



# Earth Negotiations Bulletin

A Reporting Service for Environment and Development Negotiations

Vol. 10 No. 44 Published by the International Institute for Sustainable Development (IISD) Wednesday, 15 March 1995

## REPORT OF THE WORLD SUMMIT FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT: 6-12 MARCH 1995

The World Summit for Social Development (WSSD), which was held in Copenhagen from 6-12 March 1995, brought together over 118 world leaders to agree on a political Declaration and Programme of Action to alleviate and reduce poverty, expand productive employment and enhance social integration.

The Summit consisted of three parts: a Plenary from 6-10 March for statements of high-level representatives; a Main Committee from 6-10 March for final negotiations of the Declaration and Programme of Action; and the Summit of Heads of State or Government on 11-12 March. Statements during the Plenary were organized around suggested daily themes: "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" and "implementation and follow-up" on 10 March.

The Main Committee and its subsidiary contact groups negotiated the outstanding issues in Declaration and Programme of Action that were left bracketed at PrepCom III. In the Declaration, the outstanding issues to be resolved included: debt cancellation; new and additional financial resources; increased ODA; respect for ILO conventions and workers' rights; human rights and national sovereignty; access to health care services; and countries with economies in transition. A new commitment on health and education was also negotiated in a separate working group.

In the Programme of Action, the outstanding issues to be resolved included: reorientation of agricultural policies; debt elimination; increased ODA; speculative gains; collective bargaining rights; self-determination; poverty vulnerability indicators; traditional rights to resources; health care access for low-income communities; social safety nets; ratification of ILO conventions; employment needs of indigenous people; social integration of migrants; arms trade; ratification of human rights treaties; impact of structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) on vulnerable groups; new and additional financial resources; the 20:20 compact; and countries with economies in transition.

Despite difficult debates and some delegates' desire to reassess agreements reached during the Earth Summit in Rio, the Human Rights Conference in Vienna and the International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo, delegates managed to reach agreement on all these issues, some of which represented new approaches to the problems before the Social Summit. For example, this is the first time that the international community has expressed

a clear commitment to eradicate absolute poverty. In addition, UN documents have not previously addressed the need for socially-responsible structural adjustment and greater accountability by the Bretton Woods institutions to the UN system. Despite qualifying language, there also was movement on the debt question and on the 20:20 initiative. Finally, where the Earth Summit legitimated the participation of NGOs in UN negotiating processes, the WSSD highlighted the fact that the empowerment of civil society is a *sine qua non* for 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, served 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.

### IN THIS ISSUE

A Brief History of the WSSD.....	1
Social Summit Report .....	3
Main Committee .....	3
Declaration.....	3
Programme of Action .....	4
Final Session .....	7
Summit of Heads of State or Government .....	7
A Brief Analysis of the WSSD .....	8
Things to Look For After Copenhagen .....	10

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### **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, delegates drafted a series of decisions to help guide the Secretariat and the PrepCom in the preparation of the expected outcomes of the Summit.

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 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 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, 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 agreed to request the Secretariat to reorganize the Programme of Action in line with the G-77 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**

The third and final session of the PrepCom met from 16-28 January 1995, at UN Headquarters in New York. Two working groups were established to conduct the first reading of the texts of the draft Declaration and the Programme of Action.

The Declaration, as drafted by the Secretariat, contained an Introduction, a Principles section and a section with nine Commitments. The Programme of Action consisted of five chapters, each of which identified a basis for action and then outlined specific international and national-level actions.

In response to the slow progress in each of the working groups, small "consultative" groups were established to negotiate the contentious issues that could not be resolved in the larger groups. Amb. Richard Butler (Australia) coordinated a consultative group on the Declaration and Commitments 1-6. Chapter V (Implementation and Follow-up) was briefly discussed in Working Group I, but the actual negotiations took place in a consultative group chaired by Amb. Razali Ismail (Malaysia). Working Group I considered the results of both informal groups and approved the majority of their work. Outstanding issues from Working Group I included references to debt relief, ODA, ILO Conventions, and national sovereignty. A tenth commitment was proposed by the G-77 and agreed in to principle. However, negotiation of the text was deferred until Copenhagen.

In response to the overwhelming number of amendments proposed in Working Group II on Chapter I (Enabling Environment for Social Development), the Secretariat prepared a working text, incorporating all amendments on Chapters I to IV, with the original text. Nevertheless, this Group made slow progress. An informal consultative group was formed under the chairmanship of John Ashe (Antigua and Barbuda) and Oscar Avalle (Argentina) to negotiate difficult issues. The formal Working Group, however, did not have time to formally consider this contact group's work. Outstanding issues from this group's deliberations included references to the family structure and reproductive health care, as well as resource, debt, and sovereignty issues similar to Working Group I.

The closing Plenary met on Saturday, 28 January 1995, to adopt the draft Declaration and Programme of Action and to forward them to Copenhagen. 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.

## SOCIAL SUMMIT REPORT

UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali opened the Summit on Monday, 6 March, and called on delegates to send a clear message that the international community is taking a stand against social injustice, exclusion and poverty. He noted the necessity of a new social contract at the global level. Boutros-Ghali outlined three priority objectives: providing social protection, assisting social integration and maintaining social peace.

Delegates then unanimously elected Danish Prime Minister Poul Nyrup Rasmussen as President of the WSSD. Nyrup urged delegates to use the Summit to turn the analysis of problems and possibilities into concrete commitments and actions, as was done in Rio. Following Nyrup's statement, delegates turned to a number of procedural matters, including adoption of the rules of procedure (A/CONF.166/2) and adoption of the agenda (A/CONF.166/1). As recommended in A/CONF.166/3, delegates elected 27 vice-presidents and an *ex-officio* vice-president (Denmark). Mr. Sadok Rabah (Tunisia) was elected Rapporteur-General, and Amb. Juan Somavía (Chile) was elected Chair of the Main Committee. The recommendation in A/CONF.166/3 (General Exchange of Views) for suggested themes during the Plenary was adopted. The timetables for 11-12 March, proposed in the Annex to A/CONF.166/3, were extended to provide additional time for the more than 140 expected speakers. Delegates also adopted documents A/CONF.166/6 and A/CONF.166/4 regarding accreditation of NGOs.

Nyrup then turned to Agenda Item 8, general exchange of views. Minister Cielito Habito (Philippines) opened this five-day exchange, speaking on behalf of the G-77. He welcomed delegates' agreement on the priority target of poverty eradication. Habito called for greater emphasis on the participation of women, the needs of the disadvantaged, and the role of the family. He also called for an International Fund for Social Development, adoption of the 20:20 initiative, and adequate, predictable, new and additional sources of funding for sustainable development.

Minister Simone Veil (France) then spoke on behalf of the EU. She noted the important role of women in development, outlined essential elements of an educational programme, and stated that the family is the basis of society. She also stressed the essential role of the ILO.

### MAIN COMMITTEE

After the first Plenary, the Main Committee was convened to commence negotiations on the draft Declaration and Programme of Action. Amb. Juan Somavía opened the Main Committee and announced its programme of work. Amb. Shah (India) was appointed to chair a Working Group of the Main Committee to negotiate the new commitment on education. Amb. Koos Richelle (Netherlands) was appointed to chair informal negotiations on Chapters II, III and IV. The Main Committee then began its negotiations of the bracketed text. Delegates agreed early in their deliberations that additional consultative groups would be needed to resolve the more difficult issues. A consultative group chaired by Amb. Richard Butler (Australia) dealt with non-resource issues in the Declaration as well as outstanding rights issues throughout the texts, including human rights and the right to development. A group chaired by Amb. Razali Ismail (Malaysia) dealt with resource issues.

### DECLARATION

The following is a description of the Declaration, including the ten commitments, with emphasis on the issues that were resolved in Copenhagen.

**INTRODUCTION:** The introduction to the Declaration 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 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.

**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 and groups that are especially affected by poverty, and calls for the reduction and elimination of sources of social distress.

Delegates removed the brackets from a sub-paragraph that referred to the social problems of countries with economies in transition, but they added a note that the problems of these countries were different than those elsewhere.

**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.

Delegates removed brackets from the reference to the right to self-determination and agreed to "ensure" the participation of women in all spheres of activity in a sub-paragraph on that topic. The reference to countries with economies in transition in a paragraph regarding international efforts to reduce inequalities was altered to state that the "radical changes" in those countries have been accompanied by a deterioration in their economic and social situation.

**PART II. COMMITMENTS:** This section contains ten commitments and related national and international actions. The two-paragraph introduction recognizes the need for international cooperation, but also notes the need for full respect of national sovereignty. Delegates maintained the disputed reference to respect for "territorial integrity" in the introduction.

**Commitment 1:** This commitment calls for the creation of an enabling environment through: a stable legal framework; strengthened 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.

Delegates called for a stable legal framework "in accordance with our constitutions, laws and procedures, and consistent with international law and obligations," thus including both of the bracketed choices offered by PrepCom III. The call for the provision of financial resources at the international level was qualified to a call for "mobilization and/or provision" of financial resources, but delegates agreed that they should be "mobilized in a way that maximizes the availability of such resources for sustainable development, using all available funding sources and mechanisms."

**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 should encourage an appropriate response from international donors and multilateral development banks, and focus attention on the special needs of countries with substantial concentrations of people living in poverty. This commitment contained no brackets.

**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 with respect to pay; and protection for migrant workers. The debate over how to refer to workers' rights was resolved with a general reference to relevant ILO conventions, followed by references to specific ILO conventions on forced and child labour, freedom of association, the right to organize and bargain collectively, and non-discrimination.

**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.

Delegates deleted the bracketed reference to "respect for the sovereignty of States" in the sub-paragraph regarding ratification and implementation of declarations calling for elimination of discrimination and protection of human rights.

**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 bracketed reference to the "widest range" of health-care services was replaced with a call for the widest range of health-care services, "consistent with the Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development."

**Commitment 6:** This commitment calls on States to promote and attain universal and equitable access to quality education and health. The G-77 proposed this commitment at Prepcom III, but the text was entirely negotiated by the Working Group of the Main Committee in Copenhagen. Delegates expanded the preamble, strengthening the language on health from "basic health services" to "the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health" and specifying access of all to primary health care. The preamble's text on culture was also expanded to "respecting and promoting our common and particular cultures; striving to strengthen the role of culture in development." Delegates added emphasis to gender issues and the priority of women and girls in sub-paragraphs regarding lifelong learning, completing school, access to education and health education. References to the disabled were also strengthened. Delegates called for children's access to education, adequate nutrition and health care, consistent with the Convention on the Rights of the Child. New sub-paragraphs in the national commitments section focus on indigenous people, links between the labour market and education policies, learning acquisition and outcome, maternal and child health objectives, HIV/AIDS education, and environmental awareness. The sub-paragraph regarding institutional involvement was broadened, and now includes references to partnerships among governments, NGOs, the private sector, local communities, religious groups and families.

Delegates added three sub-paragraphs to the section on international-level action, thus adding references to: coordinated actions against major diseases; promotion of technology transfer related to education, training and health programmes and policies; and support for programmes to protect all women and children against exploitation, trafficking, child prostitution, female genital mutilation and child marriages.

**Commitment 7:** 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 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.

The sub-paragraph on the debt problem was reworked, and now calls for immediate implementation of the terms on debt forgiveness agreed to by the Paris Club in December 1994, and invites international financial institutions to examine innovative approaches to assist low-income countries.

**Commitment 8:** 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. The text for this commitment contained no brackets following PrepCom III.

**Commitment 9:** This commitment calls on States 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.

As with other references to financial resources, the sub-paragraph on this issue now calls for financial resources that are "adequate and predictable." The sub-paragraph on debt relief again refers to the agreement reached by the Paris Club in December 1994, and invites the international financial institutions to examine innovative approaches to assist low-income countries. Rather than "striving" to increase UN financing, delegates agreed to increase resources on a "predictable, continuous and assured basis."

**Commitment 10:** 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. ECOSOC is called on to review and assess progress made on the Summit outcome, and the General Assembly is called on to convene a special session in the year 2000 to review and appraise implementation.

The bracketed sub-paragraph calling for States to abstain from implementing coercive, unilateral measures that create obstacles to economic and social development was replaced with a call to "refrain from unilateral measures not in accordance with international law and the UN Charter."

## **PROGRAMME OF ACTION**

The Main Committee was also mandated to reach agreement on outstanding issues in the Programme of Action, and, as noted above, used several contact groups to negotiate various parts of the text. The following is a description of the Programme of Action, with emphasis on the issues that were resolved in Copenhagen.

**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 combines many different actions for poverty eradication, employment creation and social integration in coherent national and international strategies.

## 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. This section addresses food production and access to food, but delegates deleted text calling for reorientation of agricultural policies and adoption of appropriate forms of agricultural support in accordance with the Final Act of the Uruguay Round. Delegates agreed to language that equitably distributed benefits of global economic growth are essential, removing the bracketed qualifier "more."

The text on debt relief calls for efforts to alleviate the burden of debt, compared to the original bracketed "reduce and/or alleviate," but adds "where appropriate, addressing the full stock of debt of the poorest and most indebted developing countries." The new text repeats the language on debt that was agreed to in the Declaration. The text regarding ODA combined three bracketed alternatives, and qualified the commitment to increase ODA to 0.7% of GNP as "consistent with countries' economic circumstances and capacity to assist." The sub-paragraph includes specific numerical targets "as soon as possible" rather than setting a specific date. The paragraph on measures to reduce inefficiencies and inequities in accumulation of wealth removed references to illegitimate/excessive accumulation of wealth by speculative or windfall gains. It now includes the use of appropriate taxation at the national level and the objective to improve stability in financial markets.

**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.

Delegates noted that actions in this section are "essential" rather than the bracketed "required." Delegates agreed to establish conditions for social partners to organize "freely and responsibly," but the right to collectively bargain is to take "due account of national laws and regulations." A parallel sub-paragraph recommends similar conditions for professional workers and independent workers' organizations.

Language dealing with the creation of conditions for the voluntary return of refugees to their places of origin was retained with a reference to internally displaced persons, but the list of the causes for displacement, including terrorist intervention, social strife and natural disasters, was removed. Several sub-paragraphs dealing with the right to development were adopted with softened commitments. States agree to take measures to ensure economic social, cultural and political development, whereas the draft text referred to the right to development as an inalienable human right. In the text on the right to development, States commit to "promoting" rather than "ensuring" the right to development. Delegates added "strengthening democracy, development and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms" as the means to implement the commitment. Language on national sovereignty in promoting a favourable political and legal environment was removed from the final text after prolonged negotiations. Delegates agreed to ensure that "human persons are at the centre of social development."

**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.

Delegates agreed to remove the brackets from a sub-paragraph regarding the juvenilization and feminization of poverty. The reference to the origins of poverty now only notes that poverty has many causes, including structural ones. In the text describing expanded opportunities for people living in poverty, delegates replaced the reference to enhanced capacities "in a sustainable manner" with a reference to "managing resources sustainable." The revised text calls for policies that sustain family stability in accordance with the Social Summit Declaration and that of the International Conference on Population and Development.

**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 public investment policies. The bracketed language describing civil rights and access to public services now refers to "relevant human rights instruments" and the International Covenant on Political and Civil Rights, in addition to the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. Delegates agreed to assess the impact of policies on "family well-being and conditions" rather than on "family stability," and used "family conditions" in another reference to indicators of family stability.

**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. In a sub-paragraph regarding land rights and management, delegates changed protection of "traditional" rights to land and resources to "protecting, within the national context, the traditional rights..." to land and resources.

**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 other vulnerable groups.

Delegates retained a reformulated reference to parents' rights and responsibilities in a sub-paragraph on access to social services. The call for the "assistance of the international community" in the paragraph on implementing commitments to meet basic needs now calls for such assistance "consistent with Chapter V" of the Programme of Action. A sub-paragraph calling for accessible primary health care now calls for action, taking into account the need for parental guidance. In the sub-paragraph on access to primary health care services for people living in poverty, the reference to access to "preventive health care" and the listing of what that term includes was dropped, but the sub-paragraph retains the call for primary health care, "free of charge or at affordable rates." A sub-paragraph calling for cooperation between relevant actors to develop a national strategy to improve reproductive and child health care now specifies a number of services to be provided, "consistent with the International Conference on Population and Development."

**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.

Delegates deleted "language barriers" from the list of reasons for being unable to find work. States agreed to "ensure" a social safety net under structural adjustment programmes, rather than stating that they would "work to ensure" one. The reference to families "in their various forms" was deleted from the sub-paragraph on family stability. The sub-paragraph regarding the rights of children now calls for family reunification "consistent with the Convention on the Rights of the Child."

### 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 bracketed reference to reflecting the value of unremunerated work in satellite accounts of the GNP was replaced with a reference to developing methods for “reflecting its value in quantitative terms for possible reflection in accounts” separate from national accounts. In all cases in this chapter where delegates had to choose between a bracketed “requires” or a less imperative term such as “can be achieved by,” delegates agreed to “require” action.

**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.

**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.

**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 abolishing child labor.

In the sub-paragraph on basic workers’ rights, delegates called for equal remuneration for men and women for equal work, and included the bracketed reference to full implementation of the ILO conventions by parties to the conventions or taking them into account if they are not a party. In the subsequent sub-paragraph on ratification of ILO conventions, delegates promised to “strongly” consider ratification and implementation of the conventions.

**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 the planning, design, management, monitoring and evaluation of these programmes.

**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 reference in this section to measuring unremunerated work was also replaced with a reference to developing methods for “reflecting its value in quantitative terms for possible reflection in accounts” separate from national accounts.

**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. This section identifies an urgent need for action on twelve fronts, three of which were agreed on in Copenhagen. Delegates recognized a role for civil society in “decisions determining the functioning and well-being of their societies” rather than in “public policies.” Special attention is given to the “enjoyment” of health, but not as a fundamental right. Finally, “legitimate national defence needs” are now recognized before the call for action on arms trade, excessive military expenditures and excessive investment for arms production.

**A. 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.

The bracketed sub-paragraph regarding the participation of vulnerable and disadvantaged groups now notes that such groups will participate, “on a consultative basis,” in the formulation, implementation and evaluation of social development policies.

**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 laws and other regulations against racism, racial discrimination, religious intolerance and xenophobia.

**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.

The bracketed sub-paragraph on structural adjustment programmes now calls on actors to “ensure” that SAPs are designed to minimize their negative impacts, and to “ensure” their positive impact rather than simply “improve” their impact.

**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. A new sub-paragraph was added to this section to ensure access to work and social services. In the sub-paragraph on opportunities for the disadvantaged and vulnerable, delegates agreed to “improve” the opportunities for such groups rather than to “promote” the groups to seek public offices.

**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 that lead to the movements of refugees and displaced persons. Delegates retained the reference to integration of documented migrant workers and members of their families.

**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.

**G. Social Integration and Family Responsibilities:** This section promotes the role of the family in social integration. The entire section remained bracketed after PrepCom III. The new text states that States agree to: note that the family is “entitled to receive comprehensive protection and support;” encourage policies designed to meet the needs of families; ensure opportunities for family members to understand their social responsibilities; promote mutual respect within the family; and promote equal partnership between women and men in the family.

**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.

Delegates removed brackets from the reference to “new and additional” resources in the section on mobilization of funding sources, but the reference to “available” funding sources was



replaced with “adequate and predictable and mobilized in a way that maximizes the availability of such resources.”

**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. Delegates agreed to “eradicating” poverty as a goal. They also agreed to a new sub-paragraph urging the General Assembly to declare a decade for eradication of poverty.

**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 partnerships with government; stimulating private investment in social development; and encouraging the participation of trade unions, farmers and cooperatives. The text was bracket-free coming into the Summit.

**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 remained 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. Language that proposed creating an International Fund for Social Development was deleted. Delegates agreed to replace the many alternatives on the 20:20 commitment with a call for “interested developed and developing partners” to allocate 20% of ODA and 20% of the national budget, respectively, to basic social programmes. The sub-paragraph limiting overhead costs of development projects and programmes was deleted. Delegates also deleted text on reducing the negative social impacts of defense industry conversion from the sub-paragraph dealing with assistance for implementing macroeconomic stabilization programmes. Sub-paragraphs calling for eliminating the bilateral debt of Africa and the least developed countries and for reducing debt of other developing countries were replaced with a call to “substantially reduce the bilateral debts of the least developed countries” particularly in Africa, and to explore “innovative approaches to manage and alleviate” debt burdens of other developing countries. A specific target date for debt reduction was removed from the new sub-paragraph. Text mobilizing the IDA Debt Reduction Facility to help eligible developing countries reduce commercial debt was included without language allowing application of its principles to other developing countries. Delegates included text inviting continued initiatives to address commercial debt problems of creditor countries, private banks, and multilateral financial institution for least developed, low and middle-income developing countries.

**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. In the reference to ECOSOC’s role, delegates deleted a section assigning ECOSOC the responsibility of evaluating responses to economic and social crises. ECOSOC is now directed only to consider holding joint meetings with the Development Committee of the World Bank and IMF. Delegates deleted

reference to an ECOSOC expert study of national tax systems, but called on the Secretary-General to ensure effective coordination of implementation without assigning responsibility to the UN Secretariat. Delegates agreed that the development of UN capacity to gather and analyze social development information should take into account the work carried out by different countries and strengthen UN capacity to provide policy and technical support and advice.

## FINAL SESSION

The work of the contact groups was formally adopted by the Main Committee during night sessions on Thursday, 9 March, and Friday, 10 March. On Thursday, the results of the contact groups were reported, along with the work of the Working Group of the Main Committee on the education and health commitment. The 120 brackets that were deferred to Copenhagen had been reduced to approximately 10 brackets after four days of negotiation. The final outstanding issues were resolved in the contact groups on Friday, and the Declaration and Programme of Action were adopted late that night by the Main Committee. Following formal adoption, Somavia opened the floor for delegates to express their reservations to the texts. Iraq reserved on Commitment 9(b), stating that the text as proposed was completely different from the text in the Declaration and was incompatible with the essence of the original Commitment 9. Tunisia removed its reservation on Commitment 9(d). Guatemala reserved on the references to “territorial integrity” in the Declaration, noting its current territorial disputes. Belize registered its protest against Guatemala’s comments. Costa Rica reserved with respect to paragraph 21 (reduction of military expenditures), stating that the language was too weak. Iraq expressed concern that the social consequences of trade sanctions were not sufficiently reflected in the text. Ecuador, Argentina, the Holy See, the Sudan and Malta reserved on reproductive health.

## SUMMIT OF HEADS OF STATE OR GOVERNMENT

Poul Nyrup Rasmussen, Prime Minister of Denmark, opened the first day of the Summit before 118 Heads of State or Government. He appealed to countries to agree to cancel debt and to use resources to implement the commitments made in Copenhagen. UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali reiterated the need for a global social contract and stated that the presence of so many leaders is the best guarantee of concrete follow-up. He pledged that the UN would be an instrument to implement the Summit’s results. After a grueling 25 hours and 150 speeches, the Summit adopted the Declaration and Programme of Action on Monday, 13 March, at 3:00 am. Highlighted below are some of the speeches in which leaders highlighted ongoing national actions or announced new concrete commitments.

**DENMARK:** Early in the week, Denmark announced that it would cancel one billion kroner worth of bilateral debt for six countries.

**INDIA:** Prime Minister P.B. Narasimha Rao noted recent constitutional amendments that now provide for decentralized, participatory, village-level democratic institutions. He promised that India would establish a national-level social development mechanism.

**AUSTRIA:** Chancellor Franz Vranitzky pledged to cancel US\$100 million worth of debt for the poorest and most indebted countries.

**JAPAN:** Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama said that Japan will strengthen its efforts in supporting women in development.

**SWEDEN:** Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson supported a disarmament fund and called for improved economic governance through a UN Economic Security Council.

**SPAIN:** Prime Minister Don Felipe Gonzalez committed to increasing resources for cooperation and development, especially

towards social development, and to moving toward the 20:20 compact.

**FRANCE:** President Francois Mitterand pledged support for an international tax on financial transactions.

**NETHERLANDS:** Prime Minister Wim Kok pledged support for the 20:20 compact.

**ZIMBABWE:** President Robert Mugabe stated that his government has widened the decision-making base and recently launched an anti-poverty alleviation programme.

**REPUBLIC OF KOREA:** President Kim Young-Sam committed to expanding training for people in developing countries.

**NAMIBIA:** President Sam Nujoma noted that it appropriates almost half of its annual budget to education and health and that Namibia has made employment creation one of its four national development objectives.

**GUYANA:** President Cheddi Jagan said that Guyana will implement its part of the 20:20 compact by 1997.

**NORWAY:** Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland supported the 20:20 compact and new systems of international taxation.

**THAILAND:** Prime Minister Chuan Leekpai highlighted Thailand's three-pronged national strategy: placing the family as the basic social institution; building a strong sense of community to stimulate social involvement; and supporting education, including community learning networks.

**SWAZILAND:** King Mswati III Ngwenyama said that Swaziland is developing a long-term strategy by consulting the entire nation on the direction for the national economy and to identify obstacles to social development. Swaziland is undertaking its own structural adjustment.

**RUSSIAN FEDERATION:** Prime Minister Victor S. Chernomyrdin offered assistance through science training, including military conversion and space research.

**COLOMBIA:** President Ernesto Samper Pizano announced Colombia's programme to eradicate extreme poverty and to devote part of its budget to social development.

**PARAGUAY:** President Juan Carlos Wasmosy said that Paraguay's major goal is reform of primary, secondary and higher education.

**PHILIPPINES:** President Fidel Ramos pledged support for the 20:20 compact and the Manila Declaration, which was agreed to by Asian-Pacific nations in preparation for the Summit.

**BANGLADESH:** Prime Minister Begum Khaleda Zia highlighted education programmes and affirmed its support for the Dhaka Declaration in which seven members of SAARC have resolved to eradicate poverty in the region by 2002.

**UNITED STATES:** Vice President Al Gore announced the "New Partnerships Initiative" where USAID will channel 40% of its aid through NGOs to strengthen small entrepreneurs, NGOs and democracy-building efforts. Earlier in the week, First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton announced a commitment to spend US\$100 million over 10 years toward better education for women and girl-children in the least developed countries.

**AZERBAIJAN:** President Heydar Alirza Ogly Aliyev committed to peaceful settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijan conflict within the framework of the OSCE.

**LESOTHO:** Prime Minister Ntsu Mokhehle said that his nation's poverty reduction and population plans are examples of their commitment to the Social Summit.

**BOTSWANA:** President Sir Ketumile Masire said that social development spending averages over 13% of Botswana's national budget. Education and health will be given top priority and 86% of the population have access to health services. He said that the government will now shift its emphasis to reach out to excluded groups.

**MONGOLIA:** Prime Minister Puntagiin Jasrai endorsed the 20:20 compact and supported reductions in military expenditures.

**AUSTRALIA:** Prime Minister Paul Keating said that Australia's A\$130 million population policy will expand family planning. As Chair of the South Pacific Forum, Australia pledged to ensure that the interests of small island developing States are protected.

**KENYA:** President Daniel Arap Moi said that the government has developed over 50 social development-related programmes.

**SWITZERLAND:** Federal Counsellor Ruth Dreifuss said that her government will assess the effectiveness of its own development cooperation policies and has committed to remove structural obstacles and to guarantee access to human resources.

**BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA:** Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic committed to leaving the world a better place for future generations, but said that over 17,000 of Bosnia's children have been killed during the three-year war, and that those who are alive are so gray from the bloodshed that they no longer resemble children.

**MALTA:** Prime Minister Edward Fenech Adami offered to host a "training of trainers" centre covering areas such as the design and implementation of the Programme of Action.

**BOLIVIA:** President Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada highlighted his government's commitment to reform education, to ensure participatory privatization, and to implement a new social security system.

**NICARAGUA:** President Violeta Barrios de Chamorro said that military resources were being redirected towards health and education and highlighted her commitment to implement a national plan to protect the most vulnerable sectors of society.

**EUROPEAN COMMISSION:** President Jacques Santer announced that he will stimulate thinking within the EU to ensure that aid is geared more towards social objectives, in the spirit of the 20:20 compact.

**SOUTH AFRICA:** President Nelson Mandela recommended a social clause in international arrangements and committed to full employment and poverty eradication in South Africa.

**SRI LANKA:** President Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga endorsed the 20:20 compact.

**CÔTE D'IVOIRE:** Prime Minister Daniel Kablan Duncan noted that over \$400 million is being spent to renovate schools and hospitals in his nation and that 26% of the national budget is spent on health and education.

**MALI:** President Alpha Oumar Konare committed to providing education and health for all by 2000.

**MOROCCO:** Prime Minister Abdellatif Filali called for an African Marshall Plan.

**IRELAND:** Prime Minister John Burton committed to: achieving the 0.7% target for ODA by increasing ODA by 0.05% each year so that by 1997, they will be above the OECD average; supporting the 20:20 compact; and redirecting development assistance wherever possible to social development. He also committed to implement the commitments on the involvement of civil society.

**LATVIA:** President Guntis Ulmanis outlined Latvia's plans for social and economic reforms, including: extensive privatization; attracting foreign investment and stimulating small and medium businesses; and establishment of a social security system to assist the elderly, the poor and those unable to work. He also announced the Baltic states' proposal to hold a UN Summit on Disarmament for Environment and Development in Riga in 2000.

**HUNGARY:** President Arpad Goncz announced his government's plan to introduce a three-level pension scheme, to restructure the social benefit scheme, and to develop preventive measures of social reintegration.



**LITHUANIA:** President Algirdas Brazauskas said that his nation supports the physically and mentally disabled, prisoners and other vulnerable groups.

**ICELAND:** Prime Minister David Oddson promised to make efforts to ensure growth in development aid, especially in geothermal energy and fish stocks, and technical training skills.

**HONDURAS:** President Dr. Carlos Roberto Reina Idiaquez said Honduras has taken a stand against poverty by fostering a moral revolution against all forms of corruption.

**NEPAL:** Prime Minister Man Mohan Adhikari said that all efforts are being made to ensure the development of laws to protect children and disabled people. Family planning and basic health care will be expanded to reduce child mortality and public hospitals will be updated and better equipped.

## A BRIEF ANALYSIS OF THE WSSD

There can be no doubt that the World Summit for Social Development has generated a number of important results, such as the commitments on poverty eradication and full employment, socially responsible SAPs, the participation of women and civil society, and reductions in military expenditures. And while the Summit may not have spawned the Charter for a new social order that many had hoped for, it has done what Stockholm did for Rio by stimulating an important change in rhetoric. For example, during UNCED PrepCom IV, there was heated debate about "people-centered" development during the Earth Charter negotiations, with the North firmly opposed to the concept. Two years later, not a single developed country challenged the concept, which is now one of the central tenets of the Social Summit Declaration and Programme of Action.

Despite these advances, many NGOs felt that governments had failed to take the innovative steps needed to resolve the world's social problems. They cited, in particular: weakened language on the 20:20 compact; lack of agreement on multilateral debt relief; insufficient time-bound targets; rejection of the Tobin tax; and an over-reliance of the free-market model as the economic framework for the texts.

These shortcomings aside, the Declaration and Programme of Action provide a basis for further action. Transforming the rhetoric into concrete action, however, is a question of how fast the international community is prepared to move both collectively and individually. The UN's five-year review in 2000 will provide an important basis upon which to assess that willingness. The following analysis considers the concrete advances and missed opportunities, as well as the challenges after Copenhagen.

### ADVANCES

**COMMITMENT TO ERADICATE POVERTY:** One of the more significant results of the Summit was the commitment on poverty eradication and the national-level commitment to prepare time-bound strategies. Despite the lack of global monitoring by the UN system, or a timetable for the international commitment, the Declaration represents the first time that political leaders have committed, on a global level, to the eradication of poverty. Moreover, the texts encompass a comprehensive set of parameters to define poverty, which can be used as a basis for the development of indicators to measure the eradication of poverty. There is also explicit mention of the fact that poverty is aggravated by unsustainable patterns of consumption and production.

### RECOGNITION OF THE CENTRAL ROLE OF

**WOMEN:** Another important gain is the strong language on the importance of enhancing the participation and leadership roles of women in political, civil, economic, social and cultural life and in development. Despite efforts during the last PrepCom to dilute gender language, there has been a discernible shift away from addressing gender issues in a narrow context, to considering the

empowerment of women in society as a key pre-condition for social development. Many NGOs and delegates felt that the language in Commitment 5 provides a strong platform to press for equally strong language in the Beijing Platform of Action, which many NGOs feel is weak.

**SUPPORT FOR FULL EMPLOYMENT:** The commitment on employment represents an immense step forward. After a decade of debate on the issue, the international community has finally articulated a political commitment to promote the goal of full employment as a basic priority of economic and social policies. The irony with this commitment is that while it could not have been agreed to 10 years ago, the language is perhaps weaker than what could have been accepted during the 1950s, when the social democratic consensus saw full employment as the stated goal of most industrialized countries.

**RIGHTS ISSUES:** For the first time the international community has affirmed the principle that social development and human rights form part of the same continuum. In fact, the Declaration and Programme of Action contain many firm references to key human rights standards, including economic, social and cultural rights, core ILO conventions and the rights of the child. Measures to protect the rights of development-displaced people, as well as refugees and asylum seekers, are also upheld.

**REDUCTIONS IN MILITARY EXPENDITURES:** The debate on military expenditure reductions has evolved considerably since Rio. Although the texts call for reductions in spending "as appropriate," and give recognition to "national security" requirements, the issue has been placed squarely on the international agenda.

**PRESERVATION OF CAIRO LANGUAGE:** At points during the negotiations on the Summit texts, there was concern about the efforts of the Holy See and several delegations to re-open and retreat from Cairo language on the family and reproductive rights. Despite the heated debate on these issues, Cairo language was finally preserved.

**RECOGNITION OF THE SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF SAPS:** Agreement was also reached on the socially disruptive nature of SAPs, and the related need to balance budgets without destabilizing the social fabric of society. The Declaration and Programme of Action recognize for the first time in UN history that SAPs should include social development goals and protect people living in poverty from budget reductions on social programmes and expenditures. The language also refers to the need to review the impact of SAPs on social development by means of gender sensitive assessments.

**PARTICIPATION OF CIVIL SOCIETY:** The Social Summit negotiations have demonstrated that NGOs, more than ever, are exerting their democratic influence on global processes. Governments have accepted that the full involvement of civil society is critical to achieving social development goals. This acceptance is reflected in the language of the Programme of Action, which encourages the creation of mechanisms for involving civil society in the formulation, implementation and evaluation of social development strategies and programmes.

**CLOSER COORDINATION BETWEEN THE BRETTON WOODS INSTITUTIONS AND THE UN SYSTEM:** The UN has been marginalized consistently vis-a-vis the work of the Bretton Woods institutions. For the first time, governments have called for closer connections between these bodies, in the form of joint meetings of ECOSOC and the Development Committee of the World Bank and the IMF. Although the texts are silent on the role of the World Trade Organization, there is reference to the required support and cooperation of regional and international organizations in the implementation of the Programme of Action.

**THE 20:20 COMPACT:** Despite the voluntary nature of the commitment to direct 20% of development aid and 20% of the national budget by donor and developing countries, respectively, to

social programmes, and the lack of definition of the priority social areas, many delegates and NGOs felt that the inclusion of the concept in the Programme of Action was a modest gain. This was especially true given the considerable opposition to the compact within the different regional groups. Nevertheless, as Prime Minister Brundtland has noted, the formula highlights a basic floor of support for basic human needs. It also provides a basis upon which the quality and quantity of development assistance can be guided, assessed and monitored.

### **MISSED OPPORTUNITIES**

**ECONOMIC FRAMEWORK OF THE DOCUMENTS:** In their alternative Declaration, NGOs challenged the economic framework adopted in the Programme of Action as contradictory with the objectives of equitable and sustainable social development. They maintain that the over-reliance on unaccountable "open, free-market forces" as a basis for organizing national and international economies aggravates the current global social crisis. NGOs and many developing countries had hoped that the documents would establish a mechanism to examine the implications of the WTO. In fact, on the first day of the Summit, the UN Secretary-General, as well as the Prime Ministers of Denmark and Norway, acknowledged that while the free-market does generate wealth, it also creates social polarities. While there was disappointment that the text does not address the problems with the structures that underlie the current international political economy, few actually thought that these discussions could or would have taken place here. Nevertheless, the international community has acknowledged that it is a central challenge to be faced into the next millennium.

**BALANCE BETWEEN NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY AND GLOBAL ACTION:** The debate on rights language, including human rights and the right to development, highlighted the extent to which national sovereignty is still one of the biggest obstacles to global action. Sovereignty language proposed by the G-77, which referred to "territorial integrity and non-interference," was one such topic of debate. The G-77 proposed this language as an attempt to protect against foreign interference in their international affairs and defense arrangements. By contrast, the EU preferred language that would enable them to influence national priorities in the name of social development. Amb. Butler characterized these negotiations as "yesterday's politics trying to catch up with tomorrow's agenda." The negotiations on these issues sought a balanced outcome for the relationship between national sovereignty and the international community. Debates on a scale such as this may contribute to changing the balance, but the process of change is not clear, and will likely be slow. As with the international political economy, the Summit could not be expected to be a forum for major changes on these matters.

**STATUS QUO ON BILATERAL DEBT RELIEF:** There was considerable disappointment that the Summit could not take bolder steps on bilateral debt relief. Many felt that mere endorsement of past agreements reached in the Paris Club and the General Assembly will do little to alleviate the immense suffering of developing countries, who spend more per capita on debt servicing than on basic human priorities. Others suggested that the most that the Social Summit could do in the current political and economic climate was to reiterate the existing consensus.

**TOBIN TAX SET ASIDE:** There was considerable disappointment that the Tobin Tax on international currency transactions was set aside. Many felt that its potential for generating considerable revenue for social development spending was hastily overlooked.

**NO NEW AND ADDITIONAL RESOURCES:** Developing countries were especially disappointed that their proposal for a special fund for social development was not adopted. As well, the G-77 proposal for "new and additional resources" was weakened. The Declaration and the Programme of Action call for "efforts to

mobilize" such funds, for "developing innovative sources of funding," or for using "all available funding sources." Some think that donor countries interpret the language to mean that private sources will make up any difference from the status quo.

### **CHALLENGES FOR THE FUTURE**

Whether the Social Summit succeeds in reaching its stated goals of poverty eradication, generation of productive employment, and social integration depends on the extent to which the international community can overcome its inertia and translate political commitments into concrete policies and action at the national level. In the year commemorating the UN's 50th anniversary, it is especially important that governments 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 century ago, which will now be charged with a central role in social development.

One of the central challenges for governments will be to give practical effect to the new vision of people-centered development. Efforts at the national level will have to ensure that civil society is empowered to participate in economic, social and political decision-making processes. No effective agenda for social development can succeed without the participation of organized civil society and NGOs. In the follow-up process, their active involvement must be sought at all stages.

Another important challenge for governments will be to operationalize the Programme of Action. Despite the few concrete targets and timetables, real action on the Programme of Action will necessitate: the prompt formulation and implementation of time-bound poverty eradication strategies; the reorientation of national budgets to meet these aims; clarification of human development priority concerns; and the means for measuring the impact of national-level initiatives. In the era of fiscal restraint and dwindling aid flows, developing countries will have to increase the effectiveness of existing monies. This must be matched, however, by a willingness of developed countries to take more concrete action on debt relief for both low and middle-income countries.

International responses will also be critical. There is relatively good language in the Programme of Action on the need for greater coordination between the Bretton Woods institutions and the UN. However, the extent to which the World Bank and the IMF reform their practices to adhere to the principles enshrined in the text, and commit themselves to multilateral debt relief and a new framework for socially responsible SAPs will be a key basis for assessing the success of the Social Summit.

### **THINGS TO LOOK FOR AFTER COPENHAGEN**

**COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN:** The CSW meets in New York from 15 March to 5 April 1995. The CSW will provide the forum for the negotiation of the Beijing Platform of Action, which will be adopted at the Fourth World Women's Conference in September 1995.

**COMMISSION ON SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT:** The Commission on Social Development will meet in New York from 10-20 April 1995.

**RIO GROUP:** The Rio Group will meet on 4-5 May 1995 in Buenos Aires to discuss plans for Social Summit follow-up.

**ECOSOC:** The Social Summit report will be transmitted to ECOSOC, which will meet from 26 June - 28 July 1995, in Geneva.

**FOURTH WORLD CONFERENCE ON WOMEN: ACTION FOR EQUALITY, DEVELOPMENT AND PEACE:** In response to NGO requests, Amb. Somavía has promised to transmit a 6-month report assessing implementation of the Programme of Action to the Conference, which will be held from 4-15 September in Beijing.