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MEMORANDUM

To: Nicole Rabney
Fr: Carrie Goux and Cindy Gire ^{COY}
Dt: 10-27-95
Re: Madrid Humanitarian Action Summit

European Union Commissioner Emma Bonino has initiated a high level meeting of humanitarian leaders to be held in Madrid on December 14. Mrs. Bonino's goal is to draw attention to the following issues: the plight of humanitarian victims; the work of humanitarian aid agencies and donors and the new challenges facing them; and the limits of humanitarian aid. Participants in the meeting will be the heads of U.N. humanitarian agencies (including Carol Bellamy), the International Committee for the Red Cross (ICRC), private voluntary organizations from the U.S. and Europe, the EU and the United States (note: the EU and the U.S. are the two largest donors for humanitarian assistance providing 90% of the funding to international organizations and countries in need). The December 14th activities would be hosted by the Queen of Spain, who was once a refugee.

The EU has held three preparatory meetings in Brussels and will hold a final preparatory meeting in mid-November. During the most recent meetings held last week, a notional schedule was discussed as well as the issues for the meeting agenda. Attached you will find a draft declaration for the Dec. 14 meeting which represents the issues to be discussed. Mrs. Bonino is interested in making the Madrid meeting a big press event. The communications staff from the EU, U.S., U.N. and PVOs are heavily involved in the planning. Currently, the schedule for the "Summit" looks like this:

- A 3 hour morning meeting chaired by EU ECHO Commissioner Bonino on December 14. Each of the delegations (approx. 6 members per delegation) would participate. The program would include 10 minute remarks by the delegation head followed by interactive discussion with all members of the delegations.
- A press conference / release of the "Madrid Declaration" (see attached draft)
- The Queen of Spain will host a luncheon for delegation heads.
- The Queen of Spain will host a symphony concert for the delegations.
- The Queen of Spain will host an evening reception for the delegations.

Presumably, Mrs. Clinton's video would be introduced at the morning meeting and at least that

portion of the meeting would be open to the press. The U.S. ambassador to Austria, Mrs. Hunt has requested to introduce Mrs. Clinton's video. There has also been interest by the press staff to promote the Summit through Op-Eds and possibly through Mrs. Clinton's weekly column.

The EU has informally inquired as to Mrs. Clinton's availability on December 3 during the President's visit to Madrid. Mrs. Bonino would like to consider changing the day of the humanitarian leaders meeting to Dec. 3 if Mrs. Clinton could participate. If the meeting date changed, the structure of the "Summit" would also have to change. We could suggest to Mrs. Bonino the following:

- A smaller, substantive meeting with Mrs. Clinton, Mrs. Bonino, Brian Atwood, the heads of the humanitarian agencies of the U.N. and representatives from European and U.S. PVO umbrella groups. The meeting could last an hour and be followed by a press availability and possibly a lunch hosted by the Queen of Spain.
- The meeting could possibly compliment the POTUS-Santer meeting but not step on it.
- At this time, the issues outlined by the draft declaration are very broad. There is a need to narrow down the document so as to focus the message of the summit on a few key issues such as the plight of women and children in crisis situations.

If you have any questions or need more information, please don't hesitate to call us at 202-647-0699 or 647-3863.

24 October 1995

DRAFT DECLARATION

Humanitarian Summit

(14 December 1995 in Madrid)

Sommet humanitaire
Cumbre humanitaria

THEME:

"Humanitarian Aid - New Challenges and Limits"

1. Introduction

The following leaders and prominent representatives of humanitarian organisations came together in Madrid on 14 December 1995:

Mrs Emma Bonino, European Commissioner for Humanitarian Aid
Mr Brian Atwood, USAID Administrator
Mrs Sakata Ogata, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
Mrs Carol Bellamy, Executive Director of UNICEF
Mrs Catherine Bernini, Executive Director of the World Food Programme (WFP)
Mr Cornelio Sommaruga, President of the International Committee of the Red Cross
Mr Peter Hansen, United Nations Under-Secretary General responsible for Humanitarian Affairs
Mrs Julia Taft, President of InterAction (the American Council for Voluntary International Action)
Mrs Maria Schopper, President of Médecins Sans Frontières
Mr Agostinho Jardim Gonçalves, President of the European Liaison Committee for Non-Governmental Organisations (CLONG)

The purpose of the summit was to discuss the new challenges faced by humanitarian aid and the limits to which it is subject. Following three hours of deliberations, the participants agreed on the following declaration.

2. Global Humanitarian Problem

The end of the Cold War has brought with it a massive upsurge in the number of conflict situations around the world. Not only does this imply an increased number of victims, but the victims tend more and more to be civilians, and particularly women and children. Many other potential conflicts threaten, and these trends show no sign of abating. It has been estimated that there are today some 30 million uprooted persons in the world dependent upon international humanitarian assistance.

On the surface, the reasons for such crises are often ethnic, religious or ideological in nature - these are, at any rate, the lines along which society tends to fracture in the event of conflict. Yet looking more deeply, two types of factors, most often combined, lie at the origin of most of these conflicts.

Conjunctural factors - such as the breakdown of political and constitutional regimes - have brought previously accommodated or suppressed groups into the political arena. This has allowed interests of elites and of social groupings openly to collide without there being functioning conflict resolution mechanisms in place to manage these frictions.

Structural factors - economic, political and social underdevelopment - have long been with us, but have all too rarely been adequately addressed by national elites and international

donors. In combination with regime breakdown, such factors give rise to separate and clearly identifiable interest groups competing for scarce and ever scarcer resources. Where structural problems have been neglected, population pressure and the depletion of natural resources have often only further weakened an already fragile ecosystem. It has been estimated that poverty alone claims 53 million victims a year outside of conflict or sudden-onset disasters¹.

Conflict in general proliferates. As an unchanged pattern of events since 1945, the overwhelming majority of wars have been civil wars - which have proven to be both more violent and harder to resolve². Most victims are therefore victims of civil war: either as refugees in neighbouring countries where, at least in theory, they are legally protected, or as internally displaced people where there is a gap for international law to fill.

Violence and suffering in these conflicts also continues to worsen as a result of the proliferation of modern arms technology. While high technology arms pose a global security threat with which the major powers seek to grapple, it is weaponry, not least small arms, which has been around for a while and in large quantities in developed countries which claims most immediate victims in the third world. A particularly brutal example are the estimated 50 million anti-personnel land mines which exist in the world today, which are undetectable and indiscriminate, continuing to kill and maim civilians long after conflict situations have ceased. The developed world's readiness to limit the production and control the spread of these devices has been all too lacking, in flat contradiction to the stated objectives of development aid.

We are therefore in a situation - part of the post-Cold War world order - where more and more claims are being made on humanitarian aid and on the organisations which deliver it, while the political will to develop the other instruments which would be necessary to address the root causes in a global perspective has tended to be much less in evidence.

3. Humanitarian response

The years since the Ethiopian drought and the Kurdish refugee crisis during the Gulf War have seen an enormous growth in the funds going into humanitarian assistance as well as in the know-how to tackle complex emergencies and ongoing crises. Between 1989 and 1994 the sums involved more than tripled, from around US\$ 850 million to more than US\$ 4 billion³ (see attached graph no. 1). A few donors - the EU, its Member States and the US - account for almost 90% of all assistance (see attached graph no. 2).

¹ Source: UNDP [to check]

² Source: R. Licklider, ed., "Stopping the Killing: How Civil Wars End", New York 1993.

³ Source: DHA

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[Graph no 1 will be finalized when DHA has supplied historical data on global humanitarian aid. So far the graph contains DHA's figure for 1989 and ECHO's estimate for 1994 which corresponds with the (publicly financed) humanitarian aid mentioned in graph no. 1]

These funds have been used with success to save the lives of an estimated 45 million people over the period *[DHA to confirm statistic]*. In the face of tremendous logistic difficulties, famine was averted and lives saved in Southern Africa in 1991. Humanitarian aid was also a contributing factor in the successful repatriation of refugees to Mozambique, South Africa, South Africa, Namibia, Cambodia and El Salvador. In responding to the 1994 humanitarian crisis in Zaire and Tanzania, food was airlifted to the crisis area within 48 hours, with a convoy arriving in one week*.

[Participating organisations are encouraged to supply a few lines describing "success stories" to fit in here]

Yet the funds available are far from meeting all the needs. Although the number of countries beset by crisis continues to grow, the trend has been to focus on fewer beneficiary countries, in some cases to the detriment of urgent needs in parts of the world further from the international headlines.

In responding to all these crises, not only know-how but also a certain philosophy and *esprit de corps* has built up within the relief community, and between us personally. The UN agencies partly or wholly specialising in humanitarian affairs, together with the Red Cross and Red Crescent family, have played a large role in implementing humanitarian assistance. Partnership with NGOs has been a key feature of assistance, in all cases in close cooperation, wherever possible, with local government and community structures to ensure capacity-building, appropriate assistance, and a long-term approach designed to phase out aid dependence.

The current situation presents us therefore with a number of new challenges dealing with the principles, the special concerns and the limits of humanitarian aid. In the following we shall address each of these challenges.

4. New Challenges

The Principles

* Source: WFP

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1. Back to Basics

There is a need to reaffirm the basic principles of humanitarian aid. In planning humanitarian aid, donors should respect and abide by the principles held to by the humanitarian organisations: solidarity, impartiality, and neutrality.

The humanitarian motive is one of solidarity with those who suffer in crisis situations and concern for their basic rights - wherever they may find themselves.

Assistance must be impartial - available to all victims in function of their needs and independently of race, ideology or religion.

Neutrality means that assistance is delivered without conditions to all of the victims - whatever side they may find themselves on. Indeed, we do all we can to have access to all those caught up in crisis situations.

Recipient authorities and belligerents are also under an obligation to protect the humanitarian mandate - a fact of which they are all too often unaware or which they wilfully neglect. Means should be found to facilitate humanitarian operations under such circumstances which do not compromise their essential neutrality. Deliberate abuse should be held internationally accountable.

Humanitarian organisations, on their part, should agree on a code of conduct containing a certain number of procedural and ethical principles.

2. Victims must be protected

Humanitarian intervention means both assistance to and protection of the victims.

Protection of the victims has two aspects: in international law and on the ground.

Legally, under the 1951 Geneva Convention refugees fleeing conflict have a right to protection and asylum in third countries, and to voluntary repatriation. But the Convention does not cover those remaining within an internationally recognised state. This anomaly should be addressed, and all the more so since internally displaced persons are becoming more and more predominant in conflict situations. This is far from being a theoretical issue: it can lead to sharp disparities in the ability of the international community to provide assistance to people whose objective situation is identical.

Moreover, and just as importantly, all states party to the 1949 Geneva Conventions have a primary responsibility to respect and enforce the legal protection of victims of conflicts in reality. Amongst other things, the demilitarisation of refugee camps should be recognised and enforced.

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Coordinated action must also be taken at international level to reduce the exacerbation of casualties caused by the arms trade with countries where there is a risk of conflict, especially internal conflict. Some types of weapon are particularly pernicious: anti-personnel mines kill 800 civilians a month⁵ and will go on doing so for a long time to come unless decisive action is taken by the international community. Their presence is also a considerable barrier to resettlement of the areas affected. We should like to see a voluntary trust fund set up to finance demining.

3. Humanitarian aid is not a political tool

It is vital that donors as well as implementing agencies respect the principle whereby humanitarian assistance has a purely humanitarian motivation and must not be used as a tool to support any desired outcome of a conflict or any other policy consideration. The scrupulous respect of this principle by agencies and donors alike is vital if humanitarian agencies are to gain safe access to victims and the confidence of the parties in conflict. Once aid is allocated, implementing agencies must be able to proceed to allocate it autonomously, on the sole basis of the needs of the victims. Any other state of affairs would be a severe setback indeed, and we are all determined to rigorously resist any drifts in that direction.

Special Concerns

4. Special needs of women and children⁶

Women and children form the great majority of civilian victims of armed conflict⁷. Yet, despite this, their specific needs can often go unassessed or uncatered for. This bias must be corrected. Much greater attention needs to be giving to including women victims in the planning process during delivery of humanitarian assistance, which is the best way of ensuring that the most vulnerable in the refugee camps do in fact receive aid; and to issues of their reproductive health.

**[UNICEF to supply a brief section on reproductive health]*

Counselling for victims of rape and for children caught up in conflicts should not be neglected. Children rarely have a voice at such moments - yet they, and nursing mothers, have specific nutritional needs, and they may need to be found surrogate

⁵ - Source: DHA

⁶ UNICEF to supply material

⁷ Source: Unicef

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families who will respect and cultivate their basic rights to education and non-exploitation.

5. **The risks to relief workers**

The fact of having to work in situations of open conflict is increasingly a reality for many humanitarian workers. It is often with considerable courage in the face of great personal danger that they carry out their mission to save lives. We greatly regret the casualties which there have been and we deplore the callousness of those who are prepared to exploit their vulnerability and neutrality to their own ends through hostage-taking or indiscriminate violence against them. Let there be no doubt that we will hold such people responsible for their acts. Recipient authorities, belligerents and international peacekeepers should do all they can to respect and ensure their security.

The Limits

6. **The Limits of Humanitarian Assistance**

Humanitarian aid has its limits. It does not have in its toolbox the means to address the root causes of crises. Moreover, however efficiently they are used, resources are also limited, and demands on them are great. As soon as possible the afflicted communities have to take over the responsibility for their own rebuilding process. Ideally, humanitarian aid, in dialogue with development workers, should build in from the outset a concept for its own phasing-out as rapidly as possible; unfortunately experience has shown us that this may not be very rapidly in many cases.

Above all, humanitarian aid should not be used by politicians as a substitute for resolute and decisive action in other domains which could help to resolve a crisis more quickly.

7. **Resources**

There is no humanitarian assistance without resources, and the vast majority of these require political decisions. Therefore political will is necessary: it should be affirmed more systematically and be less subject to the media attention, political colouring or perceived strategic interest of the crisis in question.

More resources have been made available for humanitarian assistance over the past few years. Yet in view of present facts there is a need to be willing to sustain and even increase this level of funding for the foreseeable future. Crisis-weariness needs to be battled at every juncture and at every level.

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To sustain public support, humanitarian aid needs a still higher profile. The public and politicians should be aware of where it has been successful - it is not a bottomless pit. Well-timed and targeted humanitarian aid can sustain difficult moves towards peace and keep a candle of humanity burning in situations where brutality would otherwise overwhelm the spirits of combatants and civilian populations. It is nonetheless much better, clearly, when there is a commitment to going beyond emergency assistance to fund rehabilitation and reconstruction in such circumstances rather than limiting ourselves to delivering essential supplies and services at the moment of crisis itself and nothing more.

Such a commitment - while long overdue - seems to have shown its effectiveness in helping to provide incentives to the peace process in Bosnia and Palestine, while it has been singularly lacking elsewhere. Other crises never hit the headlines at all, and are quickly "forgotten", or in any case given much less priority by the donors (e.g. Liberia, Tajikistan, Afghanistan, Liberia and Sudan).

Stable funding mechanisms are needed to continue to provide assistance in these situations as well as to be in a position to respond rapidly in the early stages of an incipient crisis before political donors have been able to mobilise. Without a long-term commitment in a given situation, relief may just heighten the subsequent disillusion of victims when food and medical supplies dry up or they are left to live a precarious existence with no means of rebuilding their future. Every effort must be made to insure that this does not happen in e.g. Rwanda and Burundi.

While drawing attention to the need for funding, humanitarian organisations and donors are absolutely determined to do all within their power to improve further their own coordination and the cost-efficiency of their work. Cooperation with local partners needs to be more systematic, for this reason as well as others.

2. Work actively to prevent crises

With hindsight, information which could have helped to prevent or provide early warning of crises was often available somewhere. The problem is that it is not shared, or not listened to and acted upon. At present, key sources of information, such as relevant reports of national intelligence agencies, are not systematically made available to the humanitarian community. Better interfaces should be built up between the various actors at the political level and between the political, humanitarian and development spheres.

To prevent crises it is vital - and in the long run much more cost-effective - to attack the root causes, namely the underlying structural features: sustainable use of natural resources, population pressure, underdevelopment and poor governance.

Some types of crisis (not least natural disasters) could also be much better dealt with locally if there were greater stress on and support for local preparedness measures and the reduction of vulnerability. Hesitance to fund and carry out preparedness programmes may not only cause human suffering when the crisis strikes but it will also lead donors to pick up a much larger bill for humanitarian aid afterwards.

9. Ensure links to development

The aftermath of a major disaster may leave whole communities or even states in an extremely vulnerable situation. Without sustained effort at rehabilitation and reconstruction, any abatement in hostilities is likely to prove temporary or illusory. Major structural crises can no longer be thought of - if they ever could - as a mere "hiccup" in development. The reconstruction of civil society is not just water, electricity, bridges and roads, nor even livestock, seeds and tools, but also demobilisation of soldiers and building up the police, judiciary and administration. Investment in this social infrastructure is no luxury - it may be indispensable to create the conditions in which refugees feel secure enough to return home, and put an end to a prolonged, and probably increasingly forgotten, crisis situation of dependence on humanitarian aid.

The major humanitarian actors together with the affected communities should ensure that they systematically coordinate a global approach in such circumstances.

Moreover, even where donors are willing to finance such efforts, their own internal procedures often mean that there is a funding gap between relief and rehabilitation. This gap is wasteful of resources and frustrating for all concerned, and it has to be plugged.

As humanitarian leaders, we are determined that relief should try to take into account, from the outset, development considerations and that it should reinforce coping mechanisms and local structures. Victims of crises are best placed to know what their needs are and how assistance can best be delivered.

Development too should seek to reduce vulnerability, and support crisis preparedness, as well as giving due attention to flanking measures in the areas of education and support for civil society. There is a need to intensify cooperation between the relief and development worlds so that we have development-oriented relief and relief-oriented development.

The occurrence of a humanitarian crisis is often a sign of the need to reinforce, not reduce, development efforts. Resources "borrowed" for humanitarian needs should be replenished - at least.