitutes an important concern, including all its side effects such as arms build-up, border disputes, migration, environmental degradation and resource management.
- Experience has shown that regional or transnational cooperation cannot fully develop if attention continues to be restricted to the national level of government.

**CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS CRISIS  
MANAGEMENT IN SRI LANKA**

Sri Lanka: an azure sea, perfect beaches of fine sands, lush tropical vegetation, friendly people – a holiday-maker’s paradise! This was probably the idea shared by most of the 430,000 tourists (including some 80,000 from Germany) who visited the island in the Indian Ocean in 1999.

And yet for almost 20 years now, a civil war has been raging in the North and East of the country, caused by ethnic tensions between the Singhalese majority and the Tamil minority of the population; it has so far claimed some 60,000 lives and forced hundreds of thousands to flee or to go into exile and has drastically reduced the development potential of the country.

Due to political intrigues, deeply-rooted mutual distrust, apparently irreconcilable ethnic-nationalistic ideologies on both sides and the intransigence of the Tamil guerrilla “Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam” (LTTE), all efforts of de-escalating the tensions have so far failed.

The large number of victims and high costs of war have caused an increasing number of representatives from the civil society to call for political negotiations between the parties involved in order to end the conflict by guaranteeing full rights to the ethnic minorities within the framework of a multi-ethnic state structure.

In cooperation with several Sri Lankese NGOs, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung is therefore organizing workshops for representatives of the two ethnic groups with the aim of analyzing the causes of the conflict, presenting the viewpoints of the respective other party, introducing methods of constructive management and transformation of conflicts and studying cases of successful non-violent strategies of conflict and crisis management from other parts of the world.

Another series of programmes for local politicians of the government and opposition is aimed at promoting a constructive dialogue and cross-party cooperation in the resolution of this ethnic conflict.

The programme is supplemented by seminars in which Singhalese local politicians from the South of the island meet their Tamil counterparts from the East. ■

## Trade Union Activities

Economic problems, unstable and poorly-developed democratic institutions, unsatisfactory working conditions and social deprivation sum up the general conditions towards trade union activities in many countries of the South. In consequence, trade unions must address both the concerns of their members and the problems of a growing number of people working in the so-called informal sector who are protected neither by work contracts nor by health or social insurances. It is, however, also part of trade unions' regular tasks to fight for respect for human rights, for minimum public services, protection of minorities, women's rights etc. Conversely, the State and entrepreneurs attempt to block trade union activities by means of pressure and repression, and also by granting financial and political privileges to certain trade union officials. To support free trade unions that are conscious of their responsibility towards society therefore continues to be a major task of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.

### EGYPT: HOW TO SETTLE CONFLICTS IN INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

Industrial relations in Egypt are organized on the basis of a traditional patriarchal pattern. Trade unions and employers' associations are not given the opportunity of negotiating collective agreements because the Government lays down wages and working conditions centrally. The privatization of some public enterprises has now made it necessary to find new ways of dealing with each other.

The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, in cooperation with the Egyptian Trade

### FOR EXAMPLE LEGAL ADVICE IN VIETNAM



defending workers' rights

"Rapid transformation, the different investor mentality, the consequences of the Asian crisis, and also the new confrontation with the private sector are giving us a lot of trouble", says Mrs. Pham Thi Thanh Tuu, member of the Executive of VGCL ("Vietnamese General Confederation of Labour") in Dong Nai province, some 30 kilometres north of Ho Chi Minh City. The federation is the apex organization of trade unions in Vietnam. Mrs. Thanh Tuu is standing in a small office with a plate over the door offering advice in cases of conflict with the employer. A lawyer, a legal clerk and two administrative staff are the members of the advisory team. Workers come to see them mostly about matters of job grades and pay, overtime regulations and overtime pay, and often also about working conditions on the shop floor. "Most conflicts can be resolved in discussions with the firms", says Mr. Vu Ngoc Tuan, legal counselor and director of the office. "The companies make concessions when they realize that the workers know their rights and are given support." Only very serious cases, ie when dismissal notice has been given, will be tried in the courts. There were, after

all, 48 cases last year. The court record of the advisory office is quite impressive: it won 46 percent of its court cases, nine of those in the second instance, and one case even went to the highest law-court.

The office is run by the regional branch of the general workers' organization VGCL. It is available for all workers seeking advice, not just for trade union members.

The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has promoted and assisted this process from the start: it tried to attract support for the concept, assisted in the legal training and at the end also in furnishing the small centre.

Legal advice is a new kind of service indicating a change of heart within the Vietnamese trade union movement both in respect of their self-perception internally and their image in the world outside. Moving away from being a socialist-front type of organization and towards being a genuine mouthpiece of the workers appears to be the trend that is taking shape. The modest office in Dong Nai may appear rather unspectacular to Western visitors, but it is the symbol of a change in society which is seen as a continuous process in Vietnam.



Union Confederation and a national NGO, has been offering a training course for trade unionists on the subject “how to settle conflicts” which has been going on regularly for four years. This training course is offered to all workers, not just trade union members. For some industrial trade unions (such as that of the chemical workers) specific courses were organized for their members only. Some courses were especially designed for women in order to promote the cause of, in particular, the (few) women officials in trade unions. As part of an evaluation, they reported on their experience in applying the newly-acquired skills: they are feeling much more self-confident and able to assert themselves as a result. For example, one of them successfully forced the health insurance to pay for the treatment of venereal diseases for women – as had hitherto been the case for men.

### SOCIO-POLITICAL DIALOGUE IN KOREA

The issue of the “social dimension” of the market economy has been playing a prominent part in South Korean politics and society in recent years: what should be used for guidance in Korea? Where is an additional input indispensable in social matters, where desirable? What is the role of the State? In the most recent past, the Government has expanded the instruments of social policy, not least under pressure from the trade unions: in analogy to the German system, the four pillars of social insurance (unemployment, health, pension and accident insurance) have been introduced. In parallel to the discussions about introducing or, if necessary, extending appropriate programmes, the Foundation’s partners from the trade union sector have requested advice and expertise on all central issues of social policy: what must be the concept of an unemployment insurance, how can instruments of labour market policy be designed in order to produce the greatest possible effect on employment, what health insurance systems

exist in Europe? What are the basic features of the pension insurance scheme in the Federal Republic of Germany and what reform proposals have come from the German trade unions? What are the options under discussion for a reform of the accident insurance in Germany and what is the role of social housing there?

Furthermore, the role of the trade unions in shaping social policy has attracted a great deal of attention in recent years: how can the unions convince more people of the necessity of developing the instruments of social policy and what is the part played by the unions in important institutions of labour market and social policies (such as the Federal Labour Office). Korean trade unions are certainly aware of the fact that German economic and social policies have developed differently, and yet there are many similarities, many lessons to be learned from current concepts, and at times even from the historical experience, of trade union activists in Germany.



respect for social and economic human rights: cultivating the land in Egypt



demonstrating workers in Korea



## TRADE UNIONS AND REGIONAL INTEGRATION: THE CASE OF MERCOSUR

Trade unions are being confronted with new challenges as a result of regional attempts at integration in various parts of the world. This applies to the southern part of Latin America as well where MERCOSUR was established in 1991, initially on the basis of bilateral agreements; it consists of Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay and Paraguay, with Chile and Bolivia as associate members.

The trade unions in the region, which have been influenced by very different historical traditions and cultures, assumed either a negative or indifferent attitude towards regional integration at the start. This was also clearly reflected in the various seminars organized by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung at the end of the 80s, early 90s. But in the course of events people were forced to realize that this process of integration could neither be halted nor reversed, but could at least be influenced in individual areas. Having realized this, trade unions began to move away from their diverging positions and

concepts and became increasingly active at the regional level.

In 1994, a regional coordination body, which later became the “Comisión Sindical MERCOSUR” (trade union commission for MERCOSUR), began to draw up proposals on how to shape the process of integration from a social point of view. Both the recent adoption of the so-called “Social Protocol” by the member states of MERCOSUR, which defines important social and trade union rights, and the “Foro Consultivo Económico Social” (Consultative Economic and Social Forum), which has been established after lengthy discussions along the lines of the EU-Economic and Social Council, albeit on a more modest scale, would have been inconceivable without pressure from the trade unions.

From the start, the Foundation has been involved in the discussions about regional integration amongst trade unions, and has contributed to them. In a first phase, the possible implications and effects of integration on trade union activities were analyzed. In a second phase, efforts were made to bring together the trade unions from sectors

most affected by the process, and to develop joint strategies. Government representatives, entrepreneurs, scientists and external experts were invited to take part in a number of activities. Various working and study programmes by trade unions leaders and scientists close to the unions in Brussels were organized with the aim of getting some first-hand experience of the EU; these programmes formed an important part of the Foundation’s activities.

At the moment, we are implementing two comprehensive regional projects in cooperation with the trade unions: a Foundation project involving all international trade secretariats is currently being implemented for the third year running; its aims are to reinforce the technical competence of the trade unions on the various MERCOSUR commissions, to bring about a greater measure of networking and to increasingly mobilize international experience. Another project with the “Comisión Sindical MERCOSUR” is aimed at developing a greater political profile for the trade unions and at expanding the dialogue with other players in politics and society. ■



poster advocating socially-oriented integration of markets in Latin America



Member states of MERCOSUR

## Gender and Positive Action for Women .....

The gender approach is a participatory concept for planning and implementation which focusses on both men and women in project activities. It is the overriding objective of the gender approach thus to improve general socio-political conditions as to enable both women and men to equally share in the economic, political and social developments of their countries. In the developing world, the fundamental human rights of women have been under attack time and again; discrimination often jeopardizes the economic existence of the women concerned, as has been demonstrated by the project experience of the Foundation in Kenya and Botswana. The furtherance of businesswomen in Egypt and of micro-businesses in Colombia is tailored to the specific needs of particular groups of women. In Brazil, we are trying to support women in local and provincial administrations, while activities in Tunisia benefit all female managers in equal measure. To realize a national policy of gender equality on the basis of international agreements is

the agenda of women-specific discussion circles for the implementation of the UN women's rights convention in Egypt.

### IMPLEMENTING WOMEN'S RIGHTS IN BOTSWANA

Women's organizations still form the largest segment of Botswana's civil society: they were initially oriented towards providing services to their female clientele whose legal status had been precarious owing to blatantly discriminatory elements in both the traditional and the modern body of law. For example, even under modern law, married women were being treated as minors under the authority of their husbands.

To provide advisory activities exclusively on the basis of existing laws therefore proved a rather limited exercise. By consistently politizing women's organizations, a re-orientation took place – the aim being to reduce widespread legal discrimination against women by fundamentally changing legislation. This was a special concern of “Emang Basadi”, an

organization which rapidly grew to become the leading lobby group for women's rights. It successfully used growing competition between the political parties in the election year 1994 for propagating women's rights; both the government and opposition parties adopted major elements of the “Women Manifesto” which had been formulated under the leadership of Emang Basadi. After the elections, the Government appointed a commission charged with scrutinizing a number of extremely discriminatory laws.

In spite of this success, it was obvious that women's rights could be promoted by lobbying to a limited extent only, unless the women's movement had direct access to political decision-makers, in particular in the legislature. Of the 44 members elected to parliament in 1994 no more than 4 were women, of whom two had not been elected in their constituencies but appointed by the President. The proportion of women was slightly higher, at 15 percent, in the district councils. The idea behind the



empowering women economically: small crafts in Botswana



and in Latin America

establishment of the Botswana Caucus of Women in Politics (BCWIP) has therefore been to mobilize women to become actively involved in politics and to assist women politicians in their political work – in particular by making them aware of gender issues and supporting them in joint actions. Cross-party cooperation within the framework of BCWIP constitutes a crucial element for success because the small number of women politicians could hardly develop into a critical mass.

The Foundation's office has supported the establishment and first activities of the BCWIP since 1996 in different ways. They include the funding of workshops, a study tour to both the Bundestag (German Federal Parliament) and the provincial parliament of Northrhine-Westfalia, the training of women candidates in parliamentary and district council elections and some assistance in furnishing the BCWIP office.

Although it is deplorable that an opposition party has so far failed to join the BCWIP, this has not greatly hampered its activities. It is true that the intention of thoroughly preparing women candidates for the election campaign and of developing a joint platform was frustrated in the 1999 elections by unusually late selection procedures in the political parties. Yet the fact that the number of women members of Parliament doubled is not least to the credit of the BCWIP which had complained about the lack of female representation in the parties and in public and had supported the 30-percent target established in Beijing.

## **GENDER ACTIVITIES BY THE FRIEDRICH-EBERT-STIFTUNG IN KENYA**

Like in many other African countries, women are socially marginalized in Kenya in many different ways and greatly disadvantaged by law when compared to men. They have less opportunities, statistically speaking, of getting into public and political office or positions of leadership than even in many of the African neighbouring countries. For example, no more than eight of the 222 members of Parliament are women, and there is not a single female member in President Moi's Cabinet.

It has to be noted, however, that the educational level of women has traditionally been very low – with a literacy rate of merely 19 percent of all women and a drop-out rate of 90 percent of all girls in primary education (figures from 1989). Nevertheless, these data do not provide sufficient grounds to explain the current low representation of women in leadership.

This inevitably brings into focus the general political conditions that apply equally to educated women in Kenya when they try to stand on their own two feet.

Against this background, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has introduced a programme to actively involve women and women's groups in the process of socio-political development in Kenya. A great number of educational and supporting programmes therefore target the membership, equal opportunity officers and executive members of political parties in order to draw up positive action plans for women in cooperation with them. As part of these programmes, and also by

means of publications and training of, for example, the Constitutional Reform Commission, it is planned to amend the legal foundations which have so far restricted women in their personal and political development.

These consultancy activities are supplemented by measures appealing to a wider public on the same subject, for example by the discussion of women-specific issues in cooperation with the "Kenya Human Rights Commission".

## **BRAZIL: SUPPORTING WOMEN IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AT LOCAL AND STATE LEVEL**

In recent years, considerable progress has been made in ensuring equal opportunities for women in politics and society. Almost all political parties and trade unions have introduced a quota system with the result that more women have been elected into political office. They are nowadays better represented in public administrations than even a few years ago. The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has supported and promoted this development by a large number of programmes.

Under the title "Gender in Public Administrations", the Foundation has cooperated with equal opportunity officers from six local governments and three state governments in the last few years. Practical problems were discussed in a series of workshops and seminars and possible solutions suggested: what does it mean to implement a pro-women, citizen-friendly policy in local government? What kind of projects and programmes have had a positive effect? What financial resources are available? And in particular: how can women assert



themselves in their own administrative units and link up with male and female colleagues in other departments and divisions?

Almost all women participants had no or only limited experience in public administration before being appointed “equal opportunity officers”; most of them had gained their political experience in party organizations and NGOs. Initially, it was therefore a matter of building up their self-confidence. This was especially emphasized in the joint evaluation: more self-confidence, creativity, new initiatives and more courage in solving the many practical problems.

Concrete examples of successful policy concepts for the protection of women against violence, in health care, in providing public infrastructure etc. formed another major area of discussion, which was supplemented by inviting women scientists and national women politicians to join the discussion.

In 1998-99, women participants came exclusively from local and state governments in which the “Partido dos Trabalhadores” (labour party) was in power. After further evaluation of results

these gender programmes are, however, intended to be realized on a cross-party basis, thus contributing to the consolidation of a democratic political culture.

### WOMEN IN LEADERSHIP IN TUNISIA

Since 1991, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has been cooperating closely with a regional network of autonomous women’s organizations which are actively working for both legal and factual equality of women in the Maghrib. However, in Tunisia, one of the few Arab countries known for its progressive legislation in favour of women’s rights, the Foundation has chosen a different approach: it is the aspect of women’s closer integration into economic life that is at the centre of its activities in this country. Since 1996, in cooperation with its partner, the Tunisian Women’s Research and Documentation Centre (CREDIF), the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has been organizing one-week advanced training courses for women in leadership who come from private businesses and public administration. Originally designed with the aim of improving the qualifications of working

women for positions of leadership, the programme has developed in the meantime into a pilot project.

In the course of a little less than three years, more than 250 women participants have benefited from the programme which is realized in the urban centres of Tunisia. This advanced training programme, with 20 women in each course, covers a whole range of different subjects. A large majority of the participants are working in higher management positions in private and State companies, in public administration and in banks. The course teaches them various methods that help them in their career in an environment which is not exactly “women-friendly”. The fact that there is a great demand for information is illustrated by the women’s own initiative of organizing local discussion circles for the exchange of experience and the development of new strategies for action in addition to the training programme.

A political side effect of this programme is also worth mentioning: legal and economic equality of women in the Arab world functions as a defence against fundamentalist tendencies.



gender activities with many facets: (from left to right) workshops in Egypt and in Tunisia



### FURTHERING BUSINESSWOMEN IN EGYPT AND ...

The business promotion project of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in Egypt entails cooperation with various groups and associations of small and medium-sized businesses. It concentrates in principle on building up these associations as part of the country's civil society and on providing services for individual members and an interested public. To gradually improve cooperation between these organizations themselves and to reinforce their representative power is another aim of the project; this will affect not only the regional, but increasingly the supra-regional level as well.

There are ultimately two major objectives behind these activities: on the one hand, to strengthen the small and medium-sized business sector in order to turn it into the backbone of the national economy in the future; on the other, to contribute in the longer term to greater plurality, and consequently to democratization of Egyptian society by reinforcing the groups' representative power, including their ability to lobby.

Within the framework of this project, cooperation with the "Business Women Association Dakhalia" in the Nile delta is playing a special part because this group consists exclusively of women, some 30 business-women and women managers. They have separated from the male-dominated association, which is also one of the Foundation's partners, because they were disenchanted about the fact that their specific interests were inadequately represented by the men.

There is a gender-specific aspect in addition to the listed objectives: although Egyptian women of the middle and upper classes enjoy more liberties than women in other countries of the region, there is still a long way to go before they are treated as equals. But first of all, the association had to be assisted in building up its organization, a process which has been concluded by now. It was done by means of advice, planning workshops, by compiling a membership file and an information brochure, and also by providing some material. In a second phase, greater attention needs to be paid now to serving the interests of members in order to initiate a development which is

at the same time more intensive (stronger bonds with the members) and more broadly-based (more members). This is planned to be done by promoting educational programmes; their costs will be partly covered by contributions from the women.

Another important aspect is the recognition of this group in society by granting the women's organization the same status that the other, male-dominated, institutions enjoy in cooperation. In joint meetings, the men are told time and again that the input by women is equally important; as a result, the women's group, which was initially met with a pitying smile, is increasingly taken seriously.

The striking fact about this process is that the women's ideas are frequently much more realistic than those of the men. Their very practical proposals are proof of this, for example on how to acquire certain skills which they do not yet have, such as learning English in the case of businesswomen or how to use a computer.



women in Pakistan

### ... MICRO-BUSINESSES IN COLOMBIA

The majority of micro-businesses in Colombia are owned by men. Some 35 percent of these businesses are in the hands of women. This is the sector that is called "informal" in Latin America because fiscal and social legislation, health and safety regulations for the workforce or provisions for environmental protection are applied even less in this sector than elsewhere.

It is especially those women who are solely responsible for raising their children, managing the business and providing the most important labour input for it who feel the strain most acutely.

The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has concentrated on this target group as part of its Colombian programme since the eighties. This project has been implemented under the title "marketing consultancy" because it included organizational assistance for this sector of the economy, the creation of networks amongst micro-businesses in a region, and also improved links between the businesses, the local chambers of commerce, regional development banks and State promotion schemes.

Businesswomen represented 40% of this programme. The Foundation was not, however, interested only in providing technical advice and promoting this large number of women, but took into account the sociological effect of the entire programme. In fact, such effects can be observed in the following:

- The programme first of all changes the role of the woman in her own

household. In consequence, she is more motivated to take care of the education and training of her children from a work-oriented viewpoint in order to be able to employ them as qualified workers in the business.

- The businesswoman also changes her attitude towards her husband and other men. She becomes more independent, assumes more responsibilities and begins to practise what normally exists in the political platforms of parties only, ie, equality. This effect of development is not without conflict. But the resulting tension also empowers her to break down further the traditional hierarchies between men and women.

- Women entrepreneurs become more interested in getting involved in local politics, in taking part in decisions that affect their neighbourhood and thus the place where they live.

### DISCUSSION CIRCLES ON WOMEN'S ISSUES FOR IMPLEMENTING THE UN-WOMEN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION IN EGYPT

The international women's rights convention CEDAW was adopted by the UN-General Assembly in 1979. It went into force in 1981 and has been ratified by 139 states in the meantime. Under the convention, these states have committed themselves to abolish all forms of discrimination against women in all sectors of public, political, economic and cultural life. This commitment applies not only to public life, but also to the private domain, in particular the family.

Egypt has signed the convention, but expressed reservations about some of its articles on religious and political

grounds. Since the next national report about progress made with the convention must be submitted in the year 2000, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has established a women-political dialogue forum in cooperation with various NGOs and the media. This forum brings together representatives of the Government, NGOs, the media and politicians in order to discuss ways of implementing the convention and to propose necessary changes in legislation. There are a total of 11 forums, at which various issues are being discussed. The very fact that Government and NGO representatives sit together at the same table is quite a success in itself. Moreover, owing to the forum's contribution, some of these issues are now being addressed in both a public and political debate:

- The women quota which was abolished in 1986 has never been declared unconstitutional and could therefore be brought back on the agenda.

- Court rulings in cases of adultery, for which penalties are more severe for women than for men, have been discussed with judges.

- The various forms of violence against women (such as rape by husbands, genital mutilation) have been brought to the notice of government agencies.

- The law on births, marriages and deaths should not be based exclusively on religious grounds because it prevents married women, for example, from leaving the country unless their husbands consent. Existing regulations make it practically impossible for women to get a divorce, while it is very easy for men to divorce their wives. ■

# Human Rights

Democracy, social justice and solidarity are at the centre of socio-political activities of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung and are ultimately always regarded as human rights activities as well. By supporting the development of a culture based on the rule of law and democracy, the Foundation is attempting to contribute to better general conditions for respecting human rights in all parts of the world.

After years of military rule, human rights once again stand a good chance in Nigeria. To resolve the problems resulting from the transition to a democratic form of society is a crucial task in this country. In Ecuador, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung supports existing human rights organizations in their activities and assists them in building up a functioning network. In Colombia, attention in society needs to be concentrated on the concept of fundamental human rights under conditions which are still comparable to civil war. The "National Peace Award" constitutes a useful step in this direction. Efforts of introducing a human rights culture in Peru are meant to improve, in particular, the ability to act on the part of the national association of Peruvian human rights organizations.

## TO HELP PROTECT HUMAN RIGHTS IN NIGERIA

It is only a few months ago that Nigeria finally ended 16 years of military dictatorship. The most populous country of Africa is now being ruled by a legitimately-elected civilian government and has thus been given another opportunity for lasting democratization.

It has been one of the most remarkable measures taken by the new

Government under Olusegun Obasanjo to establish an inquiry commission charged with revealing human rights abuses perpetrated under previous military governments since 1966. Its establishment has finally caused even the judiciary to take seriously reports to the police about human rights violations and to prosecute them. However, all the crimes committed during the term of

office of General Sani Abacha (1993-1998) have not yet been investigated or disclosed. It will probably take years to come to terms with the past. This applies equally to new criminal offences of which the police is currently reproached.

Since 1976, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has had an office in Lagos. As a result, the Foundation has cooperated more intensively with human rights and

## THE HUMAN RIGHTS AWARD OF THE FRIEDRICH-EBERT-STIFTUNG

Since 1994, the Human Rights Award of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has gone to individuals or organizations that have rendered outstanding services in the enforcement of human rights. The award is funded from a legacy of Ida and Karl Feist, a couple from Hamburg. It was the legators' intention to pay tribute less to spectacular successes, but rather to the tedious and persistent broadly-based activities for the benefit of human rights, human dignity and peace which help to fight the causes of violence and injustice.

*Previous award-winners have been:*

Marie Schlei Verein (1994); Prof. Dr. Ewa Łętowska, Parliamentary Commissioner for Citizens, Poland (1995); President Olusegun Obasanjo, Nigeria (1996); Father Petar Anđelović OFM, Bosnia (1997); Omar Belhouchet, Editor-in-Chief of the Daily Newspaper "Al watan", Algeria (1998), Kailash Satyarthi, international co-ordinator of the "Worldwide March against Child Labour", India (1999) and the Committees of Soldiers' Mothers of Russia (2000).



Human Rights Award-winner 1999: Kailash Satyarthi



## “THE NATIONAL PEACE AWARD” IN COLOMBIA

“Mogotes – a beacon of hope” said the press commentaries about the winner of the first National Peace Award presented by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in Colombia on October 28<sup>th</sup>, 1999.

The award-winner, the small town of Mogotes, had proved that the map of Colombia was not entirely soaked in blood: there also existed a cartography of peace. The inhabitants of Mogotes in Santander, it was said, had supplied proof of the fact that participation and direct democracy was the best protection against violence.

After a guerrilla attack by the group ELN, in which policemen and civilians were killed and the mayor kidnapped allegedly for corruption, the inhabitants of Mogotes had united, together with the diocesan administration, to form a “Sovereign Municipality” (an entity permissible under the 1991 Constitution) in order to enforce the release of their mayor. The guerrilla was so much impressed by their demonstration of unity and participation that it handed back the mayor. Some time later, the local people uncovered irregularities in the work of the released and removed him from office. They drew up an integral development project, which involved the whole community, and thus improved the social conditions of life in their small locality. The participation and practised solidarity of

the inhabitants, which had started so dynamically, have continued to this very day. The military, paramilitary and guerrillas began to respect the community and did not dare to attack again.

With the Peace Award, Mogotes stands out as a model for all those in Colombia who wish to ensure lasting

prevention of violent attacks in the course of armed conflict.

As was said in a number of press commentaries after the award ceremony, the experience of Mogotes functions as a laboratory in which one can study how the postulates of an enlightened political philosophy can take effect in a village in

the midst of violent fighting. Direct democracy based on the rule of law, guaranteeing constant participation of and advice for the citizens, is a successful concept against corruption and for peace and development, it was said.

It became clear during the award ceremony and the subsequent concert that Mogotes is not the only hope-inspiring case in Colombia. The jury, which was appointed from different segments of the population, had to select a candidate from some 280 applications from all parts of the country. All of them together represent a cartography of peace which often remains hidden behind the daily pictures of conflict.

The Friedrich Ebert Stiftung in Colombia (FESCOL) was able to win the most important print media of the country as co-organizers of the award. The total costs for both the award, some 50,000.– DM, and the ceremony were shared between them. The

FESCOL initiative was made possible by a donation from the WAZ (one of Germany’s print media) founder’s widow, Anneliese Brost.



Peace Award document – presented for the first time in 1999

peace by means of participation and the rule of law. The people of Mogotes proved that democracy is the best method for the settlement of conflicts and for the



democracy groups since the end of the eighties and this became the focal point of its activities during the years of the Abacha dictatorship. The Foundation was one of the few international organizations in the country offering opponents of the regime a public platform in which human rights abuses and totalitarian government practices could be criticized. The Foundation's office was able to maintain contacts through informal channels between imprisoned dissidents and sympathizing organizations in Germany and Europe. The Human Rights Award, which the Foundation in Germany presents once a year, in 1996 honoured Obasanjo who was in prison at the time.

Owing to this unambiguous stance in favour of human rights and democratic reforms, the Nigerian security forces increasingly put pressure not only on our partners but also on our staff. Seminars were disturbed or prohibited and participants arrested.

The sudden death of dictator Abacha and the democratization programme of his successor contributed to a better political climate. Our partners invited us to assist in the transition process and to

contribute to its success since we had gained their trust during the years of dictatorship.

Under the Obasanjo-Government, the office in Lagos will intensify cooperation with organizations committed to democratic consolidation and the implementation of human rights.

## ON THE ROAD TOWARDS A HUMAN RIGHTS CULTURE IN PERU

Human rights violations are systemic in Peru. Out-dated ideas about the use of political force, authoritarian and vertically-organized structures in State and society, no rule of law and non-existent division of power, and also strong social fragmentation, combined with elements of discrimination, create a climate in which the protection of human rights is neither desired by the State nor demanded to any great extent by society. In addition, Peru must still come to terms with the problems created by internal fighting against guerrilla groups, such as "Sendero Luminoso", during the period from 1980 to 1995 which continue to prevent the acceptance and guarantee of human rights. These problems include

amnesty laws benefiting the perpetrators on the part of the State, maintaining the state of emergency in some rural provinces and the concerns of displaced persons.

The “Coordinadora Nacional de Derechos Humanos” (National Human Rights Coordination Body, CNDDHH) – a national apex organization with 61 affiliates from different parts of Peru – is playing a crucial part in human rights activities. Authoritarian organizational structures which are dominating the country and lack of solidarity amongst the people are major problems faced by both CNDDHH and its affiliates. The population usually tends to disregard all efforts to investigate the effects of terrorism.

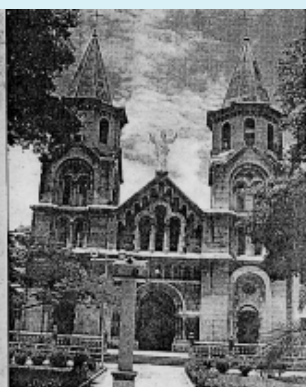
With technical support from the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, CNDDHH has succeeded this year in openly addressing its problems and developing a working strategy. The Foundation organized a total of five workshops for the CNDDHH-executive secretariat, and some of the affiliated organizations also took part. The purpose of the workshops was, on the one hand, to define common values and principles which would form the

## Anoche, Mogotes recibió Premio Nacional de Paz

**COPIREÑA, ROGATA**  
El control ciudadano a los miembros de las municipalidades para que el progreso sea una en Mogotes (Ibarra), hicieron acreedora a esta población del Premio Nacional de Paz, que otorga la ONU.

Los mogotenses, a través de la Asamblea Municipal Constituyente, se reúnen una vez al mes en la cabecera de la zona para discutir los problemas sociales y el dinero que el Estado les entrega, control que les permitió acabar con la corrupción que durante años campó en la administración pública.

La Asamblea la conforman 120 campesinos de todas las veredas y surgen después de la toma del ELN al municipio en diciembre de 1987, acción que dejó tres policías y dos mujeres muertas.



**MOGOTES**, hermosa localidad de Santander, recibió anoche el Premio Nacional de Paz, por el esfuerzo de sus habitantes para construir un municipio libre de corrupción y pacífico.



newspaper clipping: Peace Award for the town of Mogotes

## human rights are indivisible: Latin America

basis for the functioning of this heterogeneous national body and would enable CNDDHH to break away from the traditional structures in society. On the other, a common vision was developed for the period until the year 2005 as a frame of reference for successful operations. At the same time, the institutional structures were re-oriented and expanded, the situation and tasks of the organization's various units clearly described and its position within the overall human rights environment determined. These measures are intended to promote cohesion within the organization and to increase its efficiency and credibility.

In the years to come, we will cooperate in Peru with the local committees of the human rights organizations, in addition to the national body, in order to support the grass roots activities of these groups for the benefit of democracy. ■

The activities of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in the various countries of the South in this field are as diverse as the demands on environmental policy in general: In Sudan, an "environmental parliament" has been set up with the aim of demonstrating both the necessity of and the opportunities for a national environmental policy. In the Egyptian national economy, an analysis of the flow of materials is to help the country on the Nile to come to terms with its environmental problems and to use its natural resources more efficiently. In the Amazonian region, sustainable development is primarily promoted with the aim of demonstrating to public administrations and influential social groups alike the advantages of carefully managing the natural wealth of the region. In Central America, the Foundation contributes to the protection of biodiversity by advising on legislation that sets the trends for future developments.

#### **SUDAN: AN ENVIRONMENTAL PARLIAMENT IS FUNCTIONING IN SPITE OF POLITICAL REPRESSION**

In 1994, the Sudanese "Environmental Society" (SECS), together with the "Higher Council for the Environment and Natural Resources" and in cooperation with the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, invited respected socially-active citizens and experts to a meeting with the aim of determining the basic features of a national environmental plan.

More than 50 individuals followed the invitation and founded an environmental forum. Today, the entire polit-

ical spectrum of Sudan, ranging from the Islamists to the political Left, and also all the technical disciplines concerned are represented, as are the most important groups in society: government servants and academics, representatives of the farmers, shepherds and craftsmen. Prominent women are actively involved. Unfortunately, Sudanese from the South are not yet well represented.

Immediately following its constitution, the Environmental Forum set out to formulate the basic concept of a national environmental plan. The Foundation promised financial support for the project. In 1995, renowned scientists of the Forum worked out a draft document, on a voluntary basis, which was presented to the Minister for Environment and Tourism. After it has been submitted to the Council of Ministers and the Parliament, the Ministry for Environment and Tourism is now charged with drawing up a national environmental plan.

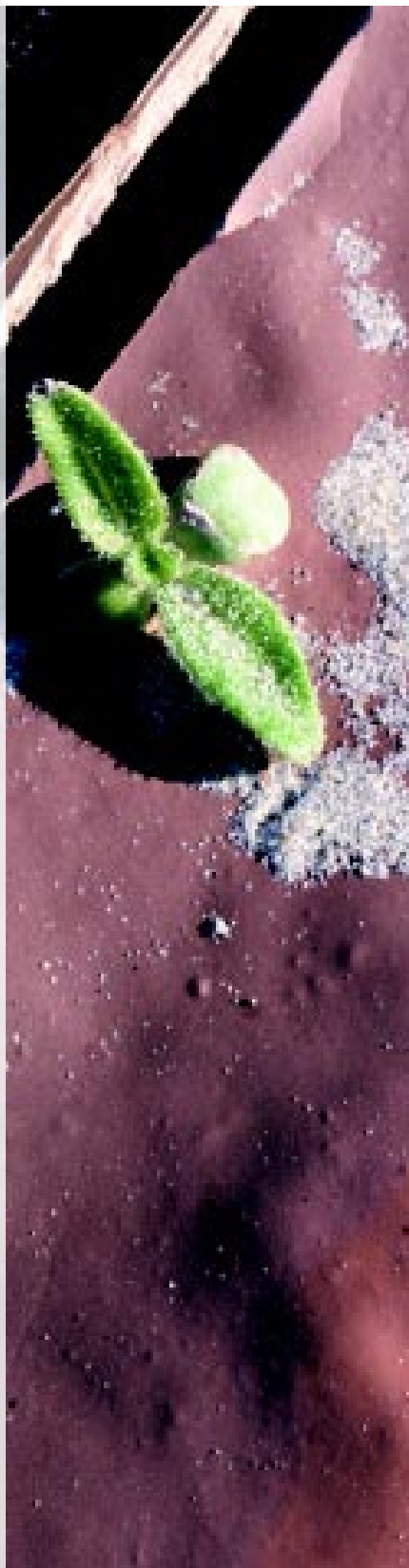
Since then, the Forum has many times been called the "Environmental Parliament", albeit off the record, because in order to escape political repressions, it does not wish to give the impression of being an extra-parliamentary opposition or competition to the Parliament itself. However, it has made a name for itself as an organization of the civil society because it addresses issues of importance to the entire nation, such as "poverty and the environment" or "decentralization and the environment". The Forum organizes public lectures outside the capital Khartoum as well and implements small-scale projects aimed at eradicating poverty. Under the management of five individuals, including one woman, it supports the establishment of further

environmental forums in the capitals of the country's federal states and provinces. The Foundation is actively involved in the planning and implementation of activities by the Environmental Forum – an important body of one of our most active partners – and sits on the Steering Committee of the sub-project “Environment and Poverty”.

### PROMOTING SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN AMAZONIA

The regional project of the Foundation “Sustainable Development in Amazonia” is inspired by the idea of combining sustainable development and the improvement of general economic and social conditions and of translating them into concrete policies. The aim of the project is to contribute to political and social conditions under which a broadly-based consultation process can be initiated between political institutions, the civil society and private enterprise in order to arrive at consensual agreements about the options in sustainable development.

These conditions are almost non-existent in the Amazonian region at present. On the contrary: the region stands for both institutional under-development and a political culture which is to a great extent conflict-ridden – an expression of the fact that the democratization processes in the political and urban centres of Latin America have not yet reached the dense forests along the Amazon river. Local tribal chiefs and powerful clans still dominate the communities and territories there and behave as if they owned them. Economic activities, such as subsidized extensive ani-



mal-husbandry or uncontrolled exploitation of the rich resources of timber and raw materials, pose an acute threat to the natural foundations of life and do not, in fact, improve the economic and social conditions of the large majority of the Amazonian population.

Against this background, the project attempts to create the political and social conditions for sustainable development in selected territories in the region – including not only the Brazilian part of Amazonia, but also the smaller neighbouring countries of Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, Colombia and Venezuela. The aim is to transform the existing political and social culture into a democratic culture of dialogue. The project contributes to this by bringing together the political and social players from the selected territories and by offering them the opportunity of reflecting and discussing options of sustainable development. In addition, it assists them in building up networks of activists who are aware of the social and ecological problems inherent in the currently dominating economic activities and who take it on themselves to draw up concepts and strategies of sustainable development for their region or community. In individual cases, it may also be necessary to improve the ability of socially-weak groups to articulate their interests and to act, or to improve the administrative and technical capacity of local institutions. A programme for improving the political and technical capabilities of the City Government of Rio Branco, capital of the Brazilian Federal State of Acre, proved to be particularly effective, and has been expanded to the State Government of Acre in the meantime.



There will be no sound basis for these local efforts of finding the right approach of sustainable development, however, unless these development options – integrating both ecological and social aspects – are also economically viable. This is why it is another important function of the project to establish if and how the natural potential of Amazonia can be used economically without jeopardizing its regeneration and neglecting social progress. The most appropriate method for this is to apply “best prac-

tices”. The project therefore offers interested groups information and education by providing systematic data about successful economic models, which have proved to be compatible with ecological and social objectives, and instructions on how to adapt them to local conditions. This applies, for example, to the exchange of experience about the commercial processing of natural plants between Peru and Ecuador or Colombia, and also know-how about Cajú cultivation passed on from Brazilian Acre to Bolivian Pando.

The project is also contributing to better concepts and mechanisms for ecological and social certification. For example in Bolivia, information is made available about certification processes for timber and the Brazil nut, and experience in connection with the “green labels” shared with the Amazonian region, thus increasing the interest in opening up new markets for certified products. Efforts are being made to render certification processes more transparent and attractive for indigenous

### ANALYZING THE FLOW OF MATERIALS IN THE EGYPTIAN NATIONAL ECONOMY

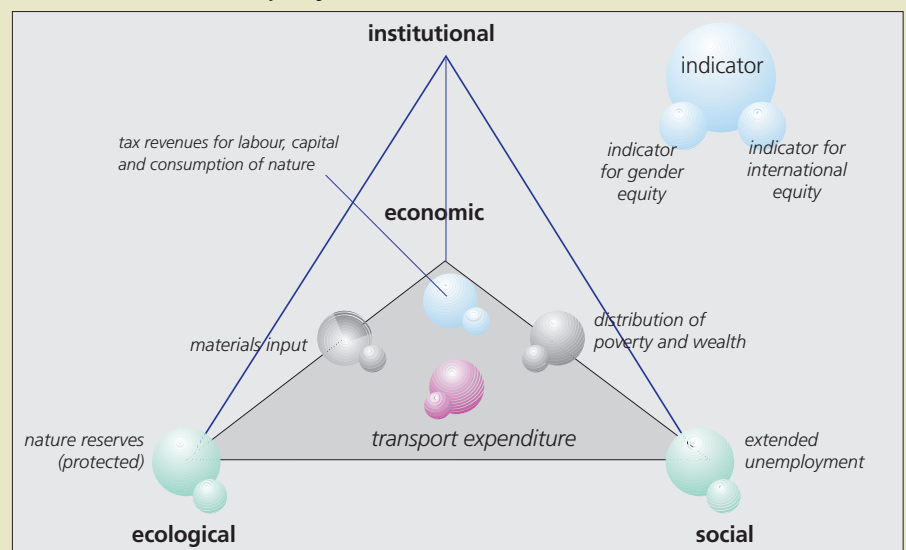
Sustainable development requires that operational policy targets and indicators be established below the general economic, social and ecological levels. Ecological sustainability can be achieved by conserving natural resources. The consumption of raw materials in an economy can be used as a rough indicator in this process.

The methodology developed by the Wuppertal Institute for analyzing the flow of materials and global materials input was presented in Egypt for the first time in February 1998. Subsequently, the Centre for Studies on Developing Countries of Cairo University did a survey on the basis of the Wuppertal concept with support from the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. First results were submitted to the appropriate decision-makers in Cairo in February 1999. They calculated a direct materials input of 7 tons per capita for the year 1995. In an international comparison, Egypt's input (ie, the amount of raw materials extracted or harvested plus the amount of imports) is still significantly below the values for Germany (20 tons per capita) according

to these data. Materials intensity of the Egyptian economy in proportion to Gross National Product, however, amounts to no more than 8 percent of the level of Germany. In other words: in order to produce one unit of the National Product, Egypt uses 13 times more materials than Germany. This is due to major inefficiencies in water management and in the energy-producing, transport and

construction sectors. Egypt's level of ecological sustainability is therefore very low. These results have been taken into account in the first national environmental report and form the basis for developing concrete programmes aimed at improving resource productivity. In the industrial region of Helwan, the local university is cooperating with Egypt's largest steel producer.

tetrahedron of sustainability: **key indicators**



Source: Kerstin Deller, Joachim Spangenberg, Wuppertal Institut 1997



communities, cooperatives and small businesses, and at the same time to formulate certification standards in more precise and more binding terms, in particular their social components (compliance with labour law standards, social minimum standards). It is important in this context to bring together the trade union organizations of the timbermen, timber companies, certification agencies and government institutions as part of a constructive dialogue. In December 1997, a promising start was made with a conference organized by the Foundation in the provincial capital Belem in Brazilian Amazonia.

To initiate and to maintain processes that promote sustainable development depends, in the final analysis, on the commitment of individuals who have the necessary political, technical and communicative skills. Such “promoters” already exist in several locations, but they often lack essential features of the required profile. To educate and to train persons suitable for the role of “promoter” therefore forms a central part of the project. What counts is their communicative skills, their qualification as moderators and the ability to think and act in a planning-oriented, strategic and systematic manner. To establish a network between the graduates of these courses and to re-invite them continuously for further training is another objective in this context.

### PROTECTING BIODIVERSITY IN CENTRAL AMERICA

The complex issue of sustainable development is being discussed at very different levels in Central America and is playing a special role now that it has been made part of the efforts towards regional integration. This is expressed in the fact that a “Central American Alliance for Sustainable Development” has been set up at the highest level by the presidents of the countries concerned.

An important step forward has been taken since discussions on this issue are increasingly combined with new and innovative concepts for the protection and the use of biological diversity.

In parallel to efforts by State authorities, a large number of organizations of the civil society have started to develop their own concepts in these fields and to present them jointly and in a coordinated manner to the body politic. The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has promoted this process at two levels:

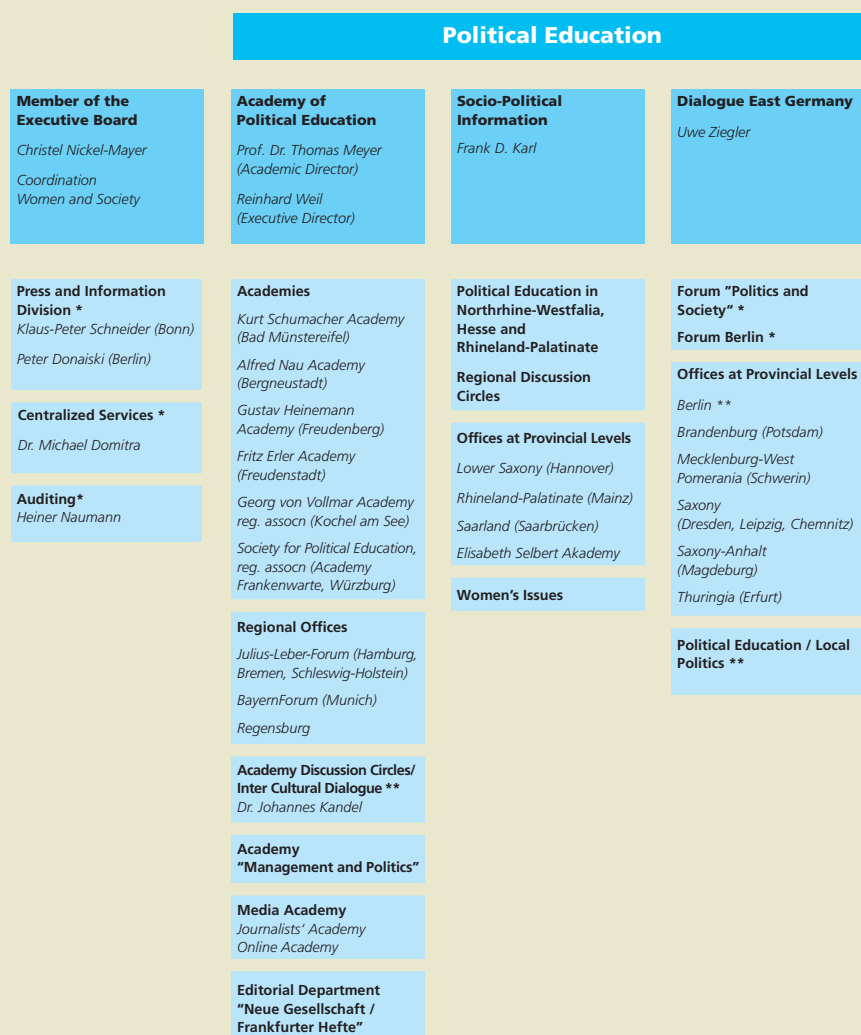
- The emerging network of organizations of the civil society – ranging from peasants’ movements, environmental organizations to associations of the Indian population – has been supported in the drawing-up of its own concepts of sustainable development, in particular in connection with biodiversity. Three international forums since 1997 have offered an opportunity of comprehensively analyzing relevant case studies and of exchanging information. This process culminated in an independent proposal for the formulation of the “Central American Charter for the Use of Genetic and Biochemical Resources”. Consultations at the highest level in Central America were thus supplemented by a wide range of expert knowledge and input contributed by the civil society.
- An essential contribution can also be expected from the “Act on Biodiversity” – the first one of its kind worldwide – adopted by Costa Rica in 1998. In a broadly-based discussion process, a large



tree-felling in Brazil

number of State institutions and organizations of the civil society were given an opportunity of presenting their views so that the law could be passed in a relatively short time. It was cultural and social aspects, in particular, that were emphasized by this law. This was possible because, owing to support by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, organizations of the environmental movement, the peasants' movement and the association of the Indian population all agreed to coordinate their actions and were supplied with the necessary scientific expertise and organizational capabilities. In addition to the content-related scientific aspects of the law, the lawmaking process itself can be seen as a major success and an important experience with new forms of citizen participation. ■

## Organizational Structure of the Friedrich-



\* under direct control of the Executive Board

\*\* these organizational units are in parts or entirely located in Berlin

**President: Holger Börner**

**Member of the Executive Board and  
Secretary General: Dr. Jürgen Burckhardt**

## Board of Trustees

## General Administration

Lothar Hüttemeister  
Deputy:  
Dr. Jürgen Brummel

**Personnel / inland**

## Media and Communication

### Editorial Staff "Eurokolleg"

### Editorial Staff "Eurokolleg"



# Addresses in Germany .....

## **Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung**

Godesberger Allee 149

**D-53170 Bonn**

Tel.: +49(0)228 883-0

Fax: +49(0)228 883-696

## **Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung**

Hiroshimastr. 17

**D-10785 Berlin**

Tel.: +49(0)30 26935-6

Fax: +49(0)30 26935-853

## **Division of International Cooperation**

Head: Dr. Ernst-J. Kerbusch

Tel.: +49(0)228 883-522

Fax: +49(0)228 883-696

e-mail: ernst.kerbusch@fes.de

## **Department for Africa**

Head: Dr. Volker Vinnai

Tel.: +49(0)228 883-576

Fax: +49(0)228 883-623

e-mail: volker.vinnai@fes.de

trade union coordination:

Hubert René Schillinger

Tel.: +49(0)228 883-582

e-mail: hubert.schillinger@fes.de

gender coordination:

Evelyn Ehlenspiel-Ponath

Tel.: +49(0)228 883-581

e-mail: evelyn.ehrlenspiel@fes.de

## **Department for the Middle East/North Africa**

Head / trade union coordination  
international:

N.N.

Tel.: +49(0)228 883-517

Fax: +49(0)228 883-696

gender coordination:

Dr. Werner Puschra

Tel.: +49(0)228 883-0

e-mail: werner.puschra@fes.de

## **Department for Asia and the Pacific**

Head: Dr. Beate Bartoldus

Tel.: +49(0)228 883-515

Fax: +49(0)228 883-575

e-mail: beate.bartoldus@fes.de

trade union coordination:

Erwin Schweisshelm

Tel.: +49(0)228 883-511

e-mail: erwin.schweisshelm@fes.de

gender coordination:

Roland Feicht

Tel.: +49(0)228 883-506

e-mail: roland.feicht@fes.de

## **Department for Latin America and the Caribbean**

Head: Peter Hengstenberg

Tel.: +49(0)228 883-694

Fax: +49(0)228 883-404

e-mail: peter.hengstenberg@fes.de

trade union / gender coordination:

Dr. Achim Wachendorfer

Tel.: +49(0)228 883-573

e-mail: achim.wachendorfer@fes.de

## **Trade Union Coordination International**

N.N.

Tel.: +49(0)228 883-517

## **Department for Development Policy**

Head: Christiane Kesper

Tel.: +49(0)30 26935-918

Fax: +49(0)30 26935-959

e-mail: christiane.kesper@fes.de

### *Cross-Divisional Activities:*

coordination gender/women's issues:

Astrid Ritter-Weil

Tel.: +49(0)228 883-603

e-mail: astrid.ritter@fes.de

human rights: Peter Schlaffer

Tel.: +49(0)228 883-607

e-mail: peter.schlaffer@fes.de

globalization: Dr. Ernst Hillebrand

Tel.: +49(0)228 883-604

e-mail: ernst.hillebrand@fes.de

follow-up contacts: Ursula Hoffstadt

Tel.: +49(0)228 883-608

e-mail: ursula.hoffstadt@fes.de