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Implementation of the Commission Communication on the EU's Role in Promoting Human Rights and Democratisation in Third Countries (COM (2001) 252 final)

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I. INTRODUCTION

The Commission Communication on *The European Union's role in promoting human rights and democratisation in third countries*¹ established an ambitious set of proposals for improving the EU's approach to human rights and democratisation questions, with an emphasis on enhancing coherence and consistency, ensuring a higher priority for the issue within EU external action and instituting a more strategic approach to the European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR).

The General Affairs and External Relations Council (GAERC) welcomed the Commission Communication in its Conclusions of 25th June 2001 and underlined the goals of coherence and consistency, the mainstreaming of human rights and democratisation in EU action and openness. On 10th December 2002, GAERC endorsed the concrete steps identified in a report by the Council Working Group on Human Rights (COHOM) to realise these goals, including improvement of the work of COHOM, reinforcement of the role of Heads of Mission and more meaningful engagement with the European Parliament, civil society and key international organisations.

With almost three years having elapsed since the adoption of the Communication, this Working Paper takes stock of developments in EU policy on human rights and democratisation and of the progress made in implementing the proposals identified in the Communication (including the "Action Points" enumerated in Annex 2 of the Communication).

II. MAINSTREAMING HUMAN RIGHTS AND DEMOCRATISATION ISSUES

2.1 The EU Policy Context

The effective mainstreaming of human rights and democratisation issues throughout EU policies, dialogue and funding requires a solid policy foundation. That policy foundation finds its articulation in the adoption of EU instruments - such as Common Positions, Guidelines, Council Conclusions and Statements – and in the EU's active role in international and regional fora dealing with human rights. A significant number of EU instruments have addressed human rights concerns since the adoption of the Communication.

CFSP instruments: the EU Annual Report on Human Rights² includes an overview each year of EU instruments which have been adopted in the field of human rights. Common positions adopted since 2001 incorporating human rights elements for countries, regions or themes include: Afghanistan; human rights, democratic principles, rule of law and good governance in Africa; conflict prevention, management and resolution in Africa; Angola; Burma/Myanmar; Cuba; conflict prevention and illicit traffic in diamonds; DRC; Federal Republic of Yugoslavia; the International Criminal Court; Liberia; Nigeria; Rwanda; Sierra Leone; Somalia; the Western Balkans and Zimbabwe.

¹ 8th May 2001 COM (2001) 252 final

Available at: http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/human_rights/doc/index.htm

EU Guidelines: Guidelines have served to draw together the tools available under the CFSP (including dialogue, démarches and action in international fora) and Community instruments (for example EC funding programmes) in an effort to maximise the impact of EU action. The first set of Guidelines on a specific human rights issue were those regarding the death penalty adopted by the General Affairs Council in 1998, followed by the Guidelines against torture of April 2001. Two sets of Guidelines have been approved by the Council since the adoption of the Communication: Human Rights Dialogues (December 2001) and Children and Armed Conflict (December 2003). The Guidelines on Human Rights Dialogues pledge the EU to raising human rights "in all future meetings and discussions with third countries and at all levels...". They provide an overview of existing bilateral and regional exchanges and set out criteria for the initiation, conduct and assessment of dedicated dialogues on human rights. Provision is also made to ensure consistency with EU Member States' dialogues. A new human rights dialogue with Iran was launched in December 2002 on the basis of the Guidelines.

The Guidelines on Children and Armed Conflict constitute an important commitment to use the tools at the EU's disposal to address the short, medium and long term impact of armed conflict on children, including through monitoring and reporting by EU Heads of Mission, démarches, political dialogue, multilateral co-operation and crisis management operations. As an initial response to the Guidelines, the Commission has prepared an "audit" of Community support for relevant projects³ which concludes that an area where future funding should be considered (under the European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR)) is advocacy, awareness-raising and training on international obligations.

In the course of 2003, efforts were undertaken to intensify the implementation of the Guidelines against Torture through the elaboration of a Global Action Plan which distils information from Heads of Mission reports on torture, sets out a timetable for dialogue with specific third countries and indicates projects currently funded by the EC.

EU positions in international and regional human rights fora: the EU has continued to play a pivotal role in the UN Commission on Human Rights (CHR) and UNGA Third Committee, tabling a wide range of country and thematic initiatives. The disappointing results at the 58th CHR in 2002 – with the rejection of EU resolutions on Zimbabwe, Chechnya and Iran – prompted the EU to introduce improvements in its preparations. These include the adoption by GAERC of general orientations for the EU's approach to the CHR and the Third Committee, shorter resolutions and early finalisation of draft texts in order to provide additional time for lobbying on the ground in Geneva and New York. Nonetheless, 2003 and 2004 also saw several defeats for EU resolutions at the CHR and reflections continue as to how the EU and like-minded States might influence CHR decision-making more effectively. In addition to indicating likely EU initiatives, GAERC Conclusions have emphasised the importance attached by the EU to the UN special mechanisms and its opposition to the use of no-action motions, which serve to stifle debate on human rights in particular third countries. The GAERC Conclusions on CHR in 2003 were also accompanied by specific conclusions regarding the EU's position on China and Iran.

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Which has been presented to COHOM and to the EIDHR Management Committee and is available at: http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/human_rights/child/index.htm

2.2 The European Parliament: a strong voice for human rights

The European Parliament has continued to contribute strongly to debate and action on EU human rights policy. In the period since 2001, the Parliament has adopted resolutions and reports in this field and undertaken a range of other measures:

Reports: the Parliament has adopted annual reports on human rights in the world, which examine particular human rights themes and address recommendations to the Council and Commission⁴. Major issues dealt with since 2001 include freedom of expression, minority rights in the context of EU Enlargement, terrorism and human rights, modern slavery, freedom of religion and the human rights clause in EC agreements. As regards the latter, the Parliament adopted a separate report in March 2002 by Mme Diaz Gonzalez MEP on the *European Union's role in promoting human rights and democratisation in third countries* which focused on a proposed code of conduct to govern the relations between the EU and over 120 States to which the human rights clause applies as an essential element of various Community agreements;

Resolutions: Parliament adopts annual resolutions with recommendations on the country and thematic priorities which the EU should pursue at the CHR⁶. It has adopted resolutions on human rights issues in particular third countries and regions, such as the resolution on the detainees in Guantanamo Bay of 7th February 2002⁷, on the abolition of capital punishment in Japan, South Korea and Taiwan of 13th June 2002⁸ and on Cuba of 4th September 2003⁹. It has also adopted resolutions regarding individuals subject to human rights violations, such as the resolution of 5th September 2002 on Mr Saad Eddin Ibrahim¹⁰, on major human rights events such as the World Conference against Racism in Durban¹¹ and important human rights themes, for example a July 2003 resolution on the trafficking of children and child soldiers¹². The ACP-EU Joint Parliamentary assembly also held their first debate on child rights in 2003, adopting a resolution on children's rights and child soldiers¹³;

Delegations and Hearings: Parliament has dispatched delegations to scrutinise specific human rights situations, for example missions to the re-trial of Leyla Zana in Turkey in 2002 and 2003, to China and Tibet in 2002, Iran in 2002 and Chechnya in 2003. MEPs have also participated in major human rights events such as the World Conference Against Racism in 2001, the World Summit for Sustainable Development in 2002 and the Indigenous Peoples' Permanent Forum in New York in 2003;

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Report for 2000 by M. Wuori adopted in May 2001 (A5-0193/2001); report for 2001 by Mr Van Hecke adopted in April 2002 (A5-0106/2002); report for 2002 by Mr Van Den Bos adopted in July 2003 (A5-0274)

⁵ A5-0084/2002

B5-0035/2002 of 7th February 2002; P5_TA(2003)0034 of 30th January 2003 and B5-0050/2004 of 10th February 2004.

⁷ B5-0066/2002

⁸ P5 TA92002) 0332

⁹ P5 TA(2003)0374

P5 TA (2002) 0410

Resolution B5-0605 of 3rd October 2001

^{12 03/07/2003,} P5-TA-PROV(2003)0334

ACP-EU Joint Parliamentary Assembly resolution on child rights and child soldiers in particular ACP-EU 3587/03/fin

Sakharov Prize for Freedom Of Thought: this high-profile award was presented to Nurit Peled-Elhanan from Israel, Izzat Ghazzawi from Palestine and Don Zacarias Kamuenho from Angola (2001); Oswaldo José Paya Sardinas from Cuba, author of the Varela Project (2002) and UN staff and Secretary-General Kofi Annan in 2003.¹⁴

2.3 Engagement on human rights and democratisation with third countries

2.3.1 Dialogue with third countries and the "essential elements" clause

The Communication examined the comprehensive range of regional and bilateral dialogues in which the EU is engaged, and the role of the human rights "essential elements" clause in promoting consideration of human rights and democracy in contacts with third countries. The Communication pledges the Commission to addressing human rights in all its dialogues with third countries, a point subsequently reinforced by the *EU Guidelines on Human Rights Dialogues* of 13th December 2001. The Communication emphasises that successful dialogue requires the establishment of goals, depending on local circumstances. "Essential elements" clauses have been included in a range of bilateral and regional agreements concluded since the Communication was adopted and the EU's engagement on human rights and democratisation issues with third countries has been buttressed by extensive provision for cooperation under Country and Regional Strategy Papers, National Indicative Programmes and bilateral and multilateral budget lines. Moreover, innovative mechanisms have been introduced with respect to several Asian and Mediterranean countries in order to structure exchanges on human rights more effectively. Examples of developments since May 2001 include:

(i) Asia: the Council has endorsed several Commission communications setting down strategic recommendations for relations with Asia which include a central reference to human rights and democratisation¹⁵. The promotion of human rights and democracy has been a regular feature of the political dialogue of the EU with Asian countries. The EU has conducted, since 1996, a specific human rights dialogue with China. Human rights issues have also been addressed within the framework of ASEM. In 2001, Bangladesh was the first country to agree to an institutionalised dialogue on human rights and governance issues in the framework of the EC-Bangladesh Joint Commission. The first sub- group meeting was held in 2003. In 2003, the Commission and the government of Vietnam agreed to set up a specific sub-group on institution building, administrative reform, governance and human rights. Similarly, in 2004 the Commission agreed with Laos to establish an informal working group dealing with these matters. A preliminary study is being undertaken in order to create a solid basis for the discussion. Such sub-groups provide an opportunity for in-depth exchanges on human rights issues between EU and third country officials, including identification of further support for human rights projects;

For further details of developments during the 5th Parliamentary Term of the Parliament (1999-2004) see the Explananatory Statement to the EP Annual Report on human rights in the world 2003 (Rapporteur: Ms De Keyser) adopted in April 2004

Communication Asie 2001: COM(2001) 469 final of 4/9/2001

http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/asia/doc/com01_469_en.pdf
Communication SE Asia 2003: COM(2003) 399/4 of 9/7/2003

http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/asia/doc/com03_sea.pdf

[&]quot;A maturing partnership: shared interests and challenges in EU-China relations": COM (2003) 533 final

(ii) Africa: the Cotonou agreement with 79 African, Caribbean and Pacific countries came into force on 1st April 2003 and replaces the Lomé Convention. The agreement incorporates a more comprehensive version of the human rights clause, providing for an obligatory consultation procedure to precede any possible suspension of an agreement (other than in exceptional cases of "particularly serious and flagrant violation" of one of the essential elements, where suspension may be effected immediately). In addition, the Cotonou Agreement establishes a political dialogue under Article 8 which allows human rights and democratisation issues to be addressed regularly. EU action taken on the basis of the Common Position on human rights, democratic principles, the rule of law and good governance in Africa¹⁶ (adopted in May 1998) is reviewed every six months, with the Council taking stock of EU démarches, declarations and other activities related to human rights and democratisation issues. The Council also adopted a Common Position on conflict prevention, management and resolution in Africa in May 2001¹⁷ which was revised in 2004. The Commission Communication of 2003 on the EU-Africa dialogue¹⁸ identifies the promotion of human rights, democracy and the rule of law as a priority theme of the dialogue (citing these as "essential elements" of EU policy and central values of the AU and NEPAD) and takes stock of discussions in three related areas: trafficking in human beings, support for African institutions and the fight against corruption. The EU has strongly supported efforts of the African Union (AU) to promote human rights, including through a €1.9 million project under the 2003 EIDHR to strengthen the AU's capacity in relation to democratisation processes, governance and human rights. There were also 15 focus countries from Africa identified for EIDHR support in 2004;

(iii) **South Eastern Europe:** the core EU vehicle for promoting human rights and democratisation in the region is the Stabilisation and Association Process. Annual reports prepared by the Commission have included analysis of progress on these issues since 2002¹⁹. In addition to incorporating references to human rights and democratic stabilisation in the individual Country Strategy Papers for the five countries, the CARDS Regional Strategy Paper for 2002-2006 (adopted in October 2001) identifies support to democratic stabilisation to cement democratic advances and boost the role of civil society as one of the four areas for support from the €197 million available for 2002-2004. The Stabilisation and Association Agreements (so far signed with FYROM in March 2001 and with Croatia in July 2001) include respect for human rights and democratic principles as an essential element of the agreement;

(iv) Latin America: with the signature of the Political Dialogue and Co-operation Agreements with the Andean Community and the five Central American States in December 2003, the EU has now concluded second or third generation agreements with all Latin American countries²⁰, except with the Members of Mercosur (negotiations on Association Agreement are still ongoing). These agreements contain the 'essential element clause' and substantial provisions on human rights and democracy, allowing for far-reaching activities through political dialogue and co-operation initiatives.

¹⁶ 98/350/CFSP

^{17 2001/374/}CFSP

¹⁸ COM/2003/0316

see http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/see/sap/rep3/index.htm

Association Agreement with Chile, Political Dialogue and Co-operation Agreement with Andean Community (Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Venezuela) and Central America (Costa Rica, Panama, Honduras, Nicaragua, El Salvador), Economic Partnership, Political Co-ordination and Co-operation Agreement with Mexico

The last EU-LAC summit in Guadalajara, Mexico, in May 2004 confirmed the importance that both regions attach to co-operation and dialogue on human rights and democracy. The EC intends to focus co-operation on: (1) effective access to justice and effective functioning of the judiciary, (2) political and social inclusion of the high percentage of indigenous people among Latin America's population and (3) helping to translate existing human rights legislation into practice. In the period 2002-2004, the EIDHR has provided support for 52 projects located in 15 Latin American countries, with a total contribution of over €38 million.

- (iv) Mediterranean: during 2001 and 2002 new Association agreements incorporating the essential elements clause have been concluded or entered into force with Egypt, Lebanon, Algeria and Jordan. The MEDA Regional Strategy Paper for 2002-2006 includes enhancing the rule of law and good governance as one of the five regional priority areas. Drawing on the Communication of 2001, the Commission Communication of 21st May 2003 on « Reinvigorating EU actions on human rights and democratisation with Mediterranean partners » constitutes a major contribution to efforts to mainstream human rights, as it is the first time that the EU's global human rights policy has been specifically applied to a regional context. The Communication forwards 10 concrete recommendations to upgrade knowledge and expertise, improve the dialogue between the EU and its Mediterranean partners, as well as to enhance co-operation on human rights issues, including through the development of MEDA National Action Plans on human rights and democracy with those partners willing to engage in such an exercise. The Communication has been warmly welcomed by the Council, which in early December 2003 adopted specific conclusions on this document. A number of Mediterranean partners, such as Morocco and Jordan, are actively considering the possibility of instituting a specific sub-committee on human rights and democratisation issues under their respective Association Agreements with the EU.
- (v) **Russia:** a first informal human rights dialogue meeting with Russia took place on 20 February 2004. Strategy in the UN Commission on Human Rights (CHR) and UN General Assembly Third Committee was discussed. Both sides expressed an interest in establishing regular informal exchanges on human rights issues. The Commission Communication to the Council and the European Parliament on relations with Russia of 9th February 2004²¹ underlined the importance of human rights in the EU-Russia dialogue and the internal assessment report adopted by the Council adopted on 23rd February 2004 included significant references to human rights;
- (vi) **Turkmenistan** an EU ad hoc meeting on human rights matters with Turkmenistan took place on 21 January 2004. The EU addressed a number of the issues of concern set out in the two UN resolutions (co-sponsored by EU and US) that were adopted in 2003;
- (vii) **European Neighbourhood Policy** in the framework of implementation of the "European Neighbourhood" policy, the Commission is committed to ensuring that human rights and democratisation issues are fully taken into account in the political chapter of the Action Plans, to be jointly drawn up with the Union's Eastern and Southern neighbours.

2.4 Human Rights and Democracy in EC policy areas

The Commission Communication underlined the scope for including human rights and democratisation objectives in a wide range of policy areas, including environment and trade. That potential has been demonstrated in several initiatives.

2.4.1 Trade and Corporate developments

(i) Core Labour Standards and the Generalised System of Preferences (GSP): the Commission's 2001 Communication on Promoting Core Labour Standards and improving Social Governance in the Context of Globalisation²² inter alia suggested a range of trade policy initiatives based on a recognition of the universality of core labour standards. This approach was subsequently endorsed by the General Affairs Council on 21st July 2003. Since the 2001 Communication, the Commission has promoted its general approach to the link between trade and core labour standards based on the effective application of core labour standards through positive instruments and an incentive-based approach. The EU is firmly opposed, as a general rule, to any sanctions-based approaches and initiatives to use labour rights for protectionist purposes. In parallel, the Commission has worked on the implementation of a number of concrete initiatives both in the multilateral and the bilateral spheres, including through the WTO (for example, the Trade Policy Review Mechanism) - with regard to the GSP - and in bilateral and regional relations with developing countries, where it has continued to include specific provisions on core labour standards in bilateral agreements, following the Cotonou example which contains such a provision.

The EU's GSP, as currently implemented through Council Regulation (EC) No 2501/2001, is based on an incentive approach to labour rights. In exceptional cases it also allows sanctions in the form of temporary withdrawal of trade preferences. The special incentive scheme for protection of labour rights requires application of all standards referred to in the ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work. The scheme is available to countries on request. Currently, the arrangement has been granted to Moldova and Sri Lanka and four requests are pending. The GSP scheme includes a list of the circumstances in which preferences may be temporarily withdrawn in whole or in part (including the practice of slavery and violation of trade union rights). In 2003, the Commission determined that reports regarding systematic and serious violations of freedom of association and the right to collective bargaining in Belarus were well-founded and commenced an investigation which is expected to be completed by the end of 2004. In 1997 GSP preferences were withdrawn from Burma/Myanmar for the practice of forced labour.

DG TRADE is preparing a Communication on the new GSP decade to be finalised in July. One possibility under consideration is the establishment of certain criteria for evaluating the human rights situation in a given country (including the need for ratification of the six main UN human rights treaties) as a pre-requisite for the granting of preferences.

(ii) **Anti-Torture trade proposal**: the Commission adopted a proposal on 31st December 2002 for a draft Council regulation to ban or control the export and import of certain categories of instruments which could be used for torture and for the application of the death penalty. The proposal is in line with the EU Guidelines against torture and the resolutions of the UN Commission on Human Rights (CHR) of 2001, 2002 and 2003 on torture, which

²² COM(2001) 416 final

called, inter alia, for UN Member States to take appropriate steps to prevent and prohibit the export of equipment designed to inflict torture. It also responds to an European Parliament resolution on this issue, adopted on 3rd October 2001. The Commission will shortly adopt an amended proposal which reflects comments relating to technical trade aspects received from EU Member States on the initial proposal.

(iii) Conflict diamonds: since the beginning of 2003, the European Community has been implementing the Kimberley Process certification scheme (KPCS) on the basis of Regulation (EC) No 2368/2002, adopted by Council on 20 December 2002. The Kimberley Process is a multilateral initiative bringing together governments, the diamond industry and NGOs, with the aim of eradicating the trade in conflict diamonds which has contributed to countless deaths and severe human rights violations in a number of African countries. The Scheme seeks to ensure that no conflict diamonds are traded by requiring that all diamond shipments are accompanied by special certificates, by banning all trade in rough diamonds with nonparticipants, and by requiring all participants to respect certain minimum standards in diamond production and trade. In October 2003, at the Plenary meeting held in Sun City (South Africa), the KPCS achieved a major breakthrough towards ensuring that its minimum standards are respected universally, when it reached agreement on a comprehensive system of 'peer review', comprising annual reporting, voluntary 'review visits' to individual participants, and 'review missions' to participants where there are indications of significant non-compliance with the KPCS. The EC (represented by the Commission), as Chair of the Kimberley Process Working Group on Monitoring, will work closely with the new Chair of the Kimberley Process (Canada) to ensure the fullest possible implementation of this peer review system in 2004.

(iv) **Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR):** the Commission Communication on Human Rights and Democratisation noted that "the EU should also encourage other global actors, such as multi-national corporations, to play a full part in increasing respect for human rights world-wide". On 2 July 2002, the Commission adopted a Communication on CSR - A business contribution to Sustainable Development ²³ following the Green Paper - Promoting a European framework for Corporate Social Responsibility, of June 2001²⁴. A new "European Multi-Stakeholder Forum" on CSR was launched on 16th October 2002 in Brussels by Commissioners Liikanen and Diamantopoulou and brings together a wide range of EU-level organisations representing business networks, trade unions and NGOs. The forum aims to promote the development of CSR by shaping a common EU approach and guiding principles on the issue. The forum will present a report on its work to the Commission, by the summer of 2004. The Commission will then evaluate the report and decide on further action.

Thematic Round Tables have been set up to implement the Forum Work Programme. One of these Round Tables is addressing the international/development dimension of CSR, including the role of multinational enterprises in promoting human rights, democratisation, core labour standards, gender equality, education, health care, good governance, and environmental protection. Round Table sessions took place between February and April and June to September 2003.

²³ COM (2002) 347 final COM(2001) 366).

2.5 Human Rights aspects in EC External Assistance: Country Strategy Papers; Election Assistance and Observation and Conflict Prevention

2.5.1 Country Strategy Papers

The Communication foresees an important role for **Country Strategy Papers** (CSPs). Through the inclusion of analysis of human rights and democracy, CSPs can provide a useful resource for dialogue and a springboard for the inclusion of effective funding for human rights and democratisation projects in external assistance programmes. Many CSPs include a thorough analysis of these issues. However, as Commissioner Patten underlined in his speech on "Current and future trends in the human rights agenda" of 14th July 2003, whilst there are good examples of CSPs and National Indicative Programmes factoring in human rights and democratisation, such as those established for Afghanistan, further efforts are required to ensure satisfactory coverage of the issue in all CSPs. Periodic reviews, including the MidTerm reviews in 2003-4, will provide the scope for this to happen. The development of EU human rights fact sheets may also provide a useful contribution for the further development of CSPs (see s. 3.1.2 (iii) below).

2.5.2 Election Assistance and Observation

A specific Communication on Election Assistance and Observation was adopted by the Commission in 2000 and endorsed by the European Parliament and the Council in 2001. The Communication introduced a series of new policy prescriptions and detailed recommendations for a more coherent and effective policy for election support. A Working Document was prepared by the Commission Services on the implementation of the Communication on Election Assistance and Observation; this report was transmitted to the Council on 19 December 2003 and to the European Parliament. The Working Document is available at http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/human_rights/doc/index.htm

Election observation constitutes an important priority under the European Initiative. In addition to election assistance and funding provided by other EC instruments, approximately 14 million euros per year are allocated from the EIDHR for election observation activities. These funds cover mainly the deployment of EU Election Observation Missions. Between May 2000 and May 2004, the EU deployed election observation missions for 31 elections in 23 countries. In 2003 alone, the EU observed a series of elections in Rwanda, Nigeria, Cambodia, Guatemala and Mozambique. Currently election observation missions are deployed in Malawi for Presidential and Parliamentary elections on May 18 and in Indonesia for Presidential Elections on July 5. Of these missions, two Cambodia 2002 and Mozambique 2003, covered local elections and one a referendum (Rwanda 2003). All other missions were deployed for Presidential or Parliamentary elections.

Election observation missions have had various achievements: they have provided the national electoral authorities and governments, as well as the EU with an informed assessment of the electoral process, they have contributed to stability, transparency and confidence in the countries observed and, more widely, have served to strengthen the profile, credibility and visibility of the EU in the field of election observation.

The European Initiative also finances through the Network of Europeans for Electoral Support (NEEDS) training seminars for EU election experts and observers, as well as capacity-building programmes for domestic NGOs. Finally, the EIDHR provides support to regional

organisations involved in election observation so that local capacities are strengthened in support of democratic processes.

2.5.3 Conflict prevention

Democracy and human rights questions are an integral part of the Commission's conflict prevention strategy and have been included as a key aspect of the Commission's Country Conflict Assessments covering more than 120 countries. Human rights projects are being supported from the 30 million euros available in 2003 for the Rapid Reaction Mechanism. Moreover, it is also clear that conflict prevention and conflict resolution are essential elements of the European Union's overall policy on promoting human rights and democratisation in third countries. The EIDHR has contributed to the realisation of these objectives by supporting the development of early warning, mediation, reconciliation and confidence-building measures implemented by grass-roots and international NGOs, the promotion of common training modules for civilian staff to be deployed in international missions, and the strengthening of the capacity of international, regional or local organisations involved in conflict prevention. Over 20 EIDHR projects for around €16m, explicitly targeting conflict prevention and resolution, are currently ongoing, whilst many other EIDHR projects have a potential impact on current or future conflicts that is difficult to quantify.

2.6 Training

Training is a pivotal tool in furthering awareness of human rights and democratisation issues amongst Commission staff and provides a solid basis for mainstreaming human rights and democratisation throughout policy and programming activities. In line with the Communication, the Commission has started to implement 3 distinct levels of training: basic

- (i) Basic human rights training for staff from External Relations Directorates-General, involving one day introductory courses for groups of 20 participants. In addition a half-day introduction to democracy and human rights for staff from EuropeAid and EC Delegations is conducted for groups of 35-40 participants five times per year (part of obligatory EuropeAid training from 2004);
- (ii) Advanced human rights training for Delegation staff (posted or in the context of preposting) and geographical desk officers. Three sessions were held in 2003, including one providing in-depth training on children's rights with the assistance of a high-level UNICEF representative;
- (iii) Specialised training on key human rights thematic issues for staff requiring expert knowledge of particular areas such as the rights of refugees, indigenous people and election observation;
- (iv) EuropeAid, with cooperation from other Directorates-General and relevant international organisations, has drafted a manual to mainstream good governance into external co-operation and development that includes clusters on human rights and democratisation. This document, with associated training, will become operative during 2004.

Training for Delegation staff is particularly important given the rolling programme of deconcentration of the management of Commission assistance programmes to Delegations across the world, with human rights macro-projects set to be deconcentrated in the second semester of 2004 and extension of human rights microprojects to 31 Delegations in EIDHR

focus countries due for completion in 2004. Planning of human rights training for 2004 has been co-ordinated with the Commission services responsible for training in Delegations in order to ensure wide participation from Delegation staff.

Human rights training is complemented by regular meetings of the *Commission Human Rights Inter-service Group* which furthers awareness on human rights inside the Commission. It draws together representatives from a wide range of Directorates-General²⁵, in order to exchange information and best practice in the field of human rights. At its meeting of 24th September 2003, the Inter-service Group decided to include fundamental rights within the EU as a question for regular consideration, a step which will serve to improve coherence within the Commission on cross-pillar human rights issues. Sub-groups on the rights of the child and the human rights of Roma also meet to coordinate on these specialised issues.

3. COHERENCE AND CONSISTENCY IN EU ACTION

3.1 Improved exchanges amongst the EU institutions and with EU Member States

This is an important aspect for improving coherence and consistency, with several developments since the adoption of the Communication.

3.1.1 The European Parliament

In addition to participating in the plenary debate on the European Parliament Annual Report on human rights in the world, the Commission has provided a comprehensive written reply to every relevant point raised in the report regarding EU policy and funding in the field of human rights. The multi-annual programming 2002-2004 for the EIDHR was also presented to the Parliament. The Commission regularly provides detailed responses to oral and written questions from the European Parliament on human rights and democratisation issues. The European Parliament also sends a delegation of MEPs to the annual NGO Forum on Human Rights (see 2.4.2 below). Moreover, COHOM has for the first time invited the Rapporteur for the European Parliament's report on human rights in the world for an exchange of views on the draft report.

3.1.2 The Council and EU Member States

- (i) Following extensive deliberations in the Council Working Group on Human Rights (COHOM), COREPER agreed to an extension of COHOM's mandate in December 2003, in order to create a "mixed-pillar" group with the competence to consider first and second pillar aspects of human rights and democracy questions in EU external relations. The move will serve to improve coherence and consistency between EC and EU action.
- (ii) The Human Rights and Democracy Committee is chaired by the Commission with participation by all EU Member States. The Commission has adopted a more dynamic approach to the Committee, which was previously focused on consideration of EIDHR project proposals. In addition to regular consideration of EIDHR programming and work plans, the Committee has provided the opportunity for more detailed exchanges on EIDHR issues,

The Group is jointly chaired by DG External Relations and DG Justice and Home Affairs with regular participants including EuropeAID, DG Employment and Social Affairs, DG Trade, DG Development, DG Internal Market and DG Research

including election observation priorities, the balance of funding accorded to prevention of torture and rehabilitation of torture victims, the effectiveness of mainstreaming children's rights and strategic co-operation with international organisations.

- (iii) Enhanced co-operation on human rights and democratisation issues between Member State Heads of Mission and Commission Heads of Delegation has included co-operation on comprehensive reports on torture, requested from all third countries in order to improve implementation of the *Guidelines to EU policy towards third countries on torture*, as well as cooperation in the context of drafting états des lieux under the Commission's Communication on "*Reinvigorating EU actions on human rights and democratisation with Mediterranean partners*". ²⁶ Co-operation with EU Heads of Mission has also been excellent during EU Election Observation Missions. Future co-operation is envisaged on EU human rights fact sheets, an innovation included in the COHOM report on the implementation of the follow-up to the GAERC Conclusions of 25th June 2001, which was endorsed by GAERC on 10th December 2002.
- (iv) The Council Secretariat and Commission are have co-operated on the possibility of developing a new inter-institutional website on human rights, building on co-operation in drafting the EU Annual Report on Human Rights. The new website was launched temporarily in December for the EU Human Rights Forum. Discussions continue on the scope for developing the site, with the launch of a dedicated page on the Europa site as an initial innovation.
- (v) The Commission continues to have difficulties in obtaining information from EU Member States regarding bilateral funding in the human rights field: further efforts are required to ensure that this aspect of complementarity is pursued more effectively. Similarly, there is scope to improve co-operation on the ground between projects financed by the EU and those financed by EU Member States.

3.2 Coherent use of EC and EU instruments to promote human rights and democratisation

Sections 2.1, 2.4 and 2.5 have set out developments in relation to EC and EU instruments. The effectiveness and impact of EU efforts to promote human rights and democratisation is maximised where the EU deploys the tools at its disposal in a coherent manner. Examples of coherence include:

- (i) **Burma/Myanmar** EU efforts to address the human rights situation on Burma/Myanmar in international fora with regular tabling of consensus resolutions on Burma/Myanmar in the annual sessions of UN Commission on Human Rights (CHR) and the UN General Assembly Third Committee are complemented by the Council common position on Burma/Myanmar (renewed in April 2003) which imposes measures against that country, including an arms embargo, the suspension of co-operation (other than humanitarian aid), a visa ban on members of the regime and a ban on the export of goods which might be used for internal repression or terrorism. As noted in s. 2.4.1, GSP preferences have also been withdrawn.
- (ii) **Zimbabwe** After undertaking consultations on the basis of the ACP-EU Partnership Agreement, the Council adopted a Common Position on **Zimbabwe** on 18th February 2002²⁷

²⁷ 2002/145/CFSP

²⁶ COM (2003) 294 final

which – in conjunction with a Council Regulation²⁸ - prohibited the sale of arms and related material, training and assistance, the supply of equipment which might be used for internal repression and the entry/transit of members of the regime. It also froze the funds and financial assets of the latter. The sanctions have subsequently been renewed, most recently on 19th February 2004.²⁹ The EU also introduced a resolution on Zimbabwe at the CHR in 2003 and 2004. On both occasions the resolution was unfortunately rejected by no-action motion.

(iii) International Criminal Court - Council Common Positions of 2001 and 2002 stress the strong commitment of the EU to promote the early establishment and effective functioning of the ICC and to advance universal support for the Court by promoting the widest possible participation in the Rome Statute. An EU Action Plan for the ICC was adopted by the Legal Affairs Working Group of the Council (COJUR) on 15 May 2002. It aimed to improve the coordination of EU activities, encourage the ratification of the Rome Statute in third countries (including through raising the issue in the negotiation of EU agreements and in Troika demarches) and speed up the effective establishment of the ICC. The Action Plan was originally an idea tabled by Sweden during its Presidency and was also a response to a European Parliament resolution of 28 February 2002 on the ICC. On 16th June 2003 the Council adopted a revised Common Position taking stock of the effective establishment and functioning of the ICC. On 4 February 2004, a new EU Action Plan aimed to take into account the specific needs of the Court in its early life and set up an "EU Focal Point" for the ICC (jointly between the Council and Commission) whose main task will be to collect information to feed the formulation of strategies aimed at enhancing EU support for the Court. The Focal Point should also be able to mobilise EU expertise to assist those third countries which may be in the process of ratifying the Rome Statute or adopting domestic implementing legislation. EU political and diplomatic action has been reinforced by significant EIDHR funding for projects to support the ICC since 1995. Support has included provision for projects to train and raise awareness amongst key actors such as parliamentarians, civil society, government officials, lawyers and the military, as well as substantial backing for the NGO Coalition for the ICC.

IV. **OPENNESS**

4.1 **Engagement with civil society**

Since the adoption of the Communication, which foresaw a wider dialogue with civil society, the EU's engagement with civil society has developed significantly with improved consultation on policy, programming and implementation issues.

4.1.1 Input on policy

There are regular opportunities for NGOs and representatives of EU institutions and Member States to discuss EU policy on human rights and democratisation. The Human Rights Contact Group is convened several times each year by major NGOs in the European Parliament. NGOs are also regularly invited to participate in COHOM meetings in order to discuss EU priorities for the UN Commission on Human Rights and the UN General Assembly Third Committee. Civil society representatives have addressed the Commission's Inter-Service Group on topical policy issues: most recently the European Disability Forum provided views

2004/161/CFSP

²⁸ Council Regulation (EC) No. 310/2002

on disability and EC development policy. NGOs have also assisted in human rights training for Commission officials.

The annual **NGO Forum on Human Rights**³⁰ allows in-depth consideration of EU action on particular human rights themes. Whilst the entry into force of the new Financial Regulation in 2003 means that the Commission can no longer provide subsidies or grants from Community funds to the Presidency for the Human Rights Forum, the Commission remains fully committed to ensuring that civil society is properly consulted on human rights and democratisation issues and considers the Human Rights Forum as an important aspect in this regard. The Communication envisaged an evaluation by the Commission of the human rights forum: in March 2003 the Commission prepared a non-paper that included analysis of recent fora and ideas on how the event might be further developed. This document was presented to EU Member States at the Human Rights Committee in March 2003. A number of the suggestions have been taken on board, such as an increased focus on topical issues in order for the Forum to give impetus to EU human rights initiatives (for example EIDHR Programming and the recently adopted EU Guidelines on Children and Armed Conflict).

Civil society has an important role to play in the development of human rights dialogues with third countries. As regards the human rights dialogue which was launched with **Iran** in December 2002, civil society has been associated in an innovative way. In addition to regular briefings of key human rights NGOs before and after each session of the twice-yearly dialogue, civil society participates in the dialogue itself. Key human rights NGOs, specialised NGOs, academics and the European Parliament send representatives to the round-table that constitutes the public part of each session of the dialogue. Civil society's contribution has greatly enhanced the quality of the round-table discussions which focus on principal human rights concerns and which are attended, on the Iranian side, by representatives of the Iranian Government, judiciary, parliament and civil society.

4.1 EIDHR programming and implementation

The Commission meets regularly with civil society representatives to discuss policy and EIDHR-related issues. A "Human Rights and Democracy Network" — composed of major NGOs - has convened with EC representatives on several occasions to exchange views on EIDHR programming. The Commission also conducts regular meetings with designated representatives of human rights and conflict prevention NGOs. A special NGO seminar in July 2003 provided the opportunity for consultation of a wide range of NGOs on future EIDHR programming. Commissioner Patten participated in this event and delivered a keynote address on current and future trends on the human rights agenda.

The Commission has organised regional EIDHR conferences/workshops in order to provide detailed information on EIDHR programming, implementation and related human rights issues to local NGOs, local Commission staff and other institutions such as the UN. 6 such events have been held since 2002 in Amman, Casablanca, Dakar, Guatemala City, Almaty and Cape Town.

In 2003, a Conference was also organised in Naples with Member States and NGO networks on the International Criminal Court (ICC). Experts met with representatives of the three

The most recent forum was co-organised by the Italian Presidency and the Commission and took place on 10th-11th December in Rome. It tackled the theme of child protection under international law.

organs of the Court (Presidency, Office of the Prosecutor, Registry) to discuss the immediate challenges faced by the Court. The conclusions of the Conference will help the Commission finalise its strategy in terms of identification of relevant projects to support the ICC's work for the period 2004-2005. For the first time, a similar conference was held in China in November.

V. EUROPEAN INITIATIVE FOR DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS (EIDHR)

5.1 A more strategic approach

The Communication envisaged a more strategic approach to the EIDHR focused on four thematic priorities³¹ and the introduction of "focus countries" for support under the thematic priority of strengthening democratisation, good governance and the rule of law. The promotion of gender equality and children's rights was mainstreamed in all EIDHR thematic priorities and the Communication underlined the need to integrate respect for the rights of indigenous peoples as a cross-cutting aspect of development. The strategy has subsequently been implemented within the framework of a multi-annual programming period (2002-2004), supplemented by annual programming updates. Five thematic Calls for proposals were launched to select projects with NGOs in 2002 and the Commission agreed a range of targeted projects with international organisations³². The mainstreaming of children's rights and gender equality was reflected in the requirement for project proposals to include a perspective relevant to those issues, which was assessed during the evaluation of applications.

In line with the Communication, the Commission has developed its co-operation with international organisations involved in human rights and democratisation. This includes the conclusion of co-operation plans with the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) in 2003 and with UNICEF in 2004 which identify thematic priorities for co-operation under the EIDHR. The OHCHR has also been instrumental in meeting another goal of the Communication - support for UN mechanisms – with EIDHR funding for an OHCHR project to bolster the effectiveness of input by NGOs and National Human Rights Institutions to the UN Treaty Bodies. The cooperation plan with the Council of Europe of 2002 -2004 will be updated in the near future. Discussions about similar plans with other regional and international organizations are also underway.

5.2 Evaluation

The Commission foresaw enhanced measures to improve the management of the EIDHR, including the publication of regular reports on actions funded and the development of better impact indicators for project evaluation. The EuropeAid website has been substantially extended to include detailed information on current projects, including their periodic narrative reports. EuropeAid has carried out one general evaluation in 2003, an extended impact assessment of policies and implementing activities for the purposes of renewing the two Regulations. Since 2003, a service contract has been in place to evaluate individual projects, such as the Moscow School of Political Studies, and also the implementation of policy, such

Details of projects selected are available at:
http://europa.eu.int/comm/europeaid/projects/eidhr/projects en.htm

Support to strengthen democratisation, good governance and the rule of law; the abolition of the death penalty; support for the fight against torture and impunity and for international tribunals and criminal courts; combating racism and xenophobia and discrimination against minorities and indigenous peoples

as human rights education through the Regional Human Rights Masters Programmes, the contribution of torture rehabilitation centres to torture prevention, and the value of networking, through an examination of the Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Network.

In addition, a study is currently underway of EIDHR-funded projects that ended between January 2002 and July 2003 to assess their impact on participants, beneficiaries and the human rights situation addressed. Another study is developing guidelines for identifying indicators for use in the EIDHR, both at programming and implementation levels.

Finally, the EuropeAid Evaluation Unit is pursuing a three year exercise to design appropriate methodologies for sectoral evaluations, including democratisation and human rights, while a project with the OECD is developing statistical tools for measuring progress in democratisation and human rights.

These studies and evaluations should enable the Commission to have a much clearer picture in 2004 of what projects are achieving, how they are contributing to attaining policy objectives, and how these objectives may need to be modified in the light of experience.

VI. CONCLUSIONS

Many of the key goals set out in the Commission Communication have been realised, with human rights and democratisation issues a strong feature of EU policy-making, dialogue and co-operation with third countries. Engagement with civil society has also improved significantly in the period since the Communication was adopted.

The Commission will continue to contribute to the pursuit of the goals of mainstreaming, improved coherence and consistency and openness. There are clearly lessons to be drawn from the implementation to date of the Communication which will be further considered, notably as regards the forthcoming Commission proposals for regulations governing external assistance in the context of the new financial perspectives.

Annex: Overview of EIDHR allocations for 2002 and 2003

ANNEX: OVERVIEW OF ALLOCATIONS UNDER THE EUROPEAN INITIATIVE FOR DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS (EIDHR) FOR 2002 AND 2003

1) EIDHR 2002

Set out below is a description of the use in 2002 of Chapter B7-7 of the Budget.

Budget Line	Amount	Committed	Percentage
B7-701	95.400.000	95.387.173	99.99%
B7-701A	3.600.000	3.532.852	98.13%
B7-702	5.000.000	4.735.939	94.72%

The 2002 EIDHR Programming Document contained indicative budgetary allocations by country, by region and by theme. This was used through three instruments:

- > targeted projects, mainly involving projects with public bodies
- > calls for proposals, involving projects with non-governmental organisations
- > micro-projects, managed by Delegations

Budget Line	Targeted Projects	Calls for Proposals	Micro-Projects
B7-701	39.741.077	47.796.096	7.850.000
	(41.66%)	(50.11%)	(8.23%)
B7-702	1.217.770	3.518.169	-
	(25.71%)	(74.29%)	

The amounts indicatively allocated to global/regional projects and target countries could not be observed in the implementation. This was because it was not possible to launch all the calls for proposals simultaneously. The priorities involved in the first four calls for proposals did not impact on all countries in the same way, so that some countries were targeted by few, in some cases no, proposals. The fifth call for proposals, funded from the 2003 budget, is not expected to show the same imbalance. In addition, it was not possible to launch the microprojects facility in more than 15 of the 29 focus countries. The indicative allocation for elections was treated separately, as election observation and training were not limited to focus countries.

	Indicative	Actual Amount	Percentage of Total
	Amount	Committed	Amount Committed
Global/regional	19.400.000	37.547.082	37.50
Focus countries	60.000.000	42.690.509	42.64
Election Training	5.000.000	1.617.722	1.62
Election Observation	10.000.000	13.042.285	13.03
Contingencies	6.000.000	5.225.514	5.21

The amounts indicatively allocated per country and the amounts actually allocated are set out on the following page.

Countries	Indicative Amount	Amount Committed	% of Indicative
			Amount
Algeria	2.500.000	896.160	35.85
Bosnia	2.300.000	3.258.643	141.68
Burundi	1.500.000	1.260.054	84
Cambodia	2.000.000	624.000	31.2
Colombia	2.500.000	2.993.315	119.73
DR Congo	2.000.000	2.353.089	117.65
Eritrea	1.600.000	0	0
Ethiopia	2.000.000	896.000	44.8
Fiji	1.500.000	453.000	30.2
FRY	2.500.000	3.507.833	140.31
Georgia	1.900.000	2.223.510	117.03
Guatemala	1.800.000	3.014.323	167.46
Haiti	1.700.000	700.000	41.18
Indonesia	2.500.000	1.777.705	71.11
Israel/WBG	2.500.000	2.156.992	86.28
Ivory Coast	2.000.000	400.000	20
Mexico	2.500.000	1.140.000	45.6
Mozambique	2.000.000	0	0
Nepal	1.500.000	421.445	28.1
Nigeria	2.500.000	0	0
Pakistan	2.200.000	904.678	41.12
Russia	3.000.000	4.997.991	166.6
Rwanda	2.000.000	606.212	30.31
Sierra Leone	2.000.000	2.644.155	132.21
Sudan	1.800.000	0	0
Tunisia	1.500.000	966.800	64.45
Turkey	2.000.000	2.284.899	114.24
Ukraine	2.500.000	1.285.026	51.4
Zimbabwe	1.700.000	924.679	54.39
	•		

These imbalances were corrected partly through the regional projects, and partly by adjusting the country/regional allocations over the years 2003 - 2004. The amounts committed per geographic region and as a percentage of the total commitments, covering all themes and both budget lines, is as follows:

Region	Amount Committed	% of Total Committed
CEEC/NIS	27.665.455	27.63
ACP	22.523.779	22.50
Latin America	15.262.217	15.24
MEDA – Middle East	13.826.638	13.81
Asia	11.021.367	11.01
Global/N. America	9.823.656	9.81
Total	100.123.112	100

As regards B7-701A (technical assistance), the expenditure breaks down as follows:

Description	Committed	% of Total Committed
TA Headquarters	1.265.700	35.83
TA Delegations	1.214.893	34.39
Election Exploratory	208.884	5.91
Missions		
Regional Workshops	249.255	7.05
Audits	30.000	0.85
Evaluations (inc. CFPs)	384.320	10.88
Study conferences	179.800	5.09
Total	3.532.852	100

Budget use by theme³³:

Theme	Indicative Amount	Amount Committed	% of Indicative Amount
Strengthening Civil Society	12.400.000	7.850.000	56.07
Human Rights Education	5.000.000	5.575.971	111.52
Support for Media	5.000.000	1.564.486	31.30
Legal Reform	11.000.000	8.902.782	80.93
Governance	8.000.000	7.176.938	89.71
Conflict Prevention	4.000.000	3.819.454	95.49
Death Penalty	4.000.000	5.197.328	129.93
Torture	8.000.000	14.272.403	178.41
International Justice	5.000.000	4.735.939	94.72
Racism	7.000.000	10.622.742	151.75
Minorities	5.000.000	4.293.682	85.87
Indigenous People	5.000.000	6.225.866	124.52
Elections	15.000.000	14.660.742	97.74
Contingencies	6.000.000	5.225.514	87.09
Totals	100.400.000	100.123.112	99.72

For further elaboration on the themes presented, see the EIDHR programming document for 2002-2004

2) EIDHR 2003

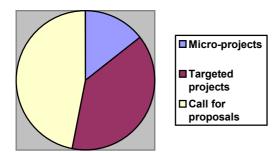
a) By thematic priorities (M€)

DEMOCRATI	ISATION, GOVERNANCE, RULE OF LAW	2003
Strengthenin	g Civil Society	27.195 301
Human Righ	ts Education and Awareness-raising	10.572 228
Freedom of I	Expression and independent media	7.268 012
Elections	EU Observation Missions	13.638 647
	Training observers	850 000
Rule of Law	and institutions	18.353 523
Governance		8.349 063
Conflict prevention / resolution		7.593 780
	<u>Sub-Total</u>	93.820 554
IMPUNITY A	ND INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE	
International	Justice	6.967 504
TOTAL		100.788 058(99.8% of the Budget line B7-7)

<u>MB:</u> as regards combating racism, xenophobia, discrimination against minorities and indigenous peoples, torture prevention and rehabilitation, and the abolition of death penalty, the 2002 Calls for proposals concerning these themes included indicative financial allocations for proposals from two budget years, 2002 and 2003. Therefore no projects touching these themes were financed directly from the 2003 budget.

b) Allocations by instrument for the selection of projects (M€)

	2003
Call for Proposals	47.373 454 (47%)
Targeted projects	38.814 604 (38.5%)
Micro-projects	14.600 000 (14.5%)
TOTAL	100.788 058



c) Focus countries – a comparison between the final indicative allocations (following revised service orders) and the final amounts committed 34

	Indicative amount	Amount committed	% of Indicative amount
Algeria	2.000.000	1.995.633	99,78
Angola	2.000.000	1.332.700	66,64
Bosnia	2.000.000	1.927.574	96,38
Burundi	1.600.000	1.856.642	116.04
Cambodia	2.500.000	2.361.000	94,44
China	2.500.000	1.383.677	55,35
Colombia	2.600.000	2.243.924	86,30
DRCongo	2.000.000	1.999.984	99,999
Eritrea	2.200.000	150.000	6.81
Ethiopia	2.300.000	1.970.775	85,69
Fiji	1.800.000	1.279.890	71.11
FRY	2.200.000	2.540.402	110.45
Georgia	1.900.000	1.966.395	103,49
Guatemala	1.800.000	2.211.718	122,87
Haiti	2.000.000	1.971.708	98,59
Indonesia	2.200.000	2.134.764	97,03
Israel & WBG	2.600.000	2.876.929	110,65
Ivory Coast	2.400.000	2.582.527	107,61
Mexico	2.900.000	2.558.070	88,21
Mozambique	2.500.000	2.557.144	102,29
Nepal	1.800.000	1.867.034	103,72
Nigeria	3.000.000	3.821.299	126,90
Pakistan	2.600.000	2.807.744	107,99
Russia	2.500.000	2.392.209	95,69
Rwanda	2.400.000	2.330.461	97,10
Sierra Leone	1.800.000	1.930.208	107,23
Sudan	2.500.000	2.692.726	107,71
Tunisia	500.000	725.647	145,13
Turkey	2.000.000	1.864.409	93,22
Ukraine	2.900.000	2.503.529	86,33
Zimbabwe	2.000.000	1.607.272	80.36
Totals	68.000.000	64.443.994	94,77

Not taking into account the amounts dedicated to the elections observation