



ROUND TABLE

“THE 21<sup>st</sup> CENTURY,  
A CENTURY OF GLOBAL  
INTERDEPENDENCE AND SOLIDARITY”



Event organised in partnership with the Lisbon Municipality

# ROUND TABLE

“THE 21<sup>st</sup> CENTURY, A CENTURY OF GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE AND SOLIDARITY”

In the context of the 20<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the North-South Centre of the Council of Europe



Event organised by the North-South Centre of the Council of Europe in partnership with the Lisbon Municipality







## Foreword

On the occasion of its 20<sup>th</sup> Anniversary, the North-South Centre of the Council of Europe asked the North-South Prize winners for a written reflection on the theme: “The 21<sup>st</sup> Century, a century of global interdependence and solidarity”. Following this initiative, a Round Table on the same theme took place on 18 May 2010, in Lisbon, with the participation of not only several North-South Prize laureates but also distinct personalities, including representatives of governments, parliaments, local and regional authorities and civil society, reflecting the “quadrilogue” nature of the functioning the North-South Centre.

This publication integrates the written contributions of former prize winners as well as the speeches of all the participants of the Round Table on “Global Interdependence and Solidarity in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century”.

To all who have invested their time in this reflection, the North-South Centre addresses its most sincere acknowledgements.



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## Preface

### **Message from Mr Aníbal Cavaco Silva, President of the Republic of Portugal**

*President Cavaco Silva has played a determining role in the creation of the European Centre for Global Interdependence and Solidarity, since in 1988, during his time as Prime Minister that he proposed the creation of an organisation dedicated to global interdependence based in Lisbon. Since then, he has provided continuous support to the North-South Centre of the Council of Europe.*

### **The 20<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the European Centre for Global Interdependence and Solidarity**

**T**he 20<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the North-South Centre – the name by which the European Centre for Global Interdependence and Solidarity came to be known – which is celebrated this year, is motive for justifiable satisfaction of all of its member States and for the different partners who have co-operated with it throughout the two decades.

Portugal is proud to host the headquarters of the Centre in Lisbon, a sign of the support of our country for the ideals of the Council of Europe, as well as the tradition of universalism and openness to dialogue which characterises our relationship with other peoples and cultures.

The North-South Centre was created in 1989, following a proposal that I had the honour of presenting, as Prime Minister, to the Council of Europe. Its existence is the result of a need felt by a group of European states for a greater co-ordination of efforts in approaching the different aspects related to global interdependence and solidarity, in the context of dialogue between the North and the South. The evolution of the international reality and, in particular, the effects of the intensification of globalisation came to clearly demonstrate that it was an opportune and correct decision.

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Since its foundation, the North-South Centre has kept a close connection with the Council of Europe, benefiting from its experience in the creation of a Europe based on peace and solidarity, while simultaneously contributing to the deepening of European co-operation faced with the multiple challenges posed by global interdependence.

The affirmation of the universality of fundamental rights and freedoms, and the promotion of Peace, Democracy and the Rule of Law, key issues in the world of today, are transversely present in the activities that the Centre develops, giving it a determining role in the protection of these values beyond the European space.

The world has changed profoundly in the last two decades. We live in a time marked by issues whose complexity and global nature require a greater capacity of mobilisation from the international community.

International migration, climate change or food security are themes that directly or indirectly affect all regions and are decisive in the construction of a world of peace, stability and economic and social progress which we all wish for. The same can be said of poverty, hunger, access to healthcare and education or the protection of human dignity. These issues are present in the dialogue between the North and the South and they require a co-operation between peoples and nations.

The Centre has known how to adapt to changes occurring in the international context by incorporating alterations which allow it to mobilise with renewed vigour its state partners, local and regional authorities, and civil society organisations.

It is worth remembering that the North-South Centre began its activities in 1989, with no more than ten member States. On 1 March of this year, as a sign of the progress achieved since then, Cape Verde became the twenty-second member State, the second non-European member and the first member from the sub-Saharan region.

The increase in the number of member States of the North-South Centre is an obvious sign of its vitality and of the validity of its mission in today's world, in the interest of a rising number of partners, from both the North and the South, who seek to be associated to its activities.

It is my firm conviction – and the global crisis that we are facing makes it even clearer – that the mission of the North-South Centre remains as relevant, as current and as necessary today as it was 20 years ago.

The celebration of the 20<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the North-South Centre is therefore an opportunity to look to the future, renewing our commitment to the fundamental objectives and values that guide its work.

Moreover, it is a privileged occasion to pay homage to all those who, throughout these twenty years, have given their best effort on behalf of these principles and values.

*Aníbal Cavaco Silva*





## Preface

### **Message from Mr José Manuel Barroso, President of the European Commission**

**W**e are celebrating today the culminating point of the 20<sup>th</sup> Anniversary festivities marking the creation of the North-South Centre. Under the motto “One World, Our World”, the celebrations of the 20<sup>th</sup> Anniversary reflect the wish of the Centre to emphasise its history and achievements, as well as to honour the famous and the less famous personalities who have played a part in its creation and its development. This gives us all an opportunity to take a forward-looking perspective on our common objectives and to examine the challenges facing modern societies today.

The North-South Centre mirrors the interdependent nature of our global world, and addresses the challenges that this poses through dialogue, partnership and solidarity, values that are shared by the European Union.

The EU has since the inception of the North-South Centre sought to contribute to its development and made use of its achievements to promote common values within and beyond Europe. The North-South Centre’s work in promoting dialogue and co-operation between Europe, the South of the Mediterranean and Africa is as needed today as it was 20 years ago. The tasks and responsibilities have not decreased – on the contrary, and I am particularly pleased that the North-South Centre and the EU work together to promote co-operation between Africa and European youth organisations.

Sustainable development must be built on our shared values. 2010 is a critical year for development at the global level. With only five years remaining before the agreed 2015 deadline for reaching the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs),

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there is now an urgent need to strengthen political commitment and take concrete actions to achieve sustainable results.

I am convinced that with the right policies, strong local political commitment, adequate levels and quantity of investment and broad international support, the MDG are achievable.

Last month, the European Commission proposed a comprehensive EU Action Plan with concrete and tangible measures in support of the MDGs.

Building on these proposals, the EU is currently preparing its common position for the High Level Plenary Meeting in New York in September, which will review progress and look at how the international community as a whole can work together to achieve the MDGs between now and 2015. As the world's biggest donor, the EU is ready to lead by example, but substantial progress on the MDGs depends on all actors. I would like to commend the important role the North-South Centre plays in raising awareness and bringing the issue of global citizenship onto the agenda through its work in education.

The European Commission looks forward to continue contributing to the "bridge builder" role, which the North-South Centre has assumed for the last 20 years.



## Preface

### **Message from Mr Manuel Brito, Representative of Mr António Costa, Mayor of Lisbon**

Lisboa é uma cidade de migrantes, emigrantes e imigrantes. É uma cidade que gosta de receber todos os viajantes, uma cidade de encontro de mundos e culturas e é, sem dúvida, desde sempre, uma cidade multicultural.

Desta forma, Lisboa só se pode sentir orgulhosa por, há 20 anos, ser a cidade de acolhimento do Centro Norte-Sul e dos seus princípios de respeito pelos Direitos Humanos, Cidadania e Estado de Direito.

Ao fim de 20 anos de trabalho em prol dos Direitos Humanos e da Cidadania, esses objectivos fundadores, extrapolaram o seu conceito inicial, evoluíram e hoje, as iniciativas do Centro Norte-Sul estendem-se pelos campos do diálogo intercultural, das mais diversas parcerias e da solidariedade.

Registo, no respeitante ao diálogo intercultural, que a linha de actuação tem sido sobretudo a de aprender, escutando os outros, com toda a humildade, partindo do princípio que temos sempre mais para aprender, uns com os outros, do que propriamente ensinar algo a alguém.

Saliento igualmente as parcerias que unem, em torno dos mesmos objectivos, governos, parlamentos, autoridades locais e regionais, ONG's e a sociedade civil – as quais têm criado fortes sinergias que permitem resultados ímpares, nas áreas sociais, económicas e políticas.

Assinalo, por último o factor solidariedade que, pretendendo-se que esteja presente em todas as iniciativas, constata-se quotidianamente que, só através de uma globalização e de uma cidadania solidária, poderemos garantir o respeito pelos direitos fundamentais defendidos de há muito pelo Conselho da Europa.

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É também para mim uma grande satisfação – enquanto cidadão europeu e cidadão do mundo, preocupado com os que me rodeiam e com o mundo em que vivemos – que registo que o trabalho desenvolvido pelo Centro Norte-Sul, traduz a dedicação e o empenho pela construção de uma sociedade mais justa, respeitadora da dignidade da pessoa humana ou dos direitos da criança pugnando, em suma, pelos princípios da tolerância, do diálogo e da coesão social.

É para mim uma grande honra enquanto Vereador, em representação do Sr. Presidente da Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, poder colaborar e apoiar as iniciativas do Centro Norte-Sul, em especial neste ano em que se comemora o vigésimo aniversário da sua implementação.

Só me resta agradecer a presença de todos saudando, em nome de Lisboa, o Centro Norte-Sul do Conselho da Europa, pelo excelente trabalho que tem vindo a desenvolver desde a sua fundação – que a todos nos honra e que nos garante que a sua missão está progressivamente a ser cumprida.

Continuem o vosso bom trabalho, que nós, do nosso lado, continuaremos a apoiá-los no que estiver ao nosso alcance. Aqui mesmo, em Lisboa, cidade milenar, que é justamente a capital europeia do Atlântico.

Muito obrigado!



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**Towards a New  
Development Model?**



## Key Challenges for Development Policies

**Nyamko Sabuni**

“Towards a New Model of Development”, as is the title of this session, is a topic that raises a range of associations depending on the perspective one has on development in general.

On the one hand, those that consider development to be purely related to economic and social factors. On the other hand, those that put the focus almost exclusively on political issues, such as good governance, democracy, the rule of law and the strengthening of human rights.

In my view, such a distinction is artificial.

The Swedish government, for many decades already, has adopted a notion of development, which has tried to bridge these two views.

Today, this approach is embodied in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). These pick up a much more humane understanding of development and go beyond the two schools of thought. In this sense, the MDGs are already a major step forward “toward a new model of development”.

Yet, in spite of the existence of the MDGs, today’s development policies do still face serious challenges. These challenges need to be identified and addressed by all relevant stakeholders, both internationally and nationally.

First of all, development policy must strongly counter the abuse of women’s rights. Human rights are not only universal and indispensable, they are colour-blind and gender-blind. Although the MDGs address this issue, we are still light years away, not only in the developing world, but even in our own Western

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societies. All too often, today's development policies are still being implemented in a way that obviously underestimates the role that women play in development.

There are three areas that I consider to be of utmost importance for tomorrow's understanding of what development policies also should contain.

Also, I am of the opinion that the North South Centre, which has proven, throughout the years, to be an actor of development and an important partnership-builder between developing and developed countries, can continue to play an important role. In particular through its global education and youth programme, in working towards overcoming some of the challenges I will now mention:

First, despite all the progress in terms of women's rights, there are several areas of concern. In many places, women remain second-class citizens. Women are forced into trafficking, prostitution and under-age marriage. Women are discriminated against, beaten, mutilated and killed.

Women are denied opportunities to learn, study, work and enjoy their fundamental human rights. This is true for all continents, including Western countries. The question is why oppression of women remains deep-rooted 50 years after the Universal Declaration of Human Rights? Of course, there is no simple explanation. Different ideologies provide different answers.

I would like to highlight the role of culture and religion. The major religions have, in different ways, been misused to portray women as inferior to men. The end result is a structure that enables men to use pressure on women and girls, and ultimately punish perceived misbehaviour. Let me be clear: You can never excuse, accept or tolerate discrimination of women as part of a religious or cultural context.

This brings me to my second point, the issue of women's right to their own body and sexuality. Issues concerning the fifth Millennium Development Goal. You are familiar with the statistics. Half a million women and girls die each year as a result of pregnancy or child birth. This means that one woman or girl dies every minute. A significant part of the maternal deaths are due to lack of access to safe and legal abortions, especially in Africa. 70 000 women and girls die as a result of unsafe abortions and an unknown number die as a result of female genital mutilation. Giving birth to a child should be one of the greatest moments in a person's life. When a mother dies in connection to child birth or pregnancy, it is an enormous tragedy. To fight maternal mortality and disability as a result of pregnancy and childbirth should be a priority for every country and government. This is a serious human rights issue. Women and girls die because political leaders do not focus on women's health. Because resources are not provided. Because women are denied the right to their own bodies and sexuality. Here North-South Centre could make a difference by approaching these issues in contact with, and in education for young people.

Third, I would like to express my concern with the current situation for the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgendered (LGBT) community. I find it shocking and completely unacceptable that in 2010 people are discriminated, imprisoned and beaten because of their sexuality.

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Because they happen to love a person of the same sex. Countries introduce laws that forbid youth to obtain information on homosexuality. Countries even impose death sentences. We see this in Europe as in Africa. This reminds us of the fact that we should not point fingers at others before we manage to do our own homework.

Two months ago the Council of Europe adopted a recommendation on measures to combat discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation or gender identity. I am proud to say that this is another big step taken by European countries towards fulfilment of each and every human right.

Finally, a few words about development and democracy. We need to remember that democracy is, first and foremost, not about democratic institutions. We have parliaments, parties, universal suffrage and constitutional rights. My concern is that the institutions and letters do not create participation. Today, many people are not satisfied to vote once in a while. People are not trustful of either the politicians or the institutions. We can see that there are an increasing number of people who feel they do not belong. They feel they are not being listened to. They feel they do not have the tools or the ability to participate. They do not feel safe and secure enough in their basic needs, their human rights, to engage in matters beyond their immediate concerns. For the poorest, the deprivation of food hinders democratic participation.

For people in the richest countries, the deprivation of meaning and trust shuts them out from democratic participation. Democracy is not a challenge only to countries without the institutions or with newly established ones.

It is a challenge for all of us. Our institutions were created before the take-off of globalisation, before the fall of the Berlin Wall and before the introduction of the Internet. We need to ask ourselves, how do we involve and create a meaningful participation in the decision-making for citizens?

I am certain that both human rights and democracy need to be translated into systematic programmes of renewal and action. Here, once again, the North-South Centre plays an important role.

Integration, gender equality and not least development policies are often not prioritised during periods of economic downturn – like the one we are presently facing. My message today is that governments need to look beyond short-term gains when making its priorities – if not, we risk major future social costs. Investments in better integration, gender equality and development policies are investments for the future.





## On a New Economic Model

**Abderrahman Youssoufi**

There is evidence that countries that have a national social protection system and social safety nets have withstood the crisis better and have been able to mitigate the effects. The stability of an economic system, its competitiveness and its capacity to withstand crisis are therefore closely linked to the existence of mechanisms and instruments that provide social cohesion.

Good governance throughout the world is also a key to stability and shared prosperity. The crisis has revealed to what extent good governance in the world of crisis is essential for the stability of the global economical system and for a shared prosperity. The importance of good governance is related to its capacity to moralise economic actions, to promote ethical business and positive regulation of unforeseeable fluctuations in the financial and non-financial markets, as well as to pre-empt uncertainties and different risks linked to natural, industrial or post-industrial disasters.

The ideal institutional framework is the best instrument for this good governance and can be found in international co-ordination and regional co-ordination of economic policies. This co-ordination should be based on managing economic policies, strategic planning and market planning, based on follow-up procedures, evaluation, control and oversight of financial stock markets and economic indicators.

Regarding a new economic model, I think the key lesson of the economic and financial international crisis is the awareness on the part of the world system of the need to bring about a radical change of the modern economic model of this world, because it destroys natural systems, it destabilises social links, it produces exclusion and increased inequalities, it brings about conflicts and violence, religious wars and strife between cultures and civilisations, and it destroys diversity, social inter-generalisation and international solidarity.

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This rupture therefore requires an audacious early preparation on the part of all protagonists of change in our society and also bringing together human, technological, financial and managerial conditions in order to promote methods of promotion and trade to produce goods and equipment in sufficient quantity to feed the entire world population with quality goods that are less expensive and sustainable. This on the basis of clean technology and energy that will protect the environment and the health of citizens, whilst preserving the well-being of future generations. This means that replacing the current economic model by something that we could call a sustainable economic model.

These are the keys lessons to be drawn from the last two decades of development policy and implementing them requires a strong political will on the part of active parties in the international community, a radical rethinking of governance in the world's system, a general mobilisation of citizens and civil society and an active solidarity between the North and South. All this within the framework of a shared vision with regard to the destiny of the world, taking into account different cultural civilisation models.



## Climate Change: Adaptation and Mitigation in North- South Co-operation

**Ólafur Ragnar Grímsson**

Your Excellencies Ladies and Gentlemen, it is both an honour and a personal pilgrimage to return to the Council of Europe, especially the venue of the North-South Centre, rooted in a dialogue initiated three decades ago by the Parliamentary Assembly.

In the early 1980s, I had the great fortune, as a young member of the Icelandic Parliament, to be sent to Strasbourg and enter what was indeed a high-level practical training in European affairs and international relations. Through the Parliamentary Assembly and its committees, one could witness the spectrum of European affairs and learn to work with people from different political parties and diverse political cultures. Together with my university education, the involvement in the Parliamentary Assembly was the most significant training experience of my career, making me better equipped to represent my country and engage in wide-ranging international endeavours.

This dimension of the Council of Europe, how it moulds the vision and capabilities of elected representatives who work together in that unique forum, has perhaps not been sufficiently recognised in the evaluation of the Council's contribution to European development. The dialogue, reports and resolutions which ultimately led to the 1984 Conference, "North-South: Europe's Role," here in Lisbon reflected a new dimension, and signalled that the Council would not restrict itself to Europe alone but would also begin to examine global issues, to define Europe's role in dealing with some of the great challenges of our times.

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The Conference was, I believe, the largest gathering of European Parliamentarians that had been assembled up to then in order to discuss economic and social development within the North-South context. It was strongly influenced by the Brandt Report and thus it was only natural that Willy Brandt should be invited to deliver the Keynote Address. In selecting the other speakers, we demonstrated that the Council desired to engage other continents in this new European dialogue. Narasimha Rao, then Foreign Minister of India, and later Prime Minister, spoke on behalf of the Non-Aligned countries in the South and the distinguished Mexican diplomat, and later political leader, Porfirio Muñoz Ledo, represented the G77, a group of developing countries within the United Nations.

Furthermore, international bodies like the World Bank, the IMF, the OECD and various UN Agencies were involved in this policy process. For me it was a heavy responsibility but also a rewarding experience to be the rapporteur and later the chairman of the committee responsible for the Conference. Today, I want to recognise the great contribution made by Hans de Jonge, one of the most able officials to serve at the Council of Europe, and also to thank my old friend António Guterres, then a young member of the Portuguese Parliament, and later Prime Minister of this marvellous country, for his interest in bringing the Conference to Lisbon. It was an unforgettable experience when the three of us, all rather young, sat down at a luncheon with the Prime Minister at the time, Mario Soares, to convince him, successfully as it turned out, that the Government and the Parliament of Portugal should take this opportunity to exercise leadership and help to lead Europe on a new and important journey. Today I pay homage to this history and thank the leaders of Portugal for embracing our vision in a determined way, establishing in due course the North-South Centre to institutionalise the continuation of our joint effort.

But I also refer to these endeavours of more than a quarter of a century ago in order to remind us of the fundamental changes which have taken place, both in the North and in the South; changes which must in the decades to come profoundly affect our efforts and our vision. In the North, the Council of Europe now embraces 47 democratic countries and the European Union has grown to 27 member States.

In the South, China and India have in the new century become global economic powers and the strength of Asia has enabled it to weather the current financial crisis much better than Europe and the United States.

In Africa and Latin America, democracy has gained formidable ground. The relationship between good governance and successful development which the World Bank made a guiding principle during Jim Wolfensohn's leadership has now become a pillar of North-South co-operation. The enhanced significance of the South for Europe, and indeed for the entire Western World, has been formally recognised by adding the G20 meetings to those of the G8.

The interdependence of the North and the South is, however, most critical in urgent global endeavours directed at preventing irreversible climate change. The melting of the Antarctic ice cap and of glaciers in Northern countries will transform the oceans, leading to rising sea levels in distant countries and threatening the livelihood of farmers and fishermen, city dwellers and villagers, in Asia and Africa, with serious consequences in both the Americas.



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The future of Bangladesh and the Maldives is now intertwined with what happens in the Arctic. Never before has the whole world been so interconnected in the face of a major adversity. Our common fate is the core of the defining challenge of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Many policymakers are justly concerned about climate change. But the climate crisis is primarily a call for a fundamental energy revolution, a comprehensive change from fossil fuel to green energy sources such as solar, wind, geothermal, hydro, biomass and others.

In all of these categories, the nations of the South enjoy a richer potential than those of the North. Thus, a green energy era could become a century of progress for the developing world. It is fascinating to think how the green energy achievements made in recent decades, principally in the Western World, could, within the right policy framework, be of great benefit to the developing countries, to Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Bright sunlight and strong prevailing winds characterise conditions in the South. What is less well known is the abundance of valuable geothermal resources which in many ways are the golden secret of the global energy debate. Although we all learn in school that there is a huge fireball inside the Earth, we tend to forget or ignore its enormous energy potential. With modern drilling and engineering technologies, it is now possible to harness this heat for the benefit of economic and social development, rural and urban electricity production, the creation of industrial regions and organic agriculture, for aluminium smelters and greenhouses alike, for spas and data storage centres.

The great advantage of geothermal, solar, wind and other green energy sources is that the scale of investments can be tailored to the need. The excess capacity and huge initial investment costs inherent in big coal and nuclear power plants are absent from the equation. The tapping of solar, wind and geothermal sources can be adjusted to the needs of a small village, a few households, a growing town or emerging industrial projects. It can then be scaled upwards with each stage of successful development. A few decades ago, when we assembled for the North-South Conference here in Lisbon, this energy dimension was entirely absent from the formulation of development strategies, simply because the technological evolution of green energy was still in its early stages. Now, however, developing countries can base their prosperity on proven green energy technologies that can be tailored to every stage of development and to the needs of different regions. With respect to their geothermal potential, most countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America are still in the early stages of this process. China has recently discovered how many coal plants can be replaced by geothermal sources for urban space heating. Indonesia and the Philippines are planning increased electricity generation from geothermal sources. In East Africa, countries like Kenya and Djibouti are looking at this resource in a fresh way, as are many countries in Central and South America. In fact, there are about 100 countries, mostly in the South, that have a considerable geothermal potential. For them, the example of my country can provide both an inspiration and concrete practical lessons. In my youth, over 80% of Iceland's energy consumption was provided for by fossil fuel in the form of imported coal and oil. We were a poor nation, primarily of farmers

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and fishermen, classified by the UNDP as a developing country right down to the 1970s. Now, despite the effects of the present financial crisis, we are among the most prosperous nations in the world, largely due to the transformation which made our electricity production and space heating 100% based on clean energy. The magnet nature of clean energy production is especially important for 21<sup>st</sup> century IT investments, for software and information based companies. In ever-growing numbers they are willing to go anywhere in the world if they can gain permanent and secure access to clean energy, thus becoming well positioned when a global carbon tax, in one form or another, will be introduced. For this reason alone, an abundance of clean energy could give developing countries a strategic advantage in the 21<sup>st</sup> century global economy.

In recent years we have gained increasing awareness of how our world is in fact a single eco-system, how developments in a particular area of the grand mechanism of our existence may have hitherto undreamt-of consequences in another. Perhaps the most dramatic contemporary manifestation of this interdependence is the relationship we have come to understand between climate change and the destruction of the soil, and how this constitutes a vicious circle.

As land loses its cover and vegetation retreats, its capacity to capture carbon is reduced, and this in turn accelerates climate change. Warmer years may result in droughts, affecting water resources and an endless number of eco-systems, and often furthering the spread of dangerous diseases. Environmental challenges can thus translate into human conflicts, soil erosion becoming the root cause of humanitarian crises, with vicious and tragic ethnic confrontations. The crisis in Darfur is but one example. In a score of countries, in Africa, Asia and other parts of the world, the deteriorating quality of the land and the enlargement of the deserts threaten to sow the seeds of crises and conflicts in the years to come. We need to move on from the old ways of looking at national, regional and international security towards the unfamiliar yet urgent challenges that lie ahead. Let me mention some:

- The widespread water crises caused by the drying up of rivers, lakes and the spreading of deserts. Many of the Earth's biggest rivers run through a number of countries. Their drying up could cause nations to take drastic measures, and even military action, to secure their own water supplies.
- In all continents, the reduction of arable land will have a severe impact on food security and may create an acute crisis for even hundreds of millions of people. Conflicts over water and land, the basis of agricultural production, have historically led to wars in Europe and could do so elsewhere in the new century.
- Climate refugees could bring migration between states, regions and even continents to a level hitherto unknown. Almost two billion Asians live within 35 miles of the coastlines and a large proportion of them could lose their homes as a result of rising sea levels.
- Fragile states could be in danger of collapsing, and some small island states may see most or all of their territories disappear. Thus, entire state structures could wither away, leaving the populations in a political no-man's land and en-

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tirely reliant on aid from abroad. Similarly, communities within states with special ethnic or historical characteristics might see their land destroyed, causing great strains on the capacity of their national governments.

- Humanitarian crises caused by extreme weather events will also become more frequent and more dramatic. Where many of these occur simultaneously, it would severely test the capacity of the existing international institutions. No one will be immune from these threats and we must therefore seek guidance from the heritage that has grown out of earlier experience and model our actions with respect to frameworks already in existence, on treaties and institutions, both regional and global, which provide the pillars of the existing international community.

Dialogue on how this should be done, how to proceed from analysis to preventive action, how to extend and develop this new international framework, must now become a clear priority of the North-South dialogue. We must improve co-operation on research and thus foster the growth of a global community of committed scientists who will collaborate with governments and international authorities and engage both the private sector and civil society to think in constructive and novel ways. If the four pillars of modern society – governments, scientific communities, business sectors and civic associations – can unite and combine their resources, we can indeed build the foundations for constructive and lasting success.

We need a visionary collaboration, accompanied by an invitation to all concerned citizens to become involved, to be heard and counted. That was indeed the vision that inspired the North-South Conference here in Lisbon a quarter of a century ago and consequently led to the foundation of the Centre; a vision based on democratic involvement by elected representatives and active citizens, on joint determination to create a better world. That was our mission then. That indeed is our mission now.



## What Development Model? – New Pathways for Europe

**Mário Soares**

I am really very pleased and honoured to be here at the Round Table, *On Global Interdependence and Solidarity*, organized by the North-South Centre, to reflect jointly on a new development model. I have only five minutes to speak, but I will make the most of them.

At a time of acute global crisis, not only financial crisis but also an economical, political, social and environmental crisis, there cannot be a topic more important for citizens than that of reflecting on a new development model. But what model? And who has the courage to fight for it and to defend it in public?

Barack Obama has given very lucid and humanist speeches, very utopian speeches in which he talks about a new paradigm. But what does he mean by a new paradigm and with how much realism does he speak?

As for the causes of the crisis, rooted in speculative capitalism, known as “casino capitalism”, we need new ethical values to, once again, guide economies and to ensure that globalisation is guided by strict rules, so that we put an end to tax havens and to criminal speculation, very often virtual speculation. We have to ensure that those who were responsible for this crisis do not get away scot free, perhaps in the United States this is beginning to be done, by punishing at least some of the speculators severely, but not with the necessary energy or with the energy we had hoped for.

However in the European Union, in recent years, we have had no political leaders with similar courage, and we need to have that.

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The rule up until 8 days ago, and mark my word, 8 days ago, the rule was to change as little as possible, to ensure that all things stay the same. In the absence of a joint strategy to attack the crisis, each of the 27 Member States followed a selfish policy of “each man for himself”, unlike one of the founding principles of the European Community, that of solidarity and equality between all Member States, the attack on the single currency the Euro carried out against Greece was contained only in extremis, with the creation, or at least the announcement of the creation, of the European Monetary Fund. But that is not enough, other countries are on the verge of suffering other speculative attacks including Spain, Portugal, Ireland, Italy, and possibly even France. That is the situation in which we live.

Mrs Merkel was forced to say that “an attack on the single currency is an attack on the European project”, therefore implying as a defence a European economic government and a political Europe, things which do not exist.

In my opinion it would be good if we embarked on that pathway, as the only pathway able to lead us out of the crisis and create a new development level with social and environmental policies that ensure the well-being of our peoples. In order to reduce poverty and the scourge of unemployment as well as substantial attacks on the planet, which explain many of the natural catastrophes that we have suffered in recent times. I end by saying that I have many doubts that today’s European leaders have the capacity and the courage for this endeavour.





## Future Challenges for North-South Co-operation

Lloyd Axworthy

More than a decade has passed since the Ottawa Treaty banning antipersonnel landmines became a reality, and since I received the North-South Prize for my involvement with this initiative. At that time we had high hopes for the treaty, but we could not have predicted the scope of the impact it would have. Today we can see the results directly.

According to the 2009 Landmine Monitor Report, since the treaty came into force in 156 states, more than two-thirds of the world's nations, are party to the Treaty. More than 2.2 million antipersonnel mines, 250000 antivehicle mines, and 17 million explosive remnants of war have been destroyed. The number of state and non-state users of landmines has dropped from 15 in 1999 to just two since 2007 (Myanmar and Russia). An estimated 44 million stockpiled landmines have been destroyed, and at least 1100 square kilometres of mined territory and a further 2100 square kilometres of battle field have been cleared. Most importantly, the number of casualties has dropped significantly from estimates of more than 20000 per year to less than 5200 in 2008.

Because of the level of compliance and the number of state parties, the treaty now acts as a marker for those countries that have not formally joined. This includes the United States that has become a major funder of demining activities. It shows that a treaty designed to save lives can directly affect the behaviour of non-signatories. Hopefully a recent agreement on cluster munitions will yield similar results.

What emerged more than ten years ago in Ottawa was a new way of conducting global affairs through a network of like-minded governments, international

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organisations and NGOs using diplomacy and persuasion, as opposed to brute force, to effectively influence the international arena.

This was a co-ordinated, co-operative effort by the peoples and states of both the North and the South to ease suffering and to provide better personal security.

The Ottawa Process, as it is often called, was the spawning ground for the development of new ideas and practices centred on the notion of human security which focuses on the security of individuals, and presents a counterpoint to the traditional and narrow focus on the defence of state borders. It introduced a new political framework through which North-South co-operation has achieved important results. Among these were the establishment of the International Criminal Court, which has given life to an emerging system of international justice, and the creation of the doctrine of Responsibility to Protect (R2P), which is designed to prevent and respond to the worst crimes known to humanity.

This process has a high degree of relevance today given the complex cross-border issues with which we must contend – from climate change to pandemics, to natural disasters and the global drug trade. A key issue will be whether the nations of the South will use their emerging power and growing influence to support universal standards and common political efforts when these challenge the traditional precepts of national sovereignty.

As the recent Copenhagen climate change agreement demonstrates, there has been a limited degree of willingness from both North and South to find common cause in setting a standard for emissions before the tragedy of climate change begins to beset many parts of the globe. The unanswered question is whether the various states who have pledged restraint on emissions will actually perform as promised and, if not, how they will be held to account.

Here is where the principles of the Ottawa Treaty, which advance the need for the protection of individuals against rigid prescriptions of national sovereignty come into play and must be applied. There will have to be agreements in the very near future on how developed nations can help lesser-developed countries cope with and adapt to climate change. Both North and South will have to accept international mechanisms of accountability if there is to be an effective response to this emerging global calamity.

The same question of finding accommodation between the acceptance and application of the norms of global human rights and the defence of national sovereignty is also in the balance. Recent confirmations of widespread slavery and exploitation of women expose conditions unconscionable in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, but measures to address these transgressions are being hindered by objections based on national sovereignty issues. The refusal of many states to support the International Criminal Court's indictment of the President of Sudan, for his part in actively denying the people of Darfur their basic human rights to exist and survive, is a regression in the efforts to establish a system of international justice.

However, the recent adoption by the African Union of the R2P principles as they relate to internally displaced persons is an encouraging sign of progress in the application of this important concept.

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Also, the establishment of an African court to deal with crimes against humanity demonstrates a welcome expansion of the international justice system.

What this shows is that the spirit of North and South working together continues into this new century. There are those who see the emerging power of the South as an excuse to undermine the work of the past decades to deal with what former UN Secretary-General Kofi Anan has called “problems without passports”, and to re-assert the primacy of national self-interest and sovereignty. But they are on the losing side of history, as increasingly those in both the North and the South recognise our common responsibilities to protect the people of the world.

There is a long way to go, especially in addressing the fundamental divide of poverty, in bringing an end to the mass killings and in co-operating to rebuild a global economic system based on equity and fairness. Serious obstacles such as global corruption, criminality and terrorism continue to pose risks. But, as the landmine treaty showed over a decade ago, there is space and will for North and South to work together.



## Towards a Balanced Model of Global Governance

**Pedro Lourtie**

Allow me to start by thanking the Lisbon Municipality and its President for hosting this Round Table. Allow me also to express my sincere gratitude to the North-South Centre for convening this Round Table on global interdependence and solidarity and for inviting me to share some thoughts with you on the challenges we now face as we move on to the second decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

This Round Table is one of the numerous events scheduled this year, in which we celebrate the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the North-South Centre. Allow me therefore also to express my appreciation for the dynamic and strategic leadership of the executive bodies of the North-South Centre, which Portugal is proud to host, in particular for the renewed credibility of this Partial Agreement.

This is a celebratory year. We are celebrating not only the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the North-South Centre, but also the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Council of Europe and the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the European Court of Human Rights. It is, before such an important legacy, our common responsibility to continue promoting the fundamental values of the Council of Europe throughout the world: democracy, human rights and rule of law.

In doing so, we will be honouring our past, but also preparing our future, for these values must be at the forefront of our actions in the midst and in the aftermath of the current unprecedented global economic and financial crisis.

A crisis – the worst in the last 80 years, since the Great Depression – that has showed us, in striking fashion, how globally interdependent our countries really are. And it has also shown us all the need for effective solidarity and for common answers to common challenges.

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Indeed, the major challenges on the agenda, are global challenges. Food security, energy, climate change or the economic and financial crisis are not problems that can be isolated in one part of the world. They are global problems of an inter-dependent world.

In this context, the North-South Centre's mission is in fact more relevant than ever. Global interdependence and solidarity is what the North-South Centre is about. This is why we must continue to help the North-South Centre in its work to encourage dialogue between peoples and promote solidarity policies all over the world. This is also why we want to ensure that more countries, whether or not they are members of the Council of Europe, participate in this project.

After last year's accession of Morocco, the first non-European country, it is with great satisfaction that we now witness Cape Verde becoming a member of the North-South Centre.

The global crisis we are facing at present urges us to rethink our model of development, in particular the need for sustainability and inclusiveness. As such, the current crisis is also a further reminder of the need to pursue the global social contract we committed to when we approved the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The MDGs are drawn from the Millennium Declaration that was adopted during the UN Millennium Summit in September 2000. They stand for a shared agenda, involving mutual responsibility and accountability of developed and developing countries.

Significant progress has been made by many countries, since 2000, towards the achievement of the MDGs. However, the truth is that there is a critical need for action by all parties if the goals are to be attained in 2015.

In preparing for the UN High Level Plenary Meeting (HLP) of September 2010, that will set the next steps in this process, it is important to distinguish clearly the agenda for the next five years.

In the five years to come, we should focus on measures and actions that can produce results in the near future, so that the 2015 goals and targets are met. Any agreed Action Plan, while keeping in mind the longer term - the post - 2015 perspective - should be realistic, pragmatic and focused.

Our efforts should therefore be directed to accelerating progress towards the established targets. The results obtained so far show us there is a need for concentrating efforts both in those countries that are lagging behind and in those goals where progress is falling short of expectations.

Evidence shows that Africa, in particular Sub-Saharan Africa, is where outcomes are mostly lagging behind. It is our conviction that we should concentrate our efforts there, without prejudice to measures and actions directed to groups in other continents.

Results obtained so far also indicate that countries in post-conflict or in fragile situations are furthest away from achieving the MDGs. While fragile states are the most off-track countries, it has also been recognised that the establishment of stability provides an essential basis for catching up.



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In this context, the security and development nexus plays an important role in creating the conditions for a rapid progress in achieving the MDGs.

The European Union is preparing an Action Plan for situations of fragility and conflict, which ought to be rapidly adopted and implemented if it is to help attain MDG targets in 2015.

While recognising that addressing climate change may require structural long term changes, climate change consequences are hampering the achievement of the MDGs, particularly in the poorest and most vulnerable countries. Thus, addressing adaptation and mitigation and delivering on the Copenhagen “fast start” initiative for 2010-2012 should also be part of the MDG agenda for 2015.

On the conditions required to achieve the MDGs, all reports stress that “ownership” and “leadership” of partner countries are key success factors. MDGs and specific targets need to be part of partners’ development strategies and external support programmes need to be aligned with these development strategies and plans.



## La Coopération Décentralisée Pour le Développement

**Christophe Rouillon**

Ce vingtième anniversaire du Centre Européen pour l'Interdépendance et la Solidarité Mondiales - le Centre Nord-Sud du Conseil de l'Europe - célébré ici à Lisbonne, est un événement remarquable pour l'Europe et au delà pour toute la communauté internationale. La présence de très nombreuses personnalités l'illustre parfaitement.

Aussi, c'est pour moi un grand honneur d'être présent avec vous, comme représentant du Comité des Régions et des villes de l'Union européenne, en cette occasion solennelle, devant une assemblée aussi prestigieuse.

Au début du siècle passé, Paul Nizan disait : "J'avais vingt ans. Je ne laisserai personne dire que c'est le plus bel âge de la vie". Il exprimait ainsi l'inquiétude, la difficulté liée à cet âge. Heureusement, de nos jours 20 ans est plus souvent considéré comme le plus bel âge et il en est ainsi tant pour ceux qui l'ont déjà vécu, que pour ceux qui l'attendent avec impatience. En fait aujourd'hui, les 20 ans apparaissent d'abord comme le temps de la maturité, de l'optimisme, des responsabilités : autant de traits de personnalité qui caractérisent aujourd'hui le Centre Nord-Sud.

Cela ne signifie évidemment pas que le Centre Nord-Sud du Conseil de l'Europe dévoile seulement aujourd'hui ces atouts.

Bien au contraire, au cours de ces 20 années d'existence et d'actions, par ses initiatives, par ses méthodes, par ses programmes, il a grandement contribué à la diffusion des savoirs, à la promotion des politiques de solidarité, au renforce-

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ment des dialogues, à la sensibilisation du public sur les questions relatives à la coopération au Développement. Aussi le Centre Nord-Sud a-t-il certainement contribué à la réalisation du constat établi par l'Eurobaromètre en 2009 à savoir qu'environ 90% des Européens considèrent le Développement comme important et que 70% entre eux déclarent souhaiter "tenir la promesse" de consacrer au moins au 0,7% du Revenu National Brut à l'aide au Développement des pays en situation d'extrême pauvreté.

Au cours de la décennie écoulée, des progrès notables en faveur du Développement ont été accomplis. Les populations de plusieurs pays en Développement ont vu leurs situations s'améliorer et la voix de leurs représentants dans les forums internationaux se fait de plus en plus audible. Néanmoins, de nombreux et importants défis restent encore à être surmontés pour lutter contre l'extrême pauvreté dans le monde, pour réaliser les objectifs du Millénaire des Nations Unies pour le Développement, pour lutter contre le changement climatique, autrement dit, pour assurer le développement durable dans les pays en Développement.

A cet égard, le Centre Nord-Sud a depuis ses origines initié un principe, une méthode qui constitue, je le crois, un atout en même temps qu'une voie à suivre et à promouvoir. En effet, avec le "Quadrilogue", il réunit autour d'une même table de discussion des partenaires issus à la fois des institutions politiques et de la société civile. Ainsi, en rapprochant les Gouvernements, Parlements, Autorités Régionales Locales et de même que les Organisations non gouvernementales, le Centre Nord-Sud participe au renforcement des synergies entre des entités aux approches, aux responsabilités, aux compétences et aux priorités différentes.

Cette méthode du "Quadrilogue" est à la fois proche et complémentaire au principe de gouvernance multi-niveaux promu par le Comité des Régions. Spécifiquement, le Quadrilogue vise à une meilleure intégration et à une participation des Autorités Régionales et Locales à la définition et à la mise en œuvre des politiques. En effet, l'efficacité des actions, considérée tant collectivement qu'individuellement, ne peut être que plus élevée si elle repose sur une plus grande concertation et l'implication de tous les acteurs.

C'est au prix de cet effort de dialogue entre tous les acteurs, insuffisant dans le passé, que les défis du Développement pourront être mieux et véritablement surmontés. Il se comprend non seulement comme le besoin d'une participation des pays du Nord et des pays du Sud mais également comme celui du concours de tous les acteurs concernés à savoir notamment les organisations internationales et régionales, des Etats, des Autorités Régionales et Locales ainsi que des ONG. C'est d'ailleurs dans cet esprit qu'à la suite de mon Avis de juin 2009, le Comité des Régions et des villes de l'Union européenne, en partenariat avec la Commission européenne, a organisé à Bruxelles en 2009 les premières Assises de la coopération décentralisée pour le Développement en réunissant, pour un dialogue politique sur le développement, 400 représentants des différents niveaux d'autorités en provenance de l'UE et des pays partenaires en Développement.

Aujourd'hui, le dialogue et la solidarité défendus par le Centre Nord-Sud depuis 20 ans doivent avant tout s'orienter vers la nécessaire prise en compte des effets

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négatifs de la crise financière et économique qui frappent nos économies depuis le second semestre 2008. Cette crise ne doit pas affecter davantage les populations les plus vulnérables parmi les plus vulnérables ni aboutir à une remise en cause de nos engagements de coopération.

En ma qualité de rapporteur général sur le Paquet de printemps de l'Union européenne consacré au bilan annuel de la politique de l'Union européennes en faveur du développement, je défendrai le 9 juin prochain, devant l'Assemblée plénière du Comité des Régions, la nécessité de reconnaître le rôle éminent des collectivités locales pour atteindre d'ici 2015 les objectifs du Millénaire et la rationalisation des politiques publiques pour le développement.

Notre potentiel d'action en faveur des villages, des villes et des régions les plus pauvres de la planète est immense et notre expertise unique :

- nous pouvons porter assistance, en particulier, dans les domaines concrets de l'accès à l'eau, de l'éducation primaire pour tous, de l'égalité des sexes, de la santé et de la lutte contre la pollution des sols et de l'air ;
- nous pouvons apporter des conseils judicieux pour la mise en place d'une fiscalité locale fructueuse et pour améliorer la gouvernance démocratique au plus près des citoyens ;
- nous pouvons être les garants et les témoins de l'utilisation efficace et transparente des fonds publics pour éviter la corruption et l'évaporation des subventions.

Les 100 000 collectivités locales d'Europe peuvent s'engager plus encore pour aider les Etats à respecter l'engagement des Etats de consacrer en 2015 0,7 % du Produit National Brut à la réalisation des Objectifs Du Millénaire.

Je proposerai que les villes, les départements et les régions s'engagent à dépenser 1 euro par habitant de leur territoire pour réduire l'hyper pauvreté des centaines de millions d'hommes, de femmes et d'enfants qui vivent avec moins de 1 dollar par jour.

Pour savoir « qui fait quoi, où et comment ? » notre Assemblée de Régions et des élus locaux, le CdR, ouvrira prochainement, en partenariat avec la Commission, un Atlas et une Bourse internet de la coopération décentralisée pour le Développement.

Les petites rivières peuvent faire demain les grands fleuves nourriciers et nos débats peuvent, malgré la crise, ouvrir les yeux des décideurs et de nos concitoyens sur l'interdépendance du Nord et du Sud ainsi que de l'impérieuse nécessité de désamorcer la poudrière de l'hyper pauvreté.

A la veille du Sommet des Nations Unies de New York en septembre prochain sur le bilan des objectifs du Millénaire pour le Développement, il est grand temps de tirer le signal d'alarme, de réaffirmer notre rôle majeur contre l'extrême pauvreté d'adresser au monde un message d'espoir et d'humanité.

C'est en persévérant dans cette direction que le Centre Nord-Sud honorera, avec notre soutien, ses engagements.

Nous pourrons alors, nous les bâtisseurs de ponts entre le Nord et le Sud, fêter dignement et sereinement nos 20 ans.



## Crisis and the Market: Challenges for a New Fair Trade

*'When the world is globalised you're going to set fire to the whole thing with one match.'* (Interview René Girard)

### Francisco Vanderhoff

The current crisis urges all of us to reconsider the roadmap, also for Fair Trade. In the Fair Trade family, there are serious attempts to incorporate the market of the poor into the regular market. But are we aware of the contradiction: making Fair Trade part of the crisis while we, as small farmers, still believe in a different market because we suspected that the regular market had tremendous flaws, above all for the excluded. They were not only – as actors and producers – left out of the market but knew (unconsciously above all from the outset) that the rules of the game were incorrect. Basic contradictions became more and more visible. Gradually small farmers started to think and act in terms of a new form of class struggle.

Are we learning something from the causes of the crisis? The supposed lessons of the crisis do not appear on any side. Rather on the contrary, the ideas and the ideologists who supported the system that has collapsed are in the heat of a process of counterattack. In order to stop the crisis public resources are being used to interchange private debt for national debt. The idea that it is normal to privatise benefits and to socialise losses is a peculiar way to understand the free market and Capitalism as a social system. Moreover, the burden is put on the whole population that in its majority has nothing to do with the causes of the present crisis.

Against this perversity Fair Trade wants to play differently, which is not a utopia, or a dystopia, but an endeavour to be human in the relations to others, knowing the pitfalls and 'sins' still committable.



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Nothing is perfect in the world but we have to have the audacity to call imperfect what is imperfect, in order to change things for the better. We as Fair Traders are not looking for a better world, but a good world, which is quite different. If there are 'religious' overtones in this approach, so be it.

Crisis and Poverty: both are interrelated. Poverty is a persistent sign of crisis: it expresses that the actual world order does not work. Again and again, we have to ask ourselves: why is there poverty and where is poverty coming from. The globalised internet world brings this reality home and we cannot ignore it. There are easy answers, and with a lot of charity - development aid, welfare institutions, corporate social responsibility declarations etc.-, still 'things do not work'. Charity and welfare serve only if one procures to get rid of being dependent on charity and welfare. Poverty is a transcendental tragedy in a world where tragedy is only seen in accidents, Wall Street upheavals and irrational forms of violence. From this perspective poverty is handled as a technical question: Millennium goals, development aid, Doha rounds etc. But the actual crisis demystifies this superficial and technical approach of problem solvers. For too long we were caught up in ideas nullifying reality or the people of deconstructions put away the validity of ideas and showed reality as a cipher. Poverty is a production of poverty and poor people and it is not a natural accident; all the talk about development is a disastrous form of underdevelopment, a dangerous myth.

Fair Trade is meant to be one of many endeavours to kick a system that does not work, that does not let people grow normally. But we have to be aware of what we are kicking at. It is one of the main elements of daily life: how are we interchanging goods and services, how are we marketing and how are we doing business. Great thinkers have tried to tackle this problem: look at John Locke, Francis Bacon, Adam Smith, Karl Marx and many more contemporary thinkers, many Nobel Prize winners. But I dare to say that they missed the heart of the matter.

Fair Trade is meant to be a kind of social business, a social economy together with a social democracy, at least seen from the producer's side. We 'forgot' to control the marketing and distribution side. One basic element for a new Fair Trade should be that the business is in the hands of the poor. Being owner of the 'company', of the the system, you add value to the product and market it first of all in your own production region and then export the rest. You do not need fancy and expensive packaging, you can cut costs, speculation is non-existent and at the same time you will be efficient and attractive.

That is what the Fair Trade ideal was all about.

It is rather useless to define what Fair Trade is, being an experiment for the long-run. Therefore, we use a kind of description that helps us for the time being to move on.

Fair Trade is a specific form of trade different from the conventional and dominant trade system. It is based on social justice, on the quality of the product and the care for nature. It therefore questions the whole concept of development and poverty alleviation. It foments a direct involvement and a long-term relation between small producers and consumers and contributes to the construction of a

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process of viability and solidarity in the market and the economy. For the partners' involved, small producers of the field, retailers and consumers, this is a lifestyle that defends life (resistance for survival) and looks for solidarity with other movements with similar aims and goals.

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II

**Human Rights and Global  
Interdependence**



## The Challenge of Justice, Peace and Human Rights Towards a Consolidation of Humanity

**Kofi A. Annan**

The Geneva Conventions, which celebrated 60 years in 2009, give force to a simple but enduring idea – that we must do everything we can to protect civilians and reduce suffering in war. It is an appeal to our common humanity, grounded in shared and ancient values from the idea of “warrior’s honour”, to the protection of the innocent. The fact that the Geneva Conventions are universally ratified is a measure of their enduring appeal and success. But all around us, we see evidence of the continuing inhumanity of those waging war and their blatant disregard for the rules set out in the Conventions. The state response too often and too readily is to resort to indiscriminate attacks and abuse of detainees. The war on terror must not be an excuse to disregard international law. There are some who claim that this catalogue of horror is, at least partially, the result of a failure of the Conventions.

The truth, however, is that the law has not been static. Steps have been taken to address the new reality of warfare. The Conventions have been adopted to better cover civil wars and armed groups. In recent years, new conventions have been agreed upon to ban or restrict weapons that kill or injure indiscriminately, such as landmines and cluster munitions. So let us be clear. It is not the rules that are to blame for the callous disregard for civilian life we see. It is the Rulers who disregard them, or allow or encourage those under their command to do so. They do so because they calculate they have little to fear and little to lose from their defiance. Our challenge is to alter the balance of the calculation they make. If yesterday’s accomplishment was to set the rules, tomorrow’s challenge is to effectively bind the rulers to these laws.

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To achieve this, we must raise the cost of non-compliance, to undermine both the ability and willingness of those in authority to defy agreed international standards. There are, of course, a range of strategies to meet these goals. I will focus primarily on two:

Firstly, I believe those in charge are able to ignore the rules, in large part because they, and their supporters, can deflect charges that war crimes are being committed. They manufacture, or rely on, a culture of denial.

And secondly, I believe the willingness to flout the law also stems on the still too tenuous link between committing war crimes and the likelihood of being held to account.

Let us turn first to the culture of denial. We urgently need to build the legitimacy of the factual record to undermine the culture of denial and force acknowledgment of crimes. This requires us to recognise that civil society and ad hoc commissions can only do so much. It is on states and their leaders – and the national and international institutions they control – that we must focus our efforts. We must end their selectivity when pointed to credible accounts of atrocity and war crimes – accounts they themselves often request. This selectivity is corrosive to the rule of law. To its shame, the Security Council is all too ready to play this game.

If States distrust the ad-hoc character of expert reports or commissions of inquiry, it is well within their power to establish bodies permanently tasked with documenting abuses. Indeed there is already provision for such a body under Additional Protocol 1 – but it has never been called on.

In tackling this culture of denial, we must also recognise how much easier it is to discredit the facts when the spotlight of inquiry shines selectively, avoiding the powerful or those they choose to shield. The accusation of double standards, that powerful states avoid scrutiny, while weak states attract it too readily, cannot be brushed aside easily. The plain fact is that gross violations of human rights and humanitarian law are being ignored in too many countries.

Building the legitimacy of the factual record means steps must be taken to monitor and report abuse, wherever and whenever it occurs. Currently, a decision by the UN to scrutinise abuses requires a specific mandate. At the level of the Security Council these will be rare. When scrutiny is the exception, it will always be held hostage to the politics of the day. So there is a strong case for moving to a system that makes scrutiny the norm. The existence of armed conflict, of whatever nature, should immediately and automatically trigger scrutiny and reporting of compliance with humanitarian and human rights law. This would happen in exactly the same way that the United Nation's relief and development agencies automatically respond to major humanitarian catastrophes.

But while exposing abuse is essential, it will not on its own change behaviour or increase the protection that civilians need. We need to ensure there is a much stronger link between breaking international humanitarian law and being held to account for it. For much of the past 60 years this link has been missing. War criminals rarely faced justice. National courts lacked the will or mandate to act.



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Amnesties were too frequently given as part of peace accords. Where conflict raged and repression reigned, few dared to speak out for the victims. For many, international justice seemed an illusion. Thankfully, momentarily, this is beginning to change.

The creation, in 1998, of the International Criminal Court was as important an act, in its own way, as the drafting of the Geneva Conventions. Alongside the ICC, and indeed a spur to its creation, are the International Criminal Tribunals set up to punish genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes in the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda. International justice is also at work, alongside national judicial systems, in Cambodia and Sierra Leone.

There has been another development, as significant and perhaps with even greater potential. National courts in many countries have shown themselves ready to exercise forms of universal jurisdiction to enforce the Geneva Conventions and human rights standards against those responsible for abuses, regardless of where the crime was committed. Courts have also demonstrated their willingness to overturn amnesty laws that shield war criminals. International justice has gone from an abstract concept to a reality. Impunity is in retreat.

But the battle is far from over. Many countries, including some of the most powerful have not ratified the ICC statute. Many who have are still not living up to their obligations.

So our challenge – tomorrow’s challenge – is to speak out and act in support of international justice. It must extend to all armed conflicts where national courts are unable or unwilling to prosecute those responsible for the most serious crimes under international humanitarian or human rights standards.

I am aware of the controversies. I know, too, that some see justice as an obstacle to peace or humanitarian action. In my view, it is neither. There can be no genuine peace without justice – and no justice without peace. And having advanced the potential for international justice, we cannot let it fail. Concessions that weaken international justice risk being seen as a license to continue killing with impunity.

We do not need to change the rules. We do need to ensure they are enforced much more widely, robustly and fairly. We must also fully support the humanitarian mission of the ICRC, as guardian of the Geneva Conventions. By doing so, we will help to achieve the ambitions of the architects of these rules for decent behaviour even in times of war. We owe it to the victims of conflict to pick up the challenge.



## La solidarité Nord-Sud et la promotion des droits de l'homme

**Simone Veil**

Il y a 60 ans, l'Assemblée Générale des Nations Unies, à l'initiative de René CASSIN, a adopté à Paris la Déclaration universelle des Droits de l'Homme. Cet événement a marqué notre Histoire et constitue une étape importante dans la reconnaissance des droits de la personne au niveau international.

Si l'idéal des Droits de l'Homme a été affirmé en réaction aux crimes contre l'humanité commis dans des pays en Europe pendant la 2<sup>ème</sup> guerre mondiale par un pays qui se prévalait d'un passé, le respect et la défense de ces principes est un combat permanent et universel. C'est un combat de l'homme contre les pulsions de mort et de haine qui l'habitent, un combat de la raison contre la déraison, de la compassion contre l'indifférence. Dans cette lutte permanente, chacun a sa place, car l'Histoire est faite d'une chaîne de responsabilités individuelles et collectives, où nous avons tous un rôle à jouer.

Réaffirmer les Droits de l'Homme aujourd'hui, c'est accorder une attention prioritaire aux populations victimes de la guerre, comme au Darfour, ainsi qu'à ceux qui sont menacés par des épidémies dévastatrices, comme le SIDA et la malaria. Il y a lieu également de prendre en compte les personnes qui, bien qu'elles résident dans les pays développés, se trouvent en situation de détresse.

Réaffirmer les Droits de l'Homme, c'est encore défendre la liberté de pensée de tous et promouvoir les droits des femmes, dont on sait combien elles sont trop souvent discriminées et sont parfois soumises à des pressions familiales inadmissibles, même dans les pays où la démocratie est un principe.

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Je pense non seulement à l'excision des filles, mais aussi à la privation de toute liberté pour d'autres, qu'elles soient ou non mariées.

J'observe qu'il est de plus en plus complexe de nos jours de faire respecter les Droits de l'Homme dans certains pays. D'abord parce que des pays qui paraissaient tout à fait vertueux ne le sont plus, et puis, parce que dans certains d'entre eux, les choses ont changé. Les Droits de l'Homme dans des pays en état de guerre civile ne peuvent être respectés qu'avec le soutien et le travail des ONG qui sont implantées dans les pays. Ainsi, dans les années 1980, lorsque j'étais Présidente du Parlement européen, elles nous fournissaient les renseignements nous permettant de déterminer quels seraient les pays bénéficiaires des aides de la Commission de Bruxelles.

La Commission Dialogue Nord-Sud du Conseil de l'Europe, en accord avec certaines ONG, joue un rôle majeur en faveur la solidarité et du dialogue Nord-Sud. Depuis quelques années de grands changements climatiques ont provoqué une augmentation très nette des cataclysmes naturels.

Faute de moyens financiers, ce sont souvent les pays pauvres qui souffrent le plus de ces catastrophes climatiques, ce qui engendre une migration de la population locale. C'est donc aux pays dits « riches », les pays du nord, de soutenir et d'aider sur place les populations en leur apportant une aide financière, humanitaire, médicale, éducative... La Commission Dialogue Nord-Sud veille à la mise en place de moyens et elle ne peut réussir sa mission sans une concertation avec les ONG et les organisations non-gouvernementales travaillant sur place, son objectif étant de promouvoir des politiques de solidarité entre les pays Nord-Sud.

Je me félicite aujourd'hui de l'adoption du Traité de Lisbonne qui, par la mise en œuvre de la Charte des droits fondamentaux, obligera tous les pays européens à lutter plus efficacement contre les discriminations et l'exclusion sociale. Ce Traité est une réelle avancée en matière de protection des droits fondamentaux, car il ouvre la voie à l'adhésion de l'Union à la Convention européenne de sauvegarde des Droits de l'Homme et des libertés fondamentales.



## Universal Declaration of Human Rights - The “New Sermon on the Mount”

**António de Almeida Santos**

The North-South Centre of the Council of Europe has bestowed upon me the honour of including a brief text of mine in the publication intended to praise the winners of the prestigious North-South Prize on the occasion of the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the North-South Centre itself.

I have the honour of having been one of the winners of the prize. Therefore the unrejectable invitation that rekindles and strengthens the unsurpassable satisfaction with which I received the prize. That was one of the most unforgettable moments of my entire life, in spite of my former resistance to receiving awards and distinctions. I bear the weight of that honour ever since.

I would like to be certain that I have deserved it. Nevertheless, rightfully thinking, I owe myself the justice of acknowledging the fact that the defence of Human Rights has been, during my already long life, the most constant of my devotions.

That is why I chose to be a lawyer. That is why I chose to be it in Portuguese Africa, where the colonial regime of the time, as was the case with all colonial regimes, frequently reached extremes of inhumanity. That is why I fought for two decades for the emancipation of Africa. That is why I accepted, after the liberation of the Portuguese people from the yoke of a dictatorship that oppressed them, the post of Minister in charge of the Portuguese colonial territories political management. As such, I participated in the negotiation and signing of all agreements conducting to the decolonisation of these same territories.

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That is why, as head of other ministerial affairs and as legislator of the new political-constitutional Portuguese regime, I had the opportunity of helping to dismantle my country's dictatorial regime, replacing it for the democratic political-constitutional regime, free and inclusive as regards human rights.

Those rights were granted by a constitution that expressly acknowledges all the fundamental rights consecrated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, complementing it in a way with the acknowledgement of the new Fundamental Rights. The Portuguese Constitution itself bases the Republic on the "dignity of the human person" and binds the interpretation and integration of its precepts relating to the fundamental rights to the "harmonising with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights". I myself always considered the famous Declaration to be the "New Sermon on the Mount", with the originality - that is in the origin of its amazing success and universal acceptance - of being centred on the rights of man, rather than his duties. It was the constitution itself and its ethical quid that demanded the emancipation of Africa and is demanding the liberation and humanisation of all peoples. No other ethical-juridical text has reached the degree of mitification and constitutional universalisation that the constitution itself has.

The North-South Centre of the Council of Europe, by summoning the task of distinguishing the most representative human examples of the triumph of the universal constituent power inherent to the famous Declaration of Rights, is rendering its values with the most touching homage and with a most relevant service. Celebrating its 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary is first and foremost an act of recognition as fair and relevant as the North-South Centre itself.



## Direitos Humanos Independentes e Universais

**Nazaré Gadelhas Fernandes**

**I**nicialmente pode-se dizer que a interdependência rege as relações entre os indivíduos onde um único indivíduo é capaz de, através de seus actos, causar efeitos, positivos e/ou negativos, em toda a sociedade. Ao mesmo tempo, esse mesmo indivíduo, por sua vez, é influenciado pelo todo. Podemos assim dizer que todas as pessoas e coisas que rodeiam a vida dos seres humanos estão intimamente interligadas e afectam a vida de todos de forma significativa.

Ao pensar no imenso impacto que pequenos gestos podem causar, chega-se à conclusão de que cada pequeno acto é importante. Essa é a relação de interdependência: a consciência de que o todo depende de um único indivíduo e que cada indivíduo depende do todo para existir.

A concepção contemporânea de direitos humanos caracteriza-se pelos processos de universalização e internacionalização destes direitos, compreendidos sob o prisma da sua indivisibilidade. Ressalte-se que a Declaração de Direitos Humanos de Viena, de 1993, reitera a concepção da Declaração de 1948, quando, em seu parágrafo 5º, afirma: “Todos os direitos humanos são universais, interdependentes e inter-relacionados. A comunidade internacional deve tratar os direitos humanos globalmente de forma justa e equitativa, em pé de igualdade e com a mesma ênfase.”

A Declaração de Viena de 1993, subscrita por 171 Estados, endossa a universalidade e a indivisibilidade dos direitos humanos, revigorando o lastro de legitimidade da chamada concepção contemporânea de direitos humanos, introduzida pela Declaração de 1948. Observa-se que, em compensação, a Declaração de 1948 foi adoptada por 48 Estados, com 08 (oito) abstenções apenas.



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E a Declaração de Viena de 1993 estendeu, renovou e ampliou o consenso sobre a universalidade e indivisibilidade dos direitos humanos.

Analisando a questão da indivisibilidade e da interdependência dos direitos humanos, Hector Gros Espiell leciona que: “Só o reconhecimento integral de todos estes direitos pode assegurar a existência real de cada um deles, já que sem a efectividade de gozo dos direitos económicos, sociais e culturais, os direitos civis e políticos se reduzem a meras categorias formais. Inversamente, sem a realidade dos direitos civis e políticos, sem a efectividade da liberdade entendida em seu mais amplo sentido, os direitos económicos, sociais e culturais carecem, por sua vez, de verdadeira significação. Esta ideia da necessária integralidade, interdependência e indivisibilidade quanto ao conceito e à realidade do conteúdo dos direitos humanos, que de certa forma está implícita na Carta das Nações Unidas, se compila, se amplia e se sistematiza em 1948, na Declaração Universal de Direitos Humanos, e se reafirma definitivamente nos Pactos Universais de Direitos Humanos, aprovados pela Assembleia Geral em 1966, e em vigência desde 1976, na Proclamação de Teerã de 1968 e na Resolução da Assembleia Geral, adoptada em 16 de dezembro de 1977, sobre os critérios e meios para melhorar o gozo efectivo dos direitos e das liberdades fundamentais (Resolução n. 32/130)”.

A universalidade, a indivisibilidade, a inter-relação e a interdependência dos direitos humanos significam uniformidade, pois os indivíduos e grupos sociais agem segundo as suas próprias concepções de mundo, nas condições de seus contextos históricos, económicos, culturais e religiosos. Por tanto direitos humanos, democracia e desenvolvimento são interdependentes.

Essa concepção coloca interdições absolutas a certos actos e padrões de relacionamento social e político, nos quais haja o desrespeito à integridade física, aos meios de sobrevivência, à liberdade de expressão, aos procedimentos imparciais de justiça. São princípios não negociáveis, cujas violações – por governos ou quaisquer indivíduos – são sempre inadmissíveis e inações, condenáveis. Esse é outro aspecto da interdependência dos direitos humanos, democracia e desenvolvimento, pois se pode prever que é apenas nas condições políticas da democracia que os direitos humanos serão não só protegidos, mas tornados cada vez mais amplos e efetivos.

A concepção actual dos direitos humanos baseia-se num paradigma de conhecimento sistémico, cuja protecção seria garantida por Estados e instituições multilaterais, e a promoção seria impulsionada por movimentos e organizações da sociedade civil.

É assente, então, que a concepção contemporânea de direitos humanos está fundada no duplo pilar baseado na universalidade e indivisibilidade desses direitos. Diz-se universal “porque a condição de pessoa há de ser o requisito único para a titularidade de direitos, afastada qualquer outra condição”; e indivisível “porque os direitos civis e políticos hão de ser somados aos direitos sociais, económicos e culturais, já que não há verdadeira liberdade sem igualdade e nem tampouco há verdadeira igualdade sem liberdade”.

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Após um quarto de século da realização da primeira Conferência Mundial de Direitos Humanos, ocorrida em Teerã em 1968, a segunda Conferência (Viena, 1993), reiterando os propósitos da Declaração de 1948, consagrou os direitos humanos como tema global, reafirmando sua universalidade, indivisibilidade e interdependência. Foi o que dispôs o parágrafo 5.º da Declaração e Programa de Acção de Viena, de 1993, nestes termos:

“Todos os direitos humanos são universais, indivisíveis, interdependentes e inter-relacionados. A comunidade internacional deve tratar os direitos humanos de forma global, justa e equitativa, em pé de igualdade e com a mesma ênfase. Embora particularidades nacionais e regionais devam ser levadas em consideração, assim como diversos contextos históricos, culturais e religiosos, é dever dos Estados promover e proteger todos os direitos humanos e liberdades fundamentais, sejam quais forem seus sistemas políticos, económicos e culturais”.



## A Problemática da Imigração Clandestina e os Direitos Humanos

Vera Duarte

Nos últimos tempos o drama da imigração clandestina tem aberto telejornais, tem sido manchete de rádios e jornais, tem objectivado a realização de inúmeras reuniões a nível nacional, regional e internacional em vários países mas, sobretudo, tem levado a morte, o sofrimento e a precariedade a um número demasiado elevado de seres humanos, oriundos, na sua grande maioria, desta nossa África, continente de condenados da terra no dizer impressionante de Franz Fanon.

Quem não viu as fotos dilacerantes de dezenas, senão centenas de seres humanos amontoados em precárias embarcações, tornados navios negreiros da modernidade, que, de olhar perdido e rostos esqueléticos, procuram desembarcar nas “terras da promessa”, quando essas mesmas embarcações não se transformam em cemitérios flutuantes, sem sequer um ponto aonde ancorar?

Na origem do problema estão factores já identificados como as guerras e outros conflitos armados, a má governação, a fome, a doença e a pobreza, a corrupção nas instituições públicas e privadas, a intolerância política e religiosa, os desastres naturais, todos geradores de falta de oportunidades de emprego nos países de origem. Os imigrantes são, então, atraídos pelas “terras da promessa” onde supostamente irão encontrar salários mais altos, melhores oportunidades de emprego, saúde e educação, melhor comportamento entre as pessoas, estabilidade política, tolerância religiosa, relativa liberdade, normalmente países que gozam de boa reputação.

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Do muito que já se disse, sem se conseguir encontrar a solução do problema, que é extremamente complexo, importa reter que os imigrantes são, em primeiro lugar e acima de tudo, seres humanos com direitos humanos.

Além disso, há duas ou três ideias que cabe realçar, pela justeza do raciocínio que lhes está subjacente: a primeira, é que há que criar condições para que as pessoas não tenham de deixar a sua terra natal para poderem trabalhar e viver com um mínimo de dignidade; a segunda, é que há que garantir o direito de ir e vir a todos e que os países que são demandados pelos imigrantes não podem simplesmente “barricar” as suas fronteiras, mas sim definir políticas migratórias correctas que salvaguardem os interesses económicos do País e os direitos humanos dos imigrantes; e a terceira, é que há que reprimir o crime transnacional organizado e o tráfico de pessoas, que fomenta as redes de imigração clandestina, aproveitando-se da vulnerabilidade das vítimas para lhes extorquir tudo o que puderem, e representa uma grave violação aos direitos humanos.

A intensificação dos fluxos migratórios que tem ocorrido por razões diversas – económicas, políticas, humanas, religiosas – tem também levantado preocupações do ponto de vista dos direitos humanos, em especial a migração clandestina ou irregular, pelas violações e abusos aos direitos humanos desse grupo vulnerável.

Por isso, um dos maiores desafios do início deste século é estabelecer um sistema e uma política nesta matéria que aborde devidamente o fenómeno e, ao mesmo tempo, respeite os direitos humanos dos migrantes. No âmbito internacional, vários instrumentos podem ser utilizados como referência por colocarem a não-discriminação no centro dos tratados de direitos humanos, conferindo igual protecção aos cidadãos e aos migrantes, a despeito do seu status de imigrante, como é o caso dos dois pactos Internacionais sobre Direitos Civis, Políticos, Económicos, Sociais e Culturais; da Convenção sobre os Direitos da Criança; da Convenção Internacional sobre a Eliminação de todas as formas de Discriminação contra as Mulheres e da Convenção contra a Tortura e Outros Tratamentos ou Penas Cruéis, Desumanas ou Degradantes.

Para além destes, outros instrumentos internacionais específicos merecem ser destacados, tais como: a Convenção internacional para a protecção dos Direitos de todos trabalhadores migrantes e os Membros de suas Famílias e o protocolo Adicional à Convenção das Nações Unidas contra a Criminalidade Organizada Transnacional, relativo à Prevenção, Repressão e Punição do Tráfico de Pessoas, em especial Mulheres e Crianças.

Todos esses instrumentos vêm revelar que, no plano internacional, vários têm sido os esforços para a adopção da primazia dos direitos humanos no tratamento dessas questões, bem como para o reconhecimento da responsabilidade do Estado na prevenção do tráfico de pessoas, na investigação e prossecução de traficantes e no auxílio e protecção de pessoas traficadas. Neste mesmo sentido, convém ressaltar que, no âmbito regional, o mesmo empenho também é observado, sobretudo com a adopção recente da Declaração de Rabat e o respectivo Plano de Acção, que consubstanciam a parceria euro-africana para a migração e o desenvolvimento, prevendo a adopção de medidas concretas a curto, médio e longo prazo nesta matéria.

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A imigração é, indubitavelmente, um fenómeno bastante complexo. Há uma diversidade de novos migrantes que se deslocam por razões diferentes (sejam profissionais de alto nível, jovens, mulheres, crianças, detentores de mão-de-obra qualificada ou não) e, em consequência, há uma diversidade de impactos que podem ser originados em função da dimensão ou das razões desse fenómeno. Nem sempre os processos migratórios são acompanhados de uma integração pacífica ou são aceites tranquilamente. E onde ela não ocorre de modo pacífico e natural, tem chamado atenção no que concerne aos grupos de direitos humanos. Ademais, à medida que a imigração aumentou, aumentaram também os problemas decorrentes da exploração da imigração ou dos reflexos negativos que esta pode gerar do ponto de vista individual ou social.

Como controlar os efeitos perversos da imigração, não é algo simples. Mas, por mais problemas que possa ocasionar, é raro, actualmente, um Estado adoptar políticas radicais de fechamento de suas fronteiras. Num mundo globalizado como o que estamos a viver, esta alternativa afigura-se como inviável. Além disso, deve-se atentar que países que adoptaram políticas rígidas de controlo da imigração, não conseguiram resolver ou acabar com o problema da imigração clandestina. Na verdade, a imigração é consequência necessária das circulações contemporâneas.

E, dado que se tornou um processo comum em vários Estados, os debates à volta das transformações sociais que origina – mormente, das construções identitárias e do imaginário social – passaram a chamar a atenção tanto dos Governos quanto dos estudiosos.

Contudo, a reflexão que eu gostaria de aqui fazer é outra e, dando um salto no futuro, questionar se estes “desesperados”, que procuram por todos os meios deixar os seus países de origem para chegar às terras prometidas da Europa e da América, não serão os pioneiros de uma nova ordem universal em que a mobilidade, enfim erigida como um direito inalienável, irá determinar uma emergente comunidade mundial de maior mestiçagem, de maior tolerância, que possa promover uma distribuição mais equitativa da riqueza dentro e entre as nações e promover a erradicação da pobreza como um imperativo ético.

Mais africanos na Europa, mais latinos nos Estados Unidos da América, mais americanos na Ásia, mais asiáticos em África, mais europeus na Austrália, ou seja, cada continente terá uma maior percentagem de gente oriunda dos outros continentes o que irá gerar necessariamente um novo diálogo entre culturas, e a tal nova geografia humana universal mais tolerante que activamente desejamos. Não seria a primeira vez que a África e os africanos preconizariam movimentos do tipo. Relatos históricos dão-nos conta de que a África tem como singularidade absoluta o facto de os seus povos autóctones terem sido os progenitores de todas as populações humanas do planeta, o que faz do continente africano o berço da espécie humana.

Segundo alguns historiadores, a população humana ancestral que deixou o continente africano pela primeira vez há aproximadamente cem mil anos, tinha apenas dois mil indivíduos e migrou progressivamente para os outros continen-

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tes, atingindo a Ásia e a Austrália há quarenta mil anos, a Europa há cerca de trinta e cinco mil anos e finalmente a América, há dezoito mil anos.

Uma outra singularidade haveria de marcar o continente africano com tremendas repercussões no seu destino e determinando a África com as venerabilidades que tem hoje: trata-se da escravidão racial e do tráfico transoceânico de seres humanos em grande escala.

Efectivamente, durante cerca de um milénio o continente africano foi transformado num verdadeiro terreno de caça humana e as deportações massivas de africanos foram metodicamente organizadas desde o século VIII, primeiro pelos árabes do Oriente Médio e, a partir do século XVI, pelos povos da Europa Ocidental, que realizaram através do Oceano Atlântico, um horrendo, devastador e humilhante tráfico negreiro.

O impacto negativo da escravidão e do tráfico negreiro sobre o desenvolvimento do continente foi catastrófico e está na génese de grande parte dos males com que a África se debate actualmente, maxime o drama da imigração clandestina. Seria, assim, no mínimo desejável que, ao menos por uma vez, se pudesse encontrar a solução para um problema que aflige a humanidade com um pouco menos de sofrimento e dor para uma parcela já muito maltratada dessa mesma humanidade, na circunstância os imigrantes africanos clandestinos.

Assim, ao mesmo tempo que propugnamos por uma justa, rápida e equitativa solução do problema da imigração clandestina, formulamos activamente votos que o continente africano, pátria da Leopold Sedar Senghor – cujo centenário de nascimento se comemorou em Outubro de 2007 – de Amílcar Cabral, de Joseph Ki-Zerbo, de Nelson Mandela e de Wole Soyinka, entre tantos outros seres humanos de excepção, possa um dia vir a ser a “terra da promessa” para todos os africanos.





## We Have To Speak One Language

**Marguerite Barankitse**

**T**his is the first time that I take the floor and feel so sad, covered in shame because of the trip made to Malta. When I saw these faces of my brothers and sisters from Africa, coming from the South, crossing the desert, risking their lives in the Mediterranean and then arriving to be detained, far from everything, because the Maltese people were afraid to see their faces.

I have great hope though. I am looking at faces that bear hope, such as the French Ambassador, who spoke so well of fraternity to you, my brothers and sisters. I am convinced that you can help us, the United Nations and everybody who is here today, who brings something, can create a difference.

We are not here to make speeches, I refuse to do that. I am from one of the poorest countries on the planet, Burundi, my homeland. A huge percentage of our population is below the poverty line. Why do we use such eloquent vocabulary, words which the common people would never understand? I do not find it is ignorance to show my ignorance before such words. We all have to speak one language, we have to speak a child's language.

I deal with children and have been given this title "Maggi, mother and friend of 10.000 children". I am a universal mother and active mother. I want to speak their language, so that we can create a world where it is good to live, a world of brothers and sisters, a world John Lennon mentioned in his song "Image".

That cry of distress! It is a disgrace that in the 21<sup>st</sup> century there are children still dying of hunger, who are dying because they have nothing, people who die in the same world where their brothers and sisters are dying because they eat too much! How can we have that in the same world?

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We have to “sing the same song”, as brothers and sisters, because we have a common destiny, we are obliged not to close our eyes to the suffering of others, and to publish “great” books which nobody will read, because a good part of the planet’s population can’t even read or write. You have written for yourselves.

I want to be able to laugh with you after feeling so much anger. I want to be able to laugh and indulge myself with all the dreams that you have about humanity. I have listened to the voices of distress of my brothers and sisters and I wanted you to hear my voice. The voice of someone who comes from the sub-Saharan region, someone who can come here and talk to you about their hopes, not about their distress, because we are builders of hope.



## Towards a Consolidation of Humanity

**Bogaletch Gebre**

**W**hat is our mandate as the human race living in the 21<sup>st</sup> century? We must challenge ourselves to create a movement towards consolidating humanity for the dignity of both women and men.

When did the dehumanisation of womankind begin? History (“his story” – as told by men), concerning religious, social, economic, political, militaristic, scientific inventions or artistic contributions, reflects men’s impact and influence in the world; it is devoid of the role or contributions of women. Patriarchy used contemporary thought throughout the ages to justify its prejudices against women, to make woman a non-person. I maintain this is the most enduring, ubiquitous human rights violation ever.

Perhaps the Catholic Church has done more than any other institution in history to fashion how men have viewed and treated women. Tertullian (AD 160-220), one of the founding fathers of the Catholic Church, wrote “You are the devil’s gateway; you are the unsealed of that forbidden tree; you are the first deserter of the Divine law. You are she who persuaded him whom the devil was not valiant enough to attack. You destroyed so easily God’s image, man. (A Brief History of Misogyny, the World’s Oldest Prejudice, p. 4, 2006). The Fall of Man myth – where woman was blamed for man’s fall from the grace of God – as important for Islam as it is for Judaism and Christianity, has been held as a key to explaining woman’s lower status.

Jack Holland writes, “Misogyny, the hatred of women, has thrived at so many different levels; from the loftiest philosophical plane in the works of Greek thinkers, who helped frame how the Western society views the world, to the back streets

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of nineteenth century London and the highways of modern Los Angeles, where serial killers have left in their wake a trail of tortured and mutilated corpses of women”.

“From the Christian ascetics of the third century AD to the Taliban rulers of Afghanistan of the late 1990s (and to the present day African and Asian societies), it has directed its rage at women and tried to suppress their sexuality.”Ibd.

Rape, a profound expression of hate, frustration, anger and rage of men against women, is also utter humiliation. Ironically, the act, when performed with consent, care, respect, sensibility and sensuality, is called lovemaking. I believe it is this aspect of the relationship where men fear losing control.

As part of Eve’s punishment for her wicked inquisitiveness, pregnancy, with its pains and suffering was supposed to be proclaimed by God, along with work and death. Without the threat of pregnancy, it was believed that women would have sex for pleasure and abandon their maternal responsibilities; the idea that women are sexually insatiable remained a source of anxiety for men. Therefore, the campaign to control women’s sexuality became paramount throughout human civilisation.

According to the Catholic Church, “in the vital matters of pregnancy, a woman’s consent is inconsequential. She can be made pregnant against her wishes and without her consent”. “The inexorable law of God overrides her will, the fact she is pregnant determines her fate”. Woman was denied personal autonomy. Essentially, rape was justified. Ibd.

Ironically, it is at home, the ‘woman’s place’, that women are most unsafe. In this privatised and isolated domestic location, women are physically segregated and disenfranchised. Their oppressors, located within women’s households, cause women to face brutality alone. Studies around the world indicate domestic violence against women and girls to be the largest cause of death for women (15-44 age group), more than AIDS, TB, or malaria.

This sanctioned violence against women and girls, endemic from cradle to grave because of their gender, is the most pervasive human rights violation in the world today. Gender-based violence both reflects and reinforces inequities between men and women and compromises the health, dignity, security and autonomy of its victims. A wide range of human rights are violated, including sexual assault and abuse of children, incest, physical and mental abuse, force, coercion, murder, customary practices such as female genital mutilation (FGM), bride abduction, sex trafficking, slavery, and deprivation, directed at individual women or girls. This violence causes physical, psychological harm, humiliation and deprivation of human dignity and whole life. It is the sanctioning of commonplace violence on women that perpetuates female subordination and female poverty.

Sadly, women have culturally accepted violence as normal, ‘natural’ and a woman’s fate. Women breathe violence and suffer silently.

In Africa, more than three million girls are genitally mutilated every year. Globally, the brutality, abuse and neglect of women and girls are daunting and terrifying.

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“It appears that more girls have been killed in the last fifty years, precisely because they were girls, than men killed in all the wars of the twentieth century... – more girls killed in this routine ‘genocide’ in any one decade than people were slaughtered in all of the twentieth century.” (Half the Sky, Nicolas D. Kristof and Sheryl Wudunn, 2009).

Western governments fought slavery, segregations, totalitarian regimes, racial apartheid, but were oblivious to the gender apartheid, the oldest prejudice; they fight drug trafficking, but are indifferent to sex trafficking and the daily human rights atrocities inflicted on women by its allies.

In 1997 the French Government invited Taliban Minister of Health, who bared women doctors and nurses from hospitals and forced them out of work. On the very day he was in Paris, two women were executed in Kabul, allegedly for committing adultery. On 21 May 2001, just four months before 9/11 attack, President Bush congratulated the Taliban regime and gave \$43 000 000 for cracking down on opium production while women are stoned on the street for not abiding to the dress code law, or for applying nail polish. In Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, allies to the USA, women are continuously denied their human rights. (A Brief History of Misogyny, the World’s Oldest Prejudice, 2006 pp 265-66)

In this century, the West’s biggest war is against terrorism. Do they know women and girls of the developing world live in terror throughout their lives? Women are in fear at home, while working in the fields, going to fetch water or wood, going to the market, even while going to bed. Will this be the target of our war to liberate half of the human race in the 21<sup>st</sup> century?

Freedom for women is not a moral issue; it is a survival matter for the entire human race. Recognising the indispensability of freedom for women, and making women the principal social agency for change, is a must. Our challenge, however, is to establish effective methods and approaches, including education of girls. In order for women to become the principal social agency of change, women themselves must go through transformation, from a state of passivity to that of active and respected citizenship. Currently, less than 1% of international aid goes to women’s causes; development approaches are disconnected and fragmented. Programmes must now include health, livelihoods, environment, gender, democracy and human rights, creating relevancy to women’s reality on the ground.

Practical needs of communities and women must be linked with other strategic issues, i.e., ecology, economics, social and political systems.

Hopeful strides by women and numbers of concerned institutions are already being made. Women’s work for equity and equality in Africa, India, and Asia, Latin America and the West and North show promises. More importantly, unlike any other group, though the relationships are complex, men and women always have desire and concern for each other. They cannot live without the other. This by itself is a great opportunity for women’s struggle for freedom and equality to be qualitatively different, addressing the notion of “solidarity of humanity”, committed to the survival, wholeness and dignity of an entire people, female and male.

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It is our historical mandate, as people living in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, to stop brutality against half of the human race. We cannot honour a culture or a religion that dehumanises and marginalises women. We cannot afford to have “Gender Apartheid”, just as today we cannot afford to have racial apartheid.

In the Catholic tradition, responsible citizenship is a virtue; participation in the process of political and social change is a moral obligation. Every believer is called to faithful citizenship, to become an informed, involved, active and responsible participant in a just political process.

I dare to ask the Catholic Church and other religious institutions to support the struggle against “Gender Apartheid”, just as they have stood firmly and supported the struggle against racial apartheid.

Margaret Mead stated, “It has been women’s task throughout history to go on believing in life when there was almost no hope”. It is these hopes and aspirations of ordinary women and men, whenever there is injustice that will cause the world community to be shareholders in a movement of life, with dignity and freedom for all. Let us franchise and accelerate the change and transformation process that is underway in different parts of the world. Let us create coalitions, movements against the dehumanisation of women. Only then, with its two wings of female and male, will the bird of humankind fly. Only then will humanity advance towards consolidation.





## Interdependence and Women's Rights: Words with Real Meaning?

**Nawal El Saadawi**

Do we live in an interdependent world? What do we mean by the word "interdependent"?

Is this world based on justice or on military economic power on interdependence or on domination of the powerful?

Can we have real interdependence between countries or nations or individuals without real justice and equality between them?

Within a family, can we have real interdependence between men and women if they are not equal? Or if women are inferior to men economically or socially or morally or politically or legally or sexually or religiously or other?

We live in a world dominated globally and locally by the capitalist, patriarchal, military, religious system. A powerful big country can invade a small country and rob its resources. For example, the USA (with some other countries) invaded Iraq unjustly and aggressively.

Palestine was invaded by Israel (with other countries) unjustly and aggressively.

War criminals were not punished by the UN Security Council or the International Criminal Court (ICC).

Gender discrimination is part of the patriarchal capitalist system in the world. Today we have a backlash against women and the poor.

The gap between rich and poor is increasing globally and locally, as is the one between men and women.

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Religious fanatic fundamentalist movements are gaining more power. Religion is needed to justify the patriarchal class slave, racist system dominating the world.

The so-called Free Market is freedom of the powerful to exploit the weaker. Global trade regulations are not just. It is power and deception that dominate trade between countries.

To have real interdependence between countries, classes, genders and races we need real democracy. We cannot have real democracy under a racist, patriarchal, capitalist, religious system.

We cannot have real peace without justice. That is why war never stops globally, locally or inside the patriarchal family.

Global military violence is not separate from domestic violence at home. State terrorism is not separate from individual terrorism.

Even sports competition is based on violence and male aggression. I do not exaggerate when I say we live in a jungle. Can we have interdependence in a jungle? We need to speak about justice in our world before we speak about interdependence.

There is no interdependence without justice globally, inside every country and inside the family.

We need to struggle together, globally and locally, to realise justice and freedom between countries, classes, genders and races. We need solidarity and political organisations to fight back against all types of discriminations in our world. We need to unveil our minds and not to be deceived by beautiful words like democracy, peace, interdependence and others.

My language is Arabic. I do not know what the word interdependence means in English. But it can be positive or negative depending on the situation. If two countries or two persons are equal politically, economically, socially, morally, intellectually, legally and so on, then they can have an equal exchange, equally giving and taking. This is an equal exchange between equal partners. Nobody exploits the other under any name. Women are exploited by men in different countries, under the name of: god, chastity, femininity, motherhood, interdependence, love, sacrifice, family values, docility and protection.

Under this beautiful word - "protection" - men invaded women and big countries invaded smaller countries. Egypt was invaded and colonised by the British under the name "protection". Millions of people were killed in wars under this word "protection". Many women in the world (Western and Eastern) were oppressed (inside and outside the family) by the same word.

New beautiful words emerged with neo colonialism and neo liberalism after demystifying the old colonial words.

Today the word "democracy" replaced the word "protection". Millions of people are killed in our region - the so-called "Middle East" - under the name of democracy, human rights and others (G. W. Bush, the US President, used the words "women rights and human rights" as a pretext to invade Iraq in this 21<sup>st</sup> century).

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Other beautiful words are created all the time to veil the minds of people and exploit them.

Is the word “interdependence” one of these beautiful new words?  
I do not know yet.

Is it a new game of words in a capitalist patriarchal violent world?  
I hope not.



## Garantir les Droits des Enfants du Sida et leurs Futurs Droits de l'Homme

**Albina du Boisrouvray**

« Tout se joue avant que nous ayons douze ans » écrivait Charles Péguy.  
« L'écrivain savait que l'ancrage familial constituait un point de repères essentiel au développement d'un enfant. Il avait compris que le futur d'un individu s'édifiait dès son plus jeune âge et que les racines de sa vie se déployaient là, dans le terreau de l'enfance - un terreau qu'il fallait nourrir quotidiennement.

Charles Péguy connaissait tout cela, lui qui avait été privé d'un père mais qui avait trouvé tout le soutien nécessaire auprès de sa mère et de sa grand-mère. Charles Péguy avait eu un foyer solide, il y était devenu un homme. Pour lui, comme pour tous les autres, tout s'était joué avant douze ans. Alors qu'aurait pensé Charles Péguy des orphelins du sida - de tous les enfants vulnérables - et de leur enfance sans terre pour prendre racine? Qu'aurait-il pensé de ces enfants qui n'ont pas de repères pour grandir après qu'ils ont perdu un père, une mère ou même leurs deux parents ? Qu'aurait-il pensé de ces enfants d'aujourd'hui qui risquent de ne pas pouvoir devenir les adultes de demain faute de nourriture, d'un foyer, de soins et d'éducation? Il aurait sans doute vu en eux une génération privée d'avenir, la négation même de toute génération. Et c'est moi aussi ce que j'ai vu. C'est encore ce que je crains. C'est surtout ce que j'ai refusé.

J'ai refusé la résignation et j'ai refusé la simple indignation. Ce sentiment qui pousse à dénoncer à tout-va mais qui reste de l'ordre de la bonne conscience. Car c'est beau de s'indigner, c'est grand de s'indigner, s'indigner est à la mode.

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Mais, après avoir haussé la voix devant une caméra, va-t-on quitter son petit confort ? Or, on ne peut pas, on ne doit pas s'indigner sans agir.

Les orphelins du sida sont la pointe de l'iceberg des millions d'autres enfants affectés par la pandémie et par l'extrême pauvreté.

Ce sont des millions d'enfants vulnérables (enfants des rues, enfants dans les forces armées, déplacés, exploités au travail forcé, à la prostitution infantile ou enrôlés dans la criminalité et parfois le terrorisme) qui sont à la dérive de la civilisation. Dans l'amer constat d'une génération larguée et niée, FXB International a trouvé plus qu'une source de colère, elle a puisé une raison d'être et surtout une raison d'agir. Si nous n'avons pas encore de solution médicale pour enrayer le virus du sida, nous savons déjà comment sauver ses orphelins, y compris d'une éventuelle contamination par le VIH. Nous savons comment faire de ces enfants vulnérables une véritable génération – capable d'être et de construire demain. La solution est là, depuis longtemps.

Ce qui n'était encore qu'instinctif fait aujourd'hui l'objet d'une véritable démonstration. Un rapport de la JLICA (Joint Learning Initiative on Children and HIV/AIDS) paru en 2009 prouve que seule une démarche centrée sur la famille et la communauté permettra d'aider les orphelins du sida et les enfants vulnérables. Ce rapport préconise une réorientation des programmes et du financement vers le renforcement du soutien communautaire et du développement de services intégrés.

Cette démarche, c'est exactement celle de FXB depuis 1989 avec les Villages-FXB. Jonathan Mann nous a enseigné à Harvard le lien inextricable qu'il existe entre Santé et Droits de l'homme. Il expliquait que les politiques de santé publique ne pouvaient être durables, ni avoir un impact si les personnes pour qui on les faisait n'avaient pas accès à leur droit de base. Il disait que le sida en était la démonstration la plus évidente. J'ai traduit ce paradigme de santé publique dans le développement, dans un contexte d'extrême pauvreté, et je le mets – avec la Convention des droits de l'enfant – en pratique sur le terrain depuis 20 ans.

La recherche a montré que nous avons raison. Nous savons que 95% des enfants directement affectés par le VIH, et notamment ceux qui ont perdu leurs parents, continuent à vivre dans leur famille élargie. Mais nous savons aussi que la capacité d'accueil de ces familles est considérablement réduite. Frappées par la pauvreté – le sida en multiplie les effets – ces communautés peinent à élever les enfants du sida. Elles n'en ont pas les moyens, ni matériels, ni moraux. Livrés à eux-mêmes, ces enfants sont condamnés à « s'élever » seuls dans une longue descente aux enfers – celle de la misère, de la maltraitance et de l'exploitation, du travail forcé, de la prostitution, des réseaux de drogue ou des forces armées. C'est pour cela qu'il faut adopter une démarche globale qui prenne en considération tous les maillons communautaires, pas seulement les plus jeunes.

Pour que les orphelins du sida trouvent un terreau fertile où prendre racine, il leur faut un environnement sain. On peut leur apprendre à se laver, à bien se nourrir, à lire et à compter – et nous le faisons dans nos Villages FXB – mais on ne peut pas leur offrir un avenir si l'on se contente d'agir à leur seul niveau.

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Il faut se projeter au-delà d'eux, vers ceux qui les précèdent et les surplombent. Pour assurer leur dignité, il faut aussi assurer celle de leurs aînés. Garantir les droits des enfants du sida et leurs futurs droits de l'Homme, c'est aussi garantir les droits fondamentaux de l'ensemble de la communauté dans laquelle ils sont nés.

Nous avons donc décidé de placer l'AGR (Activité Génératrice de Revenus) au cœur du programme FXB. L'AGR est une microentreprise – qu'il s'agisse d'un commerce, d'une culture, d'un élevage de bétail – remise au chef de famille au début de chacune de nos interventions. Elle a pour objectif de sortir les familles de la misère, de renforcer leurs capacités globales et de leur permettre de subvenir petit à petit aux besoins de leur famille élargie. FXB accompagne les bénéficiaires jusqu'à leur autonomie en leur assurant l'accès à des services sanitaires, sociaux, médicaux, éducatifs et économiques de qualité.

FXB ne se contente pas de distribuer de la nourriture par exemple, elle encourage les familles à cultiver un potager, pour que, délivrés de l'angoisse de la survie alimentaire, les adultes puissent se concentrer sur le développement de leur microentreprise. Je le répète, la réintégration des orphelins du sida et des enfants vulnérables ne passera que par la fondation de foyers stables et une lutte plus globale contre la misère et pour l'accès généralisé aux droits de l'Homme. Elle ne passera que par la méthodologie des services intégrés – autour d'une AGR – pour renforcer les capacités globales des familles et des communautés et garantir leur autonomie à long terme.

Cette certitude est fondée sur des résultats plus qu'encourageants. Selon une étude indépendante réalisée par le Human Sciences Research Council, trois ans après la fin du programme Village-FXB, 86% des familles se situent toujours au-dessus du seuil de pauvreté et 97% d'entre elles ont conservé leur activité génératrice de revenus de départ. Leurs enfants vont à l'école régulièrement, plus longtemps et obtiennent de meilleurs résultats que leurs pairs. Un investissement de 160'000 euros sur trois ans permet de sortir de manière durable 500 personnes de leurs conditions de vie misérables à condition d'intervenir au niveau des causes premières de leur insécurité.

Et puis, il y a Angèle, la plus belle preuve de réussite qui soit. Angèle vit au Rwanda. Elle tentait, depuis le décès de ses parents, de s'occuper de ses 8 frères et sœurs. Grâce au programme Village-FXB, dans lequel elle a été intégrée avec sa fratrie en 2006, tout a changé. Angèle a développé un petit commerce de denrées alimentaires. Simultanément FXB s'est occupée de la re-scolarisation de ses plus jeunes frères et sœurs et de la formation professionnelle des autres. Grâce aux revenus générés par son commerce, elle a souscrit à un microcrédit pour ouvrir une boutique de vêtements. Ses deux activités lui permettent aujourd'hui de produire suffisamment d'argent pour rembourser son crédit, assumer les frais de scolarité et de santé et nourrir toute la famille.

Ma plus grande satisfaction est d'entendre un de nos bénéficiaires dire « J'ai rejoint FXB en 1992, 2000 ou 2010 ». "J'ai rejoint" : c'est pour nous une expression très gratifiante, une expression qui induit l'entrée d'une personne dans un mouvement actif, positif, valorisant, qui lui offre – à elle et aux enfants qu'elle élève – un futur digne de ce nom.



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III

**Democratic Governance of Cultural  
Diversity**



## Good Governance of Cultural Diversity

**Jorge Sampaio**

**L**et me just share my emotions. I was Mayor of this municipality for 5 years and it is always a good thing to come back and see this famous room where we had our press conferences, at the time. So I am really very happy that the North-South Centre of the Council of Europe has asked this distinguished audience to reflect on the great issue of democratic governance and cultural diversity, especially because it is taking place in this celebrated and very old room. As you may know, the instauration of our Republic was decided in this building, and its famous balcony – when you approach the main door in the entrance, there is a balcony on top of you – is where the Republic was declared on the 5 October 1910. So every 5 October there is a ceremony and it is precisely on this veranda that the authorities of our country meet. So I am particularly happy for all these reasons.

As the High Representative of the United Nations Alliance of Civilizations, I have been drawing the attention of the world's political and corporate leaders, mayors, civil society, youth, journalists, foundations, international organisations and religious leaders to the need of addressing cultural diversity. Moreover, we live in a world shaped by intense interaction among diverse cultural, religious and linguistic communities dealing with a varied diversity, difference and desire for distinctiveness; this is a central dilemma of our age.

But “acknowledging and living at ease with the landscape of diversities is different from focusing on differences” – this is a very good sentence that I picked up in a book on cities, and I insist on this because we confront ourselves all the time with precisely this issue.

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In other words, “acknowledging and living at ease with a landscape of diversities” is obviously more important and different from only focusing on differences. That is why our challenge is really to create a coherent narrative for diversity and how it can answer the problems of our age, instead of doing just the contrary and adding to them. I would like to stress that the “Alliance of Civilizations” is about promoting good governance of cultural diversity.

I have always stressed that cultural diversity is the fourth pillar of sustainable development, complementing its economic, social and environmental three other pillars. I prefer to speak of good governance, rather than management, but I do not mind at all to use, alternatively, democratic governance as it appears for instance in the texts of the Council of Europe, namely in its very celebrated and important White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue, called Living together as Equals in Dignity.

Good governance of cultural diversity is central, not only to achieving social cohesion within societies, but also in terms of prevention of conflict, and of course to ensure security and sustainable peace among communities and peoples at a grassroots level. Now, as a new concept, or perhaps a new paradigm of thinking about governance in modern societies and nations, good governance of cultural diversity still lacks, as one would imagine, appropriate survey research, case studies and model building. Here, I think, the help of scholars, social scientists and researchers may be decisive.

To give you an example of what I am referring to, let us take the issue of the link between human rights and good governance of cultural diversity. In my view, this is a key point, and I put forward a quote taken from “Sharing diversity in national approaches to a multicultural dialogue in Europe”, a report of March 2008, from a study prepared for the European Commission by the European Institute for Comparative Cultural Research. They say (good governance of cultural diversity can only) “take place in an environment where a person is guaranteed safety and dignity, equal opportunities and participation, where different views can be voiced openly, without fear, within our shared spaces, allowing for exchanges between cultures.”

So we need to recognise that good governance depends upon the full implementation of human, civic, economic, social and cultural rights as are stated in the international legal instruments such as the Charter of the United Nations, in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as well as in other documents on cultural and religious rights. In fact, this is why good governance of cultural diversity is all about democracy.

The question I want to ask is the following: How can we best support democratisation processes through the promotion of mechanisms and policies aimed at developing good governance of cultural diversity at a national level? This is my question. How can we best use the national plans and regional strategies that we ask that the Alliance asks, its member countries to develop, as opportunities to achieve human rights and promote equality and freedom? I mean after all, democracy, meaning a basic equality of citizens before the law, implies equal access to power and protection of personal freedoms, by legitimising rights and liberties.

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Let us take the example of European societies at large. We all know that much has been done to implement human rights and the rule of law, according to high standards, as well as to ensure the rights of minorities. However, we are all also aware that there is a growing malaise in European societies that may be built into a social “time bomb” across Europe, unless action is taken. This is my point of view, I do not want to seem too pessimistic, but I do not think we can afford to ignore that ethnocentric attitudes are on the rise in Europe. Indeed, one thing is discrimination, another one is prejudices, but in my view, both have to be addressed in order to tackle the sources of mounting tensions within European societies and, of course, to preserve social cohesion.

A quick look at the headlines of the past years shows an unfinished debate around a number of cultural diversity hot issues that sometimes turned into clashes. Moreover, as a report of our shared Europe by the British Council stresses, and I quote: “Mistrust is coinciding with another significant development, Europe’s electorate has been voting in increasing numbers for political parties of the extreme right”.

I do not want at this time to go further on this issue, but I think that the rise of extreme right in Europe is a dangerous trend that has to be addressed because the sources of tensions are there, and there are groups and forces of various types and nature preparing precisely to exploit them. There is a growing sense of urgency that something has to be done to face these very huge challenges.

Another important point that I want to stress here regards the reinforcement of human rights and the rejection of all prevarication based on cultural particulars and the manipulation of national sentiment. This is a key issue, precisely because at times, making the case for cultural diversity is a way to infringe upon human rights and limit their scope. Conversely, the universality of human rights cannot be used as a way to deny cultural diversity, in particular the rights of persons belonging to minorities and those of indigenous peoples. Cultural diversity is inseparable from a respect for human dignity, and human dignity is at the core of the universality of human rights.

I am strongly convinced that the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights is based on the acknowledgement of a common and therefore universal humanity, shared by every man, woman and child on earth and that it really provides a minimum solution to address miseries.

Now, almost every society in the world is confronted with the challenge of balancing the rights of cultural communities and the absolute need to reinforce inclusiveness and social cohesion that allows people to develop a sense of a community living together, sharing values and principles and shaping a common future. I think that if we are to succeed in these endeavours we really have to develop a work that addresses the necessity of a sense of a community living together.

In times of intercultural tensions, it is important not only develop appropriate policies, aimed at fostering political stability, security and economic health, equal opportunities for all individuals and groups and civic participation, but also to

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uphold the rights of minorities. So first and foremost, it is absolutely essential to promote good governance of cultural diversity at large.

We need to act at different levels and engage various types of actors in a social process, rebuilding relationships, or if you prefer renewing the famous Rousseau's "social contract". This means involving in this process all levels of leadership, from grassroots to NGOs, local leaders, community developers and so on, to a "middle range" leadership, i.e. academics and intellectuals, leaders respected in various sectors, ethnic and religious leaders, mayors and indeed to the top leadership, meaning, the political, military and religious leaders with high and sometimes global visibility.

This implies engaging in a new and innovative agenda, aimed precisely at developing public policies as they relate to democratic governance of cultural diversity and to intercultural dialogue. At the heart of these policies are intercultural competences and skills as part of an overall vision or national strategy on life-long learning of how to live together.

It is a very complex and challenging agenda and it will not have results tomorrow. But we have to be active in this process at all times. It is not by of course by chance that Education, Youth, Media and Migration are the four main areas of action of the Alliance of Civilizations.

This gives you an idea of what is at stake. It is really all about creating a new mindset, or if you prefer, to stimulate sustainable reconciliation in divided societies.



## A New Age of Discoveries

### Queen Rania Al Abdullah

In 1519, with five ships under his command, and a raggle-taggle crew, a Portuguese explorer, Ferdinand Magellan went in search of the Spice Islands. Not only was he the first person to lead an expedition across the Pacific Ocean, but it was the first successful attempt to circumnavigate the Earth.

This was the Age of Discoveries... when Europeans explored the world by ocean, navigating new trade routes; searching gold, silver, and spices; and competing for political and economic influence. But this was also an age that witnessed an unprecedented willingness to seek out and understand other cultures... a desire to experience and observe as much as possible. It strikes me that, today, almost 500 years later, we can learn a lot from this spirit, because while it seems we are closer together than ever before; in many respects, we have never been further apart.

Today, as a result of cheap, fast travel, cross-border migration and our growing interdependence, our neighbourhoods, the places we call 'home', are culturally very diverse. That is the norm. But many people find navigating this new social landscape unsettling. Physically, we might be living side by side, but mentally, emotionally, there is a gulf between us. We feel nervous when we see a young Arab man waiting to board the plane... we raise our eyebrows at the Western woman travelling by herself... we are wary of the veiled Muslim mother collecting her child from school... or the immigrant family, speaking a strange language and wearing peculiar clothes. And that is where we leave it. We turn away. We pull back. Confident that the few things that make us different are more important than the many things we have in common. So the cycle begins. Suspicion fills the awkward silences.



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Tension holds the stare of rapidly shifting eyes. Mutual misunderstanding claims new ground. As these traits are amplified from individuals to neighbourhoods to cities, and then between countries, intolerance fractures the foundations that have kept us strong for so long. As a Muslim and as an Arab, it is these cracks between the West and the Muslim world that concern me.

We have all watched local incidents become global incidents in the blink of an eye... the cartoon crisis, the teddy bear controversy, or Geert Wilders' film. Emotions spill over, facts become lost in angry tirades attitudes become entrenched. A Gallup poll, released last year, showed that many in Europe and the United States are convinced the Muslim world is not committed to improving relations with the West. At the same time, large majorities in every Middle Eastern country surveyed said they did not think the West is committed to better relations with the Muslim world.

And yet, large numbers of people on both sides said that the quality of the relationship between the Muslim and Western worlds is important to them. In other words, East and West both think it is important to fix the relationship. But both sides think that the other side does not feel the same way. It is a question of trust.

It is not that people do not care. It is that they don't see their caring reflected. They do not perceive an equal sense of commitment from the other side. And that often occurs when we do not know enough about each other. It is what the philosopher, William James, called "the blindness in human beings" that prevents us from understanding the feelings of those "different from ourselves". That is why, I believe, we need to make a greater effort to learn more about each other... explore beyond our cultural borders. And this is where the efforts of institutions like the North-South Centre, the Council of Europe, and the Alliance of Civilizations come into focus because people need a nudge to get them talking... and role models from which to learn.

In 2005, the Faro Declaration called for a strategy to increase intercultural dialogue – the best antidote to fear, rejection and violence. Its ensuing white paper – which was adopted, last year, by all 47 members of the Council of Europe – has been called a "Pan-European contribution to the international discussion steadily gaining momentum". Indeed, a number of European countries have already adapted school curricula and teacher training programmes to encourage greater intercultural outreach and communication.

The Alliance of Civilizations, led by President Sampaio, also promotes understanding and reconciliation among cultures globally, in the fields of youth, education, media and migration. It is hoped that such dialogue can be a force of moderation and understanding during times of heightened cross-cultural tensions.

In Jordan, too, we have shouldered our responsibility. Guided by my husband, His Majesty King Abdullah, Jordan issued the Amman Message and reemphasised the core values of Muslims everywhere: compassion, mutual respect, tolerance, and acceptance. And by doing so, we reminded the world of the similarities we all share. This was also the rationale behind my YouTube project.

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Today, through the Internet, we can reach the largest youth audience in history. In 2007, Internet use in the Middle East and Africa grew faster than anywhere in the world. I wanted to leverage the internet's ability to bring all those people together bridge the gulf of perception and trust between the Muslim world and the West and scale up digital dialogue because, nowadays, a journey of a thousand miles can begin with a single click.

My goal was to try to dismantle the negative stereotypes about my region that undermine so much trust between us. Blogs and vlogs rolled in, much to the relief of my teenage son who, briefly, thought his mother was cool. People from different backgrounds, religions and ethnicities took the time to channel their thoughts and talents creatively.

In one of my favourite videos, Hanna Gargour, a Jordanian, sings with Mia Rose, a talented Portuguese girl. Hoping that music would help "bridge the gap" between their two cultures, they sang a song called, "Waiting on the World to Change".

What I liked about this response was that Hanna and Mia were not waiting... they are actively helping the world to change by engaging with it. The video inspired hundreds of comments in Portuguese, Spanish, English, Arabic and French from everyone, including Italians, Moroccans, Brazilians, Saudis and Philipinos. With every joke and jibe, with every comment, criticism and point of view, they were learning about themselves, each other, religions, and cultures. But it is not just about the centers, the councils, the alliances, the messages and the YouTube campaigns. It is about the thousands of grassroots' efforts, inspired by individuals of all ages, going on all over the world, small gestures in neighbourhoods, schools, sports' grounds, art exhibitions and beyond.

And it is this that has convinced me we have reached a turning point a watershed moment in our shared and common history. In all of these efforts, large and small, we find ourselves reaching out to unfamiliar frontiers. We set our course, unsure of where we will end up but confident that the journey is worth the risk. For me, that evokes the memory of Ferdinand Magellan. Because all of these efforts are the beginning of a new Age of Discovery an era that sees us rediscover ourselves and our neighbours... an epoch that sees us 'un-discover' negative stereotypes, a period in which we are open to connecting with others, a time that is marked by trust and tolerance in strangers.



## La Gouvernance Démocratique

**Cornelio Sommaruga**

Je suis heureux d'être associé à ce XX<sup>ème</sup> Anniversaire du Centre Européen pour l'interdépendance et la solidarité mondiales et de participer – avec des éminents collègues et amis lauréats du Prix Nord-Sud – à cette Table Ronde sur la GOUVERNANCE DEMOCRATIQUE DE LA DIVERSITE CULTURELLE.

Il n'y a pas de doutes – cela a été dit ce jour par plusieurs orateurs – que le monde est confronté en ce début du XXI<sup>ème</sup> siècle à une crise notamment économique sans précédent – qui secoue même les fondements de l'Union Européenne – et ceci à 5 ans de l'échéance des Objectifs de l'ONU de Millénaire du Développement. N'oublions pas que les Objectifs du Millénaire veulent entre autres réduire de moitié l'extrême pauvreté et la faim jusqu'à 2015, concrétiser l'égalité de droits et obligations entre les genres et améliorer d'une manière substantielle l'accès à l'éducation et à la santé. Bien avant que le Sommet prévu à New York en septembre prochain pour dresser un état des lieux, nous pouvons de notre part constater que – malgré certains progrès – le monde est loin d'atteindre ces nobles objectifs.

Pourquoi cela ? Beaucoup de promesses certes, mais une mise en œuvre bien déficiente, alourdie aussi par l'arrière-fond des grands problèmes qui secouent la planète au niveau climatique, alimentaire, financier et économique. Sans vouloir ignorer la violence généralisée, alimentée surtout par un massif transfert d'armes.

Le Conseil de l'Europe est très attaché aux principes démocratiques, aux droits humains et à l'état de droit. Etat de droit dans notre contexte doit signifier équilibre dans les rapports entre pauvres et riches, entre faibles et forts. Malheureusement nous sommes encore loin de cela sur le plan national et international.

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Kofi Annan, en recevant en 2001 le Prix Nobel de la Paix, disait à Oslo « il faut éliminer la pauvreté, prévenir les conflits et promouvoir la démocratie », et plus loin « il faut un monde débarrassé de la pauvreté pour que tous les hommes et toutes les femmes puissent exploiter leur potentiel. Il faut que les droits humains soient respectés pour que les différends puissent être réglés dans l'arène politique, par des moyens pacifiques. Il faut un environnement démocratique, fondé sur le respect de la diversité et la concertation, pour que les individus puissent s'exprimer librement, choisir le gouvernement qui leur convient et jouir de la liberté d'association ». Ce texte contient tout un programme pour la gouvernance démocratique. Il faut, dans notre contexte, je crois, surtout souligner son appel à un environnement démocratique fondé sur le respect de la diversité, qui doit justement – c'est moi qui le dit – être considérée comme une richesse. Trop souvent – il faut le relever – ceux qui aspirent aux mêmes choses souffrent des mêmes préjugés. Ils ont tous peur de ce qui est différent d'eux, l'autre ethnique, l'autre couleur de peau, les autres traditions culturelles ou linguistiques et surtout l'autre religion. A l'époque de la mondialisation des voyages et de l'information, les gens, partout dans le monde, s'en prennent surtout aux différences, ce qui nourrit les tensions interculturelles et religieuses. Aujourd'hui il me semble urgent de faire face à cette tendance préoccupante. Il faut reconstruire des ponts et s'engager dans un dialogue interculturel constructif et soutenu, qui insiste sur des valeurs et des aspirations communes.

Jean Monnet, l'initiateur de l'intégration européenne, disait que « rien n'est possible sans les hommes et rien n'est durable sans les institutions ». C'est pourquoi ici, dans le cadre d'une Institution comme le Centre Nord-Sud, je voudrais en appeler à la mondialisation des responsabilités de la société civile pour le dialogue interculturel et interreligieux. La société civile ; ce sont les ONG, les forces politiques, les milieux économiques, les médias, les universités et écoles, les religions et dénominations diverses, mais surtout aussi chaque être humain individuellement dans ce monde.

Permettez-moi d'insister sur la responsabilité des religions qui doivent faire émerger de la profondeur de leurs traditions les forces spirituelles qui pourront aider l'humanité et la conduire sur la voie de la solidarité et de la paix. Il faut savoir connaître la religion de l'autre, ce qui implique qu'on rentre dans sa peau, qu'on voie le monde tel qu'il le voit et qu'on pénètre la signification pour l'autre d'être bouddhiste, chrétien, hindou, juif, musulman etc...

La mondialisation des responsabilités nous appelle à agir pour la sécurité humaine, particulièrement dans les sociétés ouvertes, en intervenant dans le débat public et dans la construction des décisions politiques. Le vrai défi consiste à souligner les valeurs humaines et la dimension spirituelle et éthique de la vie politique et économique. N'oublions pas que les systèmes politiques donnent des lignes de comportement à travers la législation et que les lois des nations devraient refléter les normes morales qui en sont à la base.

La Commission à haut niveau de l'ONU sur la société civile, présidée par Fernando Henrique Cardoso, disait dans son rapport de 2004 que « une meilleure intégration de la société civile et un renforcement du rôle des parlementaires dans

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les délibérations internationales permettraient de s'attaquer à une des principales incohérences du monde politique contemporain, à savoir que la substance de la politique est de plus en plus internationale, tandis que le processus de la politique reste essentiellement national ».

Quoi qu'il en soit – ceci vaut pour les gouvernements et pour la société civile – faire appel à des valeurs religieuses ou morales pour discriminer, humilier ou exclure les gens d'une autre religion, d'une culture étrangère est méprisable. Est indigne aussi le terrorisme qu'il se fonde sur la religion ou sur d'autres motifs. Le refus de l'étranger, ou tout simplement de l'autre, la xénophobie et, depuis un certain temps dans les pays occidentaux, l'islamophobie peuvent conduire à des actes d'une gravité extrême.

Bonne gouvernance démocratique signifie aussi de s'opposer au déni du droit de tous à une identité culturelle, religieuse et sociale. Il faut par contre savoir reconnaître l'apport fait à la richesse culturelle de chaque pays par les étrangers immigrés. Il faut savoir respecter le droit des divers groupes sociaux et le droit de toutes les personnes à une identité propre.

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Je voudrais encore souligner que l'exclusion et le désespoir sont souvent cause de violence et que de nos jours le phénomène de l'humiliation porte à renier toute forme de contact positif, ce qui est particulièrement regrettable, car tout progrès dans le dialogue interculturel passe par la tolérance et la communication.

Notre Table Ronde a comme titre général « Le XXI<sup>ème</sup> siècle, siècle de l'interdépendance et de la solidarité mondiales ». Cette solidarité est une exigence politique, morale, économique et juridique. La conscience sociale devrait devenir la force directrice de la vie locale, régionale, nationale et internationale. La solidarité est un atout et une force ! Mais – il faut en être conscients aussi ici au Centre Nord-Sud, où les Lauréats viennent de pays du Sud et du Nord –, que pour mettre en œuvre cette solidarité et avoir succès dans le dialogue interculturel et interreligieux, il faut commencer par changer soi-même, avant d'espérer de changer le monde. Et d'avoir succès individuellement est sans doute très bien, mais d'avoir succès en équipe est encore mieux !



## Interaction Between Cultural Diversity and Democratic Governance

**Felisa Tibbits**

**W**e might view the relationship between cultural diversity and democratic governance from two inter-related perspectives: one legal and the other cultural.

The legal perspective requires governments to protect the cultural rights of members of minority groups. Democratic governance will always take place within contexts in which there are groups that enjoy greater power and privilege than others. For this reason, the rights of individuals and minority groups need to be protected from the “tyranny of the majority”. The international norms used to protect such groups are human rights.

Human rights standards – as codified in international human rights law and in turn reflected in national systems of protection (laws, policies, institutions) – are intended to promote, protect and fulfil the rights of every human being and, specifically, to ensure non-discrimination in the enjoyment of freedoms and rights. The human rights principles of inclusion and non-discrimination; of participation and empowerment; of transparency and accountability; and of rule of law are closely linked with the goals of democratic governance. Moreover, these human rights principles and the associated standards anticipate tensions that arise between groups that have disparities in power and identify in no uncertain terms that disparities in the enjoyment of human rights based on such factors of discrimination are particularly antithetical to human rights.



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The cultural perspective requires democratic leaders to embrace cultural diversity and seek ways to promote social cohesion and mutual understanding. There are many mechanisms at the disposal of governments for doing so, including policies that facilitate direct, constructive and regular contact between individuals coming from different backgrounds; educational policies, especially curriculum, that recognise in non-stereotypical ways the diverse backgrounds/ identities of citizens and promote inclusive policies of learning and the combating of hate speech and groups.

The promotion and celebration of cultural diversity from a cultural perspective, as with the legal perspective, must be a proactive one on the part of governments. Mechanisms for identifying violations of human rights based on membership in a minority group need to be established and vigilantly monitored, both by governments as well as rights holders.

Neither of these approaches views cultural diversity as instrumental to the work of the international community or at the core of co-operation policies. Rather, cultural diversity is now an inevitable feature of governance at all levels. Rather, I would say that governments and the international community – working within a human rights framework – will instinctively apply both legal and cultural perspectives in recognising and protecting diversity of all kinds within human society. Cultural diversity is one such feature.



## “Metamorphoses”: a Global Approach to Cultural Diversity

Stéphane Hessel

I was struck by the contrast between what is said about the seriousness of the current crisis and the indispensable need to face up to challenges. We all agree on the challenges, yes there are challenges, there are communities that do not integrate, we have the challenge of immigrants who cannot pass borders and are not well received when they do, the challenge of the Earth that we have destroyed over the last century – yes, everybody agrees on that too.

Plenty of women have been engaged in this discussion, and I congratulate the Centre for that, since there are many places where only men speak. Here we have courageous woman who have brought something to the discussion, which often men are not sensitive too – the fact that the societies in which we live are absolutely unfair to half of humanity, the female half. I thank you very much for bringing that to our full attention.

So I will describe the contrast I observed in the following way: We know things are not going well and why are they not going well. We know to a certain extent what has brought us to this point – lack of good governance, international institutions, and so on – we know what is wrong but do we know what could be better?

Regarding this point, I would like to talk about an experience involving President Gorbachev in Italy, where a peace forum took place. There he, Gorbachev, began to say “I’m going to do ...”, and afterwards I cannot describe what happened to me, I discovered a word, a good Russian word – Perestroika. I asked myself, what does it mean?

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And it meant that when a problem is not resolved, you have to turn it around, you have to understand what it is based on and, if it is based on something bad, you have to find another base for it.

He gave an historical example of this Perestroika when he completely transformed his country, during his short presence as Head of the Soviet Union, a transformation that gave rise to a very different world. We were used to living in a East-West conflict scenario where we could be wiped out by nuclear strikes. We asked ourselves if we could avoid that. But it all came to an end. Now we have another landscape and have to find new answers.

And about those new answers, there is another man I admire, a French sociologist Edgar Morin who proposes that we take aboard the word metamorphoses. This brings to mind anthropologists who have shown us, since Lucy, our great grandmother from Africa, that societies have transformed themselves and that man and woman, the players in this society; they themselves have been transformed, and moved from a people who essentially fought each other for supremacy to create something called civilisation.

Well, my civilisation! Now there are many civilisations, and people such as my “neighbour”, Mr Sampaio, are looking into understanding how these civilisations can become brothers and sisters. What we need is a metamorphoses of the human spirit and mind – it has to stop being defensive. Rather than being consumers controlling and rivalling others, men and women perhaps have to become what religions dream about but do not always achieve, not angels, but brothers towards each other.

On this subject, I will quote a text from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, article 1: “All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood”. This is a wonderful ideal, which has not yet been achieved. We do not live among each other in a spirit of fraternity. But there is something very important from that text I want to highlight. It says we are beings of reason but also of conscience. And what does that mean? Each of us, man and woman, can be conscious of the need to respect others, conscious that we are not alone, conscious that our interests are not the only ones we should defend, conscious that there are many of us in the world, that we are together, shoulder to shoulder. We have to acquire that consciousness and that is an aim that has not been achieved yet.

I would say that teachers in our schools should have the responsibility to make an effort to ensure that youngsters live from the beginning with each other in a spirit of fraternity. They should be aware that human beings have different vocations and different cultures in the world, and that there are going to be more and more of us, and more and more to meet, whether that be through migration or travel. My grandchildren’s grandchildren in the future will be able to make use of this and will be more able to live with each other and to listen to each other. That is the metamorphoses that I am talking about. If that metamorphoses is achieved or at least on the way to be achieved, we can benefit from the wonderful potential that each of you represent. The potential of women playing a greater role in society’s

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life, the potential of all NGOs, of the local authorities, city and local councils throughout the world. There is so much potential, but in my view very poorly exploited, and to exploit it to the maximum, one has to listen to everybody who is currently working throughout the world.

Jorge Sampaio heads at the moment, and of the North-South Centre. I have had contact throughout my life with several human rights organisations struggling to protect the rights of woman, as well as the respect for a free Media and for the rights of journalists or struggling to ensure that development is applied in an intelligent way. There are many of them, they come from all countries and the North-South Centre knows them far better than other institutions. Exploiting that potential is urgent because we did not use it in the past properly.

First, we have to understand it, which is a great challenge in itself, but then we have to make it work in the best way. When we do make it work, the triangle I tried to present this morning when speaking briefly - between international institutions who advise on what should be done (United Nations, Council of Europe and others), states who promise to do all that but do not and citizens, the third side of the triangle - will create such strong links that states will be forced to be more attentive to the demands of the institutions and citizens will feel it is their role to mobilise decision-makers and become active with the awareness and consciousness stated on Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. If such potential is realised we will move towards a fairer world. We will thus follow the objectives of the Alliance of Civilization, which my "neighbour" Jorge Sampaio heads now, and of the North-South Centre.



## Building Bridges through Dialogue and Understanding

**Lluís Maria de Puig**

Je me réjouis de participer à cette Table Ronde sur « Le XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle, siècle de l'interdépendance et de la solidarité mondiales ». Celle-ci est organisée dans le cadre de la célébration pour le 20<sup>ème</sup> anniversaire du Centre Nord-Sud, dont l'Assemblée parlementaire du Conseil de l'Europe a souhaité la création pour promouvoir ces idées d'interdépendance et de solidarité.

Permettez-moi de dire que le titre de notre Table Ronde me semble poser un questionnement de fond. L'annonce d'un XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle sous le signe de l'interdépendance et de la solidarité mondiale semble assez contradictoire par rapport à notre quête d'autonomie et d'autosuffisance.

En regardant autour de moi, où que je sois, je ne trouve guère de personnes capables de se réjouir à l'idée d'avoir besoin de la solidarité des autres, ou d'accepter de bon gré que leur futur dépend, ne serait-ce qu'en partie, d'autrui. Je ne trouve que des personnes qui souhaitent s'affranchir et être les maîtres de leur destin.

Vu sous cet angle, l'annonce d'un siècle de l'interdépendance et de la solidarité mondiale serait plutôt à craindre comme la menace d'une destinée indésirable. Est-ce donc réellement un tel siècle que nous voulons bâtir ?

Ma réponse est, sans hésitations : oui ! Car nos histoires de femmes et d'hommes, ainsi que l'Histoire de l'humanité et de ses civilisations, nous montrent que nous progressons grâce à la capacité de partager expériences et savoirs. C'est dans la relation constructive avec les autres que nous apprenons à mieux maîtriser notre futur. Mais, il ne faut pas se tromper de démarche : il ne s'agit guère d'accepter sa dépendance, ni d'attendre passivement la solidarité de l'autre.

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Il est question, en fait, d'aller chacun vers les autres avec toute la richesse que nous portons en nous. La richesse des valeurs que nous partageons et que nous voulons défendre contre toute attaque, car elles fondent l'égale dignité de toute personne. La richesse des différences qui font l'unicité de chaque personne, de chaque peuple, de chaque culture, ces différences que nous pouvons présenter, les uns aux autres, comme la possibilité d'un regard différent sur le monde.

Néanmoins, force est de constater que nous vivons dans une réalité faite de profondes divisions. Aux clivages politiques, économiques, sociaux, s'ajoutent les clivages que l'on nomme « culturels ». Ces barrières semblent rendre impossible la mise en chantier du projet que le titre de cette Table Ronde nous propose. Faut-il alors se rendre à l'évidence que nous sommes dans le domaine des vœux pieux et que le siècle que nous souhaitons est irréalisable ?

Ma réponse est, sans hésitations : non ! Car aucune de ses barrières est une fatalité inévitable et toutes – me semble-t-il – ont une même origine que l'on peut annihiler : l'ignorance. L'ignorance, supportée peut-être par une certaine arrogance, engendre l'incompréhension, puis la méfiance, les tensions, la peur, les conflits, la haine ; et elle impose aussi l'esclavage du sous-développement. Voilà notre panoplie d'outils pour creuser des fossés.

Heureusement, nous sommes encore capables de bâtir des ponts. Et l'exposition que nous allons inaugurer dans quelques minutes détalera devant nous l'œuvre de femmes et d'hommes qui n'ont pas accepté de s'arrêter devant les barrières, qui ont voulu rapprocher des personnes avec des points de vue différents et faire en sorte qu'elles puissent se rencontrer, se raconter et se découvrir.

J'appelle cela le dialogue interculturel : ouvrir à l'autre notre vision du monde comme cadeau et non comme imposition ; s'ouvrir à la vision que l'autre nous offre et accepter, le temps d'un échange, d'avoir une autre perspective pour permettre à nos cultures respectives de rester créatives et vivantes.

Peut-être, nous avons tous un peu besoin d'apprendre ou réapprendre cette manière de rencontrer les autres et de nous rappeler qu'il n'est pas de culture véritable qui soit enfermée sur soi-même.

C'est pourquoi l'Assemblée parlementaire attache tellement d'importance au travail du Centre Nord-Sud, et elle voudrait qu'il soit davantage soutenu par tous les États membres du Conseil de l'Europe.

C'est pourquoi l'Assemblée insiste sur la priorité des activités dans les domaines de l'éducation, du dialogue interculturel et du dialogue interreligieux. Faut-il encore répéter que nous sommes là au cœur des droits fondamentaux ? Aujourd'hui ce n'est peut-être pas le meilleur moment d'inviter nos États à faire des efforts financiers supplémentaires. Pourtant, je ne doute pas un instant qu'élever des ponts de compréhension, de confiance mutuelle, de partage et de solidarité entre nos peuples et nos cultures est tout aussi essentiel au développement et au progrès qu'investir dans la recherche ou dans les infrastructures routières. Il est indispensable que nos enfants et nos jeunes puissent traverser ces ponts en toute sécurité et comprendre la beauté – et pas seulement la nécessité – de la rencontre confiante avec l'autre.



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C'est pour eux et avec eux que nous devons œuvrer pour le monde du XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle : celui, évoqué par le titre de notre table Ronde, d'une civilisation globale, plurielle dans la diversité de ses composantes et unifiée par leur interdépendance, un monde solidaire où nous sommes tous – et nous nous sentons tous – coresponsables d'un destin commun construit ensemble.

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**IV**

**Conclusions**



## Interdependence and Solidarity Today

**Maud de Boer-Buquicchio**

**T**he word “interdependence” has more resonance today than at any other time in history.

The current financial and economic crisis, as well as our growing realisation of the challenges we now face in safeguarding our planet for future generations, have again brought home to us, if we were not aware of it before, that what happens in one part of the world almost inevitably impacts on other continents and regions.

In times of crisis, the first human reaction is often to turn inwards and to focus on one’s own difficulties and how to solve them. Today, we have learned that we cannot act in isolation nor hope to solve our difficulties by battering down the hatches and trying to protecting our own immediate interests until the storm is over.

Interdependence is a reality and while some parts of the world are still enormously privileged compared to others, the current crises remind us that we are all vulnerable, that our privilege and comfort are by no means guaranteed. We are realising that the western world does not hold all the answers, that our assumptions about the right way of doing things may not all have been well founded.

That is why I believe that the concept of solidarity has taken on a new meaning. It is no longer a matter of the rich supporting the poor, but a more equal partnership between nations and regions that need each other. We can and must learn from each other on an equal footing. I think it is time to approach our partners with a new humility and a little less arrogance, and I am sure that our dialogue will be all the better for it.

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Solidarity today should not be seen only as a moral obligation but as an opportunity and a necessity. The debates during this Round Table have shown that we are ready to move to this next stage together.

The Council of Europe has witnessed enormous changes on the European landscape since its creation sixty years ago. We have played a key role in the bridging of dividing lines in Europe, between north and south and between east and west. Today we have a unique role in bringing together almost all European countries under a common framework of standards and co-operation on human rights, democracy and the rule of law.

We are a European organisation, but the values we promote are universal. They are values on which dialogue with other parts of the world, especially our near neighbours, can be founded. They are the values that remain no matter what our prism of perspective and no matter how radically the world is changing, and they are key in addressing global challenges. They are the values of democracy.

Today, our new Secretary General is leading our Organisation in a reform process. Our aim is to be even more relevant, targeted and impactful in our work. We will focus our attention on the areas where we can add the most value and where we have the leading expertise. We will build up our collaboration with other European institutions so that our collective action is stronger and better. Our aim is to take the best of what we have – our solid basis of standard-setting, monitoring and co-operation activities – and to mobilise this to innovate and to address upcoming and future challenges.

I am convinced that work of the North-South Centre responds to these criteria. Its newly created Think Tank will certainly explore in more depth the questions I have outlined above, and will help guide the work of the Centre over the next years. The Centre has already proved the benefits of close co-operation in action with other international partners, in particular, the European Union and the United Nations, represented by the Alliance of Civilizations, which is led by Mr Sampaio, a good friend of the Council of Europe and whose contribution to dialogue between cultures and peoples I wish to salute.

The North-South is moreover a key player in taking the message of the Council of Europe outside our borders, as it has done with its work in implementing the Strategy for the Development of Intercultural Dialogue and the recommendations of the White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue, which has become the reference concept paper on this topic even beyond Europe.

The proposed new statutory resolution aims to bring the role of the Centre into line with its current remit. This resolution is being examined by the relevant Council of Europe bodies and the Secretary General will provide his opinion in the autumn.

The Council of Europe greatly values your contribution to our work and thanks you for participating in this Round Table. In this anniversary year, I am confident that the Centre will continue to extend its span of activities and continue to prove its worth as a bridge-builder. It is, as I said at the start of my intervention, the ideal of interdependence put into practice.



## A Key Role for North-South Co-operation

**Deborah Bergamini**

I thank the Lisbon Municipality for their hospitality and the State Secretary for this presence. I thank all the participants for joining the North-South Centre in this important celebration, and wish to extend a special thanks to his Excellency President Grímsson and to the North-South Prize winners who, for the most part, travelled a long way to be with us.

I underline the opportunity and relevance of the debate and the important messages that have been sent today, namely that equality of women is not a moral issue but a matter of survival and that we must demystify words and change our use of language if we want to change the world. More than wishful thinking and talking, concrete actions are needed and political bodies must be accountable for their commitments.

The theme for the first session – “Towards a new model of development”, inspired a few comprehensive reflections regarding the existing development model.

In the 90s, the late economist Mahbub ul Haq noted that Vietnam and Pakistan had the same Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita, around \$2 000 per year, but Vietnamese, on average, lived eight years longer than Pakistanis and were twice as likely to be able to read. In other words, the same income was buying two dramatically different levels of human well-being. This difference led Haq to insist that nations needed a more comprehensive measure to judge the welfare of their people, a gauge of human development. His reflection led to the creation of the Human Development Index, which has become one of the most influential

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and widely used indexes to measure human development across countries and which has been used since 1990 by the United Nations Development Programme for its annual Human Development Reports.

However, as we know, the HDI is measured only for the so-called developing countries. I think that the time has come for all of us to rethink our models of development.

That is why I personally appreciate the initiative of the French President Nicolas Sarkozy, who commissioned a report by marquee-name economists, including Nobel laureates Joseph Stiglitz and Amartya Sen, to find alternatives to what he called the “GDP fetishism”.

What exactly is this fetishism about? Basically, it is about market globalisation and growth. The GDP, generally expressed as a per-capita figure and often adjusted to reflect purchasing power, represents the market value of goods and services produced within a nation’s boundaries. It sounds reasonable until we consider what it does not measure: the general progress in health and education, the conditions of public infrastructures, environment safeguard, community and leisure.

I know that the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development is working on this theme, since that is its mission, from an economical point of view. Concerning this point, I recall Mrs Gebre’s proposition about international aid to developing countries.

I do think that the NSC can and should bring a contribution to this global reflection. In this framework, the discussion of today is a very good starting point. Maybe we should start asking ourselves towards what we progress, keeping in mind that economic development and expansion alone do not make people happy, while the goal of development should be about happiness (well-being), not numbers and growth.

With regard to the second session on “Democratic governance of cultural diversity”, as the Holy Father said during his visit to Portugal, speaking precisely of the NSC, “Given the reality of cultural diversity, people need not only to accept the existence of the culture of others, but also to aspire to be enriched by it and to offer to it whatever they possess that is good, true and beautiful”.

Keeping in mind these words as a source of inspiration for our work, we must then consider that Democracy is a way of taking decisions in order to establish an agreement between the biggest amount of people, if not the totality of them, without ever forgetting the rights of minorities.

In some periods in history, finding such an agreement was simpler than in others, notably after the Second World War during the drafting of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Some people, such as philosopher Ignatieff, think that this has been possible because it was a reaction to the atrocities of war: since everybody agreed about what was wrong, it was simpler to find an agreement on what was right. In other words, he thinks that you do not have to agree on what is good in order to agree with human rights, but rather on what is indisputably wrong.



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Ignatieff advocates a consciously minimalist universalism that makes reference to a “thin” theory of what is right. Starting from this minimalist standpoint makes it possible, in his view, to stand up to critics and find an agreement.

This is surely a very practical point of view, and probably sometimes, it is the only solution we have at our disposal. I remember Jorge Sampaio mentioning this approach during the last Lisbon Forum and I agree with him.

Indeed, I think that we must work in order to find a way to encompass such a minimalist strictly defined approach so that, in the future, we will be able to agree on what is good, without being scared of differences.

And I think that to do so education has a key role, and thus the NSC can have one too.

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**V**  
**Summary Biographies of Keynote  
Speakers**

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### **Marguerite BARANKITSE, Founder of the “Maison Shalom”**

Marguerite “Maggie” Barankitse was born in 1956 in the village of Nyamutobo. After graduation, she taught from 1979 to 1981. From 1981 to 1983, she undertook lay religious training at the Auxilium in Lourdes. Once back in Burundi, she took up teaching again in Ruyigi, but her teaching license was revoked when she refused to apply the policy of separation by ethnicity. She left to study in Switzerland on a scholarship before returning to Ruyigi to become secretary to the bishop. In October 1993, with the political situation deteriorating, Maggie hid dozens of Hutu adults and children at the bishop’s palace in Ruyigi. She slowly but surely, in constant peril of her life, established Maison Shalom. As the genocide persisted, hundreds of children sought refuge with Maggie. She organised a mutual assistance system irrespective of tribe, religion and social origin, in which her older charges looked after the younger ones. She opened two more centres for traumatised and injured children: Oasis of Peace and House of Peace. To help provide a future for these growing children, Maison Shalom developed into a network of “villages,” where the children could grow and develop within “families,” and take their lives in hand. For Maggie, the top priority remains to teach these children peace and forgiveness. To date, Maison Shalom has helped over 50,000 children and adults. In July 2007, the mother-child centre – built by the Belgian and Burundian armies on land belonging to Maggie’s family and donated to the Maison Shalom NGO – was inaugurated. Marguerite Barankitse received numerous prizes, like the North-South Prize in 2000.

### **Deborah BERGAMINI, Chair of the Executive Council of the North-South Centre**

Deborah Bergamini started her career as a journalist, in 1993 when she started work at two Tuscan television stations and as crime correspondent and as law courts correspondent for the newspaper “La Nazione”. She then moved to Paris to become chief publisher of “Analyses et Synthèses”, a post she held until 1997, when she went to London as a journalist for the American broadcaster Bloomberg. It was while working there that she met Silvio Berlusconi during an interview in 1999 and became his adviser for communication, following him to the Palazzo Chigi, the Prime Minister’s official residence. In 2002, she returned to working in television and became RAI’s Deputy Director of Strategic Marketing with responsibility for business development and international marketing. In 2003, she was appointed to the Board of “Radio Televisione Italiana” (RAI) international and later to the Board of RAI trading. Also in 2003, she was appointed to the Advisory Committee to the Minister for Arts and Cultural Activities. In 2004, she became Director of Marketing at RAI, a role she occupied until January 2008. On 14 April 2008, she was elected to the Italian Parliament and she serves on the Italian Parliamentary Committee for Transport, Posts and Telecommunications. Since 25 September 2008, she has been Secretary of the Italian Parliamentary Delegation at the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. She has been Chair of the Executive Council of the North-South Centre of the Council of Europe, since 1 April 2009.

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### **Manuel BRITO, Representative of António Costa, Mayor of Lisbon**

Manuel da Silva Brito was born in Lisbon on July 21 1949. He is a professor, educator and politician, who is presently City adviser to the Mayor of Lisbon, with the portfolios of Social Action, Education, Youth, Sports, Civil Protection and the Firemen Regiment of Sapadores.

He graduated in Physical Education and has a Master's degree in Education Sciences and Methodology of Physical Education from the Technical University of Lisbon.

He taught Physical Education at several pre-schools and high schools in Lisbon. Moreover, his academic career includes, among others, teaching at the Polytechnic Institute of Santarém, at the Sports Sciences and Physical Education Faculty of the University of Coimbra and at the Faculty of Physical Education and Sports of the Lusófona University of Humanities and Technologies in Lisbon.

He was President of the National Sports Institute of Portugal (1999-2002) and member of the National Sports Council (2008-2009). Furthermore, he was president of the Council for Ethics and Security in Sports (2008-2009) and is Vice-President of the Olympic Committee in Portugal since 2009.

### **Maud DE BOER-BUQUICCHIO, Deputy Secretary General of the Council of Europe**

Maud de Boer-Buquicchio was born in December 1944 in Hoensbroek in the Netherlands. She studied French language and literature and later law at Leiden University. She specialised in international relations and labour law and obtained her degree with a thesis on the equality of treatment between women and men under European Community law. She joined the Council of Europe in 1969 and began her career at the European Commission of Human Rights. Between 1972 and 1977, she was an adviser in the Private Office of the Secretary General of the Council of Europe. She continued her career in the Secretariat of the European Commission and was elected Deputy Registrar of the European Court of Human Rights in 1998. In June 2002, Maud de Boer-Buquicchio was elected Deputy Secretary General of the Council of Europe by the Organisation's Parliamentary Assembly. It was the first time a woman was elected to this post. Since her election, she has been focusing her attention on the cause of vulnerable groups in society. She has been instrumental in launching the programme "Building a Europe for and with children" and made the fight against violence against children her priority. She has been actively involved in promoting the Council of Europe Convention on action against trafficking in human beings and the Council of Europe campaign to combat violence against women, including domestic violence. She also actively contributes to developing co-operation and co-ordination between the Council of Europe and other international institutions. In June 2007, she was re-elected for a second mandate.

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**Vera DUARTE, Judge of the Court of Appeals, honorary President of the “Associação de Mulheres Juristas”, former Minister of Education and Higher Education**

Vera Duarte is judge of the Court of Appeals in Cape Verde and former Minister of Education and Higher Education of Cape Verde (2008-2010). From 2004-2008, she served as President of the National Commission for Human Rights and Citizenship (CNDHC) and from 2001-2004, she was co-ordinator of the National Committee of Human Rights.

A former judge of the Supreme Court of Justice of Cape Verde from 1990 to 1998, Vera Duarte was previously member of the Superior Council of Magistrature from 1989 to 1990, and General Director of the Department of Studies, Legislation and Documentation at the Ministry of Justice of Cape Verde from 1982 to 1985. She was also a member of the African Commission on Human and People’s Rights from 1993 to 1999, and a member of the Executive Council of the North-South Centre of the Council of Europe from 1995 until 1997. Ms Duarte received her LLB from the University of Lisbon, and completed her Judicial Magistrate Training at the Centre of Judiciary Studies, in Portugal. She has published five books and participated in several collective works of national and international writers and collaborated in several national and foreign newspapers and magazines.

Her work for the promotion and protection of human rights was recognised in 1995, when she received the first North-South Prize of the Council of Europe, awarded by the North-South Centre.

**Nawal EL SAADAWI, writer (Egypt)**

Nawal El Saadawi was born on 27 October 1931 in Kafr Tahla, in Egypt. She is an novelist, author of more than forty books, fiction and nonfiction, a psychiatrist, a writer and defender of women’s rights, she is internationally recognised.

Her literary and scientific writings have caused her countless hardships in her life. In 1972, she lost her job in the Egyptian Government and the magazine Health, which she had founded was closed down. In 1981, President Sadat put her in prison and she was released one month after his assassination. From 1988 to 1993, her name figured on death lists issued by fanatical terrorist organisations. She lived in exile for five years.

In 2004, Al Azhar in Cairo banned her novel, The Fall of the Imam. On 15 June 1991, the government issued a decree that closed down the Arab Women’s Solidarity Association, over which she presided. Six months before this decree, the government closed down the magazine Noon, published by the Arab Women’s Solidarity Association. She was editor-in-chief of this magazine.

Nawal El Saadawi was awarded several national and international literary prizes, lectured in many universities, and participated in several international and national conferences. Her works have been translated into many languages all over the world, and some of them are taught in a number of universities and colleges in different countries.

For her life’s heroic struggle for women’s rights, she was awarded the North-South Prize in 2005.

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**Nazaré FERNANDES, Lawyer for the Human Rights Defence Centre in the Rio Branco diocese**

Nazaré Gadelha was born on 15 August 1961 in Xapuri, a city in the state of Acre, Brazil. She graduated first in History and later in Law at the University of Acre. Before starting a career in Law, she worked as a primary school teacher and as a history teacher. As a jurist she worked with the Department of Support to Witness Protection Programmes of the State of Acre; she was chief of the Department of Education in Human Rights of the Secretary of State for Justice and Human Rights and was Co-ordinator of the Centre for Support to Victims of Violation of Human Rights of the Public Ministry of the State of Acre.

As a jurist at the Centre for Defence of Human Rights of the Public Minister, she was specially active in protecting the prisoners of the State Penitentiary Dr. Francisco de Oliveira Conte, and fought against the use of torture as well as physical and psychological violence against inmates.

Between 1999 and 2002, Nazaré received several serious death threats due to her testimony as to the existence of organised extermination and drug-trafficking groups in the state of Acre.

For the last 30 years, she has continued her work as an activist and protector of human rights, assisting an average of three people per day, victims of diverse human right violations, and providing juridical guidance, as well as support throughout police enquiries. Moreover, she has participated in initiatives for the empowerment of communities and given conferences on different themes, such as Human Rights Today, Protecting the Rights of Rural Women Workers and Public Security. For her outstanding work as a lawyer for the Human Rights Defence Centre in the State of Acre (Brazil), she received the North-South Prize in 2001.

**Bogaletch GEBRE, Founder of the “Kembatta Women’s Self-help Centre”**

Born in Kembatta, southern Ethiopia, Bogaletch Gebre was the first woman from her village to go beyond fourth grade. In 1969, she received Israeli government scholarship to study microbiology and physiology at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and later she won a Fulbright scholarship to study parasitology in the United States. She taught in the Faculty of Science at Addis Ababa University and California State University, at Dominguez Hill and became one of the foremost leaders in expanding the rights of Ethiopian women. While working for the improvement of living conditions in rural areas, she showed an innovating approach by addressing gender based violence and discrimination against women as problems of the family, the community and the nation.

As director of the Kembatta Women’s Self-help Center in Ethiopia, she has strived to eradicate the practice of female genital mutilation (FGM), and other harmful customary practices imposed on women and on Ethiopian culture. Thanks to her efforts, not only is FGM disappearing in rural Ethiopia, but local communities are celebrating the end of the practice. In 2007, she received the Jonathan Mann Award for Health and Human Rights for her work as Executive Director of the Kembatta Women’s Self-help Center. For her life’s work and commitment to empowering women and protecting their rights, she was awarded the North-South Prize in 2005.



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### **Ólafur Ragnar GRÍMSSON, President of Iceland**

Mr Ólafur Ragnar Grímsson was elected the fifth President of the Republic of Iceland on 29 June 1996 for a four-year term. He is now serving his fourth term as president after being re-elected in 2008.

Mr Grímsson was born in Ísafjörður in Northwest Iceland on 14 May 1943. He studied Economics and Political Science in the Manchester University and received his BA degree in 1965 in these subjects and five years later, in 1970, he received his doctorate in Political Science at the same University. Upon returning to Iceland at the end of his studies, Mr Grímsson was appointed lecturer in Political Science at the University of Iceland, becoming a full professor in 1973. In the elections in 1978, Mr Grímsson was elected to Althingi as a representative for Reykjavik, the capital, for the Peoples' Alliance Party and again in 1979. He sat in Althingi until 1983 and became chairman of the parliamentary group of the Peoples' Alliance Party 1980-1983. Mr Grímsson was Minister of Finance in the Government of Mr Steingrímur Hermannsson, 1988-1991. He was re-elected to Althingi representing the Peoples' Alliance Party in Reykjavik in 1991 and again in 1995. In 1987, he was elected leader of the Peoples' Alliance Party, a position that he relinquished at the party's national convention in autumn 1995.

Mr Grímsson was chairman and later International President of the International Association Parliamentarians for Global Action (PGA), from 1984-1990 and has sat on the board since. He was also a member of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe from 1980-1984 and again in 1995. He was chairman of the organising committee of the "Parliamentary Conference of the Council of Europe, North-South: Europe's Role 1982-1984". This conference created the basis for the Council of Europe's work on North-South relations and the foundation of the North-South Centre in Lisbon. In recent years, Mr Grímsson has been advisor to Icelandic firms seeking new markets, particularly in Asia and South America.

### **Stéphane HESSEL, Ambassador (France)**

Stéphane Hessel was born in Berlin in 1917, and became a French national before the Second World War. He served with General De Gaulle during the war and even spent time in the camps. In 1946, Hessel joined the recently formed UN, where he occupied a number of positions (1970-72 / 1977-81). From 1990 to 1993, he represented France on the United Nations Human Rights Commission and headed the French delegation to the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna in 1993. He was a member of the Cabinet of Pierre Mendès France from 1954 to 1955 and was appointed Ambassador of France (dignitary) in 1982. Hessel was also a member of the Haute Autorité de l'Audiovisuel from 1982-1985 and of the Haut Conseil de l'Intégration from 1989-1993.

His many activities included the presidency of Agri-Sud, an association providing aid to small farmers in Africa. In 1996, Hessel was a mediator in the conflict involving undocumented immigrants in France. He was recently behind the creation of the International Ethical, Political and Scientific Collegium, which was set up to take advantage of the experience acquired by statesmen, scholars, scientists and philosophers. He has been appointed Commandeur of the Légion d'Honneur and awarded the Grand-Croix de l'ordre du Mérite.

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Hessel is the author of many articles and essays on international aid and his published works include *Siècle* (1995) and *Dix pas dans le nouveau siècle* (2001).

**Denis HUBER, Executive Director of the North-South Centre of the Council of Europe**

After embarking on a diplomatic career in the French Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Denis Huber joined the Secretariat of the Council of Europe in 1993. He gained ten years experience in the Secretariat of the Committee of Ministers, acting as adviser to the (rotating) Presidency of the Committee. In this role, he worked with eighteen successive chairs of the Council of Europe, from France in 1997 to the Russian Federation in 2006. He was directly involved in the preparation and follow up of two Summits of Heads of State and Government – the Strasbourg Summit in October 1997 and the Warsaw Summit, in May 2005 – and of the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Council of Europe.

In 2006/2007, Denis Huber was posted to Belgrade, as Special Representative of the Secretary General of the Council of Europe in Serbia. This period coincided with the Serbian Chairmanship of the Council of Europe (May-November 2007). Since December 2007, he has been the Executive Director of the Council of Europe's North-South Centre, in Lisbon.

Denis Huber is the author of the book "A decade which made History: the Council of Europe 1989-1999", published in 1999 by the Council of Europe Publishing.

**Ambassador Eberhard KÖLSCH, Vice-Chair of the Executive Council of the North-South Centre, Chair of the North-South Center's Think Tank**

Mr Koelsch was Permanent Representative of Germany to the Council of Europe from 2006 until 2009. He entered into the German Foreign Service in 1972, and worked successively for the European Integration Department in Bonn, in the German Permanent Mission to the United Nations and in the Middle East Department of the German Foreign Office in Bonn. He held then the positions of Dep. Head of Mission of the German Embassy for Port-of-Spain, Head of Private Office of the "Co-ordinator for Franco-German Co-operation", Counsellor in the German Embassy of London and Dep. Director of the "U.S. Affairs Office". Between 1990 and 1993 he was German Dep. Consul General in New York and then Director Head of Unit "Common Foreign and Security Policy of the European Union" (1993 - 1998) in the German Foreign Office in Bonn where, in 1999, he became Deputy Political Director. Between 1999 and 2003, he was Deputy Chief of Mission (DCM) at the German Embassy in Washington D.C. and then, and until 2006, German Ambassador to the United Mexican States, Mexico City. He is now a lecturer at Bonn University in Germany and a regular speaker at programmes of various political foundations and other institutions of adult education.

**Pedro LOURTIE, Secretary of State for European Affairs**

Pedro Manuel Carqueijeiro Lourtie was born on 15 January 1971 in Lisbon. He has a degree in Economics from the Instituto Superior de Economia e Gestão (ISEG) and a Masters in European Studies from the College of Europe in Bruges, Belgium. He has been in the Diplomatic Service since February 1995. From 1995 to 1999, he was Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs, and from 1999 to 2004, he was the Permanent Representative of Portugal to the European Union

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in Brussels. During the last five years, Mr Lourtie has been Political Advisor at the European Commission Delegation in Washington D.C., Deputy Diplomat of the Prime Minister, and Head of Office of the Prime Minister. In October 2009, he became the Portuguese Secretary of State of European Affairs of the 18<sup>th</sup> Constitutional Government.

**Lluís MARIA DE PUIG, representative of Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu, President of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe and Member of the PACE**

Born in BÀSCARA on 29 July 1945, Lluís Maria De Puig studied in Girona, Barcelona and Paris-Sorbonne. He was a history lecturer at the Autonomous University of Barcelona and the University of Girona. From an active member of the underground opposition movement against the Franquist regime and participant in Spain's transition to democracy as leader of the Socialist Party, he became in 1979 member of the Parliament. Between 1979 and 2004, he was also a member of the Congress of Deputies. Along with this activity, he was Vice-Chair of the Foreign Affairs Committee and International delegations co-co-ordinator for the Socialist Group from 1996 to 2004. In 1993, he became Chair of the Spanish delegation to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) and Vice-President of PACE (1993-1996). In 1995, he chaired the Political Committee of the Western European Union (WEU) Assembly and became its President from 1997 to 2000. Between 2002 and 2005, he chaired the PACE Committee on Culture, Science and Education, before being elected Senator for Girona in 2004. He served as Chair of the Spanish delegation to PACE (2004-2008). In January 2008, he was elected President of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. Besides his mandates, Lluís Maria De Puig tabled more than fifty reports and resolutions within these European institutions. His role in European politics has led him to publish many books and studies on European themes.

**Christophe ROUILLON, Committee Member of the European Union Regions**

Christophe Rouillon is Mayor of Coulaines and General Counsel of the Canton Mans-Nord-Campagne. He received a degree in public law from l'Université du Maine and holds degrees in public law and political science from Paris-Sorbonne and Paris II-Assas.

In 1992 and 1993, he served as Chargé de Mission in the Cabinet of Michel Vauzelle, Keeper of the Seals of France, Minister of Justice.

In 1996, having entered through a competition the Ministry of Economy, he worked as a lawyer at the Central Commission of Markets and at the Directorate of Legal Affairs.

In March 2008 he was re-elected Mayor of Coulaines. General Counsel of the Sarthe since 1998 and re-elected with over 68% of the votes in 2004, he works regularly on the economic, social and agricultural files of our department.

Vice President of the Association of Mayors of France, he is president of the "Commission Europe" and defends the legitimate interests of the communes.

Member of the Committee of Regions of the European Union, Christophe Rouillon has acquired a good knowledge of the workings of Europe and is considered the representative of the communes of France in Brussels.

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### **Nyamko SABUNI, Swedish Minister of Integration and Gender Equality**

Ms Nyamko Sabuni was born in 1969 in Bujumbura, Burundi. At the age of 12, Ms. Nyamko Sabuni and her family relocated to Stockholm, Sweden. She has studied Law at the University of Uppsala, Migration Policy at Mälardalens högskola and Media Communication at Berghs School of Communication. Before entering politics, she co-founded the Afro-Swedes' National Association and served as Project Advisor for the insurance company Folksam's Social Council. She has also worked as Communication Advisor at the public relations firm Geelmuyden Kiese.

Nyamko Sabuni is a member of the Liberal Party. Since 1998, she is a member of the Liberal Party's Party Board. She was also a Member of Parliament between 2002-2006. During this time, she was a Member of the Committee for Trade and Industry. In 2006, Ms Nyamko Sabuni was appointed Minister of Integration and Gender Equality. She is also responsible for consumer affairs, antidiscrimination issues, human rights, youth policy, non-governmental organisations, urban development and national minorities.

### **Jorge SAMPAIO, President of the Lisbon Forum**

Jorge Fernando Branco de Sampaio is a Portuguese lawyer, politician, and former President of the Republic. He started his political career as college student of the Law School of the University of Lisbon: in that period he was involved in the student contestation against the fascist regime and, between 1960 and 1961, was leader of the Lisbon students union. Following his graduation in 1961, he started a notable career as a lawyer, often involved in the defence of many political prisoners. After the Carnation Revolution of 1974, Sampaio became one of the driving forces behind the creation the MES (Portuguese acronym for Social Left Movement), but abandoned this political project soon after. In 1978, he joined the Socialist Party, where he remains to the present day. His first election to the Portuguese National Parliament was in 1979. Between this year and 1984, he was a member of the European Commission for Human Rights, where he carried out important work on these topics. In 1996, Jorge Sampaio won the elections and became President of the Republic, a position in which he was confirmed for a second term in 2001 (until March 2006). In May 2006 he was appointed by the United Nations Secretary-General as his Special Envoy to Stop Tuberculosis. His task was to work to reach the Millennium Development Goal of beginning to reverse the incidence of the disease by 2015. In April 2007, he was appointed as the High Representative for the Alliance of Civilizations, a UN initiative aimed at crossing cultural and religion divides between communities. Since 2009, he is the President of the Lisbon Forum.



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**Mário SOARES, Founder of the Mário Soares Foundation, former President of Portugal**

Mário Alberto Nobre Lopes Soares was born in Lisbon on 7 December 1924. He attended the Classical University of Lisbon, where he became a student leader opposed to the right-wing authoritarian government of the day. In time, he earned degrees in history, philosophy and law. For most of his adult life Mário Soares was an opponent of the fascist government of Antonio de Oliveira Salazar. By the time the dictatorship fell in 1974, he had been imprisoned twelve times and deported to the former Portuguese colony of São Tomé and Príncipe in 1968, for his political activities. In 1970, he was forced into exile in France. After many attempts to re-establish the Portuguese Socialist Party, which had been established in 1875 and dissolved in 1933, his efforts succeeded on 19 April 1973 in the congress of the Socialist Opposition in Bad Munstereiffel, West Germany. After the collapse of the authoritarian regime on 25 April 1974, Soares returned to Portugal and was widely recognised as one of the major leaders of the Opposition. He took part in the first four provisional governments and sixth government. In the first elections of 1976, the Socialists again were the largest party and Soares became the first Prime Minister under the new constitution. Nevertheless, the instability of the minority government and its lack of a reliable majority in the parliament led to its downfall in 1978. In spite of some opposition inside the party, he became secretary-general again in 1980. Three years later, he returned as Prime Minister leading a coalition with the PSD (*Partido Social Democrata*). In 1985, he was elected President and re-elected in 1991, acting more as a check on the absolute majority government. In 1985, he signed the treaty of accession to the European Community. As chair of the European movement since 1997, he was elected in 1999 to the European Parliament where he is a member of the committees on foreign affairs, human rights, common security and defence policy. He holds many prizes and chairs the Mario Soares foundation created in 1991, with the aim of promoting, realising and sponsoring educational, cultural and scientific training activities in the fields of human rights, political science and international relations.

**Cornelio SOMMARUGA, Vice-Chair of the “Foundation for the Future”, former President of the International Committee of the Red Cross**

Born on 9 December 1932 in Rome, Cornelio Sommaruga is an outstanding Swiss humanitarian, lawyer and diplomat who has become well known for his commitment to the International Committee of the Red Cross, of which he was the President from 1987 to 1999.

In Zurich, he obtained a PhD in Law in 1957 and entered the Swiss diplomatic corps. He also served as Deputy Secretary General of EFTA in Geneva and held senior posts as Ambassador and State secretary at the Office of Foreign Economic Affairs of the Swiss government in Bern. In 1986, he was elected President of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC).

During his tenure as President of the ICRC, he maintained the neutrality of the ICRC while keeping close ties to all governments of States signatories of the Geneva conventions. In April 2002, he was the founding President of Initiatives of Change International in Caux (Switzerland). As head of this international movement, he was able to support peace and reconciliation efforts in Africa's

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Great Lakes region and in Sierra Leone. He also chaired the Geneva International Centre for Humanitarian Demining and had an active part as Chairman of the board of the International Cancer Foundation. He is at present Vice-chairman of the Board of the Foundation for the Future in Amman.

He received the North-South Prize in 2001 for his life work defending human rights, in particular as President of the ICRC and as a defender of the Ottawa Process for the total ban of antipersonnel mines.

**José VERA JARDIM, Vice-speaker of the Portuguese Parliament and Chair of the Portuguese Delegation to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe and Member of the PACE**

José Vera Cruz Jardim was born in Lisbon on 2 January 1939. He is a prominent Portuguese lawyer and politician, who has served since 2009 as Vice-President of the Portuguese Parliament.

He graduated from the Lisbon Law College in 1961 and in the years that followed pursued an active career in law, which included posts at the German Embassy and the creation in 1977, together with former Portuguese President Jorge Sampaio, of a distinguished lawyers association.

His political career included mandates as State Secretary of External Commerce and Tourism (1974-75); Member of the National Commission of the Portuguese Socialist Party (1975-1995); President of the Commission for Constitutional Revision (1991-1995); Minister of Justice (1995-1999); Member of the Portuguese Parliament and President of the Portuguese delegation to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe.

Moreover, he taught at the Lisbon Lusíada University from 1990 to 1995 and received awards of honour from the Grã-Cruz Order of Christ of the Portuguese Republic and from the Grosse Verdienstordnung of Germany.

**Abderrahman YOUSOUFI, former Prime Minister of Morocco**

Abderrahman Yousoufi was born on the 8 March 1924, in Tangier. He is a politician, lawyer and human rights defender and considered one of the main actors of the movement for independence of Morocco.

He graduated in Public Law and Political Science and was one of the founders of the National Union of Popular Forces (UNFP), a left party that changed its name in 1975 to Socialist Union of Popular Forces (USFP). Between 1965 and 1980, he went into exile in Paris, after having been arrested twice for his political activism. In Paris, he distinguished himself as a protector of human rights in the Arab world, playing an active role in certain NGOs, such as the Arab Lawyers Union. He also took part in the creation of the Arab Organisation for Human Rights, the "SOS Torture" organisation, the Arab Institute for Human Rights and the Morocco Organisation for Human Rights (OMDH).

In 1978, he was nominated first Secretary of UFSP and, though he resigned in September 1993, he took office again in 1995. In March of 1998, King Hassan II named him Prime Minister of Morocco. After ending his mandate as Prime Minister in 2002, Yousoufi retired from politics in 2003. He was awarded the North-South Prize in 1999 for a lifetime dedicated to defending human rights in Arab countries.



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### **Gabriella BATTAINI-DRAGONI**

Gabriella Battaini-Dragoni is the Council of Europe's Director General of Education, Culture and Heritage, Youth and Sport. Since 2005, Mrs Battaini-Dragoni is the Council of Europe's Co-ordinator for Intercultural Dialogue. In this capacity, she has been responsible for the preparation of the Council of Europe "White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue", adopted on 7 May 2008 at ministerial level, the first document of its kind at international level, and the Council of Europe "Speak out against Discrimination" Campaign. Mrs Battaini-Dragoni is a frequently invited guest speaker at UN, OECD, OSCE, and EU meetings.

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