

## **ANNEX No.1.**

### **FAP INTERNATIONAL CONSULTATIVE GROUP**

#### **INVITED PARTICIPANTS:**

1. Minister of Planning, Chairman
2. UNDP Resident Representative, Deputy Chairman

#### **Government Representatives:**

3. Minister of Agriculture
4. Minister of Flood Control
5. Minister of Relief
6. Director of Water Resources Bureau

#### **UN Agencies:**

7. UNPD Deputy Representative
8. UNDP Programme Officer
9. UNICEF Representative
10. FAO Representative
11. Resident Coordinator of the FAP for the World Bank

#### **Representatives of Donor Countries:**

12. Aid Secretary, Government of the Netherlands
13. Aid Secretary, Government of the United Kingdom, Overseas Aid Administration (ODA)
14. Country Director USAID
15. First Secretary, Government Of Japan
16. Country Director, Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), Government of Canada

#### **Representatives of FAP Consultant Team:**

17. Technical Advisor on Structural Mitigation and Environmental Works
18. Technical Advisor on Integrated Flood and Cyclone Preparedness Programme

#### **Representatives of Non Governmental Organisations NGOs:**

19. Director of ANGO's (Consortium of Voluntary Organisations)
20. Regional Field Director, OXFAM
21. Director, National Red Cross Society

#### **Representatives of National Research Institutes:**

22. Professor in Water Resources, School of Natural Environmental Sciences, National University
23. Director: Institute for Social Justice, School of Social and Development Studies, State University

#### **Press Reporter:**

24. Reporter from the Press Pool (permitted under the constitution to observe government meetings and by tradition allowed to ask a single question to up to four persons at the conclusion of the meeting)

## **ANNEX No.2.**

### **AGENDA**

#### **MEETING OF FAP INTERNATIONAL CONSULTATIVE GROUP**

1. Apologies from absent members of the Consultative Group
2. Statement concerning the Purpose of Meeting (Chairperson)
3. Flood Protection Measures  
Open discussion on the conflicting positions being taken in response to the outline proposals in the FAP, to seek a consensus from the meeting.
4. Public Participation in Decision Making  
Open discussion of the conflicting views concerning the necessity or otherwise in seeking popular participation in decision making on flood reduction measures.
5. Summary of Findings from the Meeting
6. Any Other Business
7. Date of Next Meeting

#### **Document 4. POSITION OF MINISTER OF PLANNING**

Distribution to:

- Minister of Planning;
- UNDP Resident Representative;
- Directing Staff of Exercise;
- Exercise Observers.

---

#### **STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL**

#### **MEMO TO UNDP RESIDENT REPRESENTATIVE FROM MINISTER OF PLANNING**

Thank you for agreeing to co-chair a further meeting of the International Consultative Group. As I promised at the most enjoyable dinner in the Residence, I am attaching my thoughts on the respective positions I anticipate at the forthcoming meeting. Thank you for your discretion in not showing the text of my memo to your UN colleagues or to the Donors. I am also grateful for the assurance that this briefing text will not enter your FAP file. I can assure you that it will not be filed or distributed in this ministry.

My official position on these matters is clearly set out in the letter of invitation to the meeting of the Consultative Group.

However, as we discussed unofficially over dinner there are a variety of reasons why I am calling this meeting, since there are many problems we are facing in securing full agreement:

- Our own position in the Government is by no means a united response to the FAP, despite our officially agreed support. Whilst the Prime Minister and the Agriculture, Irrigation and the Water Resources Bureau fully share the commitment of our ministry, I am very concerned about the undermining of our support of the FAP by the Ministry of Relief. Whilst their role is not particularly central to the progress of the FAP, their negative view gives me cause for concern. I rather anticipate that the Minister for Flood Control may present an objection to the participation issue, so I will try to marginalise their contribution on this topic in my handling of the meeting.
- Regarding the UN, whilst we have the full support of UNDP and the World Bank, I remain unsure about the UNICEF opinion. I suspect that they may well be behind the Minister of Relief's wavering and naive approach to these issues. I have just seen the transcript of a TV interview that our minister gave to a CNN reporter last week where she appeared to positively welcome the critique of the proposals from our uneducated village farmers, and there was more than a hint of the social need for 'adaptation to flood conditions'. Your helpful influence on your UN colleagues in UNICEF to stand by the Government is warmly valued.
- As regards the Foreign Donors, I share your concern about the Dutch and Canadian Governments. I understand that you have done your best to lean on them over the participation issue, but thus far this has been to no avail. They seem to have an ideological view that nothing can be done without every person on God's earth expressing an opinion, (however uninformed) on every conceivable issue. We have had this tiresome message repeated ad-infinitum at our previous meetings, and they are now giving veiled threats that unless there is participation they will withhold support to the project implementation.

The US position seems as entrenched as ever, and we have a fear that unless they move from the soft option aimed towards an accommodation to the floods, our chance of securing significant financial support for the structural programme will be slender.

I trust you will intervene in the meeting if matters get 'sticky'?

Very strictly between ourselves, following our dinner I have talked with the PM who thinks we should 'call their bluff'. After his recent series of meetings in the UN summit in New York, he is confident that the Canadian and Dutch Premiers are right behind us despite their governments' lofty rhetoric. The source of the negative reaction is coming from their aid desks which are, of course, low in political clout. Therefore, he suggests that whilst we maintain a public posture 'to consider their constructive proposals', our fall-back position is that the Government has 'reluctantly concluded that participation is out of the question'. Obviously the two reasons will be withheld: that it is not our way of doing things and that it will delay the project beyond the elections due in 8 months' time, and thus put the entire FAP at risk.

- The NGO position is mixed. The Red Cross can be relied upon to fully support the Government; I have this on the authority of the PM's wife who is their current President.

However, OXFAM and the ANGO consortium are against us on both issues, and their criticism is becoming a tiresome nuisance. I can see no alternative to living with their objections by listening to them obediently but quietly ignoring their negative message with its predictable left-wing associations. I do not intend to let their comments in this meeting develop into an argument; that would merely encourage them to imagine that they are an influential force, which they are certainly not. Had it not been for the insistence of the British Government, I would have dropped OXFAM from being in the Consultative Group. Unfortunately, these International NGOs are increasingly powerful since they are being used by their respective governments as aid channels, rather than by using appropriate Government ministries. Can you use any influence on the NGOs to be more constructive?

- There is no need to bother with the pair of token academic/research groups. Their opposition is as predictable as it is politically unimportant. If they raise technical objections I will not hesitate to draw in the FAP consultants who can be relied upon to blind them (and alas the entire meeting) with a hefty barrage of counter evidence that is well beyond the understanding of virtually all present!

To summarise, my aims in the meeting are to try and reduce the objections by allowing the opposing views to be ventilated and it is my hope that I can use the meeting to obtain an agreement that will stop the damaging public debate. My greatest concern is to secure a more united Government position and to carry our International Donors with us. I do not see any opportunity of the government changing the positions we have taken on both issues which I have stated under point A in my letter.

With my warm regards, your continual support is greatly valued.

## **Document 5. POSITION OF UN RESIDENT REPRESENTATIVE**

Distribution to:

- UNDP Resident Representative,
  - UNDP Deputy Representative,
  - UNDP Programme Officer,
  - UNICEF Representative,
  - FAO Representative,
  - Resident Coordinator of the FAP for the World Bank,  
Resident Co-ordinator of the FAP for the World Bank,
  - Directing Staff of Exercise;
  - Exercise Observers.
- 

**Ref: FAP INTERNATIONAL CONSULTATIVE GROUP**

**From: UNDP Representative**

**To: UNDP Staff  
FAO  
UNICEF**

This is a very brief statement concerning the forthcoming meeting of the Consultative Group.

1. The reputation of the United Nations within this country is closely tied to our success in this project. Nothing must damage its chances of full acceptance and effective implementation. The recent UN Summit Meeting paid warm tribute to our collective efforts and emphasised again the high level of Governmental support for the project.
2. I am aware of differing positions taken by some donors and our UN agencies towards certain detailed matters, but I trust these perceptions will not be allowed to surface in this meeting to create unnecessary discord between us. With elections in under a year there is a real possibility that the project, (in which so much has been invested, and in which lie the hopes of so many), could be scrapped if work on the ground has not started by this date. Therefore, given this urgency, the obvious benefits of full participation which, you know, is a normal UN project requirement, may not be possible in this instance. I therefore hope for a flexible approach.

## **Document 6. POSITION OF UN DEPUTY RESIDENT REPRESENTATIVE**

Distribution to:

- UNDP Resident Representative
- UNDP Deputy Representative
- UNDP Programme Officer
- Directing Staff of Exercise
- Exercise Observers

---

**CONFIDENTIAL**

From: UNDP Representative

To: UNDP Deputy Representative  
UNDP Programme Officer

**Ref: Meeting of FAP INTERNATIONAL CONSULTATIVE GROUP**

Could you arrange and chair a short private meeting of all participating UN representatives and the Resident Coordinator of the FAP as well as the FAP Consultants prior to the main meeting to make sure that our act is firmly together? I regret that I will not be available for this meeting, since my diary is full prior to FAP meeting. I must emphasise that I do not want to witness a repetition of the earlier meeting when UNICEF tried to sabotage the entire project with fundamental objections on a wide range of issues. So the aim is to stand together in full support of the FAP.

The only way to obtain this will be by some heavy talk in the suggested private meeting before the Government people arrive.

## **Document 7. POSITION OF UNICEF REPRESENTATIVE**

Distribution to:

- UNICEF Representative
- Minister of Relief
- Directing Staff of Exercise
- Exercise Observers

---

**STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL**

From: UNICEF Representative

To the Minister for Relief  
Ministry of Relief  
Independence Buildings

**Ref: Meeting of FAP INTERNATIONAL CONSULTATIVE GROUP**

Dear Minister,

First, warm congratulations on the CNN interview where you courageously commented on the adverse social effects of the FAP. My colleagues in our HQ in New York were delighted with the result and feel that their efforts in setting this up were well justified. Evidently, a series of protests have been coming into the World Bank Offices in Washington as a result of the transmission. I am also informed that an expatriate lobby from your country, now resident in the US, have formed themselves into a protest group to stop the embankment building project.

You will have seen the letter from the Minister of Planning, inviting the Consultative Group to meet to discuss the two issues on which we share the alternative viewpoint. No doubt you will be under pressure to support a united government line, as I am similarly expected to throw UNICEF's weight behind a UN consensus. However I have no intention of doing this. In fact, I have had specific instructions to object to the current FAP from the UNICEF Asia Advisory Board, following their policy review of the FAP which was concluded last week. As a result, my Director General in New York has been bringing pressure to bear on his opposite number in UNDP and the Bank to modify the FAP, or risk a detailed public critique from UNICEF. This could be supported by the additional weight of UNESCO, UNCHS (Habitat) and UNEP who are all sympathetic to our concern.

Regarding the meeting, I share your view that a pre-meeting is needed to consolidate our opposition. I suggest that it will be best for the NGOs to appear to be convenors, in case the press hear of this, since neither of us should appear too prominent in this initiative. At this private gathering, I suggest that representatives of the following who are broadly supporting our position are invited.

- Regional Field Director, OXFAM
- Professor in Water Resources, School of Natural Environmental Sciences, National University
- Director: Institute for Social Justice, School of Social and Development Studies, State University

Regarding the donor position, I suggest that the US Ambassador make contact with his/her Canadian and Dutch colleagues. I am unsure about the British position. Perhaps they are taking an ambivalent position like Japan with the possibility of long term investment with extensive engineering contracts.

With my warm regards,

The Representative, UNICEF



## **Document 8. POSITION OF RESIDENT COORDINATOR OF THE FAP FOR THE WORLD BANK, AND THE FAP CONSULTANTS**

Distribution to:

- Resident Coordinator of the FAP for the World Bank
- Technical Advisor to the FAP on Structural Mitigation and Environmental Works,
- Technical Advisor to the FAP on Integrated Flood and Cyclone Preparedness Programme
- Directing Staff of Exercise;
- Exercise Observers.

---

**STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL**

FAX from: Resident Coordinator of the FAP for the World Bank

To: Technical Advisor to the FAP on Structural Mitigation and Environmental Works  
Technical Advisor to the FAP on Integrated Flood and Cyclone Preparedness Programme

1. You will have seen the briefing letter from the Minister of Planning. It is the usual political distortion of the FAP which we will have to live with (at least until the election!).
2. At the meeting it is important for us to keep emphasising that the proposal is the result of detailed technical and economic appraisal.

As for the Chairperson's 'A, B,C,' simplifications, the plan can be seen as all of these positions as well as 'D, E, F, G...et. al.'. So although we must be careful not to oppose UNDP who are well out on a complex tightrope, we must quietly keep on emphasising that the FAO is not a manifesto, or a political football, it is a well prepared, carefully documented package of preparedness and risk reduction measures.

3. The Bank in Washington tell us to expect a lot of trouble from USAID, but if all else fails and they do pull their funds out it may be possible to find other donors to plug the hole.

Hey ho, and thanks again for a splendid job.

**Document 9. POSITION OF INTERNATIONAL DONORS: USA, CANADA,  
NETHERLANDS**

Distribution to:

- Aid Secretary, Government of the Netherlands,
- Country Director USAID
- Country Director, Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA),  
Government of Canada
- Directing Staff of Exercise;
- Exercise Observers.

---

**STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL**

From: Country Director, USAID, US Government

To: Aid Secretary, Government of the Netherlands  
Country Director, Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA),  
Government of Canada

Ref: FAP MEETING

Can we meet for lunch before the meeting to clarify our positions, which seem to be very similar?

I have been in touch with Washington and the USAID position on FAP is now very clear:

1. No participation, no money - period.
2. Drastic cuts needed in the embankment projects. Our Corps of Engineers Review of the structural and environmental measures is decisive that we would never contemplate this scale of protection for New Orleans from the Mississippi, so why pay for enhanced protection here?
3. Our Office of Disaster Preparedness (OFDA) suggest we increase the Preparedness Programme substantially, particularly with flood awareness programs to stop the damage that people inflict on bunds to release flood pressure.

Warm Regards,

Country Director  
USAID

## **Document 10. POSITION OF INTERNATIONAL DONOR: UK**

Distribution to:

- Aid Secretary, Government of the United Kingdom, Overseas Aid Administration ODA
- Directing Staff of Exercise;
- Exercise Observers.

---

**STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL**

**File Note From Commercial Division ODA, London to AID Secretary, British Embassy**

1. Thank you for your call. The British Consultant's Bureau and the Foreign Division of the Institute of Civil Engineering have both been in close touch with the Minister ref. opportunities with FAP. She suggests you play things very cool at the FAP meeting since we do not want to prejudice the opportunity of securing extensive engineering contracts. Evidently our share of in country work prior to the flood was 35%, but with all the pressure from Tokyo we may have a stiff fight to hold this ratio or even expand it.

Sincere thanks,

**Document 11. POSITION OF INTERNATIONAL DONOR: JAPAN**

Distribution to:

- First Secretary, Government Of Japan;
- Directing Staff of Exercise;
- Exercise Observers.

---

**STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL**

**INTER EMBASSY MEMORANDUM**

From: The Ambassador, Government of Japan  
To: First Secretary,

Regarding the FAP meeting, note the following:

1. We are already the main donor and our Government wishes to stay top of the League of International Contributors. As you know we are retaining a 20 per cent reserve on the initial pledge of US \$85 million that we may care to filter in as we think appropriate to remain No.1 or to lubricate progress.
2. I fully share the Minister of Planning's impatience with this 'popular participation issue'. So add your weight, with promises of further funds if they dispense with this luxury, to get ahead without further delay.
3. Try to speed things up. Our Treasury is putting pressure on us to allocate the first US \$20 million for the first groundwork by the end of the fiscal year, but the consultants are already 6 months behind the schedule.
4. Remember that we expect a 50% share in the contracts. This was clearly understood when the PM met the President in New York, but who knows after the elections?

Please report on your return. I must contact Tokyo the same day with our assessment of the situation.

**Document 12.      POSITION OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS  
NGOs: NATIONAL RED CROSS**

Distribution to:

- Minister of Planning
- Director, National Red Cross Society,
- Directing Staff of Exercise
- Exercise Observers.

---

**PRIVATE**

From: Minister of Planning,

To:     Director, National Red Cross Society,

Thank you for seeing me about FAP. I am most grateful for your assurances of full support to the Government position, particularly in the light of the difficulties with the other NGO groups. Any undermining of their rhetoric will be valued.

Your agency has a wonderful record of support to our people in need and the Government is proud of your valued contribution. As agreed, I will take up the issue of Tax Exemption for Charities with the Minister of Finance. I am confident he will see reason!

**Document 13.      POSITION OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS  
NGOs: DIRECTOR OF ANGO,s and OXFAM**

Distribution to:

- UNICEF Representative
- Director of ANGO's (Consortium of Voluntary Organisations)
- Regional Field Director, OXFAM
- Director: Institute for Social Justice, School of Social and Development Studies, State University
- Directing Staff of Exercise
- Exercise Observers

---

Flood Action Programme Proposed Meeting of Consultative Group

From: Director of ANGOs, (Consortium of Voluntary Organisations)

To:    UNICEF Representative  
         Regional Field Director, OXFAM  
         Director, Institute for Social Justice  
         School of Social and Development Studies, State University

We must agree on a common position if we are to withstand the pressure of the Government. I propose this strategy:

1.     Divide the Government by encouraging the Minister of Relief to state their position;
2.     Play on the misgivings of the Dutch, Canadians and the USA
3.     Let them know how we will mobilize opinion if they proceed without participation.
4.     We have some support within the Ministry of Planning and we may find out what they are doing before the meeting. (Do you recall the leaked memo on the reforestation project three years ago!)
5.     I suggest we meet before the meeting

**Document 14.        TEXT OF TELEPHONE MESSAGE FROM DIRECTOR OF  
THE SOUTH ASIA DIVISION OF WORLD BANK IN  
WASHINGTON TO RESIDENT CO-ORDINATOR OF WORLD  
BANK ATTENDING MEETING**

Distribution to:

- Directing Staff of Exercise
  - Exercise Observers.
- 

Arrange for someone with an unfamiliar voice to telephone into the room where the meeting is being held (first a secretary, then when connected to the Resident Co-ordinator, the Director of the South Asia Division of the World Bank who is calling from Washington DC., and wants to speak in person to the Resident Coordinator of the FAP for the World Bank, who is attending the meeting):

"Regret calling you from the meeting, but there has been an important development in the past hour regarding the Project. A joint letter has just been received from three Development Assistance Ministers of the primary project donors to the FAP. They state that they are informing their missions today that unless the present FAP is modified to dramatically reduce the structural works with a reallocation of 20 percent of funds requested in the FAP for embankment building to flood preparedness measured they will reallocate the designated funds."

**Document 15. NOTE TO CHAIRMAN FROM PRIME MINISTER**

Distribution to:

- Directing Staff of Exercise;
  - Exercise Observers.
- 

From: The Cabinet Office, Parliamentary Secretary to the Prime Minister

To: The Secretary of State for National Planning

1430.00 Hrs.

FILE: FAP CA Liaison Office 06/92

**URGENT STATE AFFAIRS, PLEASE ACT IMMEDIATELY:**

"The PM is aware that your meeting is in progress and regrets the interruption, but wishes to emphasise that a firm product is required from your deliberations. He has been reconsidering the business of your FAP meeting, and has been under pressure from certain donors today. He believes that it is vital for your meeting to come up with a specific proposals that are unanimously agreed by the meeting, since this, more than anything will silence the critics. He suggests that you break the meeting down into two working groups to see if they can come up with agreed positions in about 30 minutes on:

- (a) A compromise proposal on the mitigation package with more emphasis on preparedness, (5 proposals only). and
- (b) A compromise on the participation issue, with suggestions on how this can occur without delaying the project, or creating discord. Put another way, in what way can participation occur to satisfy our critics with no loss of time?" (5 proposals only)