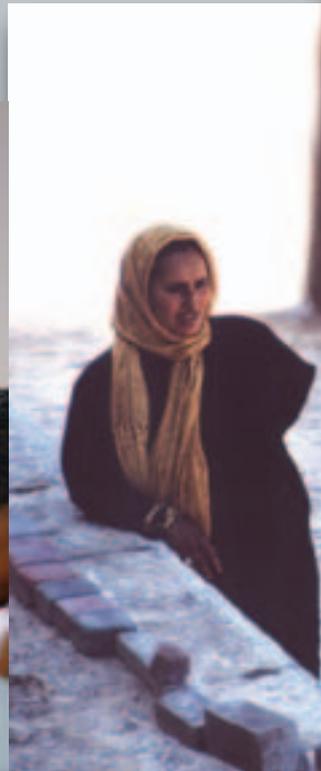


# Promoting Democracy Creating Peace Shaping Globalisation

The International Cooperation  
of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung



# The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung

Worldwide





- Tallinn
- St. Petersburg
- Riga
- Moscow
- Berlin
- Vilnius
- Minsk
- Warsaw
- Kiev
- Prague
- Bratislava
- Chişonău
- Bonn
- Geneva
- Budapest
- Zagreb
- Belgrade
- Bucharest
- Banjaluca
- Sarajevo
- Pristina
- Sofia
- Skopje
- Tirana
- Athens
- Istanbul
- Ankara
- Yerevan
- Tbilisi
- Baku
- Ulan Bator
- Almaty
- Bischkek
- Taschkent
- Duschanbe
- Beijing
- Seoul
- London
- Paris
- Madrid
- Lisbon
- Rabat
- Algier
- Tunis
- Malta
- Tel Aviv
- Beirut
- Amman
- Gaza City
- Jerusalem (East)
- Cairo
- Kabul
- Islamabad
- New Delhi
- Kathmandu
- Shanghai
- Hanoi
- Bangkok
- Manila
- Phnom Penh
- Kuala Lumpur
- Singapore
- Bamako
- Khartoum
- Sanaa
- Colombo
- Abidjan
- Cotonou
- Abuja
- Lagos
- Yaoundé
- Accra
- Kampala
- Nairobi
- Daressalaam
- Luanda
- Lusaka
- Harare
- Antananarivo
- Windhuk
- Gabarone
- Maputo
- Johannesburg
- Jakarta
- Tokyo

***“Development Policy is the Peace Policy of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century.”***

(Willy Brandt)

**Promoting Democracy  
Creating Peace  
Shaping Globalisation**

The International Cooperation  
of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>Message from Kofi A. Annan</b>	4
<b>The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung – Looking Back on 80 Years</b>	5
<b>The International Cooperation</b>	7
<b>Development and Peace</b>	9
<b>Promoting Democracy</b>	11
Beyond Corona and the Beetle: The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung’s German-Mexican Dialogue	13
Mutahi Kagwe: Kenyan Journalist and MP	15
The German-Chinese Dialogue on Human Rights	16
Drawing Closer with an Effort: The Exchange between Iranian and Egyptian Citizens’ Associations	17
Facts instead of Propaganda: Conflict-sensitive Journalism	19
The Young Leaders’ Forum in Afghanistan	20
Agentes de Cambio: Supporting Young Professionals in Central America	22
<b>HISTORICAL REVIEW:</b> On the Way towards Responsible Citizenship in Madagascar	24
Telephone FM: Radio for Baghdad	25
“Our Voice Will Be Heard”: India’s Women	26
Cooperation among Political Parties in the Cono Sur	29
The Struggle for Media Freedom in Africa: Foot-slogging with Perseverance	30
From China to Germany and Back: The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung’s Scholars	31
<b>Equality of Opportunity as a Cross-Cutting Issue</b>	33
Gender and Women Empowerment in Latin America and the Caribbean	34
Clothes Make (the Woman) Independent: A Fashion Show in the Kenyan Parliament Promotes African Self-Assurance	35
<b>HISTORICAL REVIEW:</b> Against Machoism: Advice Centre for Women in Ecuador	36
Quality Assurance in International Cooperation	37
Gender Integration	38
<b>Creating Peace and Security</b>	39
First Peace, then Prosperity: Security Policy in Africa	41
ECOWAS: Regional Security in West Africa	42
Support for a Civilian-Military Dialogue in Indonesia	43



The Geneva Initiative: A Gateway to Peace in the Middle East?	44
The New Security Discussion: The Working Group “Security in a Globalized World”	47
Regional Security Cooperation in the Andes and Peace Policy in Colombia	48
Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment (PCIA): Tools to evaluate the impact of political cooperation on conflict development	51
The Activities of the Working Group on Peace & Development	52
A Chance for Peace: Analysis of the Causes and Solutions for the Conflict in Sudan	53
Act jointly or in parallel? Crisis Prevention and Conflict Resolution at the Interface between Development, Foreign and Security Policy	54

## **Shaping Globalisation** 55

The WTO Journalists Programme in Geneva	57
<b>HISTORICAL REVIEW:</b> From Garage to High-Rise: Micro-Business in Mozambique	58
Dialogue + Cooperation: The “occasional papers” by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in Southeast Asia	59
MERCOSUR: “Common Market of the South”	60
<b>HISTORICAL REVIEW:</b> Environmental Legislation in Egypt	62
<b>HISTORICAL REVIEW:</b> Successful Cooperation: Media Work in Asia	64
Mobile Multinationals and Global Unions	65
International Labour Standards in Sri Lanka: Challenge or Opportunity?	66
Partner Trade Unions	68
A Risky Job: Unionist in Colombia	69
Swotting for the Future: Summer University on Trade-related Problems for the Next Generation of Unionists from West and Central Africa	71
Master Course for Young Unionists: “Labour Policies and Globalisation”	72
<b>HISTORICAL REVIEW:</b> The Trade Union Federation CUT in Brazil	73
The World Social Forum: To Porto Alegre and Back	74
Brazil: “Voice of the South”	76

## **Active Commitment to Human Rights** 77

The Human Rights Award of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung	79
--	----

## **Organizational Structure of Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung** 80

<b>Addresses</b>	83
------------------	----

# Message from Kofi A. Annan



(dpa)

## Message to the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung on the Occasion of its 80<sup>th</sup> Anniversary



# The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung – Looking Back on 80 Years

Friedrich Ebert, the first democratically elected president of the first German republic, died on February 28, 1925, at the relatively young age of 54. The former leader of the labour movement had not been able to spare the time for urgent medical treatment as he had to defend himself against a campaign launched by the right-wing forces of the Weimar Republic to defame his character.

In a political testament made shortly before his death, Ebert had ordered the creation of a foundation to promote the political and societal education of people of all walks of life in the spirit of democracy, develop mutual understanding between Germany and other countries, and sponsor gifted young people.

On March 2, 1925, the Executive Committee of the SPD resolved, by agreement with the Ebert family, to establish the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, which was funded by donations that had been requested instead of wreaths for the memorial ceremony. Managed by the party's cashier, Konrad Ludwig, the money from these donations was used by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in the following years to sponsor gifted young people from workers' families on their way towards their final exams at school as well as during their studies at universities, residential colleges, technical colleges, and academies. Until the end of 1931, when its funds were "entirely depleted", a total of RM 51,960.50 had been spent by the Friedrich-



All Pictures: Stiftung Reichspräsident-Friedrich-Ebert-Gedenkstätte



Ebert-Stiftung on sponsoring 295 scholars, including 113 students with a working-family background. Thus, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung's scholarship programme of the Weimar era formed a small link in the chain of social-democratic cultural and educational institutions, all of which were banned and had their property seized by the National-Socialists after they came to power in 1933.

## Revival after the Second World War

After the end of both National-Socialism and the Second World War, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung was re-established on September 6, 1946, at the constituent assembly of the Socialist Federation of German Students, which controlled the allocation of funds to needy students for a few years to come. As an independent, non-profit legal entity, the "Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung for Promoting National Democratic Education" was founded on February 1, 1954.



Willy Brandt at the cornerstone ceremony of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in Bonn (Darching)

Its sole aim was to “promote the democratic education of the German nation”. Its first chairman was Prof. Dr. Gerhard Weisser, with the SPD Treasurer, Alfred Nau, as his deputy. Precisely 31 years after Ebert’s death, the Bergneustadt residential college was inaugurated in the presence of Federal President Theodor Heuss on February 28, 1956, as the first of the Foundation’s educational institutions. On April 1, 1956, Dr. Günter Grunwald was made director of the cultural policy section within the SPD Executive Committee and, later on, executive chairman of the Foundation. Under his leadership, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung began, without severing its close ideological ties with the SPD, to develop its own independent organisation and grow as an institution to the status and dimensions it has today.

A major landmark came when the Foundations’ head office at Bonn-Bad Godesberg was inaugurated in 1969, followed by extensions in 1985 and 1990. After the unification of

Germany, a bipolar structure, which has stood up well since then, was established when the house of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung was built in the old and new capital of Berlin in 1999. Led by Dr. Grunwald and his successors, Dr. Horst Heidermann, Dr. Jürgen Burckhardt and, lately, Dr. Roland Schmidt as well as by its chairpersons Alfred Nau, Heinz Kühn, Holger Börner and, lately, Anke Fuchs, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung grew into a widespread institution pursuing increasingly diverse global activities.

In the early ‘60s’ the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung began its international cooperation activities at about the time when the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation was founded in 1962. The Ministry’s growing support enabled the Foundation to expand this segment of its project work considerably. True to its statutory objective of “promoting international cooperation in the spirit of democracy”, it expanded the range of regions and issues covered by its work until the 1990s. Promoting democracy means supporting our partners in their struggle for participation, pluralism, the rule of law, liberty, economic development, and social justice.

After the communist systems of central and eastern Europe as well as central Asia had collapsed in the early 1990s, the Foundation expanded its cooperation network to include that region as well.

Today, the Foundation is an autonomous and independent institution operating on both the national and the international plane, guided by the fundamental values of social democracy and maintaining close links with the Social Democratic Party of Germany.



(FES)

# The International Cooperation

To characterise the international activities of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, the political foundation for social democracy in Germany, you can do no better than quote Willy Brandt's visionary dictum: "Development policy represents peace policy in the 21st century" – his most poignant conclusion from the work of the North-South Commission.

Peace, democracy, and development in social justice – those are the values championed by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in its international work. Promoting these values in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Near and Middle East is one of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung's most important duties in international cooperation.

The economic and societal consequences of globalisation as well as the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 fundamentally changed the framework conditions of international politics. For the foreseeable future, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung's international work will be dominated by two issues, namely globalisation and social justice as well as peace and security. Being an organisation committed to the idea of social democracy, the Foundation feels that these are two sides of the same coin. Peace and security can be best guaranteed in a world that is growing together economically and socially.

At all events, the core mission of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung is to promote democracy. Embedding de-

mocracy in society is and will always remain its supreme goal both at home and abroad. To promote democracy on the international plane, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung focuses on programmes and projects of international cooperation that fit in well with its mandate and its competences as a political foundation. Sustainably promoting democracy and socially equitable development in cooperation with our partners at home and abroad is of prime importance in this context.

The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung does not aim to provide models that could conceivably be copied or transplanted. Working with its partners in a spirit of mutual trust, it develops sustainable approaches for





In hardly any other city the gap between wealth and poverty is as sharp as in Shanghai (dpa)

political reforms capable of producing noticeable gains in justice, participation, democratic involvement, institutional efficiency and performance, and political implementation. Democratic stability and domestic peace are interdependent.

In addition to the frequently difficult business of promoting democracy in individual countries, we increasingly have to deal with global issues as well. The list of related subjects is long, ranging from international trade policy, the social design of globalisation, and the reform of international institutions to the creation of a new global security architecture.

This is imperative not only because the framework conditions of

international politics are changing but because interest in development-policy questions has shifted its focus in Germany. Development policy has become more multi-lateral. Next to developments in individual countries, debates about trans-boundary regional and global issues have moved to centre stage.

The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has been quick to respond to these changes. Its worldwide network of working relations, partners, and contacts, its globalisation project, and its project offices in New York and Geneva provide it with the means to make its own informed and sustainable contributions towards these debates. Its ties with the German and international trade union

movement and its long-standing cooperation with international trade union organisations give it access to a network of partners which play an important role in the societal-policy dispute about the ultimate shape of globalisation.

The examples quoted in this brochure are intended to provide an overview of the many and varied approaches, programmes, and tools employed by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in its worldwide network, with the examples mainly serving to illustrate our approaches. For more detailed information, visit the homepages of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung ([www.fes.de](http://www.fes.de)) and its representations abroad.

# Development and Peace

Against a background of dramatic changes in political framework conditions, a multitude of security-policy risks and threats have been emerging in recent years both within societies and between states. In many areas, this entailed corresponding changes in the objectives and instruments of political action as well as in the reference framework of development, foreign, and security policy. Whereas uncertainty has been a constant of human development for a long time in many regions of the earth, the security-policy debate in the western industrialised nations has changed its character fundamentally in recent years. There is hardly another issue that attracts quite as much political and public attention. Security is becoming a key question in national and international politics.

## Development and Security

Traditionally, development policy used to imply promoting the economic and social development of partner countries and contributing towards stabilising local conditions

on that basis. Within the past few years, a new interpretation has been emerging according to which development policy is regarded as contributing towards global security within the framework of international relations. Anyone wishing to develop effective security-policy strategies should focus more on hazards that threaten not states but individuals. The twin-track goal formulated by UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan at the Millennium Summit aims to secure for the people of the world a life in freedom and dignity that is free from fear. Thus, the potential scope of human security is universal in that it includes economic, health, and ecological security as well as individual protection (e.g. from torture) or individual political rights. The aim is to ensure not only immediate protection but also long-term empowerment for everyone concerned.

In its traditional interpretation, the term security policy used to relate to national defence. It is widely agreed that the assumptions underlying this concept – that threats normally issue from hostile states, are

primarily military in nature, and thus call for military responses – do not entirely cover the facts. Today, security policy must be able to do more than merely defend a country against armed attack. As conflicts arise from a wide variety of reasons, comprehensive security must employ political, economic, development-policy, and military instruments of the most diverse kind. Since no single state is capable of guaranteeing peace and security on its own, integration, cooperation, and joint actions by international organisations must be used to establish common security. Finally, preventive security must see to it that potential causes of conflict are dealt with in political and economic terms, and – in exceptional cases – contained by military means. This being so, development policy is an essential element of peace policy. It is true that arms may be silenced by military intervention, but durable peace cannot be secured without adjustment, reconciliation, and the creation of stable political and social structures.

This relationship between development and security holds true

Morocco (FES)





São Paulo (dpa)

in the other direction as well: Development needs peace. For democracy and development cannot gain a foothold where war reigns supreme. Again and again, successful development has been endangered by violent conflicts. Thus, security is now one of the core issues of development policy.

The fact that development and security policy touch and interface at numerous points is advantageous as well as dangerous. As conflicts may arise at so many levels, there is no dispute that they can be countered only by all outward-oriented fields of policy acting in close concert. Development-policy goals have been receiving greater attention in the wake of the general security-policy debate, increasing the impor-

tance of the civil component of this discourse. At the same time, there is a distinct danger of development policy being subjected to security-policy strictures. Instead of viewing poverty mainly as a security hazard, it is imperative to emphasise the existence of independent development-policy goals.

But whose security is it that we are talking about? Who is to be protected against what threats? The perception of security-policy problems differs between North and South, between one region and another. A general consensus on security-policy priorities in which the voices of the South can be heard clearly is a precondition of collective security.

Consensus on this issue must be reached at all political levels. The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung promotes this dialogue on security policy through its activities within societies and regions, between North and South, and among players on different political fields.

### **Global Governance**

Meanwhile, it has become common practice in the public debate to call for enhancing the scope and effectiveness of global governance. It is not enough, however, to refer blandly to strengthening existing transnational organisations, pooling governmental resources and sovereign rights, or improving the involvement of non-governmental players. The problems that must be solved are complex: Triggered by globalisation, changes in the perspectives of international relations demand a review of political order schemes at all lev-

els. In addition to the UN organisations that require strengthening, this holds true particularly for regional arrangements and organisations.

So far, global governance has been mainly economic in nature. For while economic networking has already advanced far, particularly among developed countries, integrated political structures are painfully slow to develop. This is particularly true in the field of international relations, where political complexity reaches its maximum. Consequently, the rift between the requirements and opportunities of political design has been widening throughout the last decade.

Therefore, any critical review and strategic reorientation of international politics must aim at exploring the opportunities of (foreign) policy action and enhance them by adapting related structures and instruments. It is possible to develop political action schemes that are efficient even when applied to the global order. What counts is the political will to implement these schemes.

In the future, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung will go on using every means at its disposal in its international work to assist in the formulation and implementation of sustainable development policies. Following the Millennium Goals, these policies will contribute towards reducing poverty and protecting human security with the aim of promoting peace, the rule of law, and democracy.

*Dr. Ernst-J. Kerbusch*  
Director, Division for  
International Cooperation

# Promoting Democracy

Without economic development, the basic needs of societies cannot be met. How to distribute societal wealth and social security in a democratic manner and involve the developing countries effectively in the shaping of an international order are therefore questions of a crucial nature in order to attain the political goals of long-term development and lasting peace.

**Democracy and the fight against poverty are goals which need to be continuously supported and shaped.**

Democratic consolidation takes time and continuous sensitive encouragement which must be adaptable to existing problems and able to accommodate local conditions in a flexible manner.

Democracy cannot be ordered from the top. Democracy involves all of society. Only a functioning State can guarantee and maintain enabling conditions for democracy and good governance for its citizens. However, the essential elements of democracy must come from within the civil society. Participation is not just about taking part in elections, but in the entire social, cultural and economic life of a country.

Accordingly, the promotion of democracy is not equivalent to the implementation of existing ready-made models. It needs to be adapted to the existing political, social, cultural and economic conditions in a country and be supported by the key socio-political actors.

A democratic constitutional and legal order and corresponding procedures for sharing and controlling power are pivotal elements on which democracy is built. The manner in which democracy is promoted by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, however, goes far beyond a purely technical and instrumental notion of “democracy-building”.



In other words, democratisation is not equivalent to the transfer of a fixed institutional set-up; in fact, it is the institutionalisation of procedures which facilitate participation and peaceful reconciliation of (conflicting) interests.

Formal democracy (i.e. constitutional order, competition between political parties, elections and institutions) is both an essential prerequisite for democratic processes and a means to attain them. Practised democracy, however, calls for more than just the democratic minimum of free elections and constitutional safeguards for human rights. Without the support of civil-society structures, without interaction between the State, the political community and representative bodies of society and without the underpinnings of a democratic political culture (acceptance of procedural rules, non-violence and mutual tolerance), democracy is not viable.

Democratisation is always a time-consuming process of socio-cultural and structural-institutional transformation. How these two elements are shaped is the responsibility of the developing countries themselves. This realisation determines the partnership-based approach pursued by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in its international work.

As regards development cooperation by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, its focus is on representatives of organisations which go beyond their own vested interests by taking part in both the democratic and social development of their societies and the international governance system, and advocating non-violence.

Preference is given to partners who, when strengthened, will make an impact on society at large and who are able to initiate or implement viable policy reforms, but have great difficulties mobilising financial re-

sources in their own country or are exposed to very serious dangers.

The promotion of democracy is a continuous challenge and needs to be designed for the longer term. It is the instrument, the driving force and the objective of a comprehensive process of societal transformation. To support this process by means of partnership is possible only with a minimum of trust and political consensus about goals and methods. Trust can only develop over time and by furnishing proof of loyal competent advice.

The promotion of democracy is part of a complex area of action which calls for good knowledge of local conditions and specifically a high measure of political sensitivity. What really determines the success of socio-political consultancy is long-term presence in the field and the ability to recognise transformation potential and respond to it in a flexible manner at the right moment.

In addition to its national activities, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has increasingly been attempting to facilitate access and opportunities for participation for its partners within the framework of the globalisation debate. Only a dialogue based on equality between the parties concerned at both the regional and global level will result in viable solutions of cross-border problems in the longer term.



(dpa)



(FES)



# Beyond Corona and the Beetle

## The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung's German-Mexican Dialogue

When governments changed on the river Spree and at “Los Pinos” (the official residence of the Mexican president), the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung set out on a new stage of its German-Mexican cooperation. The results of the Mexican elections of July 2, 2000, marking the end of 71 years of dominance by the Institutionalised Revolution Party (PRI) brought about by the candidate of the conservative PAN, Vicente Fox Quesada, demonstrated to both the national and the international public the enormous extent of the political transformation process in the country. In May 2001, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung launched its first bilateral forum in Berlin entitled “Germany and Mexico – Partners in Global Dialogue”.

Neither the Mexican export bestseller Corona Beer nor the VW Beetle, produced in Puebla until 2003, and its successor, the New Beetle, are the only proof that close relations have been existing between the two

countries for many years. With a population of more than 100 million, Mexico is one of the heavyweights on the Latin American continent. **For Germany, the country is a jump-off point to the markets of North America as well as a political hub for relations with Latin America.** Despite its free-trade agreements with the EU, MERCOSUR, and other organisations, Mexico’s economic relations still are skewed: Almost 90 per cent of its foreign-trade volume is absorbed by the big brother in the north. Mexico’s desire to diversify its political and economic contacts diverted its glance to Europe, where Alemania, located in the heart of Europe, is regarded as an economic giant, a key country, and the gateway to eastern Europe.

The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung’s work in Mexico focuses on deepening the political dialogue. In addition to the central event, the German-Mexican Forum held once a year in Germany and Mexico in turn, the Fried-



(FES)

rich-Ebert-Stiftung organises conferences, working groups, conversations, and discussions throughout the year, supplementing or elaborating focal issues or satisfying urgent needs for information in Mexico.

Next to involving high-ranking politicians from both countries in the political dialogue, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung relies on the participation of trade unions, universities, women's and youth organisations, parliaments, political parties, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), and the media to provide a broad societal basis for discussion. One contributing element is the competition for the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung's Media Award that is presented each year to journalists who discuss current German-Mexican relations in their work.



(FES)

**The German-Mexican dialogue deals with the following issues:**

- The world of work in a globalised economy
- Social standards and international trade agreements
- Structural changes induced by globalisation: Challenges confronting a bi- and multi-national trade union strategy
- Youth and politics
- From women empowerment towards new gender relations in society
- Federalism and environmental policy
- Poverty reduction concepts in big cities
- Media policy and democratisation processes
- Social-democratic reform policy



Participants of the German-Mexican Forum Berlin, 2001 (FES)

# Mutahi Kagwe

## Kenyan Journalist and MP

### The Importance of Democratic Training

When the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung came to know him ten years ago, Mutahi Kagwe, then aged 36, was writing for the “East African Standard”, one of Kenya’s big daily papers. At the time, media reports had to display faith in the government, the party, and the president, the response to any non-compliance being harassment and threats.

Kenya took the path towards democracy only in 1992, after 21 years of one-party rule. **But neither policy-makers nor reporters had any democratic experience.** In seminars held by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Kagwe and his colleagues developed an understanding of democratic processes and the importance of the roles and responsibilities of journalists and the media.

In the late 1990s, Mutahi Kagwe entered the political arena himself. When he began organising education meetings for citizens in Kenya’s capital, Nairobi, and in his own rural home region of Mukurweini, he revived his old contacts with the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung which immediately assured him of its support. Kagwe organised courses to inform his fellow citizens about their own rights and obligations as citizens of the state as well as about the rights and obligations of the government. Or he would enlighten them about their rights as voters. Or he would explain the separation of legislative and executive powers, using their own MPs as an example: He said that while deputies were accountable to them, the voters from their respective constituencies, they could and should not replace local governments, contrary to an idea that is widespread in Kenya.

### A Lesson Well Learned

In 2002, he was elected to parliament. Students of the education programmes carried out jointly with the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung had learned their lesson well: **Kagwe reports that people in his constituency are now**



**more aware of and better informed about political issues.** When trying to tackle problems in his constituency together with the people, he profits from their familiarity with his role and duties as an MP.

His acquaintance with the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung is helpful in his work in Nairobi as well. As chairman of the Parliamentary Committee on Trade and Finances, he succeeded, in cooperation with the Foundation, in improving the knowledgeability of the members of his Committee to a considerable extent, particularly with regard to the ongoing economic and political rapprochement between the states of east Africa. This, in his opinion, is the reason why parliamentary debates on issues of regional integration in east Africa are much more informed today. Moreover, a working meeting organised by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung provided him with the first opportunity to meet fellow MPs from the neighbouring countries of Uganda and Tanzania as well as from the East African Parliament in Arusha, Tanzania, the east African counterpart of the European Parliament in Strasbourg. The personal contacts he had been able to make through the political network of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung were very important to him as they helped him in assisting in the joint endeavour to promote the unification of east Africa.



## The German-Chinese Dialogue on Human Rights

China's rapid economic rise is the result of a comprehensive process of reform which started in the late 1970s, at the time when the country began to open up. An important fundamental element was the creation and elaboration of a new legal order. To promote this process, Federal Chancellor Gerhard Schröder agreed in 1999 with the then Prime Minister of the People's Republic of China, Zhu Rongji, to set up a comprehensive legal dialogue between the two countries. This dialogue has created a platform on which even differences of opinion about a societal order under the rule of law can be discussed.

In this legal exchange, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung focuses on extending the dialogue about human rights. **The objective was to create a foundation for strengthening and enhancing social and universal human rights in a discourse characterised by mutual respect.** In China, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung's partners include the Chinese Foundation for the Development of Human Rights and the Chinese Society for International Understanding. Both sides include representatives from politics and society in their dialogue, which takes place annually in China and Germany in turn.

Held in Beijing in 1999, the first symposium discussed historical and value-related features that distinguish the two cultural spheres where the definition of human rights is concerned. The second dialogue meeting the following year focused on the concrete status of human-rights policies in China and Germany. The next Beijing meeting discussed the interaction between human rights and legal systems. The meetings held in Stuttgart in 2002 and in Beijing in 2003 dealt with fundamental aspects of gender mainstreaming and the protection and rights of children and young adults. The Berlin conference of 2004 included on its agenda practical details of civic engagement and the organisation of civil societies in China and Germany.

The German-Chinese dialogue on human rights between the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung and its Chinese partner organisations is, in fact, a discourse which enables differences to be discussed in a matter-of-fact way and recognises any progress made in the implementation of human rights in all their diverse aspects.



## Drawing Closer with an Effort

### The Exchange between Iranian and Egyptian Citizens' Associations

*"Well, they are Shiites, not proper religious Muslims ..."* said a lady who participated in an Egyptian programme of encounter with friends from Iranian citizens' initiatives, looking scornful. The evidence of liberal family planning that she had observed when visiting a government hospital in Isfahan had irritated her. Here, surgical operations for family-planning purposes appeared entirely natural. In conservative Cairo, where she came from, sterilising women or men would be unthinkable. In point of fact, the Sunnite Egyptians who participated in an encounter with Iranian citizens' initiatives had to drop quite a number of their preconceived ideas about their Shiite brothers and sisters in faith straight away.

In their contacts with abroad, Egyptian public-interest associations and initiatives mostly focus on their immediate Arab neighbours, with whom they never lost contact completely. **On the other hand, Iran is a faraway, inaccessible country for most Egyptians today.**

**There is no other pair of countries in the Middle East where contacts and exchanges are so laborious.** Since the Iranian revolution of 1979, much has happened to bring relations between these two influential states down to freezing point. In 1980, Egypt had been prepared to offer asylum to the last Shah of Persia. In due course, he found his last resting place at the Rifa'i Mosque in Cairo. The following year, Egypt's President Anwar al-Sadat was murdered by Islamist assassins in Cairo.

During the war between Iraq and Iran, which began soon thereafter and lasted for eight years, Egypt again sided with the other party, supporting Iraq's head of state, Saddam Hussein. In the following decade, the terrorist attacks of a radical Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood and its attempt to overthrow the pro-US regime in Cairo served to poison the domestic-policy atmosphere in Egypt for years to come. The extremist Muslim Brotherhood which claimed responsibility for these acts of terrorism was supported by the religious regime in Tehran.

It was only in the 1990s that the Iranian government again gave permission to establish secular citizens' initiatives and launch social assistance, disaster relief, and environmental programmes. Seeking support and help in setting up these programmes and in strengthening their own infrastructure, engaged Ira-



nians made contact with the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung's office in Cairo. One of the driving forces was Baqer Namazi, an initiator of the Iranian Hamyaran NGO network, who had returned to Tehran after leading a UN aid organisation in Cairo for a long time.

Next to material assistance from abroad, citizens' groups in Iran also depend greatly on the support and know-how of independent organisations from other countries. Thus, they accepted with pleasure the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung's offer to organise an exchange of experiences between NGOs from the countries of the region.

### Breaking the Ice

After the first attempts to hold a meeting of representatives of local and Iranian citizens' initiatives in Cairo had failed, a search for alternative approaches began. Ultimately, the medical faculty of Tehran University, assisted by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung's Cairo office, invited a group of delegates from Egyptian environmental, youth, women's, and charity NGOs to exchange experiences with Iranian citizens' groups. This first encounter broke the ice. Delegates discussed the conditions under which NGOs work in both countries, told about their experiences good and bad, and drafted a mutual assistance programme.

At the second NGO meeting held in September 2004 at Yazd, an Iranian provincial town, at the invitation of the medical faculty of the local university, representatives of NGOs from Egypt, Iran, Turkey, and Lebanon met with NGO experts from India, Indonesia, and Kazakhstan who maintained contacts with the regional programme of the World Bank Institute. Within this network of regional partners, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung's Cairo office will confine itself to promoting the exchange between Egypt and Iran, with the focus on technical and logistical support for the cooperation between Egyptian and Iranian NGOs. The Iranians mainly look to the Egyptian side for assistance in developing training materials for new micro-credit programmes and for an exchange of experts of various specialties.

Other items on the agenda include a mutual exchange of experiences with municipal aid programmes in Egypt, Iran, and Turkey designed to resolve or, at least, reduce socio-political problems: Help for street children and cooperation in the event of disasters, e.g. in repairing the extensive damage done by the catastrophic earthquake in the Iranian provincial town of Bam. The Iranian partners intend to go on seeking the assistance of further aid organisations, addressing, for instance, the Tehran liaison office of the German Society for Technical Cooperation (GTZ) and the UNDP, the United Nations' development programme.



# Facts instead of Propaganda

## Conflict-sensitive Journalism

Peace journalism is a term that often excites amazement or even scorn among journalists. Peace journalism – that smacks of “concerned citizens”, do-gooders, or even esoterics. To avoid such irritation, the term “conflict-sensitive journalism” is being used increasingly today. What is at issue is the role of journalists and the media in conflicts and wars. History proves that the media often allowed themselves to be misused as instruments of propaganda, particularly in crises or wars; there are the Greeks who used to denigrate their foreign enemies collectively as “barbarians”; there is the enforced conformity of the press in the Third Reich; and, finally, there are the American “embedded journalists” who rated their patriotic responsibilities higher than their professional ethic during the Iraq war.

When radio stations publish lists of opposition members, demanding their liquidation, as Radio Milles Collines did in Rwanda; when terrorist attacks, the execution of hostages, the bombardment of entire cities, or the deployment of so-called “smart bombs” are put on show by the media as horrifying or aesthetic spectacles – then it is high time to develop strategies for journalists and the media that promote peace.

### Committed to Truth

Needless to say, conflict sensitivity in journalism calls for independent journalists whose only commitment is to the truth, but it also needs to consider the specific conditions pertaining to the work of journalists in regions of crisis or war. This is why the workshops for journalists held by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung which were attended by numerous delegates from Indonesia, Sri Lanka, and Nepal, all severely shaken by civil, guerrilla, or separatist wars, dealt not only with rules of behaviour and communication but mainly with information about conflict



(FES)

and peace research, non-violent communication, and the analysis of conflict configurations. The intention was to make journalists see their own roles and options in a conflict.

**While it cannot replace active peace negotiations and conflict settlement, conflict-sensitive journalism can support these processes sustainably.**

Conversely, any effort to settle a crisis peacefully can be easily undermined by propaganda, misinformation, or manipulation. In many countries where crises are going on, journalists do not have the training nor, probably, the independence required to distinguish between propaganda and facts. In addition, they are exposed to pressures among which the danger of losing their job may be the least significant: intimidation, threats against family members, blackmail, arrest, torture, and even murder. All workshops providing information on conflict-sensitive journalism met with widespread interest.

# The Young Leaders' Forum in Afghanistan

“All that is totally new to us”, beamed Sher Jan, one of the applicants for the Young Leaders' Forum (YLF), at the second assessment centre of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.

Although the one-day assessment centre took place in the fasting month of Ramadan, all applicants aged 18 to 30 were enthusiastic. The thirty men and women that had been selected for the assessment centre came from a wide variety of ethnic groups. Some applicants were distinguished by their social engagement and many by their political interest, one of them being Sher Jan, who had returned from exile in Pakistan three years ago. Now aged 25, he is active in a youth organisation co-founded by him.

The YLF is a project run by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung to promote and train future leaders. Its aim is to prepare a generation that grew up during decades of conflict and war in Afghanistan for the task of leading their country into the future. Some of the applicants

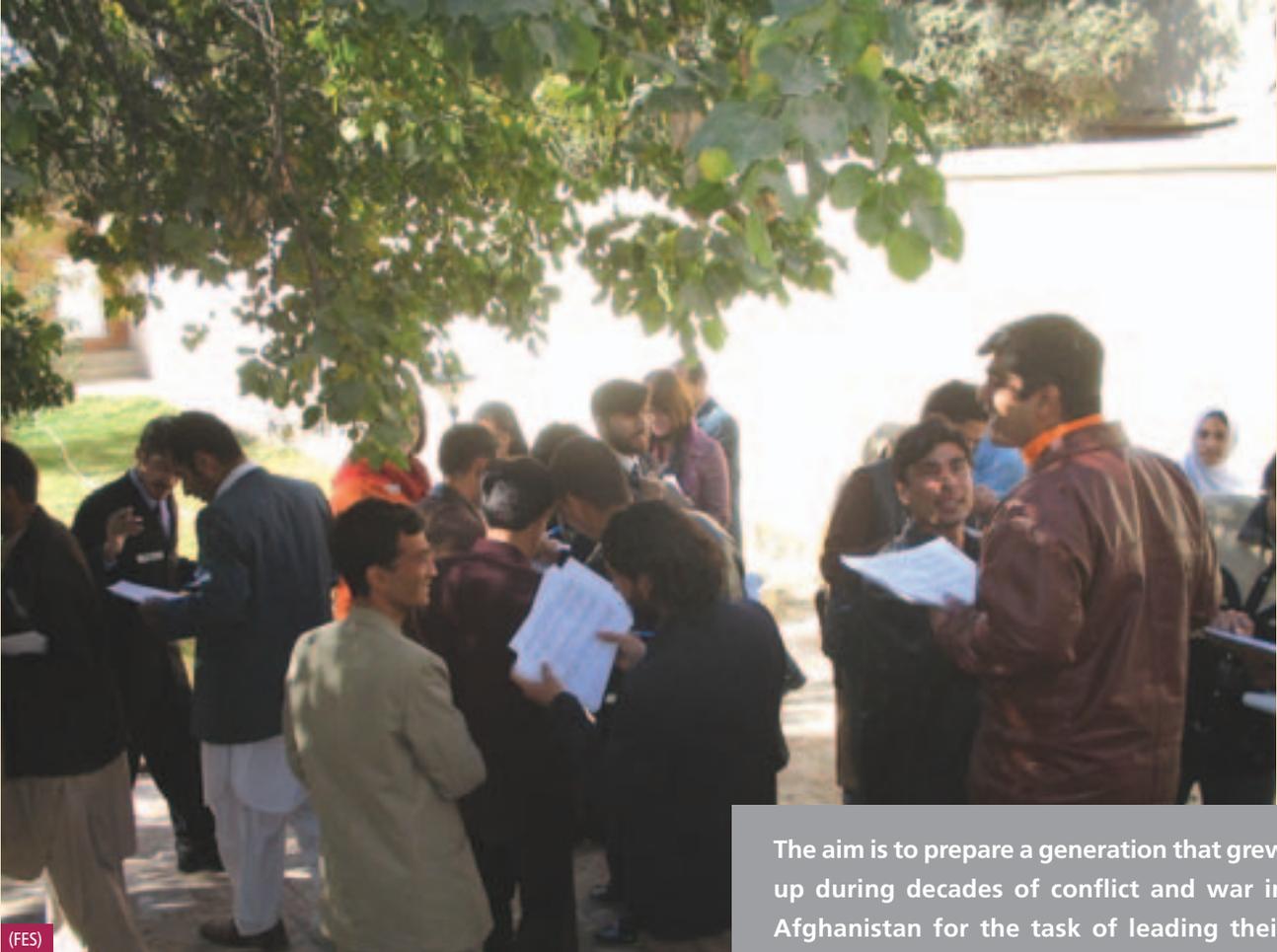
are working even now for key institutions such as the Electoral Commission, for international non-governmental organisations (NGOs) or, like Sher Jan, at the President's Palace. The Foundation regularly offers capacity-building courses at which subjects like the consolidation of peace, the transformation of conflicts, and democracy are taught and developed.

## Catching Up

Sharnaz and Shazia, two young women who already belong to the Forum and see each other here regularly, happen to drop by. 21-year-old Sharnaz is studying law and political science at Kabul University, where she met Shazia, who is three years older. As usual, the two meet in the garden of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung's office, which is open to all. Lectures are given here, and workshops held, or you just sit down together and discuss things over tea. There are not many



(FES)



The aim is to prepare a generation that grew up during decades of conflict and war in Afghanistan for the task of leading their country into the future.

places in Kabul where young people in general and young women in particular may just come together for a talk.

“We will do our best to ensure that we can live in a democratic and peaceful Afghanistan in the future”, says Sharnaz. With great self-confidence, the two have presented to President Karzai the recommendations for the peace process that were developed at two youth conferences on elections and the constitution organised by the YLF. Not more than a year ago, they would have hardly dared to speak up; today, they are giving talks before large assemblies.

“Once a week, we work for half a day on different projects”, as Shazia explains, preparing for conferences or participating in seminars or the political process in general. Thus, they did well as national observers of the elections a short while ago, a function in which they had been trained by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.

Course participants wishing to engage in the work of the YLF should be able to converse fluently in several languages. Khaled, another regular visitor to the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, has meanwhile completed with great enthusiasm an English language course to catch up with what he missed in the long years of the war. Half a year ago, he barely knew enough English to say Good morning. Meanwhile, he is able to discuss the future of his home country in almost faultless English.

Waheed just could not be bothered by all this in the past. Saying “I want nothing to do with politics”, he used to keep away grumpily from any discussion round. “Meanwhile, I have grasped the importance of politics, and the options of shaping it. For a long time, all I saw in politics were the destructive forces of the warlords laying waste my country.” Now, he is studying in England, supported by a grant. And there is one thing we can rely on: He will return to become one of the young leaders of Afghanistan.



Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in Costa Rica, 2004 (FES)



## Agentes de Cambio

### Supporting Young Professionals in Central America

#### Regional Integration under Conditions of Greater Societal Participation and Political Responsibility

By setting up innovative programmes of political education for young professionals, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung's national offices in central America intend to support a politically responsible change of generations among the leading societal elites of these countries and, by the same token, promote the development and integration of the region.

Each year, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung organises education programmes in all these countries entitled **Agentes de Cambio** (Agents of Change) at which 25 to 30 people aged 18 to 28 attend. As they come from a variety of social backgrounds and represent different political positions, they are expected to learn how to deal respectfully, tolerantly, and responsibly with people of different views within the group, and to practise processes of political decision-making.

**The Agentes de Cambio education programme aims to build the capacity of young leaders to occupy political and public positions and act responsibly.** Training mainly focuses on:

- creative and forward-looking leadership competence,
- the ability to develop problem-solving approaches that are practicable in democratic states,

- solving conflicts by constructive dialogue and concerted action,
- transparency in the performance of political functions,
- the importance of social movements in a democratic society,
- the active involvement of citizens,
- tolerance, and the culture of peace.

Systematic and integral education courses have been designed to enable young leaders to assume political and social responsibility in a modern society while observing the fundamental values of humanity and democracy. Receptiveness towards new insights, efficient working methods, social capacities, and new teamwork and participation instruments based on motivation as well as on learning and exchanging experiences in groups form additional criteria for the training of future decision-makers.

#### Young Political Leaders

In central America, democratic culture can be developed and the rule of law consolidated only if societal groups can be integrated into political life, with the active involvement of young people. This is precisely where the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung's Agentes de Cambio programme comes in: It aims to strengthen social democracy in Central America by enabling young

professionals working in the media, in trade unions, political parties, cooperative societies, and other social organisations to develop their political knowledge, social competences, and value concepts.

Overcoming discrimination against women in Latin America is of prime importance in creating a democracy of social justice. The Agentes de Cambio programme supports gender mainstreaming efforts by including a 50 per cent women's quota next to qualitative criteria in its candidate selection process.

### **Future Perspectives and Cooperation within a Network**

The best way of assuring political stability within the region is by making substantial progress in the fields of human development, social justice, and public security. Democratic institutions may be successfully developed and consolidated only if the people's trust in democracy is on solid ground. Against this background, the Foundation aims to set up a network for political action designed to support young people in developing and animating independent mechanisms of political influence at the local, national, and regional level. In Panama, where a new government headed by President Torrijos has assigned great strategic importance to integrating young politicians, the project has been particularly successful. Twenty graduates of the Agen-

tes de Cambio programme have already been appointed to leadership positions by the government.

Guatemala and Costa Rica are two more countries where a number of graduates have made it into the political arena and now hold important offices as town councillors, mayors, deputies in the national or central American parliaments (PARLACEN), or in international organisations such as the Organisation of American States.

Meanwhile, the Foundation has been gathering further experience with the programme in Honduras, Nicaragua, and El Salvador. Detailed evaluation will show to what extent young people are participating in the political process and making their own contribution towards consolidating the democratic societies of these central American countries.

Efforts aim at fostering a collective social and democratic identity among those young leaders who have attended the Agentes de Cambio education programme in various countries. The success of the programme becomes apparent as young people show commitment for their respective communities, pursue a new style of political action that is informed by democratic values, and make their own contribution as modern leaders towards transforming their societies which have been suffering for decades from bloody coups, military dictatorships, uprisings, and civil wars.



*The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung emphasises the need for sustainability in its international work. Promoting democracy and shaping globalisation is inconceivable without a great deal of staying power. Under the heading “Historical Review” we describe the history behind some of our projects and resulting processes and changes in society.*

## On the Way Towards Responsible Citizenship in Madagascar

In December 2001, Marc Ravalomanana was elected President by around 52 per cent of the Malagasy people. The defeated candidate, President Didier Ratsiraka, who had ruled the country for 28 years, refused to acknowledge the result, plunging the country into a deep domestic crisis.

He publicly declared that if he should not be re-elected, Madagascar would become embroiled in civil war. “No more Ratsiraka” was the reply of the demonstrators who flooded the streets in their tens of thousands. The escalation of violence which Ratsiraka had been trying to provoke was prevented only by the thoughtful behaviour of the new political leadership, the self-restraint of the armed forces, and the peaceful course of the protests.

As it had become apparent early on in the election campaign that the result would hang in the balance, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung began its own preparations for observing the elections at an early stage, together with its local and regional partners. In September 2001, three months before the presi-

dential elections, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung cooperated with the independent national election observation commission (CNOE) and the Union of Political Journalists (ACHROPOL) in organising a regional seminar on transparency in elections, offering an opportunity to exchange experiences with other African countries such as Mali, Côte d’Ivoire, Senegal, and Mauritius.

### Transparency and Control

Using the other countries’ experiences, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung supported the organisation of a “consortium”, a body of election observers staffed by the independent election observation commission (CNOE), the council of the Protestant church, and the Catholic human-rights group “Peace and Justice”. To ensure a maximum of transparency and control, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung created an organisational infrastructure that would allow the body’s representatives to be present at a maximum number of polling stations and to document the course of the elections precisely.



(FES)



The elections were followed by a domestic crisis. For more than six months, the country was paralysed by a general strike and violent conflicts that erupted repeatedly: Political secession, economic blockade, outrages perpetrated by the militia. During that time, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung assisted its partners of the “consortium” and the democracy watchdog SEFAFI in mobilising public opinion and informing the population through the publication of analyses that investigated electoral fraud, breaches of the Constitution, and the danger of civil war. In addition, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung cooperated with radio and television corporations in developing programmes to promote civic awareness and behaviour. In close cooperation with the Ministry of Education, it ran a number of adult education courses on non-violent conflict settlement. Meanwhile, the original working group has been upgraded; it is now an independent directorate within the Ministry of Education that deals exclusively with the social, political, economic, and ecological aspects of modern citizenship.

## Telephone FM

### Radio for Baghdad

From July to mid-August 2004, they were on the air in Berlin: For six weeks, a team of young German and Iraqi radio professionals developed and produced a programme of 1.5 hours per day which was sent to Baghdad via internet in the form of an MP3 data package, where it was broadcast by the Hot FM radio station. The target group of the “Telephone FM” pilot station includes Iraqis aged between 18 and 35 who look to the Arabic programme mainly for interviews about the concerns, visions, and life designs of the young Iraqi generation as well as for lots of music and humorous commentary.

Originally conceived by two Berlin radio professionals as a community programme for Baghdad, the continually worsening security situation in Iraq left no option but to move the pilot project – sponsored by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung – to Berlin. As an added benefit, the Iraqi presenters were able to familiarise themselves with the day-to-day business of Radio Multikulti and go on with their training. From mid-December 2004 onwards, the team went to the capital of Jordan, Amman, to work for two months on another pilot programme for the elections in Iraq which, although built on the experience with Telephone FM, laid greater emphasis on information and political education. The elections held in Iraq on January 30, 2005 were supported and encouraged as part of this process.

Baghdad, November 2004 (dpa)



# “Our Voice Will Be Heard”

## India’s Women

A broad flight of stairs is dotted with numerous sandals and leather slippers, rainbow-coloured, embroidered with sequins, and decorated with bows and roses: red, gold, pink, mauve – the entire range of Rajasthan’s colours. In between, there are a few down-at-heel shoes whose colours have long since paled under a covering of brownish-yellow dust. The large yellow brick building in the middle of endless fields has weathered the rains of the last monsoon quite well. Hibiscus flowers abound in the garden, from which a babble of voices emerges, excited, demanding, urgent, and occasionally interrupted by shouts of laughter.

As soon as one enters, the whirring sound of the heavy old-fashioned fans can be heard which chase away the flies. The inside is nice and cool. The women have meanwhile settled down on cotton rugs, the traditional dhurries. Rings adorn their toes and fingers, anklets and armbands their ankles and wrists. Today, they are wearing their best saris, their most beautiful possessions – an explosion of colours. Distinguishing their faces in the murky light of the great shaded hall takes some time. Ninety pairs of dark eyes watch the visitors who sit down on cushions of honour behind low white-covered tables.

One of the women raises a melancholic, strange song, with the others following suit after a few bars: **“At our birth, our parents wailed because a son had been denied to them. Instead of going to school, we must go out to work in the fields. We need no doctor, for our dowry is expensive ... No longer will we stand for this. We are fighting for justice. Our voice will be heard. Come, sister, come with us!”**

The faces of the singers are marked with the traces of a hard life, evidence of strain, pain, and disappointment. But their eyes, still firmly focused on their guests, their occasional slightly embarrassed smiles, their echoing voices tell another story. These women have the strength to change their lives, the self-confidence to defy their men, the courage to break with tradition and withstand societal pressure. One can sense their pleasure, their enthusiasm and pride in being here on this special day.

They are local politicians, town councillors, even council presidents. In increasing numbers, they have been conquering for themselves positions in town halls and local administrations, and now they are changing their world day by day, piece by piece. The fact that 33 per cent of all local government mandates are now reserved for women in India has been more of a help to them than all the innumerable development programmes of the past.



Nari Shakti (Women's Power) Meeting at SCRIA (FES)

### Silence and Invisibility

A short welcome ritual. The new arrivals are served with sweet milky tea in simple bowls of clay, and oil lamps are lit for good luck. Embarrassed but eager

silence prevails. What have they been discussing so animatedly just now? After some hesitation, Sarita explains that they have been meeting regularly for three years to exchange experiences and discuss problems. Here, they receive consolation and support, they realise that they are not alone in failure, disappointment, and anger, and they tell of their little victories, like saving a widow's meagre pension at the last minute from the greedy hands of a corrupt council secretary. Other women raise their voices and talk of their work with growing self-assurance: there is one village where school is held more regularly now; the teacher was warned at the last council meeting. When plans to lengthen a paved road, one of the status pro-

jects of a neighbouring village, had been thwarted, the people instead applied to the district administration for funds for two new wells. A few needy families had finally received the vouchers which entitled them to food discounts ... Each of the women has something to say. Their language is fussy, long-winded, overburdened with repetitions and unimportant details. Talking in public is by no means a thing that comes naturally to these women. Their foremost duty is to be silent and invisible.

And the discussion? What was it that they had been so violently debating a moment before? "They now want a fifty-per cent quota for women in all political offices and at all levels" Sunder Lal interjects, the director of SCRIA, an organisation for the promotion of rural development where the meeting is held, "even in parliament". In the last few years, SCRIA workshops and seminars had provided information to the women which their husbands could not give them, or did not want to. But "some of the women have already travelled to the state capital and attended meetings of other organisations". And after their first experiences of success they have become sufficiently politicised "to look beyond their village boundaries". Sunder Lal, a wiry man in his fifties clad in white Gandhi-style cotton, is visibly proud.

An adequate contrast with Khori, where the local politicians met, is offered by the India International Centre in the green heart of New Delhi, a conference centre looking out over splendid parks and the weather-beaten tombs of the former ruling dynasty of the Lodhis. The building, too, is a bit long in the tooth now, just like the generation to which it is home.

For decades, the club has been the parlour of India's top politicians, intellectuals, writers, and journalists. The people who come here to meet either are important or used to be. The right place for a talk, not embarrassingly luxurious like a five-star hotel but elitist.

It is teatime in the seminar room. Women stand and talk in small groups around a long table. Saris in muted colours, discreet jewellery, elegant writing utensils all underline their privileged position. They are the country's leading women's rights activists: political and social scientists, lawyers, bureaucrats, members of relevant government commissions, journalists. Even two women politicians have come.



In India, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung supports and advises partner organisations that aim to involve women more extensively in politics. It lobbied the relevant institutions to this end before a quota was introduced at the local level. The concerns of elected mandate holders are discussed with the political rank-and-file as well as at numerous dialogue meetings. At the same time, it offers a platform for the women's movements' demand for quotas in parliament as well as other affirmative instruments.



View of the Parliament Building in New Delhi (dpa)

### The Day Is Still Far Away

“Fifty per cent? We want 33 per cent first! Just look at the new parliament, 45 women!” Rita Joshi brings the small conversation group that has gathered around her down to earth with a bump. She knows that the demand for a 50-per cent quota is unrealistic. Women have been campaigning for quotas in parliament and in the political parties for years without getting more than empty phrases in return. As the recently-elected president of the Mahila Congress, the women’s block of the Congress Party, Rita Joshi might soon come considerably closer to their goal. Only a few women in India are as close to the centres of power and decision-making as she is.

The date for the seminar has been well-chosen. After the recent elections, from which the Congress Party and its allies emerged victorious, social justice has moved to the top of the political agenda. True, women’s involvement in the democratic process is merely one of many items on that agenda, but is now at least being taken seriously: the quota of 33 per cent women in parliament is being mentioned in the coalition agreement of the government. This is primarily due to the two people presently heading the country with its billion of inhabitants. Prime Minister Manmo-

han Singh is demonstrating unity with the chairperson of his party, Sonia Gandhi. In view of his outstanding personal integrity, the people believe him when he makes promises.

But even if a quota rule should become law, the fundamental problem remains: **How can Indian women be plucked from their invisible existence, how be made aware of their interests and political developments? Why should it be left to women from the societal elite to decide on behalf of their sisters?** Like most of her colleagues, Rita Joshi comes from a political family. Her father served for a long time as chief minister of Uttar Pradesh, the most populous state of the union with 140 million people. She enjoyed an excellent education, gathered political experience early, and governed the city of Allahabad for some years as mayor. She has everything an Indian politician needs to be heard and taken seriously. In addition to know-how and political talent, this calls for self-confidence, stamina, excellent contacts and, last but not least, wealth. A historian and mother of a son, she is an exception to the Indian rule which relegates women to second class. But the day on which the best women among the country’s local politicians can sit in parliament and have tea at the India International Centre is still far away.

# Cooperation among Political Parties in the Cono Sur

The centre-left parties of southern Latin America (Cono Sur) have sprung from many and varied roots. While some, such as the socialist parties of Uruguay and Chile, look back on a history extending over seventy or eighty years during which they underwent development processes similar to those of their sister parties in Europe, others originated much later and thus did not pass through an evolutionary process quite as long as this. The Brazilian Labour Party (Partido dos Trabalhadores), for one, was founded only in the early 1980s by today's President Luis Ignacio Lula da Silva and his fellow campaigners from the Novo Sindicalismo, the new trade union movement.

Regardless of their level of development, however, all parties still suffer from the deep trauma left behind by the military dictatorships of the 1970s and 1980s and their brutal persecution of the political Left in Latin America. **Meanwhile, these centre-left parties share in the exercise of political power in almost all countries of the Cono Sur, even furnishing the presidents of Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay in the persons of Lula, Ricardo Lagos, and Tabaré Vasquez.**

All are confronted with difficult challenges which they must tackle: In many cases, enormous debts in-

herited from earlier governments restrict their political and economic freedom of action. Long-standing neo-liberal policies left behind social and economic structures marked by deep rifts. At the same time, governments in the region need to confront the new political and economic challenges caused by globalisation, a process in which their first move was to create the regional economic alliance MERCOSUR.



Demonstration for more justice (dpa)



In all Cono Sur countries, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has been cooperating with centre-left parties at the national level for many years. In 2002, it founded the "Foro de los Partidos Progresistas del Cono Sur", a forum for political dialogue designed to reach beyond the national dimension. The forum is a meeting-place for politicians where they discuss questions relating to the economic integration of the region, social policy in a globalised world, and external relations.

Since 2004 the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has also been assisting South America's progressive parties in the drawing-up of new programmes which are intended to respond, amongst other things, to the new challenges confronting the continent as a whole: growing social inequality, increasing migration, accelerating the development of the continent by integrating its transport infrastructure, or combating the explosive expansion of crime in Latin America – a crime rate resulting not just from the cultivation and marketing of narcotics.



# The Struggle for Media Freedom in Africa

## Foot-slogging with Perseverance

**Windhoek**, capital of Namibia in southern Africa, **cradle of the freedom of opinion and information** on the continent: It was here that the “Windhoek Declaration on the Promotion of an Independent and Pluralist Press” was adopted under the auspices of UNESCO in 1991. One year later, the Media Institute for Southern Africa (MISA) was founded here by some of the most active fighters for these principles.

To a considerable extent, it is due to MISA’s efforts that the principles laid down in diverse declarations adopted since 1991 have meanwhile been embedded in policy statements by the African Union (AU) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC). Through its regional media project for southern Africa, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has been actively supporting this process ever since its inception, its foremost concern being to improve political and legal framework conditions for the media. This includes offering the widest possible range of independent print media as well as a choice of different radio and television programmes provided by competing public-law, private, and local corporations, a most important point in Africa.

The fact that there is hardly any government which is prepared to relax its control over national radio stations and hand them over to transparent, representative, and independent bodies represents the biggest hurdle so far. Organising the societal pressure that is necessary to initiate the process of reform calls for persistent foot-slogging and great perseverance everywhere.



### Work Has only just Begun

Zambia and Botswana are typical of the constant **succession of ups and downs**: In Zambia, it took ten years to push through progressive media-reform legislation by 2002. This, however, was only the beginning of the work needed to set up an independent, transparent regulatory authority and transform the National Radio and Television Corporation (ZNBC) into a genuine public broadcaster, with the government using every means at its disposal to hamper the process.

Botswana is similar: Here, the far-sighted managers of the National Regulatory Authority for Electronic Media initiated a nationwide process of public consultation about a new broadcasting policy, with considerable support from the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. In addition to the stakeholders, all societal groups were requested to voice their ideas in the debate on the future of the radio sector in Botswana.

The resultant document meets the most demanding international standards. While it still needs to be ratified by parliament, neither the government nor the deputies will find it easy to formulate a rationale for rejecting it after the widespread public debate.

Within the last three years, a particularly promising approach to the transformation of governmental radio corporations has emerged through the newly-established cooperation between MISA, the Southern African Broadcasting Association (SABA), and the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. Assistance from the media project of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung was a key element in the launch of SABA in 1993. MISA and SABA agreed on a joint programme of action in September 2004. [www.fesmedia.org.na](http://www.fesmedia.org.na)



## From China to Germany and Back

### The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung's Scholars

Looking around pensively, Lian Yuru, a professor at Beijing's renowned university, asks what role Germany might play in Europe. What she, a resolute political scientist, wants to know from her German interlocutors is this: "Is it conceivable that a 'Europeanised Germany' might be interested in a 'German Europe'?" In her study entitled "New Global Policy and German Forum Policy – After a Solution of the 'New German Question'", the one-time scholar of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung analysed the foreign policy that a united Germany may be expected to pursue. Within a year, the book rose to become one of the standard textbooks on

German foreign policy. An expert on Germany and Europe, the Deputy Director of the Institute for International Politics at the International Relations Faculty of Beijing University advises both the Chinese Foreign Ministry and the research facility of China's National People's Congress.

Aged fifty today, she began learning German at a Beijing language school at the early age of nine. Prevented from graduating by the upheavals of the Cultural Revolution, she had to begin working at the age of fifteen in factories, in an agricultural commune, and for the military, studying on her own in the evenings. In 1977, one year after Mao Zedong's death, Lian Yuru was finally permitted to take the very first test for admission to university that took place after the Cultural Revolution, passing with flying colours. She studied at Beijing University, where she now teaches young students herself.

After a period of power struggles within the party, Deng Xiaoping succeeded in terminating the Cultural Revolution by prescribing for the Middle Kingdom a radical turnaround in economic policy and giving out the slogan "Enrich Yourself". Thus relying on the strength of individualist market-economy initiative, he began to open up the country to the outside world. Academics and students were permitted to go to universities in western countries for under- and post-graduate studies.

Since the early 1980s, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has been active in China as a non-governmental organisation. In 1985, it opened an office in Shanghai which





Prof. Lian Yuru and Dr. Christine Bergmann (FES)

at first concentrated on research activities for economic and political reforms. The Beijing office of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung was established in 1987. The political dialogue facilitated by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung between partners from Germany, Europe, and China focuses on the social and ecological dimensions of market economy, political reforms, the development of the rule of law, trade union work, and international politics and security.

### Brokers of Partnership

In 1980, scientists began to arrive under the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung's scholarship programme to conduct research at German universities and research institutions. Lawyers, economists, engineers, students of the arts and sciences, and other leaders returned from Germany to China equipped with international experience, inter-cultural competence, and an intimate knowledge of innovative problem-solving strategies to take over leading positions in politics, science, and the economy. With their international orientation, these former scholars today serve as brokers in the partnership between Germany, Europe, and China while acting themselves as partners in the project work of the Foundation. **At home in both cultures, they build bridges in the dialogue between societies**, as the Federal Minister for Economic Cooperation and Development, Heidemarie Wieczorek-Zeul, emphasised at a symposium on the role of the alumni in international cooperation held in 2003: "Academic and scientific cooperation can never be a one-way road. Exchanging experiences forms an essential part of any credible development policy that is founded on mutual trust."

One of the first alumni was Lian Yuru, a talented young academic for whom the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung paved the way towards a dazzling academic career as

early as 1984, when she was granted a scholarship for postgraduate studies at the Otto Suhr Institute (OSI) of the Free University of Berlin. Having taught at Beijing University for two years, Lian Yuru returned to Berlin in 1988 to complete her thesis at the OSI. An expert on German affairs, she maintains to this day close links with the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, which repeatedly helped her to come to stay in Germany for further research missions.

While Lian Yuru acquired merit as an academic and a university teacher, Liu Zhengrong made his way to the top as an industrial manager. He came to Cologne in October 1990, where he financed his undergraduate studies in Political Science, English Studies, and Pedagogics by working as a freelance correspondent for Xinmin Wanbao, a Shanghai evening paper.

Having obtained a scholarship from the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, he was finally free to concentrate exclusively on his studies at Cologne University.

After his graduation, he did occasional jobs teaching English to managers of the Bayer Company who were about to leave for employment in China. After a six-year stay in China, where he rose to the position of human-resources manager of Bayer's Asian plastic division, he returned, aged 36, to take over the management of the human-resources department of LANXESS, a Bayer subsidiary with headquarters in Leverkusen. He is now in charge of 11,000 employees in Germany and 10,000 abroad. This is the first time that the position of global human-resources manager has been entrusted to a Chinese by a large German group. His motto "a little bit more of China cannot be bad for Germany" expresses the optimism of the true reformer. He has been informing German politicians and trade union representatives about the social and labour-law situation in China at a number of round tables.

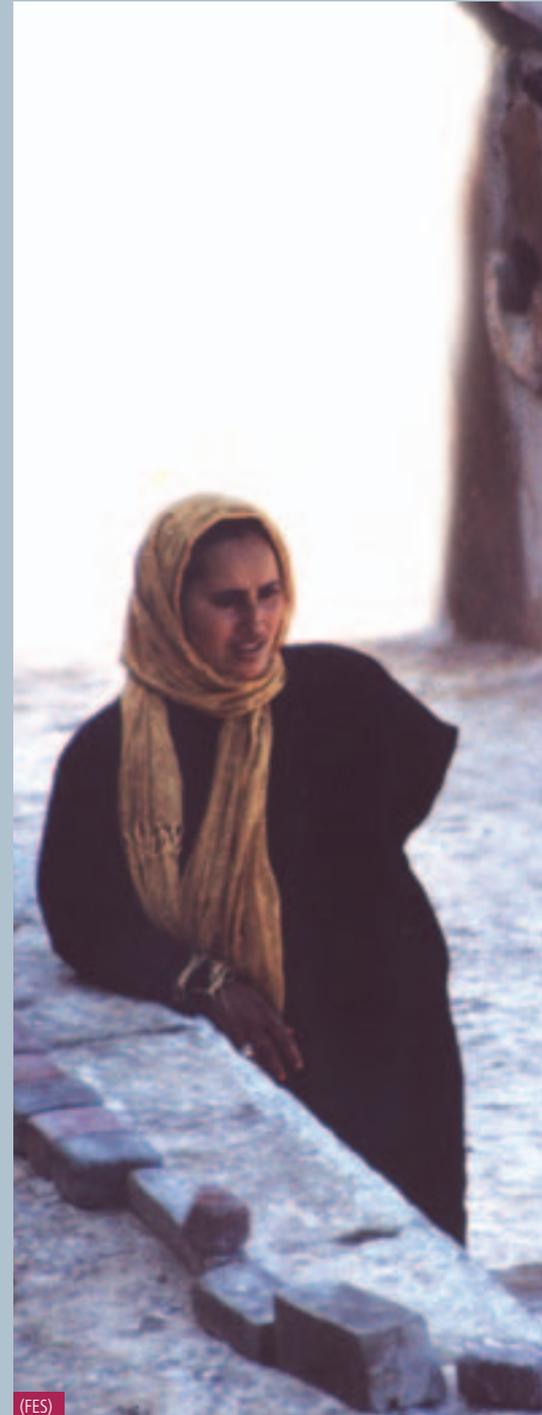
# Equality of Opportunity as a Cross-Cutting Issue

Democracy and social justice – the defined goals of international cooperation by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung – are unattainable without equal opportunities for men and women. Since the 4th World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 it has been generally agreed that women's discrimination is not an isolated "women's issue" but an expression of hierarchical gender relations in a given country. Lessons learnt from projects with a focus on women's qualification and income generation had shown that the women involved had certainly benefited, but that their influence on politics and the economy did not change much for the better because in the majority of countries there was no role attributed to women in public life. People realised that it was necessary to consider and discuss gender roles as part of the policy-making process and to address equality of opportunities for women and men as a separate issue which cuts across all areas of development policy. The English term "gender mainstreaming" which describes this new approach has become part of both the international and German terminology.

As early as 1994, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung realised the necessity to add a "gender-specific analysis" to its project planning and programming. A team of gender coordinators was appointed for the structural implementation of the concept; it has been responsible for incorporating and developing the gender-mainstreaming-concept since then.

In tandem with its partners in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has made considerable efforts in recent years to integrate gender aspects in all areas of work. It is imperative that the concept be adapted flexibly to the general cultural conditions of the project countries and matches the methodology and the tools for planning and evaluation.

International dialogue meetings with women experts are held in Germany with the partners from the South in order to make use of the project countries' experience and ideas and to feed them directly into the German political discourse. Conversely, the outcome of this intercultural dialogue is taken into account for the projects.



(FES)



(FES)

## Gender and Women Empowerment in Latin America and the Caribbean

In the early 1990s, women's issues attained a new dynamic quality in Latin America and the Caribbean: women empowerment was organisationally incorporated as a cross-cutting issue into all international project activities and increasingly determined the content of work designed to change general conditions in society. Some ten years later, the concept of women empowerment was extended to include "gender mainstreaming", i.e. equality of men and women in all spheres of life. In Latin America and the Caribbean, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung concentrates its activities on strengthening the position of women in politics and the trade unions and on influencing the definition of gender-oriented policies at the local, regional, provincial and national levels with the aim of implementing the concept of gender mainstreaming in all phases of project activities.

In 2002, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung's offices in the region began to coordinate their gender-related activities in a more systematic manner. In order to meet the demand for an exchange of information and experience between the offices, a website was designed dealing with gender issues in the region. The intention is to draw attention to gender-related activities of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in Latin America and the Caribbean and to make information available to interested individuals outside the circle of partners.

The most important results of these activities are described under [www.fesgenero.org](http://www.fesgenero.org) with the following headings:

- gender and trade unions
- gender and business
- women in politics
- integration of the gender mainstreaming concept
- influence on politics
- women and youth

# Clothes Make (the Woman) Independent

## A Fashion Show in the Kenyan Parliament Promotes African Self-Assurance

Since Independence, Kenya's legislature has not done much else but to regularly rubber-stamp the draft bills of the government, approving them automatically without protest or debate. However, this obsequiousness has recently been replaced by a greater measure of self-assurance of parliament. On several occasions, Kenya's Government suffered a severe defeat in a vote. And parliamentary committees which previously existed on paper only have been convening regularly in the meantime, inviting ministers almost by the week to account to parliament for their actions.

The house rules have not yet taken any account of this new self-perception and the political change. The values of the former British colonial power are still reflected even in the old-fashioned dress code of parliament. For example, the Speaker is still wearing a white wig while in the chair as was the custom during colonial times, and expects members of parliament to sit down on the benches wearing a collar and tie. **The large diversity of colours in West African parliaments with their traditional Agbada is (still) a taboo in Kenya.**

There is no doubt in the Speaker's mind as to what men ought to wear. The Western-style two-piece suit in dark or muted colours is his idea of what is "proper and respectable". The man appears to be less sure about the way women ought to dress. And the women

members of parliament cheerfully take advantage of his uncertainty in the matter. They turn up in splendidly colourful dresses and encourage their male colleagues to follow the new fashion. Several of the more courageous men have copied their female colleagues and were promptly asked to leave the plenary meeting by the Speaker.

When Kenya celebrated the 40th anniversary of its independence, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung used the opportunity in spring 2003 to sponsor a fashion show for members of parliament of both sexes. As expected, the Speaker turned down the invitation and the offer of delivering the opening speech extended by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. However, the MP and Minister in the Vice-President's office, Ms. Linah Kimo, stepped in for him in a brilliant manner and in the company of some of the more daring back-benchers.

After this successful entertaining and colourful evening, more and more male MPs followed the women's example and started "a rebellion" in parliament, which even two of the ministers have joined in the meantime. They are still ordered to leave the hall, but the Speaker has announced to bring the dress code issue before a committee for deliberation. It looks as if this antiquated colonial custom is in serious danger of being overthrown.





## Against Machoism

### Advice Centre for Women in Ecuador

Almost every language has borrowed the Spanish term “macho” to describe someone who prides himself upon his masculinity. It describes the dominating role of men in the family and society – a role that has made it more difficult for women to take part in the political, economic and social life in many Latin American countries. In other words, machoism is a persistent obstacle on the road to development. It was only in the last two decades that Latin America’s women began to doubt the alleged male superiority and to fight machoism.

When some politically interested women came to visit the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung’s office in Ecuador’s capital Quito in the early 1980s and suggested to hold a joint seminar on the role of women in Latin America, no one could have expected this working group to become one of the major development projects in the country.

It was not just the conference on women’s rights itself which attracted a great deal of attention; during the meeting a spontaneous demonstration of the women participants was held which, to the surprise of Ecuador’s public, protested for the first time against violence in the family and the exploitation of women. On November 11, 1983, the demonstrators

founded the “Centro Ecuatoriano para la Promoción y Acción de la Mujer” (CEPAM) in Quito as a place of refuge for women who had been victims of violence; the centre offered legal advice and practical assistance when force had been used against women. The programme continues to be one of the focal points of work.

Numerous workshops, conferences, the printing of information and advice material and various publications about the situation of women in Ecuador helped CEPAM to proceed with its activities and advisory work. At present, CEPAM is an advisory network of national standing. Since 1986, an independent centre has also been in operation in Guayaquil with a focus on advisory services for families and youth which deals with health problems, for example the prevention of AIDS infections, or questions of family planning.

But one of the greatest achievements of the Ecuadorian women’s movement has undoubtedly been the changed perception of the legal status of women: a Constitution was adopted in 1998 which sets forth the equal status of women. And violence in the family has been declared a criminal offence in the meantime.



## Quality Assurance in International Cooperation

In the early 1990s, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung began to establish a system for controlling and evaluating project planning. To some extent, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung developed and implemented its own tools and processes for the purpose. The particular approach of development-policy work was reflected in the establishment of a catalogue of instruments including systematic feedback, participation in planning, the creation of a project memory, the accumulation of experience by tracking and evaluating projects in reports, and the evaluation of nations, regions, and subjects in concrete terms.

Efforts to ensure that projects can be adapted to changing framework conditions and new or follow-up projects can be planned quickly and efficiently focus on developing the methodology of efficacy control. The main points with regard to the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung's socio-political projects are changes in awareness and changes in policies. Projects are assessed by the following standards:

- societal policy changes,
- progress in democratisation,
- the implementation of human rights, and
- the implementation of social justice.

Accordingly, indicators for measuring success must be developed that adequately reflect these changes in society and take into account the complexity of the relevant processes. Key criteria for judging the success of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung's work include broadness of impact, resultant structural changes and, most importantly, political relevance.

In recent years, the Foundation has been praised for its continuous and systematic tracking and evaluation of its activities by both the funding institution and the Federal Court of Audit. The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung is working continuously on improving and adding to its instruments.



## Gender Integration

Planning and evaluation tools are becoming increasingly more important for an assessment of the quality and medium-term impact of our project work. This is why the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung developed its own tools for this purpose in the last years. The concept of “gender as a cross-cutting issue” will now be applied to explore how these new tools could be made to fit in with the existing ones and add a gender-specific perspective to the planning, implementation and evaluation of all projects (gender mainstreaming) at the same time.

A binding set of tools was defined at a gender-focused conference in 2003. The meeting adopted guidelines to facilitate and ensure the integration of gender aspects into project planning, implementation and evaluation, and laid down a suitable implementation procedure and schedule.

With these guidelines, international cooperation by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has been given a set of tools to match the logic of existing procedures for the first time. The implementation procedure ensures a gender perspective in analysis, strategy, implementation and evaluation. This has been an important step towards linking the content-related gender-mainstreaming function to quality management requirements.

The gender-specific analysis of problems, which are the point of departure for projects, offers a better insight into target groups and their needs. The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung can properly respond to this with the appropriate gender strategy and, by applying gender-sensitive indicators, analyse whether its work has been successful. A team of colleagues regularly monitors and supports the implementation of the concept and systematises the results.

# Creating Peace and Security

The list of political problems that can no longer be handled without taking the global context into account, and that can only be solved by a joint effort, ranges from trade and finance policy to environmental-policy issues to labour-market and social policy. At the moment, however, there is hardly any other political field where consensus is more urgent – and more difficult to achieve – than security policy. The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung promotes the dialogue on security policy at various levels: within national societies and regions, between North and South, and between players in different political arenas.

**The end of the Cold War did not bring peace in perpetuity. On the contrary, numerous new conflicts erupted while long-standing disputes, such as that between Israelis and Arabs and the conflict about Kashmir, flashed up again.** Most of these are confrontations within a society which arise for many and diverse economic and political reasons, with in many instances specific ethnic and religious features, and which often spread to the entire region in no time. At the same time, the end of the confrontation between the systems created a security-policy void, a “global complexity” for which no political blueprints have been developed so far. The feature that characterises today’s global order is the all-embracing power of the United States, the only remaining superpower thanks to its military supremacy, economic efficiency, and cultural dominance. Potential security-policy counterweights, such as China or the EU, are only just beginning to emerge on the global plane. While power politics and war are plainly undergoing a renaissance as political tools, the multi-lateral order of the world has been increasingly damaged ever since the mid-nineties – a development which culminated in the crisis of the UN Security Council in the run-up to the Iraq war.



The UN Headquarters in New York (picture-alliance / dpa)

## Regional Security Policy

Security policy being an extremely sensitive field, any transboundary political structure is bound to be regarded with much scepticism. However, the conflicts of the last few years have demonstrated that, despite all the difficulties and failures, there is no alternative to

cooperative global governance to solve our security-policy problems. But common security cannot be left to the global level alone. In view of the multitude of conflicts, their regional reach, and the weakness of the UN institutions, the importance of regional security-policy arrangements is growing.

### The Reform of the UN

Through its work in New York as well as in strategically important pivotal countries such as China, Brazil, India, Egypt, or South Africa, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has been underpinning the ongoing discussion about the future of the United Nations. It is indispensable that not only regional structures should be strengthened but the UN as well, being at the tip of the “pyramid of peace”. An efficient reform of the UN with the Security Council at the top of the list, the successful implementation of the Millennium Goals (such as cutting extreme poverty in half by 2015), better links between regional organisations and the UN, and the

political will of the member states to recognise the UN as the supreme arbiter will be the factors determining the role of the organisation in peace and security policy in the years to come.

### New Strategic Answers

While insecurity is a constant of human development in many regions of the earth, security and security policy is a subject which has been growing increasingly important in recent years even in the supposedly secure havens of the western industrialised nations. The perception of security-policy problems differs between North and South and between one region and another. The countries of the North are now paying more attention to the “new threats” from the South: the outreach of regional conflicts, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, failed states, and “hotbeds” of terrorism. Giving a wider interpretation to security, others have been placing threats to human security such as the scarcity of food and water, corruption, disease, and ecological crises on the security-policy agenda. A general consensus on security-policy priorities in which the voices of the South can be heard clearly is a precondition of collective security.

Such a wider view of the issue of security calls for new strategic answers. Security policy today must be able to do more than merely defend a country against armed attack. This opens up numerous interfaces between various political fields, with development, foreign, and defence policy most important among them. For this reason, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung focuses on

the common ground and the relationship between development and security issues in its activity. Where there is war, democracy and development can never get off the mark. In the long run, societal or global security appear almost impossible without sustainable development.

### Peace from below

The growing number of military and police missions in which the Federal Republic has assumed greater responsibility for the resolution of conflicts over the last few years, have also created a new role for development policy. Proposals for comprehensive political solutions will attribute greater weight to international cooperation as well as to forms of civil conflict resolution. At the same time, there is some concern that development-policy objectives might be subjected increasingly to security-policy constraints.

Lasting peace is possible only if it grows “from below”. A realistic analysis of the causes of conflict, the often difficult development of societal and political structures which are conducive to peace or post-conflict reconciliation are essential for a peaceful development. With the development of its own toolbox the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has been able to add a conflict-sensitive focus to its project planning for many crisis-ridden countries. Security cannot be achieved and maintained by either North or South, individual countries or elites on their own unless it is upheld for the majority of countries and individuals at the same time. Because in the 21st century security is ultimately as indivisible as peace.





(Picture Dr. Wessler)

## First Peace, then Prosperity

### Security Policy in Africa

Television brings the pictures into our living rooms each day: small pick-up vans bumping along dirt tracks, packed full of soldiers who are pointing their Kalashnikovs in the direction of the cameras of newly-arrived television crews. Deserted villages, burnt-down huts, devastated fields, decomposing animal carcasses. Refugee camps, long queues in front of food distribution centres, toddlers too weak to flap off the flies from their eyes, nose and lips. Horror pictures from Africa, always the same pictures for years.

And yet there had been hope that peace would finally come with the end of the Cold War which had also, and principally, been waged on African soil. Ten years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, however, people had lost their illusions. **Since the early 1990s, no less than 19 wars and armed conflicts have been counted on the African continent.** The genocide in Rwanda, the bloody civil wars in Sierra Leone, Liberia or in the Congo and finally the killings in Darfur have shaken the international community and, in particular, the Africans themselves.

In July 2002, the African Union (AU) was constituted in the South African city of Durban. The Constitutive Act of the AU calls for “African solutions for African problems”.

#### Action instead of Words

The cornerstones of a new African security policy are in place: The AU Peace and Security Council has begun to operate, the fund for peace missions has been reorganised, preparations for the building-up of a rapid reaction force are on the way and the concept of a continent-wide early warning system for crises is in

the pipeline. Finally there is action, not just words.

Immediately following the foundation of the African Union, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung began to draw up its own security policy programme. The African initiatives are planned to be supported and accompanied at three levels. The office of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in Addis Ababa, where the African Union is based, will deal with continent-wide AU programmes. At the regional level, the offices in Abuja (Nigeria), Maputo (Mozambique) and Addis Ababa (Ethiopia) maintain the contacts with Africa’s regional organisations in the West (ECOWAS), the South (SADC) and the East (IGAD). Both information and participatory rights are planned to be granted to civil society, in particular - although traditionally not invited, nor wishing to be invited to discussions on security policy – alongside the political public, political parties and parliaments.

At the end, this “democratisation of security policy” is to be achieved through national projects. Security policy is too important to be left to some experts from the military and police. Public control, transparency and accountability are principles to be upheld in security policy as well.

But the horror pictures on our television screens are not yet a matter of the past. Development is not possible without peace. But peace also presupposes justice, development and democracy. And the foundation stones are in place of an African continent in which individuals can live free of violence and wars.

Security policy is too important to be left to some experts from the military and police. Public control, transparency and accountability are principles to be upheld in security policy as well.



Meeting UN-ECOWAS (epa-Bildfunk)

## ECOWAS

### Regional Security in West Africa

For some 15 years, the region of West Africa has been afflicted by violent confrontations which diminish the prospects of development for a long time to come. Conflicts in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea or Côte d'Ivoire are undermining the unity of these countries. Clashes over the control of resources, inadequate political management, local conflicts with trans-boundary effects are all contributing to the failure of these states.

In most cases, political elites are responding to the states' growing failure to control political and economic processes by excluding entire sections of the population from political participation and economic prosperity.

ECOWAS (Economic Community of West African States), an organisation set up in 1975 for the development of West Africa's economies, has responded to the challenges in security policy by building up a democratic security architecture in West Africa. In addition

to the setting-up of a parliament and some modifications to the structure and size of its decision-making bodies, the organisation adopted a Mechanism for Crisis Prevention in 1999 enabling it to act for the re-establishment of peace and empowering the regional organisation to intervene in the event of coups or genocide. In 2001, the Crisis Prevention Mechanism was supplemented by a Good Governance Protocol in which the rule of law and democracy are set out as key policy features for the entire region. The Small Arms Moratorium – banning not only the trade in small arms but their production by the fifteen member states – is equally important. However welcome these decisions may be, there are still difficulties enforcing them.

In mid-2004, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung initiated a regional project in Abuja/Nigeria enabling it to maintain direct and continuous contact with the ECOWAS Parliament and Secretariat. The Foundation provides support to improve the parliamentary monitoring of security policy and security sectors and to mobilise and include local or regional expertise in the formulation and conceptualisation of regional security policy. The working programme includes study visits for security-policy experts to Brussels, surveys on the democratic control of national security policy, seminars and issue-specific conferences as well as support for the policy dialogue between decision-makers at national and regional levels and experts from the region.



# Support for a Civilian-Military Dialogue in Indonesia

One of the most influential forces opposing democratic reforms in Indonesia are the armed forces. In the 33 years in which they ruled the island state and its 200 million inhabitants in tandem with the clan and the political party (Golkar) of the dictator Suharto, the military have acquired huge economic and political power. However, it must finally bend to the primacy of politics by elected representatives of the people.

In order to add urgency to this process, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has been organizing numerous meetings between the military, the government and civil society to promote the dialogue. **In a study, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung proved that the military funded 70 per cent of their budget from own corporate earnings. With this level of financial independence,**

**the military is mostly able to escape government and parliamentary controls.** In consequence, the parliament passed a Military Act according to which the armed forces must abandon their business activities within a period of five years and transfer their enterprises to the State.

A lot needs to be done before army officers will obey commands from a defence minister. This is why the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung will continue to support energetically reform efforts in the security sector. At least the new President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, himself a Four Star General, appears to have understood that no part of society may escape democratic control.



Students and soldiers in Jakarta (dpa-Bildfunk)



## The Geneva Initiative

### A Gateway to Peace in the Middle East?

“In the past, with the exception of Oslo, we have always waited for the world to propose an initiative to us, present it to the two sides and then seek to convince us. We set conditions for ourselves, the rest of the world and third parties and ended up with nothing. This time we are attempting to do this differently: we have drawn up a solution ourselves and call upon the rest of the world to endorse it.” With these words Yasser Abed Rabbo, co-founder of the so-called “Geneva Initiative”, described his engagement during a panel discussion in the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in January 2004. On invitation of the Foundation the representatives of the Geneva Initiative, including its Israeli co-founder and former minister Yossi Beilin, presented their informal peace plan to the German public and attempted to win political support for it.

On December 1, 2003, this peace document, drawn up by teams of experts from both sides, was officially signed. The experts involved are not representatives of their respective governments but politicians and intellectuals with a claim to speak for the majority of both peoples who are seeking a peaceful settlement. The teams received financial and logistic support from, among other countries, Switzerland.

#### What is so special about the Geneva Initiative?

**The Accord sets forth concrete proposals for the resolution of all controversial issues** (“final status issues”) which in previous agreements had been left pending future negotiations: territorial aspects and security regulations, the problem of settlements and refugees and also the status of Jerusalem. The Geneva Initiative defines itself as the concrete expression of the final-status phase proposed in the **“road map”** of the Middle East Quartet and the two-state solution formulated by President Bush in June 2002.

The territorial provisions are based on the June 4, 1967 demarcation lines along the so-called “Green Line” (equivalent to the ceasefire line of 1948), i.e. a Palestinian state to be set up on 22 per cent of the former mandated territory. It is proposed to incorporate some of the larger settlement areas into the territory of the state of Israel and for the Palestinians to be given some territory in return, especially along the Gaza Strip. Regarding the solution of the refugees issue, the document proposes compensation payments and the option of residence in the Palestinian state, a third country or Israel, and a final say left to Israel about the

actual levels of returnees. Jerusalem is to become the joint capital of two states. With the Geneva Initiative a document is finally on the table in which the Palestinian side recognises unreservedly the existence of Israel as the state of the Jews with a Jewish identity.

### Reactions to the Geneva Initiative

There has been fierce criticism so far from, in particular, the Israeli Government, which sees the involvement of oppositional politicians and many of the compromises proposed as an act of betrayal. Yet the Government has been under enormous pressure ever since the Initiative was made public, for Israeli Prime Minister Sharon's main argument for the hard line taken in previous years had always been the absence of a negotiating partner on the Palestinian side. Conversely, the Israeli Left and the peace camp have been invigorated considerably ever since. Criticism also comes from the Palestinian side largely in connection with the refugees problem. But there is no denying the fact that a large part of the populations on either side is weary of the constant escalation of violence and longs for a pragmatic solution. Since mid-October 2003, a large-scale information and publicity campaign has been running in connection with the Geneva Initiative

of which a verbatim version was sent to two million Israeli households. A translation into Arabic was inserted into various Palestinian daily papers.

Former US President Jimmy Carter or the former Polish Head of State Lech Wałęsa, for example, through their presence at the official signing ceremony underlined the importance which the international community attached to the Initiative; the same can be said of Nelson Mandela, Bill Clinton, Romano Prodi or Jacques Chirac who sent greetings.

A programme organised by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung helped to inform the wider public in Germany about the Geneva Initiative: the members of the delegation took part in a public discussion and had meetings with, amongst others, Federal President Johannes Rau, Chancellor Gerhard Schröder, the Speaker of Parliament Wolfgang Thierse, Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer and the SPD-parliamentary group.

Moreover, a major international Middle-East conference was held in June 2004 under the patronage of Federal President Rau, at which key actors of the two parties to the conflict and the so-called Quartet discussed ways and means of revitalising the **"road map"**. At the centre were a critical appraisal of the Geneva Initiative and a discussion on how to link it to other approaches suggested to resolve the current standstill



From the left: Yasser Abed Rabbo, Hans-Jürgen Wischnewski, Yossi Beilin (Liebe)



From the left: Federal Chancellor Gerhard Schröder, Yasser Abed Rabbo, Yossi Beilin (Bundespresseamt)



Anke Fuchs, President of FES, opening the International Middle East Conference



in negotiations. International support of this kind makes it easier for the Geneva Initiative to get a positive response from their own populations. Yet the real challenge is to win public support on both the Israeli and the Palestinian side for a peaceful conflict settlement, let alone the necessary concessions to go with it. Or in Yossi Beilin's words at the panel discussion: "it is much easier to be right in Berlin or Paris than in Hebron or Jerusalem..."

# The New Security Discussion

## The Working Group “Security in a Globalized World”

The 1990s saw a gradual shift of emphasis in security-political thinking away from the East-West towards the North-South axis; in their search for the causes of emerging insecurity, the countries in the North began to concentrate much more on “new threats and dangers from the South”: security policy experts refer to the radiating effects of regional conflicts, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, failing states and “breeding-grounds for terrorism” in this context.

Security strategies are reformulated, direct intervention takes place in response to real or assumed threats, yet little attention is paid to security-political debates in the regions of the South. A solution to the present problems, however, is practically inconceivable without cooperation arrangements in security policy which combine national, regional and global elements.

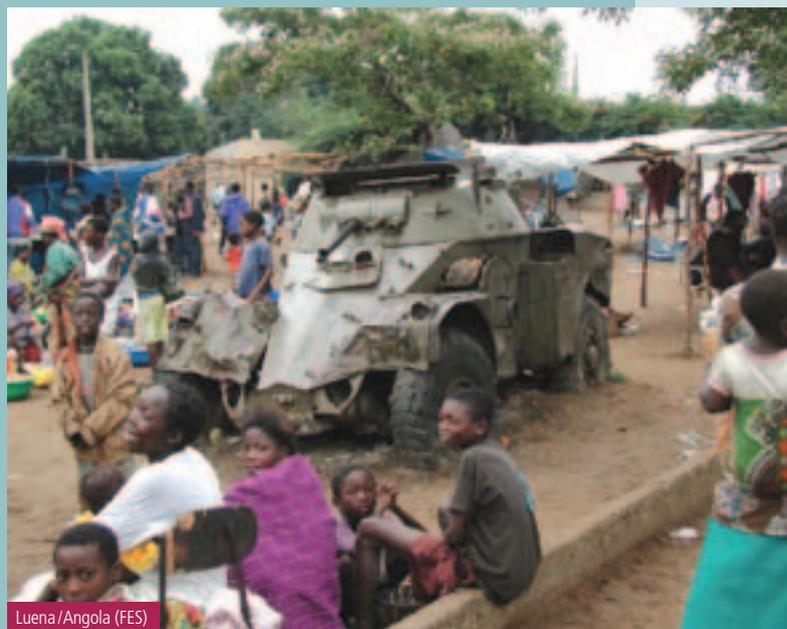
Over the last few years, regional structures have increasingly been playing a role in this “peace pyramid”. It is here that several steps have been taken – some rather tentatively, others with great

vigour – towards regional and sub-regional security-political arrangements, such as the ASEAN Regional Forum in Southeast Asia, the Organization of American States and the MERCOSUR in Latin America as well as the African Union.

With a view to strengthening the “voices of the South” in the security-policy debate, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung set up the “Working Group Security in a Globalized World” in 2004. Conferences in Shanghai, Cairo, Brasilia, Maputo, Kingston and New Delhi discussed the different perceptions of security, the scope and potential of regional cooperation and also the roles of the UN, EU and other players in security policy. The results of these conferences were then combined with the security-political discussions in the North at meetings in Berlin, Brussels and New York. Various publications of this working group are available on the Internet [www.fes.de/globalization](http://www.fes.de/globalization) with information about security and security policy from the perspective of the South.



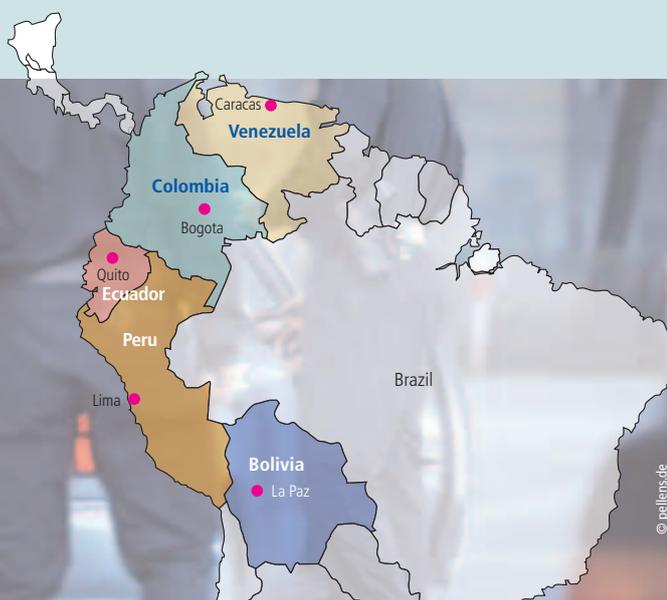
Security strategies are reformulated, direct intervention takes place in response to real or assumed threats, yet little attention is paid to security-political debates in the regions of the South.



Luena /Angola (FES)

# Regional Security Cooperation in the Andes and Peace Policy in Colombia

The unresolved problems of extreme poverty, inequitable income distribution, ethnic discrimination and growing ingovernability of the countries in South America's Andean region call for greater involvement of the civil society in the democratic process. As these problems are not limited to individual countries but have been felt across the entire region as a trans-boundary security risk, there is, of course, a need for dialogue between the neighbouring countries.



The structural instability of the Andean states is caused by governments of which many are not fully functional. Growing processes of impoverishment and migration in the region are the result of inadequate economic prospects and often – for example in Colombia – the threat imposed by irregular armed groups. Sixty-four per cent of the population in Colombia are living in poverty on less than two dollars a day. Civil wars and organised crime have virtually plagued the country incessantly for half a century and in the last twenty years alone forced more than three million people to leave their original homes and become refugees in their own country.

**As it will be impossible to develop the region and stabilise the weak democratic structures without greater public and State security, there is a need for cross-border security cooperation in order to come to terms with the regional crisis situation.** The border areas, in particular, are trouble spots where conflicts have repeatedly flared up over the exact frontier line and owing to the connections of the narcotics mafia with both the paramilitary groups and the guerrilla. With cross-border cooperation to improve the inefficient justice systems in the region, the problem of prevalent impunity may be brought under control. In Colombia, for example, eight out of ten crimes go unpunished.

## Lack of Vision and Power

The governments' lack of clear concepts and their powerlessness lend legitimacy to unilateral attempts to solve the problems from outside, such as the massive military aid by the United States in Colombia (Plan Colombia). Yet the US security strategy with its primary focus on repressive measures against the narcotics industry undermines the efforts to initiate regional security cooperation.





(FES)

With the setting-up of regional networks of national working groups and multinational, interdisciplinary teams of experts, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has created a broad-based cross-border forum. The purpose of the dialogue with national institutions such as the ministries for the exterior, interior and justice, the military and the police, and also with the civil society such as NGOs, universities and media, is to highlight the need for multilateral instruments and panels dealing with security policy.

In connection with the projects of regional security cooperation in South America, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung also presents mechanisms and instruments of security-political arrangements from other regions of the world; especially the networking between Latin American partners as part of the programme “Regional Renaissance? Security in a Globalized World” has provided plenty new ideas for innovative approaches in the regional security discussion.

Within the framework of the dialogue initiated by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, the Colombian conflict is addressed as one of several factors threatening regional security in addition to existing transnational threats. Both the conflict itself and the very diverse

attempts to resolve it have had severe repercussions on the neighbouring countries. The instability in the region affects both the dynamics of the national conflict and the security-political agenda of the neighbouring countries. As part of his policy of “democratic security”, the Colombian President Álvaro Uribe is primarily concerned with regaining control over territory controlled by illegal armed groups.

### Unwillingness to Negotiate

Yet both organisations, i.e. the FARC (revolutionary armed forces of Colombia) and the smaller guerrilla organisation ELN (national liberation army), continue the fighting. There was merely a slight shift in the balance of power. The strongest group consists nowadays of the rightwing paramilitary units (AUC), which are present in 35 per cent of the country not only militarily, but – owing to their close ties with the drug barons – economically and politically as well. Ongoing negotiations between the government and the AUC have been partially successful with some spectacular handing-over of arms. Following the drawn-out unsuccessful talks with the FARC under the previous Pastрана Government, however, no side has so far been inclined to resume negotiations.

Although government troops have been able to push back the military units of FARC and ELN during the offensive of the last two years, it has been obvious



Border patrol in Colombia (FES)



(FES)

that the guerrillas could not really be defeated by military means. There is thus widespread support for a negotiated settlement in Colombian society. Impoverishment and the absence of State institutions have indeed made the border regions particularly attractive for drug trafficking, smuggling and kidnapping which are threatening the internal security of neighbouring countries as well.

**While the instable situation along the borders calls for greater cooperation between the security enforcement agencies of all countries concerned, the ensuing problems are increasingly putting a strain on the relationships between the neighbouring countries and thus impair the implementation of the very agreements which were intended to ensure greater cooperation in the area of security.**

### Breaking Down Enemy Stereotypes

It is in this context that the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung's project for regional security cooperation in the Andean countries attempts to reinforce peace efforts at both the national and regional levels. Civil society involvement may be pivotal in this process, yet in a first step the relationship between the civilian population and the military needs to be improved and traditional perceptions of enemies broken down.

The working groups for conflict analysis initiated by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in Colombia, consisting of politicians, military, Church representatives and academics, conducted an independent appraisal and analysis of the conflict and thus contributed to greater transparency as regards the causes of the conflict. Alongside efforts to initiate regional security cooperation, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has provided some incentive for active peace engagement in Colombia by creating the National Peace Prize which is awarded once a year by the Foundation and the country's most important media. The award is given in recognition of long-term projects by groups from different parts of Colombia who are contributing to peaceful coexistence.



(FES)

# Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment (PCIA)

## Tools to evaluate the impact of political cooperation on conflict development

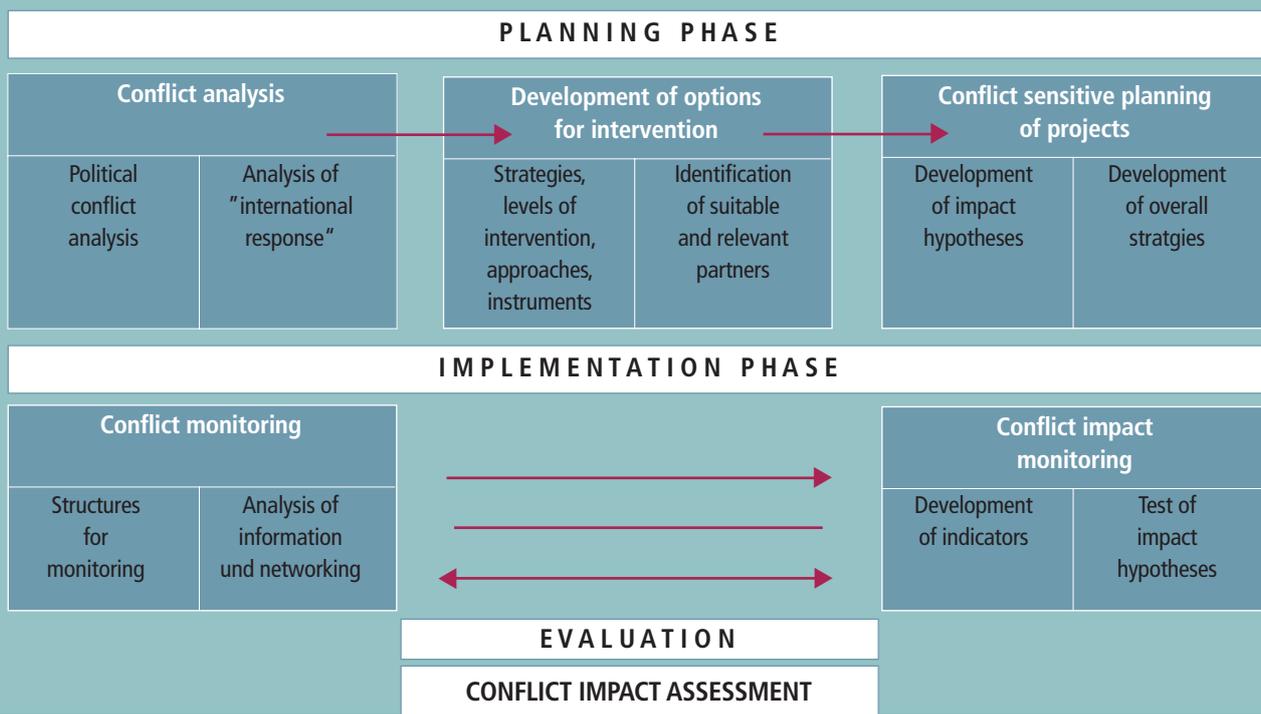
Crisis prevention and conflict resolution have become focal points of international cooperation in the meantime. Any attempt to influence defined latent and acute conflictual developments needs to be based on the efficient application of specific tools selected on the basis of systematic conflict analyses. In parallel, new options need to be opened up for improved monitoring and evaluation: in connection with conflict resolution as the focus of work, systematic approaches to project planning, monitoring and evaluation are to be developed in order to attain the objective of political cooperation.

There is still a lack of systematic tools which meet the specific requirements of socio-political activities by political foundations. User-oriented approaches are needed which go beyond the actual analysis of the conflict and provide options for conflict-sensitive project activities. The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung therefore develops approaches and tools for this key area

of work. A team comprising staff members of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, external experts as well as members of the Working Group Peace & Development in the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) and the German Technical Cooperation (GTZ) has been involved in the drawing-up and implementation of the programme “Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment (PCIA)” since early 2002. Since January 2004 an in-house cross-divisional working group on crisis prevention and civil conflict management of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has followed up the process in a systematic manner and assessed its results.

In a first phase, based on three pilot studies from countries in latent, acute and post-conflict situations (Uzbekistan, Afghanistan, Macedonia) methodological guidelines for political conflict analysis have been developed, to be supplemented and improved by another five country-specific conflict analyses (Tajikistan,

### Elements of the conflict impact assessment process



Sudan, Pakistan, Georgia, Colombia). The studies analyse structures, actors and conflict dynamics and set out scenarios for future development.

In addition, the reaction of international actors to the conflictual situations, as reflected in their strategies and programmes, has been analysed. Correspondingly, project recommendations are formulated for conflict-specific strategies and measures and are compiled in country studies.

In a second phase, these recommendations are incorporated in the project planning for the pilot countries. While the ensuing conflict-sensitive working guidelines are implemented, a conflict-specific monitoring system is being developed: by observing the conflict dynamics, conclusions are to be drawn for project development on the one hand and indicators developed with which to gauge the impact of project activities on the conflict on the other. There is an evaluation at the end of this first phase of implementation.

### **A Positive Response from other International Cooperation Organisations**

From the start, the PCIA-process initiated by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung was intended to not only systematise its own project approaches in conflict situations, but to provide food for thought for the issue-specific debate on the contributions of peace policy to international cooperation and its monitorability. The methodological guidelines have been drawn up in close cooperation with the Working Group on Development & Peace in the Ministry. The country study concerning Afghanistan was produced in cooperation with GTZ. In addition, there is an ongoing intensive exchange on the subject between the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung and other institutions.

The PCIA-approach was presented several times to an international audience of experts, for example at a conference organised by the OECD-Development Assistance Committee's working party on aid evaluation in Paris in 2003 entitled "Partners in Development Evaluation – Learning and Accountability".

[Konfliktbearbeitung@fes.de](mailto:Konfliktbearbeitung@fes.de)

## The Activities of the Working Group on Development & Peace

In early September 2001, the Working Group on Development & Peace (German abbrev. FriEnt) was established, consisting of representatives of both governmental and non-governmental organisations: Misereor, Evangelical Development Service, Platform Civil Conflict resolution/INEF, Consortium Civil Peace Service, GTZ, Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) and the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. The remit of the group consists in ensuring greater attention to development-related peace activities in the respective organisations, awareness-building and qualification about the conflict dimension of international cooperation and the further development of concepts and issue-specific areas of work.

Focal points in the second phase of FriEnt (2004-2007) are conflict-relevant inputs in the regional and country strategies of member organisations, translating early-warning information into prevention strategies and drawing up development policy approaches at the interfaces between foreign, security and development policies.

Examples of their Work:

- Assistance in dealing with violence-ridden economies (definition, problem description, options for action)
- Workshop on strategic partnerships between local and international actors for conflict resolution (what type of alliances between what actors was successful, which failed? Why?)
- Workshop and documentation "continuity, correction or change of course in the cooperation with countries influenced by Islam"
- Country round-tables on Nepal (what are the interests shared by various organisations and what could be better handled jointly as a result? Where do they differ? What form of exchange is necessary?)
- Methodological guideline for actor-network analysis (how to evaluate and understand the role of networks and clans in conflictual situations? What are the implications of such structures for project and programme planning?)
- Evaluation of various forms of cooperation and of mainstreaming (What form is appropriate for what content: round-tables or workshop? Individual advice or guidelines?)

[www.frient.de](http://www.frient.de), [frient@bmz.bund.de](mailto:frient@bmz.bund.de)



Local cheers about the peace agreement in Sudan

## A Chance for Peace

### Analysis of the Causes and Solutions for the Conflict in Sudan

Darfur, the oil fields in the Upper Nile valley, the border areas to Uganda and all the constant armed confrontations over water, grazing rights and resources – war has been chronically rampant in Sudan with varying intensity. With a view to exploring the causes of the conflicts and the potential for non-violent conflict resolution, the German Development Service (DED) and the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung jointly commissioned a conflict analysis in spring 2004.

It is a paradoxical situation: while peace negotiations are going on between the government-controlled North of the country and the South, which is controlled by the Sudan People's Liberation Army/Movement (SPLA/M), the situation in Darfur is developing into a humanitarian disaster. The government response to the so-called rebels is well-known from the many years of war between the North and the South: a scorched-earth policy which deliberately supports the attacks of looting gangs against the civilian population. And the other hotbeds of conflict threaten to develop along the same lines.

#### Embarking on Radical Changes

The problems behind these conflicts are caused by profound discrepancies between the centre (Khartoum) and the periphery, inequitable distribution of power and resources and the inability to find a structure which accommodates the multi-ethnic and multi-religious character of the country. But there are radical

changes ahead. Successful peace negotiations between North and South, international pressure, newly discovered oil resources and not least an all-pervading war-weariness finally offer the opportunity for lasting peace.

The role of the international community has been ambiguous: on the one hand, international pressure and support is necessary and welcome in order not to waste this opportunity. On the other, economic and military-strategic interests of various states such as Libya and Egypt, or the neighbouring partners of the East-African regional organisation IGAD, the USA, Russia, China and Malaysia are impeding progress in the efforts for peace.

For its support of the urgently needed democratisation processes the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, which has had an office in Khartoum since 1994, can fall back on the mutual confidence which has been built over the years. Civil-society forces and reform-oriented policy-makers are strengthened by networking and education, especially in the area of political education. In the longer term, these activities are planned to be expanded to include the country's South.

This study is part of a series of country-related conflict analyses conducted, and methodologically evaluated by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung as part of its Peace-and-Conflict-Impact-Assessment (PCIA)-process.

[www.fes.de/conflictprevention](http://www.fes.de/conflictprevention)

Information about the study and the PCIA-process under: [konfliktbearbeitung@fes.de](mailto:konfliktbearbeitung@fes.de).



## Act jointly or in parallel?

### Crisis Prevention and Conflict Resolution at the Interface between Development, Foreign and Security Policy

On May 12, 2004, the Federal Government's action plan "Civilian Crisis Prevention, Conflict Resolution and Post-Conflict Peace-Building" was adopted in Berlin. The action plan depicts the changed security-political situation and formulates the German government's priorities and positions in this area. It also enumerates the strategic points of departure for crisis prevention and conflict resolution and proposes the type of infrastructure needed for Germany to be able to react accordingly. The action plan reflects the fact that Germany has been increasingly assuming responsibility in security policy worldwide. Soldiers of the German armed forces are deployed in several countries; in parallel, there are development-political activities and humanitarian aid programmes in close proximity to these military interventions. Greater attention needs therefore to be paid to mutual information and coordination in order for these activities to supplement each other in a meaningful manner. Consensus about the objectives and overall strategies tailored to the specific situation are important steps in preparation of such a process.

The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung addresses these problems of coherence in international cooperation by means of issue-specific conferences and discussion circles with representatives from the ministries, academia, the parliament and civil society. The coordination processes are very sophisticated: they call for consensus about priorities and a balanced relation between coordination and the necessary leadership as well as different planning schedules for military missions as compared to longer project cycles in international cooperation. Collection of data and a better exchange of information about how the situation is evaluated ought to be followed up by country and region-specific strategies with consistent objectives.

More extensive exchange with other European countries about their structures and procedures also appears to make a great deal of sense. A set of tools for early crisis identification and possible prevention by civilian means needs to be developed accordingly in order to prevent violent conflicts and military interventions in the first place.

# Shaping Globalisation

While some people are frightened by globalisation and call for clear demarcations, others find it hope-inspiring in view of greater integration in the global economy and improvements in society. The polarising and at times confusing effect of the globalisation discourse also, and principally, affects the partners with whom the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung cooperates in developing countries and emerging market economies. It is one of the tasks of the Foundation in the context of its international activities to help overcome fears, prejudices and misunderstandings by describing the actual changes and processes which the term “globalisation” entails in order to enable the partners to take part in international debates and processes themselves and thus contribute to the “shaping of globalisation”.

## **Less Globalisation Constraints than People Might Think?**

Pivotal in the debate on globalisation is the question of how much policy-making scope is left to nation states. Long is the list of governments which embarked on risky reforms because of external pressure or because they believed the boastful promises and recipes of international financial institutions. However, the outcome of the disreputable mix of liberalisation, deregulation and privatisation known under the term “Washington Consensus” is far more sobering – a fact that even the World Bank and the IMF have to concede in the meantime. While most reforms have benefited a tiny section of the middle-class, the majority of the populations see themselves as losers of globalisation. Conversely, those countries – many of them in the Asian regions – which had continued to use



(PhotoAlto, Sanna Lindberg)

the existing scope for government action, invested wisely in infrastructure, training and the health of their populations and kept their domestic financial markets stable, are increasingly able to assert themselves on the world markets.

Even in the era of globalisation, societies in the process of development need to reflect, discuss and argue about alternatives in economic and social policy – a task in which the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung energetically supports its partners in these countries.

### **No Development Without Trade**

Despite the fact that the actual constraints imposed by globalisation are overestimated, there is general consensus that development is unattainable without integration into the world economy. The debate is not about whether, but about how this integration should take place, and which rules to apply. Since 2001 the World Trade Organisation, comprising a total of 148 states (2004), has been wrestling with further liberalisation measures intended to improve the terms of world trade for the developing countries, in particular. Given the technical and political complexity of these negotiations, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung runs regular information and dialogue programmes about WTO activities through its project office at the seat of the WTO in Geneva. Alongside the multilaterally-structured WTO, a plethora of bilateral and regional initiatives and agreements are in place, including MERCOSUR in Latin America and the Cotonou-Agreement of a number of states in Africa and the Caribbean with the EU. The Friedrich-

Ebert-Stiftung also lends its critical support to these initiatives in order for the poorest countries to gradually increase their share of world trade which is still negligible at present.

### **International Social Standards – the Stony Road to Global Justice**

Whenever the world economy was becoming more interdependent and national rules and regulations were challenged by international competition, the struggle for social rights was shifted to the international level; this is a lesson learnt from the history of both the international labour movement and the foundation of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) in 1919 whose main task it is to define social standards and norms. **With the globalisation thrust of the mid-1990s a spate of new initiatives has emerged for the purpose of anchoring social standards worldwide** – a process supported by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung from the onset. True, a considerable compendium of global rules and agreements has been put in place in the meantime, but in actual fact these agreements are “preached, not practised”. Unions with a large membership and the ability to act – a core concern of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung – therefore play an important part in the realisation of the “social dimension of globalisation”.

### **From Attac and the GUFs to Lula – the Actors in the Globalisation Debate**

When the media report about anti-globalisation activities, it is not the trade unions but organisations such

as the network of Attac which are at the centre. Many of these “new social movements” are operating transnationally and are thus highly globalised themselves. The most tangible expression of this worldwide “counter-movement” is the World Social Forum launched in the Brazilian city of Porto Alegre in 2001; the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung takes part in this on a regular basis with fora and discussion circles. Compared to organisations such as Attac, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) or Global Union Federations (GUFs) are far less present in the media. With some 150 million members worldwide, this “old social movement” carries considerable weight and is increasingly making use of it in order to articulate its concerns and demands. The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung supports the global activities of these union federations in many and diverse ways. But there is also growing “counter-power” from governments. Heads of government from some major emerging market economies and regional powers – first and foremost the Brazilian President Lula da Silva – articulate their proposals for a correction of the global governance system with growing urgency.

Given the heterogeneous nature of the globalisation discourse, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung defines its role as that of a facilitator. It combines very different tendencies and notions in its international network and thus contributes to the implementation of necessary reforms.



WTO Director-General Dr. Supachai Panitchpakdi (epa-Bildfunk)

## The WTO Journalists Programme in Geneva

Negotiations at the World Trade Organisation in Geneva are in the hands of the governments of member states. Excepting the experts, parliaments and the political public are not really well informed about the subject in democratic states either. In addition to a general disenchantment about globalisation, the lack of transparency in the WTO negotiations is at the centre of criticism.

The Geneva office of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, the sole non-governmental organisation with a mandate from the WTO General Assembly for cooperation with the WTO Secretariat, has therefore organised one-week information and advanced training seminars for journalists from developing countries for the last few years.

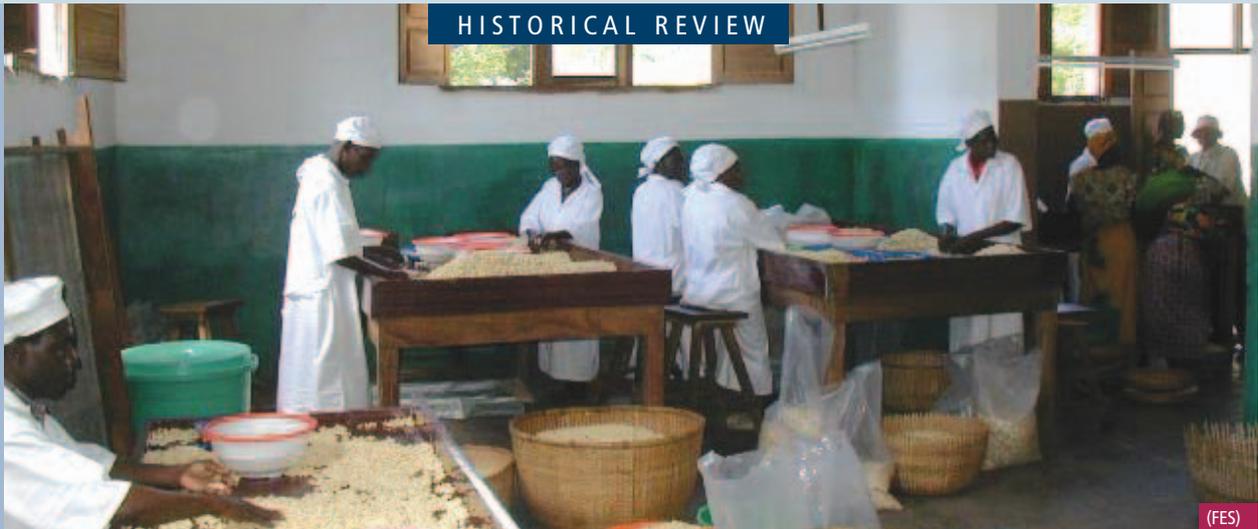
### Closing the Information Gap

The three-day programme is designed in close consultation with the WTO Secretariat. All aspects pertaining to the ongoing negotiations are highlighted in special-subject presentations and discussions with high-ranking representatives of the Secretariat and with the participation of WTO Ambassadors from North and South in order to enable participants to close the gap

of information by means of detailed information and personal meetings. WTO Secretary General Supachai Panitchpakdi personally sets out the programme to the participants before speakers from other organisations such as the ILO, the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), the Conference for Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and the international trade union organisations represented in Geneva will address the economic dimension of globalisation as well as the social and human-rights aspects resulting from increasing internationalisation of economic relations.

Improved reporting broadens the basis of information for both the political, administrative and economic decision-makers in the home countries of the journalists and the public at large. More than 200 journalists from developing countries have taken part in the programme in recent years; some have united to form a trans-continental network. With the support of the Foundation and involvement of the respective host governments, preparation and reporting programmes in connection with the ministerial conferences are organised for journalists from poorer countries (LDCs) – Doha 2001, Cancún 2003, Hongkong 2005.

## HISTORICAL REVIEW



## From Garage to High-Rise

### Micro-Business in Mozambique

*“Actually, it all started like with Bill Gates”, says António Souto laughingly. “My office desk was in the garage and there was not really a lot of money. But we did have a few good ideas. We have not become a global business, but we are certainly proud of what we have achieved.”*

It all started with a gift press for the production of coconut oil. At that time in 1985, Mozambique was torn apart by a brutal civil war which, in conjunction with State-socialist experiments, brought the economy to a complete standstill. Close to one

million people had been killed in the clashes, at least four of the 14 million inhabitants were suffering a disastrous famine and thousands of refugees were pouring into the cities.

The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung had just opened an office in the capital Maputo and launched a project for micro-business development in the north of the country, in Cabo Delgado province. António Souto remembers well the reoccurring discussion in the office of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in the Avenida Tomás Nduda in Maputo. Just an oil press? Why not set up a nationwide organisation to help small and medium-sized businesses?

#### Counter-revolutionary Ideas

At the time, such ideas were quite revolutionary, or more exact counter-revolutionary, in Mozambique. The government, a loyal follower of “real existing socialism”, had put its money on collectives, State-owned businesses, record levels of production and megatonnes.

It needed a great deal of persuasion in seminars, study tours and innumerable talks with the government. Progress was slow. And then in 1990, when the government did an about-turn in favour of the market economy, everything happened all at once. The Fried-





rich-Ebert-Stiftung set up a subsidiary, the **Sociedade para Apoio a Pequenos Projectos de Investimento Lda**, abbreviated **GAPI**, and started to advise and at the same time provide loans to small and medium-sized businesses to support them.

Over the years, this unit turned into a genuine economic development firm which was transformed into a stock company in 1999 and in which the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung still holds 30 per cent of the shares. Each year, it handles a lending volume of close to five million dollars. Thousands of new jobs have been created or safeguarded with these loans.

In the meantime, a branch network has been set up in all the provinces with ten offices and a workforce of 65 staff. More than 90 per cent of the businesses covered operate successfully. This is really an outstanding achievement for a development bank which has only micro-business customers.

António Souto, Director of GAPI, no longer works from his garage. Today, he looks out of the window of the company-owned office block and makes himself comfortable in his office chair. And he has every intention to continue his work.

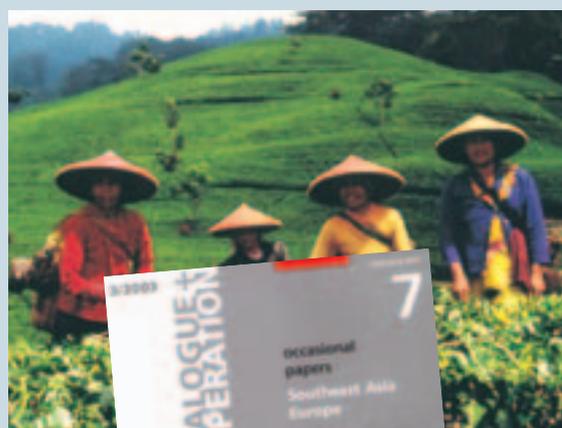
## Dialogue + Cooperation

The “occasional papers”  
by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung  
in Southeast Asia

For more than 30 years, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has been represented in the Southeast Asian Region with its offices in **Singapore, Bangkok, Hanoi, Jakarta and Manila**. A crucial contribution to the many years of dialogue between Asia and Europe is made by the magazine “Dialogue + Cooperation” published since 2001 with a focus on promotion of cooperation amongst Southeast Asian nations in ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations).

The English-language magazine with a circulation of 1,200 copies publishes articles by academics, politicians, representatives of non-governmental organisations from both Southeast Asia and Europe and thus provides a platform for the exchange of information and opinion about major developments and events in the two regions and reports on different regional and international meetings in the various areas of work of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.

[www.fes.de/international/asien](http://www.fes.de/international/asien)





(PhotoAlto, Sanna Lindberg)

## MERCOSUR

### “Common Market of the South”

Years of military dictatorships, maverick states and historical animosities left their mark on the countries of southern America for many years. It caused quite a stir when a process of economic and political integration was put in motion just a few years after the exit of the military dictators.

On March 26, 1991 the heads of state of Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay signed the Treaty of Asunción, thus putting in place the foundation for Latin America’s most ambitious integration process. In analogy to Europe, the MERCOSUR-Agreement regulates the free movement of goods and services, common external tariffs and a coordinated economic, monetary and industrial policy.

With more than 200 million consumers, equivalent to some 45 per cent of Latin America’s population, this single market is a high-profile global economic player. Yet 14 years after the foundation, the four members have not got much closer to their original aim of a “Common Market of the South” (MERCOSUR) and have so far created a customs union which is not even complete.

In a region governed by military dictators for a prolonged period, the political dimension of integration is equally important: only democratic states can become members of the MERCOSUR. The institutional structure of the MERCOSUR is not yet well-developed.



© pelens.de

Decision-making powers rest with the “Common Market Council”, which consists of the foreign and economics ministers and the presidents of central banks of member states, and which manages the integration process. Like in the EU, the presidency changes every six months and at least once a year the Council convenes with all state presidents attending.

### New Momentum

When the Brazilian President Lula da Silva assumed office in early 2003, however, the integration process again gathered momentum. Brazil, the most important member in the MERCOSUR, is pressing for faster institutional development – an arbitration court has been decided, a parliament is planned – and striving for an enlargement of the market to include other partner states to be linked to the MERCOSUR by means of association agreements. Chile and Bolivia have become associated in the meantime, and so has Peru. Mexico’s President Vicente Fox applied for association in July 2004.

The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung supports the integration process in the Cono Sur by analysing the current political, social and economic impact of integration; it does so in cooperation with members of political parties, trade unions and other institutions. Greater involvement of political parties is essential for a democratic and viable institutionalisation of the MERCOSUR. Centre-left parties from the MERCOSUR countries and Chile are therefore engaged in a broad-based information and discussion process focused on key issues of regional integration.

In cooperation with the Coordinadora, the regional coordination panel of national union federations from the MERCOSUR countries, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung attempts to broaden national union policies by including regional and global aspects.

Moreover, for the last ten years the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has offered a regional platform for an exchange of experience to female officeholders from various fields of policy-making. In addition to discussions held at the national level, a stable and active network of politically-active women could be set up at the regional level which deals with gender issues.

With more than 200 million consumers, equivalent to some 45 per cent of Latin America’s population, this single market is a high-profile global economic player.



(dpa)

## Environmental Legislation in Egypt

Sixteen years ago, the Egyptian Government launched an ambitious reform package for the protection of the environment. It took six years before the legislative foundations had been put in place for the setting-up of an environmental protection agency and the establishment of a separate Ministry for the Environment.

It is true that protection and rehabilitation of the environment are normally not a political priority for a society in which more than 90 per cent are living in abject poverty or utter misery. But for all that, Egypt has made major efforts in the environmental field. Cairo is not yet a healthy paradise, but it has been possible to improve water quality and to cut back air pollution to a considerable degree in the meantime. Regulatory requirements have forced heavy industry to install filters. Jobs in the modern industries are monitored in terms of health and safety. The establishment of institutions for coastal protection and protection of the coral reefs in the Red Sea, the identification of nature reserves on the Sinai and in other desert areas, the appointment of technically qualified and dedicated teams of nature preservationists working nationwide – the necessary legislative, institutional and technical foundations had all to be put in place for these measures.

### Initiating Reforms

It was the threatening ruin of Egypt's public finances at the end of the 1980s of all things that drew attention to environmental protection on the Nile. International financial institutions, first and foremost the World Bank, were called in to avert State bankruptcy; their aid was conditional upon Egypt's promise to set about a number of reform projects which had been long overdue.

The then State Minister for Cabinet and Environment Affairs Atef Ebeid thought that the environmental sector was ideal for making concessions

to the World Bank and initiating the desired reforms. Besides, officials at the World Bank had been criticised internationally for the negative environmental effects of many of their modernisation projects. It could therefore be expected that environmental reforms would find the approval of the international financial institutions.

The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung had conducted the first seminars on environmental issues in Cairo as early as 1984 and in the course of them had developed good contacts to young committed environmentalists; they were in the process of building up the first State agency for the environment at the time and later worked in the Ministry for the Environment.

In tandem with staff members of the recently-established environmental agency, with government approval and the participation of a number of independent environmental action groups and experts from the country's universities, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung then embarked on the drawing-up of the first national





(FES)

action plan for the environment. In 1991 the action plan was approved by the World Bank and the UNDP, the development programme of the United Nations. After a further expansion of the environmental agency, draft legislation was submitted for the setting-up of a ministry for the environment and for the protection of the environment. Two years later, these laws were passed by parliament. The following year the relevant implementation regulations came into force and in 1997 Nadia Makram Ebeid was sworn in as the first Egyptian Minister for the Environment.

As part of its environmental project, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung together with the Ministry for the Environment conducted numerous issue-specific seminars and hearings, commissioned expert opinions, put together working groups or organised expert missions. The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung and the Ministry for the Environment invited representatives of the ministries in charge, university faculties, NGOs, media, parliamentary commissions, trade unions, industrial firms and oil companies to joint meetings in order to discuss publicity campaigns and to clarify technical and occasional new problems that arose.

**The results of these joint efforts include specifically:**

- developing a system for coastal and marine protection in cooperation with the Navy
- introducing unleaded petrol for road vehicles
- replacing diesel by natural gas
- taking first steps towards technical vehicle inspection (similar to DoE-tests)
- introducing systems to gauge air and water quality
- starting nature reserves
- introducing waste management systems
- assessing the environmental impact of new draft legislation
- controlling and disposing of hazardous and toxic waste from hospitals and factories, involving six ministries
- controlling the health situation at the workplace
- setting up an environmental fund for the funding of pilot projects
- introducing environmental protection as part of the syllabus of State schools.

Despite all the progress made, the political will of the centres of power on the Nile is still underdeveloped when it comes to a proper resolution of the country's environmental problems. Although environmental legislation calls for an annual national report on the state of the environment, there have been no more than two such reports over the last nine years. Only time can tell whether the new Minister for the Environment, who assumed office in summer 2004, will be successful and able to improve the situation.

**It is true that protection and rehabilitation of the environment are normally not a political priority for a society in which more than 90 per cent are living in abject poverty or utter misery. But for all that, Egypt has made major efforts in the environmental field.**

## Successful Cooperation

### Media Work in Asia

When Great Britain, France and Portugal released the majority of their colonies into independence some 30, 40 years ago, the founder presidents and heads of government tried to **find their own voice** as their former masters' voice had ceased.

On the road to journalistic independence, the Germans were welcome partners: their colonial era had been too long ago to put a strain on the relationship with Africa. They had also acquired a reputation for high technical competence. After repeated requests for assistance, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung took on the training of young journalists from Africa, Asia and Latin America and even developed an educational channel which at times toured the villages as a kind of "rolling cinema".

Since the mid-1970s the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has promoted on all continents regional institutions which have set up exchange systems for television news in analogy to the EUROVISION model – an ambitious and cost-intensive, but in the longer term successful venture. The Asian union of radio and television stations ABU was the first to apply for assistance by the Foundation. Each station within the system was free to supply TV-news to be exchanged; no one should be forced to make use of the

pictures on offer; everybody was allowed to edit the news and reformulate it according to their needs; and the costs were to be shared fairly.

#### First Positive Steps

Simultaneously, the Asian documentation and research centre AMIC was set up in Singapore as the prototype of a regional institution; today it publishes the technical journal "MediaAsia", organises regional advanced training seminars and conferences for media specialists, conducts research and acts principally as a regional data and documentation pool. Additional advanced training has been designed jointly with the Asian training centre AIBD in Malaysia's capital Kuala Lumpur.

It goes without saying that in the course of the years both the local institutions and their form of cooperation with the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung have been adapted to the new rapidly changing conditions in the media landscape.

Next to the State-owned television and government radio, private stations have been successful in the countries of Southeast Asia and are flooding the continent with entertainment programmes to an extent that undermines the public service function of broadcasting as an information medium. This is why, in tandem with its partners, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has repeatedly proposed models of a public broadcasting system outside government influence and in step with society.

At a first conference of Asian Information and Media Ministers organised by the AIBD in May 2003, a "Bangkok Declaration" was adopted in which the participants declared their support for a strong system of public service broadcasting; in other words, the first positive steps have been taken.





## Mobile Multinationals and Global Unions

Of the 100 largest economic entities worldwide only half are national economies, the others are globally operating corporations whose sales volume exceeds by far the gross domestic product of most economies in the countries of the South. It is these corporations, in particular, which are interested in removing trade barriers or opening up financial markets in order to ensure an unrestrained movement of capital to areas where they expect promising markets and an adequate return on investment.

Conversely, the growing mobility of these enterprises has opened the workers' eyes to the need for balancing these worldwide corporate operations with a global network of their own representative organisations ([www.global-unions.org](http://www.global-unions.org)). The call for corporate social responsibility has become louder. Companies whose prestige and success depend on brand name markets, in particular, have felt under pressure to respond. They have either joined initiatives such as the "Global Compact" created by UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan ([www.global-compact.org](http://www.global-compact.org)) or have introduced their own codes of conduct with which they undertake to comply with social and ecological minimum standards ([www.coc-runder-tisch.de](http://www.coc-runder-tisch.de)).

### Voluntary Framework Agreements

The tools used to "internationalise industrial relations" as planned by the trade unions are either company-wide union networks or the conclusion of framework agreements. A good case in point is the building-up of a network of unions represented in the German BASF subsidiaries in Latin America and Asia. The initiative was taken by the BASF company works council with the support of the Industrial Union for Mining, Chem-

icals, Energy (IG BCE) and the global union responsible (ICEM) ([www.icem.org](http://www.icem.org)). The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung provided some start-up support through its offices in Asia and Latin America. Meanwhile, this union network has been recognised by the group management as an instrument for global dialogue. Similar initiatives are currently under discussion between the international body of unions in the food industry IUF ([www.iuf.org](http://www.iuf.org)) and the Nestlé and Coca-Cola corporate groups.

So-called voluntary framework agreements are increasingly playing a role. Unlike the obligations entered into unilaterally by the corporations themselves, this set of binding agreements are concluded between a corporation and the global union federation of the sector concerned. The two parties agree on minimum social standards for the group to be applied worldwide. By training independent trade union representatives, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung supports the International Federation of Building and Woodworkers, for example, in monitoring the agreements with the corporations Hochtief, Faber-Kastell, Skanska or IKEA.

In view of the multinational companies' desire to attach a "positive image" to globalisation and thus eliminate existing fears, the global union federations are recognised as negotiating partners for issues which can no longer be regulated between the "social partners" at the national level. This opens up the opportunity to develop transnational industrial relations.

**By training independent trade union representatives, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung supports the International Federation of Building and Woodworkers, for example, in monitoring the agreements with the corporations Hochtief, Faber-Kastell, Skanska or IKEA.**



## International Labour Standards in Sri Lanka

### Challenge or Opportunity?

Two old mattresses, a small gas stove – not much else would fit into the room of approximately eight square metres shared by three women workers from the textile factory in the free trade zone Katunayake in the north of Sri Lanka’s capital Colombo.

For young women, in particular, a job in one of the many factories in the free trade zones of the island state frequently offers the only opportunity to earn money to support their relatives and to save for the customary dowry. They work for up to 60 hours a week for nine euro on average, often under miserable working conditions detrimental to their health.

Many businesses disregard the international labour standards, do not allow trade unions and threaten with dismissal if workers wish to join a trade union.

#### Norms facilitate economic efficiency

**Sri Lanka is the only country in South Asia which has ratified all the conventions on so-called core labour standards**, including freedom of association, the right to collective bargaining, equal pay, a ban of child and forced labour.

Meetings for trade unionists to inform about these conventions have been a major area of work of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung for many years. Numerous small businesses and also larger factories in the free trade zones often do not yet comply with the provisions under these conventions. The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung therefore attempts to make both the government and the employers aware of the problems involved.

International surveys have proved that countries which respected core labour standards could improve their economic efficiency owing to a better motivated and qualified workforce and an innovation-driven business climate. Sri Lanka would be offered the opportunity to get out of the vicious circle of having to compete for foreign investment with China, Vietnam and India because of lower labour costs.

At the same time, Sri Lanka could use the growing willingness on the part of consumers in many industrial countries to give preference to products which have been produced under fair conditions and to conquer a niche market in textile production which would guarantee long-term sales opportunities and thus employment in the country.

### Temporary Trade Preferences

In September 2004, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung organised the seminar “EU GSP Social Clause: Challenge or Opportunity?” GSP stands for general system of preferences, i.e. customs facilities for imports into the EU granted to developing countries. These trade preferences are granted in return for compliance with core labour standards, i.e. the ILO’s eight core labour standards need to be ratified in order to benefit from the system. Sri Lanka is one of the few countries which has been granted trade preferences for a fixed period until 2005. By then, Sri Lanka must furnish proof of the progress made in the implementation of the conventions. To this end, the EU has drawn up a so-called road map which spells out the changes required in labour legislation and in work practice.

It became evident during the seminar that many participants had not been informed about the privileges granted nor about the strings attached prior to the meeting. Special mention was made of inadequate coordination in the implementation of the road map. Although the Ministry of Trade is in control of the procedure, major amendments in labour legislation must be drawn up by the Ministry of Labour. Other ministries which also need to be involved, such as for defence, public administration or the interior, have as yet scarcely been consulted for the purpose of coordination.

As a follow-up to the seminar, a working group has been set up which meets regularly in order to improve coordination within the government machinery and amongst the other stakeholders.

In tandem with trade union representatives who have the necessary information about possible violations of core labour standards and can claim the rights which workers are entitled to, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung will continue to monitor further developments.

#### Excerpt from the core labour standards of the International Labour Organisation

- stop to the worst forms of child labour (ILO Conventions 138, 182),
- ban of forced labour (No. 29, 105),
- freedom of association and the right to bargain collectively (No. 87 and 98) and
- non-discrimination at work, e.g. equal pay for work of equal value (No. 100, 111)

## Partner Trade Unions

Cooperation between the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung and the trade unions is not just the result of their common roots in the labour movement. With their commitment to and struggle for social justice, trade unions have come to be one of the major drivers of democracy and thus a natural partner of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in international cooperation. With due respect for their mutual independence, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has a mandate of the DGB and its affiliated unions to represent the German unions abroad to this end.

The promotion of trade unions at the national level in some 100 countries is the task of Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung offices. Priority is given to issues such as qualification for social dialogue, the response to privatisation, bargaining policy and shop-floor representation, labour law reforms or the organisation of workers in the informal sectors. Trade unions in the so-called developing countries are being confronted with the same problems as their colleagues in the North: fragmentation of labour markets, dismantling of social security systems and lack of bargaining power owing to high levels of unemployment. Yet they do their job under life-threatening conditions

and under pressure of a level of global dynamism never experienced by their sister organisations in the North in more than 100 years of history.

### Safeguarding Social Peace

The worldwide enforcement of freedom of association and of collective bargaining or the fight against child labour, slave labour, serfdom and the many and diverse forms of discrimination at the workplace are not just a matter of universal human rights. Harnessing economic globalisation by social regulation is at the same time key to the reduction of poverty and the safeguarding of social peace. This is why a coherent international social policy is a precondition for peaceful and democratic developments.

Cooperation with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), the Global Union Federations (GUFs) and the International Labour Organisation (ILO) is at the centre of the international trade union activities of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. The ICFTU is a worldwide association comprising 233 trade union federations with 151 million members in 152 countries. The GUFs are worldwide associations of individual unions at the sectoral level.

In tandem with these partners and in close consultation with national trade unions, a trade union team in the head office develops programmes and projects which are implemented, evaluated, amended, up-dated and adapted to constantly changing conditions by more than 100 offices of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung worldwide.

(dpa)



#### More information:

Erwin Schweisshelm

Coordinator "Global Trade Union Policy"

Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung

Godesberger Allee 149

D-53175 Bonn

phone: +49 (0) 228 883-518

fax: +49 (0) 228 883-575

erwin.schweisshelm@fes.de

www.fes.de/gewerkschaften



## A Risky Job

### Unionist in Colombia

Just a few minutes ago, they had been talking animatedly about their country's biodiversity – the largest worldwide – and about special streets in the capital Bogotá which had been closed on Sundays for years so that people could use their bikes. All of a sudden, Carlos (47) and Maria\* (29) are paralysed with horror. Their pale faces betray agitation and fear. The reason is a youngster who is running through Bonn late in the evening, probably because he has to catch the last train. A few moments later, they relax. The young man ran past, it was not a robbery, a kidnapping or even attempted murder. But their fear is so deeply ingrained, so all-pervading that the two cannot get it out of their systems even in a small place like Bonn.

Carlos and Maria are members of one of the 3,200 small fragmented Colombian unions. Being dedicated workers' representatives they know that fewer unions would be better. A smaller number of individual unions under the umbrella of one federation would considerably strengthen the organisation. Colombian unionists are facing problems similar to those of their colleagues in the rest of the region. They are suffering from the effects of neoliberal developments in recent decades. The social impact of globalisation constantly changes their conditions of work, for example the decline in legally secure industrial relations or the drastic increase of informal employment conditions which as much as 62 per cent of those in work had to accept in their country. Such developments call for new strategies and they are not easy to find even for Carlos and Maria.

\* Names changed by Editor

### 2004: "Merely" 90 Unionists Murdered

Unlike most of their colleagues, they run a great risk in doing their job. There is probably no other country where union activities are as life-threatening as in this third largest Latin American country. **More than 1,500 Colombian trade unionists were murdered in the last decade.** Since 2001, Colombia has been heading the statistics compiled annually by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) in its "survey on trade union rights violations". According to ICFTU statistics, half of all murders committed of unionists worldwide take place in Colombia. Almost none of the cases is ever cleared up. After the figures had continuously gone up over the years, they declined for the first time in 2004: and yet there were still 90 unionists killed. But for all this, the situation "has rather deteriorated" according to what Carlos and Maria reported in their discussions in Germany.



According to information from the International Labour Organisation (ILO), the number of murder threats has gone up considerably, arbitrary arrests and attacks on the families of Colombian unionists are on the increase. Small wonder that **the level of unionisation is slightly less than 4.8 per cent of those working**. But a few do not give up. And it is these individuals whom the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung supports on the basis of the mandate of the German Trade Union Federation. The two organisations together attempt to redefine the socio-political role of trade unions in the era of globalisation and to link up trade unions with other social organisations and civil-society actors in order to develop realistic strategies and to ensure greater political and social participation. The discussion platforms of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in Colombia (FESCOL) are a tried and tested means to this end. For years, they have provided a forum for individuals with the most diverse views where they can exercise their right to free speech. Together, they attempt to find concrete development-policy solutions at all levels of society. Labour-market problems can no longer be resolved in the national context either. This is why the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, in tandem with the trade unions in both the Andean region and in other parts of Latin America, helps to establish international contacts between the national trade unions with the aim of linking them up with global networks.

### First steps

The omnipresence of violence leaves little room for a differentiated examination of societal realities – neither in their own country nor in neighbouring countries or in Europe. Any problem is associated with the armed conflict in the country. To offer a change of perspective was one of the reasons for the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung to invite Carlos and Maria and others to Berlin and Bonn. In talks with representatives of German unions, political parties, non-governmental organisations and the media they describe the daily realities of their lives, their problems as well as their hopes for a better future. They seek to make trade unions part of a social and democratic alternative in their country. To this end, they would have to contribute to a renewal, long overdue, of Colombia's democratic culture. First steps have in fact been taken. Luis Eduardo "Lucho" Garzón, mayor of the capital Bogotá since 2004, was the President of the largest top-level union federation CUT, as Carlos reports with some pride. Garzón is very popular and his approval rating of 70 per cent equals that of the country's President Alvaro Uribe. His primary concern is to link public security and social security and thus to improve the social climate in the city and the country.

The two Colombian trade unionists are smiling expectantly. They are mainly concerned about the future of union activities, as well as the effects of the internal war and the threats.



Union demonstration in Colombia (dpa)



## Swotting for the Future

### Summer University on Trade-related Problems for the Next Generation of Unionists from West and Central Africa

Pascal Kéré from Burkina Faso has a baguette with jam and a cup of hot Nescafé for breakfast each day. Nothing except the water for the coffee is from his home country: the water-soluble coffee is produced in Côte d'Ivoire, the sugar is from Senegal; jam, butter, condensed milk and flour are European products. Pascal Kéré is a young trade unionist from Burkina Faso in West Africa and a participant of the summer university in Benin organised by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung on trade-related problems. In preparation of the course, the young participating union members had traced the origin of their groceries and daily products with the result that a large number of products which they handled regularly were imported. They register with surprise how the numerous interdependencies between countries and the exchange of goods leave a mark even on their own lives.

Globalisation has not spared the “forgotten continent” of Africa either. In order to be able to continue protecting workers’ interests, African trade unions need to pay attention to the international and global contexts as well. With their enrolment at the summer university, the 25 up-and-coming trade unionists from West and Central African trade unions prepared themselves for the future.

#### Beacon of Hope for Trade Unions

Away from the hustle and bustle of African city life, the summer university in Benin’s former royal town of Abomey offers up-and-coming trade unionists from Benin, Burkina Faso, Ghana, Côte d'Ivoire, Cameroon, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal and Togo an opportunity to receive information about trade problems and to discuss their own points of views and union actions.

In addition to lectures and presentations by experts, the summer university seeks to provide opportunities for personal experience and insight by means of group exercises, simulation games and excursions. The programme of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung meets with a great deal of interest from the young trade unionists. It was therefore not surprising that participants argued in favour of a third term of the summer university by stating “everyone knows that it takes at least three years to finish university”.



## Master Course for Young Unionists

### “Labour Policies and Globalisation”

Trade unions are finding themselves under enormous pressure worldwide. The opening-up of markets, increasing networking of production flows and competition for low production costs confront workers’ representatives all over the world with the question of how to protect and extend the rights which have already been attained.

Car manufacturers are a good case in point for this development: until the car is finally assembled, innumerable companies in dozens of countries have contributed to it. Competition for low costs takes place not just between different companies but between individual production sites of the same company both in its own country and in different states.

These developments are often perceived as threatening, but their impact has scarcely been explored by scholars. Without any conclusive proof either way, the majority of international financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) or the World Bank simply assume that globalisation is more of a blessing than a burden for broad sections of the population.

#### Globalising Solidarity

The International Labour Organisation (ILO) in conjunction with the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung attempts to deal with this obviously contradictory perception of globalisation and the lack of economic know-how often found amongst trade unionists from developing countries, in particular; they offer a new Master course – the only one of its kind worldwide – in which young unionists are lectured on globalisation-related eco-

nomical and social-science findings in courses on international labour and social standards. The knowledge thus acquired is to make their daily trade union work easier on the one hand, for example in collective bargaining or labour disputes, and qualify them to express their views competently on the other.

On October 7, 2004, the course of study was officially launched at Kassel University by the Minister for Economic Cooperation and Development, Ms. Heidemarie Wieczorek-Zeul. The Minister regarded the project as an important contribution to “globalising solidarity” and called for a coherent policy to be pursued by the World Trade Organisation (WTO), the ILO and the “Bretton Woods Institutions” (IMF and World Bank) in order to noticeably reduce poverty and discrimination in all parts of the world in accordance with the so-called Millennium Goals of the United Nations formulated in 2000.

Accordingly, the first 25 young trade unionists from 20 countries and four continents took up their studies. For the second of the two terms of the study course, which requires a “Bachelor”-degree to start with, they enrol at the College of Economics in Berlin where the future academics are made familiar with both the theory and practice of the German model of industrial relations and have the opportunity to establish valuable personal contacts in the course of excursions, visits to companies and practical work experience.

Competition for low costs takes place not just between different companies but between individual production sites of the same company both in its own country and in different states.

## The Trade Union Federation CUT in Brazil

With more than six million members, the Brazilian “Central Única dos Trabalhadores” (CUT) is Latin America’s most important trade union federation. After its foundation in 1980 the CUT was initially reputed to be a radical chaotic organisation. But its programmatic radicalism had been a response to the extremely unjust social structure and the authoritarian labour legislation. The argumentative culture which many European observers found so irritating was an expression of its transformation from a broad-based social movement against the military dictatorship to an institutionalised union organisation.

As early as the mid-1980s, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung had begun to cooperate with the CUT, which soon turned out to be a profoundly democratic and representative trade union movement with an enormous mobilisation potential, whose young leadership showed a great deal of interest in exchanges with other trade unions and in international contacts.

In cooperation with the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, the internal union problems were resolved and international contacts established. The Foundation supported, for example, the introduction of modern methodological and didactical approaches to trade union education, it helped with the implementation of a women’s quota on union decision-making bodies and the drawing-up of industrial-policy concepts. The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung is currently involved in the debate about a reform of the obsolete labour laws and the CUT’s organisational reform related to it.

At the international level, cooperation was initially focussed on linking the CUT trade unions in Brazilian subsidiaries of German companies with their respective works council counterparts in the company head offices. The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung also helped with the building-up of a trade union network between three representative national

federations of the South, notably COSATU (South Africa), the KCTU (South Korea) and the CUT.

On the occasion of its 15th anniversary, the United Workers’ Centre (CUT) honoured a number of institutions and organisations which had assisted it in the building-up and subsequently cooperated with it, amongst them the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung as the only organisation from abroad.

In 2003 the situation changed decisively for the CUT: its former leading figure Luis Ignacio Lula da Silva was elected State President and appointed many of his former colleagues from the CUT to important government positions. For the first time the CUT will have to redefine its attitude towards a friendly government. Again, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung will take part in this challenging process.



President Lula da Silva, former Secretary General Dr. Burckhardt, FES (FES)



(FES)

## The World Social Forum To Porto Alegre and Back

In January 2005, the curtain went up for the fifth time on the largest globalisation-critical spectacle. The red taxis of Porto Alegre again carried the stickers “Forum Social Mundial”, a mixed atmosphere of festival and closed meeting prevailed in the “playgrounds”, and the “happy harbour” in Brazil’s South became the most colourful and diverse market place for globalisation-critical opportunities for a week.

With up to 130,000 participants, 5,000 organisations from 150 countries and 1,200 seminars and meetings, the WSF – originally designed as a counterpole to the World Economic Forum in Davos – has become a firm item in the annual cycle of large-scale global political events. While the fora were originally dismissed as “the conscience-stricken white man’s sobbing”, they could be certain of greater attention and a more differentiated appraisal in the last few years. The core issues of globalisation were at the centre of the first fora in Porto Alegre; under headings such as “global finance”, “global food” and “global services”, the delegates were discussing GATT, GATS and TRIPS, sterile maize, the limits to privatisation and access to water and seeds, transnational corporations and tax havens, the “red-light districts of Capital”.

The move to Mumbai in 2004 gave the WSF momentum – and more topics to discuss. The location was well-chosen: it is here that one finds modernity and tradition, abject poverty and opulent wealth, economic progress and social regression, glamour and dreariness all in one place in close proximity. “Bollywood”, South Asia’s dream factory which produces more than one thousand films annually, and Asia’s largest slum with a population of 1.5 million are symbols of such amazing contrasts. Numerous grassroots groups from South Asia brought with them their own agenda: child



(FES)

and forced labour, religious fundamentalism, dowry killings, the caste system and the informal sector were topics which had been given little attention hitherto. And finally, the human rights issue has established itself as another common political agenda alongside the economic topics.

### The Network of Networks

As a crystallisation point of groups and movements from the most diverse regional, social and political backgrounds, the Forum provides an “open space”. While it is not neutral, it has so far evaded the temptation of formulating a “precept of political purity”. Inspired by the rather vague formula of “a different world is possible”, it does not impose any binding philosophical concept. A place of many voices rather than of joint declarations and programmes, the WSF’s open

political culture explains some of its “magic”. This is then reflected in the broad range of participants, trade unions, grassroots groups, social movements, NGOs of various backgrounds, political foundations, churches, members of parliament and international institutions such as the ILO and the UN.

The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, which contributes to the fora with about ten events, links up with two of the intentions underlying the World Social Forum: for one it seeks to discuss complex political and economic developments in the fora under the heading of “educational movement” and for another to intensify the dialogue between various actors from the North and South under the heading of “network of networks”.

The World Social Forum will move on. And it will continue to function as a sensitive seismograph of the state of the globalisation debate in future.



(FES)



Protest against poverty (dpa-Bildfunk)

## Brazil

### “Voice of the South”

**It is not just the North that formulates and shapes international policies,** is one of the crucial messages from the Government of Brazil under President Lula da Silva. The shock of Cancún finally drove the message home to the North as well. The fact that the 5th WTO Ministerial Conference in the Mexican city of Cancún (September 2003) was broken off without results made it clear to both the Europeans and the Americans that the developing countries would no longer fall in with the industrial countries’ agenda as they had done in previous rounds of WTO negotiations. Convinced that they could disregard the developing countries’ demand for a liberalisation of agricultural markets in the industrial countries, the latter brought the multilateral trading system to the verge of collapse. In Cancún, a negotiating block of developing countries (G-20) was successfully formed under Brazil’s leadership to meet the challenge of the industrial countries.

While Europe and the USA were still trying to recover from this shock, the Brazilian President Lula da Silva met with his counterparts from India and South Africa that same month in New York to open the first formal meeting of the IBSA-Dialogue Forum. It is to pave the way for vigorous South-South cooperation between the emerging market economies India, Brazil and South Africa. By means of close political and economic cooperation, the three states seek to establish themselves as an independent force in international fora for the purpose of strengthening “the voice of the

South” and the multilateral system. IBSA, Cancún and the call for a permanent seat in the UN Security Council furnish clear proof of the fact that Brazil is increasingly responding to global challenges. The Lula Government’s commitment to an active policy of “multilateralism in the South” is not just political rhetoric. Brazil’s definition entails a more balanced multipolar world order and greater attention to the interests and notions of developing countries at the international level. Brazil perceives itself as a leading regional force acting in tandem with other states.

### North-South and South-South Dialogue

It is the key function of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung’s international network to promote both the North-South and the South-South dialogue. As emerging market economies have a role to play beyond the regional arena as partners indispensable for the solution of global problems, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung seeks to contribute to the dialogue between these countries. Its activities focus on two areas:

For one, on the bilateral exchange between Germany and the emerging market economies at joint dialogue fora; and for another on the promotion of exchanges between political and societal representatives of these countries themselves in order to initiate a debate outside the foreign ministries and presidents’ offices about the role of these countries.

# Active Commitment to Human Rights

When the community of nations decided to adopt a catalogue of human rights after the Second World War, it did so with the firm intention of never permitting the barbarities of war to reoccur. This was a view which was almost unanimously shared at the time, but was soon put into more relative terms by the Cold War. With the end of the Cold War, more justice, greater respect for humanity and human rights appeared to be in reach for just a fleeting moment; but this hope did not come true and the conflicting opinions became even more irreconcilable.

Problems which exist worldwide such as environmental degradation, waste of resources, poverty, famines, displacement, persecution, torture and new occurrences of genocide stress the need for a continual struggle in order to enforce the principles laid down in the charters and conventions adopted by the international community.

New alliances and networks developed amongst non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in connection with the world summits, e.g. the German Human Rights Forum of whose working group “Development and Human Rights” Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung is a member. The Forum’s online Handbook of Human Rights Activities is available to all member organisations or interested groups and individuals. <http://www.fes.de/handbuchmenschenrechte/>

Activities of FES offices in Geneva and New York support the UN reform process in order to reshape the international system of human rights and to contribute to “human security”.

The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung promotes the idea and work of the International Criminal Court (ICC) which was appointed to prosecute genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes. It also cooperates with the NGO Coalition for the International Criminal Court (CICC) to claim prosecution and conviction of the most severe human rights abuses (“no impunity”).



(dpa)



Human Rights Award 2003: Presiding Judge Navanethem Pillay, Anke Fuchs (Liebe)

Since 1994, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has presented the Human Rights Award to honour personalities and organisations who have rendered outstanding services to the cause of human rights (see box). As a result, the laureates become known to a wider public and are thus also protected against persecution which they are often exposed to owing to their activities.

*“Little inclined as men were to turn to us when they shaped the world neither will we constantly turn to them or their values and pseudo values. We can set the pace on roads we walk separately or jointly. Let us beware of false alternatives. A men’s world and a women’s world are no alternative. Although there is no paradise ahead of us, without us the Garden of Eden in this world will wither away and become barren and fall prey to floods and catastrophes.”*

(Bishop Maria Jespen, speech on the occasion of the Human Rights Award for the Marie-Schlei-Verein)

*“This prize-giving is more than just a noble gesture and it is also more than the act of honouring a man of outstanding merits from sub-Saharan Africa; it is to all intents and purposes a contribution to protect the physical life and intellectual existence of a human being imprisoned under abysmal conditions.”*

(Federal Chancellor rtd Helmut Schmidt, speech to honour Olusegun Obasanjo, President of Nigeria)

*“The West, Europe and Germany are well advised to invest more in strengthening the forces in society which are speaking up for peace and human rights in Bosnia. If these individuals will not set the agenda soon, all well-intentioned help for reconstruction may be in vain. After all, it is not our intention to finance the targets set up for the next war.”*

(Hans Koschnick, speech for Father Petar Anđelović OFM, Sarajevo)



(Vera Lentz)

*“In this country, we take a free press for granted and easily forget that we have to work for it honestly and hard every day and every hour in the service of the citizens. Information must not degenerate into a commodity like any other even in the turbulent era of the information society which is evolving.”*

(Fritz Pleitgen, speech for Omar Belhouchet, editor-in-chief of “El Watan”, Algier)

*“It is also important to rouse the public from its inactivity – in both the South-Asian countries and the entire world. Again, Kailash Satyarthi has persistently attempted to inform as many people as possible about the cruelty of child labour. The goal has been and still is to win the broadest possible support for the campaign against child labour.”*

(Federal Minister Walter Riester’s speech for Kailash Satyarthi)

*“We do not define new crimes. Norms may possibly result from the manner in which we interpret these laws. For instance, we interpreted the Genocide Convention to include rape because the intention was to wipe out the whole group of Tutsi women because they were Tutsi.”*

(Navanethem Pillay, Presiding Judge of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda)

*“I hope that the international community of states has understood by now that human rights and human dignity are not the invention of a few states but that they are enshrined in various ways in all cultures, that they need to be some kind of shared foundation of a global community if we wish to live in safety, solidarity and fellowship.”*

(Federal Minister Heidemarie Wiecek-Zeul, speech for the Sudanese human rights activists Abel Alier and Mahgoub Mohamed Salih)

## The Human Rights Award of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung

The award has been presented since 1994 and dates back to a legacy of the couple Karl and Ida Feist from Hamburg; they had provided in their last will that the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung was to manage the inheritance and annually present the Human Rights Award with the money. Both of them had been active in the labour movement for many years; their personal bitter experience of war and destruction motivated them to work for peace and non-violence with great determination.

It had been the donors’ wish that the Human Rights Award be given to individuals or organisations which have distinguished themselves by preventing international conflicts or violence against human beings.

The laureates of previous years include:

*Marie Schlei Verein (1994)*

*Prof. Dr. Ewa Łętowska*, citizens’ commissioner in the Polish Parliament (1995)

*Olusegun Obasanjo*, imprisoned at the time, President of Nigeria (1996)

*Father Petar Anđelović*, Provincial of the Franciscan Order in Sarajevo/Bosnia (1997)

*Omar Belhouchet*, editor-in-chief of the Algerian daily paper “El Watan” (1998)

*Kailash Satyarthi* from India, international coordinator of the “Global March against Child Labour” (1999)

*The Association of the Russian Soldiers’ Mothers’ Committees* (2000)

*Otpor (“Resistance”)*, resistance movement from Serbia (2001)

*“Israeli-Palestinian Peace Coalition” (IPPC)* (2002)

*International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR)* (2003)

*Mahgoub Mohamed Salih and Abel Alier*, human rights activists from Sudan (2004).

*Mrs. María Luisa Sepúlveda Edwards*, Chile and *Dr. Salomón Lerner Febres*, Peru (2005)

# Organizational Structure of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung

Status: September 2005

## Executive Board

President: Anke Fuchs  
 Vice-Presidents: Sigmar Gabriel, Dieter Schulte  
 Honorary President: Holger Börner  
 Secretary General: Dr. Roland Schmidt

Central Functions	Political Education			International Cooperation	
	<b>Academy of Political Education</b> Prof. Dr. Thomas Meyer (Academic Director) Reinhard Weil (Managing Director)	<b>Socio-political Information</b> Frank D. Karl	<b>Dialogue East Germany **</b> Uwe Ziegler	<b>International Cooperation**</b> Dr. Ernst-J. Kerbusch	<b>International Dialogue**</b> Pia Bungarten
<b>Communication and Policy Issues * **</b> Albrecht Koschützke <b>Press Division Bonn</b> Albrecht Koschützke <b>Press Division Berlin</b> Peter Donaiski	<b>Berlin Academy Discussion Circles Inter-cultural Dialogue **</b> Dr. Johannes Kandel <hr/> <b>Neue Gesellschaft / Frankfurter Hefte **</b> Dr. Norbert Seitz	<b>Political Education in North Rhine-Westphalia, Hesse and Rhineland-Palatinate</b> <hr/> <b>Regional Discussion Circles</b> Frank D. Karl <hr/> <b>Offices at Provincial Level</b> <b>Lower Saxony (Hanover)</b> Egmond Eckardt <hr/> <b>Regional Office Rhineland-Palatinate/Saarland (Mainz)</b> Rolf Mantowski	<b>Forum Politics and Society **</b> Anne Seyffert <hr/> <b>Forum Berlin **</b> Irina Mohr <hr/> <b>Offices at Provincial Level Berlin **</b> Ursula Koch-Laugwitz <hr/> <b>Brandenburg (Potsdam)</b> Eugen Meckel <hr/> <b>Mecklenburg-West Pomerania (Schwerin)</b> Dr. Erik Gurgsdies <hr/> <b>Saxony</b> • Chemnitz: Karl-Heinz Becher • Dresden: Christoph Wielepp • Leipzig: Matthias Eisel <hr/> <b>Saxony-Anhalt (Magdeburg)</b> Joachim Schlütter <hr/> <b>Thuringia (Erfurt)</b> Michael Schultheiß	<b>Africa</b> Dr. Werner Puschra Trade Union Coordinator: Dr. Rudolf Traub-Merz <hr/> <b>Asia and the Pacific</b> Dr. Beate Bartoldus Trade Union Coordinator: Erwin Schweißhelm <hr/> <b>Latin America and the Caribbean</b> Dörte Wollrad Trade Union Coordinator: Kristina Birke <hr/> <b>Middle East and North Africa</b> Dr. Andrä Gärber Trade Union Coordinator: Dr. Ralph Piotrowski <hr/> <b>Development Policy **</b> Christiane Kesper Cross-Divisional Activities • Human Rights: Peter Häußler • Global Security: Dr. Jochen Steinhilber • Globalization: Dr. Thomas Manz • Civil Conflict Management: Michèle Auga • Follow-up Contacts: Sohel Ahmed • Evaluation: Hilmar Ruminski	<b>Western Industrial Countries**</b> Dr. Gero Maaß <hr/> <b>Central and Eastern Europe **</b> Dr. Reinhold Sohns <hr/> <b>International Policy Analyses **</b> Dr. Michael Dauderstädt <hr/> <b>International Politics and Society</b> Dr. Dietmar Dirmoser <hr/> <b>Trade Union Coordination for Industrialized Countries **</b> Horst Mund
<b>Central Functions * **</b> Dr. Michael Domitra	<b>Bonn Academy Discussion Circles</b> Gisela Zierau				
<b>Coordination Women &amp; Gender Policy *</b> Dr. Ursula Mehrländer	<b>Academy Management and Politics</b> Brigitte Juchems				
<b>Auditing *</b> Karl-Heinz Spiegel	<b>Journalists Academy</b> Gunter Lehrke <hr/> <b>Online Academy</b> Peter Hurrelbrink <hr/> <b>Youth and Politics</b> Nicole Breyer <hr/> <b>Forum NRW</b> Wolfgang Gisevius				
<b>Facility Management Conference Centre</b> <b>Berlin</b> Sylvia Repka Stefan Fries <b>Bonn</b> Britta Haase	<b>Regional Offices</b> <b>Julius-Leber-Forum</b> (Schleswig-Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen) Dr. Stefanie Elies <hr/> <b>Fritz Erler Forum</b> Stuttgart Helmut Elischer <hr/> <b>Bavaria Forum</b> (Munich) Dr. Eva Brehm/Horst Schmidt <hr/> <b>Regensburg</b> Harald Zintl <hr/> <b>Kurt Schumacher Academy</b> (Bad Münstereifel) Dr. Helmut Mörchen <hr/> <b>Society for Political Education***</b> (Akademie Frankenwarte, Würzburg) Georg Rosenthal <hr/> <b>Georg-von-Vollmar-Academy***</b> (Kochele am See/Munich) Dr. Heiko Tammerna				
			<b>Local Policy Education*</b> Siegbert Heid <hr/> <b>Works Council Bonn</b> <b>Works Council Berlin</b>	<b>Coordination International Trade Union</b> Erwin Schweißhelm <hr/> <b>Coordination</b> • Gender and Development: Astrid Ritter-Weil • Media and Communication: Evelyn Ehrlenspiel	

## General Meeting of the Association of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung

## Board of Trustees

### Research Activities

### General Administration

<b>Scholarships</b> Dr. Manuela Erhart	<b>Historical Research Centre</b> Prof. Dr. Dieter Dowe	<b>Research and Consulting Centre for Economic and Social Policies</b> Dr. Jochem Langkau	<b>Accounting and Organization **</b> Dr. Joachim Schubert	<b>Human Resources and Social Matters</b> Dr. Jürgen Brummel
<b>Selection</b> Reineke Schmall-Eisenwerth	<b>Social and Contemporary History</b> Prof. Dr. Dieter Dowe	<b>Economic Policy</b> Dr. Jochem Langkau	<b>Controlling and Organization</b> Dr. Roland Schwartz	<b>Salaries and Fringe Benefits</b> Reinhold Merten
<b>Scholarship Programmes</b> Maria Holona Dr. Martin Gräfe Adalbert Schlag Marianne Braun	<b>Archive of Social Democracy</b> Prof. Dr. Michael Schneider	<b>Labour and Social Policy</b> Dr. Ursula Mehrländer	<b>Information Technology</b> Peter Bujny	<b>Human Resources International</b> Dr. Jürgen Brummel
<b>Consultative Tuition and Follow-up Contacts</b> Josef Minzenbach Christina Schildmann	<b>Library</b> Dr. Rüdiger Zimmermann Deputy: Rainer Gries	<b>Technology and Society</b> Dr. Jochem Langkau	<b>Bookkeeping</b> Carola Marten-Voigt	<b>Technical Services/ Facility Management Bonn</b> Wolfgang Schultz
<b>Conference Centre Venusberg</b> Ingeborg Hensel Sabine Burch	<b>Karl-Marx-House Trier</b> Prof. Dr. Beatrix Bouvier		<b>Project Accounts (Domestic)</b> Dieter Eisert	<b>Cafeteria/Political Club</b> Rolf Bock
	<b>Institute for Social History Brunswick/Bonn ***</b> Prof. Dr. Dieter Dowe		<b>Project Accounts (International)</b> Lothar Krechel	
			<b>Coordination Conference Centre Berlin **</b> Heiner Naumann	

### Dialogue Forums\*\*

<b>Labour – Business – Politics</b> Helmut Weber	<b>Forum on Family Policy</b> Anne Seyfferth	<b>Globalization</b> Dr. Thomas Manz	<b>Migration and Integration</b> Günther Schultze	<b>Sports – Society – Future</b> Siegbert Heid
<b>Labour and Qualification</b> Ruth Brandherm	<b>Forum on Women and Gender Policy</b> Anne Seyfferth	<b>Fundamental Values Forum 21</b> Prof. Dr. Thomas Meyer	<b>Small and Medium-sized Industry</b> Helmut Weber	<b>Structural Reform of Public Administration</b> Irina Mohr
<b>Berlin Forum Science and Innovation</b> Dr. Peter Oesterdieckhoff	<b>Forum on Internal Security</b> Irina Mohr	<b>Inter-cultural Dialogue</b> Dr. Johannes Kandel	<b>Education Network</b> Dr. Peter Oesterdieckhoff	<b>Transatlantic Dialogue</b> Hans Duncke
<b>Education Forum</b> Gisela Zierau	<b>Forum on Youth Policy</b> Anne Seyfferth	<b>Innovative Transport Policy</b> Dr. Jochem Langkau	<b>Ecological Market Economy</b> Berthold Leimbach	<b>Consumer Policy</b> Hannelore Hausmann
<b>Civil Society and the Activating State</b> Albrecht Koschützke	<b>Forum on Culture and Politics</b> Irina Mohr	<b>International Politics</b> Pia Bungarten	<b>Politics and Media</b> Klaus Reiff	<b>Economic Policy Discourses</b> Dr. Jochem Langkau
<b>Development Policy Dialogue</b> Christiane Kesper	<b>Forum on Social Democracy</b> Prof. Dr. Thomas Meyer	<b>Kochel Economic Policy Circle</b> Dr. Jochem Langkau	<b>Legal Policy Dialogue</b> Irina Mohr	<b>Economy and Politics</b> Berthold Leimbach
<b>Discourse on Federalism</b> Irina Mohr	<b>History</b> Prof. Dr. Dieter Dowe	<b>Local Politics</b> Siegbert Heid	<b>Social Policy</b> Peter König	<b>The Future of Democracy</b> Prof. Dr. Thomas Meyer
<b>Forum Europe</b> Pia Bungarten	<b>Trade Unions and Politics</b> NN	<b>Managers' Circle</b> Dr. Peter Oesterdieckhoff	<b>Social Sciences</b> Frank D. Karl	

\* Under direct control of the Executive Board

\*\* organizational units based in parts or exclusively in Berlin

\*\*\* Sponsored by FES

# The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung

## **Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung**

Hiroshimastr. 17

**D-10785 Berlin**

Phone: +49(0)30 26935-6

Fax: +49(0)30 26935-959

[www.fes.de](http://www.fes.de)



## **Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung**

Godesberger Allee 149

**D-53170 Bonn**

Phone +49(0)228 883-0

Fax: +49(0)228 883-696

[www.fes.de](http://www.fes.de)



# International Cooperation (IEZ)

## Division for International Cooperation (IEZ)

Head of Division: Dr. Ernst-J. Kerbusch  
 Tel.: +49(0)228 883-522  
 Fax: +49(0)228 883-696  
 ernst.kerbusch@fes.de

### Secretariat:

Gabriele Schliebach  
 Tel.: +49(0)228 883-521  
 Fax: +49(0)228 883-696  
 gabriele.schliebach@fes.de

### Finances:

Ulrike Menze  
 Tel.: +49(0)228 883-519  
 Fax: +49(0)228 883-696  
 ulrike.menze@fes.de

## Department for Africa

Head: Dr. Werner Puschra  
 Tel.: +49(0)228 883-576  
 Fax: +49(0)228 883-623  
 werner.puschra@fes.de

Trade Union Coordinator:  
 Dr. Rudolf Traub-Merz  
 Tel.: +49(0)228 883-582  
 rudolf.traub@fes.de

Gender Coordinator:  
 Nicole Nestler  
 Tel.: +49(0)228 883-588  
 nicole.nestler@fes.de

## Department for Asia and the Pacific

Head: Dr. Beate Bartoldus  
 Tel.: +49(0)228 883-516  
 Fax: +49(0)228 883-575  
 beate.bartoldus@fes.de

Trade Union Coordinator:  
 Erwin Schweißhelm  
 Tel.: +49(0)228 883-518  
 erwin.schweisshelm@fes.de

Gender Coordinator:  
 Dr. Rüdiger Pintar  
 Tel.: +49(0)228 883-511  
 ruediger.pintar@fes.de

## Department for Latin America and the Caribbean

Head: Dörte Wollrad  
 Tel.: +49(0)228 883-694  
 Fax: +49(0)228 883-404  
 doerte.wollrad@fes.de

Trade Union Coordinator:  
 Kristina Birke  
 Tel.: +49(0)228 883-532  
 kristina.birke@fes.de

Gender Coordinator:  
 Sara Brombart  
 Tel.: +49(0)228 883-526  
 sara.brombart@fes.de

## Department for Middle East and North Africa

Head: Dr. Andrä Gärber  
 Tel.: +49(0)30 26935-729  
 Fax: +49(0)30 26935-757  
 andrae.gaerber@fes.de

Trade Union Coordinator:  
 Dr. Ralph Piotrowski  
 Tel.: +49(0)30 26935-726  
 ralph.piotrowski@fes.de

Gender Coordinator:  
 Dr. Ralph Piotrowski  
 Tel.: +49(0)030 26935-726  
 ralph.piotrowski@fes.de

## Department for Development Policy

Head: Christiane Kesper  
 Tel.: +49(0)30 26935-918  
 Fax: +49(0)30 26935-959  
 christiane.kesper@fes.de

### Cross-Divisional Activities:

Human Rights: Peter Häussler  
 Tel.: +49(0)228 883-500  
 peter.haeussler@fes.de

Globalization: Dr. Thomas Manz  
 Tel.: +49(0)30 26935-939  
 thomas.manz@fes.de

Global Security: Dr. Jochen Steinhilber  
 Tel.: +49(0)30 26935-921  
 jochen.steinhilber@fes.de

Civil Conflict Management:  
 Michèle Auga  
 Tel.: +49(0)30 26935-922  
 michele.auga@fes.de

Evaluation: Hilmar Ruminski  
 Tel.: +49(0)30 26935-920  
 hilmar.ruminski@fes.de

Follow-up Contacts International:  
 Sohel Ahmed  
 Tel.: +49(0)228 883-530  
 sohel.ahmed@fes.de

### Coordination:

International Trade Union Coordination:  
 Erwin Schweißhelm  
 Tel.: +49(0)228 883-518  
 erwin.schweisshelm@fes.de

Coordination Gender and Development:  
 Astrid Ritter-Weil  
 Tel.: +49(0)228 883-502  
 astrid.ritter@fes.de

ISBN 3-89892-402-5

*Publisher:* Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung  
Division for International Cooperation  
Godesberger Allee 149  
D-53170 Bonn  
Hiroshimastraße 17  
D-10785 Berlin

© 2005 Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung

*Editor:* Armin Wertz  
*Coordination:* Annette Lohmann  
*Translation:* Annette Brinkmann and Wilfried Becker  
*Layout:* Pellens Kommunikationsdesign, Bonn  
*Cover Photos:* dpa, FES, Sanna Lindberg/PhotoAlto  
*Printing:* bub Bonner Universitätsbuchdruckerei

Printed in Germany 2005

For some of the fotos the owner/s of the copyright could not be traced despite intensive research. Right owners are kindly requested to contact the above address.



