

# STRATEGY 2020-2022



**Democracy that Delivers**

## 1. Message from the President



Over 18 years have passed since the Madrid Conference on Democratic Transition and Consolidation gave birth to the World Leadership Alliance - Club de Madrid (WLA-CdM) in 2001. During that time, the world has changed in ways that have radically altered the concerns, priorities and approaches of democratic leaders and democracy supporters around the world.





The Third Wave of Democratization came to a rest, leaving more countries than ever with fundamental democratic institutions and an apparently growing democratic culture. Democratic principles, while not globally endorsed, rally a commitment strong and widespread enough to influence the global development framework defined in the United Nations' 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.

At the same time, rapid social change brought about by globalization, power shifts and the digital revolution has thoroughly altered the political attitudes and aspirations of citizens around the world, giving rise to an increasing sense of disconnect between citizens and institutions, in old and new democracies alike.

For democracy to meet the challenges and expectations of the next generation and shape societies in which all citizens have a shared sense of belonging, a radical evolution of democratic institutions and leadership will be needed in years ahead. For that evolution to take place, a key enabling factor will be the continued existence of a global environment that promotes democratic principles and encourages democratic leaders to defend democracy, driving change where and as needed in order to do so.

This is the backdrop against which the WLA-CdM has formulated this three-year strategy, intended to guide our engagement in support of *democracy that delivers* in 2020-2022. As democratic former Heads of State and Government from over 70 countries, we hope to bring our individual and collective experience of democracy building in a wide array of contexts to the service of the leaders of today, so that the history we bear can inform the history they are building.

**Danilo Türk**  
**President of WLA-CdM**  
**President of Slovenia (2007-2012)**

## 2. Introduction

Democracy is a complex and changing concept. While it can be defined as a system in which the power to control government rests with the people and all citizens are equal in the exercise of that power, it can take many forms in response to national circumstances and aspirations. At WLA-CdM, we believe democracy has the highest potential to deliver sustainable results for all, notably in terms of peace and development, and that it can best flourish if it is nourished by a global environment where democratic values are respected and promoted.

There is no end point to democracy, but rather a need for democracy to continuously evolve to meet the challenges and opportunities of a changing ethos. National leaders are the driving force behind democracy's constant evolution. Whatever the challenge –democratic transition, consolidation or ongoing evolution–, it befalls national leaders to develop,

implement and monitor policies that meet the collective needs and aspirations of citizens, in what is often a balancing act between political, ideological or identity groups. To meet the challenges of democratic policy making, leaders have access to renowned experts and academics, but rarely to others who can empathize directly with their level of responsibility.

Supporting democracy by sharing with current leaders their experience of democratic policy-making at the highest level is the value that over 100 former Heads of State and Government aspire to bring through their membership in the WLA- CdM. It is on the basis of this premise that WLA-CdM was launched, in Madrid (Spain) in October 2001, by the Heads of State and Government represented at the Conference on Democratic Transition and Consolidation.





This **2020-2022 Strategy** sets the tone for WLA-CdM's engagement over the next three years by defining thematic priorities– a set of issues that, we believe, democratic leaders around the world will inevitably have to address to help democracy meet the changing needs and aspirations of citizens. It is intended as a guide for our membership and a blueprint for our Secretariat in the development of

our programmatic work – but it is also intended to be flexible, adaptable to new circumstances and opportunities, that our Members' individual and collective experience of democracy tells us often emerge where we least expect them. The fulfilment of the objectives contained herein will be as contingent on external factors as it will be on our ability to secure resources and use them for maximum impact.

### 3. Vision, Mission, Goals and Approach

WLA-CdM's **vision** for the future is best captured in our motto *democracy that delivers*. Our Members, representing over **70 countries from all continents**, share a common vision of a world made up of democratic states where rule of law prevails and that deliver peace, social cohesion and sustainable development for all citizens.

To advance that vision, WLA-CdM's Charter defines our **mission** to “cooperate with and foster all kinds

of initiatives aimed at strengthening and consolidating democracy around the world”. Starting from the premise that democratic progress must be led by the citizens and leaders of each country, we aim to bring our Members' unmatched individual and collective experience of democratic governance to the service of democratic leaders around the world, supporting them in their struggles to meet the challenges of democratic transition, consolidation or continuing evolution.



## In practical terms, this translates into three distinct yet interrelated **strategic goals**:

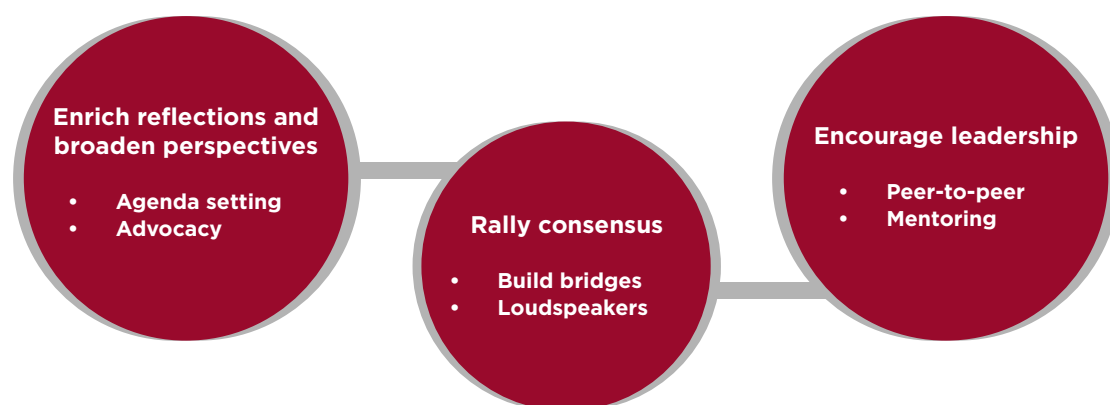
1. To **enrich reflections and broaden perspectives** among democratic leaders in the global community around major challenges and opportunities for democracy around the world;
2. To **rally consensus** among political, social and business leaders on pathways for democratic change, at the global and national levels;
3. To **encourage leadership** for democratic change among political actors, at the global, regional and national levels.

To enrich reflections and broaden perspectives among democratic leaders, we convene **policy dialogues** to bring our Members together with experts and influencers on global issues. Our Members' vast experience of policy making helps stimulate new thinking, break down silos between communities of practice and identify emerging issues affecting democracy. Our Members' ability to act as political sounding boards for innovative ideas can help shape policy agendas to tackle these issues. We then define **compelling messages**, shaped by our Members' understanding and commitment to democratic values and principles, to advocate for global, regional or national action on these issues.

In line with our belief that democracy is best shaped by the citizens and leaders of each country, we work to rally consensus among political, social and business leaders on pathways for democratic change, at the global and national levels, by **building bridges** and encouraging dialogue among them. WLA–CdM Members possess convening power and negotiation skills to bring together divided groups of stakeholders. Strong with a voice that gets the ear of current leaders, they are also in a privileged position to act as loudspeakers for democratic ideas, bringing visibility to policy options that would otherwise receive scarce attention and **opening spaces** for civil society participation in public policy debates.

Finally, acknowledging that democratic change often requires bold leadership from political actors, WLA–CdM Members work to encourage such leadership by providing **peer-to-peer support** to current leaders in the development, adoption and implementation of policies that strengthen democracy, governance and inclusion. They can help current leaders assess political options and gauge innovative policy approaches against the lessons of history. Our Members' sharing of the lessons learned from their political journeys can also **inspire and empower** the future generation of leaders through mentoring and inter-generational dialogue programmes.

**FIGURE 1: WLA-CdM's Support for Democracy that Delivers**



## **4. Priorities for 2020-2022**

### **➔ 4.1 Next Generation Democracy**



There has been for some time a generalized concern that democracy is in decline — that the link of representation is broken, corruption and deficient public services are hindering trust in democratic institutions, and the relevance of democratic governance is challenged by global issues that transcend the boundaries of the nation state. The rise of populist discourse in emerging and consolidated democracies alike has given rise to fears of broad backsliding in the quality of democracy, while the profound societal changes brought about by the digital revolution have raised new questions regarding the very essence of democracy and the relations between democratic institutions and citizens.



In 2014-2018, WLA-CdM implemented the Next Generation Democracy project (2014-2018), which brought together WLA - CdM Members, experts and practitioners from broad communities of practice to analyse the challenges facing democracy around the world and shape a forward-looking agenda for the future of democracy. Strong with decades of experience shaping democracy in their home countries, WLA-CdM Members steered a lively collective reflection that allowed for the identification of global drivers of democracy – phenomena that are pushing and pulling on democratic development around the world and must inform policies aimed at consolidating democracy to meet the aspirations of the next generation.

Building on this understanding, under the new strategic cycle, WLA-CdM will continue to help democratic leaders around the world set the basis for a Next Generation Democracy by tackling two challenges related to these drivers of democracy: the need to redefine **democracy in the digital era** and the need to address the root causes of **populism**. This will require paying particular attention to the **democratic engagement of youth**, whose vision of political and social interactions is intrinsically shaped by the digital environment. Our Members' statesmanship and ability to steer intergenerational and transcontinental dialogue at the highest level will contribute to developing a new vision for democracy, capable of leveraging the opportunities offered by digital technologies to respond to the popular demand for citizen-centered, responsive and transparent **democratic institutions**. Such demand has increasingly been finding its expression in populist voices, but we believe it can be rechanneled to a more evidence-based, inclusive and tolerant approach to politics and policy-making.

We will also build on our past engagement in support of women's political empowerment to add our voice to the growing call for **gender equality in politics** worldwide. WLA-CdM's own membership, which includes numerous women with exemplary leadership skills, as well as men who have used their terms in office to protect and promote women's civic and political rights, places us in a good position to advocate and open spaces for more women to play leading roles in the decision-making structures of democratic institutions.

Beyond our focus on these globally relevant aspects of democracy, we will also continue to support democratic advancement at the country level, by leveraging our Members' first-hand experience of democracy building and democratic governance to rally, counsel and empower today's **democratic leaders** as they lead their countries through democratic transition, consolidation and improvement processes.



**FIGURE 2: Programmatic Objectives - Next Generation Democracy**

|                              |   |
|------------------------------|---|
| Democracy in the digital era | To raise awareness of the potential for digital technologies to fuel citizen-centered, responsive and transparent democratic institutions |
| Populism                     | To rally citizens and political actors around an evidence-based, inclusive and tolerant way forward for democratic governance             |
| Women in leadership          | To open spaces for women to play a leading role in the decision-making structures of democratic institutions                              |
| In-country support           | To encourage bold and inclusive leadership for democratic transition, consolidation and improvement                                       |

## → 4.2 Shared Societies



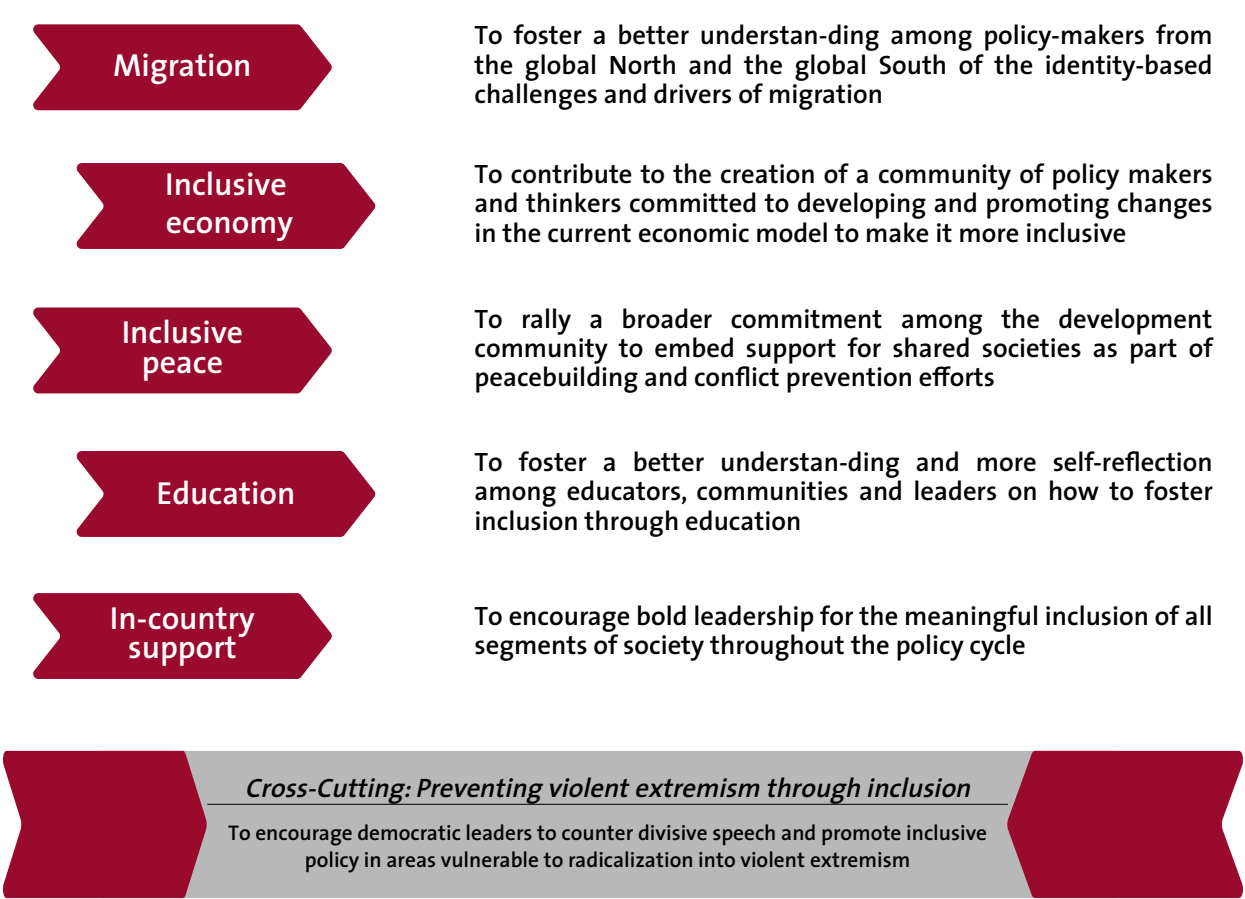
A Shared Society is one in which all individuals hold status as equally contributing participants, free to express their differences while integrating their voices within the broader population. It respects everyone's dignity and human rights, while providing every individual with equal opportunity to engage in policy development, implementation and monitoring.

**WLA-CdM** has been promoting Shared Societies for over 12 years, providing leaders with greater understanding of the benefits and means to advance social inclusion as an essential element in democratic development. In partnership with the Alan B. Slifka Foundation, we strongly advocated to mainstream a Shared Societies approach in the Sustainable Development Goals and continue to holistically promote sustainable development, with social inclusion at its core.

Under the new strategic cycle, we will give priority to the promotion and practical articulation of a Shared Societies approach in four policy areas, with the **inclusive implementation of Agenda 2030** as a guiding framework: **migration, inclusive economy, inclusive peace**, and education for Shared Societies. Our work on these four topics, crucial to social inclusion, will enter in synergy with our efforts to tackle the root causes of populism, which often sidelines the importance of engaging with all identity groups. We will also build on our previous initiatives related to preventing and countering violent extremism (P/CVE) to promote throughout our SSP work messages that **counter divisive speech** with a more inclusive message, and continue to advocate for inclusion as a means to prevent radicalization phenomena.

We will also continue to support the advancement of Shared Societies at the country level, by bringing our Members’ experience of inclusive governance to promote an inclusive approach to national policy-making, open spaces for inclusion and counsel national leaders on policy responses to specific challenges to the construction of Shared Societies in their countries.

**FIGURE 3: Programmatic Objectives – Shared Societies**





Across all areas of WLA–CdM’s engagement, whether under Next Generation Democracy or Shared Societies, the existence of a strong, inclusive and rules-based multilateral system for the global community to articulate common responses to common challenges is a key underpinning. Yet, the last few years have seen a weakening of multilateral efforts to tackle major global issues, from migration to climate change. While Agenda 2030 provides a globally-endorsed framework for sustainable development, an increasing number of political actors from countries large and small, in all regions, are calling for national-grown approaches rather than globally- or regionally -agreed solutions to a widening range of policy issues. With the multiplication of transnational phenomena that put a strain on democratic values, the weakening of the multilateral system heightens our concern for the preservation of an enabling global environment for democracy to take root, consolidate itself and deliver.

In the next strategy cycle, WLA–CdM will make it a strategic priority to promote and defend an enabling global environment for democracy, including by **supporting the multilateral system** as the guarantor of inclusive, consensus-based and sustainable policy responses to transnational challenges. The growing sense of urgency around global issues requiring coordinated policy action, such as climate change, calls for renewed multilateral collaboration.

We will also foster **dialogue with and among global powers** to encourage their mutual understanding on critical global issues, particularly those affecting the possibility to advance democracy around the world. This will lead us to engage with countries who may not endorse the values and principles of democracy, yet exert a key influence on the global context that will allow democracy to flourish or perish in other parts of the world, and can be key partners in tackling transnational threats.

**FIGURE 4: Programmatic Objectives – Multilateralism and Global Cooperation**

**Multilateralism**

To rally consensus among the global community around an inclusive, consensus-based and sustainable approach to global issues

**Dialogue on critical global issues**

To foster mutual understanding among key global players on critical global issues affecting democracy



## 5. Our Gender Pledge

Gender equality is a human right enshrined in international law. From the Convention on the Political Rights of Women (1954) to the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, the global community has come to a consensus on the centrality of gender equality to the achievement of all development goals, including that of promoting peaceful and inclusive societies, justice for all and effective, inclusive and accountable institutions at all levels.

In the implementation of this Strategy 2020-2022, WLA-CdM will put gender equality at the centre of our work, because our vision of democracy that delivers cannot be achieved unless all people, men and women, have equal rights and opportunities.

WLA-CdM Members are strong with individual and collective leadership in promoting gender equality, both within their own countries through the policies they adopted during their time in office, and through their relentless advocacy for gender equality and gender mainstreaming in global and regional development agendas. WLA-CdM will honor and potentiate this leadership by making gender equality a key element not only of our programming, but also of our *modus operandi*.



**Our commitments are the following:**

- **In programme development:** We will systematically analyse the gender dimensions of our projects, in all thematic areas, so as to understand implicit gender-related assumptions, anticipate any unintended consequences our interventions may have on gender relations and identify any possible opportunities to favour gender equality through our activities, including by forming partnerships with gender equality organizations for the achievement of shared goals.

- **In our activities:** We will offer equitable opportunities for women and men among our Members to take part in our activities. We will also ensure balanced gender representation at public events hosted or co-hosted by us, avoid single-sex panels, and will call upon our partners to do the same. Should we convene any working groups, we will make good faith efforts to ensure balanced gender representation and roles.
- **In programme monitoring and evaluation:** We will collect gender-disaggregated information on the results of our projects and programmes, where relevant.
- **In our communications:** We will ensure that the language, visuals, quotes and photos used in all our communication products have appropriate gender balance and gender sensitivity, that unnecessary gendered terminology is avoided, and that any relevant gender dimension of our activities is reported.
- **In our Secretariat:** We will promote a gender-aware organizational culture in our Secretariat, including through the application of a gender lens to all internal human resources and financial policies and practices.

## 6. About WLA-CdM

WLA-CdM is the largest global assembly of political leaders working to strengthen democratic values, good governance and the well-being of citizens across the globe. As a nonprofit, non-partisan, international organization, it brings together over 110 democratic former Heads of State and Government from over 70 countries and a global body of advisors and experts practitioners who, on a pro bono basis, offer their voice and agency to today's political and civil society leaders and policymakers. WLA-CdM responds to a global demand for trusted advice in addressing the challenges of democracy that delivers. It represents an independent effort towards good governance, sustainable development, inclusion and peace, not bound by the interest or pressures of institutions and governments, but based on the experience, access and convening power of its Members.

### Board of Directors

- **Danilo Türk**, President of Slovenia (2007-2012), President of WLA-CdM
- **Laura Chinchilla**, President of Costa Rica (2010-2014), Vice-President of WLA - CdM
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- **Kim Campbell**, Prime Minister of Canada (1993)
- **Helen Clark**, Prime Minister of New Zealand (1999-2008)
- **Yves Leterme**, Prime Minister of Belgium (2009-2011)
- **José Manuel Ramos-Horta**, President of Timor-Leste (2007-2012)
- **Vaira Vike-Freiberga**, President of Latvia (1999-2007)
- **Anthony Jones**, Executive Director of the GFNA
- **Cristina Manzano**, Deputy Director General, FRIDE
- **Maria Elena Agüero**, Secretary-General of WLA - CdM

# MEMBERS:

## Africa and the Middle East

**Al Mahdi, Sadig** – Prime Minister of Sudan (1966-1967; 1986-1989)  
**Banda, Joyce** – President of Malawi (2012-2014)  
**Banda, Rupiah** – President of Zambia (2008-2011)  
**Chissano, Joaquim** – President of Mozambique (1986-2005)  
**Diogo, Luisa** – Prime Minister of Mozambique (2004-2010)  
**El Keib, Abdurrahim** – Prime Minister of Libya (2011-2012)  
**Gemayel, Amine** – President of Lebanon (1982-1988)  
**Jebali, Hamadi** – Prime Minister of Tunisia (2011-2013)  
**Jomaa, Mehdi** – Prime Minister of Tunisia (2014)  
**Johnson Sirleaf, Ellen** – President of Liberia (2006-2018)  
**Kufuor, John** – President of Ghana (2001-2009)  
**Mbeki, Thabo** – President of South Africa (1999-2008)  
**Michel, James** – President of the Seychelles (2004-2016)  
**Mkapa, Benjamin** – President of Tanzania (1995-2005)  
**Mogae, Festus** – President of Botswana (1998-2008)  
**Obasanjo, Olusegun** – President of Nigeria (1976-1979; 1999-2007)  
**Siniara, Fuad** – Prime Minister of Lebanon (2005-2009)  
**Touré, Aminata** – Prime Minister of Senegal (2013-2014)  
**Uteem, Cassam** – President of Mauritius (1992-2002) and Vice President of the WLA-Club de Madrid

## Asia-Pacific

**Clark, Helen** – Prime Minister of New Zealand (1999-2008)  
**Fukuda, Yasuo** – Prime Minister of Japan (2007-2008)  
**Habibie, Bacharuddin Jusuf** – President of Indonesia (1998-1999)  
**Han, Seung-soo** – Prime Minister of the Rep. of Korea (2008-2009)  
**Kumaratunga, Chandrika** – President of Sri Lanka (1994-2005)  
**Lee, Hong Koo** – Prime Minister the Rep. of Korea (1994-1995)  
**Otunbayeva, Roza** – President of the Kyrgyz Republic (2010-2011)  
**Panyarachun, Anand** – Prime Minister of Thailand (1991-1992)  
**Patil, Pratibha** – President of India (2007-2012)  
**Punsalma, Ochirbat** – President of Mongolia (1990-1997)  
**Ramos, Fidel Valdez** – President of the Philippines (1992-1998)  
**Ramos-Horta, José Manuel** – President of Timor-Leste (2007-2012)  
**Rudd, Kevin** – Prime Minister of Australia (2007-2010, 2013)  
**Shipley, Jennifer Mary** – Prime Minister of New Zealand. (1997-1999)  
**Tsakhia, Elbegdorj** – President of Mongolia (2009-2017)  
**Thinley, Jigme Yoser** – Prime Minister of Bhutan (2008-2013)  
**Yudhoyono, Susilo Bambang** – President of Indonesia (2004-2014)

## Americas

**Bachelet, Michelle** – President of Chile (2006-2010; 2014-2018)  
**Calderón, Felipe** – President of Mexico (2006-2012)  
**Campbell, Kim** – Prime Minister of Canada (1993)  
**Cardoso, Fernando Henrique** – President of Brazil (1995-2003)  
**Chrétien, Jean** – Prime Minister of Canada (1993-2003)  
**Chinchilla, Laura** – President of Costa Rica (2010-2014) and Vice President of the WLA-Club de Madrid  
**Clinton, William J.** – President of the United States of America (1993-2001); Honorary Co-Chair of the Club de Madrid  
**Fernández, Leonel** – President of the Dominican Republic (1996-2000; 2004-2012)  
**Figueres, José María** – President of Costa Rica (1994-1998)  
**Fox, Vicente** – President of Mexico (2000-2006)  
**Frei Ruiz-Tagle, Eduardo** – President of Chile (1994-2000)  
**Gaviria, César** – President of Colombia (1990-1994)  
**Hurtado, Osvaldo** – President of Ecuador (1981-1984)  
**Lacalle Herrera, Luis Alberto** – President of Uruguay (1990-1995)  
**Lagos, Ricardo** – President of Chile (2000-2006)  
**Mesa, Carlos** – President of Bolivia (2003-2005)  
**Pastrana, Andrés** – President of Colombia (1998-2002)

## HONORARY MEMBERS

**Aung San Suu Kyi** – State Counsellor of Myanmar, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of the President's Office  
**Ban Ki-moon** – Secretary General of the United Nations (2007-2016)  
**Carter, Jimmy** – President of the United States of America (1977-1981)  
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**Iglesias, Enrique** – Secretary General of the Ibero-American Cooperation Secretariat (2005-2013)  
**Solana, Javier** – E U High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy (1999-2009)

**Patterson, Percival N.J.** – Prime Minister of Jamaica (1992-2006)  
**Pérez de Cuéllar, Javier** – President of the Council of Ministers of Peru (2000-2001)  
**Piñera, Sebastián (on leave)** – President of Chile (2010-2014)  
**Quiroga, Jorge** – President of Bolivia (2001-2002)  
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**Torrijos, Martín** – President of Panama (2004-2009)  
**Zedillo, Ernesto** – President of Mexico (1994-2000)

## Europe

**Adamkus, Valdas** – President of Lithuania (1998-2003; 2004-2009)  
**Aho, Esko** – Prime Minister of Finland (1991-1995)  
**Ahtisaari, Martti** – President of Finland (1994-2000)  
**Aznar, José María** – President of the Government of Spain (1996-2004)  
**Balkenende, Jan Peter** – Prime Minister of the Netherlands (2002-2010)  
**Barroso, José Manuel** – Prime Minister of Portugal (2002-2004)  
**Bildt, Carl** – Prime Minister of Sweden (1991-1994)  
**Birkavs, Valdis** – Prime Minister of Latvia (1993-1994)  
**Bondevik, Kjell Magne** – Prime Minister of Norway (1997-2000; 2001-2005)  
**Brundtland, Gro Harlem** – Prime Minister of Norway (1981; 1986-1989; 1990-1996)  
**Bruton, John** – Prime Minister of the Rep. of Ireland (1994-1997)  
**Buzek, Jerzy** – Prime Minister Poland (1997-2001)  
**Calmy-Rey, Micheline** – President of Switzerland (2007 and 2011)  
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**Dimitrov, Philip** – Prime Minister of Bulgaria (1991-1992)  
**Finnbogadóttir, Vigdís** – President of Iceland (1980-1996)  
**Gauk, Joachim** – President of Germany (2012-2017)  
**González, Felipe** – President of the Government of Spain (1982-1996)  
**Gorbachev, Mikhail** – President of the Soviet Union (1990-1991)  
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**Hollande, François** – President of France (2012-2017)  
**Juppé, Alain (on leave)** – Prime Minister of France (1995-1997)  
**Köhler, Horst** – President of Germany (2004-2010)  
**Kulian, Milan** – President of Slovenia (1991-2002)  
**Kwasniewski, Aleksander** – President of Poland (1995-2005)  
**Lagumdžija, Zlatko** – Prime Minister of Bosnia and Herzegovina (2001-2002)  
**Leterme, Yves** – Prime Minister of Belgium (2008, 2009-2011)  
**Meidani, Rexhep** – President of Albania (1997-2002)  
**Monti, Mario** – President of the Council of Ministers of Italy (2011-2013)  
**Papandreou, George** – Prime Minister of Greece (2009 – 2011)  
**Prodi, Romano** – President of the Council of Ministers of Italy (1996-1998; 2006-2008)  
**Radicova, Iveta** – Prime Minister of Slovakia (2010-2012)  
**Rajoy, Mariano** – President of the Government of Spain (2011-2018)  
**Rasmussen, Poul Nyrup** – Prime Minister of Denmark (1993-2001)  
**Ribas-Reig, Oscar** – Prime Minister of Andorra (1982-1984, 1990-1994)  
**Robinson, Mary** – President of the Rep. of Ireland (1990-1997)  
**Rodríguez Zapatero, José Luis** – President of the Government of Spain (2004-2011)  
**Roman, Petre** – Prime Minister of Romania (1989-1991)  
**Sampaio, Jorge** – President of Portugal (1996-2006)  
**Schüssel, Wolfgang** – Chancellor of Austria (2000-2007)  
**Sigurdardóttir, Johanna** – Prime Minister of Iceland (2009-2013)  
**Suchocka, Hanna** – Prime Minister of Poland (1992-1993)  
**Tadic, Boris** – President of Serbia (2004-2012)  
**Thorning-Schmidt, Helle** – Prime Minister of Denmark (2011-2015)  
**Türk, Danilo** – President of Slovenia (2007-2012) and President of the WLA-Club de Madrid  
**Van Rompuy, Herman** – Prime Minister of Belgium (2008-2009)  
**Verhofstadt, Guy** – Prime Minister of Belgium (1999-2008)  
**Vike-Freiberga, Vaira** – President of Latvia (1999-2007)









WORLD LEADERSHIP ALLIANCE  
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