

[Οι προσθήκες στο κείμενο με άλλη γραμματοσειρά και έντονα πλάγια]  
[Γενική παρατήρηση: τα δύο μέρη του κειμένου δεν συναρθρώνονται λειτουργικά ενώ τομείς όπως διαφορετικότητα και μετανάστευση, όπως είχαν αποτυπωθεί στην ελληνική συμβολή, απουσιάζουν τελείως]

## A Progressive Agenda For Democracy and Development

### Stockholm Progressive Summit 14-15 September 2001

We, 14 Heads of State and Governments, from five continents, representing 600 million people, are united in a commitment to pursue modern and progressive policies. We stand on a solid base of common values expressed in our Berlin Communiqué, *Progressive Governance in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, adopted June 2000:

*"We are bound together first and foremost by our values. We are committed to solidarity and social fairness. We believe in the equal worth of all and in mutual responsibility. These values assume new relevance in a world that is changing so rapidly. We are liberated from old enmities; but we are humbled by the responsibility to make up for lost years. The only way to do this is to forge a new progressive path".*

We are convinced that economic progress and equality are interlinked, and that the gaps within and between countries demand political action. Social justice is dynamic and competitive in the world of today and tomorrow. Globalisation and a shrinking world means a rapid pace of change, more emphasis on flexibility in our economies, and a greater need for sound domestic policies. But there is also room - and need - for values in the choice *of public policies* and the way that we organise our societies, *on the basis of democracy*.

We share a commitment to using the power of government to improve peoples' lives; to foster a fair society and a dynamic economy; and to ensure that the powerful pressures of globalisation *will work towards the benefit of* the many not the few.

We will continue to learn from each other's best practices – and mistakes; to forge a network of progressive thinking and practice across the world.

### Democracy

The spread *and deepening* of democracy has been the greatest achievement of the last century. In some parts of the world people are still risking their lives for the right to elect their representatives. However in most countries many people feel detached from politics and from the democratic process, even as their interest in, and knowledge of, the world around them, has grown. Some have come to see single-issue movements as a shortcut to

achieving change. We believe that NGOs have a vital role to play in a modern democracy. However they are a complement to, not a substitute for, elected assemblies. Our priority is therefore to revitalize our political systems and re-engage the public. Democracy can be slow, cumbersome and involve compromise. But there is no better system for ensuring that everyone's voice is heard **and taken into account**.

*When late-modern societies suffer from low participation in elections and a more general disenchantment with party politics, having recourse to conventional remedies such as political and/or administrative decentralization, or the democratization of internal party organization cannot cure these maladies. While such measures are necessary, in present conditions they are not enough. What is needed in addition is a strengthening of the ties between political society and civil society.*

*Liberal democracy does not only need political pluralism (as its liberal dimension) and political and party participation (as its democratic dimension). It also needs social pluralism and social participation. In other words, it needs a strong third arena between states and markets an arena where citizens participate actively in organizations that operate on the basis of neither party nor market logic.*

The task for progressive governments is to shoulder the responsibility to create a **constructive** context – ideas, analyses and policies – in which people, communities, parties and other social forces can play their part in building a better **and cohesive** society. A modern and progressive society will thrive only on the basis of real inclusion, participation and empowerment.

### **Delivery for democracy**

There is widespread awareness that many things that we need most in this age of individualism – a decent society, sustainable environment, **social welfare**, good schools, well-performed health care and safety - are obtainable only by collective action. We are convinced that only through **genuine** democracy can we build a society that enables each and every person to fully develop their potential and create, shape and realize their life ambitions. The general sense of trust in democracy remains unbroken.

Public services are a vital part of the contract between states and citizens, and between citizens and other citizens. Many of our parties were pioneers in the development of welfare states and universal public services. Those services are now the foundation of the quality of life, security and cohesion of our societies.

We need to be **more innovative** in the 21<sup>st</sup> century **than we were** in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, ensuring that public services are **defined and** constantly modernized, designed to meet the needs to today's more demanding citizens. We should be prepared to experiment with different partnerships between public, private and non-profit sector, and imaginative use of technology.

*The way to overcome political apathy, therefore, the way to make citizens interested and involved in public matters, is through the development of a strong civil society.* Jobs creation and improvements in our educational systems is vital to empower people, families and communities. The exchange of views and experiences of national policies

and sharing best practice in progressive governance is important in order to develop adequate measures.

Governments have to be aware of the importance of their performance, and that they are accessible and responsive, in their dealings with citizens. Public administration and services capable of working in the right way, at the right time and with good quality and resource management, earn public confidence, accountability and enhance popular trust in politics and democratic institutions.

Corruption, private privileges and self-enrichment by elected representatives and public servants are a cancer killing social cohesion, eating away trust in democracy and blocking progress in both the private and public sectors. It must always be fought vigorously.

### **A New Democratic Space**

Globalisation has intensified interdependence of people and countries. Any one who wants to take charge of *his* future must **think and** act, not only at home, but also in a global context. Global integration offers tremendous opportunities. Yet this is often questioned. Many people do not trust the ability of governments to look after public interests. Nor do they feel they can participate in a meaningful debate that will lead to results.

#### *[αλλαγή σειράς επομένων παραγράφων]*

We are convinced that a globalised world requires stronger and renewed legitimacy for international cooperation. The principle of freedom of information has to be **further** developed. The process preparing international negotiations and meetings has to be open, accountable and transparent. Our aim is to democratize **by any means** Globalisation.

Governance is not just for governments. Meaningful and lasting political advance is only secured when our ambitions as leaders chimes with the ideas and movements outside the meeting rooms. Progress is worthless unless it is endorsed by the legitimacy of public accountability. Politics cannot be built on an informal behind the scenes deal. We have to open up new democratic spaces.

Leaders in government, politics, opinion, civil society and the private sector have to step up and create trusted space for dialogue. Those who stand for different interests have to feel that their positions are both understood and considered even if their claims are not always accepted.

As progressives we need to stress that without intensive international cooperation the challenges of humankind cannot be met. To achieve a common goal sometimes requires compromising with strict national interest. The vast majority accepts this. Government leaders meeting are a necessity for progress. Those violently attacking such political meetings **are undermining democratic cooperation**, adding to the strength of other centers of power, which are beyond control of the people.

At the Stockholm Progressive Summit we commit ourselves to start A New Progressive Dialogue: A trusted space for an open and structured on-line debate to promote collective action **in order to promote and guarantee the democratic perspective for Globalisation.**

The debates, on specific and tight focused issues with an active moderation, should result in reports for the next Progressive Summit.

## **Development**

The combined wealth of humankind has never been greater and is sufficient to grant a decent life for all. The task for progressive leadership is to press on the agenda of more trade access, faster, deeper debt relief, more aid, and more coherent development policies.

Empowerment strategies have to become central to eradicating poverty. We support the New African initiative especially because it tries to say something about the critical difference between how African development was led in the past, and how it ought to be in the future: Not to do things *for* the poor, but instead enabling them to lead. We are convinced that people must be subjects of their own destiny, not the objects of somebody else's design.

### **Health creates wealth.**

Healthier populations are more productive. Good health stimulates educational progress in a society, since healthier people, who expect to live long, have stronger incentives to invest in education. Good health promotes school attendance and improves children's ability to learn. Healthy populations tend to promote investments. When people live longer, they will save more of their income. Insofar as increased savings are used for productive investment, average income will rise. A healthy and educated work force attracts foreign direct investments. This adds to a virtuous spiral of economic growth.

In short, investments in health, especially in early age, offer the best opportunity to compete in the global economy by improving the competence of people. In particular in less developed countries, health improvements also operate through changes in the age structure of the population. This happens through the process of demographic change, that appears in countries as they modernize, the demographic transition.

This is why it is particularly devastating for Africa to be struck by the AIDS epidemic. The disease imposes incredible economic burdens on a region that is already in a demographically very critical situation. Life expectation falls dramatically, 80 percent of global AIDS mortality occurs among people at working age. Africa is losing millions of citizens in their prime years and leave orphans with vastly reduced prospects. The threat imposed by AIDS is daunting, also for future generation. Poor health inevitably leads to a disastrous poverty trap.

The situation is problematic, but we know from past experience, that death and disease can be fought with success, if concerted efforts are made. The battle against tuberculosis, from late 19<sup>th</sup> century and onwards, is an illuminating example. Here we, as progressive leaders, have a role to play. Through joint action there is hope.

We encourage and support those African governments that are prepared to face the crisis and work of for African recovery. Particular contributions need to be made in the broad field of health, taking into consideration the establishment of the Global Fund to fight

AIDS/HIV, malaria and tuberculosis (with the emphasis on prevention) and the development of a concrete Action Plan as agreed upon by the G8 in Genoa in support of the New Africa Initiative.

Only 10 per cent of the public and private investment in research and development of new medicines and treatments is devoted to improving conditions of poor people in the developing world. Many new medicines remain unaffordable and inaccessible for the developing world, sometimes due to the failure of health systems. Action needs to be taken to increase investment and incentives for R&D. Action need to be taken to decrease price and out-of pocket payments. Support needs to continue and increase on the strengthening of health systems.

Monopolistic or universally applied pricing for medicine is irrational. Pricing models and patent rules must be further developed to not exclude those in most need. Results of research, usually dependent on public finance in developed countries, cannot be treated as an exclusive private property if the ethical code of saving life is not properly respected. Fair remuneration is, however, fundamental.

IT and telemedicine make it possible to disburse and use the latest medical knowledge irrespective of distance and without heavy investments in infrastructure. In particular prevention of AIDS/HIV is a matter of awareness, education and straight talk. Taboos, stigma and denial have to be challenged. Media, community leaders, high-profile personalities and politicians can do much good and have to take the lead.

### **A fair and integrated world economy**

Investing in development is releasing a brake on world growth. With a slowing world economy it is proper and urgent to increase finance for development, not least reversing faltering development assistance from advanced to developing economies. 0,7 per cent remains the basic target for ODA (Official Development Assistance).

We must be alert to the needs of least developed countries for debt reduction, allowing not just for stability but real growth.

We recognize the distorting effects of export subsidies on trade in agricultural products and the need to meet developing country demands for their reduction.

We strive for a new round of the WTO, based on a balanced agenda, as the most effective way to achieve necessary and universally beneficial reform of the world trading system. The new round must address the priorities of developing countries, answering their concerns about improved market access, the problems of trade in agriculture and of implementing the Uruguay Round Agreements. A new round shall increase global productivity and growth, disbursing opportunities for economic and social progress. The EU 'Everything but arms' initiative towards least developed countries a best practice to be applied.

A new WTO-round should include a review of earlier WTO procedures. It is important to clarify, strengthen and extend multilateral trading rules. Increased transparency in the WTO itself and with the civil society helps to improve the confidence in the global trading system.

We are ready to form new institutions, accords and commitments necessary to shape the new, better world. Inalienable individual responsibility goes hand in hand with efforts of cooperation, social responsibility and solidarity. We remain committed to the United Nations, the meeting point of the interest of all nations, and want to see an alignment of strength of the UN system with the IMF, The World Bank and the WTO. The aim is to achieve economic security, financial stability and secured basic socio-economic rights.

It is crucial to eradicate poverty and achieve the goals of the Millennium Declaration, to integrate developing countries in the world economy and manage the many urgent global issues. We expect progress to be made at the up-coming World Conference on Financing for Development in Monterrey, Mexico, 18-22 March 2002.

The advocacy role that the voluntary sector performs as well as finding innovative answers is vital in a democracy. NGO-forums at international conferences can enrich the discussions and encourage political engagement. The relation between NGOs and progressive leaders must be one of dialogue, not distance.

### **Development has to be sustainable**

The depletion of the ozone layer has already made the life-giving sun a deadly threat in parts of the southern hemisphere. The greenhouse effect threatens to change weather conditions dramatically. It threatens large areas of land with flooding and it affects animals and plants. The threats to the conditions of human life must be resolved – by means of global co-operation. We are committed to the ratification and implementation of the Kyoto Protocol by 2002. Action must be taken to meet the commitments under the protocol

Also local and national level environmental changes threaten the well being of the poor through resource depletion, soil degradation, worsening air and water quality. Global co-operation is also required to address these problems.

We commit ourselves to show global leadership for sustainable development by actively preparing for the Johannesburg World Summit on Sustainable Development in 2002. In addition to addressing global environmental problems, this summit should also serve as a forum for finding ways of working with our partner countries to address national level environmental concerns and for integrating these considerations into national level strategies and policies.

We will make joint efforts to reach decisions at the Johannesburg Summit that will operationalize sustainable development in its three dimensions – economic, social and environmental. The overriding goals are poverty eradication and the promotion of sustainable consumption and production patterns. We will work in partnership with civil society and the private sector to agree on a new global deal between North and South.

Official Development Assistance can play a crucial role in building the capacity of partner countries to develop policy and legislative frameworks that enable economic growth, private sector development, trade and technological development to help reduce poverty while respecting environmental and social considerations.

It is essential to make markets work effectively for sustainable development. In this context the international trading system, including WTO, has to play an effective role in contributing to sustainable development.

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### The Network for Progressive Governance Action Plan

- We commit ourselves to start The New Progressive Dialogue: A trusted space for an open and structured on-line debate on a series of different but equally important issues
  - We have all gained new knowledge from this meeting and we have decided to meet in London, early spring 2003. At that time there will among other things be a report back and follow-up on The Progressive Dialogue.
  - We want our advisers and policy experts, as well as scientists and researchers, to continue to meet and co-operate on a regular basis, to discuss political solutions and to learn from each other.
  - We will continue to co-operate with independent progressive networks and institutions, i.e. The Policy Network based in London, the Social Science Research Centre Berlin...
  - We will publicise an annual report on Best Practice in Progressive Governance in order to identifying challenges and policy options.
  - We will specifically bringing our representatives together with a view to preparing detailed papers and analysis of best practice for the next summit on:
    - Education
    - Patient concerned health care
    - Modernising public services more generally
  - We commit ourselves to co-ordinate an effort to promote health and fight AIDS/HIV in Africa. We have the privilege to announce that the former US President Clinton has accepted to chair a mission on behalf of us. The Summit mandates him to make consultations he finds proper and to develop efforts and make proposals of specific or concerted character in the form of an Action Plan to be submitted to the next Progressive Summit.
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Government matters. As a matter of fact it can make a great difference. The market economy can generate different results, depending on how resources are distributed, how human resources are developed and what rules prevail. The principal challenges relates to inequality – between and within nations.

A society, that cannot guarantee equal rights and opportunities for all, risks breaking up from within. That is what progressive leadership is all about: an active policy concerned with the cohesion of the democratic society with all its diversities.

We look forward to continue to address the need for progressive policies and global co-operation.

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