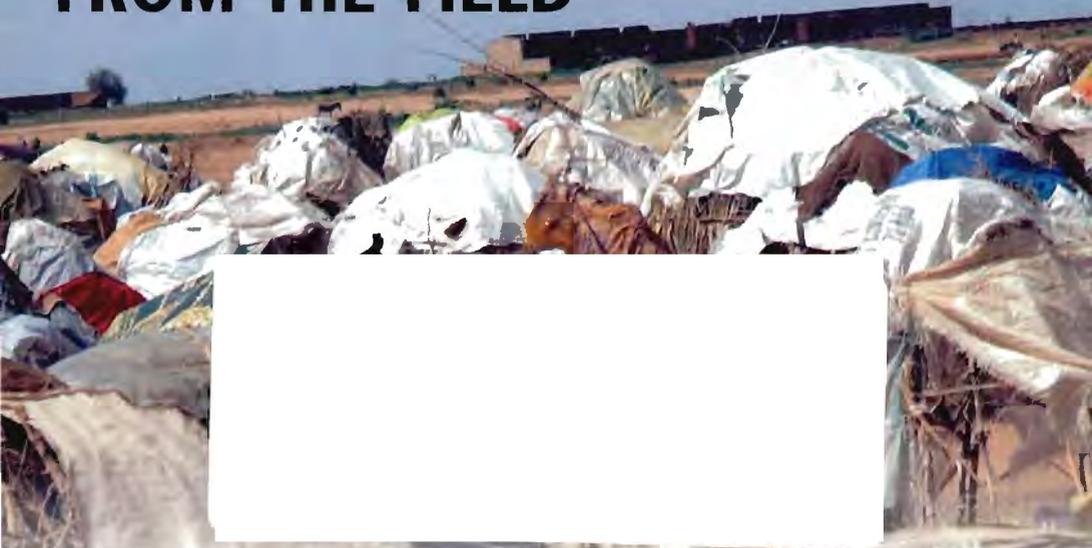


# Humanitarian Affairs Review

Autumn  
2004  
& Development News

REGULARLY JOURNAL OF GLOBAL POLICY ISSUES

## DARFUR: REPORT FROM THE FIELD



*Also in this issue:*

- "Western agencies have no moral monopoly"
- Dutch Presidency Special Section



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# Editorial

*This year marks the tenth anniversary of the Federation of the Red Cross and the Red Crescent's code of conduct. The code, to which some 300 NGOs have currently signed up, was created after the failure of the American intervention in Somalia, with the aim of establishing principles for the regulation of humanitarian action.*



**GILES MERRITT**  
EDITOR

*Ten years on, the quality of humanitarian assistance remains a thorny issue. Despite the proliferation of codes of conduct and charters, NGOs continue to debate ways of making aid distribution more efficient and to discuss the lessons that can be drawn from recent conflicts. But the basic challenges have not changed. What is the best way to measure the effectiveness of humanitarian aid, before, during and after an intervention? How can the basic principles of humanitarianism - neutrality, impartiality and independence - best be preserved? Above all, how can post-crisis management be improved and the path to development and reconstruction smoothed?*

*The quality of aid is the main theme of this issue, with several articles touching to a greater or lesser extent on this question. In our "Open Forum" section, Alain Boinet from Solidarités and Alison Joyner, manager of the Sphere project, reply to Cécile Zieglé's article "Measuring the Quality of Humanitarian Aid" in HAR's summer issue. Antonio Donini addresses the problem of politicisation of humanitarian aid in the context of the Iraqi crisis, and Grey Frandsen reports on the latest technological developments for improving the speed and efficiency of humanitarian interventions.*

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# OPEN

WHEN AUTHORS FACE THE READERS

## “Sphere standards *can* be adapted to local contexts”



“The Sphere standards quickly came to be regarded as universal norms to be used by donors for auditing purposes, and also to answer NGOs’ quality concerns”

CÉCILE ZIEGLÉ

In her article, “Measuring the Quality of Humanitarian Aid” in the Summer issue of HAR, Cécile Zieglé said that Quality Synergy provided a more balanced approach than that of the handbook of universal norms produced by the Sphere Project. In her reply, Alison Joyner, manager of the Sphere Project, says that the revised 2004 edition of the handbook allows for more flexible standards related to local needs and conditions and there is scope for the two systems to work together to improve quality and accountability.

In her article, Cécile Zieglé suggests that the handbook of the Sphere Project, set up by a group of NGOs in the wake of the Rwanda genocide in 1994, does not take sufficient account of the local contexts in which humanitarians work. However, the latest 2004 edition of the handbook includes significant revisions to the 2000 version to which Zieglé’s article refers. It is based on 18 months of consultations with



“While the concept of universal standards has been challenged ... the standards establish broad minimums with which it is hard to argue”

ALISON JOYNER

people working mainly in the field, and takes account of recent developments in humanitarian assistance. A sixth sector, food security, has also been added and integrated with those of nutrition and food aid.

Sphere aims to be a tool for improving the quality of assistance provided to people affected by disasters, as well as providing benchmarks for the accountability of states and humanitarian agencies to their constituents, their donors and their beneficiaries. Since its inception, over 400 international and national NGOs and humanitarian agencies have been involved in establishing consensus around standards based on experience.

### Life with dignity

In line with the Humanitarian Charter set out in the Sphere handbook, the minimum standards, key indicators, and guidance notes, describe the minimum assistance required in a disaster situation to fulfill the right of affected people to life with

dignity. It is important to highlight the definitions of these terms, which are included in the introduction to the 2004 edition. For instance Zieglé suggests that the Sphere standards cannot be adapted to the local contexts in which humanitarian projects are being implemented. In fact, as the handbook explains, the standards are qualitative in nature. For example, Water Supply standard 1 states: "All people have safe and equitable access to a sufficient quantity of water for drinking, cooking and personal and domestic hygiene". Standards are meant to be universal and applicable in any operating environment, but while the concept of universal standards has been challenged, this example shows that the standards establish broad minimums with which it is hard to argue.

Zieglé also claims that the handbook sets blanket standards, which are not always appropriate in a local context. However, the key indicators, which are given for each standard, suggest ways to measure whether or not the standard has been achieved. In practice, depending on the context, some indicators will be more important than others. For example, the relative importance of the distance to a water point may change depending on means available to transport water, or whether security is an issue. Indicators therefore have to be used sensitively, and adapted as appropriate.

### **Applying Sphere in context**

Guidance notes, which have also been elaborated in the 2004 edition, are designed to help fieldworkers apply the standards and indicators appropriately, and to highlight how the context may affect the implementation of the indicator. For example, the handbook notes that the quantity of water needed for domestic use "may vary according to the climate, sanitation facilities available, peo-

ple's normal habits, their religious and cultural practices, the food they cook, the clothes they wear, and so on". Relief workers would need to adjust their response on this basis, within the suggested range of minimum water consumption of 7.5-15 litres.

In the 2004 edition, the guidance notes also draw attention to "cross-cutting issues" that must be taken into account when applying the standards and indicators in any context. These are issues which affect vulnerable groups including children, older people, women, disabled people and people affected by HIV/AIDS. Protection and environment issues are also highlighted.

Like any tool, Sphere can be misused, so training is an essential component of the Sphere Project. Four modules, which can be used for a variety of audiences for training sessions ranging from half a day to three days have been developed and are regularly updated. Since 2000, nearly 240 representatives of local and international NGOs, the Red Cross/Red Crescent, UN agencies and donors have participated in eight-day training courses for trainers which are designed to enable participants to run Sphere workshops based on the modules. The training modules were published in English in 2003 and will be available in Spanish and French by early 2005. The 2000 edition of the handbook was also translated, often spontaneously at field level, into 22 languages. The 2004 edition is so far available in French, Spanish, Arabic, Bangla, Farsi and Japanese. A translation into Russian will be available early in 2005.

### **A starting point**

Sphere has never claimed to be the answer to all quality control issues. The handbook is intended as "a starting point ... a

tool for humanitarian agencies to enhance the effectiveness and quality of their assistance” rather than a “how to” manual, and needs to be used alongside other reference books. In addition, in many cases it is unlikely that all the indicators and standards will be met – because of insecurity, lack of money and other factors. However, the working premise of Sphere is that trying to meet established standards and indicators will bring more effective support to those affected by disasters.

Quality Synergy appears to complement Sphere very effectively. For instance, the sections on good governance and human resource management go into greater detail than similar issues covered in the relevant chapter in the Sphere handbook. The twelve criteria for assessing humanitarian activities, now described in detail in the Quality COM-

PAS launched in June 2004, clearly also complement the handbook by offering an approach based on posing context-related questions. Satisfying beneficiary populations, and finding effective ways to be accountable to them, is indeed one of the most complex areas to be addressed, and one where Sphere recognises that least progress has been made. Quality Synergy’s contribution in this field will be particularly useful.

In May 2004 representatives of Sphere met with the steering committee of Quality Synergy to exchange experiences, and it was clear that the two initiatives have a lot in common. The greatest challenge is to find a way to work towards effective and complementary use of both approaches at field level, where the lives of people affected by disaster can be made better, or worse.



“Voluntary Organisations in Cooperation in Emergencies” (VOICE) is a network representing 90 European NGOs active in humanitarian aid worldwide. VOICE is the main NGO interlocutor with the EU for humanitarian affairs, including emergency aid, relief, rehabilitation and disaster preparedness.

#### **VOICE is...**

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# “Evaluating humanitarian activity should include identifying any risk of confusion”

**Alain Boinet, Director of the French NGO Solidarités, also takes issues with Cécile Zieglé’s article. He suggests that evaluation should also take account of the risks involved in sharing humanitarian activities with other players.**

Evaluation processes have become an important topic on the humanitarian agenda. This is firstly because the process of evaluation ensures that humanitarian aid is a genuine response to victims’ needs, and secondly it ensures that all the available means are used to this end. However, even more importantly, it is also helpful and necessary to evaluate the actions of humanitarian workers while major crises are taking place.

According to the terms of their partnerships with funding institutions, NGOs’ project proposals have to comply with a number of criteria defining why, how, where, when and in what context a project will take place. NGOs are also obliged to use their resources and skills to achieve humanitarian objectives, which will have a verifiable practical impact.

## **Bureaucratic drift**

The evaluation process is necessary to maintain the quality of assistance - but bureaucracy does have its limitations and the risks of bureaucratic drift certainly exist. It has become evident that organisations increasingly use an over-administra-



“Humanitarian aid cannot be a business, but this does not mean that NGOs should not be professional in the way they work”

**ALAIN BOINET**

tive approach when preparing aid projects, which is damaging because it limits the scope for strategic reflection, for building relationships with the beneficiaries, and for ensuring the quality of the practical response. There have been examples of urgent projects, for example, where delays have occurred because of the need to rent a motorbike, or the need to wait for several weeks for funding from a chef de mission. Furthermore, in some projects the burden of administrative tasks forces volunteers to spend more time behind a computer than in the field.

There are several important factors in successfully running a project. The first is to know the people concerned, and secondly to be aware of the cultural, religious, historic, economic and social influences that characterise them. It is also important to make regular assessments of the individual and collective skills that beneficiary populations are developing in order to satisfy their own needs. We must

also continually seek ways in which the populations themselves can take part in the humanitarian activity.

## Improve quality

In the summer issue of HAR, Cécile Zieglé described the “Quality Synergy” programme in which Solidarités is a participant. The aim of this programme is to improve quality at all stages of the humanitarian aid cycle, from the initial diagnosis of a problem to the end of the project.

NGOs are the first direct contact with beneficiary populations in the international aid chain, let’s not weaken this essential contact! Nevertheless, at the same time we must try to balance the various strands of humanitarian activity. In particular, we must avoid any action that turns humanitarian assistance into a commercial operation. International co-operation is not compatible with marketing and NGO humanitarian activity relies on the initiative of people who share a commitment to international public service. Humanitarian aid cannot be a “business”, but this does not mean that NGOs should not be professional in the way they work. On the contrary, humanitarians aspire to be doubly effective, for reasons of good practice and efficiency as well as for reasons of principle.

## Fundamental principles

Over the last 30 years, humanitarianism has been the victim of its own success insofar as it has inspired others, such as the military and the corporate sector, to

respond to the need for aid. However, while associations such as Solidarités behave according to the fundamental principles of impartiality, independence and neutrality during international crises, this is not always the case for others who call themselves humanitarians, or say that they do humanitarian

work. The “provincial reconstruction team” (PRT) set up by the US army in Afghanistan is a revealing case in point. The PRT engages in reconstruction programmes with civil experts from private companies, who are protected by the military, in or out of uniform, or in the guise of special forces with Afghan army units. These US-army-led teams all offer general co-ordi-

nation with NGOs and UN agencies. However, the majority of NGOs have refused to participate in schemes involving such a broad mixture of types of operation and personnel.

## Murderous attacks

The same issue has surfaced in Iraq, following the attempted murderous attacks against the UN and the International Committee of the Red Cross. These attacks were one consequence of the attempt to integrate coalition forces with NGOs, the ICRC and the UN agencies. Evaluating humanitarian activity should therefore include identifying any risk of major confusion, which can dilute our humanitarian efforts. Not that we would negate or oppose the efforts of others. The difference is that, to us, humanitarianism is an end in

***“There is a case for creating an international charter for NGOs and to agree upon a simple and visible symbol that could be used as a signal that we do humanitarian activity and nothing else”***

itself, whilst to others it may be nothing more than a means.

The risk of confusion is now so significant that there is a case for creating an international charter for NGOs and to agree upon a simple and visible symbol that could be used as a signal that we do humanitarian activity and nothing else.

In the arena of humanitarian activity the risks of stifling bureaucratisation, the constraints of conformity, distracting business practices, and of becoming confused and seeing our efforts diluted, are only too real. It is essential - more so, than ever - to highlight the challenges that we are facing, and to reaffirm the principles that we are prepared to defend.

## **“Private security should not be a grubby little secret”**



**“If security is privatised, the companies become a temporary mechanism to preserve peace, yet do little to address the underlying causes of unrest and violence”**

**PETER W. SINGER**



**“Every time humanitarians create their own little islands of peace, they must recognise that the price to be paid by the societies they work in may be high and long-term”**

**MICHAEL VON TANGEN PAGE**

**In his article, “Should humanitarians use private military services?” in the Summer issue of HAR, Peter W. Singer from the Brookings Institution said that aid agencies should use smart business sense when hiring private security. Michael von Tangen Page, advisor within the Security and Peacebuilding Programme of International Alert and co-editor of “Security Sector Reform: The Challenges and Opportunities of the Privatisation of Security” (International Alert, 2002), agrees that private security is often necessary, but he urges humanitarians to take every care not to jeopardise their neutrality by giving false**

**signals to belligerents or by hiring guards without proper checks.**

**In the summer issue of HAR, Peter W. Singer described the problems facing aid agencies who use privatised military firms (PMFs), especially in operations where there is a ‘security gap,’ such as a failed or weak state. Such a security gap represents a serious challenge to humanitarian neutrality. I agree with Singer that the use of PMFs is not necessarily a bad thing. However, I would like to stress that humanitarians must be aware of the potentially negative consequences of employing private firms and recognise**

that in doing so they will inevitably change the dynamics of a conflict.

## Physical security

In the context of this discussion the most controversial thing that PMFs are asked to do is to provide physical security for humanitarian actors, which includes protecting their fixed assets. In Northern Pakistan, for example, ex-British and Indian army Gurkhas were employed to protect properties, warehouses and hotels. On first examination this seems fine, because it allows the aid workers to do their job. But unfortunately, while the western aid workers were protected, the houses and properties of their local neighbours were put at greater risk.

This phenomenon of crime displacement results in increasingly wide levels of society having to employ security protection, ultimately leaving only those who are poor and marginalised and unable to pay for protection vulnerable to attack. This highlights a potentially negative impact - namely that by its very nature, private security is not universal.

Every time humanitarians create their own little islands of peace, they must recognise that the price to be paid by the societies they work in may be high and long-term. This factor should be taken into account in the impact assessments conducted before humanitarian agencies employ security guards. This does not mean that security should not be provided for humanitarian staff or used as an excuse for non-intervention. Instead, humanitarian agencies should assess the

relative benefits of intervention against the harm that their presence might bring and then make the decision on whether to engage.

## Conflict of interest

Potential conflict of interest is the second factor that needs to be accepted when employing private security guards. Just as bouncers in bars and night clubs have been known to foment trouble in order to justify their employment, private security companies have a potential self-interest in ensuring that the situation does not become too safe. Humanitarians

also need to recognise that belligerents in a conflict may see aid distribution as a highly partial act. The armed group vying for control of an area may even regard an aid agency bringing food supplies into a region as a legitimate target of war.

When operating in a dangerous environment, humanitarian organisations have a number of strategies, which they can follow. However, each option brings with it the problems of “legitimation” and represents a challenge to traditional humanitarian norms. The “acceptance strategy” requires seeking the political and social consent of belligerents before activities begin. If this is not possible, two other strategies remain open to them. The “protection strategy,” which uses protective procedures and devices to keep threats at a distance, without addressing the root causes of them, and the “deterrence strategy” which aims to deter threats by legal, economic or political sanctions, or even in extreme circumstances, the defensive or offensive use of force.

*“In Uganda some local private security firms have very close connections with the current government”*

PMFs have a clear role in the last two strategies, but there are clear consequences, especially to the latter, namely the risk of making the humanitarian agency an active party to a conflict. In such circumstances even the notion of humanitarian neutrality is thrown out of the window and this must be recognised by any agency contemplating such a strategy.

### **Background checks**

As more of the work of humanitarian agencies takes place in conflict zones, there is a legitimate need for them to use the services of either state forces or PMFs, not only for security but also for mine clearance, or to fly aid into a combat zone. In such cases, the PMF personnel may be more experienced and more willing to accept the inevitably greater personal risks associated with such an operation. But as Singer points out, when employing such firms an agency may be financially supporting a company that moves or provides other products and services. It is therefore important for humanitarian agencies to conduct rigorous background checks on the PMFs that they hire. The need for the PMFs to conduct thorough checks on the people they employ also cannot be overstated.

Research by International Alert on the use of private security firms by humanitarian agencies reveals that firms are often appointed on the basis that they

have already worked for another aid agency. However, without conducting a proper background check on both the company employed and its personnel, a humanitarian agency could face embarrassment, or even put at risk its neutral status. This is particularly relevant when recruiting local staff. In Uganda, for example, some local private security firms have very close connections with the current government.

### **Future strategy**

The use of PMFs must therefore be part of a deliberate strategy and not conducted in an ad hoc or hasty manner.

Humanitarian agencies should ensure that they have sufficient conflict expertise in-house to give advice on both the security implications of a chosen activity and also the potential impact of any activities on a conflict.

Humanitarian agencies and reputable PMFs should also consider lobbying the EU to adopt legislation regulating the provision of military services.

To ensure that PMF/humanitarian cooperation is successful in the longer term it is vital that the use of PMFs should no longer be treated as a grubby little secret and rather move it into the open. If an agency is willing to make use of the threat of force then it should be willing to defend its actions in public - if an agency is uncomfortable about doing this, then it should question whether it should use a PMF at all.

***“Just as bouncers in bars and night clubs have been known to foment trouble in order to justify their employment, private security companies have a potential self-interest in ensuring that the situation does not become too safe”***



*UN Secretary  
General Kofi Annan  
at the funeral of  
Sergio Vieira de  
Mello.*

# **“Western Aid agencies *don’t* have a humanitarian monopoly”**

The rise in attacks on aid workers has raised serious questions about the politicisation of humanitarian action. **Antonio Donini** says that one answer is for Western aid agencies to accept that they *don’t* have a monopoly in humanitarian values and share the stage with others

**ONE YEAR AFTER A SUICIDE BOMBER** rammed a truck full of explosives into the Canal Hotel in Baghdad and killed Sergio Vieira de Mello, the UN Special Representative for Iraq, and 21 of his colleagues, the dust has only begun to settle on the significance of this tragic event. Why are aid workers being targeted in Iraq, in Afghanistan and elsewhere? Why do the emblems of the UN, the Red Cross and NGOs no longer protect them? Has something gone wrong in the way we are understood by the people we say we are there to help? What can be done to remedy this situation?

For the past year, donors, UN agencies and NGOs have been agonising over these questions and now the beginnings of an answer are taking shape. Most analysts in the humanitarian community would agree that the answer lies in the fact that humanitarian action has been compromised. Rightly or wrongly – the community is split on this issue – humanitarian action in Iraq and Afghanistan has been used as a tool for a political project. The deliberate targeting of aid workers is a reminder that taking sides, or simply the perception that we have taken sides, can have devastating consequences. Our humanitarian credentials are simply rejected by militant groups who see us as easy targets and who benefit from chaos and disorder.

### **Post 9/11 rhetoric**

This is not the first time that aid workers have been attacked or that humanitarian action has been politicised. What is new is the extent to which humanitarian action has been infiltrated and penetrated by political agendas that are at odds with

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**Antonio Donini** is a visiting scholar at Feinstein International Famine Center, Tufts University.

humanitarian principles. In high profile crises where the US is directly involved, humanitarian action is unable to safeguard its neutrality. The “you are for us or against us” rhetoric of the post 9/11 war on terror is rapidly shrinking the space for neutral, impartial and independent humanitarian action. In a sense, George W. Bush is the mirror image of Osama bin Laden.

Many in the South do not recognise the so-called universality of humanitarian values. Clearly, the gap in values and understanding is as significant as the gap in poverty and quality of life. Northern leaders, thinkers, aid agencies and donor institutions who fund and manage the bulk of what we call “humanitarian assistance” may pay lip service to the importance of “other” traditions and perspectives on universality, but discordant voices seldom get a hearing.

In many parts of the South, humanitarian action is viewed as the latest in a series of impositions of alien values, practices and lifestyles and when the struggle between “Jihad and MacWorld” becomes acute, humanitarian action is seen as part of MacWorld. This polarisation is made worse by the breakdown of the social contract that made humanitarian action acceptable or even desirable to belligerents. It is now becoming impossible to have a conversation, let alone a dialogue, with militant belligerents, with the price paid by aid workers increasingly high.

### **Parallel universe**

A logical starting point for dialogue would be to acknowledge the existence and importance of other humanitarian traditions and be prepared to share the stage with them. There is a vast parallel

universe of Islamic charities and funds for humanitarian assistance provided by Arab and other Islamic countries, remittances from diasporas and contributions from local entities in crisis countries that are not recorded in the official statistics of humanitarian assistance. Like it or not, the North does not have a monopoly in the business of doing good.

How should this process of *rapprochement* between different cultures of caring for civilians in crisis and conflict be undertaken? There is a danger that advocacy based on existing tools, such as international humanitarian law, might be seen as the imposition of northern terms. And, as in the human rights arena, the problem of who sets the terms of the debate and how the dynamic is perceived is perceived in the South, has no easy solution. Moreover, the rationalist northern approach may be ill-equipped to understand or even give a fair hearing to the views of groups who do not espouse clear distinctions between state, society, the individual, and religion. It may well be that faith-based northern groups are in a better position to foster such a dialogue than governments or secular organisations.

“Until the lions have their own historians, history will always be written by the hunters” goes the African proverb. Perhaps the time has come for the lions, the gazelles, and even the suffering grass to claim their rightful stake in the debate. Testing the universality of the humanitarian impulse at the grassroots level may be the way to go. Caring for war wounded and the protection of children and civilians in war

situations are obligations recognized, in their own ways, in all cultures. This humanitarian substratum is undoubtedly universal. While the behavior of leaders and warlords, and occasionally aid agencies themselves, is problematic, less so the dictates of cultures and religions. Hence, working with local groups and creating partnerships around common “humanitarian” concerns may be a more productive way of promoting universality than political dialogue between deaf and politicized civilizations. Perhaps, also, northern humanitarians need bigger ears and smaller mouths.

### Purse strings

The philosophical, corporate, and operational roots of the international humanitarian apparatus are inescapably Western and Northern. The principles may well be universal, but in reality, humanitarian action is based on the views and action of the handful of western states

that hold the purse strings, along with the operational agencies they fund. The fact that humanitarianism is “of the North,” is problematic because, unlike peacekeeping operations, the countries of the Third World have little visible stake in the policies and management of the enterprise.

Like human rights law, international humanitarian law is a basically Western social construct to which the rest of the world has been asked to subscribe. In point of fact, humanitarian action is more universal and multi-cultural in nature than it might seem. There are no hard and fast figures to gauge the scale of the informal economy of the humanitarian marketplace, but it is surely underestimated.

***“When the struggle between “Jihad and MacWorld” becomes acute, humanitarian action is seen as part of MacWorld”***

Like our own, the non-western approaches to humanitarianism come in different shapes and sizes. Some are politicised, or may even be linked to terrorist groups, but some are on the level. In Somalia, for example, there are dozens of NGOs that receive money from benefactors in the Gulf and from the Somali diaspora. They provide essential education and health services. Some have become self-sufficient and work on a cost-recovery basis. Their standards of accountability may be different from ours, but they also happen to be much cheaper, effective and rooted in local society than what we are accustomed to. And they have no expats or flashy white vehicles.

Maybe we should accept that the self-defined humanitarian community's

claims to universality ring hollow. The logical consequences of this argument would be a bifurcation between those who will accept that they are a part of the political designs of the West, representing the smiley face of globalisation, and those who will strive at all costs (including the cost of forsaking government funds) to resist cooptation or manipulation. The latter position may well appear as holier than thou in the post-9/11 murky conflict environment but agencies would be wise to consider this issue carefully. They may soon be asked to show their cards by the Superpower and its allies as well as by angry militant groups on the ground. Given the current ominous frequency of attacks against aid workers, bluffing or waffling is not advised.

**@lliance is...**

**"... playing a vitally important role  
... essential reading if we are to  
realize the opportunities and  
potential of a common approach."**

**WILL DAY, CEO, CARE INTERNATIONAL UK**

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# How NGOs can best harness new technology

The humanitarian community is gradually becoming a 'market ripe space for technology consumption'.

**Grey Frandsen** explains how advanced technologies can enhance humanitarian enterprises

**INTERNET ACCESS, E-MAIL,** satellite and cellular phones, personal digital assistants, radio sets, laptop computers, scanners and interactive, dynamic websites are now becoming staple tools of the humanitarian community.

In years past, the private sector has had a primary role in defining the types of technology the humanitarian community could use. Until recently, the humanitarian community had not been recognised as a market space ripe for technology consumption. Humanitarian organisations are also more often than not short of funds, and cannot afford specialised technologies or technology development projects.

All this is changing, fortunately. In recent years the humanitarian market space has grown considerably, new standards have been established and there have been a number of initiatives to encourage sharing information and practices. The availability of inexpensive off-the-shelf technologies has also encouraged more intensive use of private sector and humanitarian community-specific technologies to accommodate the needs of the humanitarian community.

The humanitarian community has also been developing technology solutions for itself, and has instinctively sought ways to

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Grey Frandsen is the Special Assistant to the U.S. Secretary of State's Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization. He is also the founder of the *African Conflict Journal* and the co-founder of PICnet, a technology company that specifically serves the humanitarian community. His book, "A Guide to NGOs", is available for download at Reliefweb.

streamline its operations. Some, like "SUMA," known also as the Humanitarian Supply Management System (<http://www.disaster.info.desastres.net/SUMA/ingles/ing.htm>), which was developed by the Pan-American Health Organisation and the World Health Organisation in 1992 are now largely outdated, but are still being used in some parts of the world.

The following section outlines just a few newer technologies from both the private sector (developed not just for the humanitarian community) and from within or specifically designed for the humanitarian community that are exciting, and that are seeking ways to make humanitarian operations more efficient.

## Enhancing communications

Maintaining communication networks and a constant flow of information between locations can often be crucial to the success of humanitarian operations. There are three new types of technology being used to help confront this challenge.

1. While it may be considered a type of "gadget" or "kit," the Regional BGAN (RBGAN), a new product from Hughes Laboratories, is now being deployed in Afghanistan and Iraq. It is very similar to a satellite phone, but is used only for transmitting data from a laptop at relatively high speeds. The big value-added is that the user can almost seamlessly connect to Intranets, email, the web, collaboration tools and other systems of communication for a minimal cost and remain in contact with the organisation with minimal effort. Airtime is about \$10 per megabyte, and the unit is available for between \$1200 and \$1500.

2. A technology development on the software side that humanitarian organisations are adopting rather rapidly is

Groove Networks (<http://www.groove.net>). This is collaboration software that can be downloaded for less than \$100 per licence, and provides tools to connect people working in different locations on specific projects. Groove provides the ability to write a proposal with multiple team member feedback, keep project documents synchronised so everyone has the most recent version, or set up online meeting times or chat times with project personnel. This software gives field personnel the ability to stay intimately involved in projects or communications that have to do with specific countries, topics, teams, initiatives and ideas. It can reduce communication costs and obstacles associated with time zone differences, and may eventually replace email as the primary method for electronic project management. Groove is surely not the sole provider of collaboration software, but it is inexpensive and has been tested in demanding international operations.

3. NGOs are now also utilising professional and flexible websites that were once affordable only to larger organisations. By utilising open source software, cheap content management systems, and by outsourcing online donation management to specialised firms, even the smallest NGOs can make websites a useful – and easy and cheap – tool in connecting with donors, partners, and constituents.

## **Program Management**

There have also been a number of attempts to provide the humanitarian community with technologies to improve logistics and program management.

1. The Fritz Institute, now well-known for its best-practices work and involvement in humanitarian logistics, teamed up with the International Federation of

the Red Cross and launched an online software system creatively called Humanitarian Logistics Software. According to the launch publicity, the technology “allows up-to-the-minute tracking of food, non-food, gifts-in-kind and financial information about the commodities in the supply chain. It also allows for the speedy reconciliation of needs versus what has been pledged or purchased and does it at a demand level per project per item.” With time this online software and its derivative lessons will be made available to organisations that can adapt the software to their own logistical processes.

2. Microsoft is also involved in the humanitarian logistics software scene. In 2001 the corporation joined Save the Children US, Mercy Corps International and a few other NGOs and non-profits to develop something call the Food and Agricultural Tracking System. It does much of what the Fritz Institute’s software does, but has added hand-held components and points-of-distribution features.

3. CHF International, a US-based non-profit specialising in community development and housing, has created another type of management software that focuses on tracking financial and program information. Called the Project Reporting System (PRS) the online software connects field programs, HQ offices and donors to real-time financial and programmatic information. The system has been designed to help facilitate the coordination of grants and contracts, monitor how money is being spent, what goals and objectives the program has met, and other types of information that can keep an eager or curious donor informed.

While all are steps in the right direction, these technology systems are all

developed on different platforms and are not yet standard throughout the humanitarian community. Many larger humanitarian organisations are developing their own software solutions, while others are at the mercy of the private sector or off-the-shelf solutions. Accordingly, it is not clear whether these products will have an impact on the entire humanitarian community and how effective they will be at changing the way the community handles complex operations in total.

### Popular technologies

Other technologies that are enjoying success or increased demands include:

- Geographical Information Systems (GIS) are being used for a range of purposes in humanitarian emergencies and development programs, integrating spatial and real-time data;
- Integrated or dynamic Intranets that keep field and HQ staff connected;
- Hand-held devices (Palm Pilots, Ipaqs) that are used during field assessments or logistical management;
- Iridium global phones (still the most popular way to communicate in many regions) and the Mini-M satellite phone;
- Human resources software that help manage contractor or consultant databases; and
- Online content management systems that ease the burden of keeping web-sites and Intranets updated with useful and timely content.

When seeking to procure, utilise, develop or implement a new form of technology the humanitarian community should keep a few suggestions in mind:

- Share technology. The more widely used technologies are throughout the community, the more efficient humanitari-

an operations will become.

- Create a technology plan. Look at your organisation and find critical interaction points or laborious processes that might be assisted by a form of technology. Create a plan to help everyone in your organisation understand the importance of technology, and how it will be used in the future, in emergencies, and during organisational growth. Plan for at least two years in to the future so that you will be able to justify procurement and adoption;
- Implement appropriate technology. Don't let articles like this one entice you to employ a new, expensive system without making sure it fits into your technology plan.
- Invest in people. Technology will do nothing for an organisation that does not continually support its personnel with technology training. When possible, train your personnel to handle technology in austere environments.

The advancements in technology and its positive impact on humanitarian operations are too great to ignore. Ideally, and in much the same way ReliefWeb was created, there will be a collaborative effort to create a central, operational, forward-thinking and always-on humanitarian technology centre to provide on-demand technology resources and assistance for humanitarian emergencies.

The humanitarian community is moving in the right direction, and as new technologies are developed, we should not forget that technology is a means to an end and should reflect the demands of the community and of the populations this community serves, no matter where the technology is developed.



# Bringing Fresh hope to Kosovo's mentally ill

**Sufferers from mental illness are among the most stigmatised and marginalised groups, particularly in less affluent countries. Joel Corcoran from the International Center for Clubhouse Development reports on a programme that offers them stability, recognition and closer links with local communities**

Mental illness robs people of their sense of belonging. They regularly face mistrust, contempt and ridicule, as well as violations of their human rights and freedoms. Such isolation can corrode a person's belief in his or her ability to socialise and take part in either leisure and work activities.

In the United States, the National Alliance for the Mentally Ill has released a report entitled "Shattered Lives," compiled from interviews with 3,400 sufferers from mental illness in all 50 U.S. states. The findings show that 86% of people with mental illness are in the prime of their lives—between the ages of 18 and 54. 2/3 of them are unemployed and 55% live on an annual income below \$10,000. Nearly half of them had been hospitalised in the last

year; 40% had crisis emergency care; and, 44% were detained or arrested by police. "Shattered Lives" concludes that mental health treatment in the U.S. is "a failed system."

The situation in less affluent countries is even more alarming. According to the World Health Organization, 450m people worldwide are afflicted by mental, behavioural, or neurological problems.

## Changing Perceptions

The International Center for Clubhouse Development (ICCD) was founded in 1994, as a response to this profound international crisis. The ICCD is an organisation whose work is to "help people with mental illness access and participate in the

world of employment, education, family and friends by providing a place to belong.”

The ICCD is a network of such communities - called clubhouses - which are based on a rehabilitation model which was first developed at Fountain House, in New York City. It was founded by a small group of discharged patients who were looking for a way to pick up the pieces of their lives after the debilitating experience of being diagnosed with a mental illness and confined to a hospital.

Clubhouses are unlike other programmes for people with serious mental illness. Clubhouse programmes not only address the immediate social, psychological, and practical needs of their members, but they also address the larger underlying social and humanitarian issues. The clubhouse philosophy is that people with mental illness are first and foremost people, not patients, with the same needs as all other people. Instead of focusing on a member's illness and deficits, clubhouses focus on the member's strengths and talents.

Invariably, as clubhouse members move out into the larger society, they do encounter stigma and prejudice. However, a clubhouse typically has a group of citizens from the local community to serve as its governing board, with responsibility for the oversight of the clubhouse as a successful NGO and for its growth, development, and community acceptance. People in the larger community therefore have contact with people with mental illness as neighbours and co-workers.

### **Pristina clubhouse**

A dramatic example of the success of the clubhouse model is Klubi Dëshira, a clubhouse programme in Pristina, Kosovo. In

post-war Kosovo there was only one hospital for people with mental illness and almost no community-based mental health programmes in the region. In 2000, members of the ICCD board of directors were able to gain access to the hospital, which was vastly overcrowded. Psychotic adults were mixed together with children with learning difficulties and others who had been traumatised by war; none of them were receiving treatment or adequate medication. Patients wore communal clothing with large spray-painted numbers on their backs, identifying which laundry they should be sent to. Access to outsiders was extremely limited, and often denied.

The ICCD was able to secure start-up funding, and identify local people who would be interested in creating a clubhouse community. The clubhouse opened its doors in April 2001. Today, more than 40 men and women with mental illness attend the clubhouse every day. In an area with an 80% unemployment rate, Klubi Dëshira now supports seven of its members in real part-time jobs in the community, and two others in full-time independent jobs.

Today, more than 50 years after Fountain House in New York City opened its doors, more than 55,000 men and women living with mental illness in 29 countries are active members of clubhouse programmes. However, thousands more have benefited over the years. There are more than 400 clubhouse programmes in the world and more than 20 new clubhouses are opening each year.

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*For more information about the International Center for Clubhouse Development visit [www.iccd.org](http://www.iccd.org) or write to ICCD, 425 West 47th Street, New York, NY 10036.*

# HEAD-TO-HEAD

WHERE THE TWO SIDES OF A MAJOR POLICY DEBATE DO BATTLE TO WIN OUR READERS TO THEIR POINT OF VIEW

## “ Why the TRIPS deal isn't good news for poor countries ”



**ELLEN 'T HOEN**, coordinator of policy advocacy and research of Médecins sans Frontières' Access to Essential Medicines Campaign, argues for a new mechanism to direct medical R&D to areas of greatest need.

According to the World Health Organisation (WHO), essential medicines are “those that satisfy the needs of the majority of the population and therefore should be available at all times, in adequate amounts, in appropriate dosage forms, and at a price the individual and the community can afford.”

## “ Fight poverty, not patents ”



**Pharmaceutical companies have been attacked for a lack of interest in the health problems of the developing world.**  
**CHRISTOPHE DE CALLATAÏ**, Communications Manager of the

European Federation of Pharmaceutical Industries and Associations (EFPIA), explains why the patent system is not really to blame.

Millions of people in developing countries have no access to even the most basic

healthcare services, including safe and effective medicines that are taken for granted in the developed world. But solving the problem of ill health in the developing world is far more complex than simply providing medicines cheaply. Poor healthcare is primarily a poverty and development issue caused by lack of funding, political will and proper infrastructure. The pharmaceutical industry is committed to playing its part alongside all other stakeholders to work towards finding real solutions to this tragic disparity.

The huge burden of disease in poor countries is caused by many factors which combine to produce conditions in which

Essential medicines should always be affordable to all who need them, whether rich or poor. Yet, there is currently no reliable, systematic mechanism to ensure that essential medicines are priced at a level to ensure accessibility. The problem is most acute in developing countries, where entire populations might be unable to access medicines for a particular disease, because of the cost of treatment. With the next's year full implementation of the WTO's Agreement on Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) in nearly all countries, pharmaceutical products may be patent protected for 20 years, and developing countries will have far more difficulty accessing affordable drugs.

The magnitude of the AIDS crisis in particular has drawn attention to the fact that millions of people in the developing

world do not have access to the medicines that are needed to treat disease or alleviate suffering. Over 3m people died of AIDS in 2003, including over 1/2m children, and an estimated 5m became infected, bringing the total to 40m. However, 95% of people affected by AIDS are poor people living in developing countries, and only 400,000 of the 6m people in immediate need of life-sustaining medicines are receiving them (UNAIDS, AIDS epidemic update, Geneva, December 2003).

### High drug prices

There are many reasons for the lack of access to essential medicines, but often it is high drugs prices that are the main barrier to treatment. This is directly linked to patent protection. Patents give their owners a monopoly to use, manufacture, sell, and import the patented product and there-

diseases like HIV/AIDS, malaria and TB are both the cause and effect of poverty. Millions of people in developing countries have no food or clean water, let alone healthcare. Other factors, such as armed conflict, corruption, bureaucracy, lack of education and simple prevention measures like condoms and mosquito nets, ensure that poor health is endemic for the world's poorest people.

Against this background, it is all too easy to blame the pharmaceutical industry for not doing enough, or to focus on pharmaceutical patents and prices as possible barriers to better health. But unfortunately, this distracts public attention from the real and more fundamental problems.

### Critical R&D

In reality, research-based pharmaceutical

companies are making a significant contribution to tackling the complex problem of ill health in poor countries by doing what they do best: devoting considerable effort to research and development of new life-saving medicines. Despite numerous scientific and legal difficulties, this critical R&D work continues. Key targets include HIV/AIDS and TB as well as other diseases prevalent in the developing countries, such as malaria, hepatitis B, meningitis and leprosy.

Furthermore, pharmaceutical companies are engaged in a considerable amount of initiatives, schemes and actions worldwide – either directly or through public-private partnerships - to help get the right healthcare, including medicines, to the people who so desperately need it.

fore the opportunity to sell it at the most profitable price. When this monopoly status does not exist or comes to an end, a dramatic fall in drug prices is generally seen. Médecins sans Frontières has witnessed this in many developing countries where we work, particularly in the case of antiretroviral medicines for the treatment of HIV/AIDS.

Some have argued that patents are not a problem because only a handful of drugs on the WHO Essential Medicines List are patent protected. However, until recently, affordability was one of the criteria for including a medicine in the list, regardless of the medical need. This rule changed, and in April 2002 the

***“The AIDS crisis has drawn attention to the millions of people who do not have access to medicines”***

WHO added antiretroviral drugs to the list. Sheer numbers of patents are not a medically relevant measure for access to treatments that have to use a number of medicines in combination. If one drug is widely patented and that drug is unaffordable, access to the entire treatment is jeopardised and access to a fixed-dose combination may be impossible. Components of triple therapy for AIDS, for example, are patented in 70% of African countries surveyed.

Finally, medicines do not have to be patented in every single country to inhibit access. Medicines are widely patented in the relatively high-income

Here are just a few examples of industry initiatives:

- Donation of more than 300m tablets for the treatment of Onchocerciasis (river blindness) in 33 countries in Africa, Latin America and the Middle East.
- Donation of \$1bn for the treatment for lymphatic filariasis (one of the world's most disfiguring and disabling tropical diseases).
- Donations of 120m doses of oral polio vaccine to five African countries; another 30m doses are committed for the period 2002-2005.
- New laboratories in Bangalore (India) to search for more and better treatments for TB.
- Donation of medication worth about \$35m over the next six years to “The Global Alliance” initiative, created by the WHO to eliminate leprosy worldwide by 2005.

For quite some time, pharmaceutical companies have also been offering preferential pricing for vaccines and medicines, making them available to a wide range of people in developing countries. In sheer size, industry's health spending in developing countries now rivals that of the World Health Organisation.

### **Best model**

However, given the complexity and enormity of the challenge, the pharmaceutical industry cannot act alone. Partnerships between all potential stakeholders – governments, international organisations, NGOs and private companies – each providing its own expertise, are the best possible way to improve access to vital quality medicines.

The initiative taken by several pharmaceutical companies to accelerate

markets in Africa such as South Africa and Kenya. Also generic producers need access to the more lucrative markets to achieve economies of scale that push prices down and even a few patents in in certain countries can be detrimental.

### Generic competition

Just 3 years ago, the average cost of a triple combination of anti-retrovirals was between \$10,000-\$15,000 per patient per year; today it is available for as little as \$300 per patient per year and under certain conditions for \$140. These price drops were the direct result of international public pressure and generic competition. The absence or late introduction of product patent protection in countries like India, Thailand and Brazil has also made it possible for

pharmaceutical manufacturers to develop fixed-dose combinations of antiretroviral medicines that are easier to use, help reduce the risk of drug resistance and ease the supply and storage. However, brand companies have to date appeared unwilling to co-operate and produce FDCs. Patents can therefore not only drive the price of medicines up, but also limit access to the simplest regimens.

The 2001 Doha Ministerial Conference of the World Trade Organization was a breakthrough in the international debate about access to medicines. The Doha Declaration on TRIPS and Public Health outlined measures countries can take to overcome patent barriers to access, and ruled that least developed countries do not need to provide pharmaceutical prod-

access to HIV/AIDS-related care and treatment in developing countries is a prime example. It involves providing pharmaceuticals to those in need at drastically discounted prices (by 85-95%) - prices that are similar or even lower than those of generic drugs. As of today, 13 countries have reached agreements with companies on significantly reduced medicine prices and 78 countries have indicated their interest, comprising 41 countries in Africa, 24 in Latin America and the Caribbean, five in Europe, five in Asia, and three in the Middle East. Other similar partnerships

have been set up to tackle child immunisation programmes, and prevention and treatment of malaria and TB.

***“It is all too easy to blame the pharmaceutical industry for not doing enough, or to focus on pharmaceutical patents and prices as possible barriers to better health”***

Such partnerships bring together all stakeholders, and they operate within a framework that fosters innovation while addressing barriers to access. We believe that this is the most effective way to fight diseases that perpetuate illness and premature deaths among poor people and gradually replace the destructive cycle of poverty and diseases with a virtuous cycle of investment and health.

uct patents and data protection until at least 2016. However, the question remains whether post 2005 these measures will be sufficient to ensure a steady supply of generic versions of new medicines.

### Crisis of R&D

The Intellectual property rights (IPR) system, including patents, is a social policy tool. The primary justification for granting intellectual property rights, is the benefit to the society as a whole by promoting innovation in exchange for a limited monopoly.. However, this system will only work if R&D is targeted to the real health needs of people and if the system does not lead to prohibitive drug pricing. 90% of all biomedical research and 60% of all the profits for pharmaceutical drugs are in the USA, while Africa represents around 1% of drug sales worldwide. Thus in the

last 25 years almost 1,400 new medicines have been developed, but only 1% of these were for the unprofitable tropical diseases market and as a result many diseases are totally ignored.

Governments must pay greater attention to the laws governing the way medicines are researched, developed and sold. In the face of rising toll of infectious diseases such as AIDS, TB, and malaria the importance of a tough international approach is evident. In the words of Sir John Sulston, winner of the 2002 Nobel Prize for Physiology or Medicine: “We have to recognise that the free market, as good a servant as it is, is a bad master. We cannot take important global decisions on the basis of the free market alone.”

→ <http://www.accessmed-msf.org>

### Patent protection

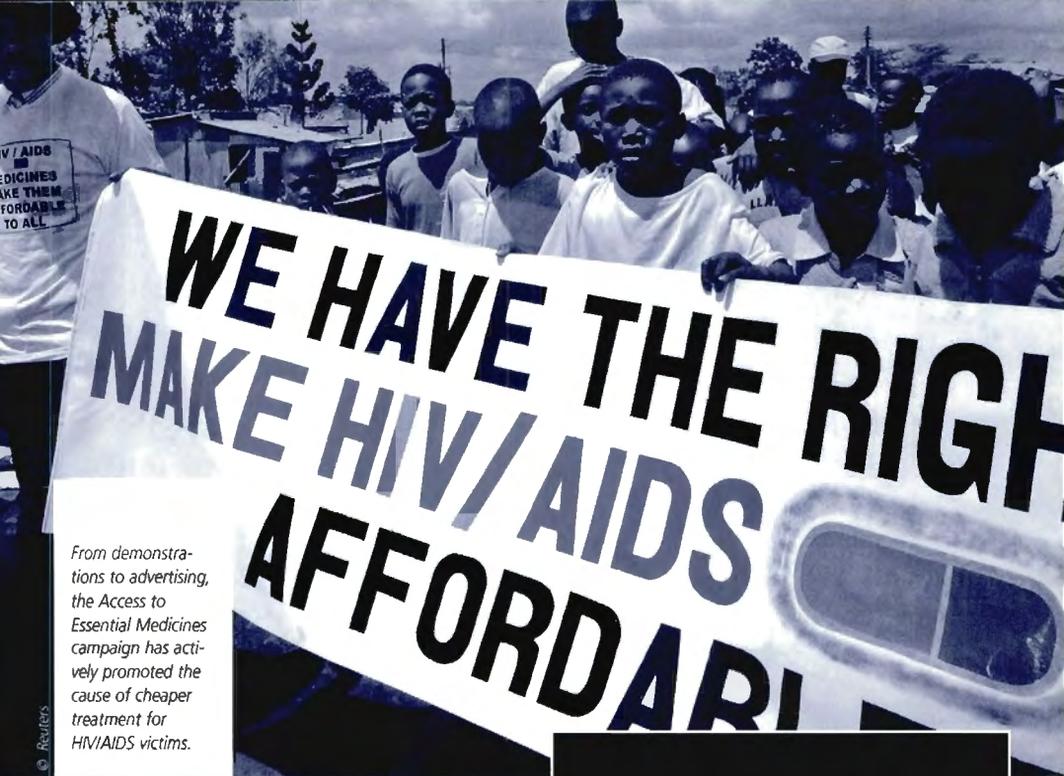
While pharmaceutical patents are an insignificant component in the global issue of access to better health, they do play a critical role as far as innovation, economic growth and development are concerned. For example, without a strong patent system, anti-retrovirals to fight HIV/AIDS would simply not exist.

As can be seen in India, where there are no pharmaceutical patents and where there is a large home grown generic industry, a lack of patent guarantees neither the production of essential medicines, nor their distribution to the areas of greatest need. Less than one per cent of the coun-

try's four million HIV patients have access to HIV/AIDS copycat treatments manufactured by the 22,000 Indian generic manufacturers. Conversely, countries such as Mexico, which do not face significant problems in terms of access to medicines, have strong IP protection – which demonstrates that there is no correlation between patent protection and access.

**“Without a strong patent system, anti-retrovirals to fight HIV/AIDS would simply not exist”**

In fact, over 95% of all medicines on the WHO Essential Drugs list are off-patent, which means that they are freely available to all generic manufacturers, who can copy them at virtually no cost and market them anywhere in the world. The fact that they are neither manufac-



*From demonstrations to advertising, the Access to Essential Medicines campaign has actively promoted the cause of cheaper treatment for HIV/AIDS victims.*

© Reuters

tured nor distributed demonstrates that patents are definitely not the cause of lack of access to vital medicines in the developing world.

Pharmaceutical companies have been offering substantially reduced prices on medicines and vaccines to developing countries for many years, and the industry is committed to continue and extend these efforts. But for poor countries, the truth is that quality medicines offered at not-for-profit prices or even generic copies are in most cases still unaffordable. For the international community, increased funding primarily to build up local healthcare infrastructure is the main problem. Former Swedish Prime Minister Carl Bildt rightly insisted: "We should fight poverty, not patents".

**MEDICINE SHOULDN'T BE A LUXURY.**

8,000 PEOPLE WILL DIE OF AIDS TODAY BECAUSE TREATING THEM IS NOT COST EFFECTIVE.

**ACCESS TO ESSENTIAL MEDICINES**

Access to essential medicines for all

# EU's Dutch Presidency takes a fresh look at aid reform

On 1 July the Netherlands took over the Presidency of the European Union from Ireland. This section covers the priorities for the Presidency. First it gives an overview of the Presidency's agenda. The following three articles highlight the Dutch government's views on three issues at the core of its agenda: security and development, coherence, and reproductive rights.

The Netherlands has assumed the presidency of the European Union in a period destined to bring many changes and challenges. Ten new member states acceded on 1 May, elections for the European Parliament took place in June and a new Commission will be installed in November. The European Council has reached agreement on a Constitutional Treaty that will also affect the future shape of EU external policy. Negotiations on the new financial perspectives are expected to be launched shortly. These events will also have an impact on EU foreign aid policy.

The country holding the EU presidency is in a position to foster continuity as well as reform in development co-operation, and the Dutch presidency aims to do both. In line with the Irish-Dutch presidency programme and the multi-annual strategic programme for the six 2004-2006 presidencies, the Netherlands are aiming to improve the effectiveness and transparency of EU foreign aid, to implement international agreements, and foster effective multilateralism

centring on a strong, decisive United Nations. The Netherlands is also devoting special attention to Africa, the poorest continent, where the challenges of peace, security and development are greatest.

## • **Improving the effectiveness and transparency of European development co-operation**

*The quality, effectiveness and efficiency of European foreign aid*

Reforms in the management of external aid, introduced by the Commission in 2000, are starting to show results, but have not yet achieved all they can. The debate on the Commission's annual report on external action for 2003 is taking place under the Dutch presidency. A progress report on the reforms will be included in the annual report. The Netherlands is pushing for a constructive assessment of the impact of the reforms on the quality of aid and for continuation of the reform process.

A constructive debate on the future of the European Development Fund (EDF) is

also high on the agenda. The interests of all parties involved need to be taken into account in order to prepare a balanced decision on the Commission's proposal to incorporate the EDF into the general budget.

### *Coherence, coordination and harmonisation*

Much more can be done within the EU to prevent us from providing aid with one hand whilst limiting its effectiveness with the other. In autumn 2003, the Netherlands took the initiative to establish a Policy for Coherence Development network to actively pursue coherence in EU policies. During its presidency, the Netherlands is working on this issue with special attention to non-tariff measures, especially in the framework of the informal meeting of development ministers. The outcome of the discussion on coherence issues could be taken further in the context of the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) synthesis report and the review of the Communication on Trade and Development, both scheduled for 2005.

The agreements reached in the Barcelona European Council on coherence, complementarity and co-ordination will make EU development aid far more effective. The Netherlands is chairing the recently established ad hoc working party on harmonisation, which will present recommendations to further harmonise EU aid to the General Affairs and External Relations Council in November.

### *Security and development*

Just as peace and security are preconditions for development, poverty reduction is one of the foundations of a safe, peaceful society. The Netherlands is encouraging the EU to take integrated external action in conflict and post-conflict regions, making judicious use of the Peace



*Agnes van Ardenne and Tom Kitt, respectively Ministers for development cooperation of the Netherlands and Ireland, at an informal meeting of Ministers in May.*

Facility and other funds and trying to speed up the relevant procedures. The Netherlands is also trying to promote the debate on ODA eligibility, to see whether the EU can make progress in the discussion on the inclusion of activities related to peace and security.

### *Migration and development*

The Netherlands is fostering progress in the area of migration, protection capacity in the regions of origin, and development, which are all inextricably linked. The Commission recently published a Communication on the managed entry into the EU of persons in need of international protection and the enhancement of the protection capacity of the regions of origin. This document is being discussed during the Dutch presidency.

### *New member states*

Ten new member states joined the EU on 1 May. These countries already contribute actively to the European development effort, but they should be supported in generating public and political awareness, defining their policies and further developing institutional capacity.

- **Complying with international agreements**

In 2005 the world community will assess its progress in implementing the Millennium Development Goals. The EU will present the efforts of the individual member states and the Commission in the form of a synthesis report, prepared by the Commission. The report will not only embody a feasible contribution by the EU to this high-level event in 2005, it will also contain recommendations to accelerate implementation of the MDGs. During the Dutch presidency a progress report by the Commission is being discussed.

The MDGs cannot be achieved if the agreements made ten years ago during the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) are not implemented. They will help to reduce infant and maternal mortality and improve reproductive health, including access to family planning. This in turn will contribute to poverty reduction, AIDS reduction and gender equality. The Netherlands is taking advantage of strategic opportunities to focus attention on reproductive health care and push for implementation of the ICPD agenda.

Building on the work of the Irish presidency, the Netherlands has placed HIV/AIDS on the agenda on various occasions, such as EU-Africa Troika meetings, the EU-China Summit, and the EU-India Summit, with the emphasis on capacity building in developing countries, research into preventive technologies and the involvement of the corporate sector.

- **Strengthening the multilateral system**

Effective multilateralism is a central element in EU foreign policy. In a written

contribution to the High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, the EU underlined the importance of better co-ordination and clearer guidance of UN institutions at country level, as well as better co-operation between the UN and the Bretton Woods Institutions. The Netherlands is continuing the debate in the EU about the reform process, with a view to developing more common views. Co-operation between the EU and UN bodies has improved substantially, notably regarding food aid and the co-ordination of emergency aid. Further co-operation between the EU and the UN in conflict prevention and crisis management should be encouraged.

As far as EU co-ordination on the boards of UN funds and programmes is concerned, the Netherlands is trying to link this debate constructively to agreements on common policies regarding the relevant institutions, as well as more equal burden sharing amongst EU member states in financing these institutions.

The EU is not just an economic superpower, but also a development giant, delivering over €30bn a year – more than half of all global public development funding. It possesses all the necessary instruments for an effective external policy – diplomatic, military, civilian, trade and development. The EU is a value-based community of nations concerned with the world at large, and a principal partner to many developing countries. We owe it to these countries to make our effort more effective, by pursuing a foreign aid policy, which is better integrated, better co-ordinated, more coherent and more transparent. Increasingly this is also a matter of mutual interest.

# Dutch Plan links peacekeeping to development policy

The Dutch government holds that the security sector is a vital element in achieving stability in many developing countries. The new presidency argues that certain security issues should qualify for official development aid

**IRAQ, AFGHANISTAN AND MANY COUNTRIES** in Africa are either being torn apart by civil strife or are stuck halfway between open conflict and a lasting peace. Stability is not only a prerequisite for development in these countries, but sustaining stability is itself part of development. The Netherlands believes Europe is on the right track with its Peace Facility for Africa and has called for a better integrated and more coherent European policy on peace, security and development.

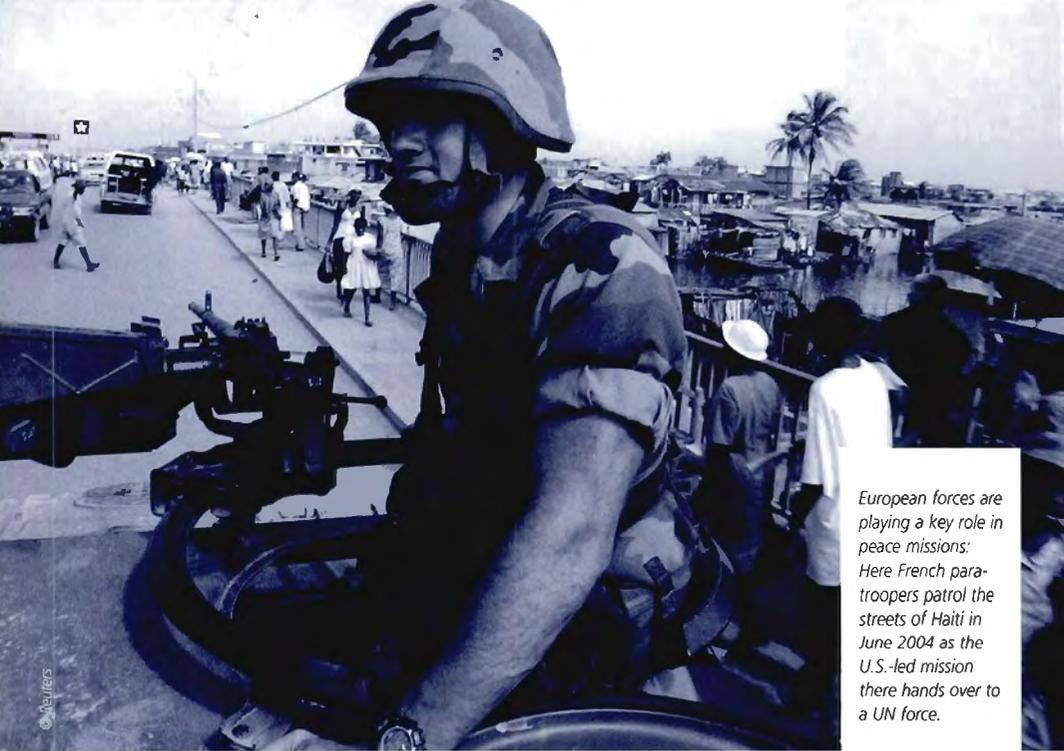
Afghanistan, where thousands of potential combatants are now ready to take up arms again, is a good example of how the lack of both security and development can reinforce each other. Although the Kabul government is making progress, there is no adequate central security apparatus and no authority with

*“Too often there is a gap between crisis management – which is generally military – and civil reconstruction”*

a monopoly on the use of force. Warlords, whose power is based on violence and drug trafficking, control large parts of the country and the authority of the government decreases with each kilometre beyond the city limits. Sustainable development is virtually impossible in such an environment, and it is clear that building a reliable and responsible authority is now the first step towards achieving sustainability. Only when a government controls the national security apparatus – the police and the military – can it guarantee its citizens’ security.

## **Inextricably linked**

Too often there is a gap between crisis management – which is generally military – and civil reconstruction. The OECD countries increasingly recognise that security and development are inextricably linked and



*European forces are playing a key role in peace missions: Here French paratroopers patrol the streets of Haiti in June 2004 as the U.S.-led mission there hands over to a UN force.*

that more integrated development and security policies are needed. The Netherlands believes that the work of the security sector is vital to ensure a degree of stability and governance in many developing countries, and that it should therefore become an integral part of our development approach.

Under certain conditions, the Dutch government holds that support for the creation of a national security sector should fall under official development aid (ODA). Training a new national army in norms and values like the Geneva Convention and respect for Human Rights is, for example, extremely relevant to development policy.

The activities of Western troops in developing countries are also highly germane to development policy. At the pres-

ent time, servicemen and women involved in crisis management operations are also performing tasks that fall under ODA: repairing infrastructure, providing military observers and clearing landmines. But as far as the Netherlands is concerned, the list of activities under ODA is too short.

The Dutch government would also like to see an end to the outmoded condition whereby such activities count as ODA only if they are carried out under the aegis of the UN. Similarly, if these non-military activities are undertaken by NATO forces, or “a coalition of the willing”, they should also count as ODA, provided such an operation has been legitimized by the UN.

Where military personnel contribute to the training of the national security

structure – such as SFOR is doing in Bosnia-Herzegovina by helping to consolidate various ethnic armies – it should be considered as part of that country's development, and should fall under ODA. The Netherlands also feels that building the capacity of developing countries, which take part in peace missions should come under ODA. For instance, the professionalisation of the troops supplied by South Africa and Nigeria for peace missions in Africa actually serves a dual purpose of bringing stability to conflict regions while helping the armies that provide the troops to become more proficient.

### Not ODA eligible

But it is not the Netherlands' intention to use peacekeeping operations to classify as many activities as possible under the heading of ODA.

Neither weapon deliveries nor the costs of peace operations by other than the Least Developed Countries should under any circumstances qualify as ODA-eligible.

The primary task is always to build up the security sector of a developing country as part of the sustainable development of a state apparatus that actually serves its citizens. It is for that reason that the Netherlands has created a "stability fund" containing money from both ODA and non-ODA sources. This is used to finance activities at the interface of peace, security and development. In deciding how to allocate this (modest) fund, we first determine what is necessary. Only later do we look to see which activities fall under ODA and which do not.

***“The primary task is to build up the security sector of a developing country as part of the sustainable development of a state apparatus that actually serves its citizens”***

As well as expanding ODA registration, the Netherlands also intends to target Africa with its peace and security activities. Dutch bilateral development policy recognises Africa as a high-priority region, and the Netherlands would like the EU to give it the same priority.

During its EU presidency, the Netherlands is striving for more intensive dialogue and closer cooperation between the EU and Africa. Even now, great strides are being made.

The African Union is proving to be a good, constructive discussion partner, and close contact has been established with regional organisations like the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), and the Southern African Development

Community (SADC). Strengthening these institutions is a major priority during the Dutch presidency, particularly where they can play a role in conflict prevention, peacekeeping and stability.

In Europe, the Netherlands is trying to stimulate more spending on conflict prevention and peacekeeping through the EU Peace Facility. It is essential to publicise this initiative as much as possible in Africa to encourage African countries to make use of it. The Netherlands is also working towards the intensification and institutionalisation of political dialogue between Europe and the countries of Africa, not just those currently in conflict situations but also those with a stabilising role to play.



## **Dutch EU Presidency in push for fairer trade**

The story of West African cotton farming could be described as “giving with one hand and taking away with the other”. Many donors contribute large amounts to the fight against poverty in West Africa – especially in Mali, Burkina Faso and Benin – but the EU and the US stand accused of disrupting the market for these poor countries’ principal export product: cotton

**COTTON FARMERS IN WEST AFRICA** appear to be doing well. In Burkina Faso, for instance, they harvested a record 500,000 tonnes last year and expect to harvest 600,000 this year. Burkina Faso is, after Mali, West Africa's second biggest cotton producer. So far this year's crop has earned €154 m: eight times more than 10 years ago. However, the cotton farmers are not content because they could have earned a lot more if the US, and to a lesser extent the EU, had not kept the world cotton price artificially low to favour their own inefficient cotton industries.

A World Trade Organisation (WTO) expert panel recently ruled that the US was acting illegally by over-subsidising its 25,000 cotton farmers, thereby causing a slump in the world cotton price. The case was brought by cotton-producing Brazil, however the US has appealed, so the ruling is not final. In addition, Benin, Burkina Faso, Chad and Mali have successfully tabled a specific cotton proposal in the WTO negotiations in which they call for total elimination of trade distorting cotton support. If Brazil and the West African cotton farmers get their way, the world cotton price could soar over the next few years, which could increase the pace of development significantly in countries like Burkina Faso.

### 'White gold'

West Africans call cotton "white gold" because it's their only cash crop worth mentioning, and because they can compete globally, on both price and quality. Ten million West African cotton farmers receive around half the sales price direct, an unusually high rate for agricultural produce. And a good price for cotton can mean a ticket out of poverty for these farmers and their dependants, giving a significant boost

to the demand side of their economies. Many observers see the cotton issue as an indicator of how coherently rich countries deal with the rest of the world. The Dutch government believes that special attention for cotton is part of any coherent development policy. The EU has already decided to remove partially the link between subsidies to cotton farmers and cotton production. The Netherlands has called for further monitoring and review as these reforms risk falling short because European cotton farmers still receive too little incentive to convert to other crops.

Under the Maastricht Treaty, which became effective in 1993, the EU pledged to take the interests of developing countries into account as part of all its policy considerations. Since then the coherence of policies relating to development has been an official part of EU policy and legislation. In addition, within the European Commission and a number of Member States, institutional arrangements have been strengthened with a view to enhancing policy coherence. The Netherlands believes these to be steps in the right direction, but paperwork and procedures alone will not solve the problem.

In practice, the EU's pledge of policy coherence for development has not so far produced the desired effect. The interests of developing countries tend to be given comparatively little weight in the specialised decision-making process in Brussels. To change this, more energetic implementation of the pledge for coherence is needed, backed up by sufficient political support at both national and EU level. An important step in the right direction came with the proposal by EU commissioners Pascal Lamy and Franz Fischler in the WTO's Doha Round negotiations to scrap

export subsidies for agricultural products, providing other WTO-members make similar concessions. This has recently led to an agreement within the WTO on a framework to reduce agricultural support.

## Better chances

The Netherlands' EU Presidency has set out to encourage the European Commission and the EU member states to pay attention to the interests of developing countries and push for fair international trade rules giving developing countries better chances on world markets. The Netherlands also wants an ambitious target to be set in terms of increasing market access and reducing trade distorting subsidies for products, including cotton and sugar, that are important to developing countries.

Anyone who wants to sell a product on an international market faces increasing requirements relating to quality, health, the environment, and social conditions – which in itself is a good thing. But there is a danger that these regulations hamper the exports of products from developing countries because they fail to meet such requirements. The Netherlands government believes that such decisions should take account of their impact on developing countries' export opportunities. They should also include more and better assistance for developing countries in meeting the requirements.

## Sugar production

After the WTO ruling on cotton, from which the EU has relatively little to lose, the next bone of contention will be sugar. EU sugar export subsidies have con-

tributed significantly to low world market prices. This makes it very difficult for sugar producers in developing countries to compete. In addition, the EU has so far protected its own market from imports from developing countries to a large extent, resulting in high internal prices.

The Netherlands' position is that the disruptive impact of subsidies on the sugar industry needs to be reduced and

***“More energetic implementation of the pledge for coherence is needed, backed up by sufficient political support at both national and EU level”***

EU market access for developing countries must be increased, resulting in higher prices on the world market and lower prices in the EU. However, the case is less clear-cut than with cotton. Seventeen African Caribbean Pacific (ACP) countries sell sugar to the

EU at a guaranteed price under the sugar protocol to the Cotonou Agreement, which earns them €500m a year. And under the Everything But Arms initiative, the least developed countries may sell sugar tariff-free to the EU from 2009.

But the lack of market forces has led or could lead to similar expensive inefficiencies in these countries' sugar sector like those in the EU's own sugar industry. The Netherlands therefore supports the EU in looking for ways to compensate ACP countries for lower prices. These should be both aid and trade based. In other words, they should focus not only on funding the restructuring of their sugar industries, but also on increased market access. In the long run and in the interests of the competitiveness of their sugar industries, ACP countries and Least Developed Countries will benefit most from a more liberalised EU sugar market.

# “Reproductive rights” hold key to poverty reduction

**Despite some progress in preventing unwanted pregnancies, the world is in danger of losing the fight against AIDS. The Netherlands presidency will highlight the underlying importance of reproductive health in achieving the Millenium Development Goals**

**TODAY, 500M WOMEN** in developing countries now have access to contraception. Each year this prevents 187m unwanted pregnancies, 105m abortions, 22m miscarriages, 1.7m prematurely dead children and almost 700,000 infant deaths. Those are important advances, which are directly connected to Millennium Development Goals four and five: reducing child mortality and improving mothers' health. That is encouraging, but it does not release us – Europe – from further efforts.

Progress is a good thing, but it's not yet time to pat ourselves on the back. There are still 120m women who have no access to contraception, much as they would like it. In the last 30 years the number of people in the world in the 10 - 24 age category has increased by 50%, meaning that between 1994 and 2015 3bn people will be entering their fertile years. And many girls continue to get married and have children at too young an age.

## Save lives

Later marriages and better-informed brides and grooms could save the lives of tens of thousands of women and millions of children who are now threatened by unwanted pregnancies and births that follow one another all too rapidly. Many women still give birth without trained maternity care, and some 500,000 women die annually from complications from childbirth. Even though children in the first few years of life now have a better chance of surviving, infant mortality has declined relatively little.

Meanwhile, the world is in danger of losing the fight against AIDS. To be sure, more and more money is being allocated to HIV-related issues, but that did not prevent 4.8m people from becoming infected with the virus last year. A sad statistic, announced this summer by UNAIDS. Africa continues to have the greatest number of HIV and AIDS patients. Of the estimated 38m people in the world who are



*Health education is a key to preventing the spread of HIV, here in Burkina Faso and in many parts of Africa.*

HIV positive, 25m live in central and southern Africa. However this is not to say that AIDS is an exclusively African problem. The epidemic is also raging in densely populated countries like India, China and Indonesia, and if nothing happens, the crisis could reach “African proportions” in those places as well. Every day 14,000 people, including 5,500 women and 2,200 children, are infected. Women and the young are especially vulnerable. Women are often not in a position to insist on safe sex, have less access to condoms and run a relatively greater risk of becoming infected.

### **Not too late**

The list of terrible statistics is much longer, but the above snapshot is more than enough to drive even the most confirmed optimist to despair. Nevertheless it is not too late to take action. But if we are to do so, we must deal with reproductive health

care, reproductive rights and the fight against AIDS collectively. Unfortunately there is a world-wide trend against such an approach, led by religious and conservative political movements and governments. Donor nations are increasingly focusing on the Millennium Development Goals. Even though reproductive health is not explicitly mentioned there, some of the objectives are directly related to it.

Yet reproductive health care and reproductive rights are crucial for meeting all the Millennium Development Goals. Without good reproductive health care, poverty will not be halved by 2015, AIDS will not be halted, the environment will not be spared and not all children will attend primary school. Fortunately we can get to work right away; it is not necessary to devise new policy. That was taken care of some time ago.

10 years ago, during the UN International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo, agreements were made on reproductive rights and health. These agreements, which were signed by 179 countries, embraced a wide range of topics, like birth control, child and maternal mortality, female circumcision and sexual violence. The rapid spread of HIV/AIDS makes it more necessary than ever to stick to these agreements. Good, accessible reproductive healthcare services are essential for combating AIDS. But better still would be preventing HIV infection in the first place.

### International agenda

AIDS has become a development issue as well as a health issue, and must be seen as such by the architects of EU development policy. The Netherlands is putting HIV/AIDS on the agenda in various fora, for example the EU-Africa troika talks, the EU-China summit and the EU-India summit with emphasis on capacity building in developing countries, research on preventative technologies, prevention and empowerment, and the involvement of the private sector. In addition, in the area of trade, the Netherlands is supporting the effective and timely implementation of the WTO Doha Declaration on 'TRIPs and Public Health', notably the WTO Decision of the August 2003 in this respect. The Netherlands is also working towards more intensive co-operation and co-ordination at EU level, both in terms of capacity building and trade policy, with an active role for the Commission.

In practical terms this means that people all over the world will be able to make sensible and responsible choices about sexuality and reproduction. That presup-

poses education, in particular for the young, and the availability of contraception and good medical care. These are rights that were set down in Cairo and reconfirmed in Beijing.

As holder of the EU presidency, the Netherlands also intends to place the Cairo Plan of Action higher on the European and international agenda. As the greatest provider of aid, Europe has an additional duty to do its utmost. What Europe does, counts; Europe serves as an example to others. In virtually no other field is the Dutch slogan "Towards a Responsible Europe" more appropriate than in that of reproductive health and rights. And our support must be financial, not merely political. Therefore the Netherlands, as holder of the presidency, is calling for a significant investment in research into and support for preventive measures. The Netherlands is also committed to close co-operation with the private sector to intensify the fight against AIDS, particularly now that the Cairo agenda is under pressure from conservative governments, which are trying to undo the progress that has been made thus far. If Europe offers no resistance, the results will be disastrous.

The Netherlands calls upon all European countries to accept their responsibilities. In the first place by fulfilling their financial commitments, but also by acknowledging their own shortcomings. Some countries in Europe still have to pay their dues to the UN World Population Fund (UNFPA). The new EU member states do not yet have much experience in either reproductive health care and rights or AIDS policy. The Netherlands would be happy to share its expertise with them.



# Doubling aid, but at what cost?

Gordon Brown's plan to finance aid has met with a mixed response. **Katherine Arie** says that one solution might be for developing countries to have a greater say in the governance of the International Financing Facility

IT HAS BEEN HAILED AS BRILLIANT and innovative, and it could be the biggest boon to development ever achieved, but is UK Finance Minister Gordon Brown's plan to double worldwide aid the next big thing or the next big flop?

It's too soon to tell, but so far Brown's brainchild - the International Finance Facility (IFF) - has received a lukewarm welcome. It has strong support from France, but so far the US, Japan and Germany aren't persuaded of its value. Many in London's development community, even those who favour massive increases in aid, are also on the fence. Members of British NGOs for Development (BOND), for example, a network of more than 280 UK-based development organisations, have yet to draw any public conclusions. Others have embraced the IFF, but only in the absence of a better alternative.

Few believe the world will meet the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) without a radical plan, and it can be

argued that the IFF does seem to fit the bill; it's a put-your-money-where-your-mouth-is proposal that would double international development assistance from \$50bn to \$100bn a year and halve the number of people living in poverty by 2015.

### Radical plan

The idea itself is simple - donors would borrow a large amount of private capital to finance dramatic increases in aid. Here's how it would work. The IFF would issue bonds, backed up by the donor countries' pledges. The proceeds from the sale of the bonds would be given to existing bilateral and multilateral agencies, like the UK's Department for International Development (DFID) and the World Bank, to disburse to developing countries. Years later, donor countries would pay back the bond holders. On the surface, the plan looks promising. **First**, it would enable donors, even those on a tight budget, to pump money into aid now and pay later. Happily, it is the donor countries, not the recipients, which would borrow the money in the first place. **Second**, it

would allow donors to fulfill their moral obligation to meet the MDGs. This, conveniently, would have the knock-on effect of buying a substantial amount of political capital at home: in short, it would look good. **Third**, because donors would be legally “locked in” to pledges made at the UN’s International Conference on Financing in Monterrey in 2002, it would lead to much-needed predictable and stable aid flows. Obviously, from the developing world’s perspective, the binding nature of the scheme, the lock-in, is particularly attractive. The final bonus is that aid from the IFF would be “untied” - countries receiving the aid would not be required to spend any of the money on goods or services from the donor country.

So what are the drawbacks? One concern is that the idea to “frontload” aid will actually reduce the amount of aid countries will receive over time, if the money donors use to pay back the bond holders is carved out of their own aid budgets. If those aid budgets don’t continue to rise, the donors’ obligation to pay back the bond holders will undercut future aid.

### **Dodging commitments**

In fact, there is no guarantee that the IFF will add to rather than replace future increases in aid spending. Some NGOs also fear donors will use the IFF to dodge other commitments.

One obvious problem is that even if the IFF got off the ground, it would do nothing to address the question of aid effectiveness. If the money raised isn’t used effectively, it won’t reduce poverty.

By announcing that all the money raised will be disbursed by established multilateral and bilateral agencies, the

IFF is able to avoid the issue of aid effectiveness, in effect, by passing the buck.

Supporters of the IFF will find no common ground with NGOs disposed to reject the plan on grounds that current methods of disbursing aid by established agencies - which include conditionalities based on adherence to free-market economic policies - aren’t working. Indeed, those who trace the causes of continued poverty to these agencies and their policies will never be able to support a proposal which puts more resources at their disposal.

It won’t help that the IFF will actually increase the leverage of the World Bank and, indirectly, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), as new lending or grants will require countries be on being “on track” with the IMF. This means that countries will face even more pressure to follow free-market economic policies.

Supporters of the plan will inevitably find themselves fighting the perception that market-based development strategies serve the interests of rich countries at the expense of the poor.

Finally, there is the question of governance. The details of how the IFF process will be supervised have yet to be hammered out, but eventual arrangements are likely to involve a small governing board with minimal representation from developing countries. For the whole thing to work, the IFF will need to embrace participation and transparency, and developing countries should have as much input as possible. In fact, with all the other potential objections, this may be the key concession Mr. Brown needs to make to see his proposal brought to life.



## **French NGOs search for their share of Chirac's aid bonanza**

**French spending on development aid is set to meet OECD targets by 2012, but how will the new funds be allocated? Julie Bolle reports on the struggle of French NGOs to win a slice of the cake**

**AS COORDINATION SUD** (Solidarity-Urgency-Development), a network of over 110 French NGOs, celebrates its tenth anniversary with a series of meetings and the publication of a collaborative book entitled "NGOs and the world crisis." President Jacques Chirac has promised that French development aid will gradually increase to reach the OECD target of 0,7% of GNP by 2012. Chirac is said to have already told the Finance Ministry that this budget decision is sacred, yet nothing has emerged so far about how the extra funds will be allocated, or when they will materialise.

This is a matter of great concern for France's NGOs, which have long been deeply committed to the principles of international solidarity and are known for their independence, activism and idealism. In recent years, however, their attention has been distracted by budgetary constraints. A number of France's best-known NGOs have voiced their concerns about their own disastrous financial situation as well as the growing power of

Anglo-Saxon NGOs, which they say are much more financially secure.

### **Different expectations**

Emergency and development NGOs in France both hope to benefit from the promised extra funding, although their needs and their expectations are different. NGOs specialising in emergency aid are calling for the yearly budget of the Humanitarian Action Delegation (HAD) to be increased from €10m to €30m, and development NGOs simply want a larger share of the spending by the Directorate-General for Development and International Cooperation.

The funding issue is not new. Four years ago, the precarious future of the French NGOs was highlighted in the annual report of the International Cooperation High Council, a consultative body to France's Prime Minister, which noted: "A rough analysis of the financial resources of the five largest French NGOs shows that their total funding is barely superior to that of Oxfam alone, or to half of that of CARE USA."

Michel Brugière, head of Médecins du Monde, has told HAR that any French NGO whose financial support from the public sector represents more than 50% of its total funding is doomed, and that the only solution would be for the government to fund its running costs. The problem is that in France only direct costs linked to a particular project can be state funded, so this would be impossible at present. In the past, NGOs survived because ECHO, the EU's Humanitarian Office, gave them a fixed sum per expatriate aid worker. This has now been reduced to cover only expatriate expenses.

### State of crisis

According to Coordination SUD's estimates, France's development NGOs have been in crisis for three years because of the steady decline in state funding: in 2003 they reportedly received €24m, representing a 7% decrease from the year 2000. During the same period, a survey of the then 15 EU member states showed that French NGOs were at the bottom of the list for public funding. Only 0.65% of French government aid to developing countries went through NGOs, against a 5.1% average in Europe and 30% in the US. Most French development aid is channelled through the UN or the French Development Agency, or is directly disbursed on a bi-lateral basis. NGOs are now calling for an increase in their quota to 1% of total official development aid, although some organisations claim that figure should be 3%.

For France's humanitarian NGOs, the situation is different because most of the Humanitarian Action Delegation's budget already goes directly to NGOs. The NGOs recognise the vital role played by the HAD, and believe their own relations with the government are satisfactory, with both sides

well aware of the responsibilities and skills of the other. However, the NGOs would like to see more funding for the HAD, whose financial means are extremely modest.

### A threefold increase

Michel Brugière says it is unthinkable that the HAD budget should stand at only a third of the Médecins du Monde budget and a tenth of that of Médecins sans Frontières. He argues that current funding is not enough to support a genuinely active humanitarian policy: "The budget needs to be increased threefold before it will be possible to set up a meaningful and continuous partnership with NGOs, to fund long-term crises and, above all, to provide repeated finance for NGOs." Under present legislation, the HAD can only subsidise NGOs in the emergency stage of a crisis, and rarely receive a second round of funding at the post-crisis stage.

French NGOs also want more support from their government so that it will be on a more equal footing with the UK's Department for International Development (DFID) and the USAID Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance (OFDA). Strange to say, French NGOs at present receive more money from DFID or from the OFDA in some crises than they do from the French government.

Christian Rouyer, the General Delegate to the HAD, tells HAR that he welcomes and sees as important President Chirac's decision to increase funds for developing countries by 2012. But he is unsure about how the new budget will be allotted. He insists that this issue is more than just a matter of money: "France does a lot for NGOs, through taking part in international debates, particularly at the UN. Besides, NGOs also profit from French diplomacy," he explains.

## **Post-September 11 rules still evolving for USAID**

**Difficult security environments in Iraq and Afghanistan have enormously complicated USAID's job on the ground abroad even as it faces a new development player in Washington. Brendan Murphy reports**

THE PRESIDENTIAL TERM now drawing to a close has been a watershed period for the US Agency for International Development (USAID). USAID from its 1961 inception has supported US foreign policy. But since September 11, 2001, this mandate has expanded, as USAID Administrator Andrew Natsios told a US House committee in April, "thrusting us into situations that go beyond our traditional role."

Development has been elevated into a "third pillar" of foreign policy alongside defence and diplomacy, bringing considerable new stress upon this column.

Much of USAID's institutional energy and attention has been taken up with the attempted reconstruction of Iraq. USAID's ability to deliver humanitarian and development assistance in either place is very much contingent on the success of the wider US military-diplomatic effort. At best, the agency must continue to develop an assistance model ever more closely tied to the military side of US operations. The ongoing

exodus of NGOs from Iraq could leave USAID in a go-it-alone stance analogous to the broader US position, further hampering its ability to get things done on the ground. So USAID is highly subject to the vicissitudes of war as well as the broader requirements of US foreign and national security policy. The Afghan picture is more hopeful – but even there USAID's success remains in effect hostage to the fortunes of war.

### **Complex conditions**

Closer integration with the US military as well as diplomatic sides may be inevitable in a world where failing states, as Natsios observed, pose the clearest and most present danger to national or collective security. Sudan is a case in point. Secretary of State Powell's finding of genocide against the Darfur population by state-sponsored militia raises the prospect of humanitarian aid under military protection. Few would expect the African Union to provide such cover on its own, and even a UN force might need stiffening with a prominent US contingent.

Such are the difficulties likely to face USAID and its administrator in the next four-year presidential term – whatever policies a Democratic appointee may bring to the agency, the conditions and circumstances in the larger world are not likely to become less dangerous or complex. Policies might be modified around the edges, for instance in reproductive health programs where conservative Christian sensitivities have been accommodated to soft-pedal condoms as a first line of defence against HIV/AIDS transmission.

More meaningful change in the USAID mission could be brought about with the operational launch of the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC), the federal entity which administers a Millennium Challenge Account (MCA) that has been funded to date with \$1bn (with another \$1.2bn likely for the fiscal year ending in September 2005) for investment in better-performing developing countries. Large development projects funded in any of the 16 candidate countries, selected on criteria of governance, economic freedom and investment in people, would have clear implications for the allocation of USAID funding. More broadly, MCA's expansion could shift USAID's focus toward the lower end of the development spectrum.

Initially perceived as presenting a challenge to USAID's preeminence in US development efforts, MCC in operation could represent more of an opportunity for the agency to nudge more advanced countries in the direction of "graduation" from the ranks of aid clients, focusing on critical humanitarian efforts and the least-developed states at greatest risk of sliding into the ranks of the failed or failing. Moreover, USAID's institutional knowledge and reach through its country missions positions it as the natu-

ral operating partner of the MCC, becoming in effect a general contractor for implementation once MCA funds are allocated.

In addition, the USAID administrator will have considerable influence with MCC management as one of the ex officio members of the MCC board. Beyond the \$40m which the MCC has already reserved for USAID efforts with "threshold" countries that came close to qualifying for MCA participation, Natsios has pointed out that reserving substantial funds within the MCA structure for economic development tends to offset natural pressures to steer foreign aid to countries of strategic or political interest to policymakers.

Still, considerable adjustment could be in store for USAID, with longer-term implications for the agency as to how its own mission is defined and funded as MCA comes fully on line. The \$2.5bn budget request for MCA for fiscal year 2005 (already halved by the House of Representatives and pared further by the Senate) amounted to meaningful percentage of the administration's FY 2005 request for \$8.8bn for programmes USAID administers. Expansion as contemplated to an annual \$5bn could produce a formidable foreign aid rival.

But USAID is better positioned to fend off such challenges and to deflect perennial criticism, having under Natsios made significant progress in its management systems and practices, in particular with the rollout of a new accounting system that will eventually let it capture and integrate data from missions. Such efficiencies will be indispensable in the next four years as USAID's leadership tries to reconcile geopolitical imperatives with its resources and humanitarian-development core missions.



# A glimmer of hope for Darfur's refugees

Since February 2003 the Darfur region in north-western Sudan has been ravaged by a conflict that has led to a mass exodus to Chad or into the 129 camps around Darfur. The Janjawid Arab militias, backed by the Khartoum government, have perpetrated most of the violence. **Véronique de Waersegger** reports on international efforts to bring emergency aid to the refugees.

Khartoum is a megalopolis, hot, vast, and buffeted regularly by the desert winds. The few women seen in the street are veiled from head to toe. Western women are easily recognisable by their pale complexions, fatigues and hair blowing in the wind. They are either NGO workers or journalists. I arrived with a Caritas delegation after a journey from Brussels lasting almost 24 hours. International pressure in the past few months has made the worst affected areas in the Sudan conflict more accessible to NGOs and our visit was to see if the situation on the ground lived up to the official line, which is increasingly positive and full of promises.

Humanitarian workers stay in two hotels, and in their lounges there is an almost tangible sense of solidarity between the guests. Conversations between those leaving for Darfur and those returning are one of the best ways to get an idea of the situation on the ground. Everyone returning from south and west of Darfur seemed struck by the same things: the number of refugees in the camps, the continuous, massive influxes, the size of the camps and the fear they saw in people's eyes.

### Pool resources

Faced with the unfolding crisis in Darfur, Caritas' international network of 162 organisations in almost 200 countries has launched a massive emergency aid programme in collaboration with some Sudanese NGOs. The aim of the programme, which is expected to last a year, is to pool resources to bring concrete and lasting aid to all the 1.3 million refugees.

Despite much international pressure, the situation has worsened since March of this year and there is growing uncertainty. Isolated shootings are a regular occurrence and although the refugees remain the main target, NGO transport convoys are not spared.

Caritas is now working in four camps and has set up base at Nyala and Zalingi, two settlements in the centre of the conflict zone. During

my visit a new hub was being set up at El Geinina. The Caritas team is made up of 48 ex-pats of all nationalities and 70 local volunteers. Their main task is to provide drinking water and access to basic healthcare and to organise the distribution of foodstuffs and other basic essentials such as tents and plastic tarpaulin sheets. Water pumps have been built and in certain camps schools and clinics have been opened.

Arriving at Nyala, I was struck by the liveliness and urgency of the aid workers who had come from all over the world to help the refugees. Because of the size of the task and the growing sense of unease, they work non-stop, around the clock. Nyala is a small town with just one tarmac road. The inhabitants travel on foot, by bike or in carts pulled by donkeys. The only cars to be seen are the 4x4s of the international organisations. The distribution of goods, the access to different camps and the allocation of security have all been centralised under UN command. The people are kind but seem to fear us. The heat is heavy and oppressive.

After two days spent getting access permits for the camps and receiving a precise briefing on the security situation in the region, our little delegation of Caritas representatives from Norway, Finland, Britain and Belgium was able to enter the camps at Kalma and Belil.

## **Two camps**

Kalma is about 12 miles from Nyala. The journey is uncomfortable thanks to the state of the roads at the end of the rainy season. The camp is the size of a small town and home to almost 80,000 refugees. Plastic tarpaulin sheets stretch as far as the eye can see, and each one serves as home for an injured, grieving and sick family. The camp was set-up very quickly, and the refugees have already created a market in the centre where all manner of goods are to be found.

As we leave the vehicles, we are surrounded by a crowd of smiling children giving us high-fives and shouting, 'OK!' The women approach to tell their stories. Most have been raped and many have lost a father, a husband or a brother. Many of them display - some proudly - their awful scars from gunshot wounds. Often, they have walked for several weeks with their families to reach the camps. The queues for the water pumps are never-ending but no-one seems irritated or in a hurry. They chatter, laughing as the children argue about whose turn it is to use the pump, of which there are only eleven in the entire camp at Kalma. Everywhere, the will to live is reaffirmed by high morale and the courage of the refugees. Even though we humanitarians are the aid givers, they are an example to us all.

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**Véronique de Waersegger is communications manager for Caritas International, Belgium**

# The impact of Darfur on the African Union

By **Jean de Dieu Moundemba**, research technician at the Institute for Agronomic and Forestry Research (IRAF) and member of the local NGO AGROFED (Agro-forestry, Environment and Sustainable Development).

**THE DARFUR CRISIS CONSTITUTES** the first litmus test of the effectiveness of the African Union (AU). The number of displaced persons fleeing the atrocities and the ethnic cleansing perpetrated by the Khartoum-backed Djandjawid Arab militias has been put at over 1m people. There is no shortage of witnesses ready to testify to the humanitarian drama being played out in Darfur, and the US Congress has formally classed the attacks on villages by the Djandjawid as genocide.

The AU is a new regional structure launched in 2001 as successor to the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), an organisation that was widely seen as moribund and incapable of putting an end to conflict in Africa. At the time, it was believed that in the AU Africans would finally have at their disposal an instrument that would enable them to intervene in any member state where there was evidence of genocide, war crimes or crimes against humanity.

The question now is whether the AU has the necessary authority to influence

the course of Darfur's large-scale humanitarian drama and spur African states to act. In other words, will it be able to prevent another genocide on the scale of the one in Rwanda when Africa stood by in silence? So far, the AU has decided to send a military contingent to Darfur but resources are lacking. Without the political will or the resources to put its decisions into practice, the Union will not be able to increase its influence and it might even be reduced.

## Media Silence

African public opinion has been no great help in this respect, for the Darfur crisis seems generally to be viewed with indifference. There may be two reasons for this. First, the region has been in the grip of social and political instability for some time. Second, this kind of crisis is now commonplace. The crises in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Congo Brazzaville and the Ivory Coast also failed to engage African public opinion. The Darfur crisis seems to be just another conflict, re-emphasising Africa's poor track record and worsening still further the socio-political and economic climate.

# Taiwan hopes aid work will open diplomatic doors

Taiwanese NGOs are playing an important role in emergency assistance and development projects, but the country is still shunned by much of the international community. **David Chang** reports

TAIWAN, ONCE ITSELF A RECIPIENT of international aid, now takes an active part in international relief work by providing humanitarian assistance to needy countries through its many NGOs.

This aid ranges from emergency relief to mid and long-term development projects, some of which are carried out in conjunction with Taiwan's international development organisation – the International Co-operation and Development Fund (ICDF-TAIWAN).

Between 1951 and 1965, Taiwan received \$1.5bn in international aid, which helped the country build up its export-oriented industries. It is now the world's 3rd largest foreign currency holder, 14th largest exporter and 17th largest trading nation.

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David Chang is the Taiwan correspondent for the German news agency *Deutsche Presse-Agentur* (DPA).

## Forging ties

Taiwan's foreign aid policy has two purposes. One is to give something back to the world because the island received so much economic assistance in the past. The second is to forge ties with allied and friendly countries and break Taiwan's international isolation.

Despite its economic successes, Taiwan has suffered from international isolation since 1971 when the United Nations expelled the Republic of China. Since then, the number of countries recognising Taiwan has dropped from 68 to 26, with most countries regarding the country as little more than a breakaway province of China. In this diplomatic tug-of-war, foreign aid has become even more important for Taiwan, not only in preserving existing diplomatic ties, but also in building unofficial ties with friendly countries.

ICDF-TAIWAN Assistant Secretary General, Dr. Lee Pai-Po, said Taiwanese



*When Tzu Chi holds the second relief distribution for earthquake victims in Bam, Iran, Dr. Wang Chih-hung from the Cardiology Department of the Hualien Tzu Chi Hospital provides free treatment to a patient on the bus.*

NGOs started co-ordinating their own international aid projects in 1999. Before this, all forms of assistance were directed through Taiwan's government to diplomatic allies.

"In 1999, Taiwan launched diplomatic ties with the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia and sent humanitarian assistance to Kosovan refugees in conjunction with World Vision - an international Christian aid organisation. The success of this project prompted the Taiwanese Foreign Ministry to set up an NGO Committee in 2000 to co-ordinate NGO work," Lee said.

### **Joint projects**

In 2001, the ICDF-TAIWAN allocated \$1.2m for humanitarian assistance.

These funds were used either solely by the ICDF or jointly with Taiwanese NGOs, who welcome additional resources, particularly donations, to carry out international assistance.

The largest NGOs in Taiwan are the Buddhist Tzu Chi Foundation, the Buddha's Light International Association, World Vision, the Taiwan Root Medical Peace Corps and the Noordhoff Craniofacial Foundation (NCF). The first three provide emergency relief and mid to long-term training, while the Taiwan Root Medical Peace Corps and the NCF offer medical assistance training to needy countries.

The Tzu Chi Foundation was founded by Master Cheng Yen - nicknamed

Taiwan's Mother Teresa – in 1966 and now has branches in 28 countries. It has donated cash and relief materials to flood victims in Asia, earthquake victims in El Salvador and Iran, and Iraqi refugees in Jordan.

But the organisation also helps people in disaster areas rebuild their homes. "After the Anke River in Jakarta, Indonesia, flooded in January 2002, we built a housing complex on higher land for people who were living in slums along the polluted river," said Yeh Ping-lun, from Tzu Chi's International Affairs Department. "In July of 2003, the first phase of the complex was finished and 1,000 families moved in."

While Tzu Chi, Buddha's Light and World Vision tackle natural disasters and provide assistance for refugees, the Taiwan Root Medical Peace Corps and the Noordhoff Craniofacial Foundation provide only medical assistance.

### **Dental care**

The Taiwan Root Medical Peace Corps, which was set up by a group of doctors and nurses in 1995, started out by providing free medical treatment – mainly dental care – to remote villages in Taiwan, and began sending missions further afield four years later. "Since then, we have sent medical teams to Asia, Africa and Latin America. Each team consists of about 25 medical personnel and they work abroad for two weeks," said Taiwan Root President Dr. Liu Chichun, a dentist by profession.

The organisation was founded by US missionary and plastic surgeon Samuel Noordhoff, and now has 5,000 members who donate their time and money to join overseas aid missions, some of which are carried out jointly with international NGOs. In 2004, it has sent - or will send - medical teams to India, Sri Lanka, Malawi, Nigeria, Ghana, Haiti and the Dominican Republic. The NCF specialise in repairing cleft lips and deformed palates and faces and has conducted

600 operations on cleft lips in Vietnam, Cambodia, the Philippines, and Myanmar (Burma) since 1999.

The NCF also helps developing countries train plastic surgeons so that they can give free medical treatment themselves. This September, the NCF held a workshop on cleft lip and facial surgery in Taipei for 130 doctors from 22 countries.

In the future, the ICDF-TAIWAN hopes that Taiwan will provide even more humanitarian assistance to foreign countries. "Taiwan's official development assistance (ODA) accounts only for 0.14 % of our Gross National Income (GNI). The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) member countries' average ODA is 0.42 % of their GNI, but the OECD wants them to raise it to 0.79 %. Our short-term goal is to reach OECD's current level," said Lee Pai-po.

Taiwan also hopes that through its foreign aid policy, it will be able to

***“The NCF also helps developing countries train plastic surgeons so that they can give free medical treatment themselves”***

increase its participation in world affairs and eventually rejoin world organisations. Since the Republic of China was expelled from the UN in 1971, Taiwan has been isolated and deprived of the chance of contributing and receiving information from international organisations such as the World Health Organisation (WHO).

### **SARS epidemic**

For example, when the Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) epidemic broke out in China in February 2003 and quickly spread to Taiwan, the WHO did not give Taiwan SARS information because Taiwan is not a WHO member. Unlike other developed countries fighting the outbreak, Taiwan did not have access to the technical resources and expertise of the WHO due to the dogged lobbying of the Chinese.

This exclusion forced Taiwan's Department of Health to seek SARS information on the Internet and from the US Centers for Disease Control and Prevention and Japan's National Institute of Infectious Diseases.

When SARS broke out again in China this spring, China's Health Ministry notified the WHO, the Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation Forum, Hong Kong and Macau on April 20, but notified Taiwan only 2 days later.

### **Perfect example**

Worldwide, SARS has caused 8,096 infections and 774 deaths. In Taiwan, 246 people were infected and 37 people died. The SARS epidemic is a perfect example of why Taiwan should be allowed to participate fully in the WHO and other international organisations.

It's good for all countries - small, large, developing and developed - to have as much information about global health developments as quickly as possible.

Taiwan's NGOs have developed significantly over a rather short period. The country's contribution to international humanitarian assistance is steadily expanding and Taiwan's NGOs are

increasing their interaction with NGOs overseas by joining international networks and taking part in international conferences.

By participating in these kinds of activities, Taiwan can fulfill its responsibility as a citizen of the global village and establish connections worldwide. Moreover, the more people participate in international NGO activities, the more workers can be trained to work on international missions. This can only enhance Taiwan's international image and help the country gain recognition on the international stage.

***“Unlike other developed countries fighting the outbreak, Taiwan did not have access to the technical resources and expertise of the WHO due to the dogged lobbying of the Chinese”***

# Burkina Faso's paddy fields in the desert

Drought and poor infrastructure have blighted the Sahel region of Africa. **Philippe Paquet** describes how Taiwan's 'hands-on' aid is offering new hopes of prosperity to poor farmers

The tragedy of Africa can be expressed in a few stark figures: 1/3 of Africans suffer from malnutrition, and half of the continent's population does not have access to potable water, despite the fact that agriculture in Africa represents 24% of GDP, 70% of jobs and 40% of hard currency revenues. Furthermore, Africa is the only continent where the number of people suffering from hunger will continue to increase over the next decade.

The causes of this catastrophe are well known. Climatic conditions, especially in the West African Sahel region, are characterised by long periods of drought and high temperatures that often make working difficult. These circumstances are

often exacerbated by the lack of infrastructure and equipment in the region. There is also a shortage of technical skills in the labour force, and management capacities on the continent are severely limited. Sub-Saharan Africa's 60% adult literacy rate is lower than the 73% norm for developing countries. Insufficient knowledge of market mechanisms and limited access to credit also restrain economic activity and impede private initiatives throughout the region.

Sharing the development experience with African nations has been an important priority for Taiwan. Agricultural technicians were first sent to Liberia in 1961, even though Taiwan was still receiving international assistance from the US at the time. During the next forty-three years, Taiwan sent a total of 20 missions to Africa, where they built dams, excavated irrigation canals, and experimented

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Philippe Paquet is a journalist for the Belgian newspaper *La Libre Belgique*.

## SPONSORED SECTION

with different varieties of rice and cereal grain. In 1996 and 1997, the International Cooperation and Development Fund (ICDF-TAIWAN) was established to coordinate international development co-operation programs on behalf of Taiwan's government.

### Sustainable development

Over the years, experts from Taiwan have helped turn more than 28,000 hectares of desert and inhospitable land into fertile paddy fields. Their efforts have helped to raise living standards all over Africa, from Senegal to Malawi, from Chad to Mauritius and from Guinea-Bissau to Benin. Progress has usually been achieved by establishing sustainable development projects, which have been duly recognised by international organisations, NGOs and the media alike.

Despite the interruption of diplomatic relations between 1973 and 1994, Taiwan regards its Burkina Faso projects, started when the country was still called the Upper Volta, as an excellent example of effective international assistance. Projects have yielded impressive results, notably a six-fold increase in agricultural production. Programs have also generated a climate of real partnership between the local population and the expatriate community.

The first phase of co-operation between Taiwan and Burkina Faso began in May 1965. The main objectives at this time were to strengthen

the earth dams that had been in place since colonial times in the Boulbi and Louda regions. Irrigation canals were reinforced and extended with cement and new routes were constructed. However, the most ambitious project was along the river Kou where the ICDF-TAIWAN specialists helped build a diversion dam and 100 kilometres of canal. This project helped to create 1,260 hectares of productive land. With two crop yields a year, one

hectare can now produce 12 tonnes of rice, so local production was increased dramatically. Local farmers made enough profits to build houses and buy small radios and motorcycles.

*“Taiwanese experts have helped turn more than 28,000 hectares of desert or inhospitable land into fertile paddy fields”*

### Brutal reality

These achievements in Burkina Faso were the result of hard work and great sacrifice. In *Rendre le Sahel plus vert* (Greening the Sahel), a commemorative book published by the ICDF-TAIWAN in October 2003, specialists arriving in Africa recalled that it took two weeks to arrive in Burkina Faso after lengthy stopovers in Hong Kong, Brussels and Abidjan. The young experts, fresh agricultural college graduates from Taiwan, had to face the brutal realities of desert life in Burkina Faso. The specialists had to cover 600 kilometres of track to get to the Kou district in temperatures that reached 45°C in the shade! But they remained enthusiastic, despite the bland food, the Spartan living conditions, the torrid heat, and the ever-present danger of malaria.

## The "Taiwanese miracle"

The specialists endured these difficult conditions, even when they had to face the additional frustration of having their work interrupted in 1973. However, relations between Taiwan and Burkina Faso were re-established in 1994, and experts from Taiwan were soon invited back. The transformation of the Bagré region was dubbed locally as the "Taiwanese miracle," and when President Chen Shui-bian visited the project site in 2000, he mentioned that the paddy fields resembled those near his hometown in Taiwan!

Another successful project was completed near the Kdnkodoko Dam, on the fast-flowing river Nadambe, which was designed to irrigate 30,000 hectares. In reality, the water reached a mere 80 hectares, and as a result, the yields were very low. A consortium of international NGOs began to develop 2,000 hectares on the left bank of the river, which was deemed more suitable for cultivation. In 2001, experts from Taiwan began to transform the right bank with the aim of irrigating 1,200 hectares. After completing this goal, they were also able to finish the left bank project, which the NGOs had been forced to abandon due to financial difficulties. As a result of these efforts, the Bagré development is thriving with new villages, schools, and dispensaries.

## Personally involved

The Taiwanese attributed the success of the projects in Burkina Faso not only to

the co-operation of the local government, but also to the "hands-on" approach of their experts, who were personally involved in all stages of the project. Unlike some other groups that supply funds and pay scant attention to the practical aspects of a project, specialists from Taiwan are permanently in the field, working alongside the local farmers and authorities. This method of working offers a double advantage because the partners are motivated and it also ensures that the money is spent

wisely. The emphasis is also on the long-term. After having received ad hoc training, farmers are given free fertilizer, seeds and pesticides so they can produce good crops. The rationale is that the farmers will then be able to buy supplies from the proceeds of the first yield. If this doesn't happen, a micro-credit scheme will

allow them more time to succeed.

This long-term vision is also highlighted in the latest ICDF-TAIWAN co-operation program in Burkina Faso, which was launched when President Chen Shui-bian visited the country in 2000. The new project is developing 6,000 hectares of pluvial rice in the Nién-Dionkélé plain by collecting and channelling torrential rains that occur periodically in the area. The village of Dionkélé is now on the way to becoming a small town, and the first 1,800 reclaimed hectares have been given the eloquent and official name of "the paddy fields of Taiwanese friendship."

*“The Taiwanese attributed the success in Burkina Faso to the “hands-on” approach of their experts who were personally involved in all stages of the project”*

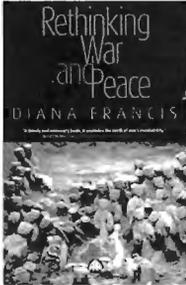
# Book Reviews

by David Turner



## How to Lobby at Intergovernmental Meetings

By Felix Dodds, with Michael Strauss



## Rethinking War and Peace

By Diana Francis

Coming during a period when anti-war protest is uppermost in the minds of many people, Diana Francis' work attempts to explode the myth of war as an inevitable part of life. The author, herself a lifelong pacifist with vast practical experience in the area of conflict resolution throughout the world, considers widespread protest which focuses on one particular conflict to be ineffective and argues for a more wide ranging opposition to war itself.

The title of Dodds' work clearly indicates that the author is attempting to set himself up as something of a lobbying guru, and a brief inspection of the contents list does nothing to dispel this impression. The book covers everything from tips on how to prepare for an international conference to a brief tourist guide to New York and Geneva. However, the author is well placed to give advice on such matters having been an active lobbyist at various UN summits over the years.

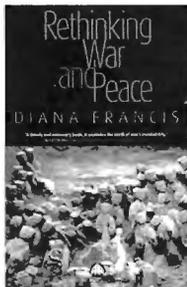
It is clear from reading this work that much of the donkey work of the lobbyist takes place in the preparation for a conference rather than in the conference itself, beginning with the basic question of the importance of the event to the organisation which the lobbyist represents. The authors give useful hints on how to build alliances at the conference, and in the later sections there is an exhaustive list of useful contacts for the budding lobbyist.

Earthscan, 2004

192 pages, €26.66

[www.earthscan.co.uk](http://www.earthscan.co.uk)

[www.stakeholderforum.org](http://www.stakeholderforum.org)



## Rethinking War and Peace

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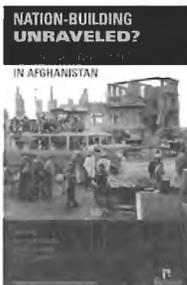
war as an inevitable part of life. The author, herself a lifelong pacifist with vast practical experience in the area of conflict resolution throughout the world, considers widespread protest which focuses on one particular conflict to be ineffective and argues for a more wide ranging opposition to war itself.

Rethinking War and Peace dismisses the commonly held view of war as an acceptable means of last resort as based on mistaken assumptions and argues that even in instances where some kind of action is justified there can never be any ethical validity for war as a course of action, giving various empirical examples of cases where non-violent protest has brought an end to repression. Francis views the widespread recognition of war as a morally valid course of action as a result of the cult of militarism which has become ingrained into humanity throughout history, and clearly believes that it is high time that this cult were dispensed with once and for all.

Pluto Press, 2004

192 pages, €17.84

[www.plutobooks.com](http://www.plutobooks.com)



## Nation-Building Unraveled? Aid, Peace and Justice in Afghanistan

*Edited by Antonio Donini, Norah Niland, Karin Wermester*

This volume comes at the time when the Afghan question has been overshadowed by events in other hotspots, notably Iraq. Its aim is to re-focus attention on the issues of humanitarianism, peace-building and justice in Afghanistan and examines the response of the international community to the Afghan crisis. The contributors draw on their direct experience and write on wide-ranging topics including civil society, the role of women and the complex relationships between the military, aid workers and the media.

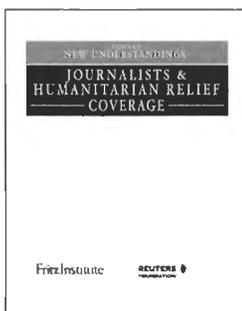
In order to broaden its perspective, *Nation-Building Unraveled?* draws on the Afghan example as a case-study that can be applied to other areas in the world, where the international community faces similar challenges. It provocatively questions the traditional point of view that greater co-ordination between political, humanitarian and human rights action brings about better results in peace-building. It also tackles the 'instrumentalisation and the politicisation of the humanitarian enterprise that can result from too great proximity to political activity.'

**Kumarian Press, 2004**  
256 pages, €21.80  
[www.kpbooks.com](http://www.kpbooks.com)

## Toward new understandings: Journalists and Humanitarian Relief Coverage

*By Steven S. Ross*

The media is often criticised by the humanitarian community, for picking up emergencies and focusing their full attention on them until they feel the public is getting bored. The author of this report is a professor at Columbia University's school of journalism and



he examines the relationship between the way in which a catastrophe is reported and the efforts of NGOs to attenuate the suffering of those caught up in a crisis.

The report claims to be "the largest, most comprehensive study undertaken of this symbiotic relationship". Certainly it examines both sides of the relationship and highlights both parties' shortcomings, making recommendations for how these problems could be resolved. The results of two surveys carried out amongst both journalists and NGO workers are published in extensive appendices. They are referred to repeatedly during the report and play a part in determining the author's conclusions.

**Fritz Institute and Reuters Foundation, 2004**  
90 pages  
[www.fritzinstitute.org/images/FI.pdfs/Media\\_study\\_wAppendices.pdf](http://www.fritzinstitute.org/images/FI.pdfs/Media_study_wAppendices.pdf)

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# HAR Directory of University Programmes

This section lists humanitarian studies courses at US universities, complete with contact details.

A list of European courses will appear in the next issue.

## **UNIVERSITY OF CONNECTICUT, COLLEGE OF CONTINUING STUDIES**

*Online post-baccalaureate certificate in  
Humanitarian Studies*

This programme includes both theoretical analysis and practical application. Preparation for jobs in both field orientated and administrative positions related to displaced persons and refugees.

*Master of Professional Studies - Humanitarian  
Services Administration*

The course of study provides the theoretical and professional knowledge needed to conduct humanitarian missions. Students are trained to respond to immediate local needs in disaster areas, including nutrition, water resources, and the control and prevention of infectious disease.

**Contact information:**

Abdou Ndoye

E-mail: [ccsonline@uconn.edu](mailto:ccsonline@uconn.edu)

[http://continuingstudies.uconn.edu/newsletter/  
Volume3/onlinecertificate.html](http://continuingstudies.uconn.edu/newsletter/Volume3/onlinecertificate.html)

## **TUFTS UNIVERSITY, SCHOOL OF NUTRITION SCIENCE AND POLICY**

*Master of Arts in Humanitarian Assistance*

The programme is designed to help professionals develop their knowledge and skills in the areas of nutrition, food distribution policy, and economic, political and social development as they relate to humanitarian action in famines, complex emergen-

cies and other disasters.

**Contact information:**

Ann O'Brien

E-mail: [Ann.Obrien@tufts.edu](mailto:Ann.Obrien@tufts.edu)

<http://famine.tufts.edu/training/maha/>

## **HARVARD SCHOOL OF PUBLIC HEALTH, TUFTS SCHOOL OF NUTRITION AND SCIENCE POLICY & MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY**

*Humanitarian Studies and Field Practice*

A one or two-year master's degree at one of the partnering institutions. The courses offer a solid foundation in humanitarian studies adapted to individual backgrounds and interests. Students can have access to the specific areas of expertise of each partner university.

**Contact information:**

Estrella Alves

E-mail: [estrella.alves@tufts.edu](mailto:estrella.alves@tufts.edu)

<http://www.humanitarianstudies.org/>

## **FORDHAM UNIVERSITY, INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR HUMANITARIAN AFFAIRS & THE CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL HEALTH AND COOPERATION (CIHC)**

*International Humanitarian Assistance Diploma  
Program*

This one-month interdisciplinary programme enables officials from the United Nations, NGOs and volunteers to work towards effective approaches for han-

ding a variety of humanitarian crises, such as famine and epidemics, and helps establish universal standards for addressing atrocities.

**Contact information:**

Lisa Finnegan

E-mail: [lfinnegan@fordham.edu](mailto:lfinnegan@fordham.edu)

<http://www.fordham.edu/cgi-bin/getdoc.cgi?81553,8022>

**COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY**

*Humanitarian Affairs Program*

An interdisciplinary programme in Human Rights, Economic and Political Development, or International Security Policy that addresses the needs of practitioners concerned with humanitarian assistance in the wake of natural disasters as well as complex humanitarian emergencies.

**Contact information:**

Dirk Salomons

E-mail: [ds2002@columbia.edu](mailto:ds2002@columbia.edu)

<http://www.sipa.columbia.edu/mia/hap.html>

**ELLIOTT SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**

*Master of Arts in International Development Studies*

The MA offers the theoretical and practical background necessary to understand humanitarian assistance related issues in natural or man-made disasters. The programme takes an interdisciplinary approach which includes anthropology, engineering management and systems engineering, international affairs, international law, and public administration.

**Contact information:**

Inder Sud

Email: [isud@gwu.edu](mailto:isud@gwu.edu)

<http://www.gwu.edu/~elliott/academicprograms/ma/ids/human.html>

**UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, CENTER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS**

*Human Rights Program*

A multidisciplinary approach aimed at students from schools of divinity, law, medical, and public policy, as well as from the humanities and social sciences. Designed to bridge the gap between academia and

human rights practitioners, both locally and in the international community.

**Contact information:**

Susan Gzesh

E-mail: [sgzesh@uchicago.edu](mailto:sgzesh@uchicago.edu)

<http://humanrights.uchicago.edu/>

**Haverford College with Bryn Mawr**

*Peace and Conflict Studies*

A six-course cluster centring on conflict and cooperation within and between nations. Takes account of associated questions within the fields of anthropology, economics, history, political science, social psychology, and sociology. It draws on these fields for theoretical understanding of matters such as bargaining, internal causes of conflict, co-operative and competitive strategies of negotiation.

**Contact information:**

Marc Howard Ross

E-mail: [mross@brynmawr.edu](mailto:mross@brynmawr.edu)

<http://www.brynmawr.edu/peacestudies/>

**SWARTHMORE COLLEGE**

*Peace and Conflict Studies*

This multidisciplinary programme is designed to help students understand the causes, practices, and consequences of war, terrorism, and non-violent methods of conflict management and resolution. As well as peace and conflict studies, the foundation course of the programme also includes economics, history, political science, psychology, religion, sociology and anthropology.

**Contact information:**

Jenny Gifford

E-mail: [ggiffor1@swarthmore.edu](mailto:ggiffor1@swarthmore.edu)

<http://www.swarthmore.edu/socsci/peace/program.htm>

**HARVARD LAW SCHOOL**

*Human Rights Program*

A programme which focuses on the international and comparative dimensions of human rights and both the realisation and suppression of human dignity through political structures. Students also participate in human rights activities through summer internships.

**Contact information:**

Henry Steiner

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<http://www.law.harvard.edu/programs/HRP/>

**NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY, SCHOOL OF LAW, CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS**

*Human Rights Concentration*

An in-depth study of the norms and methods of international human rights law and its implementation in domestic legal systems. The programme also includes courses on international human rights in transitional democracies, legal analysis of international human rights, international criminal law, and a graduate research and thesis.

**Contact information:**

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[http://www.law.nwu.edu/depts/clinic/ihr/LLM\\_HRC.cfm](http://www.law.nwu.edu/depts/clinic/ihr/LLM_HRC.cfm)

**UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME, THE JOAN B. KROC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE STUDIES**

*Master of Arts in Peace Studies*

A one or two-year course preparing for careers in scholarly research, teaching, public service, religious leadership, political organising and social action.

**Contact information:**

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<http://www.nd.edu/~krocinst/programs/masters/index.html>

**UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN LAW SCHOOL**

*Refugee and Asylum Law Program*

The programme looks at international refugee law and its application in comparative jurisprudence. Refugee law is analysed as a mode of human rights protection, in which the needs of the victims of human rights abuse, and the legitimate aspirations of the countries to which they flee, are considered. The program offers direct engagement with the process of international refugee law reform.

**Contact information:**

James Hathaway

Online



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E-mail: [jch@umich.edu](mailto:jch@umich.edu)  
<http://www.law.umich.edu/CentersAndPrograms/pral/index.htm>

### **DUKE CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT**

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A graduate level programme focusing on interdisciplinary training in policy analysis on issues related to long-term social and economic development. It encompasses technical, academic, managerial, and professional training.  
**Contact information:**  
E-mail: [pidpinfo@duke.edu](mailto:pidpinfo@duke.edu)  
<http://www.pubpol.duke.edu/dcid>

### **GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY, EDMUND A. WALSH SCHOOL OF FOREIGN SERVICE**

*Certificate on Refugees and Humanitarian Emergencies*  
With a special focus on refugee crises and post-con-

flikt situations, the programme prepares students to work in international organizations, government and private agencies specializing in emergency relief, human rights and humanitarian activities. Along with an introduction to Human Rights and Humanitarian Crises, it provides an overview of major principles, legal frameworks, theories, operational concerns and public policy issues.

**Contact information:**  
Susan Martin  
E-mail: [martinsf@georgetown.edu](mailto:martinsf@georgetown.edu)  
<http://www.georgetown.edu/sfs/programs/isim/pages/Certificate.html>

### **BOSTON UNIVERSITY, SCHOOL OF PUBLIC HEALTH**

*Managing Disasters and Complex Humanitarian Emergencies Program*  
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ISIM offers a certificate program for Masters level students who have a career interest in human rights and humanitarian issues, with special focus on refugee crises and post-conflict situations. The certificate program prepares students to work in international organizations, government and private agencies specializing in emergency relief, human rights and humanitarian activities. Additionally, ISIM offers *Managing Complexity: Shaping the Future of Emergency Relief and Humanitarian Organizations*, a training program designed for individuals who already are working at advanced managerial levels and/or have significant experience in one or more regional areas.

**For more information please contact:**  
**Institute for the Study of International Migration, Georgetown University**  
3307 M St NW, Suite 302, Washington, DC 20007, USA.  
Tel: +1 202 687-2258 Fax: +1 202-687-2541  
Email: [isim@georgetown.edu](mailto:isim@georgetown.edu)  
Website: [www.georgetown.edu/sfs/programs/isim/](http://www.georgetown.edu/sfs/programs/isim/)



cal and negotiation skills. It also covers the causes and consequences of complex humanitarian emergencies, including the initial response and the meeting of basic needs such as food, water, health care and shelter.

**Contact information:**

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<http://www.bumc.bu.edu/Departments/HomeMain.asp?DepartmentID=82>

**AMERICAN UNIVERSITY, SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL SERVICE**

*Master of Arts in International Peace and Conflict Resolution*

This programme explores theories on the causes of war and violence at international level and approaches to resolving and preventing conflict. Through the programme students will acquire skills which assist in transforming conflict through policy making, mediation, negotiation and activism.

**Contact information:**

Abdul Aziz Said

E-mail: [asaid@american.edu](mailto:asaid@american.edu)

<http://www.american.edu/sis/academics/fieldofstudy/ipcr.htm>

*Master of Arts in Ethics Peace and Global Affairs*

A programme of study which prepares students in the practical application of ethical theory and policy analysis to difficult ethical choices in global affairs, specifically regarding war, peace and conflict resolution.

**Contact information:**

Julie Mertus

E-mail: [mertus@american.edu](mailto:mertus@american.edu)

<http://www.american.edu/sis/academics/fieldofstudy/ipcr.htm>

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a field experience. The curriculum enables student to acquire a specific area of expertise within the field of conflict resolution.

Contact information:

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<http://gargoyle.arcadia.edu/ipcr/#>

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Contact information:

Diana Picòn

E-mail: dpicon@jhu.edu

<http://www.sais-jhu.edu/programs/i-dev/Overview.html>



**TUFTS UNIVERSITY  
MASTER OF ARTS IN  
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The Master of Arts in Humanitarian Assistance is a one-year joint degree offered by the Friedman School of Nutrition Science and Policy and the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University. The program's mission is to offer mid career professionals with significant field experience in an academic setting where they can further their knowledge and skills in the areas of nutrition, food policy, and economic, political, and social analyses as they relate to humanitarian action in famines, complex emergencies, and other disasters. For additional information regarding the Feinstejn International Famine Center and its programs, please visit [www.famine.tufts.edu](http://www.famine.tufts.edu).

**Application Information**

Friedman School of Nutrition Science and Policy  
Tufts University - Admissions Office  
150 Harrison Avenue  
Boston, MA 02111  
[nutritionadmissions@tufts.edu](mailto:nutritionadmissions@tufts.edu)  
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