



# Earth Negotiations Bulletin

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## SUMMARY OF THE THIRD SESSION OF THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE FOR THE WORLD SUMMIT FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT: 16-28 JANUARY 1995

The third session of the Preparatory Committee (PrepCom) for the World Summit for Social Development (WSSD) met from 16-28 January 1995 at UN Headquarters in New York. This session was the last of three preparatory meetings for the Summit, which will take place from 6-12 March 1995, in Copenhagen, Denmark. The Summit will bring together Heads of State or Government from around the world to agree on a political Declaration and Programme of Action to: alleviate and reduce poverty; expand productive employment; and enhance social integration.

During the course of the two-week session, delegates negotiated the texts of the draft Declaration and Programme of Action to be adopted in Copenhagen. After grueling marathon sessions of the two working groups and numerous informal consultative groups, delegates succeeded in reaching agreement on approximately 95% of the document. In the Declaration, the outstanding issues to be resolved in Copenhagen include: debt cancellation; increased ODA; workers' rights; and countries with economies in transition. In the Programme of Action, the outstanding issues to be resolved in Copenhagen include: reproductive health; family stability; ratification of ILO conventions; and implementation of previously made commitments.

Despite difficult debates and periodic retreats from consensus language from the Earth Summit in Rio, the Human Rights Conference in Vienna and International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo, PrepCom delegates managed to agree on several important issues underlying the Summit. For example, this is the first time that the international community has expressed a clear commitment to eradicate absolute poverty. In addition, no other UN documents have ever addressed the need for socially-responsible structural adjustment and for greater accountability by the Bretton Woods institutions to the UN system. Moreover, despite hard brackets, there has been considerable movement on the debt question and on the 20:20 initiative, which is seen as one of the more innovative sources of funding for social development. Finally, where the Earth Summit legitimated the participation of NGOs in UN negotiating processes, the WSSD PrepCom highlighted the fact that the empowerment of civil society is a *sine qua non* for good, sound social development policy.

### A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE WSSD

In December 1992, the United Nations General Assembly adopted Resolution 47/92, "Convening of a world summit for social development," and set the process in motion for organizing a meeting of Heads of State or Government to tackle the critical problems of poverty, unemployment and social integration.

The WSSD PrepCom held its organizational session in New York from 12-16 April 1993. Amb. Juan Somavía (Chile) was elected Chair and representatives from the following nine countries were elected to the Bureau as Vice-Chairs: Australia, Cameroon, India, Indonesia, Latvia, Mexico, the Netherlands, Poland and Zimbabwe. Denmark, the host country, serves as an *ex officio* member of the Bureau and as a Vice-Chair. The PrepCom also adopted decisions on the working methods of the Bureau, the participation of NGOs, national preparations for the WSSD, mobilization of resources for the Trust Fund, a public information programme, the tasks of the PrepCom, expert group meetings, and the dates for the Summit and the PrepCom sessions.

### PREPCOM I

The first session of the PrepCom met in New York from 31 January - 11 February 1994. The objective of PrepCom I was to define the expected output and provide elements for inclusion in the documents to be adopted at the Summit. The first week of the session was devoted to opening statements from governments, NGOs, UN agencies and other intergovernmental organizations. During the second week, the delegates drafted a series of decisions to help guide the Secretariat and the PrepCom in the preparation of the expected outcomes of the Summit.

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By the conclusion of PrepCom I, delegates had agreed on the existence, format and basic structure of a draft Declaration and draft Programme of Action as well as the possible elements to be included in these documents. Delegates agreed that the draft Declaration should contain three parts: a description of the world social situation; principles, goals, policy orientations and common challenges to be addressed by all actors at the local, national, regional and international levels; and an expression of commitment on issues relating to implementation and follow-up. The Declaration should be concise and focused, and reaffirm international agreements, instruments, declarations and decisions adopted by the UN system that are relevant to the Summit. The Secretariat was asked to prepare a draft negotiating text on the basis of the contents of the objectives and three core issues contained in paragraphs 5 and 6 of General Assembly Resolution 47/92.

### **PREPCOM II**

The second session of the PrepCom met from 22 August - 2 September 1994, at UN Headquarters in New York. During the course of the two-week session, delegates focused primarily on the texts of the draft Declaration and Programme of Action to be adopted in Copenhagen. The Secretariat's initial draft met with much criticism for both its structure and content. Delegates' comments and drafting suggestions on the Programme of Action were then incorporated into a new compilation text, which was distributed at the end of the first week. Although the Secretariat, the Bureau and the delegates had hoped that the PrepCom would be able to produce a draft negotiating text by the conclusion of this session, this was not to be the case. Instead, the result was an unmanageable 200-250 page document containing the compilation text and all the amendments proposed by delegates during the second week. As a result, the Bureau was requested to convene intersessional informal consultations in October to facilitate the preparation of a new draft text to serve as the basis for negotiations at the third and final PrepCom.

### **INTERSESSIONAL INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS**

The PrepCom met in New York for a week of intersessional informal consultations from 24-28 October 1994. The purpose of this intersessional session was to give delegates the opportunity to identify areas of convergence and divergence in both the draft Programme of Action and the draft Declaration. The specific goal was to provide enough guidance both to the Secretariat and PrepCom Chair Amb. Juan Somavía to produce an integrated negotiating text.

It was apparent from the start of this session that the Declaration must serve as the philosophical basis for the Programme of Action, and that matters of substance in the Programme of Action could not be tackled until some degree of resolution was reached on the Declaration. There was agreement that the Declaration must be infused with a strong "presidential tone," with strong commitments on the empowerment of women, the special needs of Africa and the least developed countries (which many regard as the true test of the Summit's success) and the need for socially-responsible structural adjustment programmes. The key issue on poverty was how to make the related commitments clear, credible and realistic. In the area of employment, it was felt that there was a lack of appreciation for the implications of the economic globalization process. The most difficult issues were creation of an enabling international economic environment and implementation and follow-up. While there was general agreement that the substantive commitments must be accompanied by commitments to make the necessary resources available, much disagreement remained as to the possible sources and modalities. Likewise, few concrete proposals were generated around the issue of implementation and follow-up and the possible improvement of existing institutions.

The structure of the draft Programme of Action underwent a considerable metamorphosis as a result of a proposal by the G-77

on the first day. Delegates welcomed the G-77's proposed reorganization and, thus, easily agreed to request the Secretariat to reorganize the Programme of Action in line with the G-77's proposal. Once agreement was reached on the structure, delegates started to discuss the substance of the Programme of Action. However, since these intersessional informal consultations were not intended to be a negotiating session, few delegates were prepared with concrete or substantive proposals. Nevertheless, delegates concluded the session with optimism for the success of the Summit.

### **PREPCOM III REPORT**

PrepCom Chair Amb. Juan Somavía opened the session and delegates proceeded to adopt the following: the agenda (A/CONF.166/PC/24); the organization of work (A/CONF.166/PC/L.24); and observer status for IGOs (A/CONF.166/PC/L.23).

The Plenary turned to Agenda Item 2, accreditation of NGOs (A/CONF.166/PC/11/Add.2 and A/CONF.166/PC/11/Add.3). China disputed the inclusion of the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples' Organization (UNPO). The Chair asked the Secretariat to examine further documentation on this organization, noting that the list was provisional. On Agenda Item 3, the status of preparations for the WSSD (A/CONF.166/PC/25), Under-Secretary-General for Policy Coordination and Sustainable Development Nitin Desai highlighted two October 1994 seminars in Beijing and Slovenia. The Chair announced that more than 90 Heads of State or Government had confirmed their participation at the Summit. Over 2,000 NGOs have been accredited. The Plenary then adjourned and Working Group I, under the chairmanship of Somavía, convened to discuss the draft Declaration and Chapter V of the Programme of Action (Implementation and follow-up). Amb. Koos Richelle (Netherlands) chaired Working Group II, which addressed Chapters I to IV of the Programme of Action.

### **DRAFT DECLARATION**

The Philippines, on behalf of the G-77 and China, opened the discussion on the draft Declaration with a proposal to clearly distinguish between the two parts of the Social Summit texts: the Declaration and the Programme of Action. Delegates in Working Group I then began a paragraph-by-paragraph consideration of the draft Declaration (A/CONF.166/PC/L.22). The Declaration contained an introduction and three sections (Current Social Situation and Reasons for Convening the Summit, Principles and Goals, and Commitments), which included 22 paragraphs of text and nine commitments. Many amendments were proposed, despite Somavía's exhortations to respect the integrated logic underlying the text.

Delegates began their first reading on Monday, 16 January, and finished Saturday, 21 January, two days behind the original schedule. Issues bracketed by the Working Group were deferred to two informal consultative groups. Amb. Richard Butler (Australia) coordinated the group on the Declaration and Commitments 1 to 6. Amb. Razali Ismail (Malaysia) coordinated the group on Commitments 7 to 9 and Chapter V (Implementation and follow-up). During the second week, Working Group I considered the results of these informal groups and, for the most part, approved their work without any changes. The following discussion describes the Declaration and highlights the issues that remain bracketed and must be negotiated in Copenhagen.

### **INTRODUCTION**

The introduction outlines the need for and goals of the Social Summit. It acknowledges that societies must respond more effectively to the "material and spiritual needs of individuals, their families and communities." It also highlights the relationship between social development and social justice on one hand, and peace and security among nations, on the other. The introduction

also recognizes the importance of democracy and transparent and accountable governance for the realization of social and people-centered sustainable development. The only brackets are around the reference to living “in harmony with the environment.”

### **PART I. A. CURRENT SOCIAL SITUATION AND REASONS FOR CONVENING THE SUMMIT**

This section elaborates on the need for the Social Summit. It notes the benefits and possible threats of globalization, identifies areas of progress in social and economic development, identifies groups that are especially affected by poverty, and calls for the reduction and elimination of sources of social distress. Delegates added separate paragraphs on: the special needs of Africa and the least developed countries (LDCs); the need to support the countries with economies in transition; and the needs of other countries undergoing political, economic and social transformation.

Brackets remain around the call to address the negative impact from arms production and trade “whenever/wherever it occurs.” A sub-paragraph regarding the social problems in countries with economies in transition is also bracketed.

### **B. PRINCIPLES AND GOALS**

This section outlines the necessary framework for action to promote “social progress, justice and the betterment of the human condition.” It recognizes the importance of: sound broadly-based economic policies; the family as the basic unit of society; the importance of transparent and accountable governance; and the importance of respect for all human rights and fundamental freedoms. Brackets remain around references to: promoting “more” equitable distribution; the right to self-determination of people under colonial or foreign occupation; and narrowing the gap between developed “and other countries in the world, developing countries, and countries with economies in transition.”

### **PART II. COMMITMENTS**

This section contains nine commitments and related actions. The G-77/China suggested a tenth commitment on education and culture. Delegates initially responded positively to the addition, but, upon reflection, France, on behalf of the EU, objected on procedural grounds to the implications of its addition. The issue was sent to Amb. Butler’s consultative group. Although delegates did not have time to incorporate the G-77/China proposal, they agreed to consult further on its wording and placement. Both the EU and the G-77/China proposed text for this new commitment. The G-77/China text refers to education and culture, and incorporates a US reference to health care. The EU proposal focuses only on education. Delegates will address this issue in Copenhagen.

The Commitment section contains a single-paragraph introduction on the common pursuit of social development. This paragraph contains a bracketed reference to full respect for “territorial integrity.”

**Commitment 1:** This commitment calls for the creation of an enabling environment through: a stable legal framework; strengthening civil society; a supportive external economic environment; the promotion of human rights; and the implementation of international agreements relating to trade, investment, technology, debt and ODA.

Brackets remain around the qualification to provide a stable legal framework “in accordance with our constitutions, national laws and procedures.” A reference to the “provision of adequate, predictable, new and additional financial resources for sustainable development” is also bracketed.

**Commitment 2:** This commitment calls for the eradication of poverty. To achieve this goal, national actors should provide for basic needs, ensure access to productive resources, ensure adequate economic and social protection, and seek to reduce inequalities.

International actors are called upon to evaluate their own programmes and [assist and] support countries to eradicate poverty and ensure basic social protection.

**Commitment 3:** This commitment identifies the goal of full employment. Action to be taken on this issue focuses special attention on the problems of structural, long-term unemployment, and underemployment of youth, women, and disadvantaged groups. It calls for: investment in human resource development; improved access to land, credit, and information; equal treatment of women and men, especially in respect to pay; and protection for migrant workers.

A reference to the right to work and worker’s rights remains bracketed. Language referring to quality jobs and respect for ILO conventions is also bracketed.

**Commitment 4:** This commitment calls for “promoting social integration by fostering societies that are stable, safe and just.” National-level actions include: promotion of pluralism and diversity; strengthening of anti-discrimination policies; protection of migrants’ human rights; and respect for cultural, ethnic and religious diversity. International-level actions include implementation of international instruments and enhancement of international mechanisms to assist refugees and host countries.

Brackets remain around a qualification that implementation of international instruments relevant to human rights protection be “with full respect for the sovereignty of States.”

**Commitment 5:** This commitment pledges States to achieve equality and equity between women and men, and to promote leadership roles of women in all levels of society. National-level actions include: full access by women to education and training; measures to combat discrimination or exploitation of women; and support services to facilitate women’s participation in paid work. International-level actions include: ratification of international instruments; and recognition of the extent of women’s contributions to the national economy. The reference stressing “the importance of responsible sexual and reproductive behavior and parenthood by men” and the reference to access to health care services, including reproductive health care, “programmes for which should provide the widest range of services, without any form of coercion,” were bracketed.

**Commitment 6:** This commitment calls for accelerated economic, social and human resource development in Africa and the least developed countries. To this end, structural adjustment policies should include social development goals. Support should be given to economic reforms and food security programmes, and a solution to the debt problem should be addressed. Governments are also called on to support reform efforts and programmes chosen by the African and least developed countries.

Brackets in this commitment are confined to a single contentious paragraph, which calls for a [realistic], [effective], [equitable, development-oriented, durable] [and sustainable] solution [on all types of debt], through cancellation [or reduction] of bilateral debt.

**Commitment 7:** This commitment calls on States to ensure that structural adjustment programmes include social development goals. States agree to: promote basic social programmes; develop policies to reduce the negative social impacts of structural adjustment programmes; and ensure that women do not bear disproportionate burdens from such programmes. International actors are to enlist the support of regional and international organizations, especially the Bretton Woods institutions, to implement social development goals. There are no brackets.

**Commitment 8:** In this commitment, States commit to increase and/or use more efficiently the resources that are allocated to social development. National-level actions include: economic policies to attract external resources; innovative funding sources; reliable statistics to develop social policies; fair, progressive taxation systems; and reduction in military expenditures. International-level

actions include: mobilization of new resources; facilitation of the flow of international finance, technology and human skills; fulfillment of ODA targets; implementation of existing debt-relief agreements; and monitoring of the impact of trade liberalization on developing countries' efforts to meet basic human needs.

Brackets remain around references to: mobilization of resources from all "available" funding sources; facilitation of finance, technology, and human skills transfer towards countries with economies in transition; cancellation of debt; a sustainable solution to the difficulties of servicing multilateral debt; and "striving" to increase finances for UN operational activities.

**Commitment 9:** This commitment calls for States to improve the framework for international, regional, and subregional cooperation for social development. Actors at all levels are called on to implement and monitor the outcome of the World Summit for Social Development. The General Assembly is also called on to convene a special session in the year 2000 to review and appraise implementation. A sub-paragraph calling on international actors to abstain from coercive measures, which hinder the economic and social development of States, remains bracketed.

## DRAFT PROGRAMME OF ACTION

Each of the five chapters in the Programme of Action, as contained in A/CONF.166/PC/L.22, has a section on the "Basis for Action and Objectives" and on the "Actions" that national and international actors should take. In response to the overwhelming number of amendments proposed on the first day, the Secretariat prepared a working text, incorporating all amendments on Chapters I to IV with the original L.22 text. Nevertheless, the Group made slow progress. At the beginning of the second week, Amb. Richelle reported that Working Group II was "proceeding at the pace of a snail using full brakes while taking a curve." An informal consultative group was formed, under the chairmanship of John Ashe (Antigua and Barbuda) and Oscar Avalle (Argentina) to negotiate issues that remained bracketed after the Working Group's consideration.

Chapter V (Implementation and follow-up) was considered by Working Group I. Delegates participated in a quick page-by-page review of substantive disagreements late Saturday, 21 January. The actual negotiations took place in an informal consultative group chaired by Amb. Razali Ismail (Malaysia). Working Group I considered the results of this informal group and approved the majority of its work. The following summarizes each section of the Programme of Action and highlights the issues that remain bracketed.

### INTRODUCTION

The Programme of Action outlines policies, actions, and measures to implement the principles and fulfill the commitments enunciated in the Declaration. All the recommended actions are linked. The Programme of Action thus attempts to combine many different actions for poverty eradication, employment creation, and social integration in coherent national and international strategies for social development.

### CHAPTER I. AN ENABLING ENVIRONMENT FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

This chapter is based on the recognition that social development is inseparable from the economic, political, ecological and cultural environment in which it takes place.

**A. A FAVOURABLE NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT:** This section identifies the actions required to promote mutually reinforcing, broad-based sustained economic growth and sustainable development. Brackets remain on one paragraph regarding reoriented agricultural policies and adoption of appropriate forms of agricultural support in accordance with the

relevant provision of the Final Act of the Uruguay Round. Brackets also remain around the need for "more" equitably distributed benefits of global economic growth, whether the actions are "required/necessary" and whether or not they should be taken at the "international level."

There are also brackets around the reference to continuing efforts to reduce "and/or eliminate on a case by case basis" the debt burden of developing countries, "particularly the poorest among them." Paragraphs on implementation of structural reform policies and creation of an enabling environment that attracts foreign and domestic direct investment are bracketed. References to an "effective, comprehensive, equitable, development-oriented and durable solution to the external debt problem," and to increases in ODA for social programmes, are bracketed. The paragraph on measures to reduce inefficiencies and inequities arising from illegitimate/excessive accumulation of wealth by speculative or windfall gains also remains unresolved.

### B. A FAVOURABLE NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND LEGAL ENVIRONMENT:

This section contains paragraphs that encourage: decentralization of public institutions; transparent processes; educational programmes; and the development of attitudes and values that promote responsibility and solidarity. Brackets remain around language on whether or not actions are "required" at the national level to support the objectives of social development. No decision was reached on whether social partners should be able to organize and function "freely and responsibly" or if their right to collectively bargain would be "in accordance with national laws and regulations." A parallel sub-paragraph regarding similar conditions for professional organizations and artisans' organizations was left in brackets.

Language dealing with creating conditions for refugees and those displaced as a result of terrorist intervention for voluntary return to their places of origin was bracketed. Several sub-paragraphs dealing with the right to development remain in brackets. Delegates did not resolve issues such as the removal of "economic" barriers to the exercise of the right to education; discouraging the gratuitous depiction of explicit sex, violence and cruelty in the media; and the removal of obstacles to the realization of the right to self-determination for peoples under colonial, foreign or alien occupation. The central role of the human person in sustainable development is also bracketed.

### CHAPTER II. ERADICATION OF POVERTY

The basis for action for this chapter refers to the one billion people in the world living under unacceptable conditions of poverty. This section notes that poverty has various manifestations and origins and can only be eradicated through universal access to economic opportunities and basic social services and empowerment. A sentence on the origins of poverty in political, legal, economic, cultural and social structures remains bracketed.

**A. THE FORMULATION OF INTEGRATED STRATEGIES:** This section addresses the ways in which governments should focus public efforts towards the eradication of poverty and redesign of public investment policies. A sub-paragraph regarding the promotion of effective enjoyment by all of economic, social, cultural and civil rights remains in brackets, as well as language on all relevant sectors of the economy with respect to their impact on families. Consensus was not reached on developing indicators of poverty and vulnerability that would include "family stability/ stability of families."

**B. IMPROVED ACCESS TO PRODUCTIVE RESOURCES AND INFRASTRUCTURE:** This section calls for improved financial and technical assistance for community-based development and self-help programmes. The only bracketed language refers to protecting the "traditional" rights to land and

other resources of pastoralists, fishery workers, and nomadic and indigenous people.

**C. MEETING THE BASIC HUMAN NEEDS OF ALL:** This section calls for governments, in partnership with all other development actors, to cooperate to meet the basic human needs of all, including: implementing commitments that have been made to meet these needs; and improving access to social services for people living in poverty and vulnerable groups. Bracketed language includes references to the rights and responsibilities of parents to ensure that children have access to social services. Delegates also disagreed whether governments should implement commitments that have been made to meet the basic human needs of all “with the assistance, as appropriate, of the international community.” Reference to healthcare access for low-income communities remains bracketed. Delegates also bracketed reference to the promotion of cooperation among government agencies to develop national strategies for improving maternal/reproductive health care.

**D. ENHANCED SOCIAL PROTECTION AND REDUCED VULNERABILITY:** This section deals with strengthened and expanded social protection systems. These systems should be based on legislation, in order to protect from poverty people who cannot work due to sickness, disability, old age, HIV/AIDS, or who have lost their livelihoods due to natural disaster. Remaining brackets include references to: social protection systems to protect people who cannot work due to “language barriers;” providing children the necessary social and psychological assistance for “family reunification;” and the provision of adequate social safety nets under structural adjustment programmes.

### **CHAPTER III. THE EXPANSION OF PRODUCTIVE EMPLOYMENT AND THE REDUCTION OF UNEMPLOYMENT**

The basis for action in this chapter refers to productive work not only as a means of economic livelihood, but as a defining element of human identity. As such, high levels of unemployment and underemployment require that the State, the private sector and other actors and institutions cooperate to create the conditions, knowledge and skills necessary for people to work productively. The reference calling for unremunerated work to be reflected in satellite accounts of the GNP, as suggested by the Holy See, remains bracketed.

**A. THE CENTRALITY OF EMPLOYMENT IN POLICY FORMULATION:** This section identifies actions to place the expansion of productive employment at the center of sustainable development strategies, and economic and social policies. It also highlights the need to minimize the negative impact on jobs of measures for macroeconomic stability. The alternatives to “maximize employment creation” and “stimulate both economic and employment-intensive growth” both remain bracketed.

**B. EDUCATION, TRAINING AND LABOUR POLICIES:** This section deals with access to productive employment in a rapidly changing global environment and development of better quality jobs. These goals are to be accomplished by establishing well-defined educational priorities and investing effectively in education and training systems. Delegates could not agree on whether helping workers to adapt and enhance their employment opportunities under changing economic conditions could best be done by “required actions.”

**C. ENHANCED QUALITY OF WORK AND EMPLOYMENT:** This section calls on governments to enhance the quality of work and employment by observing and fully implementing the human rights obligations that they have assumed and by removing exploitation and abolishing child labor. The issue of whether to “consider ratification,” “encourage ratification,” or “enforce” ILO conventions remains bracketed.

**D. ENHANCED EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES FOR GROUPS WITH SPECIFIC NEEDS:** This section highlights the

need for programmes that are equitable, non-discriminatory, efficient and effective, and which involve groups in planning, design, management, monitoring and evaluating of these programmes. The brackets remaining in this section refer to promoting or requiring comprehensive employment, educational and training programmes that consider the needs of indigenous people.

**E. A BROADER RECOGNITION AND UNDERSTANDING OF WORK AND EMPLOYMENT:** This section notes that a broader recognition of work requires a more comprehensive knowledge of work and employment through, *inter alia*, efforts to measure and better understand the type, extent and distribution of unremunerated work, and promotion of socially useful volunteer work. The bracketed language refers to efforts to incorporate unremunerated work in national accounting systems.

### **CHAPTER IV. SOCIAL INTEGRATION**

The basis for action in this chapter notes that the main aim of social integration must be to enable different groups in society to live together in productive and cooperative diversity. Bracketed language deals with: early integration of migrants into society; strengthening the role and the participation of civil society in the design, implementation and evaluation of public policies; and the “excessive” production and “illicit trade of arms/sale of arms that are particularly injurious or have indiscriminate effects.”

**A. [PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, CULTURAL DIVERSITY,] RESPONSIVE GOVERNMENT AND FULL PARTICIPATION IN SOCIETY:** This section calls on governments to promote and protect all human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the right to development. In addition to the title, there are brackets around references to: “encouraging/ recommending/considering” ratification of human rights treaties; removing reservations and full implementation of international human rights “treaties/instruments;” and giving special attention to institutions of civil society representing the disadvantaged.

**B. NON-DISCRIMINATION, TOLERANCE AND MUTUAL RESPECT FOR AND VALUE OF DIVERSITY:** This section notes that elimination of discrimination and promotion of tolerance and mutual respect can be accomplished by enacting and implementing [as appropriate] laws and other regulations against racism, racial discrimination, religious intolerance, and xenophobia. No other brackets remain in this section.

**C. EQUALITY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE:** This section calls on governments to promote equality and social justice by: ensuring that all people are equal before the law; regularly reviewing health and education policies, and public spending from a social and gender equality and equity perspective; and promoting their positive contribution to equalizing opportunities. A sub-paragraph on minimizing the negative impact of structural adjustment policies on vulnerable and disadvantaged groups is the only unresolved issue.

**D. RESPONSES TO SPECIAL SOCIAL NEEDS:** This section calls on governments to identify the means to encourage institutions to adapt to the special needs of vulnerable and disadvantaged groups. No brackets remain in this section.

**E. RESPONSES TO SPECIFIC SOCIAL NEEDS OF REFUGEES, DISPLACED PERSONS AND ASYLUM SEEKERS, DOCUMENTED MIGRANTS AND UNDOCUMENTED MIGRANTS:** This section states that, in order to address the special needs of refugees, displaced persons and asylum seekers, governments should address the root causes, which lead to the movements of refugees and displaced persons. The only unresolved item is whether or not “other relevant actors” should, in cooperation with governments, create conditions that allow for the voluntary repatriation of refugees and the voluntary and safe return of internally displaced persons.

**F. VIOLENCE, CRIME, THE PROBLEM OF ILLICIT DRUGS AND SUBSTANCE ABUSE:** This section notes that solutions to the problems created by violence, crime, substance abuse and production, use and trafficking of illicit drugs, and the rehabilitation of addicts can be achieved by introducing and implementing specific policies and public health and social service programmes to prevent and eliminate all forms of violence in society. The only bracketed text in this section is whether or not the problems created by violence, crime, substance abuse and production, use and trafficking of illicit drugs and the rehabilitation of addicts “requires” specific actions.

**[G. STRENGTHENING OF FAMILY TIES]:** This section promotes the role of the family in social integration. All three sub-paragraphs in this section, as well as the title, have been left in brackets, pending reformulation by the Republic of Korea. These sub-paragraphs refer to the importance that social and economic policies meet the needs of families and the need for family services to enhance understanding and mutual respect in families.

## **CHAPTER V. IMPLEMENTATION AND FOLLOW-UP**

The basis for action in this chapter highlights several essential requirements for implementation: protection of human rights; new partnerships; recognition of the world’s diversity; empowerment; mobilization of new and additional resources; and recognition of the moral imperative of mutual respect among individuals, communities and nations. Brackets remain around references to “new and additional” resources and around “available” funding sources.

**A. NATIONAL STRATEGIES:** This section enumerates the elements to be addressed in an integrated approach to national-level implementation of the Programme of Action. These include: review of economic policies and their impact on social development; national and international coordination; measures to eradicate poverty and increase employment and social integration; integration of social development goals into national development plans; and definition of goals and targets for poverty reduction. Actions to be taken in bilateral and multilateral agencies include: assisting countries to develop social development strategies; coordinating agency assistance; and developing new social development indicators. The only brackets remain around the reference to poverty “eradication.”

**B. INVOLVEMENT OF CIVIL SOCIETY:** This section outlines the actions required to strengthen civil society, which include: supporting the creation and involvement of community organizations; supporting capacity-building programmes; and providing resources. The section also highlights the actions needed to enhance the contribution of civil society to social development, which include: facilitating of partnerships with government; stimulating private investment in social development; and encouraging the participation of trade unions, farmers and cooperatives. No brackets remain in this section.

**C. MOBILIZATION OF FINANCIAL RESOURCES:** This section identifies the actions needed to augment the availability of resources for social development at the national and international levels. No brackets remain in the paragraph on national-level actions, which include: socially-responsible economic policies; military expenditure reductions; high priority to social development spending; an increase in the effective and transparent use of resources; and innovative sources of funding. Brackets remain in the paragraph on development assistance for developing countries and around references to: countries with economies in transition; the ODA target; and the 20:20 initiative.

In the paragraph on debt reduction, brackets remain around references to debt elimination and/or reduction. The paragraph on international cooperation and financing needs of countries with economies in transition is also bracketed.

## **D. THE ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM:**

This section describes: the role of the General Assembly and ECOSOC in social development; the scope of UN assistance needed for developing countries and countries with economies in transition; the coordination required within the UN system; and the strengthening of UNDP. On the role of ECOSOC, brackets remain around references to: convening a second WSSD; the role of ECOSOC in making recommendations for improving the capacity of the UN to respond to economic and social crises; and development of a common framework for the implementation of conference outcomes. The entire paragraph on UN technical assistance to countries with economies in transition remains bracketed. Brackets also remain around references to ILO consideration of the social dimensions of the liberalization of international trade and to strengthening UN capacity for gathering information and developing social development indicators.

## **PREPARATIONS FOR THE SUMMIT**

The Plenary, chaired by Amb. Wlosowicz (Poland), met on Friday, 27 January 1995, to finalize the organization of work for Copenhagen. The Summit will consist of three parts: a Plenary from 6-10 March for statements of high-level representatives; a Main Committee from 6-9 March for final negotiations; and the Summit of Heads of State or Government on 11 and 12 March. The provisional agenda and organization of work for the Summit (A/CONF.166/PC/L.26) was adopted after some debate regarding the scheduled “themes” for each day of the Plenary and whether representatives of Heads of State or Government could speak during the Summit.

Delegates agreed at PrepCom II to focus on gender issues in Plenary speeches on 8 March, International Women’s Day. Suggested “themes” for statements on other days during the Plenary follow the Programme of Action chapter titles: “enabling environment” on 6 March; “eradication of poverty” on 7 March; “gender and participation of women” on 8 March; “employment and problems of unemployment” on 9 March; and “social integration” on 10 March. Delegates also added “implementation and follow-up” for 10 March. The recommended time limit for all statements is seven minutes. Delegates also adopted the recommendation to elect 27 vice-presidents.

On the question of representatives of Heads of State or Government speaking during the Summit portion, delegates agreed to the guidelines as presented in Annex II of A/CONF.166/PC/L.26: “On 11 and 12 March, statements will normally be presented by Heads of State or Government on the basis of a speaker’s list to be drawn up by the Secretariat in accordance with established procedure.” The Secretariat will open the list for speakers on 1 February.

Amb. Somavía then gave the floor to several NGO representatives. Bella Abzug (WEDO) challenged the Heads of State or Government to make headlines at the Summit by announcing initiatives to implement the Programme of Action. Roberto Bissio (Development Caucus) stated that the Summit draft text contains many important seeds, and expressed hope that the Summit process will nourish these seeds. Bawa Jain (Values Caucus) noted NGO efforts to integrate fundamental shared values into the texts. Dirk Jarré (International Council on Social Welfare) welcomed the use of target dates. Susan Parker (Rehabilitation International) noted the work of the Disability Caucus and stated that changed attitudes are critical for effective action. Andre Varchaver (Inter-Parliamentary Union) encouraged States to develop timetables to eradicate poverty.

## **CLOSING PLENARY**

The closing Plenary met on Saturday, 28 January 1995, to adopt the draft Declaration and Programme of Action and forward them to Copenhagen. The Chair noted that the parallel negotiation process resulted in some inconsistencies in language between the two documents, and stated that the Secretariat would rectify any problems. Delegates drew attention to missing text, discussed some of the bracketed text, and approved the documents, with minor changes and with all brackets.

Delegates then considered Agenda Item 6, Adoption of the Report of the Preparatory Committee (A/CONF.166/PC/L.25). The Holy See suggested a correction to reflect that delegates' work extended to 28 January, rather than the originally scheduled 27 January, and delegates approved the report.

Amb. Somavía concluded the Plenary with an assessment of the road to Copenhagen. He congratulated delegates on what they had done in 30 working days and one week of informal consultations, highlighting the potential for UN efficiency. He noted the very encouraging mood of political seriousness that had pervaded this PrepCom. He concluded that societies based on values and ethical principles are needed to achieve the goals of the Summit, and that the texts contain language to that effect.

## A BRIEF ANALYSIS OF PREPCOM III

The World Summit for Social Development represents the first time in history that Heads of State or Government will gather to collectively address the problems of poverty, unemployment and social disintegration. In preparation for this event, the WSSD PrepCom met three times for only six weeks over a 12-month period to negotiate the draft Declaration and Programme of Action for the Summit. Now that the preparatory process is complete, it is possible to evaluate the work of the PrepCom, the treatment of some of the major issues and the challenges that remain for Copenhagen and beyond.

### PROBLEMS DURING THE PREPARATORY PROCESS

One of the major problems faced by the WSSD preparatory process was the difficulty in defining the Summit's main issues. Despite General Assembly Resolution 47/92, which set out the objectives and the core issues to be addressed by the Summit, delegates arrived at PrepCom I in February 1994, ill-prepared for substantive discussions. While there was agreement that poverty, unemployment and social exclusion were of central importance, there was no consensus as to how they should be addressed within the overall context of the Summit. As a result, the Secretariat was given little guidance for the preparation of the draft Programme of Action and Declaration for PrepCom II.

PrepCom II, which was held in August 1994, should have marked the commencement of substantive discussions on the two texts, however, instead there was widespread dissatisfaction with the draft documents. In response, delegates generated 250 pages of amendments, ideas and definitions in their attempts to operationalize the core issues in the Programme of Action. While PrepCom II succeeded in generating a draft Declaration that could serve as the basis for future negotiations, governments were unable to produce anything that resembled a negotiating text for the Programme of Action. Delegates did manage to reach agreement on the structure of the Programme of Action during the intersessional informal consultations in October 1994. However, since it was not a negotiating session, delegates could only table general comments on the substance of the draft Programme of Action.

Given this checkered history, the level of frustration experienced during most of PrepCom III was to be expected. This was the first opportunity for delegates to identify the central issues and actually commence negotiations on the details of the draft texts. Yet, many felt that two weeks was insufficient time for the dialogue and negotiations that were necessary to fully understand the complexity of the issues and produce comprehensive,

forward-looking texts for Copenhagen. As a result, there are many who are dissatisfied with the substance of the final texts that were adopted by the PrepCom on 28 January 1995.

### TREATMENT OF KEY ISSUES BY THE PREPCOM

Situating the third PrepCom in terms of the overall "U-curve" of UN PrepCom meetings — where the beginning of the second week saw the bottom of the curve — many had observed by the end of the session that some concrete, although qualified advances had been made. As with any negotiating session, the perception of success or failure is determined by the lens through which one assesses the outcome. The following examines several key issues that arose during PrepCom III and the advances and/or retreats surrounding these central themes.

**COMMITMENT TO POVERTY ERADICATION:** There has been some movement towards agreement on the need to eradicate, and not just reduce, absolute poverty. This political shift represents a breakthrough since the international community has never before actually committed to poverty eradication. Notwithstanding these gains, concerns remain about the lack of specific interim targets (or definitions) for the eradication of poverty.

**RECOGNITION OF THE CENTRAL ROLE OF WOMEN:** Another important gain is the strong support for women in the context of social development. Despite the efforts of certain delegations to dilute language on gender equality, there has been a discernable shift away from addressing gender issues in a narrow context, to considering the empowerment of women in society as a key precondition to social development. Some have observed that social development has never been defined with such a close relationship to women, while others have commented that the language in the Social Summit texts is stronger than the language in the Beijing documents. Despite these gains, many have commented that the true test of the commitment to women will be the development of clear indicators to measure the contributions of women's work in society.

**EMPOWERMENT OF CIVIL SOCIETY:** Historically, development policy has been dictated by the forces of the state and the market, neither of which have succeeded in solving social problems on their own. As a result, governments have come to recognize that the full involvement of civil society is critical to achieving social development goals. This recognition was clearly visible in the role of NGOs at the PrepCom. Several NGOs and delegates alike observed that this PrepCom demonstrated that NGOs, more than ever, are exerting their democratic influence on global processes. The high visibility of NGOs teeming throughout the basement of the UN infused accountability, energy, and innovation into the negotiations.

In the Declaration, language on the empowerment of civil society is quite strong and supports the idea that empowerment is an essential tool for promoting the participation of civil society and that only when individuals, families and communities are empowered through education, health and other ways to take control of their own lives, can they contribute maximally to society. Once again, despite the positive rhetoric, the true test will be the extent to which governments commit to operationalizing these principles.

**COMMITMENT TO AFRICA AND LDCs:** The commitment on Africa and LDCs represents an important expression of solidarity with these countries, which is especially important in light of the recently concluded Desertification Convention. However, African countries and LDCs are concerned that their special needs will not be properly addressed unless the resource and implementation issues are adequately dealt with.

**SOCIALLY RESPONSIVE SAPs:** The Social Summit texts are the first UN documents ever to address the adverse social consequences of structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) and the

need for socially responsive and responsible structural adjustment. While some NGOs had hoped for stronger language on the need to redesign SAPs, developed countries have agreed for the first time that social effects must be addressed in the implementation of SAPs. Several other outcomes of the SAPs debate reinforce the positive step forward on this issue: the acknowledgement that increased coordination is needed between the UN and the Bretton Woods institutions; the recognition that the involvement of both NGOs and the UN system in SAP design is essential; and the acknowledgement that social safety nets are not enough and that social services should be protected from "across the board budget cuts." However, despite the agreement that SAPs should not undermine social services, there is still no definition of what actually constitutes social spending, and thus it is unclear how these services are to be protected.

**RESOURCE ISSUES:** Albeit bracketed, the Programme of Action contains language on the 20:20 proposal. Seen as one of the more innovative ways to mobilize and re-allocate funds for human development expenditures, it is estimated that if implemented, the initiative could make available close to US\$30 to US\$40 billion in additional resources. While it has gained currency throughout the two weeks of PrepCom III, there is continuing resistance among certain developing countries based on the perception that 20:20 might establish a cap on existing ODA or impose new conditionality on existing funds. Developed countries, on the other hand, resist the concept partially out of the fear that it will tie them closer to commitments at a time when only four countries are meeting the UN target of 0.7% of GNP for ODA. On the debt issue, some of the important language remains bracketed. At the heart of the debate is the extent to which governments will agree to alleviate multilateral debt. While progress has been made in the area of bilateral and commercial debt relief, there has been considerable resistance around multilateral debt relief, especially for lower-middle and middle income developing countries.

### **CHALLENGES FOR COPENHAGEN AND BEYOND**

In the year commemorating the UN's 50th anniversary, it is especially important that the Social Summit seize the opportunity to begin a determined process of rethinking and reform not only about social development, but also about the system that the UN Charter put into place a half a century ago. One of the central challenges for governments will be to give practical effect to the new vision of people-centered development that is emerging from this process. Efforts at the national level will have to ensure that civil society is empowered to participate in economic, social and political decision-making processes.

Another important challenge for governments will be to "operationalize" the Programme of Action. Many NGOs fear that the commitments that will be agreed to at the very highest political level in Copenhagen will not result in the concrete actions needed to bring about real change "in the field." This fear is fueled by the fact that the language in the Programme of Action is considered by many to be too weak, vague and ambiguous, with few concrete targets and timetables for action, let alone criteria for measuring success. Translating the Programme of Action into real action will necessitate the reorientation of national budgets towards social development. In the era of fiscal restraint and dwindling aid flows, governments will have to increase the effectiveness of existing monies, clarify human development priority concerns, and develop suitable programmes as well as the means for measuring the impact of those initiatives.

International responses are also essential. The extent to which the Bretton Woods institutions reform their practices in adherence to the principles enshrined in the Declaration will be a key basis for evaluating the success of the Social Summit. UN system follow-up is also of central importance. Several NGOs are concerned that plans for UN system implementation and follow-up are too

fragmented. With responsibilities to be discharged to many different UN bodies, it is feared that follow-up could fall through the cracks of the UN.

With 95% of the draft Declaration and Programme of Action already agreed to, and the participation of more than 90 Heads of State or Government already confirmed, the symbolic success of the World Summit for Social Development is all but guaranteed. However, it may take years to determine if the Summit will be a success in the field. Delegates can negotiate and Heads of State or Government can give animated statements, but unless the commitments are fulfilled and the Programme of Action is implemented, the World Summit for Social Development will be no more than a mere blip on the UN radar screen. Effective implementation and follow-up is the true challenge for Copenhagen and beyond.

## **THINGS TO LOOK FOR IN COPENHAGEN**

**WORLD SUMMIT FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT:** The Social Summit will take place at the Bella Center (Center Boulevard 5, 2300 Copenhagen, Denmark) from 6-12 March 1995. Delegates may begin registering at 9:00 am on Friday, 24 February 1995, at the "Pavilion" in front of the Bella Center. Registration is also possible at UN Headquarters in New York starting in February.

**NGO FORUM '95:** NGO Forum '95 will take place from 3-12 March 1995, at the former naval base on Holmen in Copenhagen. For further information, contact: NGO Forum '95, Njalsgade 13C, DK-2300, Copenhagen S, Denmark, Tel: +45-32-961-995; Fax: +45-32-968-919.

**NGO CAUCUSES:** The Values Caucus will schedule daily meetings in Copenhagen, with co-sponsorship by the Temple of Understanding, the World Conference on Religion and Peace, and the World Council of Churches. The Caucus will sponsor daily meditations from different religious and spiritual traditions, and an interfaith service is planned for 10 March 1995. The Peace Caucus plans to hold a series of meeting in New York in February on the connection between militarization and the core issues addressed by the Summit. The Coalition of Caucuses will hold regular meetings in Copenhagen, beginning Thursday, 2 March 1995, the day before the official opening of the NGO Forum.

**SOCIAL SUMMIT HOMEPAGE:** The International Institute for Sustainable Development (IISD), publishers of the *Earth Negotiations Bulletin*, has created a "point of presence" on the Internet for the WSSD, called the "Social Summit Homepage," which is accessible through Mosaic or similar World Wide Web (WWW) software. The Social Summit Homepage contains a searchable index to the issues of the *Earth Negotiations Bulletin*, links to the official documents, full-text versions of government, NGO and UN statements from the PrepComs, background documents, photos of participants and (soon) audio and video clips. If you have Mosaic installed on your computer, point your WWW browser at <<http://www.iisd.ca/linkages/wssd.html>>. If you have access to the Internet and do not have Mosaic software, telnet to <[cern.ch](mailto:cern.ch)>, where you can download the software and configure your system.

**VOICES OF YOUTH:** UNICEF and the UN Secretariat, in collaboration with IISD, have created a special on-line forum where young people can exchange ideas on the themes of the Social Summit and forward them to world leaders. This interactive resource is available on the World Wide Web at the following address: <<http://www.iisd.ca/linkages/un/youth.html>>. These young people's comments and views will be displayed at the Social Summit. For more information and details on how to participate by e-mail, send a request to: <[unicef@igc.apc.org](mailto:unicef@igc.apc.org)>.