Asserting Democratic Space Amidst Corporate Capture of Development

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of the Reality of Aid – Asia Pacific
and the CSO Partnership for Development Effectiveness Asia's
Regional Meeting and Policy Workshop
on IFI Engagement and Monitoring

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Reality of Aid – Asia Pacific Secretariat
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3/F IBON Center
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Philippines

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Managing Editor: Sarah Isabelle Torres
Layout and Cover Design: Marlon Julian Nombrado

The Reality of Aid – Asia Pacific
CSO Partnership for Development Effectiveness Asia
Phone: +632 927 7060 to 62 loc 201
Telefax: +632 927 6981
Website: www.realityofaid.org

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PREFACE

The Reality of Aid – Asia Pacific (RoA-AP) conducted back-to-back meetings and workshops for both the RoA-AP Steering Committee and the CSO Partnership for Development Effectiveness (CPDE) Asia Coordinating Committee from October 7-9, 2019 in Taipei, Taiwan.

The Regional Meeting & Policy Workshop were organized in partnership with Taiwan Aid and Taiwan Foundation for Democracy (TFD). A total of 40 delegates attended the regional events.

This publication includes the written reports of nine conference panelists segmented into two sessions. With the theme, "Asserting Democratic Space amidst Corporate Capture of Development", the sessions discussed: 1) country experiences on corporate capture of development; and 2) sectoral experiences on violations of people's rights in order to draw lessons, develop recommendations, and reaffirm solidarity among CSOs in the region.

Amidst the global phenomenon of shrinking and closing civic spaces, the Regional Meeting & Policy Workshop served as avenues for Asian CSOs to assert their rightful space and key role in development and challenge International Finance Institutions (IFIs) that facilitate the corporate capture of development.

RoA-AP and CPDE members registered that the profit-driven involvement of the private sector in development projects led to human rights violations, land aggression, and conflict within the communities of the poor, marginalized, and vulnerable. Delegates reaffirmed that multi- and trans-national corporations have already captured development, thus "leaving everyone behind".

These struggles continue to persist because the neoliberal directive of corporations and governments on development projects do not align with people's democratic rights. Delegates asserted not only the need for accountability and reforms but more so their right to ownership of development projects and CSOs' crucial role in advancing development cooperation.

Delegates also called for support to people's actions as these are vital campaigns to ensure sustainable development. For Indonesia, the rural sector calls for continuous resistance in defense of their lands and for a genuine agrarian reform. In the Philippines, peoples' organizations forward the alternative "People's Economics" which embodies the decades-long struggle of Filipinos for comprehensive rural development and national industrialization.

RoA-AP and CPDE Asia champion these assertions as well. Hence, both organizations are mindful of the key messages member CSOs would like to raise and forward in various policy arenas they engage in.

This publication would not have been possible without the cooperation of RoA-AP and CPDE Asia members who also served as the panelists:

- Abed Al-Salehi, AidWatch Palestine
- David Hesaie, Pacific Islands Association of NGOs
- Farida Abdyldaeva, Public Association "The Right Step"
- Jenison Urikhimbam, Youth Forum for Protection of Human Rights
- Jennifer Guste, Council for People's Development and Governance
- Jiten Yumnam, Center for Research and Advocacy – Manipur
- Kariyawasam Thilak, Sri Lanka Nature Group
- Kurniawan Sabar, Institute for National and Democracy Studies
- Rey Asis, Asia Pacific Mission for Migrants

Sarah Torres
Reality of Aid – Asia Pacific Coordinator

INTRODUCTION

Development Partnerships amid Shrinking Civic Space: The Challenge in Asia Pacific

Global development agenda has entered into a new era that pursues sustainable development through inclusive development partnerships, which ensures the engagement of all development actors at equal footing.

The issue of inclusive development partnerships in development and governance is a hard-fought battle won by CSOs several years ago. Inclusive development partnership acknowledges that CSOs, as independent development actors, play vital roles in pursuing people-centred development, enabling people to claim their rights, shaping development policies and partnerships, and pursuing accountability of all development actors. CSO participation in democratic spaces, at the country level, ensures the representation of public voices in shaping the national development discourse.

While the recognition of this principle was already achieved at global and regional levels and processes such as the Global Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation, the same is not necessarily happening at the national level. With the assertion of CSO participation in national development and governance, some governments often intimidate and attack the very foundation of civil society existence – the recognition of fundamental rights and freedoms, and enabling environment for CSOs.

CPDE[1] has reported the different cases of legal and extralegal restrictions to civic spaces globally. This includes:

- mandatory registration and unreasonable, onerous requirements for CSO operations
- unclear legislation and regulatory restrictions
- measures banning public demonstrations and other forms of public expression
- poor and limited spaces available for CSO participation
- lack of technical and financial support for CSOs effective engagement and operations
- human rights violations (e.g. harassment, intimidation, and fabrication of charges) and killings that are becoming more widespread in both the North and the South

1 CSO Partnership for Development Effectiveness. 2015. *An enabling environment for civil society organizations: A synthesis of evidence.*

Concretely, examples in Asia include (1) Law on Mass Organisations in Indonesia (2013), (2) Foreign Contributions Regulations Act in several countries in South Asia, (3) Executive Order no. 70 in the Philippines, and (4) rampant extrajudicial killings and human rights violations in most of Asian countries.

While spaces for civic participation is continuously shrinking and closing at an unprecedented rate, spaces for private sector in development practices, policies and programmes are increasing and expanding. In many countries, businesses are encouraged to pour in additional resources for so-called development projects through public-private partnerships and blended financing. Social services such as water and energy, communications, and transportation are being subject to private concessions and agreements between corporations and the government. Such abandonment of public accountability by governments provides leeway for the private sector to make profit out of public goods and needs.

Apart from the corporate capture of development, the continuous rise of populism and authoritarian regimes also poses a great danger in advances in development and rights. In situations where CSOs and people's movements are open targets of human rights violations, inclusive civic spaces have become, all the more, the exception rather than the rule. The people will remain to be sidelined in policy spaces and policy discussions will not benefit from the realities happening at the ground level.

Despite these challenges, CSOs shall continue to assert their right as independent development actors that bring the voices and realities of the people to policy and governance spaces at different levels. They should counter the trend of shrinking and closing civic spaces by broadening their ranks, by improving their direct work with the people, and by pursuing international solidarity work and partnerships with fellow CSOs and other development partners.

In the end, it is only through collective work that efforts to undermine previous gains for genuine people-centred development will be opposed, and that people's voices and needs be heard by all development actors.

Jodel Dacara
CPDE Global Secretariat

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IFI Financing in a Changing Context in Asia

Jiten Yumnam, Center for Research and Advocacy - Manipur

Traditional Role of IFIs across Asia Region: IFIs have been financing development processes across Asia Region. The adoption of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), the increased Climate Crisis and other emerging disaster across Asia region led to increased impetus on need for financing for International Financial Institutions (IFIs) like the Asian Development Bank (ADB), the Asia Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), the World Bank (WB) and traditional donors like the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) and emerging economies like China and India.

It will be crucial to understand the traditional focus and changing nature of the financing of International Financial Institutions and its sectoral and geographic focus across the Asia region and implications on the people, environment and the sustainability of development in Asia region. The increased financing of International Financial Institutions and Development Financial Institutions (DFIs) in shaping the development discourse have become a dominant feature across South East Asia and in South Asia, including in India's North Eastern States.

This discourse is intensified amidst various policies and strategies of DFIs and countries such as India's Act East Policy, Japan's Free and Open Asia Pacific strategy and China's One Belt One Road (OBOR) that also overlaps with other Asia Pacific strategies of US, European Union, Russia etc. India and Japan, especially with US support, has increasingly been synergizing their strategies to counter China's OBOR and to control land, resources and strategic locations with economic and political dominations.

The Asian Development Bank (ADB), European Investment Bank (EIB), International Finance Corporation (IFC), Islamic Development Bank (IDB)[1], etc. are some of the multilateral IFIs financing across India's North Eastern States, comprising Seven States with Sikkim. Bilateral IFIs like Agence Francais De Development (AFD), German Development Bank (DEG) / KFW, and Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) are extensively involved in India's North East (NE) financing a range of development projects. These institutions mostly finance projects in infrastructure and connectivity with a

1 Development finance institutions and private sector development
http://www.oecd.org/dac/stats/development-finance-institutions-private-sector-development.htm

strong emphasis on the role of private sector in financing and implementing development projects through equity investments, long-term loans, etc.

IFIs are primarily responsible for unleashing structural adjustment programme and policy conditionalities that caused massive liberalization of recipient countries economies and deregulation of policies to facilitate greater private sector role in development processes. For instance, India's liberalization programme since 1990s led to significant investment from IFI due to the structural reform agendas directed by IFIs as part of balance-of-payments to the economic crisis afflicting India in 1991.

In June 1991, India launched a comprehensive economic reform program, with World Bank financing of US$500 million under its structural adjustment program (SAP) and vigorously pursued privatization process and to open India's economy to international finance. Similarly, the ADB also initiated similar focus with its $300 million Financial Sector Program Loan to India in 1992, infusing finance to crippled banking sector while also financing significant wide-ranging reforms[2].

The introduction of a new economic policy in 1991 also led to privatization and the opening up of international trade[3]. After becoming a member of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 1995, India initiated rapid privatization of almost all sectors[4]. The reforms introduced by World Bank and ADB in early 1990s already paved the way for massive infusion of foreign capital, liberalization, deregulation and extensive opening of economy to foreign capital including from IFIs.

The liberalization process encouraged foreign direct investment (FDI) by increasing the maximum limit on share of foreign capital into joint ventures from 40 to 51 percent with 100 percent foreign equity permitted in priority sectors[5]. Before 1991, foreign investment was negligible. However, by 31 March 2016, India received total FDI of $371 billion, since 1991[6]. India remains the largest recipient of loans from World Bank and as of 31 December 2015, India's loans stand at $104 billion[7].

2 "ADB's Work in India", official site of Asian Development Bank. https://www.adb.org/countries/india/overview

3 After 25 years of liberalization, India's rich are growing richer and the poor poorer, Quartz India, July 21, 2016 https://qz.com/737196/after-25-years-of-liberalisation-indias-rich-are-growing-richer-and-the-poor-poorer/

4 "Water privatization has a history of failure in India. Let's free our waters", Makarand Purohit, Your Story, 23rd February 2017. https://yourstory.com/2017/02/water-privatisation/

5 Prof. (Dr.) Y.P. Sharma, Daily Excelsior ,3 March 2017
http://www.dailyexcelsior.com/economic-liberalization-india/

6 "25 years of liberalization: A glimpse of India's growth in 14 charts", The Aprameya Rao and Kishor Kadam, First Post, 7 July 2016. https://www.firstpost.com/business/25-years-of-liberalisation-a-glimpse-of-indias-growth-in-14-charts-2877654.html

7 India largest recipient of loans from World Bank for 70 years, says lending report, By ChaitanyaMallapur, First Post, 13 January 2016. https://www.firstpost.com/world/india-largest-recipient-of-loans-from-world-bank-for-70-years-says-lending-report-2581900.html

Since 1991, the regulatory environment for foreign investment has consistently been eased to make it investor-friendly[8]. The reform process is ongoing and IFIs continue to finance projects with inbuilt policy suggestions for reforms such as in power sector and urban governance, including in India's North East. The FDI policy of 28 August 2017 further relaxed FDI norms, allowing 100% foreign investment including in sectors such as mining and exploration of petroleum and natural gas, which will lead to intensification of extractive industries across NE.

Policies on privatization of services and the changing of existing laws to foster greater privatization of services, such as the enactment of the Public Private Partnership (PPP) has been pursued. India developed the PPP policy in 2011. A key intention of the introduction of Finance Act, 2017 is to curb the powers of the National Green Tribunal, established to monitor the violation of "Forest Clearance" and "Environment Clearances" in development projects[9]. There is a process to weaken the Forest Rights Act of 2006 and the Land Acquisition Act of 2013[10].

IFIs financing focus in India's Northeast: IFIs also framed their strategic plans to further facilitate India's pursuance of neo-liberal policies. In the country partnership strategy, 2013-2017, the ADB includes a special emphasis on NER as a strategic location to promote cross-border regional cooperation and as a gateway to Southeast Asia for trade and investment, which adheres to goals of India's Act East Policy.

The ADB's Country Partnership Strategy (CPS), 2018–2022 for India aims to support the government's goal of faster, inclusive, and sustainable growth accompanied by rapid economic transformation and job creation. ADB's annual lending to India is proposed to be raised to a maximum of $4 billion[11].

Earlier, the ADB's 2003 Country Strategic Plan for India accorded special emphasis on India's NE and the plan outlined that the region offers a strategic location to promote cross-border regional cooperation with neighboring countries. ADB is also directly involved in preparing Vision 2020 for the NE region. The implementation of India's Look East and now Act East is associated with increased financing of large-scale projects in myriad sectors across NE India, which commenced with development of technical assistances. Indeed, India has been ADB's largest borrower for energy projects from 2007 to 2015, accounting for 25% of ADB's total investments in energy projects in Asia and the Pacific[12].

8 Foreign Direct Investment", Invest India". https://www.investindia.gov.in/foreign-direct-investment

9 Green activists oppose Finance Act 2017, say it curtails NGT's independence, The Live Mint, 5 July 2017 http://www.livemint.com/Politics/X4R0eZMQ5R6i5SlW0oGjoL/Green-activists-oppose-Finance-Act-2017-say-it-curtails-NGT.html

10 "PMO Wants to Sidestep Gram Sabha's Consent for Underground Mining", ByAjoy Ashirwad Mahaprashasta, the Wire, 04 May 2016 https://thewire.in/33774/pmo-wants-to-exempt-gram-sabhas-consent-for-underground-mining/

11 "India and ADB", official site of Asian Development Bank. https://www.adb.org/countries/india/main

These IFI financings are also part of unlocking the region, implying the region has been kept locked for long by the Government. The unlocking would mean not only opening its borders, but to open its land and natural resources for exploitation and investment. The ADB indeed maintained that North East Region has unexploited natural resources and stressed that the creation of its action plan would enhance the conditions for private sector led growth and increased participation in global and regional markets[13]. ADB is focusing on financing infrastructure and connectivity project across NE, focusing on Roads, Water and Sanitation, Agribusiness, Power Sector reform, etc. The technical assistances (TA) of IFIs in sectoral financings uniformly uphold the neo-liberal framework of development propagated by the WTO.

The ADB's TA for the North East power development project, prepared in 2004, outlined the development of locally available resources, including hydropower, natural gas, and renewable energy sources. The TA also aimed to assist in institutional strengthening in the power sector to prioritizing and creating a favorable environment for private sector investments and participation[14]. Indeed, the creation of massive infrastructure is also associated with simultaneous push for building of more than 200 dams, extensive oil exploration and mining projects, plantations across NE region, with subsequent push for relevant policies for such plans, like the Manipur Hydro Policy 2012, North East Hydrocarbon Vision, 2030 etc. The formulation of the North East Hydrocarbon Vision 2030 in January 2016 emphasized creation of massive infrastructure for exploration and marketing of oil and gas from the NE region and reveals the correlation of infrastructure push and exploitative industries in the region.

ADB is funding a US$425-million multi-tranche South Asia Subregional Corporation (SASEC) Road Connectivity Investment Programme approved in 2014, envisaged to build extensive network of roads across India's North East to connect to border trading areas in neighboring countries[15]. From 2007 until 2017, JICA has provided India with soft loans worth US$23.36 billion for infrastructure projects. The World Bank also focused on infrastructure projects across NE India, primarily focusing on roads and high voltage transmission and distribution lines across the region. The World Bank Board on June 24,

12 "India and ADB", official site of Asian Development Bank. https://www.adb.org/countries/india/main

13 ADB: Technical Assistance to India for Preparing North Eastern States Trade and Investment Creation Initiative, TAR: IND 37407, October 2004.

14 ADB: TAR: IND 38312, December 2004, TA to India for preparing the Northeast Power Development Project

15 "Manipur to benefit from ADB loan, - Ring road part of project" the Telegraph, 27 March 2015

2016 approved a US$470 million loan to support six states in the NE region to augment their transmission and distribution (T&D) networks[16]. The World Bank on 12 June 2014 approved a $107 million credit for the Mizoram State Roads II – Regional Transport Connectivity Project to improve transport connectivity for the landlocked state of Mizoram and to enhance Mizoram and other northeastern states' road links with Bangladesh, as well as with Nepal, Bhutan and Myanmar[17].

International Finance Corporation (IFC), the investment arm of the World Bank Group, is planning to invest about US$6 billion through 2022 in several sustainable and renewable energy programs in India[18]. During 2017-18, India received FDI from USA to the tune of US$2.10 billion and US$1.61 billion from Japan, in addition to receiving from other countries like Singapore, Mauritius etc[19].

From 2007 till 2017, JICA has provided India with soft loans worth US$23.36 billion for infrastructure projects in transport, water, energy, agriculture and forestry sectors, among others. In April 2017, the JICA signed an agreement with the Government of India in New Delhi to provide over 67 billion yen ($610 million) for Phase I of the North East Road Network Connectivity Improvement Project. Phase 1 will see the enhancement of National Highway 54 and National Highway 51 in Mizoram and Meghalaya. The improvement of NH-54 will enhance connectivity of the Kaladan Multi-Modal Transport Corridor[20] and to complement the financing of Kaladan multimodal project by India in Myanmar.

Multinational corporations, both foreign and India based are the biggest beneficiaries of the aggressive introduction of neoliberal project, IFI financing and FDIs in North East India. And as such, there are concerns that much of the financing returns to the donors for consultancy services and procurement works, such as in the case of French and Japanese funded Imphal Water Supply projects and the Manipur Sericulture projects. Japanese consultancy firms

16 World Bank Approves US$ 470 Million to Improve Electricity Supply in the North Eastern Region, India World Bank Press Release, June 24, 2016 http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2016/06/24/world-bank-approves-usd470million-improve-electricity-supply-the-north-eastern-region-india

17 "$107 Million World Bank Project to Connect Mizoram with Bangladesh and Myanmar via Roads", World Bank Press Release, June 12, 2014: http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2014/06/12/107-million-world-bank-project-to-connect-mizoram-with-bangladesh-and-myanmar-via-roads

18 Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), July 2018, India Brand Equity Foundation https://www.ibef.org/economy/foreign-direct-investment.aspx

19 "FDI inflows: Who is investing in India and in what sectors?", the Financial Express, 12 January 2015 https://www.financialexpress.com/opinion/fdi-inflows-who-is-investing-in-india-and-in-what-sectors/28737/

20 JICA Press Release, April 2, 2018: JICA to Invest in Improving Transitability by Extending ODA Loan of Approximately INR 2,500 Crore for the North East Road Connectivity Project- Transforming Infrastructure in North East India -

benefited from the projects funded by JICA and French company, Degremont benefited from supply works in the case of Imphal Sewerage Project, even if the project is a failure. French mining giant, Lafarge benefited from the financing by ADB and IFC together in the case of Lafarge mining in Meghalaya.

IFIs Changing Financing Context - leveraging Private Sector in SDGs and CC financing: The adoption of SDGs in September 2015 and the signing of Paris Agreement in December 2015 and associated commitments led to renewed focus on IFIs to finance efforts to realize SDGs and to mitigate climate change and seek adaptation to the adverse impacts of climate change. However, the IFIs role is increasingly contextualized in the narrative to "Raise Billions to Trillions" narrative and to leverage private finance, that includes mobilizing financial resources from financial intermediaries, private equity funds, philanthropic resources, venture capital, pension funds, etc. The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) opined that traditional Official Development Assistance (ODA) cannot fulfill SDGs and the trillions in private sector need be leveraged and stressed on incentives and guarantees for private sector to achieve sustainability of development, and emphasizing the role of IFIs and leveraging private sector role in financing SDGs and CC. The IFIs role witnessed a new transformation and seeks increased relevance to finance SDGs and to address climate crisis.

Using public resources to scale up private sector role, to realize 2030 agenda and to raise billions to trillions for development results and impacts resonates throughout the Financing for Development (FFD), UN High-Level Political Forum (UN HLPF) and the review conference. During the Private Sector week in Paris in January 2019, the OECD session on "connecting investors to impactful clean energy investments in emerging economies with the OECD Centre on Green Finance and Investment" on 16 January focused on private sector to finance clean energies. OECD representatives stressed the opportunities in Wind, Hydro, Solar, and Geothermal and emphasized mobilizing pension fund, philanthropists, insurance, etc. to focus on realizing SDGs through blended financing, which OECD defines as the strategic use of development finance for the mobilization of additional commercial finance for SDGs in developing countries. Creating enabling environment for clean energy financing by private sector with policy reform, subsidies were proposed.

The OECD Session on "Guidance on OECD DAC Blended Finance Principles on 16th January 2019 highlights the endorsement of the Blended financing principles at the IMF / World Bank Meet in October 2018 at Bali and to further pursue Blended Finance principles at the G20. Principles of Blended Finance have already been endorsed by G7 and there's an ongoing effort for adoption by G20. Christina Moral, Head of Corporate Responsibility, Ferrovial suggested to move out of ODA and to mobilize private equity fund, philanthropic, pension funds, and insurance fund to finance SDG projects. Three hundred trillion dollars from private money can be utilized to realize SDGs and thus need to convince private sector to move their traditional assets for the risk. Climate finance is already 35% blended finance with DFID, KfW, JICA, etc. strongly involved in renewable energy projects. Ms. Uta of Germany Ministry of Development cooperation stressed the need for private sector role to realize the 2030 agenda, FFD and Effectiveness Agenda and revealed the German financial arm, KFW already focused on blended finance in India, China and Africa.

In the GPEDC session, "Scaling up effective Private Sector Engagement through Development Cooperation – Harnessing Contributions of all Actors by focusing on Results", Mr. Alan Atkisson of the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) shared that Sweden has one of world's largest pension funds which are invested with World Bank for realizing SDGs. Mr. Mario Sander, Director, World Bank, Europe shared that in Hamburg Summit, G-20 agreed to mobilize private sector and vouched for stronger Private sector role in SDGs.

Blended Finance & IFIs: Proponents say that blended finance is a way to fund the $2.5 trillion a year needed to "support progress towards the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) set forth by the United Nations". Governments estimated that up to $4.5 trillion per year in investment will be required in developing countries between 2015 and 2030, which compared with current investment levels leaves an annual investment gap in sectors critical to the SDGs of around $3.1 trillion. This shortfall is envisaged from the private sector through blended financing by Development Financial Institutions (DFIs), both bilateral and multilaterals like the International Financial Corporation (IFC), Asian Development Bank (ADB) and European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), etc. The DFI Blended Concessional Finance Working Group, is focusing exclusively to promote Blended Finance. DFIs engaged with UNDESA and other UN Systems related to financing for development. The ADB, together with other DFIs in 2017 employed about $1.2 billion in concessional funds to support nearly $9 billion in private investment projects in emerging markets. These projects included $3.9 billion of commercial financing from DFIs as well as $3.3 billion from private lenders and investors, mostly in lower-middle-income countries[21] .

DFIs & MDBs focus on infrastructures: Financing sustainable development such as Climate finance is pursued in development cooperation processes through bilateral and multilateral ODA. The ADB has entered into an agreement with the Japan International Cooperation Agency in March 2016 to establish a new fund to support private infrastructure investments across Asia and the Pacific to focus on renewable energy and energy efficiency projects[22]. The ADB and JICA intend to provide financing of $5 billion each

21 ADB, Other DFIs Leveraged Blended Concessional Finance to Support $9 Billion in Emerging Markets, ADB News Release | 12 October 2018 https://www.adb.org/news/adb-other-dfis-leveraged-blended-concessional-finance-support-9-billion-emerging-markets

22 "ADB, JICA Establish $1.5 Billion Fund to Invest in Private Infrastructure', ADB News Release | 30 March 2016 https://www.adb.org/news/adb-jica-establish-15-billion-fund-invest-private-infrastructure

to create a $10-billion fund for sovereign borrowers undertaking sustainable infrastructure projects[23]. JICA also signed a Master Cooperation Agreement with the IFC in April 2015 has decided on a cooperative work process in co-financing projects, such as Blended finance. The pursuance of infrastructure and energy projects will intensify the assault on indigenous peoples' land.

In April 2017, the JICA signed an agreement with Government of India to US$610 million for Phase I of the North East Road Network Connectivity Improvement Project to enhance National Highway 54 and National Highway 51 in Mizoram and Meghalaya[24]. In 2016, the World Bank approved a US$470-million loan to support six states in the NE India to augment their 400 KV high voltage transmission and distribution networks[25].

The ADB pursued financing of road building North East India Strategic Plan to promote a business-friendly environment and to tap the natural resources in India's North East with strategic partnership with JICA and World Bank levering private sector role in these infrastructures push, such as AECOM International, ABCI, L & T private limited. The road building and the transmissions lines facilitates construction of over 200 dams across North East India.

Blended Finance and Exploitation of Natural Resources and Militarism: Development cooperation and the tacit involvement of DFIs and MDBs in financing development processes leveraging private sector led to expropriation of the land and natural resources of indigenous territories. Mongolia's Oyu Tolgoi, a copper and gold mine in the South Gobi Desert, financed by IFC up to US$4.4 billion facilities is one of most controversial BF projects[26]. In December 2015 – IFC and MIGA of the World Bank Group arranged US$2.2 billion in debt and guarantees to support the Oyu Tolgoi copper and gold mine, IFC is providing a total loan facility of US$1.221 million to the project including syndicated debt from BNP Paribas, Australia and New Zealand Banking Group, ING Bank, Société Générale, Sumitomo Mitsui Banking Corporation, Standard Chartered Bank, Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, Crédit Agricole, Intesa Sanpaolo, HSBC Bank, the Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi

23 "ADB, JICA set up $16-B fund for infra projects in Asia Pacific", By Ordinario, 23 November, 2015, The Business Mirror https://businessmirror.com.ph/2015/11/23/adb-jica-set-up-16-b-fund-for-infra-projects-in-asia-pacific/

24 JICA to Invest in Improving Transit Ability by Extending ODA Loan of Approximately INR 2,500 Crore for the North East Road Connectivity Project- Transforming Infrastructure in North East India - JICA Press Release, April 2, 2018

25 World Bank Approves US$ 470 Million to Improve Electricity Supply in North Eastern Region, India World Bank Press Release, June 24, 2016

26 "Six IFC Projects in Asia Win Awards for Infrastructure Development", IFC, https://www.ifc.org/wps/wcm/connect/news_ext_content/ifc_external_corporate_site/news+and+events/news/six+ifc+projects+in+asia+win+awards+for+infrastructure+development

UFJ, KfW IPEX-Bank and Netherlandse Financierings-Maatschappijvoor Ontwikkelingslanden. This is part of $4.4 billion in project debt financing organized by Oyu Tolgoi LLC, a joint venture company owned by Rio Tinto Plc-controlled Turquoise Hill Resource Limited and the Mongolian state-owned Erdenes Oyu Tolgoi LLC[27]. Native Mongolian herders claimed that a $5 billion expansion of the company's Oyu Tolgoi copper and gold mine in the Gobi desert threatened the fresh water supply of hundreds of nomadic people and the area's unique ecology. Rio Tinto diverted water without local peoples' consent[28].

In Africa, the Lake Turkana Wind Power project in Kenya illustrates the risks posed by Blended Financing to indigenous and marginalized communities. The project involved building 365 turbines and other infrastructure on grazing lands used by indigenous pastoralists. Much of the project's financing came from ODA. Affected communities raised concerns with the land grabbing and unaccountability of those involved extinguishing their livelihood. The geothermal energy projects, Olkaria stage 1 to V, introduced inside the Maasai territory in Kenya with financing from the European Investment Bank, World Bank, KfW, Germany, AFD, and JICA, IFC, US Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) remains one of the most controversial blended financing projects. The OrPower 4, an indirectly wholly owned subsidiary of Ormat Technologies, and the OPIC signed a long-term debt financing of up to $310 million for the Olkaria III geothermal power complex. The project displaced indigenous Maasai villages. These controversial projects are pursued as clean energy solution for climate change.

The ADB, EIB, the World Bank's IFC, and Germany's DEG have co-financed limestone mining operations in Meghalaya with the Lafarge Group of France and Cementos Molins of Spain. The Lafarge Surma Cement Project, managed by Lafarge, received a loan of US$45 million from the IFC in 2003[29]. In January 2014, the indigenous Khasi people affected by the project filed complaint with the IFC's Compliance Advisor Ombudsman for violation of their land rights.

DFI's financing to financial intermediaries & concerns: The IFC is increasingly outsourcing its development funds to commercial banks and private equity funds, which generate enormous profit for the World Bank Group. In 2016, the IFC made more than $5 billion in new commitments to financial intermediaries, bringing its total outstanding commitments to $20.4 billion in the year end[30].

In Vietnam, the IFC owns a large stake in Vietinbank, a majority state-owned commercial bank that has funded destructive hydropower dams, including the devastating Son La project that displaced more than 91,000 people without compensation and resettlement assistance. Vietinbank has lent billions of dollars to Son La's owner, Electricity of Vietnam, which also has a stake in the highly controversial Lower Sesan 2 dam in Cambodia. Lower Sesan 2 harms the Mekong River's fish stocks and damaged food security for affected communities. Vinacomin, which has also received Vietinbank funding, owns bauxite mines that have polluted and decimated large swathes of the country's pristine Central Highlands. In addition, Vieitinbank has financed the controversial 6,224-megawatt Vinh Tan project, which has evicted landowners.

In Myanmar, the IFC is exposed to the Ban Chaung coal mine that affected at least 16,000 Karen people from 22 villages in the Ban Chaung region by polluting their water sources and agricultural land and causing fires. Ban Chaung is an open pit mine developed by three Thai companies: Energy Earth PCL, East Star Company and Thai Asset Mining Company. The IFC is exposed to the project through equity investment in Austria's Raiffeisen Bank and the Postal Savings Bank of China. The Thilawa special economic zone (SEZ), located 23 km southeast of Yangon, is the first large-scale SEZ in Myanmar and is being developed in phases under Myanmar Japan Thilawa Development Ltd. (MJTD), a public-private partnership joint venture. 94 companies from 17 countries have decided to make investment and 48 companies in operation as of July 2018, including the Sumitomo Corporation, Mitsubishi Corporation of Japan. Many villagers were forcefully evicted and led to loss of livelihood[31].

Water privatization, crisis and corporations suing Government for profits in Manila: JICA's support through PPP in equity investment to Maynilad Water Service has led to much controversy with the failure of the company to provide adequate water for residents of West Metro Manila. In Mandaluyong, residents of Barangka Drive and BarangkaIbaba complained that they had no water for weeks. Another concern is the hike of water tariff by the company, inconveniencing the poor in the city. Maynilad even sued

27 "IFC and MIGA to Provide More Than $2 Billion for Oyu Tolgoi, Engine of Mongolian Jobs and Growth", 15 December 2015, Mongolia, IFC https://ifcextapps.ifc.org/ifcext%5Cpressroom%5Cifc-pressroom.nsf%5C0%5CC64D74678BB89E2985257F1C0050C813

28 "Rio Tinto accused of environmental and human rights breaches", 18 April 2013, The Guardian https://www.theguardian.com/business/2013/apr/18/rio-tinto-environmental-human-rights-breaches

29 "Lafarge's India-Bangladesh cement project remains frozen", Julien Bouissou, The Guardian, 20 Aug 2010 https://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/aug/13/india-bangladesh

30 Outsourcing Development: Lifting the Veil on the World Bank Group's Lending Through Financial Intermediaries, Inclusive Development, Part 3, March 2017 file:///C:/CRAM%202019/CRAM%202%20Aug%202019/Events/2019/International/APF%20-%209-15%20Sept%2019/APF%209-12%20Sept%20BKK/Resources%20for%20References/Reckeless%20development%20-%20IFC%20in%20SE%20Asia%20.pdf

31 "Myanmar: Thilawa economic zone launches complaint mechanism, NGO says it falls short of intl. standards; inc. responses from company & other agencies", Business and Human Rights Resource Centre, https://www.business-humanrights.org/en/myanmar-thilawa-economic-zone-launches-complaint-mechanism-ngo-says-it-falls-short-of-intl-standards-inc-responses-from-company-other-agencies

the Government of the Philippines to recover its losses[32] and sought arbitration at the International Chamber of Commerce in Singapore. In September 2017, the three-member arbitral panel decided in favor of Maynilad. The Philippines Government had even considered filing criminal cases against Maynilad Water Services Inc.[33], a clear evidence of PPPs failure in the Philippines. Mr. Amar Bhattacharya, Brookinge also expressed concern with the exorbitant fees of PPPs projects financed through blended finance in infrastructure projects in Africa and concluded such fees as unreasonable and beyond affordability of the poor.

Blended Financing in Renewable and false climate solutions: Many donor countries are funding unsustainable projects as part of funding clean energy. For instance, Japan has attracted attention of its reporting of investment in coal fired power plant as "climate finance" to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC)[34]. Japan financed $1.18 billion to build the coal fired Matarbari Power Plant in Bangladesh in 2015[35]. The IFC-supported banks have arranged $3.19 billion in financing for National Hydroelectric Power Corporation (NHPC) Limited, involved in building dams in Bhutan, Burma and in Nepal and across India's North East etc[36]. The 1200 MW Teesta-III Hydroelectric power project in Sikkim in North East India is another failed example of public-private partnership[37]. At least US$1.4 billion has been invested in Teesta-III project, whose financiers includes the Asian Genco Private Limited, based in Singapore, whose backers include private equity funds like Goldman Sachs Group Inc. and Morgan Stanley, that received IFC investments[38]. Initially other private equity funds like the General Atlantic, Everstone Capital (with IFC support) and Northwest Partners also partly financed the project till conflict arose with Asian Genco and Morgan Stanley[39]. The project is selling power produced at a loss and caused environmental damage in Chumthang areas of North Sikkim.

32 "Pay us P3.44B, Maynilad asks gov't", March 11, 2015, Rappler https://www.rappler.com/business/industries/86464-maynilad-claims-sovereign-compensation

33 "PANGILINAN: 'WE WANT TO SETTLE', Govt hits 'onerous' Maynilad contract", BY CATHERINE S. VALENTE, TMT, 9 APRIL, 2019 https://www.manilatimes.net/2019/04/09/news/headlines/govt-hits-onerous-maynilad-contract/537478/537478/

34 "Three Lessons from Japan's Climate Finance - Coal Controversy", by TarynFransen, Takeshi Kuramochi (IGES) ,SmitaNakhooda (ODI) and Noriko Shimizu (IGES) - December 05, 2014 https://www.wri.org/blog/2014/12/three-lessons-japans-climate-finance-coal-controversy

35 "Bangladesh Juggles Chinese, Japanese Interest", By ASMG Kibria, The Diplomat, January 05, 2015 https://thediplomat.com/2015/01/bangladesh-juggles-chinese-japanese-interest/

36 "Bankrolling India's Dirty Dozen", Inclusive Development International, December 2016

37 "Construction to continue at 1,200-MW Teesta-III hydroelectric project", Hydro World

38 "Govt clears Rs9,000 crore Teesta hydropower project in green energy push", 10 Sep 2015, Live Mint Rajesh Kumar Singh, Anindya Upadhyay, Debjit Chakraborty https://www.livemint.com/Politics/9Drwz2IPErFJO3qcYfCbgN/Govt-clears-Rs9000-crore-Teesta-hydropower-project-in-green.html

39 "Relief for private equity funds as Sikkim government may buy back assets from Asian Genco", The Economic Times, 31 August 2015 https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/economy/finance/relief-for-private-equity-funds-as-sikkim-government-may-buy-back-assets-from-asian-genco/articleshow/48737611.cms

In India, dam building multinational companies like India's National Hydroelectric Power Corporation and Jindal Power received investment form IFC, bankrolling these companies through its support for six Indian commercial banks, such as HDFC, Kotak Mahindra, Yes Bank and ICICI banks. The NHPC, the biggest dam building public company in India leveraged financing from the Deutsche Bank, JICA and Export Development Canada (EDC). Other companies receiving IFC investments includes the Vedanta Resources, NHPC Limited and Jindal Steel & Power, all involved in human rights violations. Jindal Steel & Power Limited that envisaged building several hydroelectric power corporations in Arunachal Pradesh, viz, the 3097 MW Etalin Hydroelectric Project, 1800 MW Kamala Hydroelectric Project and the 500 MW Attunli Hydroelectric Project has benefited from IFC funding through financial intermediaries, like HDFC, Kotak Mahindra. There are massive complaints of human rights abuse by Jindal Steel in Central India and in many African countries[40]. The IFC-supported commercial banks have arranged $3.19 billion in financing for NHPC, which has dispossessed thousands of indigenous communities in Manipur by its 105 MW Loktak Hydroelectric Project.

Hydropower itself is becoming unsustainable in many cases in addition to the violations and non-application of safeguards in many indigenous areas and has confirmed to contribute in aggravating climate crisis. The controversial Turkana Wind power Project and the Geothermal Projects in Olkaria in Kenya are pursued as clean energy solution to mitigate climate crisis.

Corruption: One of the most controversial JICA funded projects in India's North East is the JICA funded Guwahati Water Supply Project. The Louis Burger International Inc, a US based consultancy firm is confirmed to have bribed officials of Assam Government to win contract for consultation services and agreed to pay a fine of $17.1 million criminal fee. The Central Bureau of Investigation of the Government of India has taken up the multi-crore Louis Berger corruption case by filing an FIR against unknown officials of the company for bribing the former Assam government to get contracts. The US justice department even confirmed that "improper payment" of money was made by sub-contractors engaged by Louis Berger International Inc[41].

Diversion of Concessional Finance & Tied Aid: Blended Financing will involve the diversion of the much scares public resource, much to benefit corporate interest, that undermine the objectives of ODA of more concessionally than ODA commerciality of ODA. Most of the corporations that received major contracts works, either as consultants or those implementing

40 "Mozambique Villagers Exposed to Open-Pit Coal Mine", By Jinty Jackson, 27 August 2013 https://www.voanews.com/africa/mozambique-villagers-exposed-open-pit-coal-mine

41 Improper payment' in Louis Berger case, The Telegraph, By MANASH PRATIM DUTTA, 27 June 2018 https://www.telegraphindia.com/states/north-east/improper-payment-in-louis-berger-case/cid/1453133

the projects turns out to multinational companies or corporate bodies based in the developed countries that provided development finance, indicating that the bulk of the money again goes back to those countries.

The conditionality and tied nature of development cooperation, including with the blended financing also risks the increased of tied aid. Dilution of development focus of aid can undermine development motivations of ODA. Private sector focus in blended financings will only target sectors related to infrastructure rather than social, which are profitable to corporations. Such processes will only help corporations to accumulate their wealth at the cost of the rights of communities, while diverting resources from other priorities like health, education, job creation etc. The financing of JICA, ADB, IFC etc only pursued a neoliberal economic framework, only reinforces the opening of local economy to global market regime through the technical assistances, leading to policy changes at the local level, setting a more enabling environment for the corporate bodies.

Lack of Regulatory mechanisms & noncompliance to safeguards: Although DFIs in its financing through financial intermediaries are required to apply the Performance Standards to their investments, there is little evidence that this is occurring. Concerns with the Indonesian Regional Infrastructure Development Fund with $100 million from WB and another $100 million AIIB and the PT Indonesian Infrastructure Finance (IIF) with $200 million WB financing is marred with lack of public disclosure of documents on projects, lack of meaningful consultation with affected communities, violations in implementing WB environmental and social safeguards and IFC Performance Standards[42], forcible land acquisition targeting Indigenous forested lands for infrastructure projects etc[43]. JICA teamed up with DEG, IFC, and ADB. to establish the Indonesia Infrastructure Finance (IIF).

Human Rights Violations: The increased role of DFIs and MDGs in financing unsustainable projects like mega hydropower projects, geothermal, large wind farms and other infrastructures with blended financing and leveraging the role of private sector unleashed human rights violations. Several communities opposing mining or hydropower projects or dams are even subjected to arrest and torture, such as the cases of arrest of several Maasai leaders in Kenya for efforts to reclaim land affected by Olkaria Geothermal projects. DAWEI Special Economic Zone (SEZ) has been accused of grave human rights violations including forced evictions, a lack of transparency and

42 Continued concerns about two proposed World Bank-supported Indonesian Infrastructure funds (RIDF & IIF) Pilihan, Siaran Pers10/03/2017, https://elsam.or.id/continued-concerns-about-two-proposed-world-bank-supported-indonesian-infrastructure-funds-ridf-iif/

43 "Indonesian CSOs demand World Bank stop funding infrastructure funds", the Bretton Woods Project, 7 APRIL 2017 https://www.brettonwoodsproject.org/2017/04/indonesian-csos-demand-world-bank-stop-funding-infrastructure-funds/

environmental disruption and land related conflicts. The initial phase for Dawei SEZ involves acquisition of 10,353 acres areas of land and affected communities are forcibly evicted from their lands. Many are detained for protesting[44]. When Blended Finance has been pushed at the UN, how strong will the adherence be to the Human Rights-based approach to development? The Blended Finance principle is incompatible to the international human rights advances, such as the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 2007. The right to self-determined development and free, prior and informed consent is violated.

Development Cooperation, Blended Financing & Conflicts: Financing of extractive industries and the exploitation of natural resources are another source of conflict. The Phulbari Coal mine, funded by the World Bank and ADB, has met with wide objections in Bangladesh[45]. Several activists were killed and tortured for addressing the impact of the project. Official Development Assistance is being utilized to advance the strategic economic and political interests of donors in the region. Japanese ODA is utilized by emerging economies for strategic purposes. JICA will provide a loan of $3.7 billion to Coal Power Generation Company Bangladesh Ltd. This project, as well as others from Japan is likely to restrict the influence of China in Bangladesh as it has increasingly opted for financial assistance from Japan, rather than China[46]. JICA's increased financing with ADB, IFC, EIB, OPIC, etc. are clear instance of increased collaboration of DFIs with similar economic and political interest across regions to counter the influence of emerging economies like China to control geography, space and resources.

Demystifying Billions to Trillion Narratives: Mr. Khaled Sherif, Vice-President, Regional Development, Integration and Business Delivery, African Development Bank expressed concern with "billions to trillions" narratives. Do we see billions or the trillions in poor and fragile countries, where resources are really required to alleviate the people from poverty? For instance, Gambia's GDP is only 1 billion dollars and the private sector failed to invest in these areas. The kind of investment in these countries is more to build road to gain access to extractive resources and market access for limited period, which fueled conflict and impoverishment. Mr. Khaled Sherif questioned if pension funds will step in these impoverished countries with no disposable income and assets. Major DFIs are reluctant to provide guarantee for impactful activities in conflict areas other than extractive, energy or infrastructure projects that can guarantees returns. Many private sectors don't want to invest in education unless there's high returns. The Minister of Finance of Uganda expressed concern with

44 https://www.mmtimes.com/news/dawei-sezs-grave-human-rights-violations-forced-evictions-and-flawed-eias-come-under-fire.html

45 "ADB Pulls Out of Controversial Coal Project", 4 April 2008 https://www.banktrack.org/news/adb_pulls_out_of_controversial_coal_project

46 "TOWARD STRATEGIC ECONOMIC COOPERATION BETWEEN INDIA AND JAPAN", DARSHANA M. BARUAH, Carnegie India, 1 December 2016. https://carnegieendowment.org/files/Darshana_Baruah_India_and_Japan.pdf

private sector involvement. Government sees private sector as source of tax, but private sector expects tax exemptions. The SMEs of recipient countries is not supported. Private sector does not bring their resources and there's concern with sustainability of support from private sector.

CONCLUSIONS: There is much assertion that traditional ODA cannot fulfill SDGs and the trillions in private sector need be leveraged to meet the multi-trillion dollars required for realizing SDGs. Many already expressed concern with "billions to trillions" narratives. There are efforts to scale up investment in clean energies, but more from the perspective of reaping opportunities for private sector. Geothermal, hydro projects, mining and infrastructures projects proved to cause and contribute to climate crisis and human rights violations. DFI financings to private equity funds led to multifaceted impacts such, viz, the 1200 MW Teesta III Hydroelectric Project in Sikkim considered as clean energy.

OECD and other DFIs aggressively pursued blended financing even as a clear guideline for social, environment and human rights safeguard is still lacking and more so with guidance to ensure accountability of private sector involved in financing and project implementations. There are minimal considerations of indigenous rights violations even as blended financing rules are created, but more to create enabling environment for corporate bodies, rather than for the communities & the marginalized. The policies formed on PPPs, on Climate Change mitigation, with the backing of the DFIs at country levels hardly have provisions to recognize indigenous rights. Examples from Manila show risks of water privatization and corruption in water and sanitation project in Guwahati financed by JICA and ADB together benefiting corporate bodies from Japan and US. Private corporations even sued Government to recover their losses or indulge in legal tussles to recover their investments and profits[47].

IFIs should stop diverting scarce public resources to confer concession to corporate bodies. Rather, more enabling environment for communities and civil societies is needed. Financing of sustainable development should not be manipulated to advance the political and economic objectives of donors, to serve the interests of their multi-national companies at the expense of the recipient countries and their people. Development cooperation for sustainable development should be founded on a response to the development concerns and needs of affected communities. Desisting leveraging corporate bodies, respect of human rights, ensuring accountability of private sector, safeguards for blended finance and upholding development effectiveness principles is key to realize sustainable development.

47 "Fight over soured deal in Asian Genco", The Business Standard, Dev Chatterjee, 22 May 2014 https://www.business-standard.com/article/companies/fight-over-soured-deal-in-asian-genco-114052101487_1.html

ODA under the "Israeli" Occupation

Abed Al-Salehi, Aid Watch Palestine

The Official Development Assistance provided to Palestine under the Israeli occupation reflects a development gap caused by the said occupation and the absence of the Palestinian Authority's (PA) policies towards the development process in Palestine. The effect has created a situation in which the private sector has benefited from the development process in its favor, add to that the worsening Israeli occupation and displacement of the Palestinians.

The irony is that Palestine has been receiving huge amounts of ODA and other funds from donors in the last decades, but majority was spent on the security sector. This led to donors politicizing and conditioning aid, while ignoring the Palestinian people's needs. Donors impose on Palestinians their agendas and themes of development that are usually not serving the Palestinians context of development, and this has fostered undemocratic practices and financial dependency overall.

Although, the humanitarian imperative is enshrined in international humanitarian law that all those in crisis situations and protracted conflicts have the right to assistance and it is the obligation of the international community to ensure that this assistance is available and accessible, ODA provided did not serve the long-term development of Palestine.

In terms of long-term development constraints, it is clear that the Palestinian economy suffers subordination and marginalization from the Israeli blockade as well as from extensive international constraints imposed by international peace agreements on Palestinians, particularly:

- **Oslo Accords:** The Oslo process and the institutions it created with donor funding and political support were gradually used as a political and economic wedge to divide Palestinians from one another.
- **Paris Protocol:** This protocol restrains Palestinian freedom of commerce and sets forth international conditions for donors to fund Palestinian projects based on the Israeli vision.

These international agreements made huge gaps in the vital sectors of Palestinians. For example, there is an obvious recession on the contribution of the agricultural sector in the GPD of the country. In the 1970s, the agricultural sector has contributed 36% in the economy, but in 1980s, it declined to 25%. In 2017, it crashed at 3%.

The Occupation's hegemony of the Palestinian economy and the neoliberal development policies implemented by the Palestinian Authority led to drastic increases in unemployment rates, while the PA's programs and policies on job creation and employment neglect the interrelatedness of the issue. In this regard, development should be directed to the productive sectors since they are the most capable of attracting working forces.

Corporate Capture of Development: The Pacific's Perspective

David Hesaie, Pacific Islands Association of NGOs

The Pacific Islands are experiencing worsening corporate capture of development. Here are some examples of corporate approaches to development prevalent across the region:

Australian contractors are corporate fund or project managers who are increasingly implementing and delivering development programming in the Pacific. In Fiji, for example, the contractor Coffey manages projects for Australia's Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) called the Facility. The Facility is the delivery mechanism for the majority of DFAT's funding to government, civil society and private sector in areas like education, health, climate change and disaster. Vodafone, a telecommunication company, has established its own foundation to deliver development projects directly to communities, which in effect, bypasses the relationships that CSOs have in place with local communities. The question of sustainability also comes into play here as single stand-alone projects are delivered with no capacity attached.

This phenomenon is related to the so-called tied funding on loan and or grant conditions which requires that private contractors from the donor country deliver the development project in the recipient country. For example, Chinese contractors are being brought in for infrastructure projects. The number of China Railway companies now operating in the region has also increased which means they are now competing with the local market.

Another issue is that "development partners" are behaving like corporations. Australia recently announced an Infrastructure Facility for the Pacific that was going to be modeled on the way China operated. This means that development projects are awarded solely to Australian private contractors for implementation. Unfortunately, international NGOs (INGOs) can also be included in this description. Their model of setting up, competing and crowding out local NGOs is being likened to the behaviour of multi-national companies (MNCs). A local NGO counterpart also categorises them as organizations that "flew in but forgot to leave". This is the case of INGOs that responded to a humanitarian emergency and set up shop following the response.

International Finance Institutions (IFIs) have also set themselves up to access the Green Climate Funding without asking national governments in the Pacific if they want their capacity built for themselves. IFIs then are directly responsible for driving the economic growth pillars and the approaches to implement them in the Pacific, without prior consultations with the communities.

On top of these, the Pacific is experiencing what we call “Private Sector Infiltration”, wherein organizations registered as civil society organizations (CSOs) have become focused on supporting the endeavours of the private sector despite the violations on the rights of communities.

The Pacific has rich natural resources and the private sector, along with IFIs, is in the race for the region’s resources. Deep sea mining and extractive industries are littered with organizations claiming to work from a development approach but actually represent private sector interests. Horror stories include a multi-million-dollar pyramid scheme based on the sale and implementation of deep sea mining exploration. The deep sea mining industry is being sold as the next frontier and the small under-resourced governments of the region are playing with huge MNCs and private sector entities that are looking to carve off their profit share with no regard to the people and the environment they will inevitably destroy.

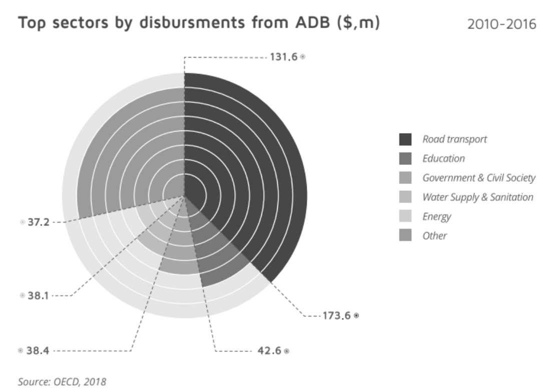
In promoting economic growth as the priority pillar of the Pacific Islands, the region is leaving its people behind. Human resource development is geared toward supplying the economy with tradesmen and economists. Thus, the humanities section of our education sector is being left behind. In a world that is promoting working for corporations, where will our thinkers come from? Where are the people being trained to ask crucial questions and demand accountability going to come from?

In the development space, civil society is the one at the regional level at least to invite the private sector into multi-stakeholder dialogues and policy engagements. But the private sector has bypassed the Pacific people in having face to face dialogues with finance ministers. Essentially, the private sector got the seat at the table inside the tent whilst CSOs continue to circle the perimeter. What is worse is that this private sector we refer to are the big businesses like MNCs and not our local small and medium enterprises (SMEs).

Manifestations of Corporate Capture in Kyrgyzstan

Farida Abdyldaeva, Public Association The Right Step

From the very first days of the collapse of the USSR and the sovereignty of Kyrgyzstan, the era of “corporate capture” began, with the International Finance Institutions (IFIs) on the lead - the weakening of the state, the combination of neoliberal ideology, corporate lobbying, fiscal policy favorable to businesses, and the weakening of the public sector and its ability to provide essential goods and services.



Privatization of state property has occurred. Elimination of state control over enterprises, as well as financial and monetary sectors, reduction of budget costs for social, health and education sectors also ensued.

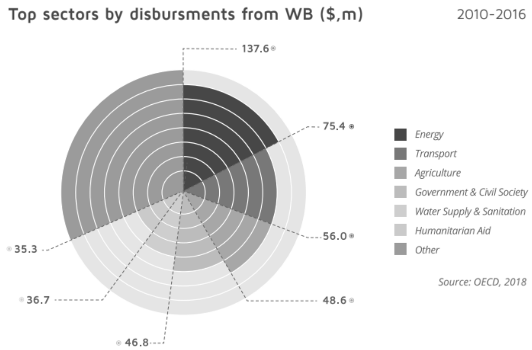
Moreover, review of Kyrgyzstan’s multi- and bilateral stakeholders’ official aid agenda revealed that the development partners’ agenda has not changed yet. Here’s a rundown of how IFIs intervened to the development of Kyrgyzstan:

The main priority of ADB assistance to Kyrgyzstan for 2019-2021 includes the following:

- reforms in trade and investment competitiveness
- small and medium business development reforms
- public-private partnership reforms
- reform of training and development skills related to industries to increase the relevance of graduates and workers in the labor market

WORLD BANK

The main focus of the World Bank in Kyrgyzstan is to support the country’s efforts in improving governance and investing in key economic sectors such as transport, agriculture and energy.



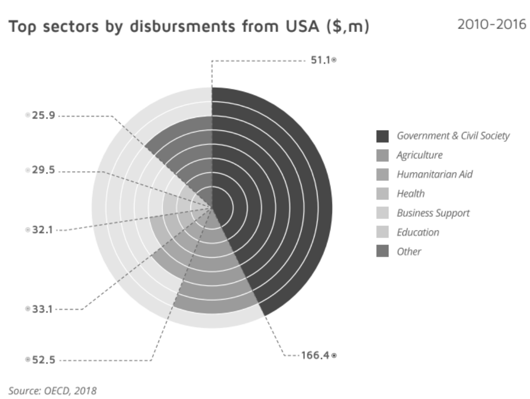
According to the World Bank's Country Partnership Framework 2019-2022, the main assistance will focus on promoting "financial sector and the agro-industrial complex, as well as energy, communications and transport communications" and to "continue to help reduce legislative obstacles for business entities and improve the investment climate".

USA

The United States of America is one of the largest bilateral partner of Kyrgyzstan. About 40% of the assistance goes to the government and civil society sector. USA also focuses on agriculture and business environment (OECD, 2018).

The main criticism toward to United States is related to the activities of microfinance organizations in the Kyrgyzstan. The activities of these microfinance organizations in 1994. They were founded and established by US organizations such as FINCA, Mercy Corps, ACDI / VOCA, with the direct assistance of USAID in Kyrgyzstan.

Initially, it was stated that the main goal of microfinance organizations is to provide microfinance services accessible to the population to overcome poverty, increase employment, promote entrepreneurship and social mobilization of the Kyrgyzstan people.



However, analysis of microcredit products of banks revealed that microfinance organizations provide micro-credits with an effective interest rate of 44% per annum - twice higher than the average interest rate in the banking system of Kyrgyzstan.

Moreover, most of the loan portfolio is issued for a short period of 3 to 12 months. The rural population with low income, low labor productivity and

low added value of their products is objectively unable to repay loans at such high interest rates of 44% per annum.

For example, the profitability of small-scale farming does not exceed 10% per annum. This means that servicing a loan at 44% per annum, a farmer must give back full 10% of his profits, plus sell a certain part of his property or give income from other sources to cover the loan.

The most vulnerable consumers who do not have large properties (i.e. cattle, car, land, etc.) are forced to mortgage their last property, including their only home. Among the 4,000 loan borrowers who applied to our organization for legal advice and support in the courts, 70% are women. Every 5th borrower in Kyrgyzstan has delays in repaying a loan. In quantitative terms, 113,226 borrowers are at risk of compulsory judicial recovery of property.

The Kyrgyz National Borrower Rights Movement has accused US-supported financial institutions of violating fundamental human rights and usurious politics in Kyrgyzstan. In a letter to the American ambassador in Kyrgyzstan, the group asked: *"Experts from USAID, Mercy Corps, ACDI / VOCA and FINCA suggest that the productivity of the rural population of Kyrgyzstan is 15 times higher than American farmers. Is the profitability of rural businesses in Kyrgyzstan 15 times higher than American businesses? How could one understand the logic of experts in determining the interest rate policy for the population of Kyrgyzstan?"*

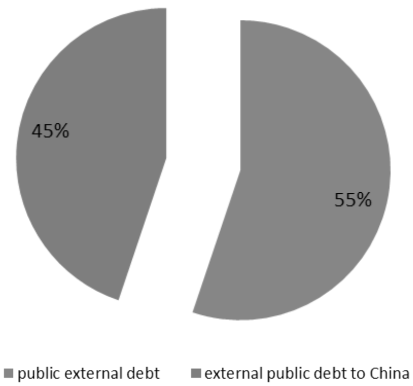
RUSSIA

Russia started allocating funds for development projects after the Kyrgyz Republic joined the Eurasian Economic Union. In 2015, the Russian government approved the creation of a Russian-Kyrgyz development fund worth US $1 billion.

The fund's purpose is to promote economic cooperation between the two countries, modernize the Kyrgyz economy and adapt it to the norms of the Eurasian Economic Union. In 2015 and 2016, Russian Government aid totaled US $521.6 million (OECD, 2018). The funds for the Russian-Kyrgyz development fund are allocated to projects (in terms of loans) in priority sectors of the Kyrgyz economy, including economic entities

Protests at the US embassy; Kyrgyzstan people accuse US of supporting IFIs that exploit the rural population of Kyrgyzstan of Russia participating in projects implemented in the territory and/or in the interests of the Kyrgyz Republic.

Kyrgyzstan has been shaken over and over again by scandals related to Russian aid. In particular, parliamentarians and public activists accused the government of transferring US $127 million of the last US $200 million aid to the Russian company Crocus International, headquartered in Moscow, which, at extremely high prices, carried out work on updating customs and border posts in Kyrgyzstan.



CHINA

China is a largest bilateral partner of Kyrgyzstan. Chinese loans are aimed at the following:

- Alternative North-South Road - Eximbank allocated US $ 400 million for the road's construction;
- Substation Datka - US $208 million under TBEA;
- Power lines Datka-Kemin – US $389 million dollars under TBEA; and
- Modernization of Bishkek CHP (combined heat and power) - US $386 million dollars under TBEA.

As of August 2019, the external public debt of Kyrgyzstan to China amounted to US $1.71 billion dollars.

Main criticisms by CSOs and MP:

- Eximbank grants loans on facilitated terms without providing a feasibility study. Moreover, the requirements are strict. Loans are issued for a period of not more than 20 years and the interest rate is at least 2% per annum. All disputes are resolved in China and in accordance with Chinese laws.
- By issuing loans to developing countries, China is implementing its ambitious project "One Belt, One Road" or the "Belt and Road Initiative", which will allow China to dominate world trade. At the same time, Beijing provides light loans under tough conditions.
- The loan agreements are negotiated that goods and services are purchased in China according to Chinese standards, and Chinese companies are not taxed.
- Chinese companies and Chinese workers are involved in the work instead of the local population.
- Parliamentarians and activists blamed the government and the China Road Company for overstating the cost (twice) for the reconstruction of North-South road.
- The modernization of Bishkek's CHP, by the Chinese company TBEA, has been accompanied by corruption scandals - accidents in the CHP occurred twice in the severe cold.
- The former prime minister of Kyrgyzstan is under investigation for large-scale corruption and the conspiracy with TBEA against national interests ($ 126 million laundering).
- Kyrgyzstan periodically holds protests against Chinese mining companies for environmental damage.

DEVELOPMENT PRIORITIES OF KYRGYZSTAN

Analysis of the Development Program of the Kyrgyz Republic for the period 2018-2022 showed that the main priorities of donors are reflected in government policy. In particular, the Program stipulates the priority of economic liberalization:

"In order to stimulate the growth of entrepreneurial initiative, the Government will pursue a liberal fiscal policy in the next five years. Simplified tax and customs regimes will be introduced everywhere. Business activity of entrepreneurs will be encouraged by exception of the barrier to entrepreneurship".

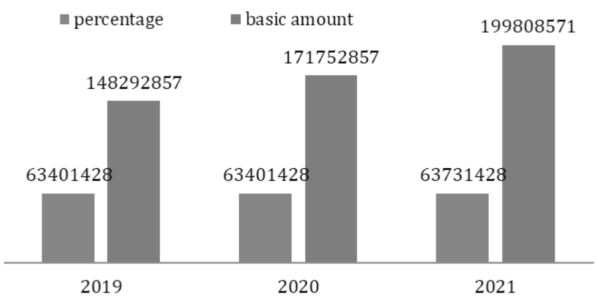
Tax regulation is also focused on preferences to the private sector. According to Article 257 of the Tax Code of the Kyrgyz Republic, there is VAT exemption for imported goods in addition to socially significant goods and services such as banking equipment (ATMs, POS terminals, payment terminals and bank kiosks), imported seed, mineral fertilizers and plant protection products. We understand this as the promotion of the interests of large seed corporations.

VAT refunds for the exporters annually are at $7.14 million from the national budget.

In 2018, a corruption scandal broke out. The National Security Committee revealed a corruption scheme in which the state commission, through falsification of documents, reimbursed funds from the state budget to pay VAT for fictitious export of goods. In just two years, the national budget was damaged in the amount of $114.285 million.

Meanwhile, the reduction in funding for education has led to an increase in additional fees in public schools. The Kyrgyz people periodically go to protests against this.

The cost of servicing public debt for 2019-2021:



in million dollars

By the end of 2018, public external debt amounted to 3.80 billion soms, which is 48.7% of GDP.

According to the International Monetary Fund, the critical level of debt in relation to GDP is considered at a threshold of 60% of GDP, then why such exemption to businesses?

KEY FINDINGS

The private sector remains to be the main focus and priority of Official Development Assistance to Kyrgyzstan. In effect, there is an attempt to intensify the privatization, liberalization and deregulation of public services.

Bilateral and multilateral donors (having dominant positions) are forcing Kyrgyzstan to gradually abandon its obligations to provide public goods and services and social protection for the population.

This kind of partnership among the government, the private sector, and IFIs, within the framework of the South-South Cooperation (SSC), violates the principle of horizontal cooperation for development, ignores human rights and respect for sovereignty, and creates unequal conditions for partnerships. CSOs are concerned about the actions of South-South development partners which do not recognize progressive commitments that were made in Paris, Accra, and Busan.

Essentially, prioritization of the private sector impedes the development of equal partnership. This includes:

- Weakening of the role of CSOs, resulting to difficulties in promoting the rights of vulnerable groups. Almost all strategies of development partners contain an eternal mantra about the need to raise tariffs for electricity and water, among others.
- The government was unable to build the legal frame for a socially responsible business, especially in the microcredit architecture, which makes vulnerable people even more vulnerable and deprives them of their last property.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF CSOs IN COUNTERING THE CORPORATE CAPTURE OF KYRGYZSTAN

- Stop providing new loans to re-finance external debt services.
- Stop participating in legislative initiatives related to privatization, taxation, tariff policy, as well as subsoil use and nature management.
- Provide “untied” assistance, which focuses on supporting the state in eliminating poverty and inequality.
- Stop the promotion of donor economic interests in the mining industries:
    - do not consider projects in the extractive industry if they do not provide significant social and economic benefits for the majority of the local population of the recipient country;
    - conditions for lending to the mining sector should be of full transparency
    - public should be able to access agreements on the sharing of production, division of profit, and other similar documents;
    - stop financing investment projects in ecologically valuable areas such as those places where the public opposes such projects and where investments can provoke conflicts;
    - each project should have an emergency response plan, which should be part of the EIA documentation; and
    - IFIs should take responsibility for any damage caused by their projects.

THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD:

- radically re-think their approach to trade and investment liberalization and public-private partnerships (PPPs) by establishing mandatory rules to promote the social responsibility of businesses, environmental protection and respect for human rights; and
- institutionalize the participation of CSOs and other development partners in discussions and decision making processes on the effective and transparent use of ODA.


NYI NYI AUNG


FARIDA ABDYLDAEVA


CPDE Asia Regional Meeting
JAY HUNG
JIN-HO SONG


2019 Asia Democracy Forum


BONNY LING


EILEEN LU
JINTEN YUMNAM
KURNIAWAN SABAR
FARIDA ABDYLDAEVA
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JAY HUNG
REY ASIS
BARKAT MARUF
SARAH TORRES
JAHANGIR MASUM
DAVID HESAIE
JENNIFER GUSTE
KARIYAWASAM THILAK


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Taiwan Women's Center


ABED AL-SALEHI
URANTSOOJ GOMBOSUREN
DAVID HESAIE


JENNIFER GUSTE


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MARUF


ABED AL-SALEHI
AID WATCH PALESTINE

Corporate Capture of Development: The Philippine Experience

Council for People's Development and Governance

Corporations especially TNCs capture development in the Philippines first through international financing led primarily by the US influenced World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the Japan influenced Asian Development Bank (ADB); second, through active lobbying by TNCs through their capitalist governments; and third, through economic wealth and political control by rich Filipino families.

1. Conditional loans

The IMF, the World Bank and the ADB had imposed stabilization and structural adjustment programs (SAP) in the 1970s through the 1990s.The SAPs required debt strapped developing countries like the Philippines to implement neo-liberal economic policies i.e., in liberalizing its trade and investments for foreign corporations by lowering tariffs on imported goods and easing investment limits to foreign control, raising taxes on basic goods and services, liberalizing the commercial banking sector; deregulation of government control in strategic public utilities such as in oil, water and electricity; privatizing government owned and controlled corporations and assets meant to make basic services accessible and affordable – i.e., the National Food Authority for food grains and trading, the Manila Water and Sewerage Services (MWSS) for water, the National Power Corporation and its assets for energy generation and distribution of electricity.

In recent years, the World Bank used US$1.1 billion in development policy loans to push for health, education and power privatization, higher value added tax or VAT, and other taxes, and reduced government spending.

2. Policy lobbying

Foreign and domestic corporations capture and profit immensely from "development" by influencing social and economic policy making in all possible areas they can extract optimum profits. This cuts across all avenues of policymaking, i.e., (1) through foreign trade agreements such as the GATT-WTO, Japan-Philippines Economic Partnership Agreement (JPEPA), ASEAN Free Trade Agreement (AFTA), including various bilateral investments which pushed for further liberalization of the country's economy like for instance the lowering or outright removal of tariffs, local content requirements for trade; 100% profit remittances, income taxes and other tax holidays, removal

of restrictions for foreign corporations on investments; (2) through corporate friendly fiscal policy especially on corporate taxes and fiscal incentives for corporations; (3) through privatized and commercialized social services spanning health, education & housing; (4) through government (read 'people') subsidized infrastructure policy whether through public-private partnerships (PPP) or through the hybrid type – ODA funded + PPP.

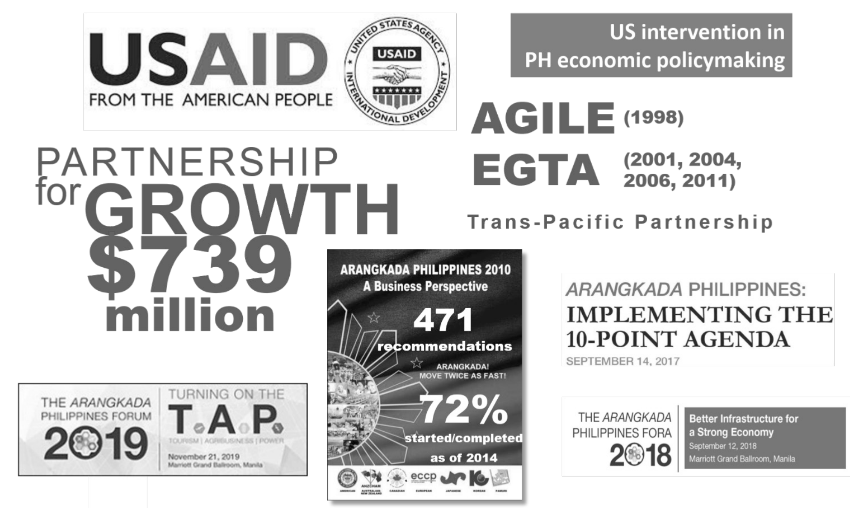
They have organizations and agencies entrenched in the government working alongside policy making government agencies to make sure development plans and programs are designed to favor corporate interests.

The US factor

The US is the single-biggest foreign influence on Philippine economic policy making. This is expected since the US made sure it is well entrenched in the country's economy and politics including its culture (especially through education) before ceding independence to the Philippines.

The USAID's US$25-million Accelerating Growth in Investment and Liberalization with Equity (AGILE) project started in 1998 created 'satellite offices' in 11 key government agencies to produce at least ten major economic laws promoting free market. AGILE was renamed and extended into the Economic Governance Technical Assistance (EGTA) project (2001-2004) and was succeeded by three other programs from 2004 until 2011.This is continued with Philippines through the Partnership for Growth with at least US$739 million in US funding.

There is also the US initiated Partnership for Growth (PFG) which utilizes the US$1 million USAID-funded "The Arangkada Philippines Project" or TAPP that started in 2010. TAPP lobbies policymakers on 471 policy recommendations.



It is administered by the American Chamber of Commerce and implemented with the Joint Foreign Chambers of Commerce in the Philippines (JFC) which comprise the AmCham, Australian-New Zealand Chamber, European Chamber, Canadian Chamber, Japanese Chamber, Korean Chamber, and the Philippine Association of Multinational Companies Regional Headquarters Inc. or PAMURI. The JFC is among the most aggressive groups seeking to change the 1987 Philippine Constitution and remove the last legal impediments to foreign capitalism in the country. The JFC altogether represent over 3,000 member companies engaged in over $230 billion worth of trade and some $30 billion worth of investments in the Philippines[48].

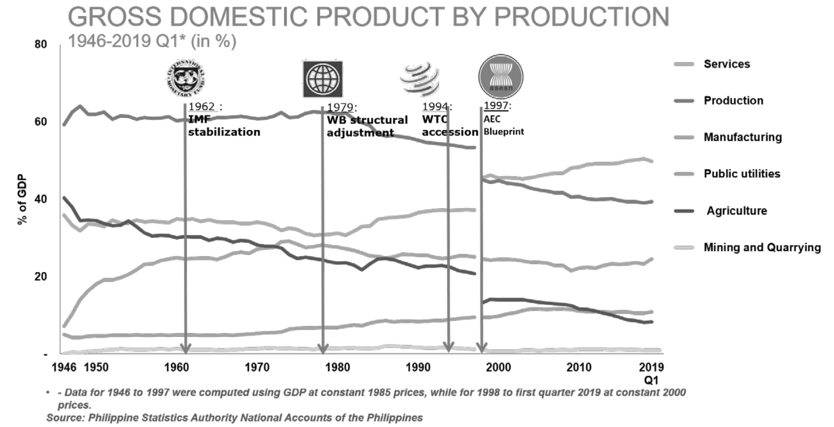
Among the policies pushed is the two-tiered wage system which further lowered the already low minimum wage of Filipino workers by setting a floor wage. Any increase would depend on productivity of the workers who are already overworked while being underpaid in precarious working conditions. Labor flexibilization schemes also increased the number of contractual workers and resulted to mass layoffs among regular workers who are then hired back as contractual workers. There is also the comprehensive tax reform program called tax reform acceleration and inclusion (TRAIN). Package 1 of the TRAIN lowered personal income taxes but raised taxes in a range of necessities, including oil and crude oil products.

TRAIN is by far the most regressive tax reform system implemented in the Philippines as it takes money out of the pocket of poor Filipinos and puts money in the pockets of the rich Filipinos families through financing

48 ARANGKADA Philippines

Philippine globalization policies in historical context...

1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010	2015 to present
• Tariff Reform Program I (1981)	• Tariff Reform Program I (1981) • Tariff Reform Program II (1991) • Foreign Investments (1991) • Asean Free Trade Area (AFTA, 1992) • Water transport (1992) • Build-Operate-Transfer (BOT, 1993) • Removal of forex controls (1993) • Telecoms (1993) • Banking (1994) • Shipping (1994)	• Tariff Reform Program I (1981) • Tariff Reform Program II (1991) • Foreign Investments (1991) • Asean Free Trade Area (AFTA, 1992) • Water transport (1992) • Build-Operate-Transfer (BOT, 1993) • Removal of forex controls (1993) • Telecoms (1993) • Banking (1994) • Shipping (1994) • World Trade Organization (WTO, 1995) • National Water Crisis Act (1995) • Airlines (1995) • Tariff Reform Program III (1996) • Oil Industry Deregulation Act (1996/98)	• Tariff Reform Program I (1981) • Tariff Reform Program II (1991) • Foreign Investments (1991) • Asean Free Trade Area (AFTA, 1992) • Water transport (1992) • Build-Operate-Transfer (BOT, 1993) • Removal of forex controls (1993) • Telecoms (1993) • Banking (1994) • Shipping (1994) • World Trade Organization (WTO, 1995) • National Water Crisis Act (1995) • Airlines (1995) • Tariff Reform Program III (1996) • Oil Industry Deregulation Act (1996/98) • Retail trade (2000) • Power/EPIRA (2001)	• Tariff Reform Program I (1981) • Tariff Reform Program II (1991) • Foreign Investments (1991) • Asean Free Trade Area (AFTA, 1992) • Water transport (1992) • Build-Operate-Transfer (BOT, 1993) • Removal of forex controls (1993) • Telecoms (1993) • Banking (1994) • Shipping (1994) • World Trade Organization (WTO, 1995) • National Water Crisis Act (1995) • Airlines (1995) • Tariff Reform Program III (1996) • Oil Industry Deregulation Act (1996/98) • Retail trade (2000) • Power/EPIRA (2001) • JPEPA (2008)	• Tariff Reform Program I (1981) • Tariff Reform Program II (1991) • Foreign Investments (1991) • Asean Free Trade Area (AFTA, 1992) • Water transport (1992) • Build-Operate-Transfer (BOT, 1993) • Removal of forex controls (1993) • Telecoms (1993) • Banking (1994) • Shipping (1994) • World Trade Organization (WTO, 1995) • National Water Crisis Act (1995) • Airlines (1995) • Tariff Reform Program III (1996) • Oil Industry Deregulation Act (1996/98) • Retail trade (2000) • Power/EPIRA (2001) • JPEPA (2008) • ATIGA (2010)	• Tariff Reform Program I (1981) • Tariff Reform Program II (1991) • Foreign Investments (1991) • Asean Free Trade Area (AFTA, 1992) • Water transport (1992) • Build-Operate-Transfer (BOT, 1993) • Removal of forex controls (1993) • Telecoms (1993) • Banking (1994) • Shipping (1994) • World Trade Organization (WTO, 1995) • National Water Crisis Act (1995) • Airlines (1995) • Tariff Reform Program III (1996) • Oil Industry Deregulation Act (1996/98) • Retail trade (2000) • Power/EPIRA (2001) • JPEPA (2008) • ATIGA (2010) • PPPs (2010-present) • Bank liberalization (2015) • Competition law (2015) • Hybrid PPPs *(ODA+PPP)* • **TRAIN 1&2** • **FINL** • **Rice Liberalization** • **Liberalization of Tertiary Education** • **4Ps/CCT, 4Ps Law** • **Magna Carta for Poor**



the government's "Build, Build, Build!" infrastructure program that supports private financing. The BBB program benefits local Philippine oligarchs and foreign corporations especially with the PPP law which guaranteed take or pay incentives, provided government risk guarantees among others, and, ODA funding. All of these are paid by Filipino consumers, majority among whom are the poor that are left behind in the so-called economic progress.

Meanwhile, government has forgone its tariff collections as well as provided income tax holidays to these corporations amounting to Php549Bn in customs duties and Php 301 Billion in value added taxes or VAT – from a wide range of tariff and tax exemptions granted to investors in 2016[49]. The Philippines Bureau of Customs estimates Php10Bn to Php15Bn is lost annually until 2015 under ASEAN[50].

Pending the amendments to the 1987 Philippine Constitution, laws awaiting approval in the Philippine Congress include the public services act which will further open the remaining public utilities to foreign ownership with the assurance of optimum profits; and, likewise the law that further relaxes foreign investment negative list (FINL) to supposedly attract more investments and generate employment.

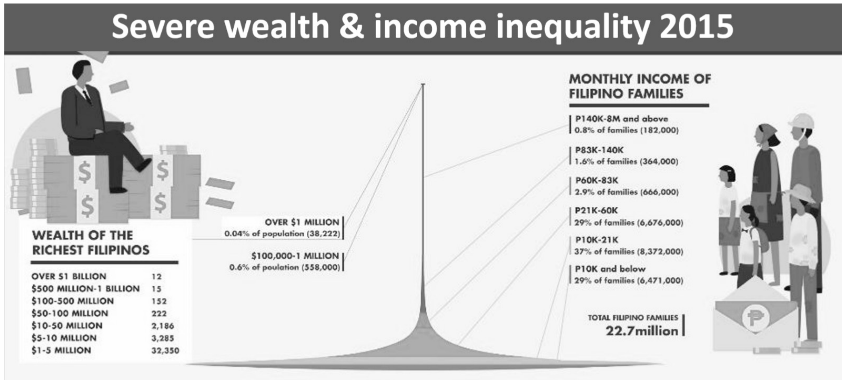
Poverty and inequality

As a result of the neoliberal policies implementation, production has been on a decline since the 1980s at the start of tariff reform programs and effective liberalization of the Philippine economy.

Correspondingly, with declining share of productive sectors in the country's economy, the country cannot produce employment for the millions

49 WTO: Foregone revenues by PH on tariff and tax exemptions – 27 March 2018, Bernie Cahiles-Maglahit, Manila Bulletin

50 "Customs Targets 12% revenue growth." Manila Bulletin. 23 August 2014



Sources: Credit Suisse Global Wealth Report 2017, Philippine Statistics Authority FIES 2015, entrepreneur.com.ph

of its labor forces hence the chronic jobs crisis. More than 5,773 Filipinos leave the country daily in the first half of 2018 as reported by the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration[51].

Consequently, widespread poverty persists. While the government again tries to hide millions of poor Filipinos by lowering the poverty level to subsistence at Php60 per day, this has left the more than half of the population undernourished and hungry. If using the World Bank global poverty level of Php125 per day, there are actually about 66 million poor Filipinos who have low and insecure incomes because of lack of decent work, no access to education especially with privatized and commercialized Philippine education, lacking in access to clean water, sanitation and electricity, no access to production capital and assets.

To remedy the impact of neoliberal policies on the poor, the World Bank and ADB promoted and funded short term anti-poverty and social protection programs such as the Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Program (4Ps) which from 2007 to 2017 ate up Php375 billion from the national budget yet 54% of Filipinos are still hungry in 2018. Malnutrition and stunting are still a serious public health concern.

3. Economic wealth and political influence

What liberalizing foreign investments has done so far is further concentration of profits to foreign corporations. In the manufacturing sector, foreign transnational corporations accounted for 63% of gross revenues and 57% of net income for manufacturing in 2015.Meanwhile, the gross revenues of the top 50 conglomerates grew from Php3.5 trillion in 2008 to Php8.1 trillion in 2017 while the richest 40 Filipinos got wealthier from Php633 billion in 2008 to Php3.8 trillion in 2017.

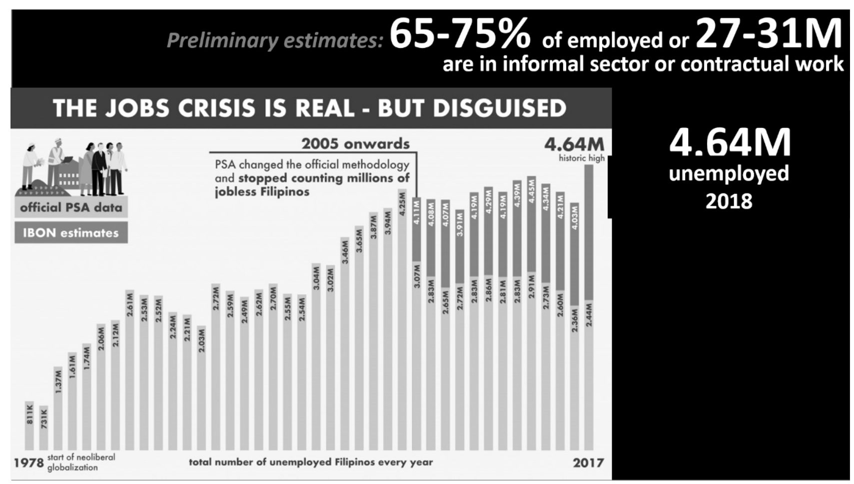
51 "Duterte's Midterm: Change for the Worse". Midyear 2019 Bird Talk, Economic and Political Briefing. 11 July 2019, College of Engineering Theater, University of the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City

This concentration of income and wealth constitutes economic power that also translates into immense political influence and lobbying. Filipino oligarchs such as the Ayalas, Cojuangcos, Vilar, and Pangilinan, among others, belong to the Forbes richest fund electoral campaigns and benefit from the neoliberal economic policies that support their business as usual operations. Their business interests cut across industries and sectors.

Economic and environmental plunder

In the end, after more than three decades of implementing neoliberal economic policies and corporate capture of development, the country's natural resources have been systematically plundered while corporations have taken away most of their capital investments through unrestricted profit remittances. As of 2014, foreign corporations took with them $36 billion in profit remittances, IFIs profited from their ODA extracting $178 billion in debt service payments. Meanwhile, $43 billion worth of mineral exports have been mined from Philippine soil while leaving a trail of plunder and devastation in mining communities.

Amid all the wealth of a handful of Filipino families and foreign corporations, we have a rural economy where seven out of 10 peasants are landless and one third of landowners control more than 80% of agricultural land; mandated minimum wages are not even half of what is needed for decent living; six of 10 workers don't have written contracts; everyday 30 workers suffer trade union related rights violations and over 1,500 urban poor families are displaced monthly; 15 million Filipinos do not have access to clean water; maternal mortality rate is 10 times worse for the poorest than the richest Filipinos; government debt service is thrice what it spends on education and fifteen times on health and there are over 2 million child laborers.



People economics and genuine development

More than three decades of profit and wealth based neoliberal economic policies left the country with still undemocratic economy where the millions of Filipinos are left out in the development planning and supposed gains benefitting only a few. The state of governance is in dire straits with increasing human rights violations and worsening impunity.

Filipinos however are not hopeless. The country has a vibrant force of grassroots-based civil society organizations (CSOs) that have been asserting for genuinely sustainable development that puts the Filipino people's right to development foremost in pushing for policy reforms.

The Council for People's Development and Governance, a broad network of non-government organizations (NGOs) and people's organizations (POs) in the Philippines forwards development effectiveness and supports and promotes People Economics in its various engagements and activities. People Economics embodies the decades long Filipino people's struggle for comprehensive rural development and national industrialization.

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On the Violation of Peoples' Rights in India

Jenison Urikhimbam, Youth Forum for Protection of Human Rights

The ongoing violence on people's rights in India reflects back to the country's historical background. North East India was controversially annexed to the Union of India in the year 1949 after being declared independent by the British government in 1947.

Such re-colonisation by the Union of India after the people raised their voices against the colonial British structure compelled the North East people to launch the self-determination movement. In order to suppress the movement of the people, the government of India enacted a draconian law called the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act in 1958, which empowers the state armed forces to excise its power to the extent of killing a person in mere suspicion. This is being imposed in the entire North Eastern states of India.

The imposition of the draconian law has impacted the people at various levels as given below:

1. Mass Militarisation in every nook and corner of the region resulted in atrocities towards the Indigenous Peoples (IPs), especially the youth, which includes rape, rape coupled with murder, extrajudicial execution, enforced disappearances, intimidation, different forms of harassment, creation of inter-ethnic clashes, and blast of landmines which paralysed local people, among others.

The impact of such systematic militarisation and atrocities committed by the state can be observed in the cases of the rape and murder of Thangajam Manorama by the Indian Army, interference of the peaceful assembly on "Stop Oil Exploration" by the Indian Armed Forces, and indiscriminate firing upon the Indigenous Youth who participated in the peaceful demonstration demanding the protection of Indigenous Peoples.

2. Construction of dams also led to the deprivation of rights of the IPs and youth in the state of Manipur and in the Region in general. Examples include:

- Displacement from the ancestral land
- Submergence of ancestral land and forest
- Increased anti-social activities in search of livelihood
- Involvement in drug trades, arms smuggling, sex trade, and trafficking
- No rehabilitation and restoration process

- Snatching of livelihood activities due to blockages of water both in upstream and downstream

3. The increase of unsustainable developmental projects destroyed the environment in the name of economic development by not considering the social development. Examples include:

- 110 km long NF Railway Project
- Mapithel Dam, Khuga Dam, Loktak Hydro Power Projects, Singda Dam
- Acquisition of paddy land by violating the "Conservation of Paddy land Wetland Act of 2014"
- Expansion of four-lane road, power grid lines, crude oil and gas pipelines
- Increased presence of extractive industries

These so-called development projects also resulted in negative impacts on the lives of the Indian people as it could be observed that the land and the forest which the people use for basic needs are destroyed. This further led to displacement of the people by losing their ancestral lands. This could be seen in the 110 km long Railway Projects being carried out in Tamenglong and also the Submergence of Forest and Paddy Villages by Mapithel Dams, and other various projects in the state of Manipur.

When voicing out concerns against such atrocities and inhumane treatments committed by the state, human rights defenders are often subjected to intimidation, harassment, or arrest and detention, which further creates an environment of insecurity and injustice. Thus, only through the collective effort by the people to respond to such atrocities will the violence stop and the root causes of conflict solved.

Corporate Control of Food and its Impacts to Small Holders

Thilak Kariyawasam, Sri Lanka Nature Group

The International Assessment of Agricultural Knowledge, Science and Technology for Development (IAASTD) was a three-year international collaborative effort (2005–2007) initiated by the World Bank in 2002, which evaluated the relevance, quality and effectiveness of agricultural knowledge, science and technology, and the effectiveness of public and private sector policies and institutional arrangements.

The project involved 900 participants and 110 countries with co-sponsorship of the FAO, Global Environment Facility, UNDP, UNEP, UNESCO, the World Bank and WHO. It assessed agricultural knowledge, and science and technology with respect to development and sustainability goals of reducing hunger and poverty, improving nutrition, health, rural livelihoods, and facilitating social and environmental sustainability.

Why should 821 million people on our planet go hungry while 1.9 billion are suffering from the ill effects of overweight and obesity? In 2018, more grain was harvested than ever before - 2.65 billion tons worldwide. Despite this record-breaking harvest, only 43% was used to feed people. The rest was used to feed livestock, fill our petrol tanks, support industrial production processes or was simply wasted. Our global food system is one of the most significant contributors to climate change, loss of biodiversity, pollution, and water shortages.

Keeping in mind the diversity described above, any definition of the characteristics of small-scale farms and family farming will depend on the definitions that each region or country adopts for itself, settled in extensive and binding consultations with relevant stakeholders. Nevertheless, scale measurements of the farm size are often used to classify producers.

According to the IAASTD (2009), there are 1.5 billion men and women farmers working on 404 million small-scale farms of less than 2 ha. However, the 2 ha farm size is not a universal characteristic. Smallholding sizes vary across regions from an average of 0.5 to 10 ha, even 500 ha is considered a smallholding in Australia.

The UN Declaration aims to better protect the rights of all rural populations including peasants, fisherfolk, nomads, agricultural workers, and indigenous peoples to improve their living conditions as well as to strengthen food sovereignty, the fight against climate change, and the conservation of biodiversity. The endorsement of the UN Declaration also constitutes an important contribution to the international community's effort to promote family farming and peasant agriculture.

Bolivia, the chair of the process, stressed upon the importance of the UN Declaration in realizing more resilient, sustainable and inclusive societies:

"We believe this is a major step towards public policies that recognize not only the rights and needs of peasants but also their contributions to the well-being and quality of life of the societies they nurture through their daily work. We are sure that this instrument will play a central role in human rights as well as in the eradication of hunger and poverty, in line with Agenda 2030 for sustainable development and the Decade of Family Farming, without leaving anyone behind."

Problems on agriculture today:

- Land
- Water
- Seed
- Input Cost
- Supper Pest
- Pesticide
- Market

How are these problems affecting Small Holders?

- Lands given to big projects
- Soil erosion and forest destruction
- Low wages and contract farming
- Human - Elephant conflict
- Water needs big machinery, therefore no water for small holders
- High demand for commercial crops, therefore no food for small holders
- High input cost also effecting small holders
- Local market destroyed for small holders
- Climate change situations

Who controls agriculture today?

- FAO
- IFAD
- WFP
- WTO
- Syngenta (Switzerland) bought by China Chemical
- Bayer (Germany) bought by Monsanto USA
- Dow (USA) bought by Dupont USA

DOLE controls banana plantation in Sri Lanka

There are many different types of corporate control taking place in Sri Lanka. In recent times, well known cases implicate DOLE.

Kandakaduwa Banana Plantation Project

15,100 acres of villu ecosystems and forestland along Mahaweli River and Kandakaduwa Canal have been seized by The Army and transferred to private companies for agricultural projects, usurping power. This area is comprised of villu ecosystems in the floodplains of Mahaweli River and Kandakaduwa Canal and dry mixed evergreen forests.

Around 5,000 acres of the land seized in this manner belong to Somawathiya National Park while the rest of the area is undeveloped forestland belonging to Kandakaduwa Farm, which is owned by National Livestock Development Board (NLDB). This whole area is a major habitat and foraging grounds of elephants. Beru grass, which is a staple of their diet, is abundant in the villu ecosystems in the floodplains of Mahaweli River and Kandakaduwa Canal. The population of elephants recorded in this area is locally known as 'VilAliya'.

Initially, around 3,500 acres of forestland have been completely cleared off and agricultural activities have been carried out by the Army using LTTE detainees. Next, 11,600 acres have been transferred to Letsgrow (Pvt) Ltd. through a Memorandum of Understanding.

The multination company, DOLE Food Company Inc., funded the project implemented by Letsgrow (Pvt) Ltd. The proposal was to establish a banana plantation, a livestock farm, and an agro-tourism project. More than 700 local residents and heavy machinery were employed to clear about 5,000 acres of the 11,600 acres of forest land that had been transferred.

Upon continuous protests of environmental activists revealing the illicit nature of the activities carried out, DOLE Food Company Inc. retracted from the partnership with Letsgrow (Pvt) Ltd. Further, DOLE had cleared off the plantation and evacuated the land belonging to the National Park, leaving it in the custody of the Army. However, the land is still under the control of the Army and entrance to the forest has been prohibited to officers of any government institution, including The Department of Wildlife Conservation and National Livestock Development Board, which are the custodians of these lands as well as any other intermediary.

Lunugamwehera Mass Scale Banana Plantation Project

A large-scale banana plantation project has been implemented by Dole Lanka (Pvt.) Ltd. in an area of 1,000 acres in the Elephant Corridor linking Lunugamwehera to Handapanagala in the margin of the Handapanagala National Park. This forest is crown land under control of Department of

Forest Conservation and is the watershed of Kirindi Oya and Lunugamwehera Reservoir.

The forest has been cleared using backhoes and heavy machinery and soil has been prepared by setting fire. A banana cultivar named Cavendish has been planted in a portion of the cleared land. Seed beds have been made after plowing the soil. A network of roads spaced at a distance of 100 meters has been made among the seed beds. Application of agrochemicals is carried out mechanically by driving water bowsers on the roads among seed beds to spray the chemicals at night. An electric fence has been installed around the area in order to prevent crop-raid by elephants, thus obstructing the movement of elephants.

Harmful effects of the projects

- Operation of the latter project is detrimental to the water level of the Kirindi Oya and Lunugamwehera reservoir due to clearance of the watershed. Further, soil erosion is amplified by this project resulting in siltation and increased turbidity of Kirindi Oya and Lunugamwehera reservoir. Reduction of capacity of the Lunugamwehera reservoir seriously affects the agricultural activities of the communities, depending on the reservoir for irrigation of their croplands. Destruction of their croplands leads to collapse of the economy generating socioeconomic issues in addition to affecting food production of the country.
- As mentioned above, the project blocks the main elephant corridor linking Handapanagala to Lunugamwehera National Park. In consequence, elephants enter the village settlements and croplands in the areas of Demaliya, Nagamalwila, and Icepeella creating a severe Human – Elephant Conflict, thus damaging property of the local community in addition to crop-raid. This has led to the displacement of the farmers who have now been reduced to laborers of mass scale agrarian projects.
- The excessive use of agrochemicals causes these chemicals to spread to the Lunugamwehera National Park and the nearby settlements. This resulted in serious public health issues. Moreover, the biodiversity of the national park is adversely affected. Chemical runoff also resulted in contamination and accumulation in the reservoir. This condition extends to the areas irrigated by the reservoir that are located farther to the project site.
- Clearance of an expansive area of forestland caused localized changes in weather and climate pattern. This affects the agricultural activities and lifestyle of the residents seriously.
- The local community faces lack of drinking water as a result of rapid decline of water table due to large-scale extraction of groundwater for the project.

Laws violated

- According to the Forest Conservation Act, it is prohibited to transfer the ownership of state forests to private owners.
- According to section 9a of Flora and Fauna Protection Ordinance (FFPO), for any developmental project carried out within an area of one mile from the border of a National Park, prior written approval should be obtained from the Director General of the Department of Wildlife Conservation subject to an Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA). However, this provision has been ignored.
- According to Gazette Notification bearing No. 772/22 of 24th June 1993, published under the provisions of the National Environmental Act no. 47 of 1980 and its amendments, if any forest land exceeding one acre in area is cleared for development, prior written Environmental Recommendation should be obtained subject to EIA process. Above forestland has been cleared and used for agriculture violating this provision.
- According to Land Development Ordinance No. 19 of 1936 and its amendments, for any large-scale agricultural project prior approval should be obtained from all the relevant state departments. However, approvals from the Department of Wildlife, Department of Archeology, or Department of Agrarian Services have not been obtained.

Attacks on People's Rights in the Rural Area in Relation to the Acceleration of Investment and Development in Asia

Kurniawan Sabar, Institute for National and Democracy Studies Indonesia

Corporate-led Development Agenda

The US government developed "Asia Pivot" since 2009 to strengthen bilateral and regional cooperation with countries in Asia, especially Southeast Asia, to secure the US corporate interest. In Indonesia, US aid increased by 46.2% or from US$ 90.1 billion in 2014 to US$ 131.7 billion in 2019. Meanwhile, China is trying to exert influence in the region by developing Shanghai Co-operation Organization (SCO) in 2001. China is also developing the "Belt and Road Initiative (BRI)" as the mega project of infrastructure and trading connectivity.

The acceleration of investment and development is strongly supported by International Finance Institutions (IFIs), like IMF-World Bank (IMF-WB), Asian Development Bank (ADB), and Asian Infrastructure Investment (AIIB). World Bank is implementing Maximizing Finance for Development (MFD) approach while the OECD, as consortium of donor countries, promotes Blended Finance to maximize support for corporate interest in development. ADB formed the Country Safeguard System (CSS) to accelerate debt flow for the national governments and for corporations to implement development projects in many countries.

Governments in various countries are encouraged to provide facilities and policies to serve corporate investments and financial institutions. In Indonesia, President Jokowi enacted 16 volumes of Economic Policy Package that covers the whole agenda of infrastructure development acceleration, mining, plantation, and energy in National Strategic Project (Proyek Strategis Nasional or PSN). The renewal of PKE-16 set three main policies: extended tax holiday reduction, relaxing the Negative Investment List (DNI), and controlling the foreign exchange of export proceeds of natural resources.

The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) that are aimed to set the global sustainable development actually meet critical challenges because the development acceleration which is dominated by corporate and international monopoly capital directly brings negative impacts to the people and indeed suppress the people's rights to development.

Increasing Land Monopoly

Corporate-led development is creating and continuing inequality, poverty, and forced migration as a result of monopoly and land grabbing. According

to the International League of People's Struggle (ILPS) Indonesia (2019) the monopoly and land grabbing keep sharpening inequality of land control. Plantation and mining corporations have controlled 41.87 million hectares of land. Oil palm plantations have obtained permits of HGU (cultivation rights) to 29 million hectares, of which 13 million have been planted. This excludes the oil palm plantations controlled by the State. There are 5.1 million hectares of oil palm plantations controlled by 25 big private corporations like Wilmar, Sinar Mas, IOI, Raja Garuda Mas, Batu Kawan, and Salim, among others.

Approximately, 56% of Indonesian peasants own below 0.5 hectare of land. Landlessness is increasing every year. Development by greedy corporations resulted in urban and rural people losing their right to land. They have been evicted from their lands in the name of development – business and commercial properties, reclamation projects, coal power projects, etc. all funded by IFIs.

As a result, Indonesia peasants continue to live in poverty and suffer economic downturn under the regime of Jokowi-JK. The rate of poverty in Indonesia reached 27.77 million people (10.64%), of which, urban area was 10.60 million and in rural area was 17.10 million (BPS, March 2017). The unemployment rate in urban area is 6.34%, of which 3.65 million was underemployment (BPS, February 2018).

The acute poverty and unemployment forced millions of Indonesian people to migrate overseas to seek better living. Today, there are more than 9 million Indonesian people working abroad as migrant workers. The number is equal with 7% of workforce in Indonesia. 72% of the migrant workers comes from the rural areas.

Across the world, we have witnessed the profit-driven 'development agenda' being pushed by the Private Sector and the International Financial Institutions (IFIs) in partnership with the governments. In more than 30 countries, mostly in the Global South, International Finance Corporation (IFC) has been funding land grabs through financial intermediaries such as private equities and commercial banks which then fund these lucrative land deals that have adverse social, political, environmental, and humanitarian impacts.

From 2004, IFC has funded US$4.55 billion in loans and grants to financial intermediaries linked to over hundreds of projects that resulted in land grabbing, displacement of peoples, loss of livelihood, and environmental degradation. IFC has funded mining operations in Myanmar that displaced 16,000 farmers and indigenous Karen peoples in 23 communities. (PCFS, October 2018).

Since 2011, IFC has invested a total of US$246.5 million in RCBC, a Philippine-based bank, including at least US$22.5 million in IFC's climate loans. RCBC has been funding the construction and operation of 20 coal-powered power plants in the Philippines that have displaced and affected at least 28 communities of farmers and fishers.

These are just some of the cases that we are being confronted with. These financialization are fueling land grabs since 2008 and these land grabs have displaced poor farmers, indigenous peoples, rural women, and youth (PCFS, October 2018).

Attacks on People's Rights

In such schemes, attacks on people's rights are intensifying, especially experienced by people in rural areas such as peasants, women, youth, indigenous peoples, and other ethnic minorities in the Asian region. These attacks can at least be seen in the following conditions:

First, the increasing deprivation of people's right to land: The acceleration of investment and development is to serve the projects of giant corporations in various countries that are rich in natural resources. Therefore, the implementation of development projects has forced millions of people to give up their right to land. This condition is directly correlated to the loss of people's right to cultivate land and to decent work. This is also the reason why labourers from the rural areas are forced to sell their labour cheaply in urban areas just to survive even in poor conditions. Some are forced to go abroad knowing the risks they will face in order to get a job that pays more.

Second, the domestic political control which suppresses the democratic rights of the people both in rural and urban areas: This attack can be seen concretely from the increasingly intensive enactment of various regulations and policies that limit and even deprive the people's right to freedom of association, assembly and expression to ensure security, political stability and investment protection. In many instances, the government is busy blaming the people for the economic and political crises that nation faces. People in rural areas are accused of being obstacles to development. The very people who are victims bear the multiplied burden caused by development schemes that are not based on their needs, but those of the desires of the export market and of the greediness of big landlords and corporations. Forest fires and haze disasters in Indonesia recently can be a lesson to see this position.

Third, increased militarism and violence against the people: Such conditions cannot be seen only as the impact of development injustice. This is an operational strategy. Government guarantees for investment and development protection in various countries have implemented stronger political security controls through the involvement of the military. Therefore, people's expressions to convey demands and aspirations will meet a reactive response from the authority of the ruling class. Violence, including the killings of peasants is inevitable. Criminalization is increasingly widespread, and the strengthening of the role of the military and security forces in

guarding interests is intensified. This is what you call fascism, which is easily distinguishable in various governments in Asia.

What can be done?

1. Continue resistance in defense of land. For the rural people, we will continue our struggle for land and genuine agrarian reform. Despite the attacks, the rural peoples' resistance against land grabbing is intensifying. There are numerous cases of land grabs that were delayed, stopped, or denied because of the communities' determined assertion of their right to land and resources.
2. Uphold development effectiveness principles. Engage donors and governments to ensure that any partnership with the private sector, if deemed necessary, should safeguard citizen engagement, and should involve multi-stakeholder processes among the affected communities, CSOs, and local governments. These must be consistent with the development effectiveness principles and commitments on democratic ownership, use of country systems including procurement, and promote results that have an impact on reducing poverty and inequality, including gender inequality.
3. Assert – especially in Southern countries – that national development strategies should be owned and led by the people, especially the grassroots, and their organisations as representatives of societal sectors whose right to land, social services, and to development are at stake. The active participation of people's organisations is a key premise to shape development policies that benefit the people, instead of being dominated by the neoliberal IMF-WB prescriptions, the profit-motive of international capital, and elites in government.
4. Ensure accountability. There should be concerted efforts towards empowering people to be part of free, prior and informed decision making at all stages of development processes, from the local to national. Furthermore, there should be an institutionalization of legally-binding, enforceable accountability mechanisms that will regulate corporate and state actions. These mechanisms should be able to enforce regulations that will prevent corporations from conducting operations that will be detrimental to the overall welfare of the community and the environment.

Migrants and Diaspora Collectively Fighting for Rights, Justice and Democracy

Rey Asis, Asia Pacific Mission for Migrants

By their status alone, migrants and diaspora are vulnerable to various forms of attacks.

In a recent conference conducted by the Asia Pacific Mission for Migrants, the Regional Conference on Development and Diaspora in and from Asia Pacific, we have agreed that the issue of diaspora is an issue of forced displacement. That the presence of diaspora in developed countries exemplifies the structural roots of displacement – from the period of colonization to wars of occupation and aggression, to the imposition of neoliberal policies by developed country governments on developing country governments.

Forced displacement by itself is an attack on rights of migrants. Severe unemployment, massive poverty, landlessness, and social insecurities (among other issues) in underdeveloped countries caused and exacerbated by neoliberal policies (embedded in economic and trade agreements, debt conditionalities, etc.) have driven millions of people away. Everyday, an estimated 3,700 Filipinos go overseas to find work. Despite the remittances sent back home (around US$28.9 billion, third highest in the world), Philippines continues to experience rising unemployment (10.1%, with 4.6 million unemployed), ever widening economic gap (net worth of 40 richest comprising 21.9% of the GDP), and a growing foreign debt (at US$152 billion). The labor export policy in the Philippines impinges on the rights of Filipinos because it normalizes forced migration.

We are all, in fact, diaspora, classified into the following: a) those with permanent status, b) those with temporary status but can apply for permanent status (e.g. asylum seekers and refugees), c) temporary migrants, and d) undocumented (including stateless children). Hence, depending on our status in society, migrants and diaspora experience a myriad of violations on their rights.

The strict immigration and citizenship regime in most host countries has made living and working difficult for migrants. Certain policies have been made more stringent or oppressive that they perpetuate abuses of migrants. Examples of these are the New Conditions of Stay in Hong Kong, visa policies for marriage migrants, the existence of ICE or the Immigration and Customs Enforcement in the US, etc.

Recently, in Korea, a video of a Vietnamese marriage migrant being physically beaten by her Korean husband became viral. The man's reason for beating her up was that she cannot speak Korean fluently. In a survey conducted by the National Human Rights Commission of Korea, many women marriage migrants will endure all forms of horrific violations on their person (e.g. verbal abuse, sexual assault, marital rape) because they want to obtain the permanent residence status.

Another example of rights violations that migrants experience is labor exploitation. Take the case of foreign domestic workers, who by the non-recognition of their status as workers, are exempted from existing labor standards in countries and country regions. Belonging to this category are home-based caregivers, like those working here in Taiwan. They receive below minimum wage, are expected to accomplish a variety of tasks, are on call for 24 hours, have limited rest day, if at all, and are prone to physical abuse. There have been cases of foreign domestic workers developing diseases like cancer or brain tumors, because of overwork, severe lack of rest and stress.

How do we counter these attacks and how do they support development?

We can counter these attacks by raising the consciousness of migrants, organizing them and having them participate in actual development discourses that affect them. In 2017, the Hong Kong government decided to strike off cleaning window exteriors from the list of tasks for foreign domestic workers as a result of the migrant domestic workers' campaign against it. The campaign has been going on for some years and in fact, several cases of accidents and deaths related to this task have been documented. They conducted education and awareness campaigns on the ground, talked with local trade unions, women's associations and other local groups and encourage them to support them in the campaign, and lobbied their respective home country governments as well. The Hong Kong government was forced to come up with a new contract to reflect this decision, a win for the organized migrant domestic workers.

One thing we learn in movement building is that rights of people are not given freely or on a silver platter. It is only through the collective assertion and struggle of a people organized, them working together in associations, unions or organizations, in alliances or platforms, that they can affect change and gain the victories for their demands.

Migrants and diaspora are not only recipients or at the receiving end of development. They too can also be actors contributing to the development process.

Annex A: Program

October 7, 2019

Time	Session	Facilitators
8:30 – 9:00 am	Registration	
9:00 – 9:30 am	RoA-AP Steering Committee Meeting Welcome Remarks Discussion of Agenda Secretariat's Report on Strategic Plan	Sarah Torres, Reality of Aid – Asia Pacific
9:30 – 10:00 am	Steering Committee Introductions	
10:0 – 12:15 pm	Planning Proper: • Policy & Advocacy • Program & Fundraising • Research & Publication • Network Management • Communications	
12:15 – 12:30 pm	Closing & Announcements	
12:30 – 1:30 pm	Lunch	
2:00 – 2:10 pm	Welcome Remarks	Jay Hung, Taiwan Aid
2:10 – 2:20 pm	Introduction: On the Shrinking Civic Space in Development Cooperation	Jodel Dacara, CPDE
2:20 – 4:00 pm	Multi-stakeholder Dialogue with Donors	Serena Chang, Taiwan Aid
4:00 – 4:30 pm	Closing & Announcements	Sarah Torres, Reality of Aid – Asia Pacific
4:30 – 5:00 pm	Break	
5:00 – 5:30 pm	Guided Tour of Women's Center	Women's Center
5:30 – 7:30 pm	Dinner	

October 8, 2019

Time	Session	Speaker
8:30 – 9:00 am	Registration	
9:00 – 9:10 am	Welcome Remarks	Jay Hung
9:10 – 9:25 am	Keynote Speech (Video)	Atama Katama
9:25 – 10:00 am	Panel Session 1: "Country Experiences on Corporate Capture of Development" Moderator: Jodel Dacara	>Kariyawasam Thilak (South Asia) >Jennifer Guste (Southeast Asia) >Farida Abdyldaeva (Central Asia) >Urantsooj Gombosuren (Northeast Asia) >David Hesaie (Pacific) >Abed Al-Salehi (MENA)
10:00 – 10:15 am	Open Forum	
10:15 – 10:30 am	Break	
10:30 – 11:05 am	Panel Session 2: "Sectoral Experiences on the Attacks on People's Rights" Moderator: Sarah Torres	>Jenison Urikhimbam (IP) >Kurniawan Sabar (Rural) >Shanta Shrestha (Women) >Rey Asis (Migrants)
11:05 – 11:30 am	Open Forum	
11;30 – 11:45 am	Synthesis	Jahangir Masum
11:45 – 12:00 nn	Closing & Announcements	
12:00 – 1:00 pm	Lunch	
1:00 – 1:30 pm	International Financial Institutions: State of Play	Jiten Yumnam
1:30 – 2:15 pm	Workshop 1: Advocacy Planning Facilitator: Sarah Torres	
2:15 – 2:30 pm	Report Back	
2:30 – 3:15 pm	Workshop 2: Policy Recommendation Facilitator: Sarah Torres	

3:15 – 3:30 pm	Report Back	
3:30 – 4:00 pm	Synthesis	Kariyawasam Thilak
4:00 – 4:30 pm	Break	
4:30 – 4:40 pm	CPDE Asia Coordinating Committee Meeting Report	Nurgul Djanaeva
4:40 – 4:50 pm	Overview of Selection Process	Sarah Torres
4:50 – 5:00 pm	Election	
5:00- 5:10 pm	Speech	New CPDE Asia Focal
5:10 – 5:30 pm	Turnover Planning	
5:30 – 7:30 pm	Dinner	

October 9, 2019*

08:20-09:00	Registration
09:00-10:30	Envisioning Asia: Roundtable Dialogue
10:30-10:50	Coffee Break
10:50-12:20	Session IV: Transnational Cooperation and Asia's Civil Society
12:20-13:40	Luncheon Speech
13:40-15:10	Session V: Drawing Together-Transnational Perspectives on the International Collaboration of Culture
15:10-15:30	Coffee Break
15:30-17:00	Session VI: Think Tank and the Policy Cooperation-How to Response to the Challenge of the Rise of Populism in the Indo-Pacific
17:00-17:20	Coffee Break
17:20-18:50	Session VII: New Generation Leaders for Societal Change in Asia
18:50-20:00	Farewell Dinner

*2019 Yushan Forum: Asian Dialogue for Innovation and Progress: "Deepening Progressive Partnership in Asia"

Annex B: International Monetary Fund-World Bank

WORKSHEET | WORKSHOP 1
ADVOCACY PLANNING

Arena	IMF-WB
Project	Teesta III 1200 mw Hydro Electric Project at Sikkim, Northeast India Cost: US $1.4B Project Start: Since 2017, ongoing The Government claims that the project is Clean, Green, and Renewable, thus the carbon credit.
Vision of Change *State the overall goal you want to achieve as a result of your advocacy.*	Hold IMF-WB, the government and contracting companies accountable for the human rights violations and to make them address negative impacts to compensate affected stakeholders through national & local legal norms & special state programs.
Advocacy Change Objectives *State specific, concrete and measureable changes you want to bring about that supports the achievement of your vision of change.*	
• Ensure accountability and transparency of the government, the IMF-WB and contracting company • Demand for all relevant information be made accessible • Properly assess impacts of the development project • Ensure regulatory mechanisms and laws/legal norms to protect affected communities • Challenge the concept of Clean & Renewable Energy and stop profiteering on carbon footprint • Ensure ownership and inclusive participation of local groups in the planning and decision-making processes • Ensure that the impacts of the other aspects of transmission are assessed, not only the dam itself	

Target Audience & Key Message
Outline the key messages for each target audience and advocacy channel or format that you will use to reach your target in order to achieve your desired change.

Target Audience	Key Message	Advocacy Channel/Format
1. Local Government Units, Parliament, National Government, Courts	• The government, especially LGUs, as duty-bearer, must defend the peoples' rights	Face to Face Meeting/s, Submit FFM Report
2. Human Rights Commission	• Properly assess impacts of the development project • Ensure regulatory mechanisms and laws/legal norms to protect affected communities	Face to Face Meeting/s, Submit FFM Report
3. IFIs and Contracting Corporations	• Challenge the concept of Clean & Renewable Energy and stop profiteering on carbon footprint • Demand for all relevant information be made accessible • Address negative impacts to compensate affected stakeholders	Dialogue in multi-stakeholder processes, People's Action
4.Media & Civil Society	• Support ownership and inclusive participation of local groups in the planning and decision-making processes	Awareness raising, Networking, Documentation, Launch FFM
5. Local Communities	• Hold government & IMF-WB accountable • Demand transparency	Awareness raising, Organize ISM

WORKSHEET | WORKSHOP 2
POLICY RECOMMENDATION

Arena	IMF-WB
Project	Teesta III 1200 mw Hydro Electric Project
Statement	Hold IMF-WB, the government and contracting companies accountable for the human rights violations and to make them address negative impacts to compensate affected stakeholders through national & local legal norms & special state programs.
Advocacy Objective	Ensure all development actors are made accountable to the people, especially to communities affected by the development project

Activities *Outline the activities you will do to achieve each of your advocacy*	National Government & LGUs
Policy Recommendations *Write policy recommendations for each of the activities you outlined.*	• Make open pre-evaluation process, impact assessment • Provide info on development projects • Consultation with the communities and take the consent of communities • Stop state-sponsored attacks • Establish a strong accountability mechanism with continuous & participatory monitoring process • Make legal reforms & create laws for safety nets • Monitoring all throughout the project
Milestones *Provide the measures of success of each of these activities.*	• Policy change & start of legal reform • Consultation with communities & assessment
Potential Partners *Identify the actors you intend to collaborate with.*	LGUs, CSOs, people's orgs, mass orgs, Human Rights Defenders, media, academia, politicians, HR Commissions, Legal fraternity
Timeframe *When do you intend to conduct these activities?*	2020
Resources Needed *Which technical, material and human resources will you need?*	CPDE, local expertise, media reports

Activities *Outline the activities you will do to achieve each of your advocacy*	IFIs & Private Sector
Policy Recommendations *Write policy recommendations for each of the activities you outlined.*	• Stop financing companies & projects with records of HR violations • Assessment of impacts with the communities • Rehabilitate and resettlement of communities prior to the project commencement • For IFIs to apply their safeguard standards and other applicable human rights, indigenous peoples, and development standards • Establish grievance mechanisms at the project level • IFI to stop financing unsustainable and climate unfriendly projects. • Hold multi stakeholder dialogues and take into account the feedback of the community
Milestones *Provide the measures of success of each of these activities.*	• Reforms on financing projects • Consultation with community • Participatory impact assessment • Stopping financing unsustainable projects like mega dams
Potential Partners *Identify the actors you intend to collaborate with.*	LGUs, CSOs, Human Rights Defenders, Media, Academia, Legal Fraternity
Timeframe *When do you intend to conduct these activities?*	2020
Resources Needed *Which technical, material and human resources will you need?*	CPDE, local experts

Annex B: Asian Development Bank

WORKSHEET | WORKSHOP 1
ADVOCACY PLANNING

Arena	ADB
Project	Road Expansion in Manipur, India (Trans Asian Highway)
Vision of Change *State the overall goal you want to achieve as a result of your advocacy.*	• Ensure environment and social safeguards of the development project • Displacement without compensation, relocation, rehabilitation of the people of the villages that is split by the road. Jum cultivation (shifting crop in forest) is affected, food security of people is affected. • Ensure right to involuntary displacement • Secure natural resources • Check if the EIA/SIA is conducted or not to assess the effects on the people's lives and the environment • Development project should be people and environment friendly • Vulnerable peoples' voices should to be heard • Benefit of the development project serve only very few people, so we need to reframe the concept of development
Advocacy Change Objectives *State specific, concrete and measureable changes you want to bring about that supports the achievement of your vision of change.*	
• Community-inclusive-supportive project engagement/participatory project • Making sure the natural resources are safeguarded for the interest of the people of India	

Target Audience & Key Message *Outline the key messages for each target audience and advocacy channel or format that you will use to reach your target in order to achieve your desired change.*		
Target Audience	Key Message	Advocacy Channel/Format
1. Government official related to the ADB project	• To check the documents if they have complied with EIA • To compensate the affected population by the project	Public hearing, fact finding, documentation, research, complaints submission, working group of business and human rights, peer review
2. Affected population	• To assess the impact on their own livelihood and the environment • Raise voice about their rights	Awareness building in the community
3. CSO groups	• Mobilize the organizations of the affected population • Initiate consultations in favour of the community and the environment • The whole of India should be aware of the impacts of the project	CSO networking

WORKSHEET | WORKSHOP 2
POLICY RECOMMENDATION

Arena	ADB
Project	Road Expansion in Manipur, India (Trans Asian Highway)
Statement	Community-inclusive-supportive project engagement/ participatory project
Advocacy Objective	Community-inclusive-supportive project engagement/ participatory project

Activities *Outline the activities you will do to achieve each of your advocacy*	Peope's Tribunal/ Social Audit
Policy Recommendations *Write policy recommendations for each of the activities you outlined.*	Raising peoples' demands to ensure the peoples' safeguards
Milestones *Provide the measures of success of each of these activities.*	Rehabilitation, Relocation, and Restoration Plan should be developed and implemented
Potential Partners *Identify the actors you intend to collaborate with.*	CSOs, HR Commission, Government, Local Community, Lawyers, Academia, Media, ADB
Timeframe *When do you intend to conduct these activities?*	1 year
Resources Needed *Which technical, material and human resources will you need?*	Human Resource to develop a concept of the peoples tribunal; and Funding

Annex B: Asian Development Bank

WORKSHEET | WORKSHOP 1
ADVOCACY PLANNING

Arena	AIIB
Project	MANDALIKA Project - Tourism and Development Project in Lombok Island, Indonesia
Vision of Change *State the overall goal you want to achieve as a result of your advocacy.*	People-centered and rights-based development approach to IFI-funded projects. (coming from the needs of the country according the peoples' vision of development)
Advocacy Change Objectives *State specific, concrete and measureable changes you want to bring about that supports the achievement of your vision of change.*	
• People are consulted in the crafting of development plans. There should be democratic ownership of development plans. • Ensure implementation standards – safeguard policies on the environment and social impacts, gender responsive: there should be no land-grabbing and eviction in the name of infrastructure development. • Demand accountability standards according to the four principles of development effectiveness.	

Target Audience & Key Message *Outline the key messages for each target audience and advocacy channel or format that you will use to reach your target in order to achieve your desired change.*		
Target Audience	Key Message	Advocacy Channel/Format
1. Local Government Units	• LGUs must be in the forefront of defending its constituents' human rights.	Face to Face Meeting/s

2. Policy makers	• Policy makers (including legislators) should have the people's interest as primary consideration in project planning and implementation.	Lobbying and dialogues; interventions at the national development strategy plan
3. Other CSOs and stakeholders	• CSOs and stakeholders must unite for a common position in the common goal of asserting the people's rights.	Public fora; public hearings; FFMs; mobilizations
4. International CSOs	• International CSOs and stakeholders must unite for a common position in the common goal of asserting the people's rights.	International fora; IFFMs
5. Local media and international media		Media forum; invite local/ international media to visit affected communities to amplify campaign

WORKSHEET | WORKSHOP 2
POLICY RECOMMENDATION

Arena	AIIB
Project	AIIB projects I Indonesia, Ph, Myanmar
Statement	IFIs should recognize the disadvantaged peoples' rights to pro-poor, participatory, people-responsive, and inclusive, sustainable development.
Advocacy Objective	People are consulted in the crafting of development plans. There should be democratic ownership of development plans.

Activities *Outline the activities you will do to achieve each of your advocacy*	• Collect messages from communities, CSOs from countries of the region (identify priorities, perspectives and key messages) and development a campaign around. • Implement the campaign • Research so we can present alternatives. • Country-based dialogue • Multilevel, multi-stakeholder campaign
Policy Recommendations *Write policy recommendations for each of the activities you outlined.*	• Ensure civic space and access to aid information • Disaggregated data to "leave no one behind" • Ensure the principles of "do no harm"
Milestones *Provide the measures of success of each of these activities.*	• Public movement to watch AIIB and other IFIs • No to landgrabbing, no to eviction • Multi-stakeholders consultations for getting consensus among the local community
Potential Partners *Identify the actors you intend to collaborate with.*	Other CSOs at the local, regional and global levels Local communities, academia, parliamentarians, sympathetic businesses
Timeframe *When do you intend to conduct these activities?*	2019 - 2021
Resources Needed *Which technical, material and human resources will you need?*	• Financial • Technical trainings • Network for coordinating with regional CSOs • Publishing reports as baseline for monitoring