CCIC CCCI

CANADA'S COALITION TO END GLOBAL POVERTY
ENSEMBLE POUR ÉLIMINER LA PAUVRETÉ DANS LE MONDE

CANADIAN COUNCIL FOR
INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION

THE GLOBAL CHALLENGE TO END POVERTY AND INJUSTICE: A CANADIAN 10-POINT AGENDA

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For additional information, contact:

Canadian Council for International Co-operation (CCIC)
1 Nicholas Street, Suite 300, Ottawa, Ontario K1N 7B7
613-241-7007 • info@ccic.ca • www.ccic.ca

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THE GLOBAL CHALLENGE TO END POVERTY AND INJUSTICE:
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KEEPING PROMISES, AFFIRMING RIGHTS

A Message From The President and Chief Executive Officer

> "Overcoming poverty is not a gesture of charity. It is an act of justice. It is the protection of fundamental human rights. Everyone everywhere has the right to live with dignity; free from fear and oppression, free from hunger and thirst, and free to express themselves and associate at will. Yet in this new century, millions of people remain imprisoned, enslaved, and in chains... While poverty persists, there is no true freedom."
>
> Nelson Mandela, Amnesty International Ambassador of Conscience 2006

For more than 40 years, Canadian Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) have worked with counterparts in Latin America, Asia and Africa to end poverty and injustice. These actions of solidarity and support have formed part of a wider ripple of action around the world by citizens of many countries working within and across borders, seeking a world free of want, insecurity and fear. Canadian efforts are woven into the tapestry of global struggles for a fairer world – from accompaniment of early political liberation struggles in South America and Africa, to support for sustainable agriculture and women's savings cooperatives in Asia; from campaigns against debt, unfair trade and corporate misconduct, to support for the landmines treaty, the International Criminal Court, and United Nations (UN) agendas for decent work and for women's equality.

The Canadian Council for International Co-operation (CCIC) is no stranger to poverty issues. Founded in 1968, the Council now brings together close to 100 Canadian CSOs that work on the front lines of poverty eradication, in Canada and around the world. The Council's existence has always reflected the determination of its members to work collaboratively for changes to the policies in the international system that cause poverty and inequality and degrade the planet. Our primary entry point in this system is ourselves: our government, our corporations, and our own organizations. What can *we* do?

This *10-Point Agenda for Global Action to End Poverty and Injustice* lays out a Canadian civil society vision of how Canada can play a decisive role in helping to end global poverty and injustice. This is the second edition of the Agenda, which was first launched in 1997. It reflects current trends and challenges from a Canadian perspective and lays out priorities for changes in policy and practice for government and CSOs in 10 key areas.

The *10-Point Agenda* is more than the sum of its parts. It reflects CCIC members' holistic understanding of the challenges of global poverty. And it underscores that our desire for social change springs not merely from charity or good intentions, but from a commitment to justice and human rights.

Poverty and Rights in the *10-Point Agenda*

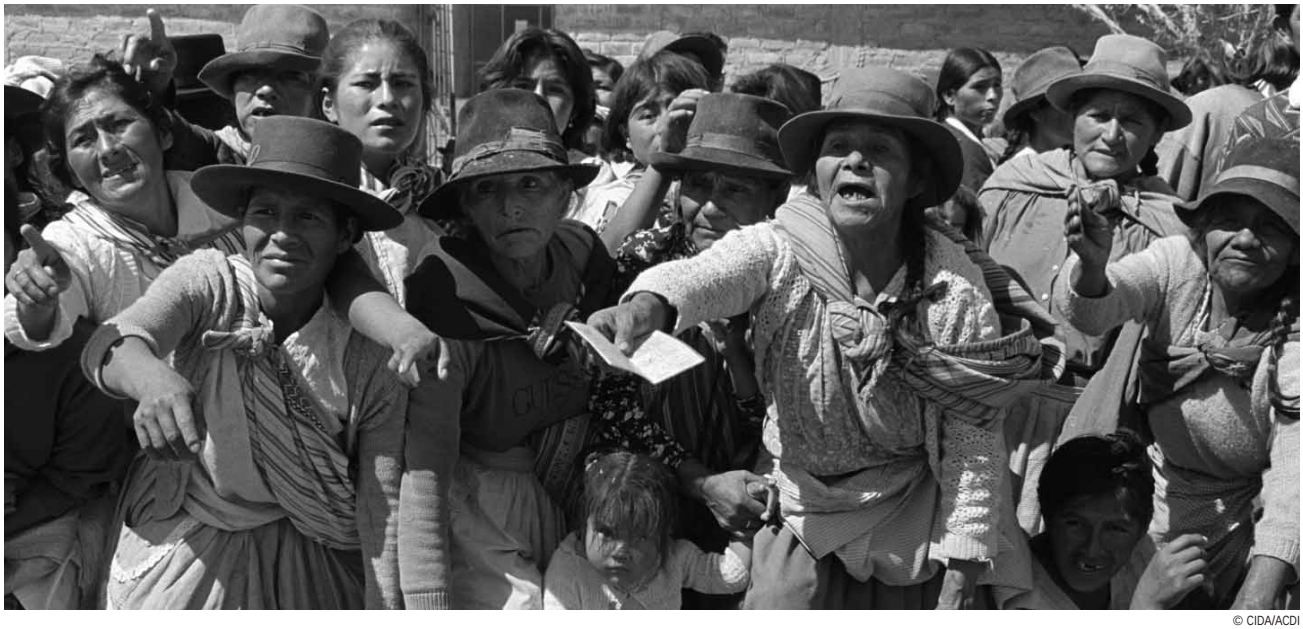
For CCIC, the universal human struggle to escape poverty and pursue a life of dignity *is* the struggle to claim human rights – right to food, to work, to health and to education, and rights to organize, to vote and to freely assemble without fear.

In the last 60 years, the world's governments have adopted a series of declarations that establish the rights of women, men, boys and girls everywhere, and enshrine them as state obligations under international law. Under international human rights law, states have an obligation to *respect rights* (refrain from policy measures likely to deprive people of access to their rights), *protect rights* (ensure that non-state actors, including corporations, do not violate or deprive people of their rights) and *fulfill rights* (take positive action to build the policy and institutional framework to ensure the enjoyment of rights for all). Governments must be guided by these obligations as they seek to facilitate and regulate healthy economies, promote flourishing societies and safeguard the environment.

Governments have agreed to these obligations. However, these rights remain illusory for the tens of millions of people who live with the daily reality of war, insecurity, repression, poor housing, hunger, ill health and illiteracy. In particular, the pervasive, systematic violation of the rights of women and girls lies at the core of poverty and injustice worldwide. Ensuring gender equality is thus a critical priority.

CCIC and its members have always understood that the engine of progressive change to address injustices is, first and foremost, citizen action. When women oppose violence in their homes and communities, when workers organize against repression, when farmers struggle for land and livelihood, things can change for the better. Civil society and social movements play key roles in proposing alternatives, in organizing to encourage democratic change and in holding governments accountable to their promises to respect, protect and fulfill rights.

And as we support citizen action to promote rights and end poverty, CCIC members underscore the importance of addressing power relations within civil society itself. If we want to end exclusion and discrimination, the voices and interests of women, Indigenous peoples, children, migrant workers and other poor and marginalized sectors must be central in movements for change. Given the centrality of gender equality, CSOs, as well as corporations and government, must analyze the implications of their actions for women's rights and equality. What's more, they must demonstrate how their actions contribute to greater equality between women and men.



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Current global context

Since the original *10-Point Agenda* was published, significant new trends have emerged that shape the global and national context for the struggle to end poverty and protect rights. Some of these trends are positive: important new commitments and signs of progress. But others are more troubling, and point to the need for greater citizen and government action.

The UN summits of the 1990s – from Rio de Janeiro to Vienna to Copenhagen to Beijing – laid out an important international agenda of promises and commitments to meet targets for realizing rights and development. In 2000, some of these commitments were brought together in the *United Nations Millennium Declaration* and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), with targets for 2015. In particular, women's rights advocates were critical of the MDG scope and indicators. They argued it was a minimalist agenda that failed to incorporate the breadth or international commitments to women's rights.

Nearing the halfway point of the MDG period, some signs of progress are visible: the Human Development Reports of the UN Development Programme (UNDP), for example, show that life expectancy and literacy rates are still increasing in the developing world, while the global gender gap in primary school enrolment is shrinking.

The Millennium Development Goals

Goal 1: Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger
Goal 2: Achieve universal primary education
Goal 3: Promote gender equality and empower women
Goal 4: Reduce child mortality
Goal 5: Improve maternal health
Goal 6: Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases
Goal 7: Ensure environmental sustainability
Goal 8: Develop a global partnership for development

Despite much rhetoric, however, the international commitments of the 1990s remain woefully unmet. If current trends continue, the international community stands little hope of achieving even the modest ambitions of the MDGs. And, critically, the important advances against poverty in the first decades of development co-operation have begun to slow down. In some places, particularly in Africa, human development indicators are going backwards. Between 1990 and 2003, 18 countries, with a combined population of 460 million people, dropped in the UNDP Human Development Index rankings.[1] Twelve of these countries are in sub-Saharan Africa.

Globally, human development inequalities are widening. Many developing countries with impressive economic growth records, such as China, have not translated their increasing wealth into human development gains. The era of globalization, marked by dizzying success in technological innovation and scientific advances, has failed to address the blight of global poverty and inequality.[2]

In recent years, the multilateral system through which governments negotiate mutual commitments to achieve global public goals has frayed. It is now discredited, in disarray and without effective leadership and enforcement. Corporate power has surged. The international economic institutions, led by the major powers of the North and operating outside the UN family, have undermined the MDGs and the broader agendas for realizing rights agreed to at the UN summits of the 1990s. These institutions and governments have charted an international regulatory regime that advances the interests of corporations at the expense of people and the environment.

The global security agenda, which has eclipsed all others since September 11, 2001, has further undermined the basis for multilateral co-operation among diverse regional players. Unilateral action by the United States and short-term political alliances around security interests have undermined UN treaties, agreements and human rights covenants, and eroded civil liberties and development priorities in many countries. While the international community uses "concern" for women's rights to justify intervention, its aggressive peacebuilding efforts regularly ignore the needs of women.

While these trends are troubling, more positive trends are also emerging. India, Brazil, China and other newly

industrializing countries are increasingly challenging the domination of the North in global institutions. While it's not yet clear how these new power configurations will play out for poor and marginalized people, it is clear that globalization has witnessed growing interconnections of people's movements, North and South. From the World Trade Organization (WTO) protests in Seattle and Cancun to the celebration of alternatives and diversity at the World Social Forums, citizen movements have provoked international actions in common cause to resist the enrichment of a global elite and the impoverishment of a global majority.

A key example of actions in common cause is the Global Call to Action Against Poverty. Launched in 2005, the initiative inspired Canadian CSOs to develop the Make Poverty History campaign, which has rallied more than 700 organizations and 250,000 Canadians. The Canadian campaign has a four-part platform that calls for debt cancellation, trade justice, more and better aid and measures to combat child poverty in Canada. In Québec, the campaign *Un monde sans pauvreté : Agissons*! has mobilized thousands of citizens to participate in diverse actions against poverty. The enthusiastic public response to these initiatives has underscored the hunger of citizens to take meaningful action to build a better world.

A Call to Action

In this Canadian *10-Point Agenda to End Global Poverty and Injustice*, CCIC and its member organizations start from a simple premise. The international community should uphold promises made to humanity in the *Millennium Declaration*. We must protect and realize human rights. We must tackle the causes of poverty. Finally, we must progressively eliminate poverty in all its many guises. Governments and citizens the world over must take unprecedented efforts to make this happen.

This Agenda gives expression to our knowledge that we must bolster practical efforts through enabling policy, and that policy commitments are hollow without action. It outlines how we must now translate governments' many commitments into national and institutional policies. As such, the Agenda builds on initiatives like *The World is our Shared Responsibility*, a recent declaration of Quebec CSOs that lays out an agenda for creating relations of solidarity and justice among the world's peoples. Overall, the *10-Point Agenda* supports the practical efforts of CCIC's members in solidarity with thousands of developing-country CSOs. Each has a unique focus, program and public, but all converge in the desire to build a just world, where all human rights are respected and poverty is no more.

Included in this Agenda is a listing of the CCIC members who are working in each of the 10 thematic areas as part of a wider and unstoppable global movement for change.

Join us.

Gerry Barr
President-CEO, Canadian Council for International Co-operation

The Rights Evolution

1948: The *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* provides a basis of common norms.

1948: The *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide* came into force in **1951** and outlines the act of genocide and other punishable offences.

1949: The *Geneva Conventions* (1907–2005) regulates the conduct of hostilities between warring parties. It upholds that combatants must limit targets and weapons so as to not cause suffering to, or target civilians.

1951: The *Convention relating to the Status of Refugees* came into force in **1954**.

1965: The *International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination* came into force in **1969**.

1966: The *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* came into force in **1976**. It upholds the rights to self-determination, life, liberty, freedom of movement, expression, assembly, fair trial and equal treatment before the law, etc.

1966: The *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* came into force in **1976**. It covers rights to work, fair and adequate employment, education, mental and physical health, shelter and reasonable standards of living.

1979: The *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women* came into force in **1981**.

1984: The *Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment* came into force in **1987**.

1986: The *Declaration on the Right to Development* provides non-binding norms.

1989: The *Convention on the Rights of the Child* came into force in **1990**.

1990: The *International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families* came into force in **2003.** As of early 2007, no developed countries had ratified this Convention.

1992: The *Declaration on the Protection of all Persons from Enforced Disappearance*. A text for an International Convention exists but has not come into force.

1998: The International Labour Organization (ILO) *Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work* commits Member States to respect and promote: freedom of association and the right to collective bargaining, the elimination of forced or compulsory labour, the abolition of child labour and the elimination of discrimination in respect of employment and occupation.

2006: The *Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities* and its Optional Protocol were adopted by the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) on December 13, **2006**. They have not yet entered into force.

2007: The *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* passed in the UNGA in September **2007**. It is a non-binding document.

For additional information, see **www2.ohchr.org/english/law/**

The Global Challenge to End Poverty and Injustice:

A CANADIAN *10-POINT AGENDA* AT A GLANCE

Point 1: Promote Women's Rights and Equality

Accelerate action on Canada's international commitments to women's equality by promoting and investing in women's social, political, economic and cultural rights. Canada's actions must include significant support for women's organizations, as well as explicit attention to gender inequalities across all international initiatives in diplomacy, aid, trade and defence.

Point 2: Promote Health and Education for All

Uphold Canada's obligations to fulfill the rights to health and education by ensuring our aid program, as well as international finance and trade policies, support the development of high-quality health care and education systems in developing countries that are universally accessible, as well as publicly funded and administered.

Point 3: Promote the Right to Food and Ensure Sustainable Livelihoods for Food Producers in Developing Countries

Provide leadership in upholding the right to food through Canadian foreign policy, ensuring all countries, including the poorest, can pursue diverse, producer-led and sustainable agricultural development strategies. As part of this agenda, make small-scale agriculture and sustainable livelihoods for food producers (small farmers, pastoralists, Indigenous peoples, fishers) an aid priority, and ensure global trade rules help rather than harm small producers and hungry people.

Point 4: Build Global Economic Justice

Pursue more equitable and accountable rules for international trade, finance and investment flows that respect states' obligations to promote equality and develop national plans for the progressive realization of human rights for all. Promote cancellation of the debt of the poorest countries, while supporting means to co-ordinate fair and innovative taxation approaches to finance development goals.

Point 5: Ensure Corporate Accountability

Enact legislation that requires Canadian corporations operating outside Canada to meet and be accountable to international human rights, labour and environmental standards in all their operations worldwide. Ensure transparent corporate reporting against these standards and make Canadian public support to corporations contingent upon compliance.

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Point 6: Promote Peace

Engage with conflict-affected societies to promote peace, emphasizing a transparent, rights-based and coherent engagement strategy. Canadian policies should strengthen international norms and regulations, as well as local capacities for peace and peacebuilding. Canada should fulfill its obligations to international human rights and humanitarian law by protecting vulnerable people, particularly children, and including special measures to protect women and girls from sexual and gender-based violence.

Point 7: Promote Global Environmental Justice

Protect and rehabilitate the environmental commons and decrease our ecological footprint with strategies and approaches consistent with ending global poverty and reducing inequalities. Support the right to livelihood for poor and vulnerable people in harmony with a sustainable environment. Ensure Canada meets its obligations to international environmental treaties and agreements. Take full account of the interests, capacities and knowledge of diverse peoples in developing countries and for future generations.

Point 8: Support Democratic Governance and Global Citizenship

Contribute to democratic governance in order to ensure social justice and the fulfillment of human rights at home and in developing countries. Support active citizenship engagement in Canada and the South and at the global level, including the diverse roles played by Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in democratic development. Enhance the roles for parliamentarians in global policy issues.

Point 9: Build a Democratic and Effective Multilateral System

Support multilateralism and the UN as a cornerstone of Canadian foreign policy while working for reforms that democratize multilateral institutions, including the International Financial Institutions. Correct the North-South power imbalances, and ensure the primacy of UN norms of human rights and environmental stewardship in the multilateral system.

Point 10: Achieve More and Better Aid

Direct Canadian Official Development Assistance (ODA) exclusively to poverty reduction, consistent with Canada's obligations to international human rights standards, taking into account the perspectives of the poor. Establish a specific timetable for increasing Canadian ODA to reach the UN target of 0.7% of Canadian Gross National Income (GNI). Ensure that Canadian CSOs reflect a rights-based framework and embody the partnership principles in the CCIC *Code of Ethics* in their programmatic relationships.

Point 1:
PROMOTE WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND EQUALITY

ACCELERATE ACTION ON CANADA'S INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENTS TO WOMEN'S EQUALITY BY PROMOTING AND INVESTING IN WOMEN'S SOCIAL, POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL RIGHTS. CANADA'S ACTIONS MUST INCLUDE SIGNIFICANT SUPPORT FOR WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS, AS WELL AS EXPLICIT ATTENTION TO GENDER INEQUALITIES ACROSS ALL INTERNATIONAL INITIATIVES IN DIPLOMACY, AID, TRADE AND DEFENCE.

"Gender discrimination is pervasive. While the degrees and forms of inequality may vary, women and girls are deprived of equal access to resources, opportunities and political power in every region of the world. The oppression of girls and women can include the preference of sons over daughters, limited personal and professional choices for girls and women, the denial of basic human rights and outright gender-based violence."

UNICEF, December 2006

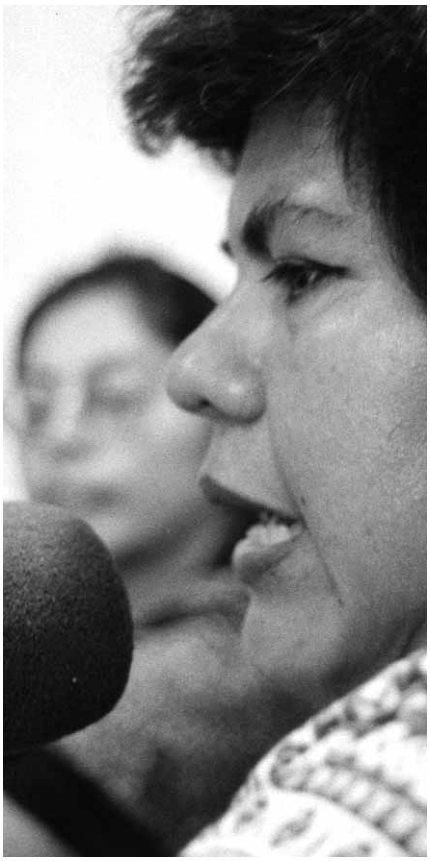
The State of the World's Children 2007: Women and Children — The Double Dividend of Gender Equality

Women's Rights are Human Rights

Human rights apply to all people. The obligation to eliminate sex-based discrimination against women to achieve gender equality is an essential piece of the international human rights framework. *The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women* (CEDAW) reinforces the commitment to women's rights, providing specific guidance on the range of actions that must be taken to achieve gender equality. But experience and day-to-day realities constantly remind us that women's human rights are systematically denied. Consider the following:

"Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for … health and well-being…,"[3] yet an estimated 70% of adults living in poverty worldwide are women.

"States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in order to ensure to them equal rights with men in the field of education…,"[4] yet two-thirds of the world's uneducated adults are women, and two-thirds of the children who do not attend primary school are girls. The numbers only get worse for secondary and post-secondary education.



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Oxfam Photo: Rajendra Shaw

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"Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person,"[5] but sexual exploitation, violence against women, and organized "trafficking" of girls and women who are forced into prostitution are realities that cross all national boundaries.

"States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life of the country...,"[6] yet only 16% of the world's elected officials are women.

"The right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health"[7] is universally accepted, yet the face of the HIV/AIDS pandemic is increasingly female.

"The human rights of women include their right to have control over and decide freely and responsibly on matters related to their sexuality, including sexual and reproductive health, free of coercion, discrimination and violence."[8]

Yet every year an estimated 200 million women who want to delay or avoid pregnancies are not using family planning. Further, if women who wanted effective contraception had access to it, one in three deaths related to pregnancy and childbirth could be avoided.[9]

"States Parties shall accord to women equality with men before the law,"[10] yet women the world over are less able than men to exercise their rights – to own property, to freedom of movement, to freely organize and vote, etc.

The world's governments have recognized and made commitments to women's rights and ending discrimination against women and girls. But these commitments have not been met.

Inter Pares Photo: Caroline Boudreau

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The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action

More than 10 years after the landmark agreement reached by governments in 1995, activists still turn to the *Beijing Declaration* and *Platform for Action*. These documents provide a wide-reaching agenda for women's empowerment in the early 21st century. The Beijing Conference sparked a renewed global commitment to the empowerment of women everywhere and drew unprecedented international attention. The *Platform for Action* specified 12 critical areas of concern considered to represent the main obstacles to women's advancement and which required concrete action by governments, the international community and civil society:

- Women and poverty, **www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/followup/session/presskit/fs1.htm**
- Education and training of women, **www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/followup/session/presskit/fs2.htm**
- Women and health, **www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/followup/session/presskit/fs3.htm**
- Violence against women, **www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/followup/session/presskit/fs4.htm**
- Women and armed conflict, **www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/followup/session/presskit/fs5.htm**
- Women and the economy, **www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/followup/session/presskit/fs6.htm**
- Women in power and decision-making, **www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/followup/session/presskit/fs7.htm**
- Institutional mechanisms for the advancement of women, **www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/followup/session/presskit/fs8.htm**
- Human rights of women, **www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/followup/session/presskit/fs9.htm**
- Women and the media, **www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/followup/session/presskit/fs10.htm**
- Women and the environment, **www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/followup/session/presskit/fs11.htm**
- The girl child, **www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/followup/session/presskit/fs12.htm**

Intergovernmental processes have also highlighted new issues that have grown in prominence on the international agenda since 1995:

- Trafficking in women and girls
- Women and HIV/AIDS
- Indigenous women
- Information and communication technologies
- Millennium Development Goals
- Men and boys

Sources

United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW) website on the Fourth World Conference on Women, **www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/index.html**.

United Nations, 2005. Review of the implementation of the *Beijing Platform for Action* and the outcome documents of the Special Session of the General Assembly entitled, *Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the Twenty-First Century: Report of the Secretary General*, E/CN.6/2005/2. **http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N04/636/83/PDF/N0463683.pdf?OpenElement**

Multiple Forms of Discrimination

Many women face multiple forms of discrimination. For example, women from Indigenous communities, women with disabilities and widows face numerous challenges in accessing services, participating in decision-making or voicing their needs. Seventy percent of girls not in school are from minorities and socially excluded groups.[11] It is crucial to understand power dynamics within communities and not assume that all women share the same interests and needs. Multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination require an approach that takes into account the "many circumstances that combine with discriminatory social practices to produce and sustain inequality and exclusion." This should include race, class, sexuality, ability, nationality and other factors, as well as gender.[12]

Girls

Girls and young women face particular challenges. In many societies, female babies go "missing" or are aborted. Girls are often subjected to early marriage and female genital mutilation/cutting. They are more vulnerable to HIV/AIDS, have poorer nutrition, take on more domestic work, and are less likely to be in school when compared to their brothers.[13] Yet, in discussions about children, girls are often invisible and the specific needs of adolescents and young women are not part of many women's rights initiatives.

Violence Against Women and Girls

Girls and women all too often suffer physical and sexual violence: at home, on the streets and at work – primarily because they are female. Forms of violence include sexual and physical violence by an intimate partner, female genital mutilation/cutting, female infanticide, sexual harassment, the trafficking of women and girls, and rape during armed conflict. Given the stigma of these assaults, statistics are often unreliable. Still, surveys on violence against women conducted in at least 71 countries show a significant proportion of women suffer physical, sexual or psychological violence.[14] Globally, women between the age of 15 and 44 are more likely to be maimed or die as a result of male violence than through cancer, malaria, traffic accidents and war combined.[15]

The consequences of this violence are staggering. Women and girls who experience violence can suffer lifelong pain and suffering. Women subjected to violence are more likely to abuse alcohol and drugs, attempt suicide and report nervous disorders. Violence against women and girls is not only a violation of fundamental rights, it destroys the social fabric of communities. It also places an enormous burden on national economies through increased health-care and legal costs, absenteeism from work and lost productivity.

Yet according to the United Nations, violence against women has yet to receive the priority attention and resources needed at all levels to tackle it with the necessary seriousness and visibility. There is a need for a comprehensive, systematic and determined response.

Sexual and Reproductive Health

A key factor to women's health is early access to sexual and reproductive services. Lack of these services can lead to high mortality rates among women and children; the spread of sexually transmitted infections (STIs), including HIV/AIDS, and increases in deaths, injuries and disabilities from unsafe abortions and poor birth spacing. For example, in southern Africa, young women are 1.6 times more likely to be living with HIV/AIDS than are young men.[16] This is due largely to violence from intimate partners, a culture of silence around issues of sexual health, and transactional and intergenerational sex.[17] Moreover, during conflicts and emergencies, girls and women in displacement camps are at heightened risk of sexual violence and have reduced access to services.

While the international community and national governments have committed to making universal reproductive health care available by 2015, much remains to be done.[18] Too often, if women's health is an added expenditure for the household, it is not given priority. Lack of access to health services by rural girls and women means they have to travel longer distances; by the time they arrive at a clinic, their illness is often worse. According to the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), "In countries with similar levels of economic development, maternal mortality is inversely proportional to women's status."[19]

Working Women: Unpaid and Paid Labour

The evidence of gender-based inequality is particularly striking in terms of women's work. Gender inequality in work and employment has multiple dimensions. Around the world, women and girls carry far more than their share of domestic work. Overwhelmingly, it is women and girls who keep house, cook and carry water, as well as care for children, the sick and the elderly. Yet this unpaid work in the "care economy" is invisible in national accounts, consistently undervalued by societies and overlooked by planners.

Women also face persistent wage gaps and discriminatory practices in labour markets. Around the world, women's wages are approximately 20% less than men's. Furthermore, in today's globalizing economy, "operational requirements" or "retrenchments" in the formal sector and the trend towards global sourcing of production have increased the pressure for flexible labour and "just in time" delivery. This has created employment for women, but the jobs are increasingly temporary and part-time, and marked by high job insecurity and stress.

In North and South, women are concentrated in more precarious and lower paying forms of employment than men. In most of the developing world, women's access to paid employment is lower than men's. For example, women more often work in the informal economy and in micro enterprises, or as street vendors, domestic workers or industrial "home-based" workers. Indeed, in developing countries, more than 60% of women workers are in informal employment outside of agriculture; the percentage is even higher if agriculture is included. Within the informal economy, women are concentrated in work associated with low and unstable earnings – too low, in the absence of other sources of income, to raise households out of poverty.[20]

The changing nature of labour markets has also increased the pressure and opportunities for women to migrate. The share of women in labour migration flows, within and outside of borders, has been increasing since the 1970s. While migration can bring important economic opportunities, migrant workers, and poor women especially, are vulnerable to exploitation and rights violations. These range from poor working conditions and unfair remuneration to racism, intimidation, sexual exploitation, debt bondage and other forms of abuse.

This trend towards the feminization of labour migration is expected to continue. As a result, there is a strong concern that gender-based inequalities, and hardening attitudes and policies towards migrants, will increase women's vulnerability to abuse and exploitation, including sexual trafficking of women and girls.[21] Unless efforts are made to create decent work for the global informal workforce, the world will not be able to eliminate poverty or achieve gender equality.

Education

Education is integral to realising equality since educated girls and women are more likely to know, and therefore, exercise their rights. Educating girls requires a host of actions: ensuring schools, teachers, and curricula are girl-friendly and do not promote negative stereotypes that limit girls' development; ensuring schools are safe from sexual exploitation and violence; providing facilities to enable girls, particularly adolescent girls, to attend regularly; hiring female teachers who can be role models for girls; and encouraging parents and families to see the benefits of girls' education. Since so many girls have duties at home, they must also have access to informal education that builds their capacity and confidence; this will enable them to contribute to their communities to their maximum potential.[22]

Crises, Peace and Security

The media often depict women as victims in times of crisis. Indeed, it is important to acknowledge and respond to the specific vulnerabilities of women and girls during conflicts and disasters: to violence, to human rights violations, to increased workloads, to displacement, to HIV/AIDS and to loss of livelihoods. Of particular concern to the humanitarian community is the sexual abuse and exploitation of women and children by the very people sent to help them, peace-keepers and other humanitarian workers.

Yet it is also important to support women's active roles as survivors, as grass roots leaders, educators, workers, mobilizers and politicians. Too often, women are ignored by, and excluded

from, peace negotiations, post-conflict priority setting and disaster preparedness planning.

Many programs aimed at supporting demobilized soldiers have failed to identify both the combat and non-combat roles of women and girls with fighting forces. As a result, the programs fail to address their specific needs.

In these difficult situations, international commitments exist to protect women's rights. These include the landmark *Security Council Resolution 1325* on women, peace and security, which protects the rights of women and girls, and commits to ensuring gender perspectives in planning and initiatives and women's participation in decision-making. Yet reports from around the world – from tsunami-ravaged Sri Lanka to Afghanistan – show the international community has failed to live up to agreed upon standards.

The United Nations: Beijing and Beyond

Since the first United Nations Conference on Women held in Mexico City in 1975, women's equality advocates have placed significant importance on international processes that define equality and establish the obligations of governments to take positive action to ensure respect for women's rights. Through the international conferences of the 1990s and the growing support for the *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women*, an international agenda for change is emerging. It covers the rights of women and girls across all policy areas (such as health, education and social and cultural rights) and in all areas of life (including the environment, building peace and media).

The 1995 *Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action* still stands as a fundamental global reference point for an international agenda for change (See *The Beijing Declaration* Box). Advocates have also worked hard to ensure the visibility of the gender dimensions of other goals of the international community, by articulating the essential connections between gender equality and poverty elimination, disarmament and environmental sustainability. With its regular monitoring process, the CEDAW – along with other elements in the international human rights system – enables activists to hold governments accountable.

The response of governments and the international community to these agreements, however, has been disappointing to the say the least. Despite national plans, rhetoric and commitments, few governments have lived up to their promises. Resources are not allocated, discriminatory legislation remains on law books, impunity for perpetrators of violence continues, and policies and programs fall far short of responding to the needs of all citizens. Even more worrisome, many are working hard to roll back gains in the global consensus around women's rights and gender equality.

As the United Nations system attempts to respond to international challenges to ensure relevance and effectiveness, the global women's movement has pushed for a new, strong, well-resourced agency to provide leadership on women's rights and gender equality. Citing the UN's failure to support governments' efforts to fulfill their international commitments, advocates have pushed for both a stronger "women's entity" and for all UN organizations to ensure all their programs and initiatives support greater equality between women and men. It is time to go beyond symbolic commitment to concrete action.

A Global Women's Movement

A striking legacy of the 20th century is the dynamism of the women's movement. Around the world, women have organized for the recognition, protection and enforcement of their rights. Women have built international networks, established grass roots organizations, lobbied politicians and provided services when the state failed to deliver. They have built organizations and movements focused on the rights of women and girls. And they have joined other movements attempting to bring women's voices to the struggles for environmental sustainability, peace with justice, land reform, Indigenous rights, poverty eradication, recognition of the rights of people with disabilities and so many others.

Yet this movement is under threat. In many parts of the world, women human rights defenders are threatened and harassed and face physical violence. In Canada, government has slashed funding to key players in the women's movement and eliminated funding for research and advocacy. Internationally, alarm bells have sounded regarding declining resources for women's human rights organizations and

advocates. About half the women's organizations surveyed for one study reported receiving less funding than they did five years ago. This trend is troubling; particularly since government funding reflects priorities: less funding for women's human rights organizations means reduced commitment and capacity to advance women's rights. This fact, combined with the already limited funding for gender equality as a significant or principal objective in Official Development Assistance initiatives, paints a bleak picture.[23] A key issue is ensuring that funding for gender equality targets women's equality-seeking groups and women's movements *directly*, in addition to supporting efforts to mainstream gender analysis and activities or supporting all actors to undertake a gender equality agenda.

The MDGs and Women's Rights

When the international community agreed to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), women's organizations argued these goals and indicators failed to reflect the range of international commitments agreed to through the series of UN conferences in the 1990s and embodied in the *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women* (CEDAW).

Recognizing that the MDGs are only a minimalist agenda, advocates have stressed that women's rights and equality are central to the achievement of all the MDGs. According to a UN study, "development policies and actions that fail to take gender inequality into account or that fail to enable women to be actors in those policies and actions will have limited effectiveness and serious costs to societies. The reverse is also true: the achievement of Goal 3* depends on the extent to which each of the other goals addresses gender-based constraints and issues."**

The UN's Millennium Task Force on Education and Gender Equality identified seven strategic priorities to promote gender equality and empower women (Goal 3) by 2015:

- Strengthen opportunities for post-primary education for girls while simultaneously meeting commitments to universal primary education;
- Guarantee sexual and reproductive health and rights;
- Invest in infrastructure to reduce women's and girls' time burdens;
- Guarantee women's and girls' property rights;
- Eliminate gender inequality in employment by decreasing women's reliance on informal employment, closing gender gaps in earnings and reducing occupation segregation;
- Increase women's share of seats in national parliaments and local governmental bodies;
- Combat violence against women.

Source

* For Goal 3, see The Millenium Development Development Goals Box - page 5

** UN Millennium Project (2005). *Taking action: achieving gender equality and empowering women.* Task Force on Education and Gender Equality. **www.unmillenniumproject.org/reports/tf_gender.htm**

The Way Forward

Gender inequalities are now well documented thanks to the relentless efforts by women in communities around the globe, persistent lobbying and legal battles by the worldwide women's movement, and research and practical initiatives by civil society and UN agencies. But while these actions have yielded results, inequalities still exist. All too often, women's rights are ignored, viewed as a secondary priority or not brought into general discussions and policies on poverty, peace and environmental sustainability.

The struggle for women's rights faces many challenges:

- Economic orthodoxies and structures that both fail to recognize unpaid care work and impoverish millions around the world;
- The rise of religious fundamentalism;
- Deeply ingrained social attitudes;
- Increased militarism that feeds off destructive forms of masculinity; and
- Increasing environmental degradation.

As well, social movements have not always pushed the women's rights agenda: "tensions between social movements, the enduring lack of gender-sensitivity in mainstream civil society groups, diminishing resources available for women's rights work, and the lack of cohesion among women's rights advocates themselves has limited our collective ability to effectively pressure governments and non-state actors to act on their rights obligations."[24]

We must work together to overcome these challenges. We must step up efforts to change policies and practices that do not account for women's rights, particularly in areas of trade, diplomacy, peace and security, and political participation. Women's rights advocates require solidarity and support – in Canada and internationally.

We must gather new sex-disaggregated data where adequate information does not yet exist.[25] This will enable us to target policies and programs more effectively, leading to concrete results at the family and household level, as well as nationally and internationally.

It is also essential to understand masculine and feminine identities, roles and expectations in different societies, and how these identities influence attitudes and behaviours in favour of, or against, equality and women's rights. Already, men around the world are identifying how gender roles and expectations can be harmful to men as well as women. They are taking responsibility for changing structures that privilege men and are joining in the struggle to redefine more equitable gender relations. We need to explore new ways to involve men and boys in the struggle for women's rights without compromising resources for initiatives that support women's rights.

All too often Canada's commitment to women's rights has been strong on rhetoric and weak on implementation and results. The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) has taken a step in the right direction with the development of a framework to assess gender equality results. Still, in 2004-2005, only 5.1% of CIDA's bilateral disbursements listed gender equality as a principal objective.[26]

We need regular reporting to the Canadian public on how much of Canada's development assistance budget supports specific gender equality programming, including amounts to women's organizations and movements. We also need reporting and analysis on how Canada's diplomatic programs support women's equality.

Achieving gender equality and respecting women's human rights is a global issue. There is no country where girls and boys are equal and where women's rights have been achieved. In Canada, we also face significant challenges. Together, with our partners in the South, we can learn, strategize, gather strength from each other and move forward.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS
FOR GOVERNMENT

Lead by example and ensure Canada's domestic compliance with our international commitments to women's rights and equality, including the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women and the Beijing Platform for Action.

Ensure all Canadian international initiatives – whether they relate to diplomacy, development assistance or defence – reflect and support Canada's commitment to women's rights and gender equality.

Undertake gender analysis on the potential impact of policies on men and women, boys and girls, with a lens that recognizes multiple forms of discrimination and vulnerability, and implement steps to address these impacts.

Ensure international economic policies and agendas reflect a strong focus on the creation of decent employment, an explicit consideration of the needs of women and girls in the informal and formal labour sectors, and support for accessible and functioning infrastructure and quality public services, including for water, health, education and quality child care.

Ensure our commitments to gender equality are consistently and explicitly considered in the development of Canada's initiatives in multilateral institutions, including in the areas of international trade, finance, disarmament, peace and security, and the reform of the United Nations.

Ratify, respect and promote international labour standards codified at the International Labour Organization (ILO), and at the UN – including the specific conventions on migrant workers.[27]

Support the establishment of a consolidated UN agency for women that will have both normative and operational responsibilities, be ambitiously resourced and be led by an Under-Secretary General. In addition, continue to stress and support the responsibility of the entire UN system to work towards the realization of women's rights and gender equality.

Ensure continued priority to women's rights and equality in all policies, strategies and initiatives supported by CIDA and Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada (DFAIT), including humanitarian assistance and support to international organizations.

Dedicate significant support (both financial and diplomatic) to target women's rights and gender inequalities, including:

- Core support for women's equality-seeking organizations, including workers' organizations both international and in developing countries;
- Programs and policies to stop all forms of violence against girls and women, including those locally identified and led that address power relations, practices and beliefs that harm girls and women;
- Policies and programs that focus on women's sexual and reproductive health, including education on reproductive rights;
- Strategies that support women's participation in peace processes, peace operations and post-conflict reconstruction;
- Programs that strengthen women's participation in politics and political processes at the international, national and local levels;
- Initiatives that promote women's labour rights, including recognition of unpaid labour;
- Programs targeted at girls and women's education, including informal education;
- Support to build the capacity of governments, Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) (both in Canada and elsewhere), and international organizations to carry out gender analyses, use a rights-based perspective, and narrow gender inequalities.

Support community and national-level research and data gathering, disaggregated by sex, that address the issues affecting women's rights and equality. Ensure that all international initiatives to strengthen data collection include sex-disaggregated statistics and focus on information that enables the tracking of change from a gender equality perspective.

- Report to the Canadian public the amount of Canada's international assistance disbursed in support of gender equality goals, including the amounts specifically disbursed through gender equality programming. Report also on how diplomatic and other international policy measures contribute to women's equality results.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS

- Ensure the promotion of women's rights and equality is a priority that explicitly informs all CSO policies and programs.
- Strengthen internal capacities to carry out gender analysis, plan and track results relating to women's rights and gender equalities and evaluate initiatives from a gender equality perspective.
- Ensure that gender sensitivity is reflected in organizational culture, avoid gender stereotyping and practise gender equality in all operations (e.g., staffing, fundraising, publicity, organizational policies, etc.).
- Provide specific, targeted programming support to initiatives designed to reduce gender inequalities.
- Identify opportunities to work with and strengthen women's equality-seeking organizations in Canada and around the world.
- Play an active role in holding the Canadian government accountable for its commitments to women's rights and equality, through public engagement, awareness within the CSO community and dialogue with government officials and parliamentarians.
- Strive for family-friendly workplaces that enable both women and men to balance family and community responsibilities with their work responsibilities.

(See other points of the Agenda for more recommendations on Wowen's Rights)

Canada-Africa exchange on violence against women

Africa-Canada Forum – Canadian Crossroads International

Canadian Crossroads International (CCI) is a CCIC member. It works with organizations in Africa and South America that are combating poverty, women's inequality and HIV/AIDS, bringing these organizations into partnerships with Canadian organizations working on similar issues. Building on this approach, CCI and the Africa-Canada Forum (ACF) teamed up to organize an exchange among African and Canadian organizations working to prevent violence against women. This exchange brought together representatives of African and Canadian women's organizations to share their experience and knowledge and to participate in the 2005 ACF Symposium on women's roles and women's rights. The African participants were nominees for the Betty Plewes Fund Award 2004, a CCIC Board of Directors' initiative that honours an African organization active in policy and advocacy work on issues related to women. The Canadian organizations were CCI and ACF counterparts.

The Canada-Africa exchange highlights the importance of building alliances between the North and South and across regions to better understand the different impacts of policies, to determine relevant messages and create synergy to engage governments on the impacts of global macro-policies on women's equality, including the current trade regime. As a result of this exchange ACF produced a media kit for the Hong-Kong World Trade Organization (WTO) Ministerial Meeting on what is at stake for African women in the trade regime negotiations. Building on the Canada-Africa exchange, the ACF will continue to pursue innovative and collaborative ways of working to develop a common policy agenda.

Working to curb the exploitation and trafficking of girls and young women in Mali
MATCH

MATCH partners with Association Recherche Action Femme et Développement (ARAFD) in Mali to curb the exploitation and trafficking of girls and young women in the region of Mopti. ARAFD sensitizes decision makers, school authorities and the community at large to issues of youth traffic and exploitation. They have formed Sentinel Committees of locally elected women and men to constantly monitor local activities to detect and prevent child trafficking. Finally, the project works with at risk and rescued youth to facilitate their future integration into formal education and runs literacy and vocational skills training programs for those who cannot attend school.

RESOURCES

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United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD). *Gender Equality: Striving for Justice in an Unequal World*. Geneva. 2005. **www.unrisd.org** (search by title).

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). *Gender Mainstreaming Tools Marketplace. An Annotated Resource Guide.* 2006. **www.undp.org/women/tools_marketplace.pdf**

United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) (**www.unifem.org**) has four useful portals to access web-based materials: (1) women, war and peace; (2) gender and HIV/AIDS; (3) gender-responsive budget initiatives; (4) gender equality and the MDGs. Also *Progress of the World's Women* Reports.

Women's Environment & Development Organization (WEDO) (2005). *Beijing Betrayed: Women Worldwide Report that Governments Have Failed to Turn the Platform into Action*. **www.wedo.org/library.aspx?ResourceID=31**.

Point 2:
PROMOTE HEALTH AND EDUCATION FOR ALL

UPHOLD CANADA'S OBLIGATIONS TO FULFILL THE RIGHTS TO HEALTH AND EDUCATION BY ENSURING OUR AID PROGRAM, AS WELL AS INTERNATIONAL FINANCE AND TRADE POLICIES, SUPPORT THE DEVELOPMENT OF HIGH QUALITY HEALTH CARE AND EDUCATION SYSTEMS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES THAT ARE UNIVERSALLY ACCESSIBLE, AS WELL AS PUBLICLY FUNDED AND ADMINISTERED.

"Human history becomes more and more a race between education and catastrophe."

H.G. Wells, *Outline of History*

"We thus find ourselves at a crossroads: health care can be considered a commodity to be sold, or it can be considered a basic social right. It cannot comfortably be considered both …. This, I believe, is the great drama of medicine at the start of the century. And this is the choice before all people of faith and good will in these dangerous times."

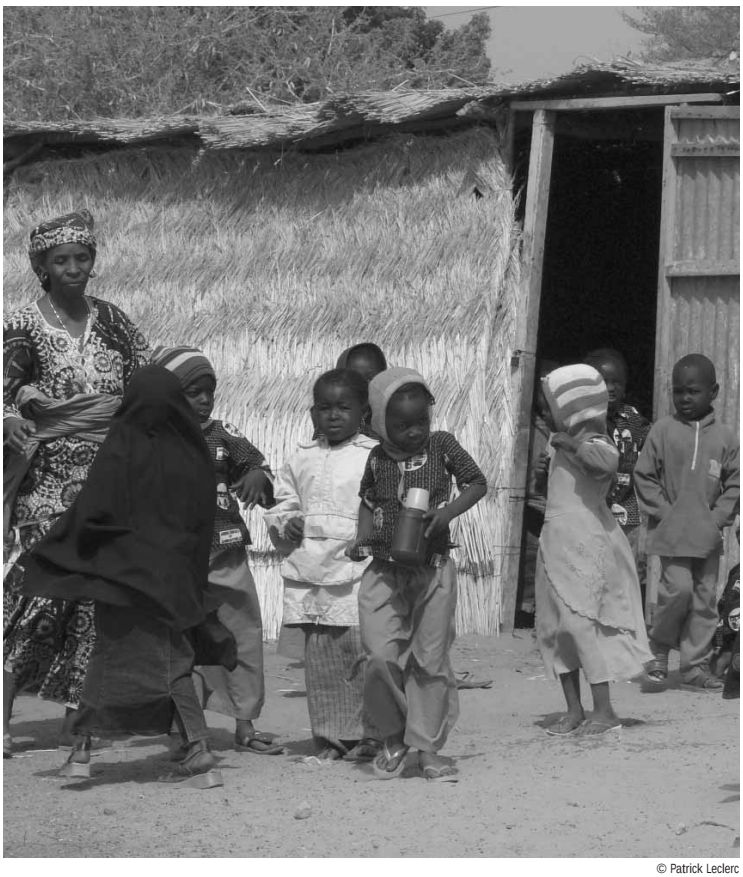
Dr. Paul Farmer,
Presley Professor of Medical Anthropology, Harvard University

Education, Health, and Poverty

There is a vicious connection between poverty, poor education and poor health. Fulfillment of the basic rights to health and education is central to human development and to the effective expression of all other rights. Experience and the numbers tell us that securing these rights for all people, and especially for girls and women, unlocks other changes – in families and communities and on a national and global scale.

Education saves lives. Formal education allows people to escape poverty, live in healthier conditions and acquire the means to participate fully in their communities. It provides women and men with tools to exercise their civil, political, economic and social rights.

Education for girls and women, in particular, yields impressive results. Educated girls have fewer children and have them later than girls with less formal education. This gives young women time to gain skills that improve prospects for entire families. When educated girls start a family, their children also enjoy better nutrition, health and education than do children of mothers with less formal education.



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But universal free education is not the norm. Millions of children – especially poor girls – do not have access to school. Moreover, the poor are also less likely to continue in school – especially girls.

Access to free primary education, which is essential to end poverty, is a core human right. But secondary, tertiary and vocational education, as well as lifelong learning and skills, are also important for sustainable development. In an era of globalization and the knowledge economy, access to higher education in developing countries is critical. It creates a continuous pool of qualified people who can help diversify economic development, develop science and technology, deliver public services, and become enlightened leaders.

The Social Determinants of Health

Experts have now recognized that health, poverty and education are inextricably linked. A social determinants of health approach recognizes how the different faces of poverty such as chronic hunger, inadequate housing, unsafe water, dangerous working conditions, low incomes, gender inequalities and poor education all contribute to ill health. Increasingly, there is also an appreciation for how environmental degradation and pollution contribute to health problems and the intersection of poverty with unhealthy environmental conditions.

Such an approach, which underscores the importance of social and environmental context, acknowledges that trends such as globalization and unplanned urbanization affect health in all contexts.[29] In Canada, for example, increased attention to the social determinants of health has highlighted factors contributing to the health crisis within First Nations communities.

The Rights to Education and Health[28]

Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 26: (1) Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), Article 12:1. The States Parties … recognize the right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health … Article 13: 1. The States Parties … recognize the right of everyone to education. They agree that education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and the sense of its dignity, and shall strengthen the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Convention on the Rights of the Child, Articles 24 and 28 recognize the right of the child to health and education along similar lines as the Universal Declaration and the ICESCR.

Convention for the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), Article 12:1. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the field of health care in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, access to health care services, including those related to family planning.

Article 10: States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in order to ensure to them equal rights with men in the field of education and in particular: (a) The same conditions for career and vocational guidance, for access to studies and for the achievement of diplomas in educational establishments of all categories …. (c) The elimination of any stereotyped concept of the roles of men and women … in all forms of education.

In the developing world, a social determinants approach reveals the staggering impact of poverty on health. More than 13 million people die every year from preventable diseases such as malaria and diarrhea, largely because they are poor. More women, men and children die from lack of treatment for diseases that are not lethal. Why? Because they lack access to affordable medicines, quality water and sanitation services, basic health care, education or health promotion strategies that provide the knowledge base supporting prevention and healthy life choices. More than a half a million women die giving birth: almost all of these deaths are unnecessary.

The Specific Needs of Women and Girls

Indigenous peoples, people living with disability, the internally displaced, youth and children are just some of the many faces of the poor. Too often, the poor have neither the opportunity nor the means to seek care, nor the authority or skills to negotiate their rights. Across all these groups, gender differences create an additional layer of inequality. Women, especially in Indigenous and rural societies, play important roles as keepers of traditional knowledge and are skilled in traditional medicine. Women and girls, however, have specific needs that are frequently unmet by formal health and education systems. Too often, these formal systems do not confront gender stereotypes or address issues of sexual and reproductive health or violence against women.

HIV/AIDS and Global Pandemics

Global pandemics such as HIV/AIDS and its co-conspirator tuberculosis (TB) cut short the lives of millions, orphan millions more, and threaten the viability of whole countries. Every year, two million people die from tuberculosis, one million of malaria, and three million from HIV/AIDS. (See *Some Hard Facts* Box for more statistics)

The systemic impact of HIV/AIDS infections in developing countries is beyond calculation. Today, nearly 40 million people are living with HIV, and the vast majority of them do not know they are infected. According to recent trends, women and the poor are more likely to be infected and affected. There is a corrosive and dynamic relationship between poverty and HIV/AIDS. Poverty dramatically increases vulnerability to contracting and succumbing to the virus, while HIV/AIDS deepens the poverty of affected individuals and families. The epidemic has cross-cutting effects on all aspects of development, robbing communities and regions of their food producers, parents, public servants and future leaders. In Zambia, for example, roughly half the teachers trained each year are dying from AIDS.[30]

People living with HIV/AIDS, governments and Civil Society Organizations have made some important strides to increase awareness and work towards prevention and universal treatment, but progress is far too slow and uneven across regions. The Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS **(**UNAIDS) has called for the global community to shift from a crisis management approach to a strategic response that recognizes the need for long-term commitment and capacity building. It is also important to ensure that interventions for targeted diseases support, rather than undermine, broader strategies to build effective health systems.

The failure to address HIV/AIDS and other pandemics, as well as chronic and non–communicable diseases, is a bitter lesson in North-South inequalities. The vast majority of people affected by these illnesses live in developing countries, where corporate power and interests, unfair trade practices, debt burdens and market failure put many medicines and health services far beyond their means.

Since market opportunity drives research, pharmaceutical companies tend to ignore the illnesses of the poor. Instead, they focus on new drugs for diseases of the relatively wealthy and ensure companies have new and lucrative patented drugs to replace expiring ones. The result is the 10 / 90 gap, meaning 90% of research investments are directed to approximately 10% of the global population.[31]

The Impact of Structural Adjustment

To make matters worse, policies recommended by the very institutions that are trying to help have catastrophically undermined developing-country budgets for basic public services. For decades, despite loud protests worldwide, conditional loans from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) forced recipient countries to privatize essential services and cut spending – especially on public sector wages.

In the education and health sectors, this "structural adjustment" has been devastating. Teachers and nurses – the backbones of the systems and often the female earners in their families – have been neither retained nor retrained for other employment. The negative fallout from structural adjustment is now widely acknowledged: it opened the door to privatized health and education, and accentuated conditions of poverty. Structural adjustment thus fundamentally undermined some of the most critical development capacities of states, including their vital role as deliverers and guarantors of quality public services to citizens.[32] In this way it also undermined the ability of states to uphold their obligations to fulfill basic human rights.

Continued Global Economic Pressures on Health Systems

Governments remain pressured to privatize services via trade agreements, which continue to limit access to quality education and health care – especially for the poorest. By privileging commercial interests over social considerations, trade rules constrain governments from developing social policy in such crucial areas as water, education and health in the public interest. For example, trade rules increasingly encroach on government's ability to regulate public services. They explicitly protect the private rights of patent holders, while ignoring the human rights obligations of states. In Canada and around the world, current trade agreements are locking in rules that work against publicly funded and universally accessible health and education systems.

Migration has further weakened health systems in developing countries. Poorly paid health care professionals, often trained by the state, leave for better wages and working conditions in the relatively affluent health care systems of Western Europe, Canada and the U.S. Often, countries in the North – with little thought to the impact of "brain drain" on developing countries – give these professionals offers they simply cannot refuse.

Some Hard Facts – Health, Education and Poverty

Numbers, like pictures, are worth thousands of words. They do not tell the whole story, but they do reveal a lot …

- 875 million adults in the world today are **illiterate**: two-thirds of them are **women**.[33]
- 104 million children have no access to primary **education**: nearly two-thirds are **girls**.[34]
- An estimated 98% of children with **disabilities** in developing countries do not attend **school**.[35]
- More than 39 million of the world's most vulnerable children are denied **schooling** due to **war**. Millions of other war-affected children receive a substandard education.[36]
- Only 2% of **humanitarian aid** – a large portion of total aid flows to countries in conflict — is allocated to education.[37]
- Every **day**, 37,000 people die from **preventable diseases**. Thousands more die from diseases that are treatable with medicines and basic health care.[38]
- Every year, two million people die from **tuberculosis**, one million of **malaria**, and three million from **HIV/AIDS**.[39]
- Almost 10.5 million **children** die annually before they turn 5. Pneumonia, diarrhea, malaria, measles and AIDS account for half of these deaths.[40]
- The world's poorest children have a **mortality rate** 2.5 times higher than children of the richest 20%. Children of mothers with no education have mortality rates 2.2 times higher than children of mothers with at least secondary schooling.[41]
- More than 40 million people worldwide are living with **HIV/AIDS**, 75% of them in sub-Saharan Africa; more than half are women; 42% of new HIV infections are in youth aged 15-24.[42]
- 12 million children in Sub-Saharan Africa are **orphans** as a result of **AIDS**.[43]
- In 2003 in Malaysia, the import of generic drugs from India lowered the average cost of public expenditures for antiretroviral drugs (ARVs) per patient per month by 81%.[44]
- Compulsory licensing, permitted under the World Trade Organization (WTO), can significantly lower pharmaceutical prices. In 1991-1992, Canadians saved an estimated $170 million due to compulsory licensing.[45]
- Death and disability due to **sexual and reproductive health** accounts for 18% of the total disease burden globally and 32% of the disease burden among women of reproductive age (15-44) in 2001.[46]
- 529,000 women die each year – one every minute – in **delivery and pregnancy**; 99% of these deaths take place in developing countries. For every woman that dies, 30 more suffer injuries, infection and disabilities.[47]
- **Canada spends** US$2,931 per person every year on health care. Costa Rica spends $743, Malaysia $349, Guatemala $199, Pakistan $62, Nigeria $43 and Sierra Leone $27.[48]

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS
FOR GOVERNMENT

To Support the Right to Health

Use aid resources to invest in developing countries' public health care systems.

- Support holistic programming for the health sector through budget support and investments in planning, governance, health education, promotion and prevention, drugs and other medical products, workforces and service delivery, increasing accessibility (e.g., rural areas), and building capacities for generating sex-disaggregated statistics, among other means;
- Support the role of civil society in health system decision-making and service delivery – particularly organizations promoting the capacity of women, people living with disabilities, and other vulnerable groups – to advocate for their health issues and claim their rights;
- Help keep health professionals in developing countries through training, fair wages and work conditions and adopt ethical guidelines as per the Commonwealth Code of Practice for International Recruitment of Health Workers;
- Work with provinces and other actors to implement policies for better training and retention of health professionals in Canada as an alternative to recruitment from developing countries.

Pay Canada's fair share of prevention and treatment of pandemics in developing countries:

- As part of commitments to bring Official Development Assistance (ODA) to 0.7% of Gross National Income (GNI), provide 5% of the funding needed by the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria;
- Double research and development funding for HIV prevention tools such as microbicides and vaccines;
- Ensure that initiatives are designed to reach all people in need, paying particular attention to both youth and gender differences across all groups.

Follow through on commitments to make medicines affordable and accessible in developing countries.

- Ensure that generic drugs (e.g., for HIV/AIDS, TB and malaria) reach poor patients in the South.
- Remove unnecessary red tape in Canadian laws and World Trade Organization (WTO) rules that discourage the export of affordable medicines to countries without pharmaceutical production capacity.

Support public research into diseases and health issues that affect the poor to enable context-specific prevention and care strategies, and invest in the development of effective, affordable and easy-to-use medicines to treat neglected diseases.

Maintain and expand Canada's support for sexual and reproductive health and rights as defined in the outcome document of the International Conference on Population and Development in 1994. This includes both funding global programs in support of reproductive health and rights and playing a leading role in international discussions.

Lead an initiative to de-link debt relief from IMF and World Bank conditions that require the privatization of health care services, and that impose limits on hiring health care workers or user fees for public services.

Exempt core social service sectors such as health, water or education from liberalization commitments in multi-lateral or bilateral trade agreements.

Implement and uphold existing flexibilities in trade rules designed to protect access to essential goods such as medicines, and oppose extensions of intellectual property rules that further restrict access to medicine or educational materials.

To Support the Right to Education

Take a leadership role in ensuring long-term predictability of aid resources for the planning and financing of "education for all."

- As part of commitments to bring ODA to 0.7% of GNI, commit to increase contributions to basic education, particularly in countries where access to quality education is lowest;
- Continue to support holistic education sector plans, including through sector-wide approaches and budget support.

Ensure aid programs support the achievement of full gender equality in education, including:

- Equality of opportunities (boys and girls have the same chances to access schools);
- Equality in the learning process (girls and boys receive the same treatment and enjoy quality education);
- Equality of outcomes (boys and girls achieve the same); and
- Equality of external results (job opportunities after finishing school are comparable).

Support efforts to improve the quality of basic education: teacher training and professional development (including for women), upgrading teachers' salaries and conditions of service, etc.

Support and invest in strategies to boost access of the poor, particularly women and girls, to post-primary education, including secondary, tertiary, vocational, informal and life skills education.

Ensure that quality education, including attention to the education of girls, is a substantial component of all emergency and humanitarian responses, including in conflict-affected states.

Lead innovative efforts to support the participation of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in the achievement of "education for all."

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS

Hold the Canadian government to account for commitments made to health and education at home and abroad, and to its obligations to respect, protect and fulfill these human rights in strong, publicly funded health care and education systems in developing countries.

Work with Southern Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in ways that build their capacities to claim rights, participate in health and education decision-making, and hold states accountable to their obligations.

Ensure delivery of health and education services by CSOs does not undermine or diminish the responsibility of states to support these sectors.

Ensure gender equality outcomes are paramount in programming and policy work for health and education, including:

- Equality in education as defined above;
- An end to gender imbalances in literacy levels;
- Guarantees of sexual and reproductive health and rights; and
- Quality education and health care that meets the needs of diverse and doubly disadvantaged groups such as displaced women, women and girls with disabilities and Indigenous women.

Canadian Global Campaign for Education (CGCE)

Twenty-four Canadian organizations and universities[49] have combined their expertise and established the Canadian arm of a global coalition pressing for universal and publicly funded basic education. They work with regional networks in Asia, Africa and Latin America to build strong national coalitions in the South, strengthen the advocacy capacity of civil society and lobby governments and the international community to do what is needed to achieve "education for all." In so doing, the campaign has raised the profile of education on the international policy agenda and brought coherence to the voices of Civil Society Organizations from around the world. The coalition was instrumental in initiating the "Education for All Fast-track Initiative," hosted by the World Bank, which promises funding to all viable national plans for basic education. Coalition representatives now bring a civil society perspective to half a dozen multilateral tables that address education.

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Point 3:

PROMOTE THE RIGHT TO FOOD AND ENSURE SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS FOR FOOD PRODUCERS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

PROVIDE LEADERSHIP IN UPHOLDING THE RIGHT TO FOOD THROUGH CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY, ENSURING ALL COUNTRIES, INCLUDING THE POOREST, CAN PURSUE DIVERSE, PRODUCER-LED AND SUSTAINABLE AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES. AS PART OF THIS AGENDA, MAKE SMALL-SCALE AGRICULTURE AND SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS FOR FOOD PRODUCERS (SMALL FARMERS, PASTORALISTS, INDIGENOUS PEOPLES, FISHERS) AN AID PRIORITY AND ENSURE GLOBAL TRADE RULES HELP RATHER THAN HARM SMALL PRODUCERS AND HUNGRY PEOPLE.

"For now, I ask no more than the justice of eating."

Pablo Neruda, "The Great Tablecloth"

"We pledge our political will and our common and national commitment to achieving food security for all and to an ongoing effort to eradicate hunger in all countries, with an immediate view to reducing the number of undernourished people to half their present level no later than 2015… We consider it intolerable that more than 800 million people throughout the world, and particularly in developing countries, do not have enough food to meet their basic nutritional needs. This situation is unacceptable."

Rome Declaration, World Food Summit, 1996

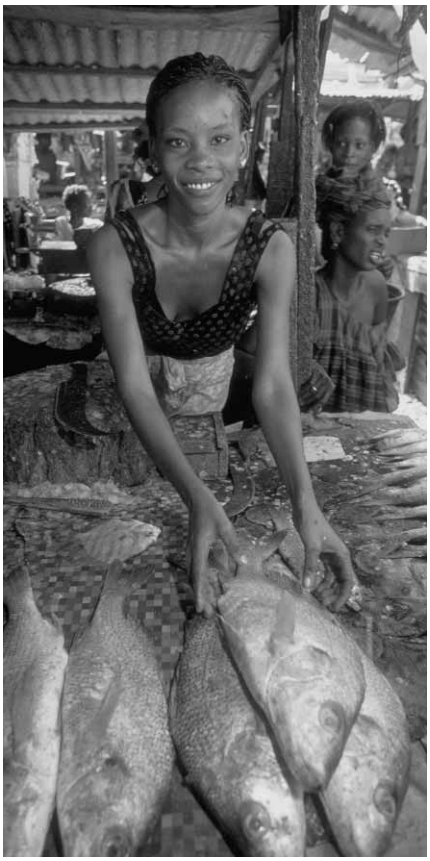
The Right to Food

When it comes to rights, the right to adequate food is about as basic as it gets.

At the World Food Summit, governments pledged to halve global hunger within two decades. Many observed this target would still leave 400 million people hungry – in a world of plenty. What must we say now, knowing that 826 million people are no better off, 10 years later?

The news is not all bad. The UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) reports that 37 countries have made substantial headway in the fight against hunger.[50] But at the current pace of progress – eight million fewer undernourished people a year – there is no hope of achieving the Summit's goal.

In countries at peace, poverty and marginalization are the immediate causes of hunger, rooted in structures and policies that perpetuate inequalities. In conflict zones, physical destruction and the displacement of people are additional causes. The destruction of infrastructure and the exodus of people from their lands undermine people's ability to feed themselves. Food insecurity often continues to be the dominant



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reality for the internally displaced and for refugees living in camps. Even if people can return to their lands after the conflict, landmines and other "explosive remnants of war" make it too dangerous to resume farming.

It is a particularly bitter irony that so many rural people go hungry. Three quarters of the world's poorest people live in rural areas, often farm and/or work as agricultural labourers. Half of the hungriest people on earth are peasant farmers and most of these are women. In developing countries, women produce between 60-80% of the food. They are also the main producers of the world's staple crops (such as rice, wheat and maize), which provide up to 90% of food for the rural poor.

Food Security depends on more than agriculture

Why, when surrounded by agricultural production, are so many people hungry? The reasons are complex, but the simplest answer is: agriculture does not equal food security. Whether they are urban poor or rural dwellers who do not produce food, income and livelihood shape secure access to nutrition and appropriate food for low-income food consumers. Agricultural labourers, plantation workers, the landless and those displaced to cities have a patchwork system of income and subsistence that rarely meets nutritional needs.

Even small-scale farmers do not necessarily grow food for their families, or at least not enough to satisfy their household's needs year-round. Often they farm on the most marginal land. If they produce food crops for local markets, they may fall victim to "dumping"[51] – from foreign industrial-scale

The Right to Food

***Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, Article 25 (1948):**

Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and his family, including food ...

Since 1948, the right to adequate food has been reaffirmed repeatedly: in the *Constitution of the UN Food and Agriculture Organization* (FAO) (Preamble, 1965); *The Covenant of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* (Article 11, 1966); *The Convention on the Rights of the Child* (Articles 24, 27, 1989); and in the *Rome Declaration* of World Food Summit (1996).

To date, 21 countries have enshrined the right to food in their constitutions. No country has adopted legislation on the right to food.*

***Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women*, Article 14, on Rights Of Rural Women:**

(1) States Parties shall take into account the particular problems faced by rural women and the significant roles which rural women play in the economic survival of their families, including their work in the non-monetized sectors of the economy, and shall take all appropriate measures to ensure the application of the provisions of the present Convention to women in rural areas.

(2) States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in rural areas in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, that they participate in and benefit from rural development …

* FAO Right to Food website **www.fao.org/righttofood/**.

agriculture (sometimes even food aid) that undercuts the price they would otherwise receive for their produce. If they grow cash crops for export – coffee or cocoa, for instance – declining world prices and deteriorating terms of trade mean they often do not earn enough to make a viable living.

Gender inequalities and power dynamics in the household also influence food security. Although women carry out a growing proportion of agricultural production, they are rarely recognized and supported as producers. Women face barriers in accessing and owning land, obtaining credit, purchasing livestock and benefiting from extension services. As well, general gender inequalities relating to time, education, health status and decision-making weaken women's agricultural production. In many households, given unequal relationships within families and dominant views devaluing women, women and girls eat last and least.

New Challenges for the Right to Food and Agriculture

In the first decade of the 21st century, a number of emerging trends raise new challenges for citizens and states committed to respect, protect and fulfill the human right to food. By 2050, world population is expected to grow by almost 2.9 billion. More than 90% of this population growth will likely occur in poor regions in developing countries, notably India and China, particularly in rural areas dependent on small-scale agriculture. How will the world respond to the food demands of this population growth, particularly in the context of climate change, in ways that respect human rights obligations and are environmentally sustainable?

The onset of climate change has major implications for agriculture and food security in different regions of the world. Climate changes affect conditions of drought, soil fertility and other growing conditions. As a result, countries are under new pressure to adapt agricultural practices, mitigate dependence on fossil fuels for inputs, and respond to the potential serious loss of food production in certain Southern regions, including the bread-basket areas of South Asia where population growth will be significant. Water is a particularly acute challenge under climate change. Globally, irrigated agriculture uses 70% of the water withdrawn in the world, but accounts only for 40% of food production.[52]

With the search for alternative energy sources, many countries have intensified research and support for biofuels and biomass energy. Growth in these industries affects agriculture directly, both in terms of land use (agricultural and as yet uncleared), and the diversion of food crops. These trends have important implications and risks for food security, biodiversity and sustainable development.

Another response, from the industrial world, has been to envision a new "Green Revolution" in the South, particularly for Africa. In this approach, the South would benefit from Northern co-operation and funding for inputs and the application of new technologies that would enhance agricultural production. Global civil society, however, has raised concerns that imported technologies may further Africa's dependency on increasingly expensive fertilizers and other external inputs. Furthermore, high-input industrial agriculture systems have not traditionally worked well on less fertile landscapes or on marginal lands where many small producers farm. To address complex local issues of environmental and social change, it is important to start from the extensive knowledge and experience of agro-ecological practices of local farmers and Indigenous peoples, rather than looking first to outside technical solutions.

National Policies must be Centred on People's Needs and their Knowledge

Small farmers, pastoralists, fisher folk and Indigenous peoples play critical roles in assuring food security and the conservation of the cultural and biological diversity needed for our planet's survival. National policies for food and agriculture should therefore be informed by the knowledge of the women and men at the centre of systems of food production and consumption, and directly address their needs. Yet farmers and food-insecure people have little influence over national policies or programs.

Cash-strapped governments pay scant attention to rural infrastructure, domestic marketing, land distribution or the other needs of small-scale producers. What is more, they rarely consider the dominant role of women in farming, an oversight that only deepens traditional inequalities and creates new ones. To "eradicate extreme poverty and hunger"[53] as promised, the world urgently needs integrated national

strategies to address food security and sustainable rural development.

What sort of policies should these national strategies promote? These policies must ensure the urban and rural poor can earn a viable living, and that small farmers can access and control resources such as land, water and a secure seed supply system. They must also appreciate the great diversity in agro-ecological conditions, economic and political contexts and cultural practices that influence the complex and dynamic strategies people use to produce and obtain food.

Above all, the policies must respond to a rapidly changing landscape. Climate patterns will change, community conditions will evolve (as with the impact of AIDS) and market power will become increasingly concentrated. In this context, a diversity of practices and food systems is likely to become increasingly important to the food security of people around the world (not just those who are currently food insecure). Failure to understand and work with this diversity will risk having no effect, or worse, undermine these strategies, leaving people with fewer options.

Some Facts about Hunger, Agriculture and Agricultural Trade

The People

- More than 70% of the people in developing countries live in rural areas and depend on agriculture for their livelihoods.[54]
- Half of all hungry people worldwide are smallholder peasants.[55]
- Women produce 60-80% of the food in most developing countries and undertake most post-harvest work, like storage, processing and marketing.[56]
- One study in five African countries found that women receive less than 10% of the credit awarded to male smallholders.[57] Only 15% of the world's agricultural extension agents are women.[58]
- In rural Africa, the male population is falling rapidly, while the female population is relatively stable.[59]
- By 2020, 20% of the agricultural workers in southern Africa are expected to have died as a result of HIV/AIDS.[60]

The Economics

- 90% of all food production is consumed nationally; it never enters the global market.[61]
- 43 developing countries depend on a single commodity for more than 20% of export earnings.[62]
- From 1961-2001, the average prices of agricultural commodities exported by least developed countries fell by nearly 70%, relative to the price of manufactured goods purchased from developed countries.[63]
- From 1980-2000, world cocoa, coffee and sugar prices all declined sharply.[64]
- Since a coffee price peak in the mid 1980s, countries earning 20% or more of their export earnings from coffee increased exports by 26%, but received almost a third less in income.[65]
- Of 12 countries with the highest levels of hunger, nine were affected by civil wars or violent conflicts. The 10 countries that scored the worst are all in Sub-Saharan Africa, but South Asia is also a hotspot.[66]

In particular, development strategies must understand and support the crucial roles that women play in agricultural production, both commercial and subsistence. Complementary policies must address women's rights and gender inequalities in employment, education, access to land and water and decision-making.

The Impact of Corporate Power and Concentration in Agriculture[67]

Everywhere in the world, agriculture is a commercial affair, whether for sale in local or international markets. Yet food is not just another commodity: it is a fundamental human right. Indeed, for millions of small producers around the world, agriculture is first a way of life, a livelihood and often sacred, deeply intertwined with cultural and religious beliefs.

The most powerful players in global agriculture are not producers, but agribusiness corporations. Whether in Canada or Cameroon, Indigenous people, pastoralists, fisher folk and all small producers are small players, "competing" in, and affected by, the world of high-input, industrial-scale agriculture and fisheries. But this is a world they do not control and that is stacked against them, nationally and internationally.

At a local or national level, farmers are inherently disadvantaged in the market relative to industry. They are numerous compared to processors; their individual planting or livestock decisions have no impact on the price they will receive at the farm gate; they must invest upfront in their fields or herds; and they have limited storage options or shelf life for their product, which means they tend to crowd the market at the end of the season.

In the global marketplace, farmers and their organizations are often powerless in the face of multi-billion dollar agribusiness corporations. These enterprises are increasingly concentrated and vertically integrated, positioned to turn a profit at every step in the processing chain.[68] The interests of large agribusiness corporations may extend to agrochemicals, pharmaceuticals, cosmetics, shipping, banking, currency dealing and insurance. Large supermarkets control what gets bought and who gets shelf space. A handful of "Life Science" companies, for example, dominate the markets for commercial agricultural inputs. Their seeds, pesticides and chemicals develop transgenic plants that can withstand their company's herbicides. They claim patents on genes and push to commercialize the now-infamous "terminator seeds." (See *Terminator Campaign* Box)

Industry plays an important role in stimulating economic growth. The concentration of market power in the hands of a few players, however, profoundly distorts markets through near monopolistic power. It also provides major challenges for citizens and states, particularly in developing countries, to advance public policy goals.

Globally, Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and producer networks have identified several negative impacts of the concentrated power of large agribusinesses on several key areas, including the following:

- Food safety (where private standards are outside regulatory frameworks);
- Environmental sustainability (given the focus on global shipping and distribution networks and the reliance on intensive irrigation, chemical fertilizers and pesticides);
- Food security (since industrial scale production and dumping is displacing small farmers, without translating into reliably lower consumer food prices); and
- Decent employment and workers rights.

The growing strength of corporate agriculture and the decimation of family farming has gone hand in hand with a growth of waged agricultural workers (estimated now at 450 million worldwide), as well as legal and illegal migrant labour. Agricultural workers, increasingly women and children, are among the poorest in society. Underpaid relative to industrial workers, agricultural workers face increasingly insecure and informal working conditions, with little scope or support for organizing to improve conditions.

Finally, private interests have also come to excessively influence the research agendas and development activities of international bodies such as the FAO and the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research. Since companies focus on profits, it is critical that public research institutes and universities be supported to do research on the needs and crops of small producers.

Who Really Needs a Coffee Break?

There are about 25 million coffee farmers worldwide. The countries most dependent on coffee revenues are Burundi, Ethiopia, Uganda, Rwanda and Honduras – all among the world's poorest, even before the wars that have taken such a toll on some of them. All these farmers face off against four companies that control 39% of the trading market, three companies that control 45% of the roasting market and 30 companies that together control 33% of the global retail market.

These same farmers are producing more and earning less. In the early 1990s, producing countries earned US$10-12 billion from coffee annually, while retail coffee sales, largely in the North, were about US$30 billion. More recently, coffee producers have received about US$5.5 billion, while retail sales have exceeded US$70 billion annually. Coffee farmers are not the ones getting rich on coffee. Other commodities reveal similarly grim trends.

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The Commodity Dependence Trap

Many developing countries depend on a handful of unprocessed commodities such as sugar, coffee, cocoa and tea for the bulk of their export earnings. This pattern usually dates to colonial times, when these crops were introduced on a wide scale and trade was established to meet the demands of Northern markets. Prime Southern land is still used for export crops and government and multilateral policies often favour export agriculture – though most people in the South still rely on local produce for their daily food. When countries depend on export commodities, millions of farmers, landless agricultural workers and whole national economies are at the mercy of world commodity prices. These prices have suffered from both severe volatility and steadily deteriorating terms of trade over the past two decades.[69] Moreover, in international commodity trading, money is made (whether for gold or coffee) at the value-added end of the processing and in retail markets far from the farm gate. As a result, producers always hold the short end of the stick – except in fair trade enterprises. (See *Who Really Needs a Coffee Break?* Box)

With foreign exchange in short supply and depreciated currencies, the growing dependence on imported food has become costly for developing countries. For decades, many farm and CSO networks have highlighted the vulnerabilities of an economy that is over-focused on cash cropping for external markets. They advocate for more diverse agricultural production that serves local and regional markets as a basis for a more integrated and balanced national economy.

Unfair Trade Rules Favour Agribusiness over Small Farmers

Global trade rules, which have been unduly shaped by large trading companies, also wreak havoc on Southern agriculture and food security. Governed by the World Trade Organization (WTO) and regional and bilateral agreements, trade rules have been expressly designed to serve the need of industrial-scale export agriculture, which represents only 10% of global agricultural production. In general, trade rules have worked to open borders and markets in the South, while allowing continued protections and massive subsidies of Northern

agriculture. Millions of small farmers – with neither ability nor ambition to sell abroad – are nonetheless undercut in their own local markets by cheaper or dumped imported products, which deny both their right to livelihood and to food. At the same time, Southern farmers who do want to export goods to international markets are stymied by trade rules that discourage their entry into higher value processing (in cocoa or coffee, for example) or swamped by unfair subsidies, which drive down world prices (in cotton, for example).

Northern countries have made many commitments to make trade rules more favourable to development. But almost none of the key trade reforms that would help promote rural development and employment in the South have been given support. These much needed reforms include international agreements to stabilize commodity prices, protections for small farmers or crops that are key for food security, and policies to address corporate transparency and concentration. A new approach to the regulation of international agricultural markets and trading is urgently required. It must ensure livelihoods for small farmers and facilitate states upholding their obligation to respect, protect and fulfill the right to food around the world. (See *Point 4 Global Economic Justice*)

Towards Food Sovereignty

A growing number of grassroots movements such as fisher folk, small farmers, women's organizations and Indigenous peoples from North and South are challenging the dominance of the model that favours large scale and industrial agriculture. They are calling for Food Sovereignty – a framework that upholds the right to food for all people, the importance of local democratic control over food and agriculture policy and the promotion of biodiversity and sustainable agricultural practices. Food sovereignty places central importance on the diverse roles and knowledge of food producers, the defence of farmers' rights to save and exchange seed and recognizes women as agents and actors with rights – not just consumers of food. (See *The Declaration of Nyéléni* Box) These movements, including a growing number of Canadian CSOs and farm organizations, argue that peoples and states should be able to organize food production and consumption according to the needs of local communities, giving priority to production for local consumption. International agricultural trade should flow from – and not drive – the logic of national development plans.

Declaration of Nyéléni

Food sovereignty is the right of peoples to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods, and their right to define their own food and agriculture systems. It puts those who produce, distribute and consume food at the heart of food systems and policies rather than the demands of markets and corporations. It defends the interests and inclusion of the next generation. It offers a strategy to resist and dismantle the current corporate trade and food regime, and directions for food, farming, pastoral and fisheries systems determined by local producers. Food sovereignty prioritizes local and national economies and markets, and empowers peasant- and family farmer-driven agriculture, artisanal fishing, pastoralist-led grazing, and food production, distribution, and consumption based on environmental, social and economic sustainability. Food sovereignty promotes transparent trade that guarantees just income to all peoples and the rights of consumers to control their food and nutrition. It ensures that the rights to use and manage our lands, territories, waters, seeds, livestock and biodiversity are in the hands of those of us who produce food. Food sovereignty implies new social relations free of oppression and inequality between men and women, peoples, racial groups, social classes and generations.

Source

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POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS
FOR GOVERNMENT

Resist the trend towards privatization of agricultural development and reliance on costly externally determined approaches to food and development challenges. Recognize and support the importance of locally based and sustainable producer-led solutions.

Make food security, small-scale agriculture and rural livelihoods as sector priorities for Canadian aid. International co-operation for food security should:

- Recognize, respect and bolster the diversity of local food-producing knowledge, practices and systems for small farmers, pastoralists, hunter/gatherers and fishers to ensure sustainable livelihoods;
- Support equal access to productive resources such as land, seeds and water;
- Support specific strategies (e.g., appropriate publicly funded support services) that increase women's power and well-being given their diverse and important roles in agriculture and food security;
- Improve the capacities of producer organizations to enhance small producers' power in the market place, and increase their ability to shape national food, fishing, agriculture and development policies, and hold governments accountable to their obligations to protect the right to food;
- Strengthen rural infrastructure (e.g., transportation) to enhance the viability for marginalized farmers to sell to domestic markets.

Make sure Canadian food aid gives priority to buying local or regional food, and ensure that it is nutritionally adequate, culturally appropriate and does not undermine local livelihoods.

Support a comprehensive approach to end overproduction and food dumping in global agricultural markets.

Support trade rules that provide developing countries the necessary flexibility and policy space they need to meet their obligations to fulfill the right to food and to pursue democratically determined priorities for domestic agriculture, food security, food safety and rural livelihoods. This should include the ability to:

- Exempt crops that are key to food security from further trade liberalization;
- Prevent exceptionally low-cost imports from flooding local markets;
- Use farmer-controlled marketing structures, including single-desk exporters, to gain greater market power; and
- Ensure farmers can save, exchange and replant seeds and reproduce diverse seeds and livestock.

Take leadership in world trade negotiations to ensure that trade provides real benefits to food-insecure people, including supporting international supply management mechanisms to stabilize commodity prices.

Pursue national and international agreements that address corporate concentration and increase transparency in the trading practices of large agribusiness firms.

Establish a national legislative ban on terminator technology in Canada.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS
FOR CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS

- Monitor and hold Canada to account for its international obligations to help and not undermine the right to food.
- Commit to understanding and take action towards a rights-based approach in programming to promote sustainable rural livelihoods and equitable agricultural development.
- Promote an exploration of the food sovereignty framework among CSO networks and with supporting Canadian constituencies.
- Understand and highlight the roles of women in agricultural production and support efforts in favour of women's rights as a strategy consistent with achieving the right to food for all.
- Participate in networks such as Food Secure Canada that link the promotion of food security in developing countries with organizations and networks promoting the same in Canada.

The Canadian Food Security Policy Group (FSPG)

The FSPG brings together international development agencies, emergency relief providers, producers' organizations and human rights groups that work to enhance food security in Canada and the South.[70] Group members work together to promote development assistance and international trade rules that protect and enhance food security in developing countries. They are committed to developing a global governance system that will help fulfill the human right to food, strengthen the livelihoods of small producers in developing countries, and foster a healthy agricultural sector for farmers in Canada.

Seeds of Survival Program

USC Canada

In response to food shortages and famines that were forcing farmers to eat their seeds, USC Canada launched its Seeds of Survival (SoS) program in 1989 in Ethiopia in partnership with the Ethiopian Plant Genetic Resources Centre based in Addis Ababa, the Rural Advancement Fund International (RAFI, now called ETC group) and Inter Pares, Canada. Promoting the use of local varieties (landraces) and farmers' time-tested knowledge and practices was seen as key to rebuilding Ethiopia's food supply. USC Canada later organized SoS international training workshops on agro-biodiversity strategies, including the design and management of community seed supply systems, participatory research methodologies and on-farm techniques for the conservation and sustainable uses of plant genetic resources. Thanks to the enthusiastic participation of farmers, scientists and national and international organizations, SoS evolved into a global program for biodiversity-based agriculture. USC currently funds SoS programs in nine countries and SoS has influenced similar programs in at least 29 countries across the globe.

Ban Terminator Campaign and the Canadian Biotechnology Action Network (CBAN)

In 1998, the ETC Group, the Action group on Erosion, Technology and Concentration (then RAFI), discovered patents for a seed technology it dubbed the "Terminator." This technology genetically engineers seeds to be sterile after the first harvest. In 1999, seed giant Monsanto vowed not to commercialize Terminator seeds. In 2000, the *Convention on Biological Diversity* (CBD) adopted a *de facto* moratorium on field trials and commercialization. But, despite global protests, corporations and governments continue to research Terminator and new Terminator patents are granted. In 2005, Canada tried to overturn the CBD moratorium, and the ETC Group, Inter Pares, National Farmers Union, USC Canada and other groups in the Canadian Biotechnology Action Network[71] launched the International Ban Terminator Campaign. Endorsed by more than 500 organizations worldwide, the campaign calls for national and international bans and supports farmers' organizations, Indigenous peoples, social movements and others in opposing Terminator seeds. In 2006, CBD signatory governments upheld the moratorium, but efforts persist to develop the technology. There is an active campaign for a ban in Canada.

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Point 4:
BUILD GLOBAL ECONOMIC JUSTICE

PURSUE MORE EQUITABLE AND ACCOUNTABLE RULES FOR INTERNATIONAL TRADE, FINANCE AND INVESTMENT FLOWS THAT RESPECT STATES' OBLIGATIONS TO PROMOTE EQUALITY AND DEVELOP NATIONAL PLANS FOR THE PROGRESSIVE REALIZATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS FOR ALL. PROMOTE CANCELLATION OF THE DEBT OF THE POOREST COUNTRIES, WHILE SUPPORTING MEANS TO CO-ORDINATE FAIR AND INNOVATIVE TAXATION APPROACHES TO FINANCE DEVELOPMENT GOALS.

"Most citizens in rich countries think that a substantial proportion of the taxes they pay flow to poor countries in the form of aid, cheap loans and frequently talked about debt cancellations. If poverty still persists, it must be the fault of poor people themselves or else their inefficient corrupt governments. Meanwhile, citizens in Southern countries see money flowing out … The current financial global architecture looks like the impossible Waterfall building designed by M.C. Escher, where the water that seems to be falling actually flows up, against all rules of logic**."**

Roberto Bissio, Social Watch International Secretariat, 2006

"Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized."

Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 28

The New Global Economic Architecture

Ending global poverty and achieving human rights for all requires major changes in the current global economic order. Today's globalized economy is marked by poverty and profound inequity among and within nations. (See *Poverty and Inequality* Box) Every year, hundreds of billions of dollars flow from poor countries to rich ones – as debt repayment, private sector profits and through unfair trade and capital flight. This flow of resources to rich countries is far greater than the flow of aid to the poor.[72]

The grotesque accumulation of private wealth around the world and the net outflow of resources from South to North reflect the growing and undue influence of large global corporations in the rules and institutional architecture of the world economic order. Policies promoted by International Financial Institutions (IFIs), and codified in the World Trade Organization (WTO), as well as bilateral trade and investment treaties, have enshrined new rights for investors and traders in national and international law. At the same time, these policies overly restrict the state from regulating corporate behaviour and managing market forces. (See *Challenging the Consensus* Box)

Governments and citizens in all countries now have less policy space to choose the most appropriate economic policies.

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But this trend has particular consequence for developing countries. The new global economic architecture "kicks away the ladder" that industrialized countries used to diversify their own economies and promote the wealth and welfare of their citizens over the past century. For example, modern global economic rules prevent or inhibit governments from ensuring foreign investment serves local employment goals, determining the extent of border openings in sensitive sectors like agriculture, or regulating core services in the public interest. International rules also promote private delivery or public-private partnerships for essential services and enforce high standards of intellectual property rights (IPR). These IPR standards significantly constrain citizens' access to medicines and educational material.

In all countries, this reduction in the scope and role for governments has undermined states' ability to uphold their obligations to respect, protect and fulfill citizens' human rights – to food, education, work and an adequate standard of living, as well as freedom of expression, freedom to organize and the ability to participate in decision-making.

Corporate Power and Workers' Rights

Corporations have moved quickly to take advantage of this new context of more uniformly guaranteed corporate rights. They outsource multiple aspects of production in complex global supply chains – from basic- and semi-processed commodities to assembly and packaging. At the same time, corporations have maintained tight control over the higher value end of production such as retail and research and development. At the bottom of the supply chains, the great majority of workers – picking the fruit, sewing the garments, cutting the flowers – are women.[73]

This trend has created millions of labour-intensive, export-linked jobs in the developing world. The work is precarious, however. It also denies women their fair share of the benefits and leads to long-term social costs.

Heightened competition among the world's factories and farms creates a significant power imbalance where many workers and producers compete against a few corporate retailers or investors. Exploiting the need of people to work, global companies use their negotiating power to demand low prices, "just in time" delivery and tight product standards. In this way, companies – with government support or acquiescence – force a "flexibilization" of labour markets; this is code for part-time or temporary work with low pay, poor working conditions, no benefits and, too frequently, intimidation and violence for those who speak up for their rights.

The rise of "flexible" global labour markets affects workers North and South. Like workers in developing countries, migrant workers in Canada, or women in trade-competing sectors like the Canadian textile industry, face precarious terms of employment and pressure from competition in the "global supply chain." The erosion of workers' power and governments' unwillingness to uphold workers' rights worldwide present a fundamental challenge to the notion of global prosperity and equity. Decent work and workers' rights should be at the heart of global, national and local strategies for economic and social progress.

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Poverty and Inequality: A Global Crisis

- Half the world – nearly three billion people – live on less than two dollars a day.[74]
- The richest 2% of adults own more than 50% of the world's assets while the poorest half hold only 1% of wealth.[75]
- Almost 90% of the world's wealth is held in North America, Europe and high-income Asian and Pacific countries such as Japan and Australia.[76]
- Poor people are being left behind across many of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs); progress among the poorest 20% of the population is far below the national average in a large group of countries.[77]
- In some countries, such as Bangladesh, Colombia, India and Pakistan, literacy of women living in slums is 30-50% lower than those in non-slum communities.[78]
- Women spend more time than men at work: in Benin – 47% more, in South Africa – 29% more, in Madagascar – 18% more, and in Mauritius – 6% more. Women work more because they are much more involved in domestic and care activities than men.[79]
- Nearly 200 million people are unemployed – more than ever before. Of these unemployed, the International Labour Organization (ILO) estimates that 86 million, or about half the global total, are young people aged 15 to 24.[80]
- In Chile, 75% of women in the agricultural sector are hired on temporary contracts and put in more than 60 hours a week picking fruit. One in three earns below minimum wage.[81]
- In China's Guangdong province, one of the world's fastest growing industrial areas, young women face 150 hours of overtime each month in the garment factories; 60% have no contract and 90% no access to social insurance.[82]
- Corporate mergers and acquisitions accelerated rapidly in the decade from 1990 to 2000, starting in 1990 with a total value of US$462 billion and closing the year 2000 at US$3.5 trillion. In 2006, the total value of business mergers and acquisitions reached US$3.79 trillion globally, which means an increase of 38% over this type of transaction in 2005.[83]

Other Corporate Trends

Corporations are also transforming their operations in the global economy in other substantive ways. Through mergers and acquisitions, corporate concentration in many businesses – from agribusiness and food to banking and pharmaceuticals – is the highest it has ever been. (See *Poverty and Inequality* Box)

The development of new technologies may also lead to fundamental transformation of global patterns of trade and production. Research and rapid development in nanotechnology,[84] for example, may revolutionize traditional reliance on basic primary commodities, which have been an essential component of the developing world's economies. While nanotechnology offers opportunities for society, it also involves profound social and environmental risks. Yet the research takes place outside of any public regulatory oversight or societal debate.

A Global Movement for Change

Clearly there is a need to rethink numerous assumptions behind economic policies and practices, both at a global level between countries and domestically within countries. Trade unions, women's organizations and other civil society actors around the world have joined together to resist economic globalization that serves only the rich – from the

WTO protests of Seattle and Cancun to campaigns to reform the IFIs. They advocate a justice-based approach to the global economy that gives priority to human rights and the carrying capacity of the Earth.

While Canada is a modest economic player in the global economy, it has significant wealth and potential policy influence. Yet Canada's role in this era of globalization has not been oriented toward a more equitable economic order. CCIC and its members have been working, in partnership with groups around the world, to help build the basis for alternatives and a stronger Canadian contribution to global economic justice.

Trade Justice

Currently, international trade is neither free nor fair. Trade rules are framed primarily to reflect the commercial needs of exporters to expand or consolidate their access to markets and profits. These rules allow rich countries to pay large subsidies to a small number of agribusiness companies and permit dumping of goods below cost of production in local markets. These practices undermine the livelihoods of millions of small-scale farmers in developing countries. WTO negotiators have little concern for the needs of workers for decent work, of small farmers for fair income, or of women and men for access to safe and affordable public services, food and water.

In 2001, WTO member states launched a round of global trade talks, the Doha Development Agenda. Developing countries, taking advantage of the growing economic clout of countries such as Brazil and India, called for a review of previous agreements. They wanted priority to be given to integrating development considerations into new rules. The predominant focus of negotiations, however, remained on market access for exports, particularly for the richest countries.

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Wealthy countries, including Canada, gave scant attention to the priorities and specific proposals laid out by developing countries to address development issues, such as ways to address volatility and downward trends of prices in primary commodity markets, to diversify economies and create sustainable employment, and to protect agriculture key for livelihoods and food security.

Informal meetings and negotiations among a few powerful players largely marginalized and excluded smaller developing countries from key decision-making processes.[85] There is a clash of visions among governments and citizens on what constitutes a development agenda for trade rules. The Doha Round, however, has been marked by repeated collapses and missed deadlines. This turn of events only exposes the ineffectiveness and illegitimacy of the current approach.

Meanwhile, Canada and other Northern countries have pursued bilateral trade deals or economic partnership agreements with developing countries. These arrangements replicate the structural flaws of global rules and tend even to add new dangers. For example, through bilateral agreements, the U.S. and Canada seek to gain higher standards for intellectual property and for investment protection that can be achieved at the WTO level. These trends further threaten prospects for progress in key areas of development and rights, including access to research, medicine, and technology; community control of local development; and regulation of investment for the environment.

A new approach to international trade rules is urgently required. Such an approach must promote fair trade, discipline unfair trade practices, facilitate effective multilateral governance, and provide states more space to define – through democratic process – locally appropriate development strategies. These strategies should meet their obligation to promote the realization of rights and the protection of the environment.

While changing trade rules will require a determined struggle over the long term, many Canadian organizations and citizens are also choosing to make fair trade happen every day, through direct consumer action and promotion of certified "fairly-traded" products such as tea, chocolate and coffee. These products, supported by a rigorous international auditing and verification system, come from co-operatives and enterprises committed to ensure fair prices and wages, sustainable practices and investment in social services and local infrastructure.

Debt Cancellation and Policy Conditionality in International Lending

The burden of debt weighs heavily on efforts to end poverty and ensure that developing countries have the financial resources to create opportunities for citizens to claim their full human rights. Between 1970 and 2002, the poorest African countries received US$294 billion in loans, paid back US$268 billion in interest and principal, but still owed more than US$200 billion in 2002.[86] In 2001, African governments spent an average of US$21 per person a year on debt service and just US$5 to $8 per capita on health care.

In 2005, following a decade of mobilization by social movements and citizens across the globe and the cancellation of significant bilateral debt, G8 leaders announced a plan to forgive 100% of multilateral debt (to the International Development Association of the World Bank, the African Development Bank's African Development Fund and the International Monetary Fund).

Challenging the Consensus on Globalization: The Bolivarian Revolution and the South American Community of Nations

In December of 2004, the presidents of South American nations launched a proposal to form a "Community of Nations" that would group 12 countries covering 17 million square kilometres, with 361 million inhabitants, and a GDP of more than US$970 billion. The initiative had as a principle objective a new model of integration for the 21st century. The South American Community of Nations integration project seeks to avoid integration that deepens inequalities and marginalization. Rather, "the ultimate goal of this integrating process is … to favour a more equitable, harmonic and integrated development in South America."* Guiding principles adopted in 2006 include: (i) Solidarity and Cooperation; (ii) Sovereignty, respect for territorial integrity and self-determination of people; (iii) Peace; (iv) Democracy and Pluralism; (v) Human Rights; and (vi) Harmony with Nature.

In addition, new economic alternative approaches and institutions are being pioneered especially by Venezuela, Cuba, Ecuador and Bolivia. The so-called *Bolivarian Alternative for the Americas* is marked in particular by efforts to increase the autonomy of macroeconomic policy, negotiate new terms of economic exchange with transnational companies, and experiment with alternative trading arrangements. For example Argentina – against the advice of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) – negotiated with its foreign creditors and managed to restructure its external debt. Bolivia has moved to nationalize resources such as natural gas and will levy new royalties from extraction companies. Venezuela and Cuba have initiated new trade pacts that focus on win-win exchanges such as Venezuelan oil traded for doctors and medical help from Cuba. New institutions include the establishment of the Television Station of the South (Telesur) in 2005, which is jointly owned by Venezuela, Argentina, Cuba and Uruguay. The Bank of the South was launched in December, 2007 and serves as an alternative to the World Bank, making loans to members to support integration. There are also calls for a common currency.

An important part of the political context that has given rise to these new policy directions are sophisticated and growing civil society movements including of Indigenous peoples, women, afro-descendents and the rural poor, who have mobilized seeking a more just equitable and sustainable future from integration processes. Civil society organizations remain vigilant to advocate and monitor for real change from these new directions. Still, the consolidation of these new directions under new governments throughout Latin America indicates a range of possibilities for alternatives to corporate-driven globalization.

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This announcement affected 19 heavily indebted poor countries, with the potential for 20 countries to be added later. Although this was an historic commitment, Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) suggest that at least 52 poor countries need immediate 100% debt cancellation to meet the Millennium Development Goals.

Some governments and institutional lenders were irresponsible in promoting loans to highly illegitimate governments in the South, such as Mobutu's Zaire. Consequently, civil society also increasingly demands that lenders accept co-responsibility for odious debts owed by some governments.

Debates over how much debt and how many countries is only one important issue. Another core concern is that eligible countries must apply harsh International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank adjustment measures before they qualify for debt cancellation. These "conditionalities" have led to long delays for countries needing immediate debt cancellation.

It is also widely recognized that the hundreds of conditions accompanying donor aid and debt cancellation over the past three decades have been largely ineffective in achieving sustained changes. In many instances, they have only made the situation worse for those living in poverty. For example, IMF macroeconomic conditions, especially stringent fiscal policies, prevent government from investing in much needed social and economic development such as health and education. Women and girls – who traditionally care for the young, the sick and the elderly – often bear the brunt of these policies. The 2005 UK Commission on Africa, in which Canada participated, noted that aid to Africa "is accompanied by many onerous conditions that are often of dubious value" and recommended that "the use of policy conditionality associated with external assistance should be strongly reduced."

Despite rhetorical support for "local ownership" of poverty strategies, donors continue to impose numerous conditions relating to macroeconomic policy, privatization, governance reform and accountability to donor institutions and policies. In 2004-05, for example, Tanzania's bilateral donors added their own conditions to those negotiated with the Fund and the Bank. As a result, Tanzania had to complete 78 policy changes for all its donors. These imposed conditions fundamentally undermine accountability of states to their own citizens, which is critical for the realization of rights.

As a donor and G8 member, Canada is increasingly implicated in this web of policy conditions. It supports World Bank/IMF debt cancellation programs, aid financing for joint donor budget support and sector-wide programs in the poorest countries. It is also an influential member of IMF and World Bank governing bodies. Yet neither the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) nor the Department of Finance has ever systematically reviewed policy conditionality.

Financing for Development

The United Nations 2002 Conference on Financing for Development helped underscore the urgent need to substantially increase sources of external financing for developing countries and to reverse the net flow of resources from South to North. While important, aid will not be enough to address development needs. (See *Point 10 Achieve More and Better Aid*)

National tax and finance policies also need reworking to enable governments to tax and redistribute wealth and extract greater returns from foreign investment. Developing countries are pressured to offer tax holidays to foreign investors and to liberalize their financial markets. These policies severely reduce the space for governments to finance development with domestic resources. Corruption and weak governance, encouraged by international banking systems, facilitate capital flight to tax havens through legal and illegal channels. More than half of African and Latin American wealth now resides overseas in tax havens and financial centres in the North.[87]

Finally, Canadian CSOs have actively pursued, with counterparts around the world, the creation of *new* sources of international taxation for development financing. These new sources include a currency transactions tax (the "Tobin" tax), as well as taxes on activities that harm the environment and the global public good, such as airplane flights or the arms trade.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS FOR GOVERNMENT

Take explicit account of human rights obligations, including workers' rights, in the formulation of policies for trade, finance and investment. This should include human rights impact assessments of potential agreements and investments.

Pursue trade and investment rules that protect policy space for developing-country governments and their citizens to determine the best domestic policies to end poverty, promote decent work and protect public services such as health or water. This should include the ability to:

- Exempt basic public services from liberalization commitments and regulate services in the public interest;
- Use tariffs to promote development of infant industry and to protect small farmers from exceptionally cheap imports or surges;
- Use or reshape intellectual property rules to pursue public health goals, exclude life forms from patents and protect farmers' ability to save and reuse seed; and
- Regulate investment flows to ensure positive outcomes for development, employment and the environment.

Improve the transparency of trade and international finance policy formulation, with increased opportunities for citizen participation and regular parliamentary oversight of Canada's global trade, finance and investment agenda.

Make decent work a central objective of relevant national and international policies.

- Support the Decent Work Agenda at the International Labour Organization, and work within the WTO and IFIs to ensure a reorientation of global economic policies towards this end.
- Increase political and financial support to build the capacities of governments and unions to ensure enforcement of local labour laws consistent with internationally recognized rights, with specific attention to the rights of women workers.

Ensure that gender analysis and perspectives are systematically integrated into Canadian trade policies and into the programs of IFIs, development partners and intergovernmental organizations.

Dedicate resources and political energy to develop national and international policy measures to address and regulate the public impacts of growing corporate concentration in trading and processing, including through increased requirements for notification, transparency and public approval of corporate mergers and acquisition.

Promote the immediate and unconditional cancellation of 100% of the multilateral and bilateral debt owed by the poorest countries.

Work actively with other donors and international financial institutions to end policy conditionality in aid and finance regimes, which will enable developing-country governments, with their citizens, to implement their own national plans to end poverty.

Undertake a comprehensive review of Canadian aid and debt conditionality to develop initiatives to transform aid relationships so they truly respect the principle of "local ownership," and are based on mutual obligations flowing from international human rights law.

Promote and implement innovative mechanisms such as co-ordinated taxes of international financial transactions, of arms sales, and of aviation fuel or airline tickets to finance development goals.

Promote and support the creation of a new UN body and International Convention with a mandate to track and evaluate new technologies and their products, including their implications for commodity production and markets, as well as their impact on human health and the environment.

(See *Point 9 on Multilateralism* for recommendations on the need for more accountable and equitable international economic institutions, and *Point 5 on Corporate Accountability* for recommendations in this area.)

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS
FOR CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS

Support efforts and capacity of Southern CSOs and elected officials to contribute to national economic policymaking, including analysis and advocacy on global economic rules and institutions, based on international human rights standards.

Build capacities of CSOs in Canada and the South to undertake gender analysis in macroeconomic policy issues and promote the participation of women and gender experts in CSO research and advocacy on these issues.

Participate in collaborative initiatives and coalitions to advocate strategically for a stronger role for Canada in promoting new international institutional arrangements to reduce global inequities.

Encourage Canadians to support justice in international commerce through fair trade. Build citizen activism and awareness of the role of Canadian banks, corporations and governments in the global economy.

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Labour's Platform for the Americas:
Decent Work for Sustainable Development

Labour's Platform for the Americas: Decent Work for Sustainable Development is the result of a unique process of collaboration, debate and consultation among the trade unions of the western hemisphere, as well as their regional and national organizations and coalitions, including the Canadian Labour Congress. It reflects the lived experience of the peoples of the Americas with more than 15 years of failed policies based on the promotion of free markets, free trade and debt repayment. It is a bold and innovative set of proposals for a radical change in the course of current economic and social policies to pursue an alternative development model in the Americas. The document points to the need for progressive taxation, family farming, debt cancellation, a review of privatizations, corporate social responsibility, support for small- and micro-enterprise, access to knowledge, strengthened government capacities, respect for labour rights and collective bargaining and a strong integration of gender equality goals. "With this document, we intend to construct a new consensus for development based on justice, employment, inclusion and democracy." (**http://canadianlabour.ca/index.php/Labours_Platform_for**)

Oxfam "Make Trade Fair" Campaign

"Make Trade Fair" is a campaign by Oxfam International and its 13 affiliates, including Oxfam Canada and Oxfam Quebec, calling on governments, institutions and multinational companies to change the rules so that trade can become part of the solution to poverty, not part of the problem. The Make Trade Fair Campaign has had several interlinked elements. These include a campaign for greater respect for labour rights focused on women working in global supply chains, for access to medicines through a new approach to intellectual property that puts people before profits and for fairness in the coffee trade.

Oxfam has campaigned to help farmers around the world get a better price for their coffee in a market in which supply is outstripping demand. Oxfam provides grants to coffee co-operatives in Central America and Africa and supports organizations representing the interests of small- and family-oriented coffee farmers. Oxfam's work includes advocacy with other organizations regarding an international coffee agreement and the promotion of fair trade. This gives consumers an opportunity to use their purchasing power to tilt the balance in favour of the poor. Oxfam has also led campaigns directed at big-name coffee roasters and retailers such as Starbucks and Nestle. In 2006, Oxfam launched a campaign in support of the Ethiopian government's efforts to gain trademark control over its specialty coffee brands. The goal: to ensure better returns to the 15 million poor people in Ethiopia who are dependent upon the coffee sector. Despite its initial reluctance, Starbucks signed a licensing agreement with Ethiopia within a year. (**www.maketradefair.com/en/index.htm**)

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Point 5:
ENSURE CORPORATE ACCOUNTABILITY

ENACT LEGISLATION THAT REQUIRES CANADIAN CORPORATIONS OPERATING OUTSIDE CANADA TO MEET AND BE ACCOUNTABLE TO INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS, LABOUR AND ENVIRONMENTAL STANDARDS IN ALL THEIR OPERATIONS WORLDWIDE. ENSURE TRANSPARENT CORPORATE REPORTING AGAINST THESE STANDARDS AND MAKE CANADIAN PUBLIC SUPPORT TO CORPORATIONS CONTINGENT UPON COMPLIANCE.

"Human rights secure our freedom to live fully and responsibly within life's community. We are finding, however, that as corporations have become increasingly successful in claiming these same rights for themselves, they have become increasingly assertive in denying them to individuals … Step-by-step, largely through judge-made law, corporations have become far more powerful than ever intended by the people and governments that created them."

David C. Korten

"[L]eaving the debate in the realm of voluntary commitments has, in practice, too often let governments off the hook. Governments have clear obligations to ensure companies respect human rights."

Irene Khan, Secretary-General, Amnesty International

The Rise of Transnational Corporate Rights and Power

History is rife with examples of corporate practices in developing countries, such as use of child labour, that were long ago made illegal or regulated out of existence in industrial countries. For decades, Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) around the world have brought these double standards to light, working to expose and halt irresponsible corporate conduct through public campaigns and appeals to governments for intervention.

The recent era of economic globalization has been particularly marked by the rise of transnational corporate rights and power. At the end of the 20th century, 51 of the 100 biggest economic entities in the world were corporations; only 21 countries had Gross Domestic Products (GDPs) higher than the top six corporations.

As both cause and effect, the rise of corporate power has led to the consolidation of legislative and policy frameworks that strengthen corporate "rights" in the North and South and at global levels. Trade agreements, investment agreements and the policy frameworks that condition the lending and advice of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), all have worked to significantly strengthen the rights of corporations to investment and property. At the

same time, these agreements and frameworks have weakened and stripped governments of many tools and means to protect communities, human rights and the environment.[88] Moreover, the enforcement power of corporate rights enshrined in trade rules has completely inverted, at a practical and political level, the hierarchy of states' obligations. The primary legal obligation of states to uphold human rights (Indigenous rights, equality rights for women, right to water, food, etc.) is now weaker than its obligations to uphold private corporate rights.

Exposing Corporate Abuses: A Growing Movement for Corporate Accountability

In Canada, as around the world, trade unions, churches, environmental and other Civil Society Organizations have documented the dangerous impacts of this rising corporate power. In countries as varied as the Congo and Sudan, and Peru and the Philippines, CCIC members have worked to expose and halt corporate abuses – from the hi-tech and textile sectors to resource extraction. They continue to protest the forcible displacement of Indigenous peoples from their lands for mining; to expose the effects of toxic dumping by industries; to monitor the illicit trade in diamonds and small arms; and to denounce child labour, sweatshop working conditions and attacks on trade unions and their members.

CCIC members have focused on corporate abuse of workers' rights and the gender dimensions of the exploitation of labour. From garments, to cut flowers, to commodity production such as cocoa, companies are demanding faster, more flexible and cheaper production in their supply chains. Workers, especially women workers – and their families – pay the price. Women aged 15 to 22 make up 90% of sweatshop workers. Governments, competing to attract investment and boost exports, turn a blind eye or encourage the abuse instead of upholding their obligation to protect these workers' human rights.

As its first response to the new global environment, industry and government promoted and adopted voluntary measures for corporate social responsibility; the private sector regulated and monitored its own actions. Given the minimal progress achieved from this approach, CSOs argue that voluntary accountability to codes – whether corporate codes or those of international organizations such as the UN Global Compact or the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises – cannot stop corporate misconduct. CCIC members and CSOs around the world are calling for a mandatory, regulated approach to corporate accountability standards with application at home and abroad. These must be based on international human rights and environmental standards, as codified in UN treaties and covenants, and have independent monitoring, verification and enforcement measures, with sanctions in place for non-compliance.

CSOs are also calling for consistency among donor governments. On the one hand, donors demand "good governance" from recipient countries. On the other, they impede these governments from regulating the impacts of foreign investment. Donors need to rethink the policy conditionalities imposed through International Financial Institutions (IFIs). One condition, for example, restricts governments' regulatory power and reinforces corporate rights as noted above.

Donors, including Canada, have also played highly interventionist roles in developing countries' policy frameworks. They have supported industry interests such as the reworking of mining codes in ways that roll back local economic benefits and environmental protections. As policy frameworks undermine capacity of governments to tax corporations, the state has fewer ways to deliver on public demands, which undercuts long-term development prospects.

Multilateral banks play important roles in support of private sector operations in developing countries through loans, insurance and credits; little accountability exists for the net development and human rights impacts of these projects. CSOs have called for stronger lending mechanisms to ensure accountability to international human rights and environmental standards. In addition, CSOs are calling for assessments of governance in a country/region to inform decision making about supporting the private sector in these areas. These calls for action include growing campaigns for governments and IFIs to undertake human rights impact assessments of projects, policies and investments.

Human Rights and Corporate Accountability: A UN Chronology

1919 – Present: The International Labour Organization (ILO) adopts a large body of international conventions governing international employment standards. Conventions key for women's equality include:

- The *Equal Remuneration Convention*, 1951 (N° 100);
- The *Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention*, 1958 (N° 111);
- The *Workers with Family Responsibilities Convention*, 1981 (N° 156); and
- The *Maternity Protection Convention*, 2000 (N° 183).

1948: *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights,* Article 28 states: "Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized."

1999: ILO adopts *Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention*, which came into force in 2000.

2003: The UN Sub-Commission on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights adopts *Responsibilities of Transnational Corporations and Other Business Enterprises with Regard to Human Rights*.[89] It recognizes that states "have the primary responsibility to promote, secure the fulfillment of, respect, ensure respect of and protect human rights ... including ensuring that transnational corporations and other business enterprises respect human rights."

2007: Special Representative of the Secretary-General on the issue of human rights and transnational corporations and other business enterprises (John Ruggie) submits his report on mapping the international standards of responsibility and accountability for corporate acts.[90]

Worldwide, scandals of corruption and embezzlement – from Enron to Conrad Black – are giving rise to new concerns about abuse of corporate power. Growing public demands for corporate accountability to human rights are gaining traction and government and inter-governmental organizations are beginning to act. In August 2003, the UN's Sub-Commission on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights adopted *Norms on the Responsibilities of Transnational Corporations and Other Business Enterprises with Regard to Human Rights.* On a bilateral level, the Norwegian government is promoting ethical investment strategies by requiring the state pension fund to invest only in companies that meet standards of environmental and social performance.

Canadians Want Corporate Social Responsibility

Here in Canada, 90% of citizens believe that corporate social responsibility should be a top corporate priority. A *Globe and Mail* poll revealed that less than a quarter of Canadians have faith in the integrity of big business. Another source notes that 65% of surveyed Canadians want companies to go beyond simply obeying laws; they want corporations to become fully accountable for any conduct that might undermine social and environmental health.[91] Canadians are going beyond simply thinking about corporate social responsibility: they are undertaking action – from making ethical investments and putting pressure on shareholders

to adopting sustainable lifestyles and pressing for "no sweat" by-laws in their towns and universities.

In Canada, there has been particular momentum – within the public, Parliament and industry – for corporate accountability in mining and the extractive sector.[92] And for good reason. There is a glaring pattern of human rights abuses in the oil, gas and mining industries globally. Even where overt violations are not present, significant impacts on the culture, livelihoods, environment and health of nearby communities require attention. These include specific impacts on women as mine workers and as key agents in communities and families who cope with the impact of mineral development.[93] This pattern of human rights concerns has been decried by Indigenous peoples' organizations and CSOs around the world for years, and was raised to global attention by the work of John Ruggie, Special Representative of the UN Secretary General on Business and Human Rights.

Almost 60% of the world's mining and exploration companies are listed in Canada. Given this dominant role and the strong levels of political and financial support the sector receives from government, Canadian CSOs have pressed for leadership from Canada to help end abuses in this sector.

As this trend and public demands evolve, different agendas are converging: on the one hand, the need to protect the environment, Indigenous rights and sustainable agriculture; on the other, the need for more accountable governments and more democratic oversight of corporations. Since demands for action will be increasingly holistic, current and future solutions will be increasingly complex. This underscores the need to establish comprehensive frameworks for corporate accountability.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS FOR GOVERNMENT

- Require Canadian companies operating internationally to meet clearly defined corporate accountability, international human rights, labour and environmental standards. This would be a precondition for government support via Canadian embassies and trade commissions, Team Canada trade missions, as well as financial assistance via the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), Export Development Canada, political risk insurance, tax breaks and the Canadian Pension Plan.
- Recognize that the principle of *Free, Prior and Informed Consent*, embodied in international human rights law including the *UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People*, must be respected in the context of development interventions, corporate investments or public support for these.
- Develop robust Canadian-based monitoring, verification and compliance mechanisms, with policies to ensure transparency in the reporting of Canadian companies' operations, including supply chains.
- Make changes to textile labelling legislation to ensure full disclosure of the names and addresses of factories where clothing is made.
- Develop legislation to hold Canadian companies and their directors accountable in Canada when found responsible for human rights abuses or environmental destruction overseas.
- Encourage and provide support to Southern governments in their efforts to ratify and comply with International Labour Organization (ILO) Conventions.

Promote the respect of states' international human rights and environmental obligations and high corporate responsibility standards in World Bank and Regional Development Banks' policies by ensuring:

- IFIs do not finance projects that violate these standards and obligations;
- Support to the private sector (loans and insurance) is made conditional upon compliance;
- Free prior and informed consent of communities affected by IFI projects, and that civil society in affected countries has meaningful opportunity for participation in decisions;
- Transparent and effective monitoring systems are put in place to ensure effective implementation of these policies; and
- IFIs work with UN agencies to develop an independent capacity to undertake human rights impact assessments for IFI lending.

Promote movement towards ethical investment practices by working with provincial governments to:

- Amend legislation to clarify that fund managers' consideration of social and human rights, or environmental issues in investment decisions does not conflict with their legal obligations;
- Increase disclosure requirements to shareholders concerning social, governance and environmental performance of company operations.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS
FOR CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS

Work to improve institutional procurement policies and practices in Canada and in developing countries to reflect a commitment to human rights (including labour rights); the highest standards of ecological sustainability and fair trade.

Seek to ensure their institutional financial resources are invested ethically and encourage ethical investment among supporters. As part of this, work with other CSOs to define ethical investment.

Work with Southern partners to document and publicize unfair, unsafe, environmentally irresponsible and corrupt corporate practices. Strengthen the capacity of Southern civil society, including trade unions, Indigenous peoples and women's organizations, to monitor corporate practices.

Engage in discussion within the CSO community to share perspectives on implications and experience of partnerships with private sector actors.

Conduct due diligence before entering into partnerships with private sector organizations to ensure potential partners meet clearly defined corporate accountability standards that respect international human rights, labour and environmental standards.

The Ethical Trading Action Group (ETAG)

ETAG is a Canadian coalition of faith, labour, teacher and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) advocating for government policies, voluntary Codes of Conduct and ethical purchasing policies that promote humane labour practices based on international labour standards.[94] Its "No Sweat Campaign" promotes public access to information about where and under what conditions, clothes, shoes and other consumer products are made. It also promotes transparency in monitoring and verifying company compliance with international labour standards and local laws. The ETAG *Transparency Report Card* assesses companies' efforts to comply with international labour standards in their source factories and on the steps taken to ensure transparency. The campaign also calls for changes in textile labelling legislation to ensure full disclosure of the names and addresses of factories that make clothing.

The Canadian Network on Corporate Accountability (CNCA)[95]

CNCA is a coalition of NGOs, churches, trade unions and other CSOs concerned with the detrimental human rights and environmental impacts of Canadian mining, oil and gas industries. Canadian mining companies have been implicated in human rights abuses and environmental disasters in more than 30 countries. The network calls on the Canadian government to move beyond voluntary corporate responsibility measures and to regulate the practices of Canadian companies operating overseas.

Child Labour in Cocoa Production

Save the Children Canada

SCC advocates to eliminate the worst forms of child labour in West African cocoa production, and hence the North American chocolate industry. In 2005, Save the Children invited chocolate company representatives on a "due diligence trip" to Côte d'Ivoire, Mali and Ghana. Industry participants learned about the industries' "Farmer Field School," as well as the NGO's efforts to promote and protect children's rights. Save the Children then hosted an International Forum in Toronto on Child Protection in Raw Agricultural Commodities Trade: The Case of Cocoa. The Forum focused world attention on research, policies and programs to stop the worst forms of child labour in cocoa production. The 25 participants represented the chocolate industry, NGOs, the ILO, and Canadian, American and West African governments. Participants identified gaps in protecting child workers and explored opportunities for co-operation among stakeholder groups.

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Point 6:
PROMOTE PEACE

ENGAGE WITH CONFLICT-AFFECTED SOCIETIES TO PROMOTE PEACE, EMPHASIZING A TRANSPARENT, RIGHTS-BASED AND COHERENT ENGAGEMENT STRATEGY. CANADIAN POLICIES SHOULD STRENGTHEN INTERNATIONAL NORMS AND REGULATIONS, AS WELL AS LOCAL CAPACITIES FOR PEACE AND PEACEBUILDING. CANADA SHOULD FULFILL ITS OBLIGATIONS TO INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMANITARIAN LAW BY PROTECTING VULNERABLE PEOPLE, PARTICULARLY CHILDREN, AND INCLUDING SPECIAL MEASURES TO PROTECT WOMEN AND GIRLS FROM SEXUAL AND GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE.

> "In this new century, we must start from the understanding that peace belongs not only to states or peoples, but to each and every member of those communities. The sovereignty of States must no longer be used as a shield for gross violations of human rights. Peace must be made real and tangible in the daily existence of every individual in need. Peace must be sought, above all, because it is the condition for every member of the human family to live a life of dignity and security."
>
> Kofi Annan, Nobel Lecture for the Peace Prize, 2001

The Changing Face of Conflict

Already, the 21st century has been marred by war and militarism. As in centuries past, violence and high stakes struggles over resources, power and borders undermine the prospects for more peaceful paths to the achievement of human rights for all.

The end of the Cold War brought enormous optimism for peace with the thawing of wartime alliances. However, the peace dividend did not materialize. By the mid 1990s, internal and ethnic wars led to a record number of conflicts. The September 11th attacks brought in a new labyrinth of wars, proxy wars and geopolitical alliances. At the end of 2006, the international community faced 29 armed conflicts in 25 states.

In modern conflicts, human rights violations are all too common. They take many forms, including targeting of civilians, forced displacement, sexual and gender-based violence (including rape as a weapon of war), abduction of children into fighting forces, extrajudicial killings and disappearances. As a signatory to a number of international human rights instruments, including the *Geneva Conventions,* Canada has a responsibility to respect and protect the rights of people in conflict-affected areas. Taking our human rights obligations seriously means ensuring that Canadian trade, development,

"I have learned that despite being targets in contemporary armed conflicts, despite the brutality shown towards them and the failure of adults to nurture and protect them, children are both our reason to eliminate the worst aspects of armed conflict and our best hope of succeeding in that charge. In a disparate world, children are a unifying force capable of bringing us all together in support of a common ethic."

Graca Machel, *Impact of Armed Conflict on Children,* UNICEF, 1996

Inter Pares Photo: Caroline Boudreau

defence and foreign policies promote, rather than undermine, the capacities of states to meet their human rights obligations, to help prevent violence and promote the resolution of conflicts through peaceful means.

As violence increases, arms embargoes, targeted sanctions and diplomatic isolation can be effective – if these initiatives are multilateral and properly executed. When armed groups are still fighting and challenging the legitimacy of the central government, a political – not military – solution is needed. Concerted diplomatic action can often save lives. Mediation, negotiation and diplomacy are the oldest and surest means of peacemaking. Too often, women, children and youth are negotiated out of peace deals; their effective participation is part of an inclusive and sustainable peace.

Major armed violence is preventable, yet we choose not to prevent it. In a deeply inter-connected world, no conflict is strictly internal: the international community, and particularly the UN, is inherently involved. What then are key areas for action for Canada? Below are five potential areas.

Trade in Weapons

The global trade in weapons sets the table for violence and thus threatens the rights of people globally. Landmines injure or kill 10,000 to 15,000 people every year. Small arms and light weapons account for between 60 and 90% of deaths in conflicts and kill half a million people annually.

The *Ottawa Convention* banned anti-personnel landmines. Steps have been taken towards an international treaty on arms sales and a ban on cluster munitions. As a member of the G8 and a significant middle power, Canada has a vital role to play in quelling the global trade in weapons.

Resources and Conflict

Global trade and investment agreements, as well as the trade in natural resources, have significant impacts on conflicts. In conflicts from the Philippines to the Congo to Colombia, the extraction of oil, gas and minerals contributes to violence and militarization. Private security forces hired to protect investments have been implicated in human rights abuses against communities; company equipment has helped armed groups; and companies have been forced to pay royalties to armed groups or repressive governments. It is well within Canada's power to ensure that Canadian companies do not exacerbate conflict, and to work for global standards to reduce conflict over resources by calling for greater corporate accountability and adherence to international human rights and environmental standards.

The Human Cost of War

- Since the 1960s, four out of five war casualties have been civilians.
- Since 1990, 80% of civilian war casualties have been children and women.
- Between 250,000 and 500,000 women were raped to further the Rwandan genocide of 1994, and warriors from Guatemala to the Congo to the United States used the rape of unimaginable numbers of women as a weapon of war.
- In the past decade, two million children have been killed in armed conflict, six million have been injured and another 20 million have been forced to flee their homes.

Source

Save the Children. *Rewrite the Future.* 2006. **www.savethechildren.org/publications/reports/RewritetheFuture_CampaignReport.pdf**

Protecting the Rights of People

In war, the rights of people, men, women, girls and boys, are suspended and livelihoods disrupted. Armed groups starve, displace and kill civilians to put pressure on governments, build a constituency of followers and advance their aims. According to the UN, "Refugee movements are no longer side effects of conflict, but in many cases are central to the objectives and tactics of war."[96] Even when not explicitly targeted, civilians often lose access to their basic needs. Internal displacement is a growing phenomenon from Chad to Colombia. The number of indirect deaths – from disease, malnutrition, inadequate medical care and dirty water – is more than 10 times the number of battle-related deaths.[97]

Violence and war affect men and women, and girls and boys differently. Consequently, it is imperative to have special measures to protect the rights and physical integrity of women and children. Sexual violence – used to control, torture, punish and demoralize – is one of the most horrific and lasting legacies of war in nearly every post-conflict society. Moreover, this violence is often invisible, reinforced by a cultural impunity for violence against women that is rooted in the lower status of girls and women in society. Progress in gender equality must be part of a long-term sustainable peace that goes beyond the absence of war to advance justice and equality.

The UN, and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) are designating protection officers to protect the rights of conflict-affected people and a number of CSOs provide accompaniment to human rights defenders. These protection workers use citizen diplomacy, cautious negotiation and creative improvisation to keep people safe and living with dignity. More women protection workers are needed to respond to the unique health, psychosocial and legal needs of women and girls, including survivors of sexual violence.

But these efforts are not always enough. In extreme circumstances, the use of military force might be considered, in accordance with international law and in concert with the appropriate body of the United Nations. It is a messy, imperfect solution, but in the wake of the Rwandan genocide and the Srebrenica massacre, some have begun to accept the idea. The careful analysis of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, embodied in the *Responsibility to Protect* (R2P) report, advanced the debate over intervention. The Commission identified three core responsibilities for the international community – to prevent, to react and to rebuild. The Commission made it clear that use of force must be a last resort.

3D Approaches to Conflict and Peace Operations

Even before the *Responsibility to Protect* (R2P) report, peacekeeping had evolved considerably. Complex modern warfare is often not conducive to traditional peacekeeping. The sides in a war are not always clear, the political leadership of armed groups is not always obvious and there is often little knowledge of, and respect for, international humanitarian law. Instead, the UN is relying increasingly on complex peace operations. In these missions, peacekeepers may use force as a last resort. They typically work closely with the political, and sometimes the humanitarian, side of an "integrated mission."

In this context, the efforts of UN agencies and CSOs to meet humanitarian needs are increasingly complicated. The safety of humanitarian workers and the people they serve depends on a "deal" between humanitarians and warring parties: the humanitarian actors aim to mitigate suffering resulting from the war, not to affect its course. When one side of a conflict perceives humanitarian workers are linked to the other side, the "deal" is broken: humanitarian action becomes close to impossible.

Evolving Canadian and international policies aim to fully integrate humanitarian, military and diplomatic responses to conflict. These "3D approaches" encourage tighter linkages between military and humanitarian responses to crises. CCIC and its members, however, believe the result could be less access for humanitarian life-saving assistance to affected populations.

In many ways, 3D peace operations are often indistinguishable from controversial, externally directed state-building projects. State-building projects that address "state failure and fragility" have become a foreign policy priority for donors, including Canada. Responsive states are essential components of an

effective post-conflict process of reconciliation and social justice. But in the context of a global "war on terrorism," expanding notions of security threats drive donor priorities. In other words, Northern governments perceive and intervene in "failed and fragile" states as havens for terrorists, as sources for illegal drugs and as threats to their "national security."

In this emerging model for building states, Northern militaries are supposed to provide stability, security and – if necessary – regime change. International financial institutions and major donor countries are supposed to rebuild infrastructure, rewrite constitutions, institute liberal economies and attempt to "instill a democratic ethos."

By all evidence, this approach will never succeed. Still, it has largely displaced a more effective focus on supporting local initiatives for peace, transforming the root causes of conflict and reconciling war-torn communities. Instead, donors focus on building the capacities of the state to stabilize and extend its power, often quite aside from its citizens' interests and contributions to peace. Donors fail to consider their own responsibilities for the impact of previously misguided policies on state capacities and their development prospects.

Peacebuilding and New UN Initiatives

Mediation, negotiation and diplomacy are the oldest and surest means for peacemaking. In support of such efforts, the United Nations set up a new Peacebuilding Commission and Mediation Support Office. The Security Council adopted *Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security* in 2000, enshrining the need to involve women at all levels of conflict prevention, peace operations, peacemaking and rebuilding. And, in 2005, the Security Council passed *Resolution 1612 on Children Affected by Armed Conflict,* upholding the rights of boys and girls in conflict. Much work remains to ensure their effective implementation, but together these mechanisms could dramatically improve concerted international responses to conflict and post-conflict peacebuilding.

The world may be more complex than it was in the days of Lester B. Pearson, the grandfather of peacekeeping. The route of war and violence will often seem seductive, but it will not be successful. The peaceful road is more difficult, but it is the only sure path to a just and stable future.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS FOR GOVERNMENT

Renew Canada's commitments to peacebuilding, peace support and peacekeeping, and be prepared to protect people whose lives and fundamental rights are threatened.

- Exhaust all avenues for diplomacy and local initiatives for peace prior to the commitment of military force under a UN mandate.
- Work to ensure that all personnel in peacekeeping and peace support operations include women at all levels of operations, including those responsible for displaced/refugee camps. Male and female personnel must be trained in sexual and gender-based violence, human rights and child protection.
- Ensure accountability to prevent sexual abuse and exploitation by adhering to the Inter-Agency Standing Committee[98] principles for all Canadian personnel.

Put in place a clear and transparent strategy for promoting peace for Canada's engagement with conflict-affected societies, based on solid conflict and gender analysis and founded on international human rights instruments.

- Ensure Canadian support to organizations, particularly women's organizations, working to strengthen local capacities for peace.

Substantially invest human and financial resources in strengthening our mediation and negotiations capacity to support peace processes.

Support initiatives to end impunity for war crimes, crimes against humanity, genocide and other grave human rights violations under international humanitarian law.

- Work to end impunity for the use of sexual violence as a weapon of war by discouraging amnesty provisions in peace agreements for sexual violence and supporting the International Criminal Court to investigate gender-based crimes.

Take international leadership in respecting humanitarian space and access to war-affected populations. Support the integrity of humanitarian action by enabling humanitarian actors to abide by the principles of independence, neutrality and impartiality.

- Implement the Good Humanitarian Donorship principles, and ensure that efforts to support and protect refugees and internally displaced persons also address the effects on communities receiving these people.

Together with Civil Society Organizations, implement a strong action plan on *Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security* to ensure that women are consulted and involved in all aspects of conflict prevention, peace negotiations, peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction. Support women's rights activists and defenders.

Play a leading role in developing an Arms Trade Treaty and a ban on cluster munitions, and support broader disarmament efforts that respond to the impact of small arms on development and human rights. This is consistent with Article 26 of the UN Charter, which calls on the Security Council to develop a plan to decrease funding for weapons of war and use that money for the needs of people.

Advocate for nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament.

Play a lead in preventing the recruitment of child soldiers consistent with *Security Resolution 1612*, protecting the rights of children and empowering their participation in peacebuilding processes.

Hold Canadian corporations engaged in human rights abuses in conflict zones accountable by developing legislation consistent with the Advisory Group Report on the National Roundtables on Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) and the Canadian Extractive Industry in Developing Countries.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS

Support local capacities for peace, including among CSOs, and deepen knowledge of, and support for, local peacebuilding including for transitional justice processes.

- Ensure that local communities, including women, are included in all aspects of decision-making.
- Provide specific support to women's networks to ensure the perspectives of women and girls are incorporated into civil society peace efforts.

Be vigilant that conflict analysis and gender analysis are brought to bear on conflict work and peacebuilding, ensuring that development and humanitarian programs are assessed for their impact on peace.

Adopt and put into practice ethical codes of conduct, such as Sphere Standards[99] and the Inter-Agency Standing Committee[100] principles on preventing sexual abuse and exploitation in conflict zones.

Ensure all humanitarian relief staff receive training on humanitarian values, violence prevention and civilian protection for displaced/refugee women and children.

Work in coalitions for disarmament, including on landmines.

Be vigilant in protecting children's rights by reporting violations on recruiting child soldiers, working to rehabilitate children in fighting forces and empowering their participation in peacebuilding processes.

Support local CSOs in peace education and peace promotion to strengthen their capacity for participating in peace processes.

Inter Pares

Support for Women's Empowerment in Peru, Guatemala and Colombia to Address Sexual Violence during Armed Conflict

The program aims to enhance social, political and legal conditions for women survivors of sexual violence in the context of war. Ultimately, it seeks to enable women to overcome victimization, become protagonists and develop the capacity to fully exercise their rights as citizens and agents of change. To that end, it supports legal action by the women to break the impunity for these crimes and hold governments accountable to the law. Women survivors and their organizations are also accompanied in their efforts to influence reparations plans with respect to sexual violence in the context of war. As well, the program enables participating organizations to join forces internationally, share resources and learn from one another. Beneficiaries include Indigenous women, poor rural and urban women, and their families, as well as the Civil Society Organizations that support them. The local human rights and women's organizations have direct relationships with the affected women, research institutions, mental health specialists and academics.

Project Ploughshares

Partnership with Africa Peace Forum

Project Ploughshares supports practical peacebuilding initiatives through work with the Africa Peace Forum (APFO) in the Greater Horn of Africa region. APFO, a Kenya-based non-governmental organization, encourages and supports civil society engagement in policy issues related to regional security, security sector reform, disarmament, small arms and in peacemaking diplomacy to strengthen the Sudan peace process. Project Ploughshares and the APFO are carrying out a research and policy-dialogue project entitled, Building the Capacity for Sustainable Peace: Track II Diplomacy in the Sudan. The project seeks primarily to obtain the perspectives and insights of academics and practitioners related to security issues under the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). These challenges focus on the impact of political concerns, and of arms control and reduction, on the CPA's implementation.

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Point 7:
PROMOTE GLOBAL ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE

PROTECT AND REHABILITATE THE ENVIRONMENTAL COMMONS AND DECREASE OUR ECOLOGICAL FOOTPRINT WITH STRATEGIES AND APPROACHES CONSISTENT WITH ENDING GLOBAL POVERTY AND REDUCING INEQUALITIES. SUPPORT THE RIGHT TO LIVELIHOOD FOR POOR AND VULNERABLE PEOPLE IN HARMONY WITH A SUSTAINABLE ENVIRONMENT. ENSURE CANADA MEETS ITS OBLIGATIONS TO INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS. TAKE FULL ACCOUNT OF THE INTERESTS, CAPACITIES AND KNOWLEDGE OF DIVERSE PEOPLES IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS.

> "Prudence must be shown in the management of all living species and natural resources, in accordance with the precepts of sustainable development. Only in this way can the immeasurable riches provided to us by nature be preserved and passed on to our descendents. The current unsustainable patterns of production and consumption must be changed in the interest of our future welfare and that of our descendants."
>
> *United Nations Millennium Declaration*, 2000

A Planet in Crisis

Disappearing and depleted fish stocks; land, air and watersheds contaminated with toxic wastes; forests razed for timber and large-scale agriculture; species extinction; soil depletion and degradation; expanding deserts; and now a looming water crisis, global warming and climate change: all are the legacies and pressures of an industrial growth model of "development," promoted by developed countries, which now threatens all the Earth's inhabitants and the very health of the planet itself.

Sadly, it is the practices and rapacious appetites of the wealthiest among us that have fouled our collective nest. The rich and middle classes of the North and the South have benefited most from development policies obsessed with "economic growth." They have the resources to adapt and insulate themselves, for a time, from environmental consequences.

The poorest – who are the majority of the world's population – always have fewer choices than the affluent. They rely most directly on their natural environments for food, water, building materials and fuel. As such, they are the first to live with the impacts of environmental degradation and collapse.

"Even the most stringent mitigation efforts cannot avoid further impacts of climate change in the next few decades, which makes adaptation essential, particularly in addressing near-term impacts. Unmitigated climate change would, in the long term, be likely to exceed the capacity of natural, managed and human systems to adapt."

Fourth Assessment Report – Impacts, Adaptation and Vulnerability, Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 2007

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Too often, industrial farming, mining or forestry push the poor off onto the margins of their ancestral lands. There, forced to eke out a living and adapt to ecosystems that are less and less able to sustain them, they become trapped in downward spirals of poverty and environmental crises. Water insecurity, for example, is a growing reality for small-scale farmers and hundreds of millions of people living in poverty.

The water crisis is intensifying on an unparalleled scale. According to the UN Development Programme (UNDP) *2006 Human Development Report* on *Power, Poverty and the Global Water Crisis,* more than three billion people may live in countries under water stress by 2025. The Report emphasizes that, "like hunger, deprivation in access to water is a silent crisis experienced by the poor and tolerated by those with the resources, the technology and the political power to end it."[101]

Women and girls are doubly disadvantaged by the water crisis. Not only do they have to fetch and manage water, it takes more time to do so, which often leads to sacrifices in their education. They must have a decisive voice and role in shaping priorities for water and sanitation in their communities to address this crisis.

Unsustainable Practices Rob the South to Feed The North

Whole economies in the South are organized to extract cash crops, minerals and other resources for Northern consumption. The poorest people in the South reap few benefits from these practices. Worse still, unsustainable practices destroy environments upon which the poor depend to survive.

These practices are also seriously eroding biological diversity essential to ecosystems that sustain life. For centuries, biodiversity has been the foundation for the evolution of food security, sustainable agriculture and traditional medicines. Biodiversity and Indigenous knowledge go hand in hand. Indigenous knowledge reflects generations of experience with diverse environments, but much remains unrecorded. It is essential to protect and promote Indigenous knowledge to strengthen communities as they adapt and interact with their changing environments.

Facts on Poverty, Consumption, and the Global Environment

- 75% of the world's 1.2 billion extremely poor people live in rural areas, where environments are often ecologically vulnerable and severely degraded.[102]
- More than half the world's population still relies on solid fuels like wood, crop stubble and animal dung for cooking and heating.[103]
- "Environmental income," generated from the direct use of ecological goods and services, is often a large share of the cash income of poor households.[104]
- In developing countries, agriculture uses 85% of fresh water resources and 33% of the land. Close to half of all people in developing countries suffer at any given time from a health problem caused by water and sanitation deficits. Women bear the brunt of responsibility for collecting water, often spending up to four hours a day walking and waiting in queues.[105]
- In 2001, Africa's per capita energy consumption was 5% of the G7 average.[106] The United States has less than 5% of the world's population, but consumes 23% of its energy.[107] Fossil fuel combustion accounts for 61% of greenhouse gas emissions, which vary widely by country. Australia, the USA and Canada are highest, with per capita emissions that are twice those of the European Union, six times those of China, and 13 times those of India.[108] Deforestation accounts for 20-30% of greenhouse gases.[109]
- In 2003, 86% of World Bank energy projects were in fossil fuels. Only 14% were for renewable energy.[110]
- Climate variability and change are projected to severely compromise agricultural production, including access to food, in many African countries and regions. In some countries, yields from rain-fed agriculture could be cut in half by 2020.[111]
- In Latin America, changes in precipitation patterns and the disappearance of glaciers are projected to significantly affect water availability for human consumption, agriculture and energy generation.[112]

Scientists, along with a burgeoning worldwide environmental movement, have repeatedly sounded the alarm. People who once lived sustainably in places that now face ecological collapse have joined them. Women, while often absent from decision-making that affects the environment, have been among the most effective environmental leaders. These include Rachel Carson's pioneering work on pesticides, Wangari Maathi and the Greenbelt Movement in Kenya and Sheila Watt-Cloutier's activism on the impact of climate change on the Canadian Arctic – to name but a few with global prominence.

Yet "market forces" and the private sector continue to fail to calculate, let alone address, the ecological and human costs of environmental damage. Thus, destructive practices continue. Governments and multilateral institutions respond slowly – if at all – to ecological alarms by signing international treaties and agreements. Even then, the worst environmental offenders drag their heels. Witness the reluctance and failure of developed countries to meet Kyoto Protocol commitments to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, to invest in alternative renewable energy sources and to stop climate change. Instead, we are witnessing rapid increases in greenhouse gas emissions to dangerous levels in the atmosphere.

A Role for Canada

A Canadian agenda to end global poverty and inequality must integrate a holistic environmental justice perspective. This would encompass democratic development, sustainable agricultural practices, holistic approaches to healthy environments, and effective community development strategies that deal with the full range of vulnerabilities facing poor and marginalized people. Rarely have environmental policies paid any attention to unequal impacts on the poor where they live; unsustainable development policies and practices have already deteriorated local ecology. These policies, combined with the impacts of climate change, will put poor people even further at risk.

It is small wonder that some people are now calling for environmental justice. They argue that industrialized countries owe a debt to the countries and people of the South for decades of resource plundering, environmental damage, destroyed biodiversity, waste dumping and actions that promoted climate change. They demand those responsible for environmental damage repay their "ecological debt."

We must invest in sustainable approaches in all parts of our world. In doing so, we must invest, learn from and take advantage of the capacities and knowledge of Indigenous and rural people. They are the ones who live closely with their environment throughout the developing world. They can help us move towards environmentally sustainable and just approaches to ending global poverty.

Climate Change: Poor People are Hardest Hit

"For many people… climate change is set to turn an already rough ride into an impossible one."

Up in Smoke? - Latin America and the Caribbean

Climate change is already taking a toll worldwide and its impacts are expected to get worse. Erratic weather patterns, increased forest fires and rapid glacial melt are now well documented; they cause major upheaval for millions of people who live on the land – especially dryland small-holders and pastoralists whose livelihoods depend on rain-fed agriculture. Additional millions have borne the brunt of more frequent "extreme weather events." Predictions are dire. If we allow greenhouse gas emissions to keep rising, future catastrophic impacts will dwarf today's weather-related disasters.[113] Moreover, the abuse, destruction or inappropriate use of natural resources will amplify these future catastrophes.

As the Earth warms, a variety of extreme events are foreseen: rising sea levels, floods, storm surges, droughts, looming water crises and higher rates of tropical diseases. As with all disasters, poor and vulnerable people will be the hardest hit. Food security will be jeopardized first.[114] As farming patterns change, women will be adversely affected. At the same time, women may be well positioned to play a role in developing sustainable agricultural practices. More likely, women and girls will become refugees, facing very different options than men and boys. Three parallel strategies are urgently needed:

- Cut greenhouse gas emissions and stop climate change.
- Help people – and particularly the poor – to adapt to those changes that are now inevitable. In particular, help small-scale farmers in vulnerable areas to implement adaptation strategies.
- Learn from past emergencies and build "disaster risk reduction" into all development plans to ensure that poor people are better able to withstand catastrophic events when they arise.

Global Governance and the Environment – A Selective Chronology

1972: **The UN Environmental Programme** (UNEP) was established after the first UN Conference on the Environment and Development**.**

1977: **The UN Conference on Desertification** adopted a *Plan of Action to Combat Desertification*. By 1991, UNEP had concluded that "the problem of land degradation in arid, semi-arid and dry sub-humid areas had intensified."

1982/1994: ***The UN Convention on the Law of the Sea*** was adopted / came into force, with clauses on protecting the marine environment.

1992: The **UN Conference on Environment and Development** or **Earth Summit,** (Rio de Janeiro) adopted the *Rio Declaration on Environment and Development*, and *Agenda 21* as its plan of action. It spawned two legally binding **conventions –** on **Biodiversity** and **Climate Change** and led to establishment of the **UN Commission on Sustainable Development**, also in 1992.

1993: The ***Convention on Biological Diversity*** came into force. Its objectives are "the conservation of biological diversity, the sustainable use of its components and the fair and equitable sharing of the benefits arising out of the utilization of genetic resources …"

1994: The ***UN Framework Convention on Climate Change*** came into force, creating an overall framework for intergovernmental efforts to tackle climate change.

1994/1996: The ***Convention to Combat Desertification*** was adopted / came into force.

1997: Parties to the ***Climate Change Convention*** adopted its ***Kyoto Protocol*****.** In it, most industrialized countries undertake to reduce emissions of certain "greenhouse gases" by an average of 5%.

2002: The **World Summit on Sustainable Development** (Johannesburg) reaffirmed the 1992 *Earth Summit Plan of Action*, and adopted the *Johannesburg Plan of Implementation*.

2004: The **International Conference for Renewable Energies** (Bonn) developed a comprehensive list of policy recommendations designed to promote renewable energy.

2005: The ***Kyoto Protocol*** enters into force and remains in effect until 2012.

Sources

For detailed information on these and all environmental treaties, **www2.spfo.unibo.it/spolfo/ENVLAW.htm** and **www.unep.org/Documents.multilingual/Default.asp?DocumentID=287**.

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Agenda 21. **www.unep.org/Documents.multilingual/Default.asp?DocumentID=52&ArticleID**= .

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United Nations Convention on Biological Diversity. **www.biodiv.org/default.shtml**.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS
FOR GOVERNMENT

Meet Canada's obligations under the *Biodiversity Convention*, the *United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change*, the *Kyoto Protocol on Climate Change* and other international environmental treaties.

Support a post-2012 framework for addressing global climate change that keeps global temperature increases as far below 2°C as possible, and that takes into account the interests, knowledge and capacities of the poor and marginalized people in developing countries.

Develop long-term policies for Canadian co-operation with developing countries that integrate ecological sustainability with all aspects of approaches to sustainable poverty reduction and rural livelihoods, including small-scale agriculture – not just short-term economic growth. For example:

- Highlight the importance of a sustainable natural resources base for rural development.
- Support decentralization of control over natural resources to local communities, ensuring free, prior and informed consent of affected communities for any natural resource project.
- Strengthen the capacities and legal rights and remove external barriers for poor people to manage local ecosystems, including the need for secure tenure for users of resources.
- Consistent with international agreements, ensure that all environmental initiatives incorporate analysis and results relating to women's rights and gender equality.
- Promote approaches to urban reform and local industries that encourage a sustainable relationship between urban environments and industries with the ecosystems that support them.
- Ensure that development initiatives analyze and mitigate social and environmental risks, including those that result from climate change, and contribute to reducing vulnerabilities and increasing the adaptive capacities of communities.

Promote an end to the use of aid and other government resources to subsidize fossil fuels in both developing countries and Canada. Phase out all World Bank support for fossil fuels and redirect multilateral finance to conservation, energy efficiency and renewable energy programs.

Transform approaches to policies for intellectual property rights and development practices to ensure protection of biodiversity for future generations, respect for traditional knowledge and the fulfillment of the rights of farmers, Indigenous peoples and local communities.

Support the role of small farmers in conserving and promoting agro-ecological diversity and ensuring farmers' stewardship of their seed supply systems, including sustaining the current international moratorium on field-testing or commercialization of genetic seed-sterilization technologies.

Acknowledge that access to water is a universal human right. Support policies to ensure public access to clean water for all – now and for future generations.

- Protect and preserve natural water sources.
- Put women and girls at the centre of water and sanitation strategies, policies and programs.
- Support public or co-operative water services with genuine community participation in developing countries; oppose donor measures and aid programs that promote the privatization of water services.
- Reverse Canada's opposition to a proposal in the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights that water for personal and domestic use be treated as a human right.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS
FOR CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS

Ensure that considerations of environmental justice and sustainability are reflected in their organizational culture, programs and practices, which includes significant learning with partners on issues of environmental sustainability for poverty reduction and social justice.

Advocate for a post-2012 climate change framework that keeps global temperature increases as far below 2°C as possible. The framework should be fair and support sustainable development that reduces poverty and inequality for poor and vulnerable people in developing countries.

Strive to reduce organizational contributions to unsustainable environmental practices and global climate change by reducing the organization's environment and carbon footprints.

Build capacity to incorporate gender perspectives into environmental advocacy and programming, working towards a more holistic understanding and action on poverty, women's rights and environmental sustainability.

The Water: Life before Profit! Campaign

Development and Peace

Under the central theme of promoting an equitable and sustainable economy, Development and Peace led an education and action campaign targeting issues associated with access to drinking water from 2003-2006. Development and Peace invited the public to sign a Water Declaration stating that water was a sacred gift, a fundamental human right, a part of our common heritage to be shared and part of our collective inheritance and responsibility. It also affirmed that water was part of our common wealth, a principle that takes priority over any notion of water's commercial value. More than 236,000 Canadians signed the *Water Declaration*. To make the link between the North and South, Development and Peace also asked its members to meet with their city council. One hundred and eighty-eight municipalities signed the Declaration. During these three years, Development and Peace worked to influence the government to modify its position on the Right to Water, implicit in Article 11 of the *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*. Development and Peace is continuing to pursue dialogue with the government on this issue.

Protecting People and the Environment

from Destructive and Unsustainable Mining Practices – MiningWatch Canada

MiningWatch Canada is a civil society response to industry and government failures to protect people and the environment from destructive and unsustainable mining practices. With support from environmental, social justice, Aboriginal and labour organizations, and expertise from across Canada, MiningWatch tracks mineral policies and practices in Canada and around the world that threaten public health, water and air quality, fish and wildlife habitat and community interests. It conducts or supports the monitoring, analysis and advocacy needed to change the practices of industry and public decision-makers. It aims to: 1) ensure that mineral development is consistent with the goals of sustainable communities and ecological health; 2) strengthen skills within communities and organizations facing the negative impacts of mineral development; 3) impose appropriate terms and conditions on mining and, in some cases, prevent projects that would adversely affect areas of ecological, economic and cultural significance; and 4) promote policies to improve the efficiency and reduce the risks of mineral development.

Assisting Communities in Adapting to the Impact of Climate Change

CARE Canada

CARE Canada, with support from the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), has undertaken projects in Bangladesh and Tajikistan to help communities adapt to the impacts of climate change. The projects have focused on practical household and community-level initiatives to reduce vulnerability of livelihoods in the context of climate change. In both cases, CARE based the project on a participatory assessment of vulnerability and existing coping capacity. It combined this information with available climate data to better understand how climate change would likely affect well-being. The projects then worked with communities to develop knowledge and skills to implement adaptation strategies. These strategies addressed current climate-related challenges, while developing capacity to adapt to future changes. Results from both projects indicate that community-based approaches can help reduce poverty and help communities adapt to climate change.

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Point 8:
SUPPORT DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE AND GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP

CONTRIBUTE TO DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE IN ORDER TO ENSURE SOCIAL JUSTICE AND THE FULFILLMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS AT HOME AND IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. SUPPORT ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP ENGAGEMENT IN CANADA AND THE SOUTH AND AT THE GLOBAL LEVEL, INCLUDING THE DIVERSE ROLES PLAYED BY CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS (CSOs) IN DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT. ENHANCE THE ROLES FOR PARLIAMENTARIANS IN GLOBAL POLICY ISSUES.

"It is through action at the national level that international human rights obligations can be translated into reality."

Louise Arbour, *Protection and Empowerment*, Plan of Action of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, May 2005

"…national citizenship is still problematic in many countries, and for marginalized groups in all countries, including in the North. We need to start with active citizenship in our own countries if we want to build global citizenship."

Muthoni Wanyeki, Past Executive Director, FEMNET, CCIC AGM, May 2006

The Growing Demands and Power of Civil Society

Strong democracies depend as much on public debate and citizens' interaction with decision-makers as they do on effective, democratically elected governments. Both nationally and in the multilateral arena, "good governance" requires a strong and dynamic relationship between an organized and well-informed "civil society" and institutions with a responsibility to govern. For this relationship to take hold, citizens and their organizations must have the know-how and the necessary tools to engage with politicians and other decision-makers, and decision-makers must have the will and the means to listen effectively.

Citizens get involved with Civil Society Organizations and peoples' movements – whether locally, nationally or internationally, in Canada or in the South – to be part of a broader effort, increase their influence, amplify their voices and support collective action for change. These forms of engagement by women's organizations, trade unions or non-governmental organizations (NGOs) complement the critical role of media and the political processes through which citizens elect their governments. They enable citizens to participate democratically in their societies. Canadian CSOs are a very significant expression of the commitment of Canadians to development and global social justice.

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Inter Pares Photo: Caroline Boudreau

As a basic premise of democratic governance, citizens have the right to hold their governments accountable to their commitments. Citizens are not "beneficiaries" subject to the largesse of donors or governments. Rather, they are actors in their own development, taking part in decisions that affect their lives. They need access and capacities to claim rights that are universally recognized in international human rights law – rights related to gender equality, education or health care.

The Struggle to be Heard

In many places in the South, however, active citizenship is not an accepted part of the political culture – despite states' obligations to uphold the civil and political rights of their citizens. Too often, independent journalists and media houses are censored and harassed; political dissenters and NGOs are treated with suspicion; individuals and organizations (like unions) that criticize governments fall victim to repression; and decision-makers pay little attention to the importance of citizens' contributions to policy formulation or implementation. (See *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* Box)

Even where participation is the norm, some views find no place in public debate and rarely reach the ears of governments. The reasons are varied: poverty, gender discrimination, age, racism or some other form of social exclusion. Due to their unequal economic status and gender-based discrimination and violence that limits their voices, women and girls face specific barriers to their participation in democratic life.

Poverty, environmental devastation, and violent conflict fuel a growing global displacement of people within and across national boundaries. Many societies respond with increased fear and xenophobia. The security climate, heightened since 9/11 and the "war on terror," has exacerbated this trend, contributing to restrictions on civil liberties and migration flows, including in Canada.[115] To contribute meaningfully to democratic governance and to active global citizenship, Canadians must challenge these forms of social and political exclusion. If our goal is poverty eradication and social justice, we must heed these voices – especially of women and other marginalized groups.

CCIC member organizations have always encouraged active citizenship – in Canada and in the South. CSOs are the main implementers of public engagement programs on global issues in Canada. They inform and raise awareness among Canadians about global issues and about individual consumer choices; they provide avenues for collective actions; they create opportunities for people to experience local realities in developing countries; and they help citizens of the North and South work together on issues of poverty and injustice.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights: Freedom of Expression and Assembly

ARTICLE 19

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

ARTICLE 20

(1) Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

(2) No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

Canadian CSOs also partner with, and support the development of, CSOs in the South, including community-based organizations, public interest research groups, and government and corporate watchdogs, as well as environmental, women's and Indigenous peoples' networks, both national and international. Using new communications technologies and the unprecedented power of the Internet, Canadians are working for global-scale change with CSOs all over the world, in dozens of international coalitions and forums and in the multilateral sphere. Together, they are having an impact.

CSOs have increasingly interacted globally with governments, affecting their policy agendas in areas such as globalization, health and the environment. Multi-sectoral networks have emerged internationally. These networks engage CSOs, governments, the private sector and civil society in new relationships for norm setting, funding, research and policy formation. Notable examples include the Global Environment Facility (1991),[116] Civil Society and Private Sector Panels at the Financing for Development Conference (Monterrey, Mexico, 2002), and the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria (2002).[117] By making global governance more inclusive and democratic, these new configurations are changing the very definition and boundaries of the term. This trend should continue.

Definitions

WHAT IS "GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP"?

Global citizenship depends on people worldwide recognizing their role as members of a global community who share a single planet and must work together to solve global problems. It embodies principles, values and behaviours that imply the participation of individuals in public life. They deliberate and act for the common good with an eye towards both local and global consequences. (Adapted from CCIC, "Public Engagement and Global Citizenship", Briefing Paper #4, February 2006, **www.ccic.ca/e/docs/002_aid_2005_10_paper_4_pub_engement.pdf**)

WHAT IS "DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE"?

According to the UN Development Programme (UNDP), democratic governance means that:

- Peoples' human rights and fundamental freedoms are respected and promoted, allowing them to live with dignity.
- People have a say in the decisions that affect their lives.
- People can hold decision-makers to account.
- Women are equal partners with men in private and public spheres of life and decision-making.
- Economic and social policies respond to peoples' needs and rights.
- People are free from all forms of discrimination based on race, ethnicity, disability, class or gender. (Adapted from UNDP, *Human Development Report* 2002, p. 51)

Democratic governance is both a means and an end. As such, it is distinct from the frequently used notion of "good governance," often employed by donors to support governance reforms in developing countries. The latter tends to focus on more narrow formal electoral processes, improved management, government institutions that implement aid programs and judicial mechanisms for the rule of law. Donors have set these reforms for "good governance" as conditions for continued aid.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS FOR GOVERNMENT

In Canada

Promote and support global citizenship and the building of civil society in Canada by encouraging public dialogue and citizen engagement among Canadians on global issues, and their local dimensions, in all regions of Canada and among citizens of all backgrounds and walks of life.

Put Parliament, its committees and parliamentarians back at the centre of debate about international policy and Canada's role in the world, including how Canada can promote human rights globally.

- Enhance parliamentarians' knowledge of global issues on global poverty and injustice, and their ability to hear from, and speak for, their constituents on these issues.
- Create more opportunities for citizens and CSOs to engage directly with one another and their members of Parliament in international policy dialogues.
- Enable Parliament and parliamentary committees to become forums for regular and open debate on Canada's development co-operation and its role in multilateral accords and institutions.

Put the promotion of human rights and democratic values at the centre of Canada's post-9/11 security agenda, reasserting in laws and policies relating to anti-terrorism the essential rights and protections for Canadians embodied in Canada's *Constitution* and *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*.

Create a more favourable environment that recognizes the right, and actively supports the role, of Canadian CSOs to undertake programming for public engagement and policy dialogue with government.

- Strengthen the advocacy role of charities and voluntary sector organizations by lifting the Canada Revenue Agency restriction that limits the non-partisan advocacy work of charities to 10% of their activities.
- Implement the *Accord Between the Voluntary Sector and the Government of Canada* and its *Codes of Good Practice on Policy Dialogue and on Funding*.
- Increase the transparency of foreign policy processes and establish mechanisms that facilitate more inclusive public dialogue on international policy issues, with enhanced roles for Civil Society Organizations and parliamentarians.
- Build a more co-ordinated framework for all relevant government departments to support public engagement and policy dialogue and establish funds that support these activities. Focus some activities on youth.

Internationally

In the context of initiatives relating to the *Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness*, acknowledge and strengthen the roles of CSOs as unique contributors in their own right to development, good governance and democracy. Support the development of civil society networks and coalitions in countries and internationally.

Support democratic governance reforms that strengthen and build upon country- and citizen-led processes of participatory citizenship rather than pre-conceived notions of "good governance" imposed by donors from the outside.

Increase support for structured and timely dialogue between Canadian CSOs and the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada (DFAIT) and other relevant departments on current Canadian policies that address issues of, and relationship between, poverty, globalization, global justice and human rights.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS
FOR CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS

Strengthen their own capacity, as well as their partners' efforts, to act as conduits for citizen interests and concerns, mobilize participation, press for gender equality and other human rights, hold governments to account for their obligations, and take part in decision-making in local and international governance structures.

Work collaboratively and respectfully with Southern partners to develop policy positions on global issues, including providing financial support for Southern-led initiatives to promote policy alternatives.

Increase CSO capacities to draw on their partnerships and practices to engage diverse Canadian publics and parliamentarians to end global poverty.

Acknowledge and adhere to codes for ethical practices, particularly those related to equitable partnerships, such as the CCIC *Code of Ethics*. Strengthen structures and behaviours in CSO relationships for accompaniment in support of the rights of peoples to determine and carry out activities that further their own development. Address inequalities in these relationships, particularly those that result from Northern control over financial resources.

Americas Policy Group

Supporting Humans Rights Activists in Colombia

The Americas Policy Group (APG), a CCIC working group, represents approximately 40 Canadian CSOs working in the Americas. It collaborates with civil society counterparts in Colombia, responding to grave human rights violations in that country. Indeed, all the armed actors – guerrilla, paramilitary and state security forces – have committed grave violations of international humanitarian law. The origins of the armed conflict lie in the political exclusion of large segments of the Colombian population.

A diverse range of civil society actors must play an active role in building the foundations for democratic development and peace in Colombia. But these same actors are often targeted as threats to the status quo. Canadians, through active APG members, accompany Colombians by working closely with the National Victims Movement and La Oficina Internacional de Derechos Humanos – Accíon Colombia (OIDHACO) to end the violence, promote and protect the rights of those affected by the conflict and contribute to the democratization of Colombia.

APG members work with CSO counterparts in Colombia to document the current situation. Armed with this collective knowledge, the APG prepares briefs and engages officials from the Department of Foreign Affairs, the Embassy in Colombia and CIDA. It provides detailed recommendations on how Canada could make its policies for diplomacy, aid, trade and investment consistent with its obligations to international human rights law. APG members have worked closely with international CSO coalitions to influence the international community's response to Colombia through the UN, the Organization of American States and the "Group of 24" donor countries, which co-ordinates efforts for peace and development in Colombia.

CECI support for coalitions for Women's Rights

and Citizenship in West Africa

Between 1998 and 2005, CECI worked with the Women's Citizenship and Rights project. The project created networking coalitions on women's rights in Burkina Faso, Mali and Guinea that became a collective force for action and influence. CECI is now supporting the coalitions through its UNITERRA program. The coalitions include a total of 31 Civil Society Organizations consisting of women's and mixed groups gathered around a common interest. Government departments from the respective countries also participate as "advisory" members.

The coalitions have promoted equality within the family leading to increased awareness amongst women on civil marriage and succession. They have also worked to combat violence against girls by educating teachers, parents and students. The project has further provided support for women's participation in commune management and local elections, including for women to participate as party candidates. As well, all three coalitions have sought to strengthen capacity for political dialogue and advocacy with counterparts in national government departments.

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Point 9:
BUILD A DEMOCRATIC AND EFFECTIVE MULTILATERAL SYSTEM

SUPPORT MULTILATERALISM AND THE UNITED NATIONS (UN) AS A CORNERSTONE OF CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY WHILE WORKING FOR REFORMS THAT DEMOCRATIZE MULTILATERAL INSTITUTIONS, INCLUDING THE INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS. CORRECT THE NORTH-SOUTH POWER IMBALANCES, AND ENSURE THE PRIMACY OF UN NORMS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND ENVIRONMENTAL STEWARDSHIP IN THE MULTILATERAL SYSTEM.

"The true measure of the success for the United Nations is not how much we promise, but how much we deliver for those who need us most."

UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, Acceptance Speech, October 2006

"Without ambitious and far-reaching reforms the United Nations will be unable to deliver on its promises and maintain its legitimate position at the heart of the multilateral system."

Delivering as One – Report of the Secretary-General's High-Level Panel, November 2006

An Imbalance of Power in the Multilateral System

The "multilateral system" took shape in the mid 1940s, when the urgent need for reconstruction after global war made it obvious that co-operation across borders was essential. In the 21st century's context of globalization, increased inter-dependence and climate crisis, the need for an effective system for global decision-making has become all the more pressing. But the post-war system of multilateral governance has not adapted well to changing geo-power configurations in the world, to calls for increased democratization of decision-making from Southern governments and citizen movements, or to the need to prioritize commitments to human rights and the environment.

Multilateral institutions have come to reflect the power dynamics that dominate all international relations. Whether it is in the UN or in the economic institutions that govern multilateral trade and finance, Southern governments have less influence in decision-making than their Northern counterparts. The UN's Security Council retains an anachronistic structure in which the five "official" nuclear states have permanent status and veto power.[118] The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) have Boards of Governors that link power and voting to a state's financial contributions. In principle, the World Trade Organization (WTO)

is "one country, one vote." In practice, the WTO is run by informal decision-making processes that are not transparent, and in timeframes in which only the largest missions can participate effectively.

Moreover, international economic institutions that operate outside the UN framework – the WTO, the IMF and the World Bank – have become increasingly powerful. As a result, the multilateral system has overshadowed the UN's commitment to a normative framework guided by the *International Bill of Human Rights*, democratic decision-making and environmental stewardship.

Governments, strongly influenced by transnational corporations, have equipped the WTO, the World Bank and the IMF with unprecedented powers to enforce the rules of finance and trade over which they preside. By contrast, the UN system has meagre resources and few tools to enforce the priority to binding legal obligations of human rights and environmental standards.

Multilateralism Under Attack

Since the turn of the millennium, some governments – including the UN's largest financial contributor, the United States – have increasingly acted unilaterally. This has undermined an already embattled multilateral system. Indeed, the U.S. role in preventing effective multilateral co-operation in the first half of the 21st century is evident across major international issue areas: from its refusal to participate in the International Criminal Court or the *Kyoto Protocol on Climate Change*, to its opposition to new instruments such as the *UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (joined now by Canada), to its pursuit of military and security objectives without UN consent.

An unprecedented financial crisis, due in part to the failure of states to meet their financial commitments, has further threatened the UN system. In 2005, then Secretary General Kofi Annan launched a UN reform process to restore the international community's confidence and support. The reform process culminated in the November 2006 Report of the UN High-Level Panel on Coherence – *Delivering as One.*[119]

Few Canadians would argue with the purposes of the United Nations (See *Multilateralism 101* Box). As a founding member of the UN, Canada has been a strong proponent of multilateralism, international norms and law throughout the institution's history. CCIC and its members also have a long commitment to multilateralism and have been leaders in bringing citizens' voices into UN deliberations.[120] But to be effective – to achieve global justice and peace – multilateralism needs a major overhaul. CCIC members are calling for simultaneous and urgent support of multilateralism **and** for major reform of multilateral institutions.

Southern governments and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) worldwide are calling for renewed multilateralism, to make inter-governmental institutions more democratic, and to correct the gross power imbalances that currently undermine the credibility of these multilateral institutions. Their decision-making must be made more transparent and democratic, and they must tap into and respond to a rising tide of "global citizenship." To regain their legitimacy, they must meet citizens' demands for accountability, democratic practice and reform – demands that have brought millions into the world's streets in recent years protesting for change. And human rights – the first obligation of states – must move to the heart of all multilateral organizations.

Multilateralism 101[121]

The United Nations came into being in 1945, at the end of the Second World War. Its purposes, defined in the *UN Charter*, are to:

- Maintain international peace and security.
- Develop friendly relations among nations.
- Achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights.

UN Structure: The UN system now encompasses 15 specialized agencies (including the IMF and the World Bank),[122] two "related organizations" (including the World Trade Organization), 15 funds and programs, five regional commissions, five research and training institutes, a secretariat with 17 departments and offices, and many regional- and country-level structures. The Security Council deals with peace and security matters. In theory, the specialized agencies report to the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). In fact, they function autonomously with their own charters, budgets, governing boards, staff and publishing operations. The General Assembly can examine their budgets and make recommendations, but each agency exercises final control over its operations. Power imbalances, especially between the IMF/World Bank/WTO and the other agencies, have become deeply entrenched.

Multilateral Reform: As the multilateral system has grown, so too have calls for its political and operational reform. Most argue that sweeping change is needed, but none agree on the shape of these reforms. Many call for a fundamental re-balancing of power between the financial institutions and other agencies, while others call for streamlined operations. In 2005, a World Summit addressed UN reform[123] and gave new impetus to reform discussions. Secretary General Kofi Annan named a "High-Level Panel" to look at how the UN system could deliver better on its development, humanitarian and environmental mandates. It released its report in 2006.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS FOR GOVERNMENT

Recognize in Canada's foreign policy the dual importance of supporting multilateralism **and** introducing much needed multilateral reform, based on the primacy of United Nations Human Rights instruments.

Support initiatives to democratize and reform all multilateral institutions.

- Enhance developing countries' power in global economic and political decision-making bodies, particularly the WTO, World Bank and IMF. (See *Point 4 Build Global Economic Justice*)
- Call for an end to all formal and informal economic, social and political policies imposed on poor countries as a condition of World Bank loans. Instead, advocate for a borrower-lender relationship based on shared obligations under international human rights law for locally determined development outcomes, as well as integrity in public financial management.
- Promote better governance, transparency and flexibility in multilateral institutions and ensure better access and voice for Civil Society Organizations.

At the United Nations, promote democratic reform in the following areas:

- Expand the Security Council to be more geographically representative without adding to the number of permanent members or members with veto power.
- Pursue efforts to strengthen the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) and increase its power in relation to the WTO, World Bank and IMF. Support initiatives to reconcile the competing or contradictory policies of these institutions and other UN agencies and treaties.
- Support development of a consultative UN parliamentary assembly (subsidiary to the General Assembly) to bring independent and diverse citizens' voices into UN debates[124] and strengthen the capacity of parliamentarians to participate in multilateral fora.
- Promote understanding and timely implementation of *Delivering as One*, and its recommendations for system-wide operational coherence among the UN's development, humanitarian assistance and environmental agencies and programs.
- Support establishment of a new consolidated UN agency for women that will have both normative and operational responsibilities, be ambitiously resourced and be led by an Under Secretary General.
- Support recently established and promising new initiatives that favour multilateral responses to pressing international problems, for example:
  - The International Criminal Court, the UN Human Rights Council, the UN Democracy Fund and the Peacebuilding Commission.
  - The responsibility to protect citizens when national authorities fail to prevent genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity or ethnic cleansing.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS

In addition to supporting the above…

Strengthen the capacity of Southern CSOs to take part in multilateral policy processes and support their participation.

Strengthen mechanisms for CSOs from North and South to work together in multilateral policy processes.

Deepen our awareness and knowledge of United Nations Human Rights instruments as tools for the promotion of global justice and poverty eradication.

Participate in coalitions of CSOs working to monitor and improve Canada's role in multilateral institutions.

The Halifax Initiative

Promoting Parliamentary Accountability for the IFIs

The Halifax Initiative is a coalition of 22 development, environment, faith-based, human rights and labour groups. It seeks to transform the International Financial Institutions (or IFIs – the World Bank, IMF and export credit agencies) so they contribute to poverty eradication, environmental sustainability, an equitable distribution of wealth and the full realization of human rights. The coalition was created in 1994 as part of a global movement to assess the role and record of these institutions on their 50th anniversary, and to lobby for IFI reform at the Halifax Summit of G7 countries in 1995. The Halifax Initiative is now a Canadian focal point for research, education and public-interest advocacy on IFI reform, and for opposition to the unsustainable policies and practices of the IFIs. CCIC is a member of the Halifax Initiative.

The World Federalist Movement – Canada

The World Federalist Movement – Canada supports initiatives that democratize and reform the UN and lead to more globally responsible Canadian policies. For example, it advocates stronger participation modalities for Civil Society Organizations and is active in the campaign for a Parliamentary Assembly at the UN. It has suggested guiding principles to help evaluate proposals for Security Council reform, including the following: 1) Opposition to more members with veto power; 2) Opposition to more permanent members; 3) Support for adding a reasonable number of non-permanent members to better reflect the distribution of world population; 4) Support for membership models that make the Council more regionally representative; and 5) Support for making the Council's working methods and procedures **more** transparent and democratically accountable.

RESOURCES

The Campaign for the Establishment of a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly (UNPA). **www.unpacampaign.org/**.

Halifax Initiative (research and action related to reform of the international financial institutions). **www.halifaxinitiative.org/index.php/**.

UN Organizational Chart. **www.un.org/aboutun/chartlg.html**.

Secretary General's High-Level Panel on UN System-wide Coherence. *Delivering as One* Report. 2006. **www.un.org/events/panel/resources/pdfs/HLP-SWC-FinalReport.pdf**.

UN Non-Governmental Liaison Service, **www.un-ngls.org/**.

Point 10:
ACHIEVE MORE AND BETTER AID

DIRECT CANADIAN OFFICIAL DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE (ODA) EXCLUSIVELY TO POVERTY REDUCTION, CONSISTENT WITH CANADA'S OBLIGATIONS TO INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS STANDARDS, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE PERSPECTIVES OF THE POOR. ESTABLISH A SPECIFIC TIMETABLE FOR INCREASING CANADIAN ODA TO REACH THE UNITED NATIONS (UN) TARGET OF 0.7% OF CANADIAN GROSS NATIONAL INCOME (GNI). ENSURE THAT CANADIAN CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS (CSOs) REFLECT A RIGHTS-BASED FRAMEWORK AND EMBODY THE PARTNERSHIP PRINCIPLES IN THE CCIC *CODE OF ETHICS* IN THEIR PROGRAMMATIC RELATIONSHIPS.

> "We will spare no effort to free our fellow men, women and children from the abject and dehumanizing conditions of extreme poverty … We are committed to making the right to development a reality for everyone and to freeing the entire human race from want."
>
> *United Nations Millennium Declaration*, Section III

Slow Progress Towards the Millennium Development Goals

Poverty is a violation of human rights on a massive scale. A billion people – most of them women – live in absolute poverty. In 2000, the members of the United Nations asserted the primacy of UN Covenants on human rights. By adopting the *Millennium Declaration,* they committed to "spare no effort" in tackling poverty. The global community also launched the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), setting minimum targets to reduce poverty, hunger, illiteracy, discrimination against women and environmental degradation by 2015.

The goals are modest, however, and progress is slow. Between 1990 and 2004, the proportion of poor people living on less than US$1 a day – which relates to the first MDG – dropped from 32% to 19%. During the same period, the numbers of poor people fell only slightly from 1.25 billion to 960 million. Many of these people live in sub-Saharan Africa, where the number of poor people is increasing. In 2006, according to the International Labour Organization (ILO), close to 200 million people were unemployed, while more than 1.4 billion working poor lived on less than US$2 a day. At the same time, more than half the world's population still has no access to basic sanitation, and more than half a million women die annually from preventable and treatable complications of pregnancy and childbirth.[125]

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Poverty and Aid

Nearly half of the world's population lives on less than US$2 a day, and account for only 5% of the world's total income.

Every day, 824 million people go to bed hungry and 50,000 die from poverty-related causes – one-third of all deaths.

In 2000, Canada contributed only 0.25% of its Gross National Income to Official Development Assistance (ODA). Modest aid increases of 8% per year since 2001 and one-time contributions to special global funds have helped somewhat. But by 2007, the ratio was only 0.30%; the face value of the cancellation of Iraq's debt to Canada represented a significant part of the aid increases in 2006 and 2007.

Source

Make Poverty History, **www.makepovertyhistory.ca**

Gender equality is the essential foundation for achieving the MDGs and all other development goals to end poverty. Yet more than 70% of those living in absolute poverty are women and girls.[126] Discrimination, disempowerment, and physical and sexual violence severely constrain their prospects.

In 2005, Kofi Annan, then UN Secretary-General, challenged Canada to do its "fair share" in a Global Partnership for Development. Doing our "fair share," however, requires significant changes in Canada's international co-operation efforts, including more and better aid.

Aid alone will not end poverty: many changes in world trading, financial and other systems are also needed. But aid is a unique and important resource and a readily available policy tool for donors, governments and Civil Society Organizations. Used strategically and effectively, aid can be a catalyst for governments in poor countries to meet the rights of their citizens for health, education and other services. It can support the efforts of poor and vulnerable people through CSOs to hold their governments to account, claim their rights and better their lives.

Enhancing Both the Quantity and Quality of Aid

The long-recognized measure of a donor country's capacity to contribute its fair share is the UN target of 0.7% of Gross National Income (GNI). In 2005, Canada's House of Commons passed a unanimous resolution calling on the federal government to set a timetable to reach this target by 2015. But both Liberal and Conservative governments have failed to do so. At the current modest rate of aid increases (8% per year), Canada will not reach the UN target before 2035! Alone among the G8 donor countries, Canada has had large fiscal surpluses each year, but has not drawn on these funds to commit to a 10-year timetable to reach the 0.7% target.

In many ways, quality of aid is as important as quantity – if not more so. The use of aid to support the political, commercial and security interests of donors can undermine its effectiveness for poverty reduction. Canadian Official Development Assistance (ODA) should exclusively target poverty reduction, respecting international human rights standards and taking into account the perspectives of the poor. Both Canada (as a donor country) and Canadian CSOs have obligations to structure their aid relationships to enable the achievement of this overarching purpose.

The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) has acknowledged the need to improve the quality of its aid by better targeting the causes and locations of poverty. Since 2000, it has increased support for basic education, primary health, HIV/AIDS and the protection of children in developing countries. By 2005, CIDA had exceeded investment targets for these areas by more than $1 billion. However, despite a majority of poor who live in rural areas, a 2004 CIDA policy to increase aid investments for small and medium-scale agriculture has not met its goals.

Since 9/11, Canadian aid has been increasingly oriented towards Canada's own security interests. Between 2000 and 2005, Afghanistan and Iraq have consumed more than 36% of new Canadian aid dollars. Moreover, Canada has been among donors at the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)'s Development Assistance Committee (DAC)[127] seeking to broaden the criteria for aid to include expenditures associated with military and security aspects of peace operations.

Ministers under both Liberal and Conservative governments have focused on high-profile, one-off "announceables" such as contributions to global health funds for HIV/AIDS and other diseases. In so doing, they have largely failed to invest in the long-term improvements in health systems needed to sustain primary health care in the poorest countries.

While CIDA policies acknowledge that gender equality is critical to poverty reduction, CIDA's annual reports to Parliament have no overall assessment of the agency's contributions in this area. In 2004-2005, only 5.1% of CIDA's bilateral disbursements listed gender equality as an objective.

Aid Effectiveness

In 2005, Canada joined 21 donors in committing to the goals of the *Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness* – an agreement 10 years in the making. The *Paris Declaration* emphasized that aid must support local ownership and align with poverty reduction strategies in developing countries; harmonize donor practices and policies; create systems to track results; and ensure mutual accountability.

Canadian and Southern CSOs welcomed many of these aid reforms. However, the impact of these reforms will be limited if donor and recipient countries ignore the following:

a) The need to measure the effectiveness of aid against its exclusive purpose – poverty reduction and respect for human rights, including gender equality;

b) The barriers to local ownership resulting from continued donor-imposed policy conditions and benchmarks attached to aid (See *Donor Conditionality* Box);

c) The need to implement gender equality policies and build gendered measurements into the planning and accountability systems governing aid;

d) The limited transparency and accountability to citizens and parliamentarians of donor-approved "country-owned" poverty reduction strategies;

e) The principles that guide unique roles for CSOs as development actors supporting "democratic ownership" and citizens' initiatives for poverty reduction. These enable CSOs to respond effectively to priorities set by beneficiary populations, not by donor institutions; and

f) The need for deeper, mutual donor-recipient accountability based on international human rights obligations.

Donor Conditionality, Local Ownership and Aid Effectiveness

The 2005 *Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness* calls for donors to deliver two thirds of their aid through direct budget support for governments in developing countries or sector-wide programs (SWAps) with government ministries, such as the Ministry of Education. In these so-called program-based approaches (PBAs), donors pool aid money, harmonize the terms of their aid relationship with the respective ministry, and align the goals of these programs with country poverty-reduction strategies. By 2006, the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) allocated about 30% of its bilateral aid through these mechanisms.

Ostensibly, program-based approaches are highly responsive to local ownership; they are intended to support the policy choices of governments in the poorest countries. However, donors who participate in PBAs – including the World Bank – bring dozens of conditions to the table. In the case of Tanzania, bilateral donors such as Canada added their own conditions to those negotiated with the Fund and the Bank: Tanzania had to complete 78 policy changes to satisfy all of its donors.

What are these conditions? As a condition for giving aid, donors demand the poorest countries open their markets to subsidized goods from Northern countries, remove barriers that protect local industry from investments by international companies against which they cannot compete, or set unrealistic goals for interest rates and inflation targets. There is wide consensus that imposing such economic conditions does not work and, in fact, makes poverty worse. Still more recently, donors have added "governance conditions" to their aid contracts; these stick their nose into how ministries should actually deliver health or education programs. According to one recent study, 82 out of an average of 114 conditions for each IMF/Bank agreement in sub-Saharan Africa had governance-related conditions.

There is a legitimate need for accountability for aid money against its stated objectives. CSOs, however, have called for an end to imposed policy conditions in aid relationships. These conditions make a mockery of "local ownership," and undermine the role of citizens and the responsibility of parliaments to establish development policies in their country. Instead, dialogue on policies between donors and recipient governments should include CSOs and citizens from North and South. This would help ensure shared accountability to international human rights obligations and independent assessments for mutual accountability.

Since 2002, Canadian aid effectiveness policies have sought to improve impact by concentrating on a narrow list of country and sector priorities. Focusing Canada's aid is no doubt essential for effectiveness, but focus cannot be reduced simplistically to a few countries or sectors such as education or health.

Aid is not an instrument for social and organizational "engineering." Consequently, donors should not focus on a sector or country with preconceived ideas about the mix of policy, resources and skills needed to achieve results. Aid interventions are most effective when they are open to the complexities, uncertainties and real situations facing people living in poverty in many different countries and regions.

Canadian aid would be more effective if it focused on selected development challenges in the poorest developing countries, all within a holistic approach to poverty eradication. Concentrating on key challenges such as gender equality or civil society strengthening would mean less arbitrary focus on countries and sectors, and less use of aid to respond to immediate foreign policy priorities.

Development practitioners in the North and the South have stressed the importance of informed and committed citizens for an overall strategy to eliminate poverty.[128] Yet there is a lack of infrastructure to support programs across the country to reinvigorate and sustain global citizenship among Canadians.

CSOs and Aid Effectiveness

CSOs are an indispensable bridge for Canadian development efforts – a bridge that links global plans to promote human rights and eradicate poverty with the local realities where poor people live. In their contributions, Canadian CSOs have recognized that local ownership is central to development. Yet, in the face of highly unequal cultural, social, economic and political power relations, they focus on the rights of vulnerable and poor people.

CSOs are important development actors in their own right. They range from community-based associations and national intermediaries to international networks commanding influence on donor governments and multilateral institutions. CSOs and social movements in the South, which seek recognition of women's rights and gender equality, land rights or decent work, have a long and rich history in organizing economic, social and political initiatives at all levels of society.

A crucial ingredient for effectiveness for Southern and Northern CSOs is an independent space to express their own development priorities, and form credible relationships of trust with local, national and international constituencies. Like all donors, Canadian CSOs are challenged to improve the quality of these relationships and recognize the inequality of power inherent within them. CCIC's *Code of Ethics* sets out important principles and operational guidelines on how to create, maintain, build and – ultimately – end partnerships. It highlights partnerships as "vehicles for long-term accompaniment that support the right of peoples to determine and carry out activities that further their own development options, through their Civil Society Organizations."[129] Adherence to the Code is a requirement of membership within CCIC. Understanding and applying principles in the Code are the foundation for effective North/South CSO relationships.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS FOR GOVERNMENT

As the foundation for renewed Canadian leadership in donor relations with developing countries and in international forums, develop a White Paper on Eliminating Global Poverty, co-ordinated by the Minister of International Cooperation. This White Paper should focus on the following tasks:

- Elaborate Canadian goals and whole-of-government strategies for ending global poverty within the context of Canada's human rights obligations and taking into account the perspectives of the poor.
- Examine the implications of a legislative accountability framework for Canadian development assistance.
- Work with other relevant federal departments to strengthen CIDA as the lead federal department with pre-eminent development knowledge and strategic resources, focused on a long-term agenda of poverty eradication.

Commit to a realistic 10-year timetable for increases in Canadian aid to achieve 0.7% of Canada's GNI to support the goals elaborated in the White Paper. This will require annual increases of 15% to the International Assistance Envelope.

Focus on four key development challenges, working with a mix of government, civil society and private sector partners to improve aid effectiveness for poverty reduction:

- Democratic governance, citizen participation and human rights;
- Sustainable livelihoods, focusing on income and livelihood options for people living in poverty, particularly the rural poor;
- Gender equality and the promotion of women's and girls' full human rights at the centre of Canadian aid's mandate for poverty reduction; and
- Social inclusion of poor and marginalized people, strengthening long-term investment in health, education and local social infrastructure.

Include principles and operational guidelines for partnerships with CSOs in Canada's aid effectiveness policies. These guidelines should acknowledge CSOs as development actors in their own right, which reach and engage beneficiary populations, build democratic participation and local ownership in the South and promote global citizenship in Canada. In this regard, CIDA and other federal departments involved in aid delivery must strengthen responsive programming. The government must not reduce CSOs to subsidiary instruments to achieve its country program priorities and objectives.

Develop a Canadian policy to promote the elimination of donor-imposed conditions and benchmarks in aid relationships. The elimination of policy conditions would not imply a lack of fiduciary accountability or policy dialogue between development partners. Rather, dialogue with developing-country counterparts should focus on locally determined policy options and mutual accountability, and take account of shared commitments to international human rights obligations.

Invest in strengthening a diversity of approaches to active Canadian global citizenship that encourage citizens' engagement with a range of global issues, beyond just an understanding of CIDA's work in developing countries. Up to 5% of CIDA's program resources should be invested in public engagement programming.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS
FOR CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS

Ensure that our own funding and working relationships with Southern CSOs reflect a rights-based framework and embody the partnership principles of the CCIC *Code of Ethics.*

Ensure respect for Southern partners' autonomy and support Southern CSO actors to play leading roles in development interventions.

Ensure that programming expands the space and builds capacities for Southern CSOs to be heard within policy dialogues at the national and international levels, including in Canada.

Participate in, and promote networking and coalition work among, CSOs to share lessons and leverage the collective strength of individual CSOs towards policy work for poverty elimination and social justice.

Expand "global citizenship" in Canada increasing opportunities for public engagement activities, motivating Canadians to participate and take action in development efforts to end poverty and injustice, and reflecting values of equity, pluralism and tolerance.

Global Call Against Poverty (GCAP) / Make Poverty History

GCAP, an alliance of CSOs in more than 100 countries, was launched in January 2005. It calls for a major increase in the quantity and quality of aid, trade justice, cancellation of the debts of poor countries and sustainable and accountable national efforts to eliminate poverty. In Canada, hundreds of CSOs are supporting this call through the Make Poverty History campaign and its sister campaign in Quebec, *Un monde sans pauvreté : Agissons !* Where one in six children live in poverty, the campaign in Canada is also calling for an end to child poverty in Canada. Through policy dialogue, public events, letter-writing campaigns and other means, charities, trade unions, faith groups, students, academics and celebrities have been raising awareness of the need for more and better aid. More than 250,000 Canadians have signed on to Make Poverty History. Hundreds of thousands of e-mails have been sent to the Prime Minister and other key decision-makers. More than 40 local Make Poverty History groups are active across the country and more than 500,000 white bands – the international symbol of the campaign – are in circulation. The simplicity of this symbol allows people all over the world to show their support for ending poverty.

CCIC *Code of Ethics* Partnership Principles

In 2004, members of the Canadian Council for International Co-operation (CCIC) added Partnership Principles to the CCIC *Code of Ethics.* All members of CCIC must certify their compliance with these principles, which guide partnerships between Northern and Southern CSOs. One key principle states that "partnerships should be vehicles for long-term accompaniment that support the rights of people to determine and carry out activities that further their own development options, through their Civil Society Organizations." Grounded in a rights-based approach of mutual respect and accountability, the Partnership Principles are an expression of what aid effectiveness means to CSOs.

RESOURCES

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Reality of Aid. **www.realityofaid.org**.

Better Aid Coalition. **http://betteraid.org**

Steve Radelet. *A Primer on Foreign Aid - Working Paper #92*. Centre for Global Development. July 2006. **www.cgdev.org/content/publications/detail/8846**.

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Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). Development Assistance Committee.

UN Financing for Development. **www.un.org/esa/ffd/**.

ENDNOTES

Introduction: Keeping Promises, Affirming Rights

1 Only six countries showed such reversals in the 1980s.

2 United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). *Human Development Report 2005. International cooperation at a crossroads: Aid, trade and security in an unequal world.* **http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/hdr05_complete.pdf**.

Point 1: Promote Women's Rights And Equality

3 *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, Article 25.

4 *The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women* (CEDAW), Article 10.

5 *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, Article 3.

6 *The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women* (CEDAW), Article 7.

7 *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights,* Article 12.

8 *Beijing Platform for Action*, paragraph 96.

9 United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) **www.unfpa.org/mothers/facts.htm**

10 CEDAW, Article 15.

11 Maureen Lewis and Marlaine Lockheed. *Inexcusable Absence: Why 60 million girls still aren't in school and what to do about it*. Center for Global Development, December 2006, p. 5. www.cgdev.org/doc/books/Inexcusable%20Absence/Overview.pdf.

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13 Plan International. *Because I am a Girl: The State of the World's Girls 2007.* **www.plan-international.org/news/becauseIamagirl/**

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15 *Ibid*.

16 United Nations Joint Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS), UNFPA and United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM). *Women and HIV/AIDS: Confronting the Crisis,* 2004. www.unfpa.org/hiv/women/docs/women_aids.pdf

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24 AWID. *Achieving Women's Economic & Social Rights: Strategies and Lessons from Experience,* p. 7, 2006. **www.awid.org/publications/ESCR%20Report.pdf**

25 Data on all six official indicators for MDG3 are available for only 59 out of 154 developing countries (for 2000 – 2005), and even fewer countries have time series data that would allow tracking over time. World Bank, *Global Monitoring Report 2007: Millennium Development Goals – Confronting the Challenge of Gender Equality and Fragile States.* Washington. www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/IW3P/IB/2007/04/11/000112742_20070411162802/Rendered/PDF/394730GMR02007.pdf
The UN is attempting to address this gap through its publications *The World's Women: Progress in Statistics,* available at **http://unstats.un.org/unsd/Demographic/products/indwm/wwpub.htm**.

26 CCIC calculation based on CIDA project coding, 2004-2005.

27 These include ILO Convention N° 97 concerning "Migration for Employment" (1949); ILO Convention No 143 concerning "Migration in Abusive Conditions and the Promotion of Equality of Opportunity and the Treatment of Migrant Workers" (1975); the *International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of all Migrant Workers and Members of their Families* (1990); and the United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children. 2000 **www.uncjin.org/Documents/Conventions/dcatoc/final_documents_2/convention_%20traff_eng.pdf**

Point 2: Promote Health And Education For All

28 Rights listed in the box are edited for length; see full version for all details.

29 World Health Organization (WHO). Commission on Social Determinants of Health. **www.who.int/social_determinants/en/**

30 Global AIDS Alliance. **www.globalaidsalliance.org/issues/end_poverty/**

31 10/90 gap is a phrase that was coined following the statistical findings of the Commission on Health Research in 1990. More recent studies by the Global Forum for Health Research and others continue to demonstrate that health research applied to the needs of developing countries remains grossly under-resourced in many areas. The term "10/90 gap," while not representing a current quantitative measure, has become a symbol of the continuing mismatch between needs and investments. **www.globalforumhealth.org/Site/003__The%2010%2090%20gap/001__Now.php**

32 While community and Civil Society Organizations often play key roles in service delivery in developing countries, especially in the informal sector, this is largely in the context of state inaction or inability. There is no single approach for how states and countries should address citizens' needs for health and education services, but CCIC members stress the primary obligation of states to fulfill basic rights and the key need for accessible public services as part of this, particularly to ensure access for the most marginalized .

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43 UNICEF. *HIV/AIDS and Children*, **www.unicef.org/aids/index_35330.html**.

44 The Third World Network. Martin Khor (2007) *Patents, Compulsory License and Access to Medicines: Some Recent Experiences.* **www.twnside.org.sg/title2/par/TRIPS.flexibilities.30jan07.with.cover.doc**.

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Point 3: Promote The Right To Food And Ensure Sustainable Livelihoods For Food Producers In Developing Countries

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Point 4: Build Global Economic Justice

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Point 5: Ensure Corporate Accountability

88 For example: secretive and closed trade arbitration panels constrain rights to democratic process and participation; means to ensure foreign investment contributes to specific development and employment goals through performance measures are banned; means to facilitate technology transfer, dissemination of knowledge or low-cost medicines are prevented through high intellectual property standards, etc. (See *Point 4 on Global Economic Justice* for more on trade and investment rules.)

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92 This was built iteratively in three ways: through the media and public outreach work of Canadian CSOs working with their partners; the work of a parliamentary committee that, in 2005, recommended that Canada adopt policy and legal changes to hold Canadian extractive companies accountable for their activities abroad; and, recommendations from an expert advisory process, which was generated by government-initiated roundtables on the extractive sector in 2006-2007, in follow-up to the parliamentary committee's report.

93 *Ibid.*

94 ETAG members include CCIC, Canadian Auto Workers, Canadian Labour Congress, Canadian Union of Public Employees, KAIROS, the Maquila Solidarity Network, Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation, Oxfam Canada, Steelworkers Humanity Fund and UNITE-HERE.

95 CNCA members include: Amnesty International Canada, Africa-Canada Forum, Asia Pacific Working Group, Americas Policy Group, Canadian Labour Congress, Canada Tibet Committee, CAW-Canada, Development and Peace, Entraide Missionnaire, Friends of the Earth (Canada), GlobalAware Canada, Halifax Initiative Coalition, International Criminal Defence Attorneys Association, Inter Pares, KAIROS, MiningWatch Canada, North South Institute, Rights & Democracy, Steelworkers Humanity Fund, United Church of Canada.

Point 6: Promote Peace

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Point 7: Promote Global Environmental Justice

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114 Oxfam International: researchers have predicted that, as a result of a global temperature rise of less than 2.5°C, 55 to 65 million more Africans will be at risk of hunger by the 2080s.

See *Africa – Up in Smoke?* **www.oxfam.org.uk/resources/policy/climate_change/downloads/africa_up_in_smoke.pdf** and *Up In Smoke? – Latin America and the Caribbean,* for further detail on current and expected impacts of climate change, www.oxfam.org.uk/resources/policy/climate_change/downloads/latin_america_up_in_smoke.pdf.

Point 8: Support Democratic Governance and Global Citizenship

115 See *Point 6 on Promoting Peace* and security for further information.

116 Global Environment Facility (GEF). **www.gefweb.org/main.htm**.

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Point 9: Build A Democratic and Effective Multilateral System

118 Permanent members of the Security Council are China, France, the Russian Federation, UK and USA. The UN General Assembly elects 10 others for two-year terms.

119 Report of the Secretary General's High-Level Panel on UN System-wide Coherence – *Delivering as One*. **www.un.org/events/panel/resources/pdfs/HLP-SWC-FinalReport.pdf**.

120 Canadians organized the first big civil society lobby at a UN event – the 1974 World Food Summit. A Canadian was the founding director of the UN Non-Governmental Liaison Service, established in 1975 to support the participation of Civil Society Organizations from all continents in the UN system. Since then, hundreds of Canadian organizations and civil society coalitions, with their Southern counterparts, have partnered with and monitored UN bodies and taken part in UN Summits, Forums, policy processes and debates.

121 United Nations Organizational chart. **www.un.org/aboutun/chartlg.html**.

122 The **"Specialized Agencies"** with which CCIC members are most concerned are (with founding dates): International Labour Organization (1919); International Monetary Fund (1944); Food and Agriculture Organization (1945); World Bank Group (1945); UN Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (1946); World Health Organization (1948); International Atomic Energy Agency (1957); International Fund for Agricultural Development (1977); World Trade Organization (replacing the GATT, 1995). Funds and programs of special interest to CCIC members include: UNICEF (1946); UN High Commission for Refugees (1950); World Food Programme (1961); UN Development Programme (1965); UN Population Fund (1969); UN Environment Programme (1972); UN Development Fund for Women (1976); UN Habitat (1978).

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Point 10: Achieve More And Better Aid

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128 See *Point 8 on Support Democratic Governance and Global Citizenship* for more information.

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Notes

A NOTE ABOUT THE MAKING OF THE 10-POINT AGENDA....

The *10-Point Agenda to End Poverty and Injustice* sets out a Canadian civil society vision of how Canada can help to end global poverty and injustice. It reflects current trends and challenges and calls for changes in policy and practice for government and civil society organizations in ten key areas.

Why a *10-Point Agenda* now? This is the second edition of the *10-Point Agenda*, first launched in 1997. The events of 9-11, the rise of the security agenda, the persistent erosion of effective multilateral approaches, and the dysfunction of the global trade system have dramatically altered the prospects for promoting a peaceful world without poverty. It is time to take stock and set out a forward-looking agenda.

How was this *10-Point Agenda* achieved? The collaboration and participation of CCIC members in developing the *10-Point Agenda* was key. It was more than a year in the making. The ten themes and their recommendations were debated, refined and agreed on.

The *10-Point Agenda* shows the determination of CCIC members to work together to end global poverty. It underscores our commitment to justice. It reflects our belief that the struggle to escape poverty and live a life of human dignity is the struggle to claim human rights.

The *10-Point Agenda* is our roadmap for action towards a progressive international agenda for Canada.

Join us.

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1 Nicholas Street, Suite 300
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 7B7
Tel.: 613-241-7007 | Fax: 613-241-5302
Visit our web site at www.ccic.ca

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